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THE BRUEGEL SUCCESS STORY

Papers Presented at Symposium XXI for the
Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting,
Brussels, 12–14 September 2018

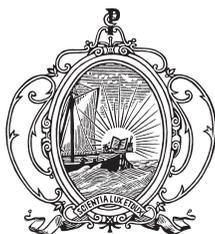
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Fig. 5.1 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, signed and dated 'BRVEGEL 1559', oil on panel, 118 × 164.2 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (inv. 1016) (a)
Pieter Bruegel the Younger, *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, unsigned, oil on panel, 117 × 165 cm, sold at Sotheby's, London, 4 July 2012, lot 11 (b)

The Final Piece of the Puzzle: Bruegel's Use of Cartoons in the *Battle between Carnival and Lent* and Reflections on his Preparatory Work for Painting

Christina Currie

ABSTRACT: New infrared imagery of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, compared with imagery from Pieter Brueghel the Younger's copies, provides conclusive evidence that the great master himself transferred the composition to panel using pricked cartoons. These cartoons were later reused in his son's workshop for the making of the copies, one of which – an atypical version sold by Sotheby's, London, in 2012 – represents an earlier state of Bruegel the Elder's design. The other sorts of likely preparatory material Bruegel made for the *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, now all lost, are also discussed. The second part of the article re-evaluates the main tendencies in Bruegel's preparatory work for painting in the light of new research and imagery. Indeed, the variety of underdrawing media employed in his paintings is greater than previously thought and includes the possible use of oiled charcoal in the *Detroit Wedding Dance*.

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Introduction

The Kunsthistorisches Museum's great *Bruegel* exhibition in 2018–19 was a watershed moment for art historians. The museum not only carried out and published new technical research on their collection of Bruegels,¹ but took the decision to make their scientific imagery accessible to all on the 'Inside Bruegel' website.² In the case of the *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, this rich resource

provided the final piece of the puzzle for uncovering Bruegel's working process in making this iconic masterpiece.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Battle between Carnival and Lent* (fig. 5.1a),³ painted in 1559, depicts the ceremonies and customs associated with Mardi Gras or Shrove Tuesday. The jousting figures personifying Carnival and Lent in the foreground are surrounded by a variety of rituals and processions, contrasting feasting and merrymaking on the left with poverty, sickness and religious charity on the right. The painting can be read on various levels and was no doubt meant to stimulate conversation.⁴ Indeed, the iconography of the scene and its myriad topical objects continue to be debated by art and folklore historians to this day.⁵

This study will explore the new evidence for Bruegel the Elder's use of cartoons and the evolution of his design during underdrawing and painting the *Battle between Carnival and Lent*. This can only be fully understood in the context of Pieter Brueghel the Younger's copies, which illustrate Bruegel the Elder's early ideas to a greater or lesser extent. The contribution will also take a fresh look at the wider context of Bruegel's preparatory work for painting.

The Original Version and Copies by Pieter Brueghel the Younger

It is a strange fact that the study of Pieter Brueghel the Younger's copies of his father's paintings can sometimes provide more evidence for understanding Brueghel the Elder's working practices than the examination of the originals themselves. Nowhere is this truer than with respect to the *Battle between Carnival and Lent*. Brueghel the Younger made at least five full-scale copies,⁶ of which one – the version in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium in Brussels – turned out to be

the cornerstone for understanding the son's copying technique and business model, which in turn is the key to understanding Brueghel the Elder's preparatory process.⁷

Infrared reflectography (IRR) of the Brussels copy reveals rows of dots alongside the underdrawing in several places, which are particularly clear in the figure of the guitar player (fig. 5.2e). This proves that a pricked cartoon was used for the transfer of the image to panel. The fact that any pouncing marks remain at all in this painting was probably a technical mistake on the part of the



Fig. 5.2 Guitar player
Brueghel the Elder (a); Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, oil on panel, 121.4 × 171.9 cm, Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium (inv. 12045) (b); Brueghel the Younger, Sotheby's version, with sword indicated (c); Brueghel the Elder, IRR, with underdrawn outline of sword annotated in red (d); Brueghel the Younger, Brussels version, IRR, with pouncing dots annotated in red (e)

artist. He may have carried out the pouncing when the oil-based priming was still tacky, sealing in the black pouncing pigment. No other painting by Brueghel the Younger has revealed such clear signs of pouncing, although pricked cartoons were certainly his preferred method of image transfer.⁸ He even shared his cartoons with his brother on occasion: Jan Brueghel's full-scale version of the *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist* has unambiguous pouncing dots, visible in IRR.⁹

The five copies of the *Battle between Carnival and Lent* from Brueghel the Younger's workshop comprise three extremely faithful versions and two atypical ones, the latter varying both in motif and colour. This division holds the key to their relationship with the original version. Three motifs elucidate the evidence most clearly: the guitar player, the child with a paper crown, and the woman pulling a cart.

Guitar Player

When the guitar player in the Brussels version is compared with the corresponding motif in the original version and one of the atypical copies, sold at Sotheby's in 2012 (fig. 5.1b),¹⁰ there are several obvious differences but also some hidden links (fig. 5.2).

The most significant clue is the musician's sword, only visible in the Sotheby's copy (fig. 5.2c).¹¹ Nonetheless, in the Brussels version, tell-tale pouncing dots forming a sword shape can be made out in infrared while in the original version, an outline for the sword appears in the underdrawing. This suggests that the motif was present on a cartoon, but that Bruegel the Elder dropped it during painting and Brueghel the Younger dropped it during underdrawing in his Brussels version. The fact that Bruegel the Elder's version reveals no pouncing dots for the sword is not surprising, given that such markings would normally have been wiped off before painting.

In terms of colour, Brueghel the Younger's Brussels version's guitar player is close to the original version, but the Sotheby's version diverges from it in places. Although the musician has a pink coat

in the three paintings (albeit faded in the Brussels version), his cooking pot hat is brown in the original and Brussels versions but black in the Sotheby's copy. Likewise, the jug hanging off his waistband is ceramic in the original and Brussels paintings, but metal in the Sotheby's panel. Finally, his waistband is black in the Sotheby's version and white in the other two.

Child with a Paper Crown

In the original version and the Brussels copy the child with a paper crown holds up a square shape with a charm on it, but in the Sotheby's version he raises an empty hand (fig. 5.3).¹² As with the guitar player, pouncing marks delineate the hand in the Brussels version and underdrawn outlines mark it in the original. Again, the evidence suggests that all three paintings were based on a common cartoon, which was more strictly followed in the Sotheby's version.

Woman Pulling a Cart

The third telling motif is the woman pulling a cart (fig. 5.4). In the original and Brussels versions, her arm is bent, but in the Sotheby's painting, it is outstretched. In the Brussels version pouncing dots denote an outstretched arm, but these are not joined up in the drawing and the final painted arm reflects Bruegel the Elder's version. In the original version's underdrawing, there is no indication of an outstretched arm, suggesting that in this case Bruegel the Elder changed his mind during drawing rather than during painting.

These three motifs show that Brueghel the Younger, in the Brussels version, corrected his design at the underdrawing stage in line with his father's painted prototype. The copy must therefore have been made in the presence of the original painting or an earlier faithful copy.¹³ The Sotheby's version, on the other hand, would have been simply based on the cartoon.

Superposing a tracing of the Brussels copy on the original version¹⁴ suggests that Bruegel must have made a set of cartoons rather than one large

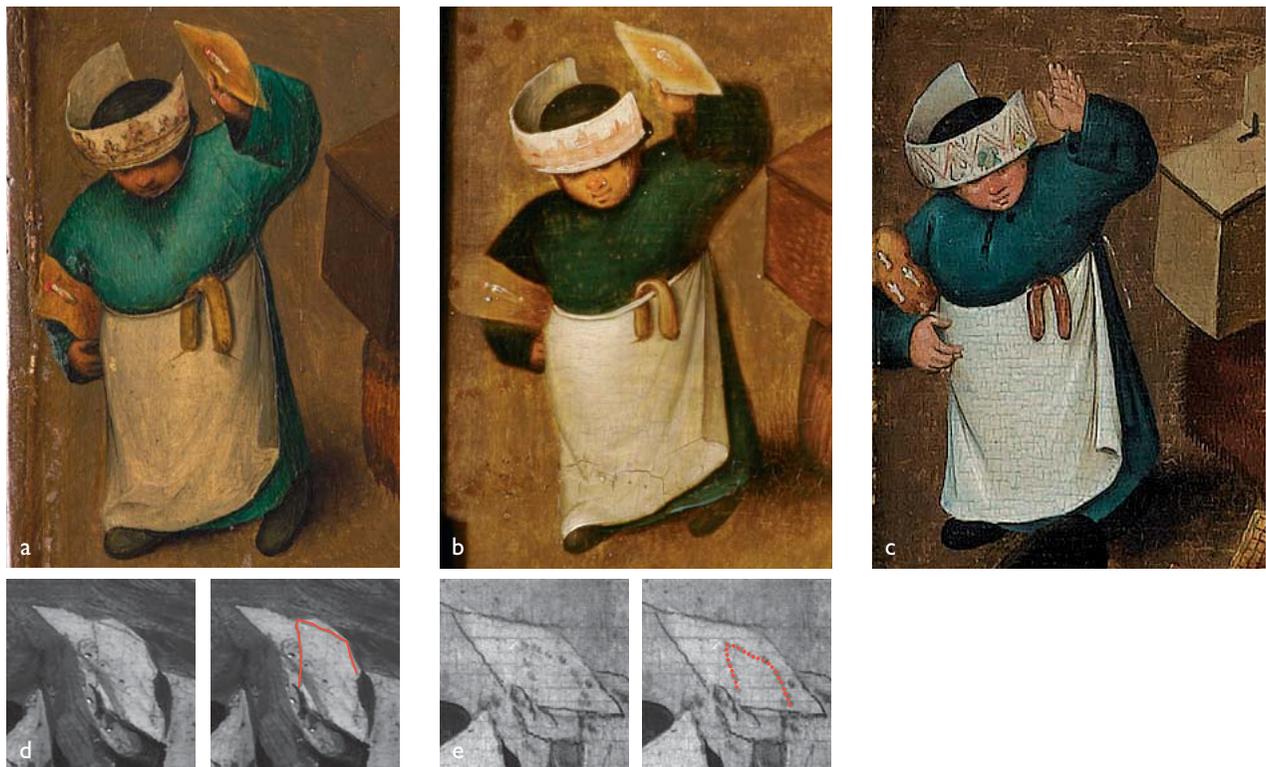


Fig. 5.3 Child with a paper crown

Bruegel the Elder (a); Bruegel the Younger, Brussels version (b); Bruegel the Younger, Sotheby's version (c); details from Bruegel the Elder, IRR (underdrawn hand annotated in red to the right) (d); details from Bruegel the Younger, Brussels version, IRR (pounced hand annotated in red to the right) (e)

sheet, as has been shown in previous case studies of other compositions. Matches were found for groups of figural motifs and buildings to left and right. A few motifs do not match, such as the figures playing dice in the lower left, so these must have featured on a model drawing rather than a cartoon. The set of cartoons and model drawing would have been created by Bruegel as part of his preparatory work for the original painting and passed down on his death to his elder son. When the tracing of the Brussels version was laid on the Sotheby's copy, close matches were obtained, as with the other two extant copies, suggesting that they were all based on Bruegel the Elder's cartoons or replicas of them.¹⁵

This evidence also gives us a glimpse into the workings of Bruegel the Younger's studio. It seems likely that the Brussels version was painted by

Bruegel the Younger himself and the Sotheby's version delegated to a trusted assistant or subcontractor.¹⁶ This painter would have based his design on a set of pricked cartoons and a model drawing, the latter either partially coloured or with colour notes, but without seeing Bruegel the Elder's original version or a faithful copy. Stylistically, there does seem to be a difference between the Brussels version and the Sotheby's copy. Although the latter is masterfully painted in the style of Pieter Bruegel the Younger and with a high level of finish,¹⁷ the modelling is less graphic than in the Brussels version. It was no doubt sold by Bruegel the Younger as part of his commercial production, given its high quality. None of the known copies is signed or dated, which may suggest that he did not intend for them to be differentiated.



Fig. 5.4 Woman pulling a cart
 Bruegel the Elder (a); Bruegel the Younger, Brussels version, normal light (b) and IRR, with pouncing dots of outstretched arm annotated in red (c); Bruegel the Younger, Sotheby's version (d)

The Sotheby's Version: A Painted Reflection of an Earlier Stage of Development of Bruegel the Elder's Composition

Since the Sotheby's version was based on preparatory cartoons (or copies thereof) inherited from Bruegel the Elder, the idea can be tested that this particular copy reproduces an earlier version of Bruegel the Elder's design, using new evidence from the underdrawing of the original.¹⁸ It was also possible to consult IRR details of the Sotheby's version.¹⁹

The IRR of Bruegel's original version reveals that the design underwent considerable adjustment in the rooftops and centre background. In one building to the left, Bruegel has clearly struggled with the positioning of the rooftop and its stepped gables (fig. 5.5a-b). The roofline was originally drawn lower down and there were two dormer windows, dropped during painting. He seems to have proceeded through trial and error and the underdrawing is much sketchier here than in the figural scene. In the Sotheby's copy, the dormer windows reappear, reflecting Bruegel's earlier conception (fig. 5.5c). The Sotheby's version also shows a decorative pinion atop a side roof in the house with the rag doll, again dropped by Bruegel the Elder during painting.²⁰

In the buildings in the centre background, the situation is more complicated. The merging of two houses into one at the back and the flattening of the roof in the Sotheby's copy was not Bruegel's original plan. In fact, the underdrawing in this copy has sketchy outlines recalling Bruegel the Elder's stepped gables.²¹

It can therefore be deduced that for at least parts of the architecture the copyist did not have a precise, unambiguous model. He probably relied on a smaller model drawing of the whole composition, which lacked detail in the background. This would also explain the sketchy nature of the underdrawing in the rooftops in both original and copy, with respective changes of mind. Sabine Pénot and Elke Oberthaler have also pointed out that Bruegel raised the centre background roofs and horizon during the painting process – further evidence that he continued to modify and improve his design in this area.²²

Small details abandoned by Bruegel the Elder during painting crop up in the Sotheby's copy. For instance, on the wall of the inn to the upper left, there is an additional poster, a brace for the wooden post in the middle, and two decorative brick arches rather than one above the right-most windows (fig. 5.6). These all feature in Bruegel the Elder's

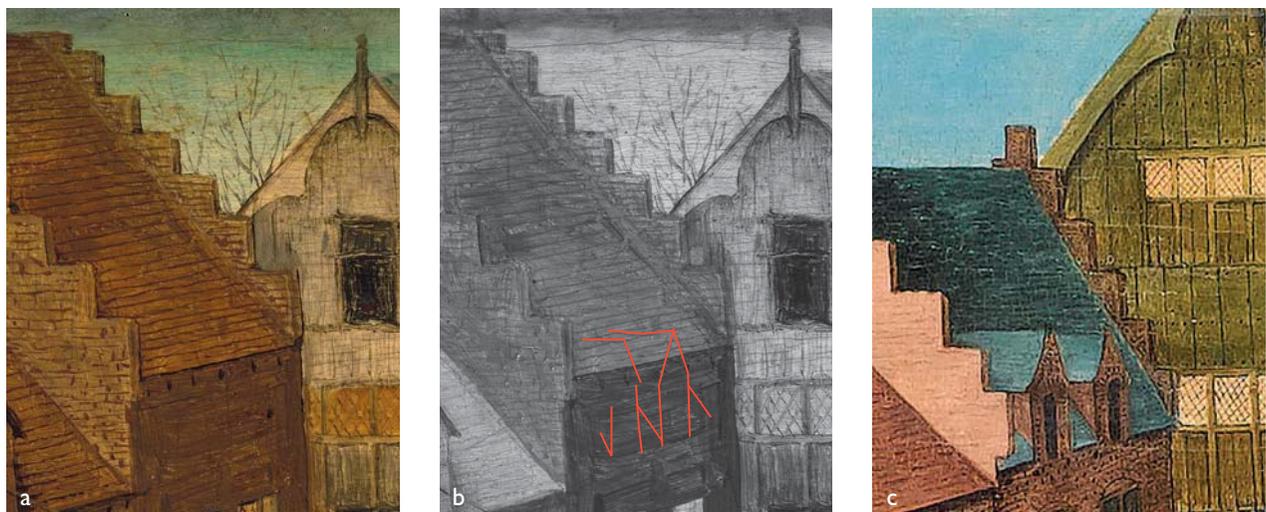


Fig. 5.5 Background houses
Bruegel the Elder (a); Bruegel the Elder, IRR, with underdrawn gabled windows annotated in red (b); Bruegel the Younger, Sotheby's version (c)

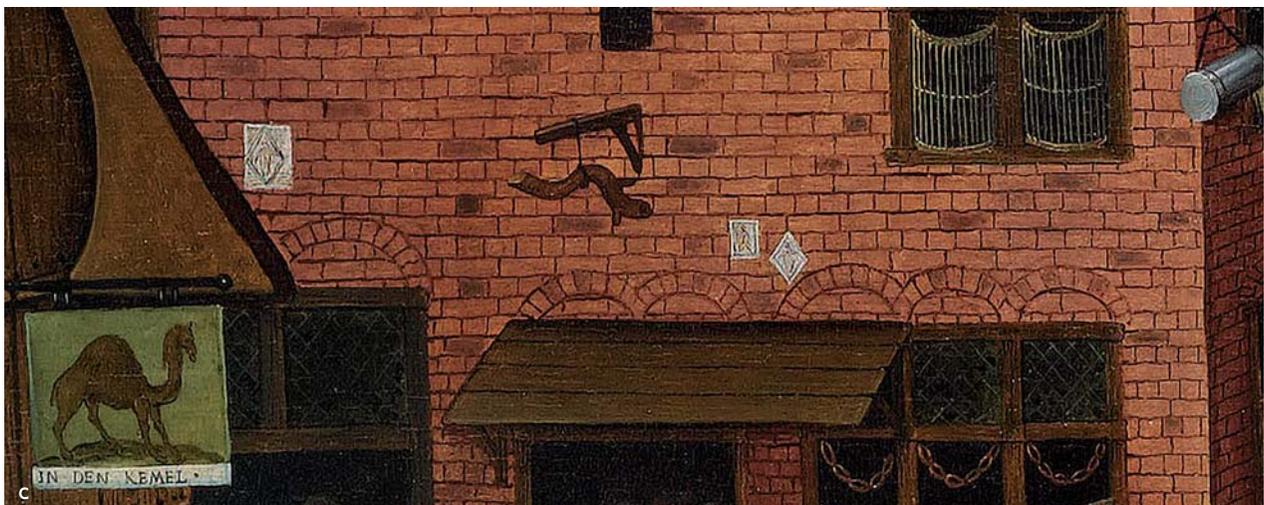


Fig. 5.6 Tavern facade, left

Bruegel the Elder (a); Bruegel the Elder, IRR, with underdrawn features dropped during painting annotated in red (b); Brueghel the Younger, Sotheby's version (c)



Fig. 5.7 Carnival

Bruegel the Elder, with IRR insert showing underdrawing for broken egg, annotated in red (a); Bruegel the Younger, Sotheby's version (b)

underdrawing, but not in his paint layer. Sticking out of the window of the inn to the lower left, there is a brazier mounted on a long rod. This brazier was shifted down during painting by Bruegel the Elder but appears in its initial higher position in the Sotheby's copy.²³ Finally, strewn on the ground in front of the figure of Carnival in the Sotheby's copy is an additional broken egg, which is present in Bruegel the Elder's underdrawing but not in his paint layer (fig. 5.7).

The Sotheby's copy also shows motifs that have been painted out in the original at a later date in a form of prudish censorship: the crippled man in the lower right, the dead woman in the cart, the children lying in a bed in front of the church, and the bloated corpse with its distended navel.²⁴ These motifs are seen in most of Bruegel the Younger's copies.

The Sotheby's copy also betrays – by their very absence – motifs that Bruegel decided to add during execution but had not originally planned to include. The most significant of these are two kneeling figures praying against the church wall, leaving a peculiar void in the copy.²⁵

Bruegel the Elder's Familiarity with the Use of Cartoons

Although no cartoons have come down to us from Bruegel the Elder's studio, several preparatory cartoons for easel paintings by Italian masters do survive, including examples by Leonardo de Vinci and Raphael. Cartoons had been used in Italy since the fourteenth century for the transfer of designs for wall paintings, using the *spolvero* (pouncing) technique.²⁶ Bruegel could have been aware of Italian painters' use of cartoons through his trip to



Fig. 5.8 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, cartoon for the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* tapestry, c. 1535, 340 × 380 cm, Brussels City Museum. Whole image (a) and detail showing pricking (b)

Italy in the early 1550s. But it is more likely that he became familiar with the making of cartoons through Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502–1550), one of the foremost painters, designers and cartoon-makers of his day.²⁷

Pieter Coecke, Bruegel the Elder's father-in-law and putative teacher, ran a large workshop producing paintings as well as supplying designs for tapestries and stained-glass windows. He probably made pricked cartoons for reproducing his many near-identical *Last Supper*, *Virgin and Child* and *Adoration* scenes.²⁸ None of his cartoons for paintings has come down to us, but a rare, large-format cartoon for the tapestry of the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* does survive (Brussels City Museum; fig. 5.8). This is made up of many small sheets of paper pasted together and dates from around 1535.²⁹ It is pricked for transfer to another support, probably to generate a second cartoon. Coecke may also have helped Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen in the 1540s to make the cartoons (now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) for a tapestry series celebrating Charles V's victory against the Ottomans. Bruegel may even have collaborated in their production.³⁰ Through Coecke, Bruegel would have learned how to translate small-scale compositional designs, known as

'*petits patrons*', into full-scale cartoons. He must also have become acquainted with the way of replicating finished cartoons through pouncing.

Bruegel the Elder's familiarity in the use of cartoons through working with Pieter Coecke explains why he would have considered it normal practice to include them as part of his preparation for large-format paintings, particularly in the case of complex, interlocking figural scenes such as the *Battle between Carnival and Lent*.

Bruegel's Early Preparatory Work for the *Battle between Carnival and Lent*

None of Bruegel's preparatory material for large-scale compositions has survived although it is possible that a drawing in the Fogg Art Museum is a copy, possibly by Pieter Brueghel the Younger, of a lost sketch by Bruegel the Elder for the *Battle between Carnival and Lent* (fig. 5.9a-b).³¹ On the verso of the sheet are some more roughly drawn carnival figures.

This drawing shows remarkable similarities with motifs in Bruegel's 1559 painting (fig. 5.9c), although they are not identical, which suggests that they are exploratory sketches. For example, in the drawing, the reveller with the cooking pot hat



Fig. 5.9 Manner of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Carnival Figures*, pen and ink drawing, recto and verso, 129 × 175 mm, Cambridge, MA, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Bequest of Charles A. Loeser, 1932-370 (a and b); Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, detail (c)

has been transformed into the pink-robed guitar player in the painting, and his grill and knife are held by another figure to the right. In the drawing, the masked figure with a candle-tipped broom is unmasked in the painting and the broom is now carried by a small figure. Finally, the masked figure wearing a felt hat with a feather is given a wooden spoon in his hat in the painting and a heavy bag in place of a small jug.

Bruegel's Possible Visual Influences for the *Battle between Carnival and Lent*

Hieronymus Bosch's early influence on Bruegel is well-established and it is possible that his designs were a source of inspiration for the *Battle between Carnival and Lent*. Bosch produced a model sheet of drawings of figures playing out individual carnival-like cameos known as *Witches* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques; fig. 5.10),



Fig. 5.10 Hieronymus Bosch, model sheet with *Witches*, c. 1475–1525, pen and ink on paper, 204 × 264 mm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques (inv. 19721)

some of which are quite similar to motifs in Bruegel's *Battle between Carnival and Lent*. It is not known whether Bruegel was aware of Bosch's drawings, but it seems likely that he made similar sheets of preparatory studies, at least for his earlier paintings.³² Bruegel may also have known paintings by Bosch on the carnival theme, although none has come down to us. A narrow, horizontal composition depicting the *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, known in several versions in colour and in grisaille, has sometimes been cited as a lost Bosch invention, and could have been known to Bruegel.³³

Bruegel was certainly aware of Hieronymus Cock's etching after Frans Hogenberg's *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, published in 1558 (fig. 5.11),

one year before his own version. Bruegel's take on the theme, however, is more thought-provoking and does not show any actual fighting of the protagonists.³⁴ None of the characters is copied directly after the print although Bruegel has adopted some of the same motifs, such as the personifications of Carnival and Lent on carts, and the *Dance of the Cripples* in the background.

Cartoons and Model Drawings in Bruegel the Elder's Wider Oeuvre

The Brueg[H]el Phenomenon (published 2012) includes an assessment of Bruegel's preparatory work for paintings based on detailed case studies of certain of his paintings and a survey of the available



Fig. 5.11 Whole image and detail of the Dance of the Cripples in Hieronymus Cock after Frans Hogenberg, *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, 1558, etching, 333 × 520 mm, 1558, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1957 (a and b); detail showing the Dance of the Cripples in Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Battle between Carnival and Lent* (c)

infrared and macro-photographic imagery of others.³⁵ Since then, new infrared reflectography of many more of his paintings means this can be taken a step further.

As concluded in *The Bruegel Phenomenon*, there are two main tendencies that can be dis-

cerned in Bruegel's underdrawings for his large-format panel paintings, which point to distinct creative procedures. As all Bruegel's preparatory drawings for his painted compositions are lost, the evidence for his preliminary studies has to be sought in the underdrawings and copies.³⁶

Paintings whose Compositions were Transferred to Panel via Cartoons

For the early encyclopaedic works and some of the large 1560s scenes with multiple interlocking figures, Bruegel seems to have made cartoons. In the foreground and middle ground of the 1559 *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, Bruegel's underdrawing style is devoid of artistic flourish and consists of wiry, freehand outlines in a dry drawing medium, probably black chalk, with little or no hatching, suggesting the use of cartoons. This arid style also characterizes the underdrawing in his *Flemish Proverbs* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie)³⁷ of the same year. Rebecca Duckwitz was the first to prove that Bruegel made a preparatory cartoon or detailed preparatory drawing, with colour instructions, for this painting.³⁸ She also demonstrated that Bruegel the Younger's copies were based on an earlier design, and that he never saw his father's original painting. Subsequent research on the copies showed that Bruegel the Younger most likely inherited a set of cartoons of specific motifs for this composition, which included figures and the adjacent architectural background.³⁹ He would also have inherited a smaller model drawing showing the scene as a whole, which would have enabled him to position the cartoons correctly.

The underdrawing for the *Children's Games* (1560, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum),⁴⁰ painted a year later, has a similar appearance and similarly functional approach to that in the *Carnival and Lent* and the *Proverbs* and the design was thus probably also transferred via pricked cartoons.⁴¹ But Bruegel did not only use cartoons to help him construct his design. Elke Oberthaler points out that the buildings in the background were drawn with the help of a vanishing point.⁴²

A parsimonious underdrawing style in the *Triumph of Death* (c. 1562–3, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado)⁴³ and the evidence from the sons' copies show that Bruegel must have made a full-scale cartoon for this composition, spread over two sheets, and a model drawing.⁴⁴ In this case, some

of the underdrawing was executed in a medium with the appearance of black chalk but parts were carried out in thin reddish-brown paint.

In the *Census at Bethlehem* (156[–], Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium),⁴⁵ the IRR evidence from the original and comparisons with the copies suggests that Bruegel made a set of smaller cartoons of details and a model drawing, both inherited by the elder son.⁴⁶ Similarly, for the *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist* (1566, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum),⁴⁷ it seems Bruegel used pricked preparatory cartoons for the main figure motifs.⁴⁸

The underdrawing in Bruegel's *Massacre of the Innocents* (c. 1565–7, Windsor Castle, Royal Collection Trust)⁴⁹ is not visible in infrared reflectography. Nonetheless, the complexity of the composition, which is similar to the *Census at Bethlehem*, makes the use of cartoons likely.⁵⁰

Two paintings for which no copies are known, the *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (1562)⁵¹ and the *Dulle Griet* (1563, Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh), have underdrawings characterized by simple outlining of the main motifs, with no reworking or hesitation (fig. 5.12).⁵² Preparatory cartoons in these cases are therefore possible, but impossible to prove. Another painting that was not copied, *Christ carrying the Cross* (1564, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum),⁵³ may have started out with the transfer of cartoons of figure groupings, given the unwavering manner in which many of the figures and the distant townscape are outlined in the underdrawing; however, there has been significant reworking of many of the figures and animals during the underdrawing itself, as well as during painting, as described by Oberthaler.⁵⁴

Paintings whose Designs Continued to be Developed during Underdrawing

Another tendency involves a sketchier and searching underdrawing style, with Bruegel working by trial and error on the panels themselves. Even in these paintings, made without cartoons, the evidence suggests that he first made a model drawing.



Fig. 5.12 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, 1562, oil on panel, 117 × 162 cm, Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium (inv. 584); IRR detail

An early example of this more animated underdrawing style is the large *Tower of Babel* (1563, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum),⁵⁵ discussed by Oberthaler, which shows broad, loose drawing lines and significant alterations during drawing.⁵⁶ The London *Adoration of the Magi* (1564, London, National Gallery),⁵⁷ as described by Lorne Campbell, is a similar case. Campbell concludes that Bruegel would have made a preparatory design on paper, but that he rapidly adjusted details during drawing and painting.⁵⁸ The five paintings of the *Seasons* (1565),⁵⁹ three of which have been analysed by Oberthaler and Pénot⁶⁰ – Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: *Gloomy Day* (early spring), *Return of the Herd* (autumn), *Hunters in the Snow* (winter) – and one by Sophie Scully⁶¹ – New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art: *Harvesters* (late summer) – are also drawn in a loose, free

manner, with modifications during drawing and painting, but are still probably largely based on a set of model drawings.⁶² In the case of the Metropolitan's *Harvesters*, Bruegel shifted a labourer during the drawing stage, resulting in two underdrawn versions of the same figure. The *Conversion of Saul* (1567, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum)⁶³ is another example of this looser way of drawing, with rapid, but minor, repositioning of motifs in the foreground and middle ground.⁶⁴

The *Wedding Dance* (1566, Detroit Institute of Arts)⁶⁵ is the most extreme example of Bruegel's sketchier underdrawing style. Here, there are multiple adjustments during drawing and extensive hatching for tone. Bruegel seems to have used charcoal or a particularly soft piece of black chalk, given the appearance of the flowing, very black lines, which vary widely in thickness and intensity



Fig. 5.13 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Wedding Dance*, 1566, oil on panel, 119 × 158 cm, Detroit Institute of Arts (inv. 30.374). Details: IRR (a), IRR (b) and visible light (c), pp. 96 and 97

(fig. 5.13). In fact, it is possible he used oiled charcoal, a medium that has not yet been mentioned in the context of underdrawing, but one that has been cited as the medium in drawings by Andrea del Verrocchio, Guercino, Guido Reni and Tintoretto.⁶⁶ Charcoal sticks would have been dipped in olive or linseed oil overnight prior to use. This would explain why Bruegel's rapidly applied, expressive drawing lines have not smudged in any way during painting.⁶⁷ There are also traces of an earlier, more restrained preliminary drawing above the bagpipe player at the far right (figs 5.13b–c), which suggest that Bruegel first indicated the placement of his forms before going ahead with the bolder and more creative underdrawing phase. In this particular case, he may have worked up most of the composition on the panel itself, given that he had produced similar *Wedding Dance* designs

before and would have been familiar with the motifs. In his lost *Wedding Dance in the Open Air*, for example, known through copies by Brueghel the Younger and Jan Brueghel the Elder, there are three dancing couples in the foreground identical to those in the Detroit painting.⁶⁸

The 'Peasant Wedding' and the 'Peasant Dance'

Bruegel's large-format *Peasant Wedding* (c. 1567, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum)⁶⁹ and *Peasant Dance* (c. 1568, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum),⁷⁰ both exemplars of his late, more expansive compositional type, with large-scale figures dominating the foreground and middle ground, fall outside the two tendencies described so far. In these paintings, the underdrawings seem to have been applied freehand and by eye after a model drawing, but with no further working-out on the panels.



b



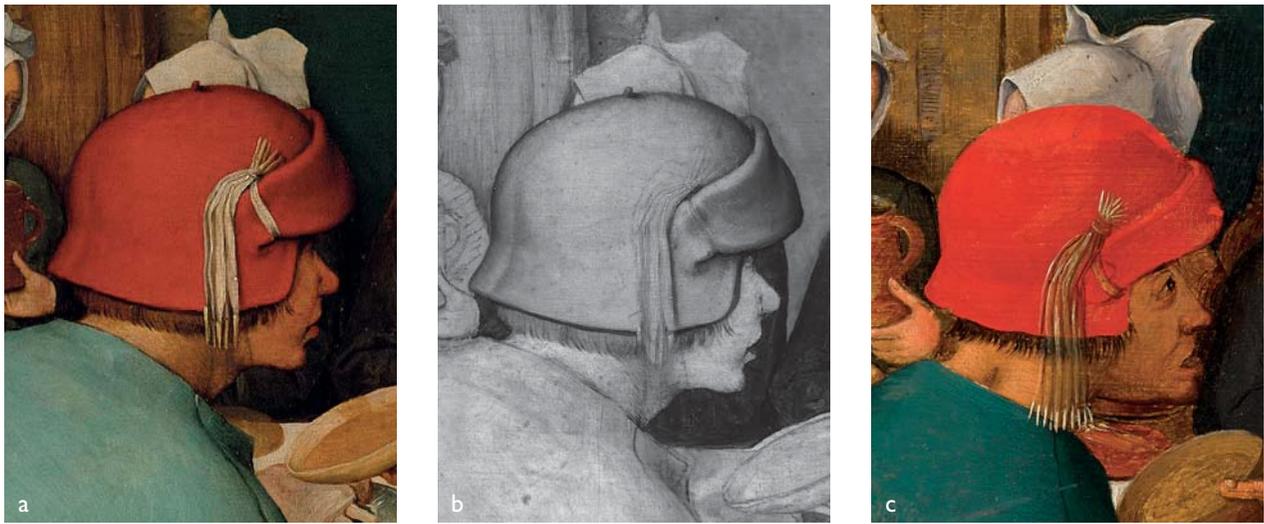


Fig. 5.14a *Peasant Wedding*. Detail from Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Peasant Wedding*, c. 1567, oil on panel, 113.1 × 164.1 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (inv. 1027) (a); detail from Bruegel the Elder, IRR (b); detail from Pieter Bruegel the Younger, *Peasant Wedding*, oil on panel, 71.8 × 104.7 cm, Sotheby's, London, 5 July 2017 (c)

Both are discussed by Pénot and Oberthaler in the *Bruegel: The Hand of the Master* exhibition catalogue.⁷¹ The underdrawing in the *Peasant Wedding* is fluid and bold, and the lines more varied in width and blackness than those in paintings based on cartoons. The underdrawing appears to have been applied with a brush, although the brush seems to have been nearly dry in places. Loose hatching strokes indicate tone in places. At the painting stage, there are just a few slight adjustments, such as the shortening of the laces on the red felt cap of one of the two men carrying the large door tray. Bruegel the Younger's copies of the *Peasant Wedding*⁷² seem to have been based on his father's lost model drawing rather than the final painting. Some of them show the long laces on the red felt cap (fig. 5.14a), and all of them lack a round tray held aloft in the upper left (fig. 5.14b). Just below this, the copies all show the back of a man's head in place of a woman's wimple (fig. 5.14b). The fact that some of the colours in the copies correspond with those in the original suggest that Bruegel's model drawing must have been partially coloured or annotated, as suggested by Duckwitz for his *Flemish Proverbs*. Those that do not correspond include the amorous couple in the hayloft, which has been painted in brighter hues in the copies.⁷³

The thematically and compositionally related *Peasant Dance* has a similarly confident yet functional underdrawing with no hatching strokes or changes of mind and only minor adjustments during painting.⁷⁴ It too appears to have been carried out in a liquid medium. For these two compositions, which are intrinsically less complicated than the works previously discussed and carried out at the height of Bruegel's career, transferring designs to panel freehand after a model drawing would have posed no difficulty.

Smaller-Format Works

Bruegel's smaller-format paintings do not form a coherent group in terms of their underdrawings. Maximiliaan Martens points out that the underdrawing in the early *Twelve Proverbs* (1558, Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh)⁷⁵ is problematic, given that it plays a role in the final effect and is difficult to distinguish from the paint strokes.⁷⁶ The *Suicide of Saul* (1562, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum),⁷⁷ discussed by Pénot and Oberthaler, has a delicate underdrawing with sparse lines, but there is also a sketchy figure dropped during painting in the lower left.⁷⁸ The painting was probably based on a preliminary sketch and the design would not seem to be cartoon-transferred.

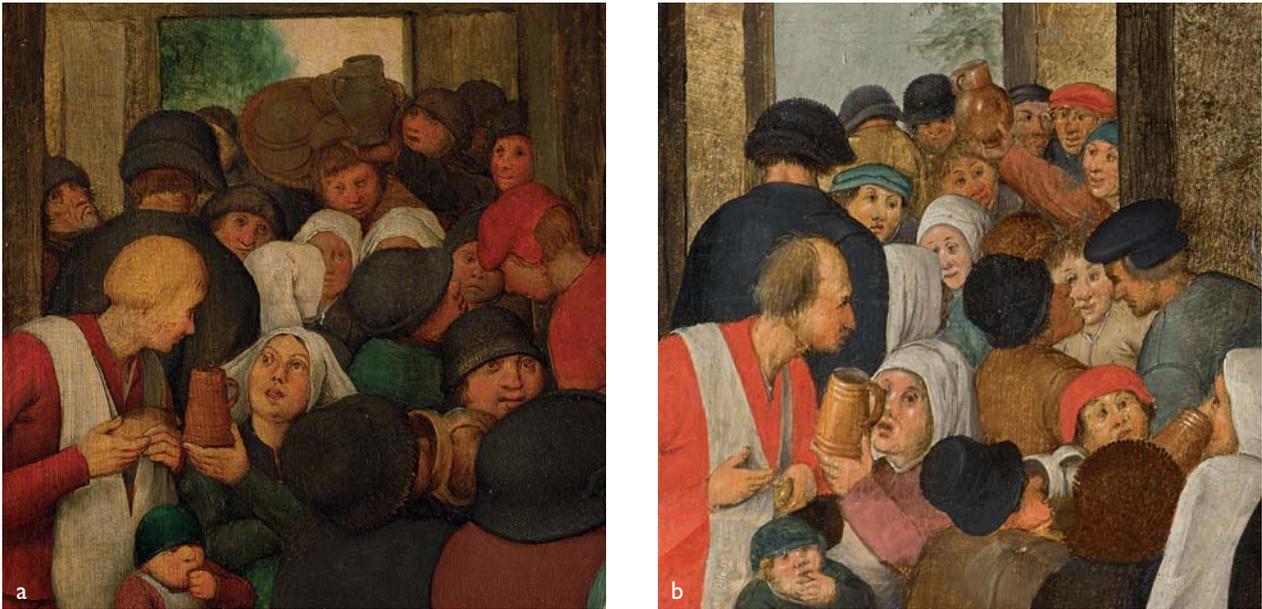


Fig. 5.14b *Peasant Wedding*. Bruegel the Elder (a); Brueghel the Younger, Sotheby's 2017 version (b)

Babette Hartweg and Bertram Lorenz interpret the fine underdrawing in Bruegel's *Two Monkeys* (1562, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie),⁷⁹ as graphite, based on its appearance under the microscope, which would represent an extremely early example of the use of this medium.⁸⁰ The Winterthur *Adoration of the Magi* (1563, Winterthur, Oskar Reinhart Collection 'Am Römerholz')⁸¹ has a partial outline underdrawing that is difficult to visualize in infrared, but thin, wiry outlines can be made out in places with the naked eye.⁸² It must have been preceded by a very detailed model drawing, which later served Brueghel the Younger to make his copies.⁸³ On the other hand, in the slightly later *Winter Landscape with Skaters and a Bird Trap* (1565, Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium),⁸⁴ there is a distinctly sketchy underdrawing and several changes of mind, ruling out the possibility of a cartoon and suggesting that it was drawn by eye, probably after a rough sketch. Bruegel's three small grisaille paintings – *Death of the Virgin* (c. 1562–5, Banbury, National Trust, Upton House, The Bearsted Collection),⁸⁵ *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery* (1565, London, The Courtauld Gallery)⁸⁶ and *Three Soldiers* (1568, New York, The Frick Collection)⁸⁷ – discussed in

the catalogue for the Courtauld exhibition *Bruegel in Black and White* (2016),⁸⁸ all reveal sparse, free-hand black chalk underdrawings with slight adjustments during painting, suggesting that they were based on prior model drawings. Unusually, *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery* also reveals traces of an earlier, looser red chalk underdrawing. The *Birdnester* (1568, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum),⁸⁹ discussed by Pénot and Oberthaler, has a delicate, wiry outline underdrawing, without changes, and is also probably based on a model drawing.⁹⁰ The same applies to the late *Magpie on the Gallows* (1568, Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt),⁹¹ whose underdrawing Heidrun Ludwig describes as a 'very fine and detailed preparatory drawing giving all the details especially of the landscape'.⁹²

Conclusion

The new infrared documentation of the *Battle between Carnival and Lent* (1559) means that one of the last conundrums concerning Bruegel's preparatory process for this great painting can be solved. Seemingly effortless, the figural part of the composition was in fact intricately worked out beforehand and transferred to panel via 1:1 pricked cartoons, a

way of working probably learned from his putative teacher, Pieter Coecke van Aelst. Surviving pouncing in Brueghel the Younger's Brussels copy no doubt resulted from the use of these very same cartoons or copies of them.

Dropped motifs in the underdrawing of the original version reappearing in an atypical version of the composition from Brueghel the Younger's workshop, the 'Sotheby's version', give that painting the peculiar honour of representing Bruegel the Elder's initial design to a large extent. The Sotheby's version also provides evidence for the existence of a model drawing by Bruegel the Elder, which would have facilitated the placement of the cartoons.

Although no preparatory sketches for the painting have come down to us, a sheet of sketches of carnival figures in the Fogg Art Museum may be a copy after a lost sheet by Bruegel the Elder, made in preparation for the composition, similar to extant sheets of figure sketches by Bosch.

The brief survey of Bruegel's underdrawings in his wider oeuvre reveals an artist who varied his

technique, drawing medium and degree of preparatory work according to the challenges of each particular composition. Although the early large-format paintings and several others from the 1560s appear to have been made with the help of cartoons and a model drawing, many of his 1560s works seem to have relied on a model drawing only. In most cases, the compositions continued to be adapted and perfected during drawing and painting. The most extreme case is the Detroit *Wedding Dance*, which may have been entirely worked out on the panel itself, given the degree of sketchiness and the number of small changes. Bruegel's drawing mediums vary from black chalk for cartoon-transferred motifs in large, multi-figured compositions and smaller works, to oiled charcoal and liquid media for broader compositions with larger-scaled figures. Bruegel's lost model drawings must have varied in the level of detail and would sometimes have been partially coloured or with colour indications. Like Bosch, Bruegel is also likely to have made many sketches of individual motifs in the early stages, none of which has survived.

NOTES

For supplying images of the versions of Pieter Bruegel the Younger's *Battle between Carnival and Lent* and *Peasant Wedding Feast* sold at Sotheby's, I thank Grace Collier at Sotheby's, London, and for sharing with me their infrared reflectography of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Fall of the Rebel Angels* and the *Wedding Dance*, I am grateful to Véronique Bücken and Ellen Hanspach-Bernal respectively.

1 Vienna 2018.

2 'Inside Bruegel' website, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna <insidebruegel.net>. The reader is referred to this website for the illustration of some of the points made in this study that could not be illustrated for reasons of space.

3 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, oil on panel, 118 × 164.2 cm, signed and dated on a stone in the lower left 'BRVEGEL [V and E linked] 1559', Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1016.

4 On this, see *Conversation Pieces: The World of Bruegel*, produced to accompany the 2018 *Bruegel* exhibition (Benali et al. 2018).

5 For the iconography in *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, see *ibid.* See also Pénot and Oberthaler's entry for cat. 48 in Vienna 2018, pp. 122–8.

6 These copies, none of which is signed or dated, are discussed and illustrated in Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 2, case study 1, pp. 344–79. Bruegel the Younger's versions are: 1. Brussels version (Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, inv. 12045, oil on panel, 121.4 × 171.9 cm); 2. Sotheby's version (sold at Sotheby's, London, 4 July 2012, lot 11, oil on panel, 117 × 165 cm; referred to in Currie and Allart 2012 as the 'Christie's New York version'); 3. Christie's version (sold at Christie's, London, 6 December 2011, lot 17, oil on canvas, 119.5 × 169 cm); 4. Portland version (sold at Christie's, London, 7 December 2010, lot 15, oil on panel, 118.1 × 166.3 cm, from the former Portland collection); 5. Krakow version (formerly in the Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Krakow, oil on panel, 116 × 162 cm, destroyed in the Second World War).

7 The Brussels version, purchased by the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium at auction in June 1999, was studied as part of Christina Currie's doctoral thesis research (Currie 2003). On this painting, see Currie and Ghys 2006 and Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 2, pp. 344–79.

8 For an overview of Bruegel the Younger's copying technique, see Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 746–52, and for a shorter summary, see Currie and Allart 2014.

9 On Jan Bruegel's *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist*, see Currie and Allart 2017. On the Bruegel sons' sharing of a cartoon for their respective versions of the *Wedding Dance in the Open Air*, see Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 2, pp. 602–9.

10 Pieter Bruegel the Younger, *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, unsigned, oil on panel, 117 × 165 cm, sold at Sotheby's, London, 4 July 2012, lot 11 (Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 2, pp. 365–79, where it is referred to as the 'Christie's New York version'; Ertz 1998–2000, vol. 1, pp. 245–7 and fig. 183). For normal light and IRR details of this version, see <sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/old-master-british-paintings-evening-sale/lot.11.html>.

11 Fig. 5.2 has been annotated for reasons of clarity. For the original, unannotated image of the original, see <insidebruegel.net>; for the Brussels copy, see Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 2, pp. 350–51, fig. 181; and for the whole Brussels painting in IRR (zoomable), see *ibid.*, web 132.

12 The child probably represents the 'king' of the Epiphany feast, who was crowned with a paper crown to mark his winning of the charm in his slice of the Epiphany cake. The charm, which shows a white figure with a red halo, may represent the Infant Jesus.

13 The early patron and provenance of the original version is unknown. Karel van Mander, in his *Schilder-boeck* (1604), mentions a work in which 'Lent fights against Shrove Tuesday', but without saying where he saw it (Miedema 1994–9, vol. 1, pp. 192–3). Alice Hoppe-Harmoncourt refers to a 1613 satirical poem by Abraham of Drohna in which he describes the *Battle between Carnival and Lent* as being in Prague (Hoppe-Harmoncourt 2018, p. 336 and notes 36 and 43). For discussion as to the possible early whereabouts of Bruegel's original painting, see also Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 1, pp. 361–4.

14 The overlay was carried out digitally by Bernard Petit (IRPA). The unframed image of the original painting was taken from the 'Inside Bruegel' website and scaled up according to the dimensions of the panel.

15 For the overlays of the tracing of the Brussels version on the Portland version, see Currie and Allart 2012, web 134.

16 This opinion also applies to the other atypical version from the former Portland collection (see Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 2, pp. 374–9).

17 When the Sotheby's painting was considered for *The Bruegel Phenomenon* (Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 2, pp. 365–79), the only source was an old photograph of the painting taken prior to restoration. The new

photographs published by Sotheby's on their website reveal that the painting is of the highest quality, even if it is not by Bruegel the Younger's own hand; see <sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/old-master-british-paintings-evening-sale/lot.11.html>.

18 See <insidebruegel.net>.

19 Infrared reflectography details from the Sotheby's version can be consulted on <sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/old-master-british-paintings-evening-sale/lot.11.html>.

20 For these IRR images, see *ibid.* and <insidebruegel.net>.

21 <sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/old-master-british-paintings-evening-sale/lot.11.html>.

22 See Pénot and Oberthaler's entry for cat. 48 in Vienna 2018, pp. 122–8.

23 See <insidebruegel.net>.

24 These overpainted motifs are discussed and illustrated in Pénot and Oberthaler's entry for cat. 48 in Vienna 2018, pp. 143–5.

25 See Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 1, p. 375, fig. 199.

26 On cartoons and the pouncing technique in Renaissance Italy, see Bambach 1999. For a brief survey, see Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 934–47.

27 On Coecke as a maker of cartoons and tapestry designer, see New York 2002 and New York 2014.

28 On Coecke's use of cartoons for easel painting, see Ainsworth 2014; Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 887–8; and Jansen 2003.

29 On the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* cartoon, see Paredes 2016 and Ainsworth 2014, p. 33.

30 Sellink 2018a, pp. 302–6.

31 In Currie and Allart 2012 it is suggested that this drawing might be a copy by Pieter Bruegel the Younger after his father based on stylistic similarities with another drawing attributed to Bruegel the Younger and the latter's underdrawings (Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 799–801 and figs 557–9). On the *Carnival Figures* drawing, see Swarzenski 1951.

32 For a catalogue raisonné of Bosch's drawings, and earlier references, see Ilsink et al. 2016. For high-resolution images of the 'model sheet with *Witches*', see <bosch-project.org/#/artworks/Model_Sheet_with_Witches>.

33 According to J. Bogers, one of these versions, a grisaille painting in the Noordbrabant Museum, 's-Hertogenbosch (oil on panel, 59 × 118.5 cm), was considered by

Max Friedländer to be possibly an original version by Bosch. Gert Unverfehrt and J. Bogers doubt that the composition was a Bosch creation and Bogers instead places its invention in Antwerp around 1560 (see Bogers 2010 for discussion and references). Larry Silver gives the Noordbrabants Museum version to a follower of Bosch, after a lost original, and dates it to 1540 (Silver 2011, p. 214, fig. 184).

34 For a comparison between Hogenberg's and Bruegel's treatment of the theme, see Koerner 2016, pp. 315–16.

35 See 'Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Painting Technique: A Reassessment', in Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 1, pp. 258–80, and 'Understanding the Father through the Son: Lost Secrets of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Working Practice', *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 878–98.

36 On Bruegel's lost drawings for paintings, see Royalton-Kisch 2001.

37 *Flemish Proverbs*, oil on panel, 117.2 × 163.8 cm, signed and dated 1559, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 1720.

38 Duckwitz 2001.

39 Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 816–19.

40 *Children's Games*, oil on panel, 116.4 × 160.3 cm, signed and dated 1560, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1017.

41 See <insidebruegel.net> for this underdrawing.

42 Oberthaler 2018, p. 379.

43 *The Triumph of Death*, oil on oak panel, 116.1 × 162 cm, unsigned, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. P001393.

44 On the *Triumph of Death*, see Currie and Allart, Chapter 6 in the present volume.

45 *Census at Bethlehem*, oil on oak panel, 115.3 × 164.4 cm, signed and dated 156[–], Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, inv. 3637.

46 On the *Census at Bethlehem*, see Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 2, pp. 438–9, and vol. 3, pp. 882–3.

47 *The Sermon of Saint John the Baptist*, oil on panel, 95.2 × 161.7 cm, signed and dated 1566, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 51.2829.

48 On the *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist*, see Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 2, pp. 477–9, and vol. 3, pp. 882–3; and Currie and Allart 2017, figs 9–10, fig. 12 and figs 14–15.

49 *Massacre of the Innocents*, oil on panel, 109.2 × 158.1 cm, signature partially missing, date missing, Windsor Castle, Royal Collection Trust, inv. RCIN 405787.

50 On the original version in the Royal Collection Trust and the copy in the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu, Romania, see

Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 820–21; Currie, Allart and Saverwyns 2012. In this case, the outlines of the original match those of the Sibiu copy in parts, but not as a whole, making a set of inherited cartoons of groups of motifs possible; this was also the case when the tracing of the Sibiu copy was overlaid on a scaled reproduction of Bruegel the Younger's version in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium (inv. 361). However, since the Sibiu copy precisely mimics Bruegel the Elder's original version in colour and brushwork, it is clear that the son saw the original himself and could therefore also have traced it and generated his own set of cartoons.

51 *Fall of the Rebel Angels*, oil on panel, 117 × 162 cm, Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, inv. 584. I thank Véronique Bücken for providing a high-quality infrared reflectography image of this painting.

52 See Currie, Saverwyns et al., Chapter 2 in the present volume.

53 *Christ carrying the Cross*, oil on panel, 124.2 × 170.7, signed and dated 1564, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1017.

54 Oberthaler 2018, pp. 381–2.

55 *Tower of Babel*, oil on panel, 114.3 × 155.1, signed and dated 1563, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1026.

56 Oberthaler 2018, pp. 380–1.

57 *Adoration of the Magi*, oil on panel, 110 × 83.5 cm, signed and dated 1564, London, National Gallery, inv. NG 3556.

58 Campbell 2014, p. 182: 'There are no major alterations, which make it seem that the composition must have been worked out in advance on paper and that the underdrawing, done very quickly and certainly by Bruegel himself, must follow that preliminary design'; Campbell 2002.

59 *The Gloomy Day*, oil on panel, 117.6 × 162.2, signed and dated 1565, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1837; *The Return of the Herd*, oil on panel, 117 × 159.7 cm, signed and dated 1564, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1018; *Hunters in the Snow*, oil on panel, 116.3 × 162.5 cm, signed and dated 1565, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1838; *Harvesters*, oil on panel, 119 × 162 cm, signed and dated 1565, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 19.164.

60 See Oberthaler 2018, pp. 388–91, and Oberthaler and Pénot's entries for cats 72–5 in Vienna 2018, pp. 214–41. Although they consider most of the underdrawing to be drawn freely, Oberthaler and Pénot point out that certain foreground motifs in *Gloomy Day* may be based on a precisely prepared drawn model, given the controlled appearance of the underdrawing (pp. 230–31).

61 For Sophie Scully's analysis and the infrared reflectogram, see <metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435809>.

62 For *Haymaking* (June–July), see IR details in Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 1, pp. 266 and 268, figs 139b and 139d.

63 *Conversion of Saul*, oil on panel, 108 × 156.3 cm, signed and dated 1567, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 3690.

64 Pénot and Oberthaler's entry for cat. 77 in Vienna 2018, pp. 246–51; and Oberthaler 2018, pp. 391–2. See also Currie and Allart 2019a, pp. 126–7.

65 *The Wedding Dance*, oil on panel, 119 × 158 cm, signed and dated 1566, Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. 30.374. This painting is discussed by Yao-Fen You, Ellen Hanspach-Bernal and Christina Bisulca in the present volume (Chapter 9).

66 Joseph Meder first suggested that oiled charcoal was used occasionally by Italian artists from about 1550 (Meder 1978, p. 83). He adds that black chalk does not produce the same effect, as it is too dense and contains oily matter so cannot absorb oil. He cites references to the use of oiled charcoal by Samuel van Hoogstraeten (Van Hoogstraeten 1678 [edn 1969], p. 32), and Giovanni Battista Volpato (1670 or later, in Merrifield 1849 [edn 1967], p. 753). In an article on dry drawing media, Jenny Bescoby, Judith Rayner and Satoko Tanimoto conclude, based on examination, that the darker lines in a Verrocchio drawing in the British Museum collection are most likely to be oiled charcoal, and that they compare well in appearance under magnification to a group of later drawings by Guercino and Guido Reni in the same collection catalogued as oiled charcoal (Bescoby et al. 2010, p. 45). In a test sample and in one of the Guercino drawings, infrared microscopy showed evidence for the presence of oil (*ibid.*).

67 Tests by the author using charcoal sticks dipped in olive oil overnight showed that this is indeed the case: this material, used on an oil sketching pad, produces intensely black, flowing lines that do not smudge when touched. For a demonstration of how to make oiled charcoal, see Winsor & Newton Masterclass video <winsornewton.com/row/masterclass-collection>.

68 On the original version of the *Wedding Dance in the Open Air* as a lost work by Bruegel the Elder, see Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 2, pp. 603–9.

69 *Peasant Wedding*, oil on panel, 113.1 × 164.1 cm, unsigned, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1027.

70 *Peasant Dance*, oil on panel, 113.5 × 164 cm, signed, date missing, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1059.

71 Vienna 2018, cat. 80, pp. 258–65, and Oberthaler 2018, pp. 393.

- 72 The copies exist in two formats, one corresponding to the original format, the other substantially smaller; and the backgrounds comprise either a barn, as in the original, or an outdoor setting.
- 73 Vienna 2018, cat. 80, pp. 261 and 263. Later retouching in the original has further reduced its visibility in the original.
- 74 *Ibid.*, cat. 81, pp. 266–71; Oberthaler 2018, pp. 394–5.
- 75 *Twelve Proverbs*, twelve roundels, each with a diameter of around 21 cm, one signed and dated 1558, mounted in a panel measuring 74.5 × 98.4 cm, Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, inv. 339.
- 76 Martens 2012a, pp. 48, 53–4, 57.
- 77 *Suicide of Saul*, oil on panel, 33.7 × 55.7 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1011.
- 78 Vienna 2018, cat. 57, pp. 148–54; Oberthaler 2018, pp. 379–80.
- 79 *Two Monkeys*, oil on panel, 19.8 × 23.3 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 2077.
- 80 This information was given on the explanatory panels in the didactic section of the *Bruegel* exhibition, and is now published in Hartwig, Lorenz and Kemperdick 2019, p. 156. Graphite was used by Brueghel the Younger (Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, Appendix IV, pp. 980–1001).
- 81 *Adoration of the Magi*, oil on panel, 35 × 55.2 cm, signed and dated 1563, Winterthur, Oskar Reinhart Collection ‘Am Römerholz’, inv. 4.
- 82 See Currie and Allart 2019b; Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 1, p. 231.
- 83 The copies by Brueghel the Younger show some differences in colour and motif and his versions are slightly larger in scale than the original. This suggests that he inherited a detailed model drawing with certain colour indications, but did not see the original painting and did not inherit a 1:1 cartoon (see Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 1, pp. 224–42; vol. 2, pp. 536–41).
- 84 *Winter Landscape with Skaters and a Bird Trap*, oil on panel, 37 × 55.5 cm, signed and dated 1565, Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, inv. 8724 (see Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 1, pp. 184–223).
- 85 *Death of the Virgin*, oil on panel, 36.9 × 55.5 cm, signed, no date visible, Banbury, National Trust, Upon House, The Bearsted Collection, inv. 446749.
- 86 *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery*, oil on panel, 24.1 × 34.4 cm, signed and dated 1565, London, The Samuel Courtauld Trust, The Courtauld Gallery, inv. P1978. PG 48.
- 87 *Three Soldiers*, oil on panel, 20.3 × 27.8 cm, signed and dated 1568, New York, The Frick Collection, inv. 65.1.163.
- 88 On the underdrawings in the grisaille paintings, see catalogue entries on the *Death of the Virgin* (Dominique Allart, Ruth Bubb and Christina Currie); *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery* (Aviva Burnstock and Karen Serres) and the *Three Soldiers* (Karen Serres) in London 2016.
- 89 *Birdnester*, oil on panel, 59.5 × 68.3 cm, signed and dated 1568, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1020.
- 90 Vienna 2018, cat. 84, pp. 278–81; Oberthaler 2018, pp. 395–6.
- 91 *Magpie on the Gallows*, oil on panel, 46 × 51 cm, signed and dated 1568, Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt, inv. GK 165.
- 92 I thank Heidrun Ludwig for this observation (personal communication, 9 August 2012). See also Ludwig 2012, pp. 56–7, and fig. 6, which is an IRR detail revealing sparse underdrawing for the horizon to the left.