BRUEGEL
THE HAND OF
THE MASTER

The 450th
Anniversary
Edition

BRUEGEL
THE HAND OF
THE MASTER

—

Essays in Context

Edited by Alice Hoppe-Harnoncourt,
Elke Oberthaler, Sabine Pénot,
Manfred Sellink and Ron Spronk

CONTENTS

Observations on the Genesis of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *The Conversion of Saul* and the Examination of Two Copies

Christina Currie ROYAL INSTITUTE FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE, BRUSSELS

Dominique Allart UNIVERSITÉ DE LIÈGE

[FIG. 1] **Pieter Bruegel the Elder,** *The Conversion of Saul***. 1567.**
Oak panel, 108 × 156.3 cm. Signed and dated at lower right
'· BRVEGEL · M · D · LXVII ·'. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum,
Picture Gallery, inv. no. 3690.

When he chose to represent the conversion of Saul in 1567,[1] Bruegel was following an established tradition (fig. 1).[2] Nonetheless, he managed to reinvent the theme in a completely personal way, using a striking mountain landscape to accentuate the dramatic impact of the scene. As so often with Bruegel, the key theme – Saul's conversion to Christianity – is almost lost in the myriad of brightly coloured and multi-scaled figures. The subject is even harder to grasp today than it would have been originally, due to the absence in the sky of the source of the divine message to Saul.

Unlike so many of Bruegel the Elder's works, *The Conversion of Saul* was not reproduced multiple times by Pieter Brueghel the Younger and his studio, and there are no extant versions by Bruegel's other son, Jan. There are just two known copies, one

in the Villa Vauban in Luxembourg (fig. 4)[3] and the other in a private collection in England (fig. 14 b).[4] There is also a rare pastiche by Pieter Brueghel the Younger in the Arbroath Art Gallery, Scotland, comprising the Sermon of Saint John the Baptist with additional motifs taken from *The Conversion of Saul* and *The Massacre of the Innocents*.[5]

This study reassesses the techniques and creative process behind the production of the original version and examines the status of the two known copies, focusing primarily on the Villa Vauban version, which has technical links to the production of Pieter Brueghel the Younger. The anonymous, privately owned copy is considered in relation to Bruegel the Elder's original version, as this painting probably represents the best witness to the cropped top and left edges of the original composition.

[FIG. 2a] Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Sermon of Saint John the Baptist*, detail, infrared reflectogram. 1566.

Panel, 95.2 × 161.7 cm. Signed and dated '· BRVEGEL · / · M · D · LXVI ·'. Budapest, private collection on loan to Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. no. L.3.788.

[FIG. 2b] *The Conversion of Saul* (fig. 1), detail, infrared reflectogram.

THE ORIGINAL VERSION

Pieter the Elder's *Conversion of Saul* is on oak panel.[6] Elke Oberthaler, Sabine Pénot and Alice Hoppe-Harnoncourt argue convincingly that it was cut down at the left side and at the top in the mid-18th century, citing the different dimensions mentioned in the Prague inventories of 1737 and 1777 and pointing out the absence of a fourth set of dowels to the left.[7] They conclude that about 15 cm is lost from the top edge and 17 cm from the left.[8] The composition itself betrays a modification at the top, as the bottom rim of what was probably a full celestial orb is discernible (compare the macrophotography of *The Conversion of Saul* from the Inside Bruegel website, www.insidebruegel.net, see screenshot 1, illustrated at the end of this essay, and this orb in the UK copy, fig. 14 c). Further evidence that the panel is cut down at the left would be the absence of an unprepared border there and the presence of such a border at the right.[9] However, no such border appears to be present on either side (screenshot 2).[10]

In the body of the panel, the X-radiograph reveals what may be an original repair by the panel-maker, evidenced by a horizontal white patch under what would appear to be original underdrawing and paint, bordering the foot of the horseman in yellow (screenshot 3). This is probably a lead white-based filling, applied by the original panel maker to smooth over a defect in the panel surface prior to application of the ground.[11] A repaired defect prior to application of the ground layer can also be seen in *Children's Games*, where the panel maker encountered a knot in the wood (screenshot 4).[12]

As with most paintings by Bruegel the Elder, there is a white chalk ground, visible in tiny losses along the left edge (screenshot 5), followed by a thin, lead white-based *imprimatura*, visible in the X-radiograph (screenshot 6). The ground shows traces here and there of the scraper used to smooth down the ground (screenshot 7).[13] Scraper marks are common in Bruegel's works and are seen, for example, in *The Massacre of the Innocents*, *The Magpie on the Gallows*[14] and *Christ carrying the Cross* (screenshot 8).[15] The *imprimatura* has been applied with broad, multi-directional brushstrokes as in other works by Bruegel such as the *Census at Bethlehem*, 156[-].[16]

The underdrawing is carried out in a dry medium, probably black chalk, and covers the whole composition. In places, it skips the ridges in the strokes of the underlying *imprimatura*, indicating that it was applied after priming rather than after ground application (screenshot 9).

Either before or during underdrawing, Bruegel marked his horizon with an incised line. There are two attempts, the upper line overlapping slightly the rocky cliffs to the right (screenshot 10). Other uses of a straight edge include the underdrawn line of the celestial ray of light coming down from the sky to Saul, as pointed out by Elke Oberthaler.[17] There is what appears to be a trial line to the right of the final line, at a slightly different angle but still leading up to the now-missing celestial orb, ending at the horseman above Saul (screenshot 11). There are also traces of incised lines to mark certain lances, as well as the flagpole (screenshot 12). This is in keeping with Bruegel's technique in *The Massacre of the Innocents*, where incisions for lances are plainly visible.[18]

The drawing style in the main figures is sketchy and explorative and unlike the unwavering, wiry outline style revealed in several of Bruegel's paintings, such as *The Sermon of Saint John the Baptist*, executed a year earlier (fig. 2 a).[19] This difference is particularly striking in the foreground figures. Indeed, the searching nature of the underdrawing in *The Conversion of Saul* suggests that Bruegel worked out his final outlines on the panel itself and probably did not rely on 1:1 cartoons to transfer the design to the panel, as demonstrated previously for the *Sermon*, the *Census at Bethlehem* and *The Battle between Carnival and Lent*, among others.[20] On the basis of the underdrawing, it seems more likely that Bruegel prepared for *The Conversion of Saul* by making sketches of details, as well as a smaller scale model drawing of the whole composition. He may well have scaled this up through squaring, but there is no trace of this here or indeed in any paintings by Bruegel for which infrared reflectography is available. Lack of surviving markings, however, does not mean that squaring should be excluded from consideration.

As in most works by Bruegel, such as *Dulle Griet* (1563), studied during its 2017–18 conservation treatment at the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage in Brussels (KIK-IRPA), he continued to refine and perfect his composition as he painted.[21] Most of these modifications are for aesthetic reasons, such as in the caravan of figures in the valley, which reveals various dropped and changed figures, and minor adjustments in the centre to the left of Saul, such as a lance, raised during painting, a dagger, not carried through to paint, and some possible figures, also dropped. He changed the angle of the head of the figure to the left of the dog to a profile view and replaced his pointed helmet with a soft hat, perhaps to avoid repeating the pointed helmet to the right. To the right, he reduced the scale of the mounted figure in green's flamboyant headdress, leaving more breathing space between the figure and the right edge of the painting (screenshot 13).

One of Bruegel's omissions may have iconographic significance. This is a curious scene in the upper right, where a person leans down to a kneeling figure (fig. 3 a–b). It is witnessed by a soldier dressed in a dashing red outfit, but whose pose is now meaningless. Bruegel initially intended this scene to be framed by trees, which start lower down in the underdrawing. This whole composition seems to be reminiscent of Pieter Coecke's design for the *Conversion of Saul* from his set of tapestries depicting the life of Saint Paul (fig. 3 c). Indeed, a similar detail is visible in the background of Coecke's composition, appearing to the right in a preparatory drawing and to the left in the tapestry now in Munich (fig. 3 d).[22] According to the text woven into the tapestry's upper margin, this detail alludes to an episode that took place prior to the conversion, according to Acts 26:12: Saul is receiving letters from a chief priest, asking him to go to Damascus. Of course, as Coecke's presumed pupil, Bruegel may have known this composition. As to why he never followed through the motif to paint, we can only speculate.

Bruegel's painting technique was not limited to the use of a brush. The patternwork in the tunic of the figure making his way up the hill with a red shield on his back is drawn on with a blunt point into still-wet paint, exposing the underlayer – as Bruegel did in other paintings such as *Christ carrying the Cross* and *The Tower of Babel* (screenshot 14).[23] He also seems to have used a liquid green glaze for the costume of the figure on the far right, which he has blotted and which spills over on to the rock in front and has started to go brown (screenshot 15). This paint recalls the appearance of a similar browned blotted glaze in *Dulle Griet*, which was identified as a copper green.[24] The green of the tunic in *The Conversion of Saul* is therefore remarkably well preserved, unlike the blue sky, which has faded due to the use of smalt, as pointed out by Elke Oberthaler.[25]

[3a]

[3b]

[FIG. 3] *The Conversion of Saul*
(fig. 1), detail of upper right,
(a) normal light,
(b) infrared reflectogram.

[FIG. 3c] Pieter Coecke van Aelst,
The Conversion of Saul,
preparatory drawing for tapestry.
c. 1529–30.

London, Victoria and Albert Museum,
bequeathed by Rev. Alexander Dyce.

[FIG. 3d] Pieter Coecke van Aelst,
The Conversion of Saul,
detail from tapestry in a set of
the *Life of St Paul*. c. 1529–30.

Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum,
inv. no. T 3844.1.

[FIG. 4] Anon., *Conversion of Saul*.

Canvas, 119.8 × 158.3 cm. Luxembourg, Villa Vauban,
Musées de la Ville de Luxembourg, inv. no. 1691.

THE VILLA VAUBAN VERSION: TECHNIQUE AND STYLE

The Villa Vauban *Conversion of Saul* is neither signed nor dated and is on canvas (fig. 4). Its turnover edges have been removed during lining, but there is garlanding on all sides except the left, which suggests a small loss to the canvas along the left edge. Compared to Brueghel the Younger's usual output, the painting presents numerous divergences in technique and style. Analysis of two cross-sections by Steven Saverwyns at the KIK-IRPA shows that the light-toned ground layer is based on chalk, mixed with some earth pigments or clay minerals, rendering it slightly off-white (fig. 5).[26] Normally, Brueghel the Younger's grounds are pure white. In the cross-sections, one taken from the sky and the

[5a]

[5b]
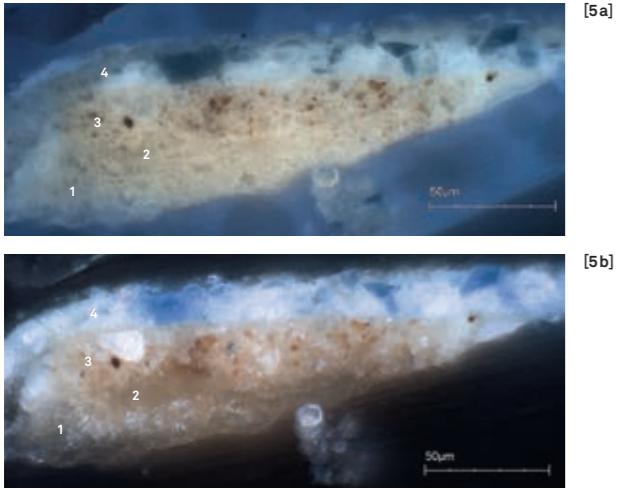
[FIG. 5] *Conversion of Saul*, Villa Vauban version
(fig. 4), cross-section in (a) white light,
(b) UV light.

1. Ground: chalk, earth pigments or clay minerals
2. Isolation layer or binding medium of layer 3
3. Light brown: lead white, (brown) earth pigments
4. Blue: azurite, lead white

other from the brown rocks at the centre right edge, the ground
is followed by an oily layer, which is either an oil isolation layer
or an exudate from the paint layer above. This is followed by a
light brown underlayer, which may or may not have been applied
in all areas.[27]

Infrared reflectography reveals a detailed, dry medium,
carbon-based underdrawing (fig. 6). It is not visible with the
naked eye due to the opacity of the paint, which differs from
Brueghel the Younger's work. The outlines are loose, with mitten
shapes to abbreviate hands and occasional hatching for tone.
Background rocks are marked in freely (fig. 6 b). The drawing
style is a little looser overall than we have come to expect from
Brueghel the Younger's studio.

The paint is applied relatively thickly, and reserves are not
precise. Indeed, the painterly touch, using opaque paint and
smoothly blended transitions, is quite different from Brueghel
the Younger's usual production, which favours translucent paint
layers and delicate opaque highlights (fig. 7 a and c). Indeed,
the painterly style is quite rudimentary, with crude outlining
and scant attention to fine detail. Finally, several *pentimenti* are
now visible to the naked eye, which is atypical of the work of
Brueghel the Younger and his studio; these include distant rocks
on the horizon, drapery folds, a horse's ear and the dog's tail,

[FIG. 7a] *Conversion of Saul*,
Villa Vauban version (fig. 4), detail.

[FIG. 7b] Anon., *Conversion of Saul*,
privately owned version, detail.

[FIG. 6] *Conversion of Saul*, Villa Vauban version
(fig. 4), details from (a) underdrawing,
(b) infrared reflectogram.

[6a]

[6b]
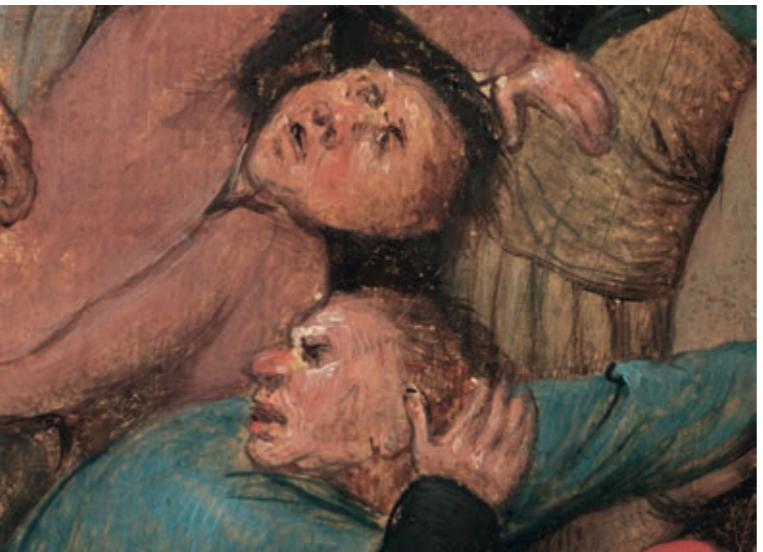
[FIG. 7c] Pieter Brueghel the Younger,
The Triumph of Death, detail. 1608.

Panel, 123.3 × 166.5 cm. Unsigned, dated.
Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. G1995.29.

[FIG. 7d] Jan Brueghel the Elder,
Wedding Procession, detail.

Panel, 61.3 × 114.5 cm. Unsigned. Brussels,
Musée de la Ville de Bruxelles, Maison du Roi.

[8a]

[8b]

which was originally underdrawn and painted straight rather than curly (fig. 8 a–b). On the basis of technique and style, we cannot attribute this painting to Brueghel the Younger or his studio, as did Georges Marlier in 1969.[28] Klaus Ertz's suggestion of Jan Brueghel the Elder's authorship, perhaps in collaboration with his son Jan Brueghel the Younger,[29] cannot be substantiated either in our opinion, as the Villa Vauban *Conversion of Saul* is devoid of Jan Brueghel's meticulous but lively and often idiosyncratic brushwork, as seen in rare copies after his father, such as *The Triumph of Death*,[30] the *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist*,[31] the *Wedding Procession* (fig. 7 d),[32] the *Visit to the Farm*[33] and *The Wedding Dance in the Open Air*.[34] There is a passing resemblance to Jan Brueghel's painting style in the use of opaque colours and the modelling, but the painting lacks his deft precision.

[9a]

[FIG. 9b] Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Procession to Calvary*, marked to show corresponding details in *Conversion of Saul* underdrawing. 1606.

Panel, 121 × 169 cm. Signed and dated. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.
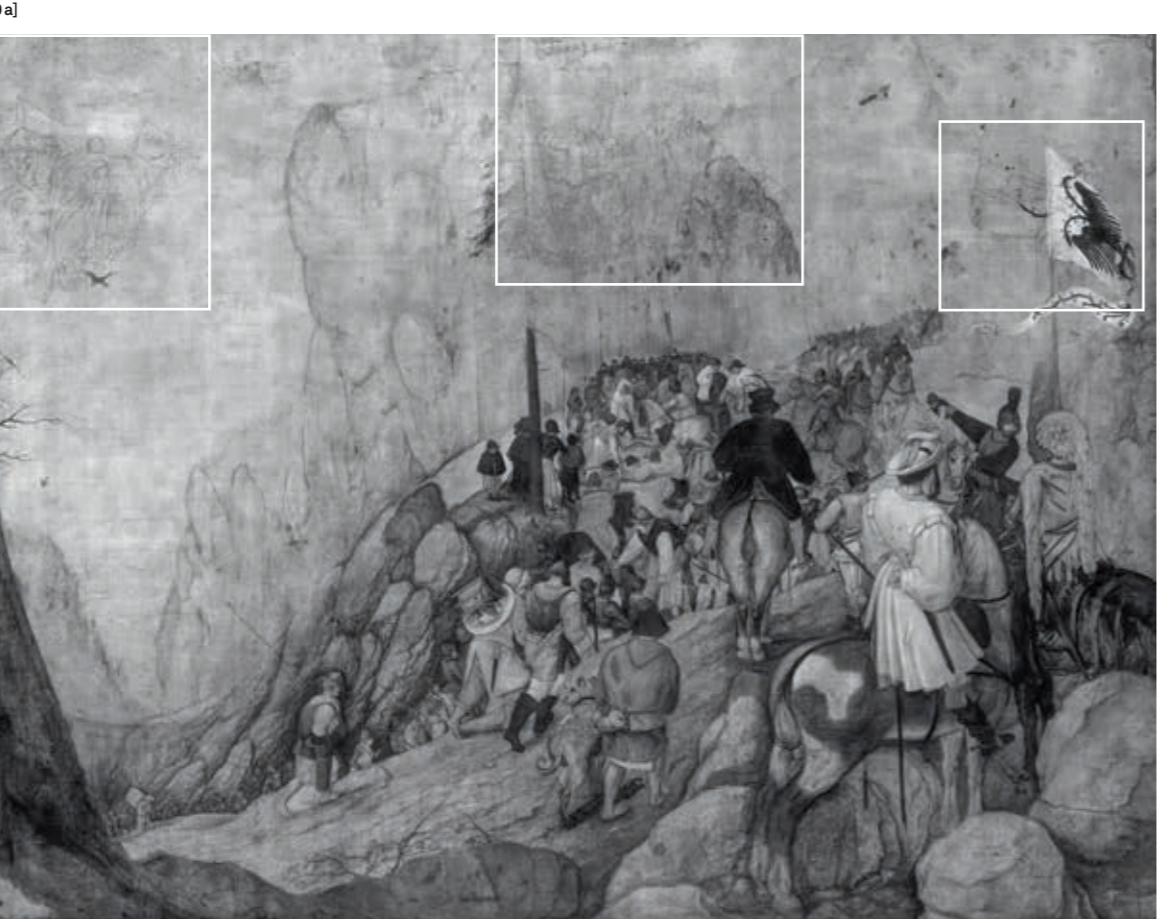
[FIG. 8] *Conversion of Saul*, Villa Vauban version (fig. 4), detail of dog in (a) normal light, (b) infrared reflectogram.

[FIG. 9a] *Conversion of Saul*, Villa Vauban version (fig. 4), infrared reflectogram showing location of details from the *Procession to Calvary* underdrawing.

THE VILLA VAUBAN VERSION: A HIDDEN COMPOSITION

Surprisingly, a closer look at the sky in the Villa Vauban copy reveals a more concrete link to the Brueghel family, and more specifically to the studio of Pieter Brueghel the Younger. Upside down in relation to the *Conversion*, there are three distinct sets of underdrawn figures in the sky area (fig. 9 a). These are identical to those in Brueghel the Younger's many versions of the *Procession to Calvary*, a composition most likely taken after a lost work by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. The three scenes are separate figure groupings, with some figures truncated at the edges. The light brown underlayer in the sky area may have been an attempt to camouflage this early design (see fig. 5).

IRR images from three secure versions of the *Procession to Calvary* by Pieter Brueghel the Younger (Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht[35] and Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp)[36] were compared with the IRR image of the hidden underdrawing in *The Conversion of Saul*. This comparison reveals that the four underdrawings are extremely close in notation and style, with drapery folds often in the same places, with similar curled ends to strokes, and comparable sets of hatching for tone (fig. 9 e).
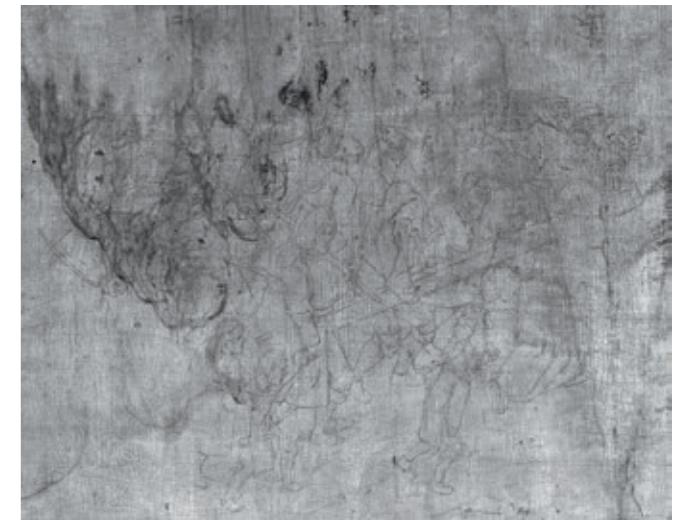
[FIG. 9c] *Conversion of Saul*, Villa Vauban version (fig. 4), detail, infrared reflectogram, showing underdrawing of Christ carrying the Cross from the *Procession to Calvary* composition.

[FIG. 9d] *Conversion of Saul*, Villa Vauban version (fig. 4), detail, infrared reflectogram, showing underdrawing of the bird seller from the *Procession to Calvary* composition.

[FIG. 9e] Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Procession to Calvary*, detail, infrared reflectogram.

Panel, 109.6 × 164.4 cm. Unsigned. Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 31.

[FIG. 9f] *Conversion of Saul*, Villa Vauban version (fig. 4), detail, infrared reflectogram.

[FIG. 9g] Tracing of composition of Bonnenfantenmuseum version of Brueghel the Younger's *Procession to Calvary* (in green) overlaid on weeping women from infrared reflectogram of Villa Vauban version of *Conversion of Saul*.

Overlaying tracings of the painted compositions of the Maastricht and Antwerp versions with the hidden underdrawing in the sky of the *Conversion* shows that common cartoons could 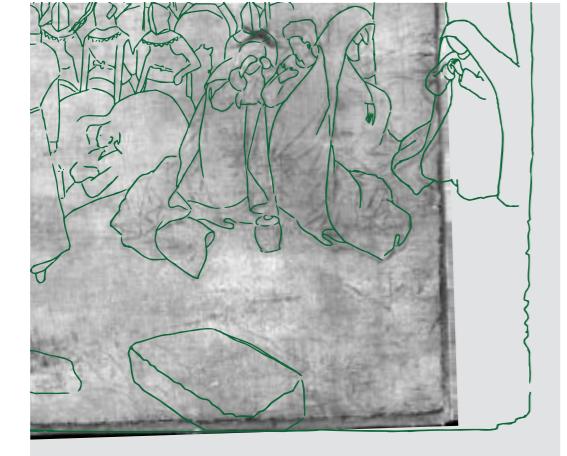have been used for the different groups, since the correspondence is near perfect (fig. 9 g). This also confirms that for the *Procession to Calvary* composition, Brueghel the Younger used sets of smaller cartoons that he arranged on his prepared supports according to a model drawing of the whole composition.[37]

The discovery of the first stages of a *Procession to Calvary* underneath the *Conversion of Saul* undeniably links the Villa Vauban painting to Brueghel the Younger's studio, even if technically and stylistically the work does not fit with his production. The *Conversion* was most likely made in the studio of a Brueghel family member or a closely related associate who could reuse one of Brueghel the Younger's unfinished canvases.

THE VILLA VAUBAN VERSION:
THE QUESTION OF THE MODEL(S)

The Villa Vauban version has many colours and motifs in common with the original painting by Pieter Bruegel the Elder – for example, the yellow robe of the horseman in the foreground, the blue garment worn by Saul and the flamboyant green costume of the mounted official to the right, with similarly slashes in the tunic. However, the pair of army followers walking up the steep

path in the foreground display considerable differences in colour and patterning, as if the copyist was simply unaware of Bruegel the Elder's original version in this part (fig. 10 a–b). In the original painting, the shield is painted red with a yellow Habsburg eagle, but in the copy it is yellow with a black eagle. The copy ignores the decorative pattern of the left tunic entirely, giving the figure a green skirt and blue top. The figure to the right has red leggings, whereas they are green in the original.

Motifs are also sometimes misinterpreted. In the aforementioned figures, the Vauban version sees the helmet of the soldier to the left of the pair as an empty helmet hanging off the figure with the shield, a natural error if the artist were copying a line drawing rather than the painting itself. Likewise, the youth with the dog wears a water bottle in the original, but this is transformed into a V-shaped hood in the copy (fig. 11 a–b). At other times, the Vauban copyist seems to have been aware of a detail in the original, but chose to drop it or change it, for example the dog's straight tail, which is painted curly although initially drawn straight (see fig. 8 a–b). Another example is given by Saul's horse's straps, which are visible in the underdrawing of the Vauban copy, but not in the paint layer. A more obvious misinterpretation is the rock/horse juxtaposition in the lower right, where the copyist does not seem to have realized that the horse was overlapped by a rock.

This evidence suggests that the copyist had access to a drawing, either partially coloured or with colour notes, but that he did not have the original painting in front of him when painting this copy. But given the fact that the canvas came from Brueghel the Younger's workshop, it is worth considering whether the copyist might also have had access to preparatory material inherited from Bruegel the Elder, such as model drawings or cartoons. If this were the case, we would expect to see motifs that Bruegel dropped or changed in the original reappearing in the copy.

In fact, none of Bruegel the Elder's dropped or shifted motifs reappear in the copy, such as the pair of small figures in the upper
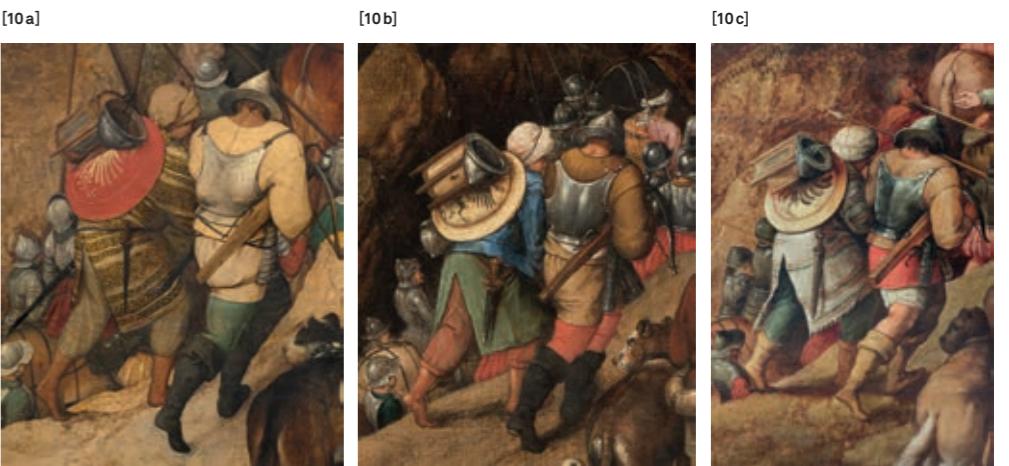
[11a]

[11b]

[11c]

[FIG. 11] *Conversion of Saul*, detail,
(a) Pieter Bruegel the Elder's version,
(b) Villa Vauban version,
(c) privately owned version.
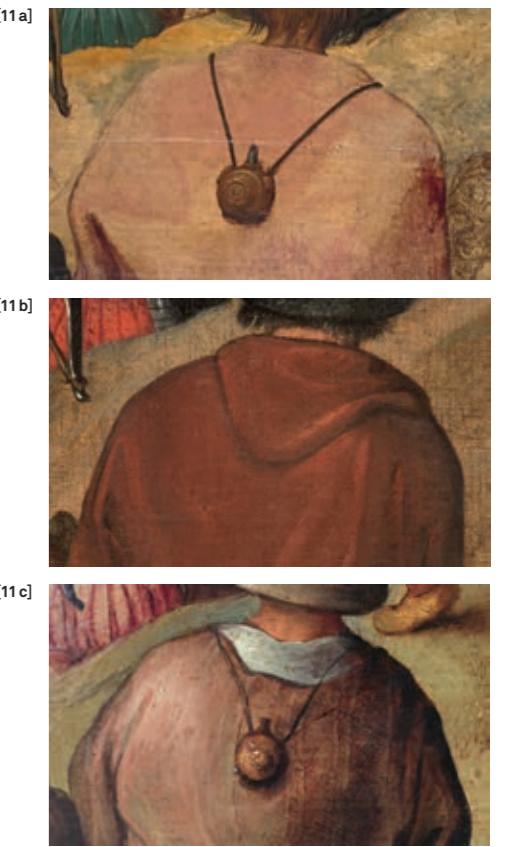
[FIG. 10] *Conversion of Saul*, detail, (a) Pieter Bruegel the Elder's version, (b) Villa Vauban version, (c) privately owned version.

[10a]

[10b]

[10c]

[12a]

[12c]

[12b]

[12d]

[FIG. 12] **Identical rocky cliffs, trees and clearing in four paintings (upper rectangles) and location of viaduct in two paintings (lower squares):**

[a] **Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Crucifixion*. 1615.**
Panel, 98.9 × 148.1 cm. Signed and dated. Perth, Kerry Stokes Collection inv. no. 2014.113.

[b] ***Conversion of Saul*, Villa Vauban version (fig. 4).**

[c] **Anon., *Night Landscape*.**
Panel, 30.3 × 49.8 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 3582.

[d] **Pieter Brueghel the Younger (attributed), *Rocky Landscape*.**
Panel, 15.5 × 33.5 cm. Sotheby's Amsterdam, Sale 12-13 November 1991.

right, the dropped or shifted motifs in the centre to the left of Saul, and the figure in green's headdress. This suggests that the copyist did not have access to a preliminary model drawing of the composition by Bruegel the Elder. Nonetheless, a tracing of the Vauban version's painted composition shows good correspondence in parts with the painted outlines of the original, namely the figures around Saul, the figures in the lower right and the figures in the centre and left, which raises the possibility of record cartoons. Someone could have made tracings of certain figure groupings from the original version and these could have been used by the artist for the painting of the Vauban version. Whoever this might have been – Bruegel the Elder, his mother-in-law Mayken Verhulst, one of the sons or grandsons or another artist – we have no way of knowing. The copyist could also have scaled up his figures from a model drawing rather than using cartoons, although we have spotted no signs of squaring-up.

The background of the Vauban copy is somewhat different to that in Bruegel's original, even if we acknowledge that the original has lost a little in height (see above). This suggests that the copyist had to reinvent the background or simply used a different model for this zone. In fact, the evidence suggests the

latter. As Klaus Ertz has already pointed out, the central cliffs and trees of the Villa Vauban painting correspond to those in several versions of Brueghel the Younger's *Crucifixion*,[38] which is itself probably based on a lost composition by Bruegel the Elder (fig. 12 a–b). The rocks correspond perfectly, as do the trees and grassy clearing. Even the *pentimenti* of rocks in the Vauban version seem to relate to corresponding rocks in the *Crucifixion*.

Moreover, the upper background in the Vauban painting also corresponds well with the rock formation in a *Night Scene* by an anonymous Netherlandish artist (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), which has a provenance going back to Prague in 1685 (fig. 12 c).[39] Finally, this same rock and tree formation is seen in two landscape paintings, one attributed by Klaus Ertz to Pieter Brueghel the Younger,[40] the other in a sale catalogue to Roelandt Savery (fig. 12 d).[41]

All these visual citations of the same rock and tree arrangement in paintings by different artists suggest a common and quite influential source. This could, of course, be a lost Crucifixion by Bruegel the Elder. There are several mentions of Crucifixions by Bruegel that have not come down to us, including one in Archduke Ernest's inventory in 1595.[42]
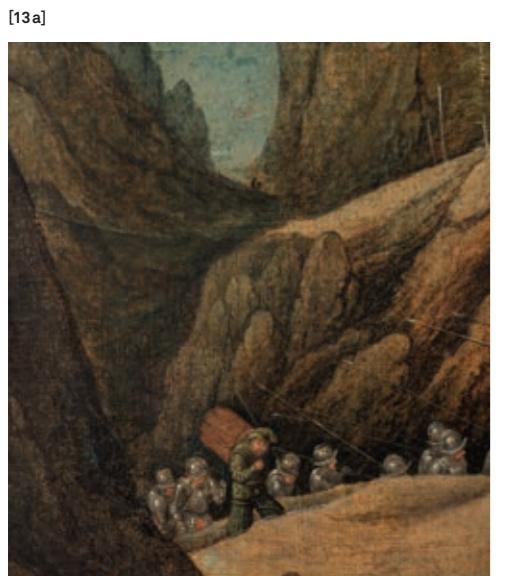
The lower left part of the composition does not correspond to the original version of *The Conversion of Saul* by Bruegel the Elder either, but it does match with the two aforementioned landscapes (attributed to Brueghel the Younger and Roelandt Savery). In comparison with these two paintings, the Vauban version would appear to have lost a few centimetres to the left, as was already suggested by the lack of garlanding in the canvas along this edge. Interestingly, in both rocky landscapes, there is also a viaduct spanning the narrow gorge, a feature that is not present in Bruegel the Elder's *Conversion of Saul*, but is clearly visible in the underdrawing of the Villa Vauban version (fig. 12 b and d; 13 a–b). The artist even started to paint it before changing his mind; it appears now as a *pentimento*.

There are no precedents for a viaduct across a gorge in Bruegel the Elder's extant drawings or paintings, but one does appear in a drawing dated 1555 by Bruegel (Louvre, Paris), which was the model of a print from the *Large Landscapes* series (1555–57) by Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum.[43] The lower left part of the composition in the Vauban painting may therefore relate to a lost drawing or painting by Bruegel the Elder.

THE PRIVATELY OWNED UK VERSION: WITNESS TO BRUEGEL'S ORIGINAL DESIGN

The privately owned UK version, unlike the Vauban version, is on oak panel (fig. 14 b). The landscape background has been previously attributed to Joos De Momper, given its Momperesque style and colour.[44] The painting was not examined in infrared, but the black and brown painted outlines that are present in many places could be partly due to a liquid underdrawing, which would be atypical for Brueghel the Younger's practice.

The style of the painting is far removed from the Vauban version in terms of its modelling of faces and treatment of draperies and, indeed, has nothing in common with the painting styles of Pieter Brueghel the Younger or Jan Brueghel the Elder (see figs 7, 10 and 11).

A comparison of the original version with this copy shows that, as in the Vauban version, many of the colours are faithfully reproduced, such as the foreground horseman, painted yellow, Saul, painted blue and the mounted figure to the right, painted green (see fig. 10). In some places, however, this UK copy is even more faithful to the original than the Vauban painting, and the motifs are better understood. The cloth coat of the figure with a Habsburg shield, for example, is decorated with patternwork clearly inspired by the original, unlike the Vauban version. The soldier's head to the left of this figure is correctly interpreted as such and the rock overlapping the green tunic on the far right corresponds to the original. The water bottle on the back of the youth is faithfully copied (see fig. 11) and the dog has a straight tail, both appearing as they do in Bruegel's prototype.

Despite some simplifications, the UK version is closer to the original by Bruegel the Elder than the Vauban copy and

may therefore better reflect Bruegel's lost design at the left and top (fig. 14 a–b).[45] In the lower left, a group of snapped-off trees could have been present initially in the original, instead of just one tree trunk. At the top, the rocks and trees could also reflect the missing rocks in the original version.

In the sky, the celestial orb with its inscription may bear witness to the appearance of the lost celestial orb in the original, for which only the bottom rim is still present (fig. 14 c). The inscription, 'SAVL. SAVL WAI VERVOLGUT. GHY. MY.' ('Saul, Saul why do you persecute me'), is also present in the Vauban version, but is abraded. The fact that both these independently produced copies contain the same inscription gives extra weight to the idea that it featured in Bruegel's prototype. Adding the divine words to the scene is not frequent, though well attested in illuminated manuscripts and paintings, for instance in the *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* by Jean Fouquet, *c.* 1450–60 (Musée Condé, Chantilly) and in the version of the theme painted in oil on canvas by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *c.* 1675–82 (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid).

The fortress in the top-right corner, whose bottom edge may still be visible in Bruegel's prototype, is also present in the Vauban version, suggesting that it was also present in the original painting. Finally, the black double-headed Habsburg eagle on the flag in the upper right, which also appears in the Vauban version but set at a different angle, may have been present initially in the original.[46] There is no trace of such an eagle on the flag in Bruegel the Elder's version today, either in the underdrawing or the paint layer, but it might have been cleaned off at some point. If this were the case, it would be a similar situation to that in *The Massacre of the Innocents* (Windsor Castle, London), where the Habsburg eagle motif on the tabard of a herald has been repainted at an early date along with other details, possibly at the behest of one-time owner Rudolf II, who also owned *The Conversion of Saul*.[47]

The artist responsible for the UK version could have been some privileged artist-visitor or court artist working for Rudolf II in Prague, in whose collection *The Conversion of Saul* is documented in 1604.[48] He most likely made a coloured or annotated drawing of the painting in the Imperial Galleries that he later worked up into a full-format panel painting.[49]

CONCLUSION

The underdrawing of Bruegel the Elder's *Conversion of Saul*, with its sketchy, searching outlines, suggests that in this case the artist proceeded without making detailed 1:1 cartoons of the composition. He most likely prepared his design with sketches of figures and a model drawing of the composition. The two underdrawn and ultimately abandoned figures in the upper right betray his debt to Pieter Coecke van Aelst, whose tapestry design for the *Conversion of Saul* he must surely have known.

[13a] [13b]

[FIG. 13] *Conversion of Saul*, Villa Vauban version (fig. 4), detail of viaduct in underlayer, not carried through to final paint layer, in (a) normal light, (b) infrared reflectogram.
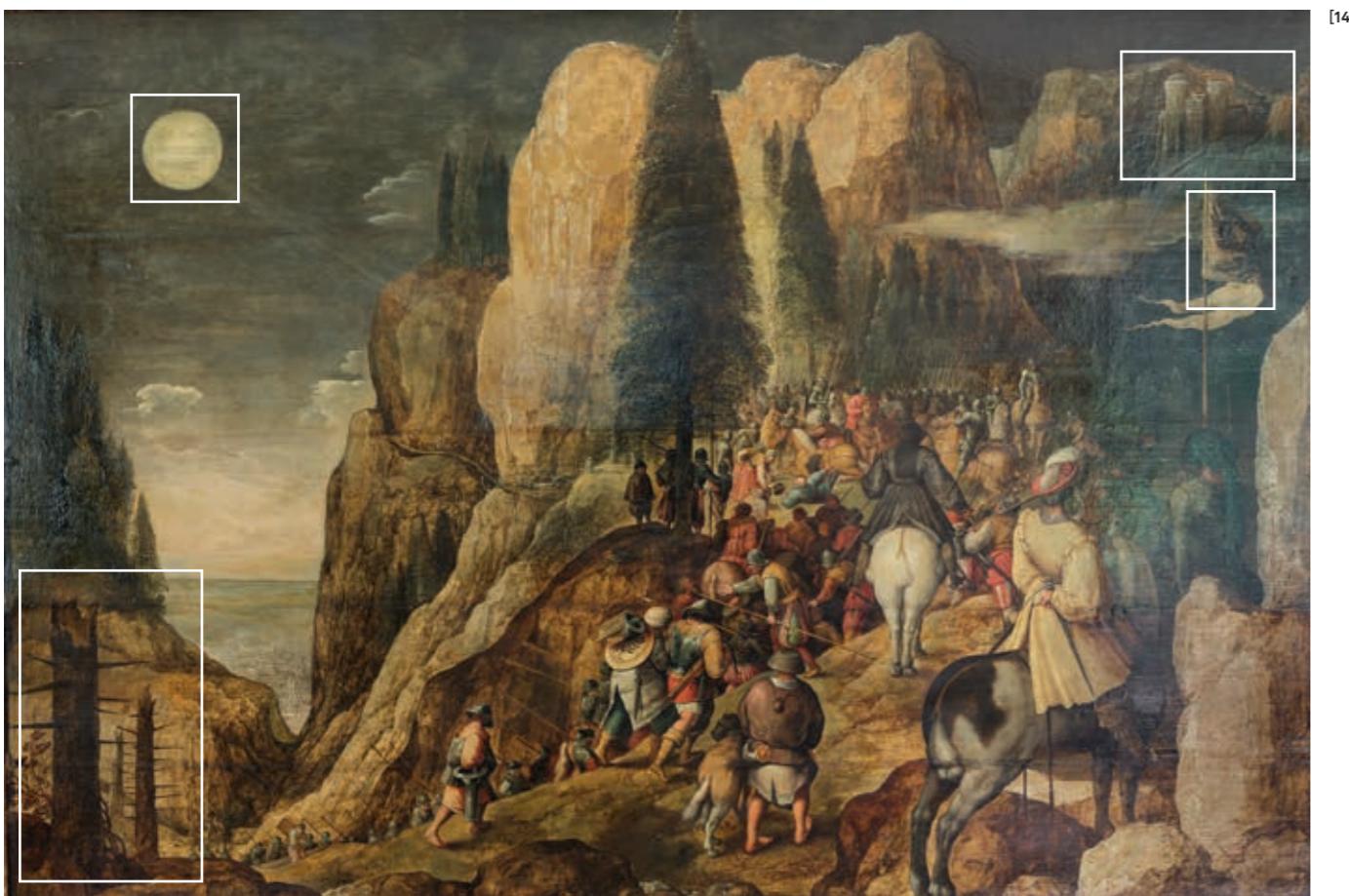
The Villa Vauban version shows a clear technical link to Pieter Brueghel the Younger's studio in that the canvas was partially underdrawn with one of his compositions, the *Procession to Calvary*, before being abandoned. Nonetheless, the Vauban *Conversion of Saul* is atypical in technique and style and was probably made by a close family member or associate, perhaps after Brueghel the Younger's death. Its upper background, given its identical design to that in other unrelated landscape paintings, may reflect the rock and tree arrangement in a lost painting by Bruegel, most likely a formerly well-known *Crucifixion*. The lower left gorge with its viaduct, on the other hand, probably derives from another lost Bruegelian source, whether a painting, drawing or engraving.

The UK copy is unrelated to the Vauban version or the Brueghel sons' output in its style and technique and was probably painted by a court artist or artist visiting Rudolf II's palace in Prague. This version probably offers the most accurate rendering of the missing left and upper sections of Bruegel the Elder's original painting, now in Vienna. Most worthy of note is the presence of the inscription on the celestial orb, 'SAVL. SAVL WAI VERVOLGUT. GHY. MY.', which probably featured in Bruegel's original version.

[FIG. 14] (a) Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Conversion of Saul* (fig. 1). (b) Anon., *Conversion of Saul*, privately owned version, showing motifs that may have originally been present in the original version: snapped-off trees in the lower left, the celestial orb, a fortress in the upper right and a Hapsburg eagle on the flag. (c) detail of the celestial orb with the inscription 'SAVL. SAVL WAI VERVOLGUT. GHY. MY.'
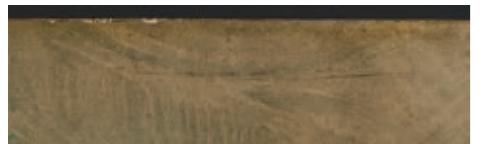
Screenshot 1:
Macrophotograph of
The Conversion of Saul.
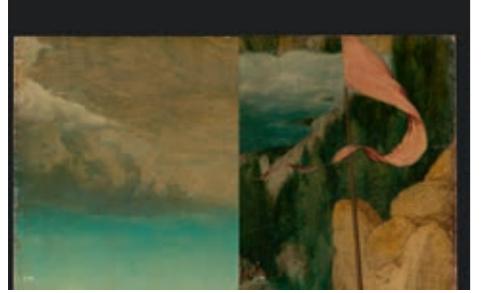
Screenshot 2:
Macrophotographs
of the borders of
The Conversion of Saul.
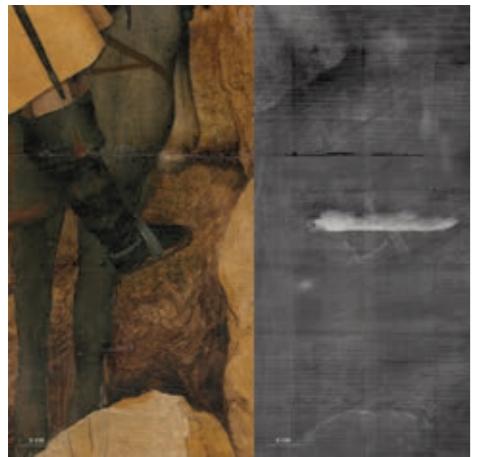
Screenshot 3:
Macrophotograph
and X-radiograph of
The Conversion of Saul.

Screenshot 4:
X-radiograph and
macrophotograph of
Children's Games.

Screenshot 5:
Macrophotograph of
The Conversion of Saul.

Screenshot 6:
X-radiograph of
The Conversion of Saul.

Screenshot 7:
Infrared macrophotograph
and macrophotograph of
The Conversion of Saul.

Screenshot 8:
Infrared macrophotograph
and macrophotograph of
Christ carrying the Cross.

Screenshot 9:
Infrared reflectogram
and X-radiograph of
The Conversion of Saul.

Screenshot 10:
Infrared reflectogram
and macrophotograph of
The Conversion of Saul.

Screenshot 11:
Infrared reflectogram of
the *Conversion of Saul*.

Screenshot 12:
X-radiograph, infrared
reflectogram and
macrophotograph of
The Conversion of Saul.

Screenshot 13:
Infrared reflectogram of
The Conversion of Saul.

Screenshot 14:
Macrophotographs of
Christ carrying the Cross,
The Tower of Babel and
The Conversion of Saul.

Screenshot 15:
Macrophotograph of
The Conversion of Saul.

1 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Conversion of Saul*. 1567. Oil on panel, 108 × 156.3 cm. Signed and dated. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Picture Gallery, inv. no. 3690.

2 This is not the place to quote the extensive bibliography on the iconography of the conversion of Saul in the 16th century and the possible sources and meanings of Bruegel's version. See, for example, Nakada 2009 and Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat's essay in this volume.

3 Anon., *Conversion of Saul*. Oil on canvas, 119.8 × 158.3 cm. Luxembourg, Villa Vauban, Musées de la Ville de Luxembourg, inv. no. 1691 (Marlier 1969, pp. 99–101, figs 40–41; Ertz 1998–2000, pp. 457–59, cat. A443, p. 471).

4 Anon., *Conversion of Saul*, Oil on panel, 123 × 280 cm. Private collection, UK. According to Karl Asplund, the painting was acquired in Germany in 1918 by Richard Bergh, then director at the Swedish National Museum (Asplund 1943).

5 Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist*. Oil on panel, 105 × 150 cm. Unsigned. Scotland, Arbroath Art Gallery, inv. no. A1978.27 (Marlier 1969, p. 59; Ertz 1998–2000, cat. F344, p. 376). This painting is the subject of an ongoing study by Christina Currie.

6 For more information on the panel structure of Bruegel the Elder's *Conversion of Saul*, see Ingrid Hopfner and Georg Prast's essay in the present volume. For dendrochronology, see Pascale Fraiture's essay, also in the present volume.

7 Pénot and Oberthaler in Exh. Cat. Vienna 2018–2019, p. 249 and note 4; Hoppe-Harnoncourt (2018) 2019, included in this volume, p. 385 and note 78; Oberthaler (2018) 2019, included in this volume, p. 419.

8 On the positions of dowels in Bruegel's panels, see Ingrid Hopfner and Georg Prast's essay in this volume.

9 Unpainted edges at right angles to the wood grain are witness to the former presence of channel edge supports, applied by the panel maker to prevent warping during the application of the ground and painting. These pre-framing reinforcements were common in large-format panel paintings of the period in the North and are seen not only in works by Bruegel the Elder from both his Antwerp and Brussels periods, but also in works by Brueghel the Younger, Frans Francken, Pieter Paul Rubens, Marten de Vos and Jan Brueghel the Elder. For an explanation of this practice, with illustrations, see Currie – Allart 2012, vol. 1, pp. 246–48, vol. 2, pp. 346–47, 389, 452, 622, and vol. 3, pp. 732–33. See also Elke Oberthaler's discussion of this in relation to Bruegel's large-format paintings in the Kunsthistorisches Museum: Oberthaler (2018) 2019, pp. 416–17.

10 There seems to be ground and original paint in many areas along the upper half of the right border, which has probably not suffered any cutting down. In places the underdrawing seems to extend almost to the edge of the panel. In the bottom half, however, it is not certain from the infrared and normal light images whether material covering the right border is original paint, perhaps somewhat squashed by the frame, or later retouching over an original unpainted border.

11 Original fillings are common in paintings by Brueghel the Younger and have the same kind of appearance in X-radiograph or infrared reflectography, often containing tiny bubbles. On this topic, see Currie – Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 736–42.

12 The knot is found underneath the motif of the child in a black tunic and black hose near the middle of the right edge of the panel.

13 Scraper marks are seen at the top of the rock to the right of the pink flag near the right edge of the panel, see screenshot 7.

14 For a discussion of scraper marks, and illustrations of such markings in *The Massacre of the Innocents* and *The Magpie on the Gallows*, see Currie – Allart 2012, pp. 249–50 and note 44. On scraper marks, see Postec 2012, who made

special reconstructions to demonstrate their use in the context of Rogier van der Weyden. On smoothing down the ground layer in Bruegel's work, see also Oberthaler (2018) 2019, p. 420.

15 In *Christ carrying the Cross*, scraper marks of different widths are visible in the upper-right grassy clearing, between the breaking wheels and gallows; see screenshot 8).

16 For the X-radiograph of the *Census at Bethlehem*, see Currie – Allart 2012, vol. 1, fig. 33a, pp. 120–21 and web 7. On Bruegel's use of *imprimatura* or isolation layers in general, see ibid., pp. 251–59 and Oberthaler (2018) 2019, p. 421. On the missing digit in the inscribed date of the *Census at Bethlehem* see Currie – Allart 2012, vol. 1, pp. 103–04 and fig. 18.

17 Oberthaler (2018) 2019, p. 436.

18 For the incised lances in *The Massacre of the Innocents*, see Currie – Allart 2012, pp. 259 and 262, fig. 137, web 120.

19 For Bruegel the Elder's underdrawing in *The Sermon of Saint John the Baptist*, see Currie – Allart 2012, vol. 1, pp. 148–61, figs. 58–64 and web 57 for the zoomable infrared reflectogram in its entirety); see also, in relation to the sons' copies, Currie – Allart 2020 (forthcoming).

20 On the use of cartoons in Bruegel the Elder's paintings, see Currie – Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 880–98, Currie – Allart 2017, Currie – Allart 2020 (forthcoming).

21 On the creative process in *Dulle Griet*, see Currie et al. 2020a (forthcoming) and Martens 2012.

22 On this drawing and the Munich tapestry, see Exh. Cat. New York 2014–2015, pp. 112–22 (S. Alsteens) and nos. 27-29 (E. Cleland).

23 In *Christ carrying the Cross*, a pattern of tiny loops is pulled through the wet paint of the tunic of the horn player, to the right of Christ (see also Currie – Allart 2012, vol. 1, fig. 175, p. 313) and in *The Tower of Babel*, the border of the attendant's yellow robe is marked by vertical dashes into the soft paint (Currie – Allart 2012, vol. 1, fig. 146, p. 313). On incised markings and other textural effects in Bruegel's paintings, see 'Brushwork and Handling' in Currie – Allart 2012, vol. 1, pp. 294–313 and 'Consistency and Application of the Paint' in Oberthaler (2018) 2019, pp. 446–52.

24 New scientific analysis of the pigments and layer structure in *Dulle Griet* was carried out by Steven Saverwyns at the KIK-IRPA in 2017-18; see Currie et al. 2020a (forthcoming).

25 On the use of smalt in the sky of this painting, see Oberthaler (2018) 2019, p. 445, 467 and fig. 53.

26 Cross-sections analysed with the scanning electron microscope.

27 Further cross-sections would be necessary to confirm that the brown underlayer is present throughout.

28 Marlier 1969, pp. 99–101, figs. 40–41.

29 Ertz 1998–2000, pp. 457–59, cat. A443, p. 471.

30 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Triumph of Death*. Canvas, probably transferred from panel, 119.3 × 164.5 cm. Graz, Landesmuseum Joanneum, Alte Galerie, inv. no. 58, see Currie – Allart 2020 (forthcoming).

31 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist*. Panel. 114.6 × 165.4 cm. Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. no. 139, see Currie – Allart 2017.

32 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Wedding Procession*. Panel. 61.3 × 114.5 cm. Unsigned. Brussels, Musée de la Ville de Bruxelles, Maison du Roi. This painting was examined with scientific imagery by Christina Currie in 2013.

33 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Visit to the Farm*. Panel, 30.3 × 47.1 cm. Unsigned. Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 645, see Currie – Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 840–41.

34 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Wedding Dance in the Open Air*. Copper panel, 40 × 50 cm. Unsigned. Bordeaux, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. Bx E 103, see Currie – Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 834–41.

35 Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Procession to Calvary*. 118 × 165 cm. Unsigned. Maastricht, Bonnefantenmuseum, inv. no. 4142. This painting was documented by the KIK-IRPA in 2013.

36 Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Procession to Calvary*. 117.1 × 164.3 cm. Signed and dated 'P.BRVEGHEL./.1603.' Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 5006 (Marlier 1969, no. 3, p. 282; Ertz 1998–2000, E394). Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *Procession to Calvary*. 109.6 × 164.4 cm. Unsigned. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 31 (Marlier 1969, no. 13, p. 284; Ertz 1998–2000, E397). For these underdrawings, see Currie – Allart 2012, p. 756, fig. 529, p. 790, fig. 549a and web 616, 643–45, 650–51, 655).

37 On the role of cartoons in Brueghel the Younger's work, see Currie – Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 746–52.

38 Ertz 1998–2000, p. 457.

39 Anon., *Night Landscape*. Oil on panel, 30.3 × 49.8 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 3582. We would like to thank Dr Yoko Mori for pointing out this similarity to us.

40 Ertz 1998–2000, p. 376, fig. 134a (black and white image), where cited as Dusseldorf, Galerie Lingenauber, 1992–1993, on wood, 25.5 × 33.5 cm, with, according to Ertz, a late signature with an original appearance: P. BREVGHEL'; Ertz 1998–2000, cat. E1336, illustration missing although cited as fig. 759; Sotheby's, Old Master Paintings and Drawings, Amsterdam, 12–13 November 1991, lot 148, as 'Pieter Breughel the Younger', signed or inscribed in the lower left: 'P. BREVGHEL'. In the sale catalogue, which illustrates the painting in colour, it mentions that the figures are carried out by a later hand. Since we have not examined this painting, we cannot comment on its attribution.

41 Ertz 1998–2000, pp. 946–47, fig. 760, on sale at Glerum, Amsterdam, 11 September 1998, lot 33 as Roelandt Savery, 25.5 × 35.5 cm, c. 1608–1610. Since we have not examined this painting, we cannot comment on its attribution.

42 On the various mentions of Crucifixions by Bruegel the Elder in source documents, see Currie – Allart 2012, vol. 2, p. 637.

43 Exh. Cat. Rotterdam – New York 2001, no. 29; Sellink (2007) 2011, cat. no. 26, p. 64 and 70.

44 The attribution of the landscape background to Joos de Momper was made by Karl Asplund (Asplund 1943, cat. no. 8). We are grateful to the owners of the painting for drawing our attention to this publication, which as far as we know is the only published source on the painting.

45 See Pénot and Oberthaler in Exh. Cat. Vienna 2018–2019, p. 248, fig. 2, for a reconstruction of the lost edges using the Vauban version.

46 We have also examined a *Conversion of Saul* by an unknown master in the Bonnefantenmuseum, Maastricht (inv. no. 3761), which includes four horsemen in the foreground taken directly from Bruegel the Elder's *Massacre of the Innocents*. This painting also has a flag with the double-headed eagle.

47 On the transformations to *The Massacre of the Innocents* and its relationship to Brueghel the Younger's copies, see L. Campbell in Cat. London 1985, pp. 18–19 and Allart et al. 2012.

48 See principally Pénot and Oberthaler in Exh. Cat. Vienna 2018–2019, p. 247; Hoppe-Harnoncourt (2018) 2019, pp. 377–78.

49 Another anonymous artist made a coloured pen and ink and watercolour drawing of *Dulle Griet* in the Imperial Collections at a very early date, see Currie et al. 2020b (forthcoming).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ainsworth 2014–2015
Maryan Ainsworth, 'Pieter Coecke van Aelst as panel painter', in: exh. cat., Elizabeth Cleland et al. (eds.), *Grand Design: Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry*, New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2014–15, pp. 2–22

Alexander 1990
Jonathan Alexander, 'Labour and Paresse: Ideological Representation of Medieval Peasant Labor', in: *The Art Bulletin* 72, 1990, pp. 436–52

Allart 2001–2002
Dominique Allart, 'Did Pieter Brueghel the Younger See his Father's Paintings?', in: exh. cat., Peter van den Brink (ed.), *The Brueghel Enterprise*, Maastricht (Bonnefantenmuseum) – Brussels (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique / Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België) 2001–2, pp. 46–57

Allart 2006
Dominique Allart, 'Ernest d'Autriche, gouverneur des Pays-Bas (1594–95): Portrait d'un amateur de peinture et analyse du contenu de sa collection', in: Jean-Marie Cauchies and Heinz Noflatscher (eds.), *Pays bourguignons et autrichiens (XIVe–XVIe siècles): une confrontation institutionnelle et culturelle. Rencontres d'Innsbruck (29 septembre au 2 octobre 2005)*, Neuchâtel 2006, pp. 235–57

Allart et al. 2012
Dominique Allart, Christina Currie and Steven Saverwyns, 'A copy that does justice to its model: The Massacre of the Innocents by Pieter Brueghel the Younger', in: *Brukenthal. Acta Musei* VII, 4, 2012, pp. 659–89

Allart et al. 2013
Dominique Allart, Christina Currie and Steven Saverwyns, 'Le Massacre des Innocents de Pierre Brueghel le Jeune (Sibiu, Muzeül National Brukenthal)', in: *Bulletin de l'Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique* 33, 2013, pp. 133–51

Armenini (1586) 1988
Giovan Battista Armenini, *De' veri precetti della pittura*, Ravenna 1586, re-edited with comments by Marina Gorreri, Turin 1988

Arnold 1985
Janet Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion: The Cut and Construction of Clothes for Men and Woman c. 1560–1620*, London 1985

As Vijvers 2013
Ann-Magreet W. As Vijvers, *Re-Making the Margin: The Master of the David Scenes and Flemish Manuscript Painting around 1500*, Turnhout 2013

Asplund 1943
Karl Asplund, *Collection de peintures et de sculptures appartenant à M. le Consul Général et à Madame Karl Bergsten: catalogue descriptif*, Stockholm 1943

Aurenhammer 2004
Hans Aurenhammer, 'Zäsur oder Kontinuität? Das Wiener Kunsthistorische Institut im Ständestaat und im Nationalsozialismus', in: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 53, 2004, pp. 11–54

Vander Auwera 2004
Joost Vander Auwera, 'Rubens' Adoration of the Magi in light of its original Antwerp destination', in: exh. cat., Alejandro Vergara (ed.), *Rubens. The Adoration of the Magi*, Madrid (Museo del Prado) 2004–5, pp. 27–53

Bähr 2009
Astrid Bähr, *Repräsentieren, bewahren, belehren: Galeriewerke (1660–1800). Von der Darstellung herrschaftlicher Gemäldesammlungen zum populären Bildband*, Hildesheim – Zürich 2009

Bakker 2005
Boudewijn Bakker, 'De verovering van de horizon: de gebroeders Limbourg en het geschilderde landschap', in: exh. cat., Rob Dückers and Pieter Roelofs (eds.), *De gebroeders van Limburg: Nijmeegse meesters aan het Franse hof 1400-1416*, Nijmegen (Museum Het Valkhof) 2005, pp. 202–07

Baldass 1931
Ludwig Baldass, 'Geschichte der Wiener Gemäldegalerie in den Jahren 1911 bis 1931 (Gustav Glück zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet von den wissenschaftlichen Beamten des Kunsthistorischen Museums)', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, New Series 5, 1931, pp. 1–20

Baldass 1943
Ludwig von Baldass, *Hieronymus Bosch*, Vienna 1943

Balis et al. 1993
Arnout Balis, Krista De Jonge, Guy Delmarcel and Amaury Lefébure, *Les Chasses de Maximilien*, Paris 1993

Banz 2000
Claudia Banz, *Höfisches Mäzenatentum in Brüssel: Kardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586) und die Erzherzöge Albrecht (1559–1621) und Isabella (1566–1633)*, PhD thesis, Freie Universität Berlin 1996 (Berliner Schriften zur Kunst, vol. 12), Berlin 2000

Barrett 2013
Kerry Barrett, 'Boschian Bruegel, Bruegelian Bosch: Hieronymus Cock's Production of "Bosch" Prints', in: *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 5/2, 2013, pp. 1–14, online DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2013.5.2.3

Van Bastelaer 1992
René Van Bastelaer, *The Prints of Peter Bruegel the Elder. Catalogue Raisonné* (translated and revised by Susan Fargo Gilchrist), San Francisco 1992

Van Bastelaer – Hulin de Loo 1907
René Van Bastelaer and Georges Hulin de Loo, *Peter Bruegel l'Ancien: Son œuvre et son temps: Étude historique suivie des catalogues raisonnés de son œuvre dessiné et gravé, et d'un catalogue raisonné de son œuvre peint*, Brussels 1907

Bastiaensen 2013
Jean Bastiaensen, 'De verloving van Pieter Bruegel de Oude. Nieuw licht op de Antwerpse verankering', in: *Openbaar kunstbezit in Vlaanderen* 51, no. 1, 2013, pp. 26–27

Baudelaire 1923
Charles Baudelaire, *Curiosités esthétiques*, ed. by Jacques Crépet, Paris 1923

Baudrillard 1994
Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, Michigan 1994

Berger 1883
Adolf Berger, 'Inventar der Kunstsammlungen des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm von Österreich: Nach der Originalhandschrift im fürstlich Schwarzenberg'schen Centralarchive', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 1, 1883, LXXIX–CXCI

Bertini 1998
Giuseppe Bertini, 'Otto van Veen, Cosimo Masi and the Art Market in Antwerp at the End of the Sixteenth Century', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1139, 1998, pp. 119ff

Bertolotti 1881–1882
Antonio Bertolotti, 'Don Giulio Clovio: Principe dei miniatori', in: *Attie memorie delle R.R. deputazioni di storia patria per le Provincie dell'Emilia* NS 7, 1881–1882, pp. 259–79

Beuing 2015
Raphael Beuing, *Die Schatzkammer des Deutschen Ordens: Katalog* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, vol. 70), Weimar 2015

Beuting 2011
Micha Beuting, 'Dendro-organology? The dendrochronological method applied to musical instruments', in: Pascale Fraiture (ed.), *Tree Rings, Art, Archaeology: Proceedings of a Conference, Brussels, Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, 10–12 February 2010* (Scientia Artis 7), Brussels 2011, pp. 273–83

Bickendorf 2007
Gabriele Bickendorf, 'Die "Berliner Schule": Carl Friedrich von Ruhmor (1785–1843), Gustav Friedrich Waagen (1794–1868), Karl Schnaase (1798–1875) und Franz Kugler (1808–1858)', in: Ulrich Pfisterer (ed.), *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte 1: Von Winckelmann bis Warburg*, Munich 2007, pp. 46–61

Billen – van Sprang 2015
Claire Billen and Sabine van Sprang, 'Les Chasses de Maximilien parlent en français. Réévaluation d'une tenture à la gloire de la dynastie des Habsbourg', in: Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan and Jean-Claude Maire Vigeur (eds.), *L'art au service du prince. Paradigme italien, expériences européenes (vers 1250-vers 1500)*, Rome 2015, pp. 283–306

Billen et al. 1997
Rachel Billinge, Lorne Campbell, Jill Dunkerton, Susan Foister, Jo Kirby, Jennie Pilc, Ashok Roy, Marika Spring and Raymond White, 'Methods and Materials of Northern European Painting in the National Gallery, 1400–1550', in: *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 18, 1997, pp. 6–55

Binding 1993
Günther Binding, *Baubetrieb im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 1993

Binski 2001
Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*, London 2001

Bischoff 2002
Gudrun Bischoff, *Das De Mayerne-Manuskript. Die Rezepte der Werkstoffe, Maltechniken und Gemälderestaurierung*, Munich 2002

Bishop 1956
William Bishop, 'Pens, Pencils, Brushes and Knifes', in: M.C. Oliver, William Bishop, John Woodcock and Cecil Mortimer Lamb (eds.), *The Calligraphers' Handbook*, London 1956, pp. 15–43

Blake McHam 2013
Sarah Blake McHam, *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance*, New Haven – London 2013

Bodenstein 1916
Gustav Bodenstein, 'Urkunden und Regesten aus dem k. und k. Reichsfinanz-Archiv in Wien', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 33, 1916, I–CXVIII

Boehn 1923
Max von Boehn, *Die Mode. Menschen und Moden im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Munich, 1923

Bomford et al. 1986
David Bomford, Ashok Roy and Alistair Smith, 'The Technique of Dieric Bouts: Two Paintings Contrasted', in: *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 10, 1986, pp. 39–57

Bonde et al. 1997
Niels Bonde, Ian Tyers and Tomasz Ważny, 'Where does the Timber come from? Dendrochronological Evidence of the Timber Trade in Northern Europe', in: A. Sinclair, E. Slater and J. Gowlett (eds.), *Archaeological Sciences 1995: Proceedings of a conference on the application of scientific methods to archaeology* (Oxford Books Monography Series 64), Oxford 1997, pp. 201–04

Bonsanti 1974
Giorgio Bonsanti, 'Gli artisti stranieri nelle Vite del Vasari', in: *Il Vasari Storiografo e Artista. Atti del Congesso Internazionale nel IV centenario della Morte*, Florence 1974, pp. 717–34

Boon et al. 2001
Jaap Boon, Katrien Keune, Jaap van der Weerd, Muriel Geldof and J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer, 'Imaging Microspectroscopic, Secondary Ion Mass Spectrometry and Electron Microscopic Studies on Discoloured and Partially Discoloured Smalt in Cross-sections of 16th Century Paintings', in: *CHIMIA International Journal for Chemistry* 55, no. 11, 2001, pp. 952–60

Borchert 2017
Till-Holger Borchert, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Meesterwerk/Masterpiece*, Tielt 2017

Borghini (1584) 1967
Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo in cui della pittura e della scultura si favella*, Florence 1584, reprinted with index and introduction by Marco Rosci, Milan 1967

Bormastino 1715
Antonio Bormastino, *Relazione storica della citta imperiale di Vienna […] Historische Erzehlung von der Käyserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wienn […]*, Vienna 1715

Bouvier 1882
Pierre Louis Bouvier, *Bouviers Handbuch der Ölmalerei für Künstler und Kunstfreunde*, 6th edition, Braunschweig 1882

Bouza 2009
Fernando Bouza, 'De Rafael a Ribera y de Nápoles a Madrid. Nuevos inventarios de la colección Medina de las Torres-Stigliano (1641–1656)', in: *Boletín del Museo Nacional del Prado* 27, 2009, pp. 44–71

Briels 1980
Jan G.C.A. Briels, 'Amator Pictoriae Artis: De Antwerpse kunstverzamelaar Peeter Stevens (1590–1668) en zijn Constkamer', in: *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerp* 1980, pp. 137–226

Brinkmann 1997
Bodo Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreiches: Der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit*, Turnhout 1997

Brown – Lovett 1999
Michelle P. Brown and Patricia Lovett, *Historical Source Book for Scribes*, London 1999

Brown 1981
Clifford M. Brown, 'Pictures in the Ducal Palace in Mantua, among them a Collection of "quadri di Fiandra"', in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 44, 1981, pp. 53–56

Buchanan 1990a
Iain Buchanan, 'The Collection of Niclaes Jongelinck: I. "Bacchus and the Planets" by Jacques Jongelinck', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 132, February 1990, pp. 102–13

Buchanan 1990b
Iain Buchanan, 'The Collection of Niclaes Jongelinck: II. The "Months" by Pieter Bruegel the Elder', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 132, August 1990, pp. 541–50

Buchtal 1966
Hugo Buchthal, 'Some Representations from the Life of St. Paul in Byzantine and Carolingian Art', in:

W.N. Schuhmacher, *Tortulae, Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten*, Rome – Vienna 1966

Bumke 1986
Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur, Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter*, vol. 1, 1986, 4th edition, Munich 1987

Burckhardt (1874) 1919
Jacob Burckhardt, 'Über die niederländische Genremalerei' (lecture of 24.11.1874), in: Emil Dürr (ed.), *Vorträge 1844 bis 1887*, 3rd edition, Basel 1919

Burroughs 1921
Bryson Burroughs, 'The Harvesters by Pieter Bruegel the Elder', in: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 16, no. 5, 1921, pp. 96–103

Büttner 2000
Nils Büttner, *Die Erfindung der Landschaft: Kosmographie und Landschaftskunst im Zeitalter Bruegels*, Göttingen 2000

Büttner (2017)
Nils Büttner, *Pieter Bruegel d. Ä.*, manuscript, published: Munich 2018 (Beck'sche Reihe)

Buzanich et al. 2010
G. Buzanich, P. Wobrauschek, C. Streli, A. Markowicz, D. Wegrzynek, E. Chinea-Cano, M. Griesser and K. Uhlir, 'PART II (Portable ART analyzer) – development of a XRF spectrometer adapted for the study of artworks in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna', in: *Xray spectrometry* 39/2, 2010, pp. 98–102, online DOI: 10.1002/xrs.1231

Campbell 1976
Lorne Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 118 1976, pp. 188–98

Campbell 2005
Lorne Campbell, 'Reflections on Sources and Reconstructions', in: Mark Clarke, Joyce Townsend and Ad Stijnman (eds.), *Art of the Past, Sources and Reconstructions (Proceedings of the First Symposium of the Art Technological Source Research Study Group)*, London – Amsterdam 2005, pp. 33–38

Campbell – Foister 1986
Lorne Campbell and Susan Foister, 'Gerard, Lucas and Susanna Horenbout', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 128, 1986, pp. 719–27

Cardinali et al. 2002
Marco Cardinali, Maria Ida Catalano, Angela Cerasuolo, Maria Beatrice De Ruggieri and Claudio Falcucci, 'Sulla Sacra Famiglia del Parmigianino: cautele ottocentesche per una tecnica particolare', in: Lucia Fornari Schianchi (ed.), *Parmigianino e il manierismo europeo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, Parma, 13–15 giugno 2002, Milan 2002, pp. 209–19

Carqué – Röckelein 2005
Bernd Carqué and Hedwig Röckelein (eds.), *Das Hochaltarretabel der St. Jacobi-Kirche in Göttingen* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 213), Göttingen 2005

Cat. Brussels 2013
Alexandre Galand, *The Bernard van Orley Group. (The Flemish Primitives. Catalogue of Early Netherlandish Painting in the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, vol. VI)*, Turnhout 2013

Cat. London 1985
Lorne Campbell, *The Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen: The Early Flemish Pictures*, Cambridge 1985

Cat. London 2014
Lorne Campbell, *The Sixteenth Century Netherlandish Paintings with French Paintings before 1600* (National Gallery Catalogues), London 2014

Cat. Naples 1995
Brigitte Daprà, *I dipinti lombardi, liguri, veneti, toscani, umbri, romani, fiamminghi* (Nicola Spinosa e Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte (eds.), *La collezione Farnese*, vol. 2), Naples 1995

Cat. Rotterdam 1994
Johannes R. ter Molen and Hubert Vreeken (eds.), *Kunstnijverheid Middeleeuwen en Renaissance / Decorative Art: Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Rotterdam Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Amsterdam 1994

Cat. Rotterdam 2012
Yvonne Bleyerveld, Albert J. Elen and Judith Niessen (eds.), *Dutch Drawings from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries in Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. Artists Born Before 1581*, Rotterdam 2012

Cat. Vienna 1928
Katalog der Gemäldegalerie (Führer durch die kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, vol. 8), Vienna 1928

Cat. Vienna 1958
Friederike Klauner and Günther Heinz, *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie. 2. Vlamen, Holländer, Deutsche, Franzosen* (Führer durch die kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien, vol. 7), Vienna 1958

Cat. Vienna 1981
Klaus Demus, Friderike Klauner and Karl Schütz, *Flämische Malerei von Jan van Eyck bis Pieter Bruegel d. Ä.* (Katalog der Gemäldegalerie: Führer durch das Kunsthistorische Museum, no. 31), Vienna 1981

Cat. Vienna 1997
Wilfried Seipel (ed.), *Pieter Bruegel d. Ä. im Kunsthistorischen Museum*, Vienna 1997

Cat. Washington 1986
John Oliver Hand and Martha Wolff, *National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. Early Netherlandish Painting* (The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue), Washington, D.C. 1986

Cennini (end of 14th century) 1971
Cennino Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte*, re-edited by Franco Brunello, Vicenza 1971

Cerasuolo 2014
Angela Cerasuolo, *'Diligenza e prestezza': La tecnica nella pittura e nella letteratura artistica del Cinquecento*, Florence 2014

Cerasuolo 2017
Angela Cerasuolo, *Literature and Artistic Practice in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Brill's Studies on Art, Art History, and Intellectual History, 17), Leiden – Boston 2017

Chapman 1986
Dana L. Chapman, *Dutch Costume in Paintings by Dutch Artists: A Study of Women's Clothing and Art from 1600 to 1650*, PhD thesis, Ohio State University 1986

Checa 2007–2008
Fernando Checa, 'Außerhalb Venedigs: Tizian und der Spanische Hof', in: exh. cat., Sylvia Ferino-Pagden (ed.), *Der späte Tizian und die Sinnlichkeit der Malerei*, Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 2007–8, pp. 53–59

Christensen et al. 2020 (forthcoming)
Anne Haack Christensen, David Buti, Arie Pappot, Eva de la Fuente Pedersen and Jørgen Wadum, 'The Father, the Son, the Followers: Six Brueg(h)els', in: *The Bruegel Success Story. Symposium*

XXI for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting, Brussels, 12–14 September 2018, Brussels 2020 (forthcoming)

Chroust 1896
Anton Chroust, *Abraham von Dohna. Sein Leben und sein Gedicht auf den Reichstag von 1613*, Munich 1896

Cianchetta et al. 2012
Ilaria Cianchetta, Ivan Colantoni, Fabio Talarico, Francesco d'Acapito, Angela Trapananti, Chiara Maurizio, Simona Fantacci and Ivan Davoli, 'Discoloration of the smalt pigment: experimental studies and "ab initio" calculations', in: *Journal of Analytical Atomic Spectrometry* 27, 2012, pp. 1941–84

Cleland 2014–2015
Elizabeth Cleland, 'Recognizing Pieter Coecke van Aelst', in: exh. cat., Elizabeth Cleland et al. (eds.), *Grand Design: Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry*, New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2014–15, pp. 22–42

Colenbrander 2012
Sjoukje Colenbrander, 'Kaffa and Dutch Fashion', in: Johannes Pietsch and Anna Jolly (eds.), *Netherlandish Fashion in the Seventeenth Century* (Riggisberger Berichte 19), Riggisberg 2012, pp. 63–69

Colini et al. 2018
Claudia Colini, Oliver Hahn, Olivier Bonnerot, Simon Steger, Zina Cohen, Tea Ghigo, Thomas Christiansen, Marina Bicchieri, Paola Biocca, Myriam Krutzsch and Ira Rabin, 'The Quest for the Mixed Inks', in: *Manuscript Cultures* (Universität Hamburg, Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures 11), Hamburg 2018, pp. 41–49

Colombini – Modugno 2009
Maria Perla Colombini and Francesca Modugno (eds.), *Organic Mass Spectrometry in Art and Archaeology*, Chichester 2009

Coremans 1847
Victor-Amédée Coremans, 'L'archiduc Ernest, sa cour, ses dépenses: 1593–1595: D'après les comptes de Blaise Hütter, son secrétaire intime et premier valet de chambre', in: *Compt-rendu des séances de la Commission royale d'Histoire ou recueil de ses bulletins XIII*, Brussels 1847, pp. 85–147

Coremans 1953
Paul Coremans (ed.), *L'agneau mystique au laboratoire: Examen et traitement*, Antwerp 1953

Crivelli 1868
Giovanni Crivelli, *Giovanni Brueghel pittor fiammingo, o Sue lettere e quadretti esistenti presso l'Ambrosiana*, Milan 1868

Currie 2001–2002
Christina Currie, 'Demystifying the Process: Pieter Brueghel the Younger's "The Census at Bethlehem": A techical study', in: exh. cat., Peter van den Brink (ed.), *The Brueghel Enterprise*, Maastricht (Bonnefantenmuseum) – Brussels (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique / Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België) 2001–2, pp. 80–124

Currie 2020 (forthcoming)
Christina Currie, 'The final piece of the puzzle. Bruegel the Elder's use of cartoons in *The Battle between Carnival and Lent* and reflections on his preparatory work for painting', in: *The Bruegel Success Story. Symposium XXI for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting, Brussels, 12–14 September 2018*, Brussels 2020 (forthcoming)

Currie – Allart 2012
Christina Currie and Dominique Allart, *The Brueg[H]el Phenomenon: Paintings by Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Pieter Brueghel the Younger with a Special Focus on Technique and Copying Practice*, 3 vols (Scientia Artis 8), Brussels 2012

Currie – Allart 2017
Christina Currie and Dominique Allart, 'The Quintessential Replica: Jan Brueghel's Large Format Version of his Father's Sermon of St John the Baptist', in: *Revue belge d'archeologie et d'histoire de l'art 2017*, LXXXVI, pp. 199–229

Currie – Allart 2020 (forthcoming)
Christina Currie and Dominique Allart, 'Creative process in the Triumph of Death by Pieter Bruegel the Elder and creative solutions in two versions by his sons', in: *The Bruegel Success Story. Symposium XXI for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting, Brussels, 12–14 September 2018*, Brussels 2020 (forthcoming)

Currie et al. 2020a (forthcoming)
Christina Currie, Steven Saverwyns, Livia Depuydt, Pascale Fraiture, Jean-Albert Glatigny and Alexia Coudray, 'Lifting the veil: The Dulle Griet rediscovered through conservation, scientific imagery and analysis', in: *The Bruegel Success Story. Symposium XXI for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting, Brussels, 12–14 September 2018*, Brussels 2020 (forthcoming)

Currie et al. 2020b (forthcoming)
Christina Currie, Dominique Allart, Sonja Brink and Steven Saverwyns, 'The coloured drawing of the Dulle Griet in the Kunstpalast, Dusseldorf: New findings on its status and dating', in: *The Bruegel Success Story. Symposium XXI for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting, Brussels, 12–14 September 2018*, Brussels 2020 (forthcoming)

Cuvelier 2015
Hilde Cuvelier, '"Empathy and deep understanding": Frits Grossmann (1902–84) and his Bruegel Archive at the Rubenianum', in: Lieneke Nijkamp, Koen Bulckens and Prisca Valkeneers (eds.), *Picturing Ludwig Burchard 1886–1960: A Rubens Scholar in Art-Historical Perspective*, London – Turnhout 2015, pp. 133–49

Cuvelier 2018
Hilde Cuvelier, 'Die veränderte Sicht auf Bruegel und seine Winter. Die Winterszenen in der Kunstgeschichtsschreibung', in: Tine Luk Meganck and Sabine van Sprang (eds.), *Bruegels Winterlandschaften*, Brussels 2018, pp. 24–51

Davenport 1976
Millia Davenport, *The Book of Costume*, New York 1976

Décultot 2013
Elisabeth Décultot, 'Zur Entstehung des Museums als "sichtbare Geschichte der Kunst". Christian von Mechels Verhältnis zu Johann Georg Wille und Johann Joachim Winckelmann', in: Gudrun Swoboda (ed.), *Die kaiserliche Gemäldegalerie in Wien und die Anfänge des öffentlichen Kunstmuseums*, 2 vols, Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 2013, vol. 2, pp. 458–75

Deisinger 2008
Marko Deisinger, 'Die Galerie Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelms und die Schatzkammer Kaiser Leopolds I. im Jahre 1659. Die Darstellung eines italienischen Gesandten am Wiener Kaiserhof (kommentierte Edition)', in: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 10, 2008, pp. 401–09

Deiters 2016
Wencke Deiters, *Die Wiener Gemäldegalerie unter Gustav Glück: Von der kaiserlichen Sammlung zum modernen Museum*, Munich 2016

Delen 1932
A.J.J. Delen, 'Christoffel Plantin als prentenhandelaar', in: *De Gulden Passer* 10, 1932, pp. 1–24

Delen 1935
A.J.J. Delen, *Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas et dans les provinces belges des origines jusqu'à la fin du 18ème siècle*, vol. 2, *Le XVIème siècle*, Paris 1935

Delmarcel – Duverger 1987
Guy Delmarcel and Erik Duverger, *Brugge en de Tapijtskunst*, Bruges – Moeskoren 1987

Denucé 1949
Jean Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens. Documenten uit de kunsthandel te Antwerpen in de XVIIe eeuw van Matthijs Musson.* (Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamse kunst V), Antwerp 1949

Denunzio 2011
Antonio Ernesto Denunzio, 'Sulla provenienza de *Il Triunfo della Morte* di Pieter Bruegel il Vecchio: le collezioni di Vespasiano Gonzaga tra Sabbioneta, Napoli e Madrid', in: *Boletin del Museo Nacional del Prado* 29, 2011, pp. 6–15

Devolder 2005
Bart Devolder, *Two 15th Century Italian Paintings on Fine-Weave Supports and Their Relationship to Netherlandish Canvas Painting*, Harvard University, ANAGPIC Student Papers 2005, online: http://cool.conservation-us.org/anagpic/studentpapers2005.htm

Dewilde 2017a
Brecht Dewilde, 'The Production and Marketing of Paintings in Sixteenth-Century Bruges', in: A. van Oosterwijk (ed.), *Forgotten Masters: Pieter Pourbus and Bruges Painting from 1526 to 1625*, Ghent 2017, pp. 19–30

Dewilde 2017b
Brecht Dewilde, 'Bruges Painters Abroad. Artist Migration in the Sixteenth Century', in: A. van Oosterwijk (ed.), *Forgotten Masters: Pieter Pourbus and Bruges Painting from 1526 to 1625*, Ghent 2017, pp. 107–15

Diez 1909–1910
Ernst Diez, 'Der Hofmaler Bartholomäus Spranger', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 28, 1909–10, pp. 93–151

Doerner 1976
Max Doerner, *Malmaterial und seine Verwendung im Bilde*, 14th edition, Stuttgart 1976

Doerner 2001
Max Doerner, *Malmaterial und seine Verwendung im Bilde*, Thomas Hoppe (ed.), 19th edition, Berlin 2001

Domínguez-Fuentes 2006
Sophie Domínguez-Fuentes, 'Unos cuadros de Isabel de Farnesio tasados por Antón Rafael Mengs para el infante don Luis', in: *Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez* New Series 36, 2006, 1, pp. 215–29, 372–73, 384–85

van Dongen et al. 2018
Alexandra van Dongen, Abdelkader Benali, Katrien Lichtert, Sabine Pénot and Lucinda Timmermans, *Conversation Pieces: The World of Bruegel*, Furnes 2018

Douxchamps et al. 1977
Hervé Douxchamps (ed.) in collaboration with Philippe de Bounam de Ryckholt and Bernard Nolf, *Rubens et ses descendants*, vol. 1 (Le Parchemin, 25, Special Issue, no. 1977)

Dubois et al. 1997
Hélène Dubois, Herant Khanjian, Michael Schilling and Arie Wallert, 'A Late Fifteenth Century Italian Tüchlein', in: *Zeitschrift für Kunsttechnologie und Konservierung* 11, 1997, pp. 228–37

Duckwitz 2001–2002
Rebecca Duckwitz, 'The Devil is in the Detail: Pieter Bruegel the Elder's "Netherlandish Proverbs" and copies after it from the workshop of Pieter Brueghel the Younger', in: exh. cat., Peter van den Brink (ed.), *The Brueghel Enterprise*, Maastricht (Bonnefantenmuseum) – Brussels (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique / Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België) 2001–2, pp. 58–79

Dudík 1865
Beda Dudik, 'Des Hoch- und Deutschmeisters Erzherzog Maximilian III: Testament und Verlassenschaft vom J. 1619', in: *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen* 33, 1865, pp. 233–352

Dudík 1867
Beda Dudik, 'Die Rudolphinische Kunst- und Raritätenkammer in Prag', in: *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* 12, 1867, XXXIII–XLIV

Duverger 1968
Erik Duverger, 'Nieuwe gegevens betreffende de kunsthandel van Matthijs Musson en Maria Fourmenois te Antwerpen tussen 1633 en 1681', in: *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde* 21, 1968, pp. 5-273

Dvořák 1907
Max Dvořák, 'Spanische Bilder einer österreichischen Ahnengalerie', in: *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der k. k. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale* 1, 1907, pp. 13–28

Dvořák 1910
Max Dvořák, *Bohumil Matějka, Raudnitzer Schloss. Der Politische Bezirk Raudnitz. Teil II.* (Topographie der historischen und Kunst-Denkmale im Königreiche Böhmen von der Urzeit bis zum Anfange des XIX. Jahrhunderts, vol. XXVII), Prague 1910

Dvořák (1921) 1924
Max Dvořák, 'Pieter Bruegel der Ältere: Siebenunddreissig Farbenlichtdrucke nach seinen Hauptwerken in Wien und eine Einführung in seine Kunst' (Vienna 1921), new edition in: Max Dvořák, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte: Studien zur abendländischen Kunstentwicklung*, ed. by Karl M. Swoboda and Johannes Wilde, Munich 1924, pp. 219–57

Eastlake 1847
Charles Lock Eastlake, *Materials for a History of Oil Painting*, vol. I, London 1847 (facsimile edition with the title *Methods and Materials of the Great Schools and Masters*, vol. I, New York 1960)

Eckstein – Wrobel 2007
Dieter Eckstein and Sigrid Wrobel, 'Dendrochronological Proof of Origin of Historic Timber – Retrospect and Perspectives', in: K. Haneca, A. Verheyden, H. Beekman, H. Gärtener, G. Helle and G.H. Schleser (eds.), *TRACE – Tree Rings in Archaeology, Climatology and Ecology, Conference, Tervuren, Belgium 2006*, pp. 8–20

Eckstein et al. 1986
Dieter Eckstein, Tomasz Ważny, Josef Bauch and Peter Klein, 'New Evidence for the Dendrochronological Dating of Netherlandish Paintings', in: *Nature* 320, 1986, pp. 465–66

Ehrenpreis 2001
Stefan Ehrenpreis, 'Kunst und Politik um 1600: Simon VI. zur Lippe, die Niederlande und der Prager Kaiserhof Rudolfs II', in: Neithard Bulst (ed.), *Die Weser: Ein Fluss in Europa. Symposiumsband zur Wirtschafts- und Kulturgeschichte des Weserraums im Frühen Neuzeit* (Materialien zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte in Nord und Westdeutschland, vol. 27), Bamberg 2001, pp. 169–245

Eibner 1909
Alexander Eibner, *Malmaterialienkunde als Grundlage der Maltechnik. Für Kunststudierende, Künstler, Maler, Lackierer, Fabrikanten und Händler*, Berlin 1909

Eissing – Dittmar 2011
Thomas Eissing and Christoph Dittmar, 'Timber transport and dendro-provenancing in Thuringia and Bavaria', in: P. Fraiture (ed.), *Tree Rings, Art, Archaeology: Proceedings of a Conference, Brussels, Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, 10–12 February 2010* (Scientia Artis 7), Brussels 2011, pp. 137–49

Engert 1870
Erasmus von Engert, *Catalog der k. k. Gemälde-Gallerie im Belvedere zu Wien*, Vienna 1870

Engert 1872
Erasmus von Engert, *Kurzgefasstes Verzeichniss der kaiserl. Königl. Gemälde-Galerie*, Wien 1872

Engerth 1884
Eduard von Engerth, 'Über die im kunsthistorischen Museum neu zur Aufstellung gelangenden Gemälde', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 2, 1884, pp. 145–66

Engerth II 1884
Eduard von Engerth, *Gemälde: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis: Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. II: *Niederländische Schulen*, Vienna 1884

Engerth III 1886
Eduard von Engerth, *Gemälde: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis: Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. III: *Deutsche Schulen*, Vienna 1886

Ertz 1998–2000
Klaus Ertz, *Pieter Brueghel der Jüngere: Die Gemälde mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog*, 2 vols, Lingen 1998–2000

Exh. Cat. Antwerp 2004
Exhibition catalogue, Kristin Belkin and Fiona Healy, *A House of Art: Rubens as Collector*, Antwerp (Rubenshuis) 2004

Exh. Cat. Antwerp 2012
Exhibition catalogue, Manfred Sellink and Maximiliaan P.J. Martens, *Bruegel Ongezien! De verborgen Antwerpse collecties*, Antwerp (Museum Mayer van den Bergh) 2012

Exh. Cat. Bruges 2002
Exhibition catalogue, Eva Tahon, Veronique de Boi and Benoit Kervyn

de Volkaersbeke, *Impact. 1902 Revisited. Tentoonstelling van oude Vlaamsche kunst: Brugge 15 juni tot 15 september 1902*, Bruges (Arentshuis) 2002

Exh. Cat. Brussels 1980
Exhibition catalogue, Philippe Roberts-Jones et al., *Bruegel: Een dynastie van schilders* (French edition: *Bruegel: Une dynastie de peintres*), Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts) 1980

Exh. Cat. Brussels 2019
Exhibition catalogue, Véronique Bücken and Ingrid Demeuter (eds.), *Bernard van Orley. Brussels and the Renaissance*, Brussels (Bozar), 2019

Exh. Cat. Cassel 2015
Exhibition catalogue, Sandrine Vézilier-Dussart and Cécile Laffon (eds.), *La Flandre et la mer: De Pieter l'Ancien à Jan Brueghel de Velours*, Cassel (Musée de Flandre) 2015

Exh. Cat. Chemnitz 2014
Exhibition catalogue, Ingrid Mössinger and Jürgen Müller (eds.), *Pieter Bruegel d. Ä. und das Theater der Welt*, Chemnitz (Kunstsammlungen Chemnitz) 2014

Exh. Cat. Edinburgh – Brussels – London 2007–2009
Exhibition catalogue, Desmond Shawe-Taylor and Jennifer Scott, *Bruegel to Rubens: Masters of Flemish Painting*, Edinburgh (Palace of Holyroodhouse) – Brussels (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique / Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België) – London (Buckingham Palace) 2007–9

Exh. Cat. Essen – Vienna – Antwerp 1997–1998
Exhibition catalogue, Klaus Ertz and Christa Nitze (eds.), *Breughel–Brueghel. Pieter Brueghel de Jonge (1564–1637/8) – Jan Brueghel de Oude (1568–1625). Een Vlaamse schildersfamilie rond 1600*, Essen (Villa Hügel) – Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) – Antwerp (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 1997–8

Exh. Cat. Essen – Vienna 2003–2004
Exhibition catalogue, Hanna Benesz and Wilfried Seipel (eds.), *Die flämische Landschaft: 1520–1700*, Essen (Kulturstiftung Ruhr) – Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 2003–4

Exh. Cat. Leuven – Paris 2013
Exhibition catalogue, Joris Van Grieken, Ger Luijten and Jan Van der Stock, *Hieronymus Cock: De renaissance in prent*, Leuven (M – Museum Leuven) – Paris (Institut Néerlandais) 2013

Exh. Cat. Leuven 2016–2017
Exhibition catalogue, Jan Van der Stock (ed.), *In Search of Utopia: Art and Science in the Era of Thomas More*, Leuven (M – Museum Leuven) 2016–7

Exh. Cat. London 2011–2012
Exhibition catalogue, Scot McKendrick, John Lowden and Kathleen Doyle (eds.), *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination,* London (British Library) 2011–2

Exh. Cat. London 2016
Exhibition catalogue, Karen Serres et al., *Bruegel in Black and White: Three Grisailles Reunited*, London (The Courtauld Gallery) 2016

Exh. Cat. London 2017
Exhibition catalogue, Leila Packer and Jennifer Sliwka (eds.), *Monochrome, Painting in Black and White*, London (National Gallery) 2017

Exh. Cat. Los Angeles – London 2003–2004
Exhibition catalogue, Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick (eds.), *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, Los Angeles (J. Paul Getty Museum) – London (Royal Academy of Arts) 2003–4

Exh. Cat. Maastricht – Brussels 2001–2002
Exhibition catalogue, Peter van den Brink (ed.), *The Brueghel Enterprise*, Maastricht (Bonnefantenmuseum) – Brussels (Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique / Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België) 2001–2

Exh. Cat. Madrid 2000
Exhibition catalogue, *Una obra maestra restaurada: El Lavatorio de Jacopo Tintoretto*, Madrid (Museo Nacional del Prado) 2000

Exh. Cat. Madrid 2009
Exhibition catalogue, Till-Holger Borchert (ed.), *Jan Van Eyck: Grisallas*, Madrid (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza) 2009

Exh. Cat. Namur 2000
Exhibition catalogue, Jacques Toussaint (ed.), *Autour de Henri Bles,* Namur (Musée des Arts anciens du Namurois) 2000

Exh. Cat. New York 2002
Exhibition catalogue, Thomas P. Campbell et al., *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2002

Exh. Cat. New York 2014–2015
Exhibition catalogue, Elizabeth A.H. Cleland, Maryan W. Ainsworth (eds.), *Grand Design: Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry*, New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2014–15

Exh. Cat. Newark – Denver 2001–2002
Exhibition catalogue, Mariët Westermann (ed.), *Art and Home. Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt*, Newark (The Newark Art Museum) – Denver (Denver Art Museum) 2001–2

Exh. Cat. Paris 1814–1815
Exhibition catalogue, *Notice des Tableaux des Écoles Primitives de L'Italie, de L'Allemagne, et de plusieurs autres Tableaux de différentes Écoles, exposés dans le Grand Salon du Musée Napoléon*, Paris (Musée Napoléon) 1814–15

Exh. Cat. Paris 2004
Exhibition catalogue, *Primitifs français: Découvertes et redécouvertes*, Paris (Musée du Louvre) 2004

Exh. Cat. Paris 2008–2009
Exhibition catalogue, Teréz Gerszi, *Renaissance et maniérisme aux Pay-Bas: Dessins du musée des Beaux-Arts de Budapest*, Paris (Musée du Louvre) 2008–9

Exh. Cat. Rotterdam – New York 2001
Exhibition catalogue, Nadine Orenstein and Manfred Sellink, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*, Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) – New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2001

Exh. Cat. Tokyo 1989
Exhibition catalogue, David Freedberg (ed.), *The Prints of Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, Tokyo (Bridgestone Museum) 1989

Exh. Cat. Tokyo – Niigata – Kyoto 2010
Exhibition catalogue, Yoko Mori and Godlieve Denhaene (eds.), *The World of Bruegel in Black and White from the Collection of the Royal Library of Belgium*, Tokyo (Bunkamura Museum of Art) – Niigata (Niigata City Art Museum) – Kyoto (Kyoto Eki Kyoto) 2010

Exh. Cat. Vienna 1945–1946
Exhibition catalogue, *Ausstellung von Meisterwerken der Gemäldegalerie des Kunsthistorischen Museums in der Hofburg*, Vienna (Hofburg) 1945–6

Exh. Cat. Vienna 1969
Exhibition catalogue, *Bruegel und seine Welt: Dokumentationsausstellung anläßlich der vierhundertsten Wiederkehr des Todesjahres von Pieter Bruegel dem Älteren*, Vienna (Akademie der bildenden Künste) 1969

Exh. Cat. Vienna 2017
Exhibition catalogue, Eva Michel (ed.), *Pieter Bruegel: Das Zeichnen der Welt*, Vienna (Albertina) 2017

Exh. Cat. Vienna 2018–2019
Exhibition catalogue, Sabine Pénot, Elke Oberthaler, Manfred Sellink and Ron Spronk with Alice Hoppe-Harnoncourt, *Bruegel. The Hand of the Master*, Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 2018–19

der kaiserlichen Gemäldegalerie in Wien im späten 18. Jahrhundert', in: Gudrun Swoboda (ed.), *Die kaiserliche Gemäldegalerie in Wien und die Anfänge des öffentlichen Kunstmuseums*, 2 vols, Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 2013, vol. 1, pp. 22–89

Fischer 2013b
Nora Fischer, *Zwischen Ästhetik und Geschichte. Theoretische Positionen zur Systematik der kaiserlichen Gemäldesammlung im Wien im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, PhD thesis, Vienna University, 2013

Floerke (1906) 2000
Carel van Mander, *Das Leben der niederländischen und deutschen Maler (von 1400 bis ca. 1615)*, translated after the edition of 1617 and notes by Hanns Floerke (1906), Wiesbaden 2000

Foote 1975
Timothy Foote, *The World of Bruegel c. 1525–1569*, New York, 1975

Fraiture 2007
Pascale Fraiture, *Les supports de peintures en bois dans les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux de 1450 à 1650: analyses dendrochronologiques et archéologiques*, 3 vols, PhD thesis, Université de Liège, 2007

Fraiture 2009
Pascale Fraiture, 'Contribution of dendrochronology to understanding of wood procurement sources for panel paintings in the former Southern Netherlands from 1450 to 1650', in: *Dendrochronologia* 27, 2009, pp. 95–111

Fraiture 2012
Pascale Fraiture, 'Dendro-archaeological Examination of Paintings by Pieter Brueghel the Younger', in: D. Allart and C. Currie, *The Brueg[h]el Phenomenon: Paintings by Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Pieter Brueghel the Younger with a Special Focus on Technique and Copying Practice*, 3 vols (Scientia Artis 8), Brussels 2012, pp. 1002–17

Fraiture 2013
Pascale Fraiture, *Report of dendrochronological analysis, panel paintings. Hubert and Jan van Eyck. Ghent Altarpiece: Adam and Eve (Ghent, St. Bavo Cathedral)*, Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, 2013, published online: http://closertovaneyck.kikirpa.be/#home/sub=documents

Fraiture 2017
Pascale Fraiture, 'Results of three campaigns of dendrochronological analysis on the altarpiece of the Adoration of the Mystic Lamb by Hubert and Jan

van Eyck (1986–2013)', in: C. Currie, B. Fransen, V. Henderiks, C. Stroo and D. Vanwijnsberghe (eds.), *Van Eyck Studies. Papers presented at the Eighteenth Symposium for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting, Brussels, 19–21 September 2012*, Paris – Leuven – Walpole, MA 2017, pp. 76–95

Fraiture – Dubois 2011
Pascale Fraiture and Helene Dubois, 'Dendrochronological and technological examination of painting supports: The case of Rubens' studio practice', in: P. Fraiture (ed.), *Tree Rings, Art, Archaeology: Proceedings of a Conference, Brussels, 10–12 February 2010* (Scientia Artis 7), Brussels 2011, pp. 313–29

Fraiture – Haneca 2017
Pascale Fraiture and Kristof Haneca, 'The dendrochronological analysis of the panel paintings depicting the Life of Saint Martin and the Passion of Christ, by Frans Pourbus the Elder', in: M. Maillard-Luypaert (ed.), *François Pourbus l'Ancien à Tournai. Les panneaux peints pour l'abbatiale de Saint-Martin. Histoire, iconographie, style, technique, restauration* (Scientia Artis 14), Brussels 2017, pp. 122–29

Fraiture – Oger 2000
Pascale Fraiture and Cécile Oger, 'Trois tableaux de Lambert Lombard au laboratoire', in: *Art&Fact, Revue des historiens de l'art, des archéologues, des musicologues et des orientalistes de l'Université de Liège* 19, 2000, pp. 74–82

Freedberg 1982
David Freedberg, 'The hidden God: Image and Interdiction in the Netherlands in the Sixteenth Century', in: *Art History* 5, 1982, pp. 135–53

Freedberg 1986
David Freedberg, 'Art and Iconoclasm, 1525–1580: The Case of the Northern Netherlands', in: exh. cat., J. P. Filedt Kok et al. (eds.), *Kunst voor de B eeldenstorm: Noordnederlandse Kunst 1525–1580*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1986, pp. 69–84

Freedberg 1995
David Freedberg, 'Claus Sluter's Mourners: Images of fearful strangeness and power', in: *Art News* 94, 1995, pp. 119–20

Friedländer 1921
Max Friedländer, *Pieter Bruegel der Ältere*, Berlin 1921

Fučíková 2001
Eliška Fučíková, 'The Prague Castle Collection from Rudolf II to the Present Day', in: exh. cat., Eliška Fučíková (ed.), *Imperial Paintings from Prague*, Maastricht (Bonnefantenmuseum) 2001, pp. 9–37

Fusenig 2002
Thomas Fusenig, '"…wollen mit vleis euch erkundigen, ob ir nicht derselbige kunstuck zu wege zu bringen vermöchte": Graf Simon VI. zur Lippe kauft niederländische Gemälde für Kaiser Rudolf II.', in: Heiner Borggrefe, Barbara Uppenkamp (eds.), *Kunst und Repräsentation: Studien zur europäischen Hofkultur im 16. Jahrhundert*, Lemgo 2002, pp. 109–49

Fusenig 2012
Thomas Fusenig, 'Der Wohlstand begrüßt Frieden und Künste: Hans von Aachens Allegorie von 1602', in: Lubomír Konečný, Štěpán Vácha (eds.), *Hans von Aachen in Context: Proceedings of the International Conference, Prague, 22–25 September 2010*, Prague 2012, pp. 93–101

Gandelman 1992
Claude Gandelman, 'Der Gestus des Zeigens', in Wolfgang Kemp, *Der Betrachter ist im Bild*, Berlin – Hamburg 1992, pp. 71–93

Garas 1967
Klara Garas, 'Die Entstehung der Galerie des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 63, 1967, pp. 39–80

Garas 1970
Klara Garas, 'Zur Geschichte der Kunstsammlungen Rudolfs II', in: *Umění* XVIII, no. 2, 1970, pp. 134–41

Genaille 1988
Robert Genaille, 'Le paysage dans la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas au temps de Bruegel', in: *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* 1988, pp. 137–88

Ghyka 1983
Matilda C. Ghyka, *Estética de las proporciones en la naturaleza y en las artes,* Barcelona, 1983

Gibson 1977
Walter S. Gibson, *Bruegel*, London etc. 1977

Gibson 1978
Walter S. Gibson, 'Some Flemish Popular Prints from Hieronymus Cock and his Contemporaries', in: *The Art Bulletin* 60, 1978, pp. 673–81

Gibson 1989
Walter S. Gibson, '*Mirror of the Earth': The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting*, Princeton, NJ 1989

Gibson 1991
Walter S. Gibson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Two Studies,* Kansas 1991

Gibson 2006
Walter S. Gibson, *Pieter Bruegel and the Art of Laughter*, Berkeley, CA 2006

van Ginhoven 2016
Sandra van Ginhoven, *Connecting Art Markets: Guilliam Forchondt's Dealership in Antwerp (c.1632–78) and the Overseas Painting Trade*, Leiden 2016

Glück 1910
Gustav Glück, *Pieter Bruegel des Älteren: Gemälde im Kunsthistorischen Hofmuseum zu Wien*, Brussels 1910

Glück 1932
Gustav Glück, *Bruegels Gemälde*, Vienna 1932

Glück (1932) 1937
Gustav Glück, *Bruegels Gemälde* (Vienna 1932), 4th edition, Vienna 1937

Goethe (1832) 1954
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, 'Landschaftliche Malerei' (1832 appeared posthumously), in: *Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche*, 24 vols, Zürich 1948–54, vol. XIII: *Schriften zur Kunst*, Zürich 1954

Goldstein 2013
Claudia Goldstein, *Pieter Bruegel and the Culture of the Early Modern Dinner Party* (Visual Culture in Early Modernity), Farnham 2013

Greenfield 2005
Amy Butler Greenfield, *A Perfect Red: Empire, Espionage, and the Quest for the Color of Desire*, New York 2005

Van Grieken et al. 2017
Joris Van Grieken, Lieve Watteeuw, Bruno Vandermeulen, Marc Proesmans and Maarten Bassens, 'FINGERPRINT onderzoekt Pieter Bruegel de Oude', in: *Science Connection* 54, 2017, pp. 32–36

Van Grieken et al. 2020 (forthcoming)
Joris Van Grieken, Lieve Watteeuw, Marina van Bos, Maarten Bassens, Bruno Vandermeulen and Hendrik Hameeuw, 'The art-technical research on the drawing View on the Strait of Messina. Follower of Pieter Bruegel the Elder draughtsman's techniques and materials examined', in: *The Bruegel Success Story. Symposium XXI for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting, Brussels, 12–14 September 2018*, Brussels 2020 (forthcoming)

Grieten 1994
Stefaan Grieten, 'Het Toren van Bábel-Schilderij in het Mauritsuis. Een illustratie van de relatie tussen 15de-eeuwse-miniatuur- en schilderkunst in de Lage Landen', in: *Oud Holland* 108, 1994, pp. 109–19

Grossmann 1952
Fritz Grossmann, 'Bruegel's "Woman Taken in Adultery" and Other Grisailles', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 94, no. 593, August 1952, pp. 218–27

Grossmann 1955
Fritz Grossmann, *Bruegel: The Paintings: complete edition*, London 1955

Grossmann (1955) 1973
Fritz Grossmann, *Pieter Bruegel: Gesamtausgabe der Gemälde* (Cologne 1955), 3rd edition, Herrsching 1973

Grossmann 1980
Fritz Grossmann, *Pieter Bruegel de Oude: Het leven van Bruegel*, in: exh. cat., Philippe Roberts-Jones et al., *Bruegel: Een dynastie van schilders* (French edition: *Bruegel: Une dynastie de peintres*), Brussels (Palais de Beaux-Arts) 1980, pp. 24–48

Gruber 2006–2007
Gerlinde Gruber, 'Das Bilderverzeichnis der Pressburger Burg von 1781: Ein Beitrag zur Sammlungsgeschichte der Gemäldegalerie des Kunsthistorischen Museums', in: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 8/9, 2006–7, pp. 354–400

Gruber 2014
Gerlinde Gruber, 'L'abondance & la diversité: Die Galerie Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelms. Niederländische Schulen', in: exh. cat., *Sammellust: Die Galerie Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelms* (Intermezzo 6), Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 2014, pp. 93–101

Guevara (before 1563) 1788
Felipe de Guevara, *Comentarios de la Pintura*, A. Ponz (ed.), Madrid 1788

Guicciardini 1567
Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, Antwerp 1567

Guratzsch 1981
Herwig Guratzsch, *Dutch and Flemish Painting*, New York 1981

Hammer-Tugendhat 2004
Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, 'Heterogenität und Differenz. Zur Aktualität der Kunst von Pieter Bruegel d. Ä.', in: Annegret Friedrich (ed.), *Die Freiheit der Anderen. Festschrift für Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff*, Marburg an der Lahn 2004, pp. 24–37

Hammer-Tugendhat 2007
Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, 'Peripherie und Zentrum. Eine Glosse zu Pieter Bruegels d. Ä. Bekehrung Pauli', in: Edith Futscher, Stefan Neuner, Wolfram Pichler and Ralph Ubl (eds.), *Was aus dem Bild fällt. Figuren des Details in Kunst und Literatur, Friedrich Teja Bach zum 60. Geburtstag*, Munich 2007, pp. 229–35

Hammer-Tugendhat 2014
Daniela Hammer-Tugndhat, 'Todes- und Jenseitsimaginationen in der christlichen Kunst', in: *Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* 2, 2014, pp. 13–28

Hammer-Tugendhat 2017
Daniela Hammer-Tugendhat, '"Dieser Bruegel hat viele Dinge gemalt, die nicht gemalt werden können": Innovative künstlerische Verfahren als Mittel der Zeitkritik', in: exh. cat., Eva Michel (ed.), *Pieter Bruegel: Das Zeichnen der Welt*, Vienna (Albertina) 2017, pp. 49–63

Haneca – Debonne 2012
Kristof Haneca and Vincent Debonne, 'Precise tree-ring dating of building activities despite the absence of bark: A case-study on medieval church roofs in Damme, Belgium', in: *Dendrochronologia* 30, 2012, pp. 23–34

Haneca 2011
Kristof Haneca, 2011. 'The influence of historic forest management practices on oak chronology building in Flanders', in: Pascale Fraiture (ed.), *Tree Rings, Art, Archaeology: Proceedings of a Conference, Brussels, Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, 10–12 February 2010* (Scientia Artis 7), Brussels 2011, pp. 67–75

Haneca et al. 2005
Kristof Haneca, Tomasz Ważny, Joris van Acker and Hans Beeckman, 'Provenancing Baltic timber from art historical objects: Success and limitations', in: *Journal of Archaeological Science* 32, 2005, pp. 261–71

Haneca et al. 2009
Kristof Haneca, Katarina Čufar and Hans Beeckmann, 'Oaks, tree-rings and wooden cultural heritage: A review of the main characteristics and applications of oak dendrochronology in Europe', in: *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36, 2009, pp. 1–11

Hansen 1984
Wilhelm Hansen, *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher: Mittelalterliches Leben im Jahreslauf*, München 1984

Hassmann 2013
Elisabeth Hassmann, 'Quellen zur Geschichte der kaiserlichen Gemäldegalerie in Wien (1765–1787): Eine Chronologie zu den Aufstellungen unter Rosa und Mechel', in: Gudrun Swoboda (ed.), *Die kaiserliche Gemäldegalerie in Wien und die Anfänge des öffentlichen Kunstmuseums*, 2 vols, Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 2013, vol. 1, pp. 116–67

Hassmann 2013–2014
Elisabeth Hassmann, 'Quellen und Regesten zur Schatzkammer, Gemäldegalerie und zu den drei Kabinetten aus dem Archivbestand des k. k. Oberstkämmereramtes. 1777 bis 1787 mit einem Nachtrag zu den Jahren 1748 bis 1776', in: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 15/16, 2013–14

Hathaway 2016
Nenagh Hathaway, 'Jheronimus Bosch and the Netherlandish grisaille', in: Jo Timmermans (ed.), *Jheronimus Bosch: His Life and his Work, 4th International Jheronimus Bosch Conference, 14–16 April 2016, Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, 's-Hertogenbosch*, 's-Hertogenbosch 2016, pp. 106–23

Haupt 1995
Herbert Haupt, *Jahre der Gefährdung: Das Kunsthistorische Museum 1938–1945*, Vienna 1995

Haupt 2005
Herbert Haupt, *Getroffen, doch nicht vernichtet: Das Kunsthistorische Museum im Kriegsjahr 1945: Eine Chronologie der Ereignisse in Bildern*, Vienna 2005

Haupt – Wied 2010
Herbert Haupt and Alexander Wied, 'Erzherzog Ernst von Österreich (1553–1595) Statthalter der Spanischen Niederlande: Das Kassabuch der Jahre 1589 bis 1595', in: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 12, 2010, pp. 153–75

Hauser 1949
Wilhem Hauser, *Das Geschlecht derer von Althann*, PhD thesis, Universität Wien, 1949

Hehenberger – Löscher 2016
Susanne Hehenberger and Monika Löscher, '"Geheime" Bergungsorte: das Rothschildsche Jagdschloss Steinbach bei Göstling (Jagd), die Kartause Gaming (Schloss), das aufgelassene Stift Klosterneuburg (Stift) und das Salzbergwerk Lauffen bei Bad Ischl (Berg). Arbeitsalltag – Sicherheitsvorkehrungen – Rückbergungen', in: Pia Schölnberger and Sabine Loitfellner (eds.), *Bergung von Kulturgut im Nationalsozialismus: Mythen – Hintergründe – Auswirkungen* (Schriftenreihe der Kommission für Provenienzforschung 6), Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 2016, pp. 35–68

Hendriks 2006
Ella Hendriks, 'Haarlem studio practice', in: Neeltje Köhler (ed.), *Painting in Haarlem 1500–1850: The Collection of the Frans Hals Museum*, Ghent 2006, pp. 65–96

Heringuez 2013
Samantha Heringuez, 'Les peintres flamands du XVe siècle et les éditions coeckiennes des livres d'architecture de Sebastiano Serlio', in: *Revue de l'art* 180, no. 2, 2013, pp. 45–52

Herold 2002
Inge Herold, *Pieter Bruegel. Die Jahres-zeiten*, Munich – London – New York 2002

Hessels 1887
J.H. Hessels, *Abrahami Ortelii (geographi Antverpiensis) et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum (Abrahami Ortelii sororis Filium)*, Canterbury 1887

Heydenreich 2007
Gunnar Heydenreich, *Lucas Cranach the Elder. Painting materials, techniques and workshop practice*, Amsterdam 2007

Hiemstra 2017
Nancy Hiemstra, 'Periscoping as a Feminist Methodological Approach for Researching the Seemingly Hidden', in: *The Professional Geographer* 69 (2), 2017, pp. 329–36

Hillam – Tyers 1995
Jennifer Hillam and Ian Tyers, 'Reliability and repeatability in dendrochronological analysis: tests using the Fletcher archive of panel painting data', in: *Archaeometry* 37, 1995, pp. 395–405

Hindman 1981
Sandra Hindman, 'Pieter Bruegel's Children's Games, Folly, and Chance', in: *The Art Bulletin* 63, 1981, pp. 447–75

Hinds 1927
Gorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, vol. 3, translated from the Italian by A.B. Hinds (Everyman's Library 786), London 1927

Hoadley 2000
R. Bruce Hoadley, Understanding Wood: *A Craftsman's Guide to Wood Technology*, Newtown, CT 2000

Hoecker 1916
Rudolf Hoecker, *Das Lehrgedicht des Karel van Mander: Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar […]* (Quellenstudien zur holländischen Kunstgeschichte, vol. 8), The Hague 1916

Hoffsummer 1995
Patrick Hoffsummer, *Les charpentes de toitures en Wallonie. Typologie et dendrochronologie (XIe – XIXe siècle)* (Études et documents, monuments et sites 1), Namur 1995

Hoffsummer et al. 2019
Patrick Hoffsummer, Kristof Haneca and Pascale Fraiture, 'Bois des villes et bois des champs au Moyen Âge, de la Flandre à l'Ardenne', in: Sylvie Bépoix, Hervé Richard and Pierre Gresser, *La forêt au Moyen-Age: entre mythes et usages*, Paris 2019

Hollstein 1980
Ernst Hollstein, *Mitteleuropäische Eichenchronologie: Trierer dendrochronologische Forschungen zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* (Trierer Grabungen und Forschungen 11), Mainz am Rhein 1980

Honig 2002
Elizabeth Honig, 'Pieter Brueghel the Younger: Maastricht and Brussels', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 144, no. 1188, 2002, pp. 181–83

Hoogewerff – van Regteren Altena 1928
G.J. Hoogewerff and J.Q. van Regteren Altena (eds.), *Arnoldus Buchelius Res Pictoriae. Aanteekeningen over kunstenaars en kunstwerken, 1583–1639*, 's-Gravenhage 1928

Hoppe-Harnoncourt 2001
Alice Hoppe-Harnoncourt, 'Geschichte der Restaurierung an der k. k. Gemäldegalerie. I. Teil: 1772 bis 1828', in: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 2, 2001, pp. 135–206

Hoppe-Harnoncourt 2012
Alice Hoppe-Harnoncourt, *The Restoration of Paintings at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century in the Imperial Gallery*, in: CeROArt 2012, published online: http://journals.openedition.org/ceroart/2336

Hoppe-Harnoncourt 2013
Alice Hoppe-Harnoncourt, 'Eine ungewöhnliche Einrichtung wird zum fixen Bestandteil der kunsthistorischen Ordnung: Die Malereischule der "alten deutschen Meister"' von 1781 bis 1837', in: Gudrun Swoboda (ed.), *Die kaiserliche Gemäldegalerie in Wien und die Anfänge des öffentlichen Kunstmuseums*, 2 vols, Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 2013, vol. 1, pp. 90–115

Hoppe-Harnoncourt (2018) 2019
Alice Hoppe-Harnoncourt, 'Antwerp – Brussels – Prague – Vienna. On the Tracks of the Vienna Bruegels', in: exh. cat., Sabine Pénot et al., *Bruegel. The Hand of the Master*, Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 2018–19, published 2018 as e-book in English and German, included in this volume pp. 372–91

Van Hout 1998
Nico Van Hout, 'Meaning and Development of the Ground Layer in 17th Century Painting', in: Erma Hermens (ed.), *Looking through Paintings: The Study of Painting Techniques and Materials in Support of Art Historical Research* (Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 11), Baarn 1998, pp. 199–225

Van Hout 2013
Nico Van Hout, '"Het frayste kaebient dat hier te sien is": Peeter Stevens (1590–1668) and his art collection', in: Ben van Beneden (ed.), *500 Years collecting Art in Antwerp: A Story of Passions*, Leuven 2013, pp. 73–88

Hulst 2017
Titia Hulst, *A History of the Western Art Market*, Oakland 2017

Hummelberger 1965
Walter Hummelberger, 'Erzherzog Matthias in den Niederlanden (1577–1581)', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 61, 1965, pp. 91–118

Hymans 1890–1891
Henry Hymans, 'Pierre Bruegel le Vieux', three articles in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 32, 3 series, no. 3, 1890, pp. 361–75; no. 4, 1890, pp. 361–73; no. 5, 1891, pp. 20–40

Hymans 1920
Henry Hymans, *Oeuvres*, 3 vols, Brussels 1920

Ilsink 2006
Matthijs Ilsink, *Bruegel*, Ghent 2006

Ilsink 2009
Matthijs Ilsink, *Bosch en Bruegel als Bosch: Kunst over kunst bij Pieter Bruegel (c. 1528–1569) en Jheronimus Bosch (c. 1450–1516)*, Nijmegen 2009

Ilsink et al. 2016
Matthijs Ilsink, Jos Koldeweij, Ron Spronk, Luuk Hoogstede, Robert G. Erdmann, Rik Klein Gotink, Hanneke Nap and Daan Veldhuizen, *Hieronymus Bosch: Painter and Draughtsman: Catalogue Raisonné*, Brussels 2016

Itzel 2003
Constanze Itzel, *Der Stein trügt: die Imitation von Skulpturen in der niederländischen Tafelmalerei im Kontext bildtheoretischer Auseinandersetzungen des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts*, PhD thesis, University of Heidelberg, 2003

Jäger 2015
Ludwig Jäger, 'Semantische Evidenz. Evidenzverfahren in den kulturellen Semantik', in: Helmut Lethen, Ludwig Jäger and Albrecht Koschorke (eds.), *Auf die Wirklichkeit zeigen. Zum Problem der Evidenz in den Kulturwissenschaften. Reader*, Frankfurt am Main – New York 2015, pp. 39–62

James 2009
Susan E. James, *The Feminine Dynamic in English Art, 1485–1603: Woman as Consumers, Patrons and Painters*, Aldershot 2009

James – Franco 2000
Susan E. James and Jamie S. Franco, 'Susanna Horenbout, Levina Teerlinc and the Mask of Royalty', in: *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* 2000, pp. 91–126

Jansen 2006
Linda Jansen, 'Serial Products in the Workshop of Pieter Coecke van Aelst: A Working Hypothesis', in: Hélène Verougstraete and Jacqueline Couvert (eds.), *La Peinture Ancienne et ses Procédés: Copies, Répliques, Pastiches (Le dessin sous-jacent et la technlogie dans la peinture, Colloque XV, Bruges, 11–13 Septembre 2003)*, Leuven 2006, pp. 173–80

Jansma – Hanraets 2004
Esther Jansma and Elsemiek Hanraets, 'Dating Flanders – towards a Flemish tree-ring chronology of oak', in: E. Jansma, A. Bräuning, H. Gärtner and G. Schleser (eds.), *TRACE – Tree Rings in Archaeology, Climatology and Ecology, Proceedings of the 2003 Dendrosymposium, Utrecht, 1–3 May 2003, vol. 2* (Schriften des Forschungszentrums Jülich, Reihe Umwelt / Environment 44), Jülich 2004, pp. 131–38

Johnson et al. 2017
Don H. Johnson, Catherine Metzger and Diane Wolfthal, 'Weave Match and Its Implications: The Case of Dirk Bouts', in: Maryan W. Ainsworth (ed.), *Workshop Practice in Early Netherlandish Painting: Case Studies from Van Eyck through Gossart*, Turnhout 2017, pp. 37–47

Jonckheere 2008
Koenraad Jonckheere, 'Supply and Demand: Some Notes on the Economy of Seventeenth Century Connoisseurship', in: Anna Tummers and Koenraad Jonckheere (eds.), *Art Market and Connoisseurship: A Closer Look at Paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens and their Contemporaries*, Amsterdam 2008, pp. 69–95

Jonckheere 2012a
Koenraad Jonckheere, 'Images of stone. The physicality of art and the image debates in the sixteenth century', in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 62, 2012, pp. 117–46

Jonckheere 2012b
Koenraad Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm: Experiments in Decorum*, Brussels – New Haven 2012

Jonckheere – Suykerbuyk 2012
Koenraad Jonckheere and Ruben Suykerbuyk (eds.), *Art after Iconoclasm: Painting in the Netherlands between 1566 and 1585*, Turnhout 2012

Jütte 1989–1991
W. Jütte, 'Mikrochemischer Nachweis natürlicher Harze mit Alkannafarbstoffen in Querschliffen von Malschichtproben', in: A. Vendl, B. Pichler, J. Weber, R. Erlach and G. Banik (eds.), *Wiener Berichte über Naturwissenschaft in der Kunst (6–8)*, Vienna 1989–1991, pp. 85–93

Kahane 2002
Catharina Kahane, 'Das Kreuz mit der Distanz: Passion und Landschaft in Pieter Bruegels Wiener Kreuztragung', in: Christoph Geissmar-Brandi et al. (eds.), *Gesichter der Haut* (nexus, vol. 57), Frankfurt – Basel 2002, pp. 189–211

Kahane 2007
Catharina Kahane, 'Flecken der Ästhetik: Macchia und Detail bei Pieter Bruegel dem Älteren', in: Edith Futscher et al. (eds.), *Was aus dem Bild fällt: Figuren des Details in Kunst und Literatur: Friedrich Teja Bach zum 60. Geburtstag*, Paderborn – Munich 2007, pp. 205–28

Kahane 2011
Catharina Kahane, 'Der Fall Babel: Volksbildung in Pieter Bruegels d. Ä. Turmbau', in: Beate Fricke, Markus Klammer and Stefan Neuner (eds.), *Bilder und Gemeinschaften: Studien zur Konvergenz von Politik und Ästhetik in Kunst, Literatur und Theorie*, Munich 2011, pp. 141–67

Kallweit 1993
Hilmar Kallweit, 'Paradoxe accumulatio copiosa. Zu Kompilationsformen in Schriften Sebastian Francks', in: Jan-Dirk Müller (ed.), *Sebastian Franck (1499–1542)* (Vorträge gehalten anläßlich eines Arbeitsgesprächs vom 4. bis 7. September 1989 in der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel), Wiesbaden 1993, pp. 131–51

Karner 2014
Herbert Karner (ed.), *Die Wiener Hofburg 1521–1705: Baugeschichte, Funktion und Etablierung als Kaiserresidenz* (Veröffentlichungen zur Bau- und Funktionsgeschichte der Wiener Hofburg, edited by Artur Rosenauer, vol. 2), Vienna 2014

Kaschek 2007
Bertram Kaschek, 'Bruegel in Prag: Anmerkungen zur Rezeption Pieter Bruegels d. Ä. um 1600', in: *Studia Rudolphina* 7, 2007, pp. 44–58

Kaschek 2012
Bertram Kaschek, *Weltzeit und Endzeit: Die 'Monatsbilder' Pieter Bruegels d. Ä.*, Munich 2012

Kaschek 2015
Bertram Kaschek, 'Die Hölle auf Erden: Hieronymus Boschs Erbe im druckgraphischen Frühwerk Pieter Bruegels d. Ä.', in: exh. cat., Tobias Pfeifer-Helke (ed.), *Hieronymus Boschs Erbe*, Dresden (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett) 2015, pp. 14–28, 190–96

Kaschek 2018
Bertram Kaschek, 'Pieter Bruegel and Religion: A Historiographical Introduction', in: Bertram Kaschek,

Jürgen Müller and Jessica Buskirk (eds.), *Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Religion*, Leiden – Boston 2018, pp. 1–34

Kavaler 1999
Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel: Parables of Order and Enterprise* (Cambridge Studies in Netherlandish Visual Culture), Cambridge 1999

Kavaler 2017
Ethan Matt Kavaler, 'Pieter Bruegel, Bernaerd van Orley, Realism and Class', in: *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 39, no. 1/2, 2017, pp. 73–88

Kemp 1983
Wolfgang Kemp, *Der Anteil des Betrachters. Rezeptionsästhetische Studien zur Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1983

Kemp 1996
Wolfgang Kemp, *Die Räume der Maler. Zur Bilderzählung seit Giotto*, Munich 1996

Van De Kerckhof 2013
Véronique Van De Kerckhof, 'Collecting as an art. The collection of Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640)', in: Ben van Beneden (ed.), *500 Years collecting Art in Antwerp: A Story of Passions*, Leuven 2013, pp. 57–72

Kiening 2003
Christian Kiening, *Das andere Selbst. Figuren des Todes an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit*, Munich 2003

Kinderfreund 1860
Carl Joseph Kinderfreund, *Das Fürstenhaus Lobkowitz. Mit einem Anhange: Das Banquet zu Raudnitz 1811. Nach Archivquellen bearbeitet*, Prague 1860

Kirby – Roy – Sprink 2002
Jo Kirby, Ashok Roy and Marika Spring, 'The Materials of Underdrawing', in: exh. cat., David Bomford (ed.), *Underdrawing in Renaissance Paintings: Art in the Making*, London (National Gallery) 2002, pp. 26–37

Kirchweger 2012
Franz Kirchweger, 'Die Schätze des Hauses Habsburg und die Kunstkammer: Ihre Geschichte und ihre Bestände', in: Sabine Haag and Franz Kirchweger (eds.), *Die Kunstkammer: Die Schätze der Habsburger*, Vienna 2012, pp. 12–49

Kittel 1960
Hans Kittel, *Pigmente. Herstellung, Eigenschaften, Anwendung*, 3rd edition, Stuttgart 1960

Klarwill (?) 1892
Ernst Klarwill (?), *Wie man die Wiener Galerie verdorben hat. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der kunsthistorischen Hofmuseums*, Vienna 1892

Klein 1998
Peter Klein, 'Dendrochronological Analyses of Panel Paintings', in: Kathleen Dardes and Andrea Rothe (eds.), *The Structural Conservation of Panel Paintings: Proceedings of a Symposium at the J. Paul Getty Museum, 24–28 April 1995*, Los Angeles 1998, pp. 39–54

Klein Gotink 2016
Rik Klein Gotink, 'Photography for the Bosch Research and Conservation Project', in: Luuk Hoogstede et al., *Hieronymus Bosch: Painter and Draughtsman: Technical Studies*, Brussels – New Haven 2016, pp. 12–29

Klinge 2006–2007
Margret Klinge, 'David Teniers and the Theatre of Painting', in: exh. cat., Ernst Vegelin van Claerbergen (ed.), *David Teniers and the Theatre of Painting*, London (The Courtauld Gallery) 2006–7, pp. 11–39

Koch 2013
Nadia J. Koch, *Paradeigma: Die antike Kunstschriftstellerei als Grundlage der frühneuzeitlichen Kunsttheorie*, Wiesbaden 2013

Koehler 1906–1907
Wilhelm Koehler, 'Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Wiener Kunstkammer in der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 26, 1906–7, I–XX

Koerner 2016
Joseph Leo Koerner, *Bosch and Bruegel: From Enemy Painting to Everyday Life* (Bollingen Series XXXV, no. 57), Princeton, NJ 2016

König – Heyder 2017
Eberhard König and Joris Corin Heyder, *Breviario Grimani: Commentario all'edizione facsimile*, Rome 2017

Kostyshyn 1994
Stephen J. Kostyshyn, *'Door tsoecken men vindt': A reintroduction to the life and work of Peeter Baltens alias Custodis of Antwerp (1527–1584)*, 3 vols, PhD thesis, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland 1994

Kott 2006
Christina Kott, *Préserver l'art de l'ennemi? Le patrimoine artistique en Belgique et en France occupés, 1914–1918* (Comparatisme et Société, No. 4), Brussels 2006

Krafft 1837
Albrecht Krafft, *Verzeichnis der kais. kön. Gemälde-Gallerie im Belvedere zu Wien*, Vienna 1837

Krieger 1996
Michaela Krieger, 'Die niederländische Grisaillemalerei des 15. Jahrhunderts. Bemerkungen zu neuerer Literatur', in: *Kunstchronik* 49, no. 12, December 1996, pp. 575–88

Krieger 2012
Michaela Krieger, *Gerard Horenbout und der Meister Jakobs IV. von Schottland*, Vienna etc. 2012

Kunzle 2002
David Kunzle, *From Criminal to Courtier: The Soldier in Netherlandish Art 1550–1672*, Leiden – Boston 2002

Kurtoglu 1983
A. Kurtoglu, 'The Properties of Sorption of Old Spruce Timber', in: *Holzforschung und Holzverwertung – Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Holzforschung* 35, no. 6, 1983, pp. 125–26

La Camera 2007
Deborah La Camera, 'Crystal Formations within Iron Gall Ink: Observations and Analysis', in: *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 46, 2, 2007, pp. 153–174

Lambert et al. 1988
Georges Lambert, Catherine Lavier, Patricia Perrier and Sophie Vincenot, 'Pratique de la dendrochronologie', in: *Histoire et Mesure* 3/3, 1988, pp. 279–308

Lampsonius 1572
Dominicus Lampsonius, *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae Inferioris effigies*, Antwerp 1572

Lebeer 1969
Louis Lebeer, *Catalogue Raisonné des estampes de Bruegel l'ancien*, Brussels 1969

van Leeuwen 1970
Frans van Leeuwen, 'Iets over het handschrift van de "naer het leven"-tekenaar', in: *Oud Holland* 85, no.1, 1970, pp. 25–32

Leloup 1983
Willy Leloup, *Hubertus Goltzius en Brugge 1583–1983*, Bruges 1983

Leonardo 1998
The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci, edited by Irma Richter, Oxford 1998

Leuschner 2008
Eckhard Leuschner, 'A Grisaille Oil Sketch from the "De Backer Group" and Workshop Practices in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp', in: *The Metropolitan Museum Journal* 43, 2008, pp. 99–110

Levine 2012
David A. Levine, 'Parody, Proverb and Paradox in Two Late Works by Pieter Bruegel the Elder', in David R. Smith (ed.), *Parody and Festivity in Early Modern Art: Essays on Comedy as Social Vision*, Ashgate 2012

Lhotsky 1941–1945
Alphons Lhotsky, *Die Geschichte der Sammlungen*, 2 vols, vol. 2, first half: *Von den Anfängen bis zum Tode Kaiser Karls VI. 1740*; second half: *Von Maria Theresia bis zum Ende der Monarchie* (Festschrift des Kunsthistorischen Museums zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestandes, 2.1. und 2.2.), Vienna 1941–45

Lichtert 2014
Katrien Lichtert, 'The Artist, the City and the Urban Theatre: Pieter Bruegel's "Battle between Shrovetide and Lent" (1559) Reconsidered', in: Katrien Lichtert, Maximiliaan P. J. Martens et al. (eds.), *Portraits of the City: Representing Urban Space in Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Studies in European Urban History, vol. 31), Turnhout 2014, pp. 83–96

Lindquist 2007
Thea Lindquist, 'Clement von Radolt (1593–1670): A Mulitfarious Career in the Seventeenth Century Imperial Service', in: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 52, 2007, pp. 9–29

Locatelli 2014
Valentina Locatelli, *Georges Hulin de Loos kunstkennerschaftliche Methode am Beispiel seines Catalogue critique zur Ausstellung in Brügge (1902)*, in: *Kunstgeschichte. Open Peer Reviewed Journal* 2013, published online: URN: urn:nbn:de:bvb:355-kuge-338-7

Lorenz 2015
Bertram Lorenz, *Flügelaltar mit der Versuchung des Heiligen Antonius, Kopie*

um 1555 nach Hieronymus Bosch, aus der Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Kunsttechnologie, Konservierung und Restaurierung (praktischer Teil). Vorschläge für die zukünftige Rahmung und Präsentation (theoretischer Teil), Hochschule für Bildende Künste, Dresden 2015

Lorenz – Mader-Kratky 2016
Hellmut Lorenz and Ann Mader-Kratky (eds.), *Die Wiener Hofburg 1705–1835. Die kaiserliche Residenz vom Barock bis zum Klassizismus* (Veröffentlichungen zur Kunstgeschichte, 14), Vienna 2016

Lowitzsch 2009
Nadja Lowitzsch, *Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm, Sammler und Erbauer eines Galeriegebäudes: Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm, Begründer der Gemäldesammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien und sein eigenständiger Galeriebau in Brüssel*, PhD thesis, Universität Wien 2005, Saarbrücken 2009

Maclehose (1907) 1960
Giorgio Vasari, Vasari on Technique, translated by Louisa S. Maclehose, unaltered republication of the 1907 edition, New York 1960

de Maeyer 1955
Marcel de Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst: Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de XVIIe-eeuwse schilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden*, Brussels 1955

van Mander 1604
Karel van Mander, *Het schilder-boeck waerin voor eerst de leerlustige Iueght den grondt der edel vry schilderconst in verscheyden deelen wort voorghedraghen […]*, Haarlem 1604

van Mander – Miedema 1973
Karel van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilderconst, facsimile, vertaling en annotaties door H. Miedema*, 2 vols, Utrecht 1973

Mäntele 2010
Martin Franz Mäntele, *Die Gesten im malerischen und zeichnerischen Werk Raffaels*, Tübingen 2010

De Marchi – van Miegroet 1996
Neil De Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet, 'Pricing Invention: "Originals", "Copies" and their Relative Value in Early Modern Art Markets', in: Victor Ginsburgh and Pierre-Michel Menger (eds.), *Studies in the Economics of the Arts*, Amsterdam 1996, pp. 27–70

De Marchi – van Miegroet 2000
Neil De Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet, 'Exploringing Markets for Netherlandish Paintings in Spain and Nueva España', in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 50, 2000, pp. 81–111

De Marchi – van Miegroet 2006
Neil De Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet, 'History of Art Markets', in: Victor Ginsburgh and David Throsby (eds.), *Handbook on the Economics of Art and Culture*, Amsterdam – London – Tokyo 2006, pp. 69–122

De Marchi – van Miegroet 2007
Neil De Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet, 'The Antwerp–Mechelen Production and Export Complex', in: Mia Mochizuki, Amy Golahny and Lisa Vergara (eds.), *Essays in Memory of John Michael Montias*, Amsterdam 2007, pp. 133–147

De Marchi – van Miegroet 2010
Neil De Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet, 'Flemish Textile Trade and New Imagery in Colonial Mexico (1524–1646)', in: Jonathan Brown (ed.), *Painting for the Kingdoms*, Mexico City 2010, pp. 878–923

De Marchi – van Miegroet 2012
Neil De Marchi and Hans J. van Miegroet, 'Uncertainty, Family Ties and Derivative Painting in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp', in: Katlijne Van der Stighelen and Leen Kelchtermans (eds.), *Family Ties: On Art Production, Kinship Patterns and Connections 1600–1800*, Turnhout 2012, pp. 55–76

De Marchi et al. 2014
Neil De Marchi, Sandra van Ginhoven and Hans J. van Miegroet, 'Supply-Demand Imbalance in the Antwerp Paintings Markets, 1630–1680', in: Sophie Raux and Neil De Marchi (eds.), *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries* (SEUH 34), Turnhout 2014, pp. 37–76

Mariette 1851–1853
Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Abecedario et autres notes relatives à l'art et aux artistes, dans les Archives de l'art français*, 6 vols, Paris 1851–53

Marijnissen et al. 1988
Roger Hendrik Marijnissen, Peter Ruyffelaere, Paul van Calster and A.W.F.M. Meij, *Bruegel: Het volledig oeuvre*, Antwerp 1988

Marijnissen et al. (1998) 2003
Roger Hendrik Marijnissen, Peter Ruyffelaere, Paul van Calster,

A.W.F.M. Meij, *Bruegel: Das vollständige Werk*, translated by Rolf Erdorf, Cologne 2003

Marjnnissen – Seidel 1969
Roger H. Marijnissen and Max Seidel, *Bruegel*, Stuttgart 1969

Marijnissen – Seidel 1984
Roger H. Marijnissen and Max Seidel, *Bruegel*, New York 1984

Marlier 1966
George Marlier, *Pierre Coecke d'Alost*, Brussel 1966

Marlier 1969
Georges Marlier, *Pierre Brueghel le Jeune*, posthumous edition by Jaqueline Folie, Brussels 1969

Marrow 2005
James H. Marrow, *Pictorial Invention in Netherlandish Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages: The Play of Illusion and Meaning*, Leuven 2005

Martens 2012
Maximiliaan P. J. Martens, 'Het realisatieproces in Dulle Griet en de Twaalf spreuken van Pieter Bruegel de Oude', in: exh. cat., Mänfred Sellink and Maximiliaan P. J. Martens, *Bruegel Ongezien! De verborgen Antwerpse collecties*, Antwerp (Museum Mayer van den Bergh) 2012, pp. 26–59

McKittrick et al. 2012
J. McKittrick, P.-Y. Chen, S. Bodde, W. Yang, E. Novitskaya and M. Meyers, 'The Structure, Functions, and Mechanical Properties of Keratin', in: *The Journal of The Minerals, Metals & Materials Society* 64 (4), pp. 449–68

Meadow 1997
Mark A. Meadow, 'Putting Bruegel in His Place: Contextual Studies of Pieter Bruegel the Elder', in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47 (1996), Zwolle 1997, pp. 6–13

Meadow 2002
Mark A. Meadow, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Netherlandish Proverbs and the Practice of Rhetoric*, Zwolle 2002

Mechel 1783
Christian von Mechel, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde der Kaiserlich Königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien*, Vienna 1783

Mechel 1784
Christian von Mechel, *Catalogue des Tableaux de la Galerie Impériale et Royale*

de Vienne, composé par Chrétien de Mechel, Membre de diverses Académies, d'après l'arrangement qu'il a fait de cette Galerie en 1781, Basel 1784

Meeus 2014
Hubert Meeus, 'Printing Vernacular Translations in 16th century Antwerp', in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 64, 2014, pp. 116–32

Meganck 2014
Tine Luk Meganck, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Fall of the Rebel Angels: Art, Knowledge and Politics on the Eve of the Dutch Revolt*, Milan 2014

Meganck 2017
Tine Luk Meganck, *Erudite Eyes. Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)*, Leiden – Boston 2017

Meganck 2018
Tine Luk Meganck, 'Census at Bethlehem. Winter of a Golden Age', in: Tine Luk Meganck and Sabine van Sprang, *Bruegel's Winter Scenes: Historians and Art Historians in Dialogue*, Brussels 2018, pp. 85–127

Meganck 2020 (forthcoming)
Tine Luk Meganck, 'Bruegel's patrons. How close viewing may reveal original ownership', in: *The Bruegel Success Story. Symposium XXI for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting, Brussels, 12–14 September 2018,* Brussels 2020 (forthcoming)

Meiss 1967
Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late XIV century and the Patronage of the Duke,* London 1967

Meiss 1974
Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries,* London 1974

Melion 1991
Walter Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck,* Chicago 1991

Merrifield 1849
Mary Philadelphia Merrifield, *Original Treatises on the Arts of Painting,* 2 vols, London 1849 (reprinted with an introduction by S.M. Alexander, New York 1967)

Metzger – Wolfthal 2014
Cathy Metzger and Diane Wolfthal, *Los Angeles Museums, Corpus of Netherlandish Painting 22,* Brussels 2014

van der Meulen 1994
Marjon van der Meulen, *Corpus Rubenianum. Copies after the Antique,* 3 vols, London 1994

Michalsky 2011
Tanja Michalsky, *Projektion und Imagination: Die niederländische Landschaft der Frühen Neuzeit im Diskurs von Geographie und Malerei,* Paderborn 2011

Michel 1938
Edouard Michel, 'Bruegel et la critique moderne', in: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 19, 6th series, 1938, pp. 27–46

Michel 2017
Eva Michel, '"Er zeichnete sehr sauber und hübsch mit der Feder": Pieter Bruegel als Zeichner', in: exh. cat., Eva Michel (ed.), *Pieter Bruegel: Das Zeichnen der Welt,* Vienna (Albertina) 2017, pp. 15–29

Miedema 1994–1999
Hessel Miedema (ed.), *Karel van Mander, The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the first edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603–1604). Preceded by the Lineage, Circumstances and Place of Birth, Life, and Works of Karel van Mander, Painter and Poet and Likewise His Death and Burial, from the Second Edition of the Schilder-boeck (1616–1618),* translated into English and with comments by Hessel Miedema, 6 vols, Doornspijk 1994–1999

Miedema 1998
Hessel Miedema, 'Pieter Bruegel weer; en de geloofwaardigheid van Karel van Mander', in: *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen,* 1998, pp. 309–27

van Miegroet 1986
Hans van Miegroet, 'The Twelve months reconsidered: how a drawing by Peeter Steevens clarifies a Bruegel enigma', in: *Simiolus* 16, 1986, pp. 29–35

van Miegroet 2017
Hans J. van Miegroet, 'Attributability with the Five Senses by Jan Brueghel the Younger,' in: Debra Taylor Cashion, Henry Luttikhuizen and Ashley D. West (eds.), *The Primacy of the Image in Northern European Art, 1400–1700,* Leiden 2017, pp. 487–99

Mielke 1996
Hans Mielke, *Pieter Bruegel: Die Zeichnungen,* Turnhout 1996

Millar 1958–1960
Oliver Millar, 'Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I', in: *Walpole Society* 37, 1958–60

Milla-Villena 1980
Rodolfo Milla-Villena, 'Deux Moralités de Pieter Bruegel l'Ancien à l'Epoque de la Montée du Calvinisme aux Pays-Bas', in: *Bulletin de l'Association d'Études sur l'Humanisme, la Réforme et la Renaissance* 1980, vol. 11 (La Littérature populaire aux XVème et XVIème Siècles. Actes du deuxième Colloque de Goutelas, 1979 eds. Henri Weber, Claude Longeon and Claude Mont), pp. 188–201

Miner 1980
Dorothy E. Miner, *Two Thousand Years of Calligraphy,* New York 1980

Monballieu 1964
Adolf Monballieu, 'Pieter Bruegel en het altaar van de Mechelse Handschoenmakers (1551)', in: *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen* 68, 1964, pp. 92–110

Monballieu 1974
Adolf Monbaillieu, 'De kunstenaarsfamilie Verhulst Bessemeers', in: *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen* 78, 1974, pp. 105–21

du Mortier 2012
Bianca M. du Mortier, 'Features of Fashion in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century', in: Johannes Pietsch and Anna Jolly (eds.), *Netherlandish Fashion in the Seventeenth Century* (Riggisberger Berichte 19), Riggisberg 2012, pp. 17–39

Muller 1989
Jeffrey M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector,* Princeton, NJ 1989

Müller 1993
Jan-Dirk Müller, 'Zur Einführung. Sebastian Franck: der Schreiber asl Kompilator', in: Jan-Dirk Müller (ed.), *Sebastian Franck: (1499–1542),* Vorträge gehalten anläßlich eines Arbeitsgesprächs vom 4. bis 7. September 1989 in der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (Wolfenbütteler Forschung, 56), Wiesbaden 1993, pp. 13–38

Müller 1997
Jürgen Müller, '"Pieter der Drollige" oder der Mythos vom Bauern-Bruegel', in: Klaus Ertz (ed.), *Pieter Breughel der Jüngere – Jan Brueghel der Ältere: Flämische Malerei um 1600,* Lingen 1997, pp. 42–53

Müller 1999
Jürgen Müller, *Das Paradox als Bildform: Studien zur Ikonologie Pieter Bruegel d. Ä.,* Munich 1999

Müller 2015
Jan-Dirk Müller, 'Evidentia und Medialität. Zur Ausdifferenzierung von Evidenz in der Frühen Neuzeit', in: Helmut Lethen, Ludwig Jäger and Albrecht Koschorke (eds.), *Auf die Wirklichkeit zeigen,* Frankfurt 2015, pp. 261–89

Müller (1660) 2005
Johann Sebastian Müller, 'Reiße-Diarum', in: Katrin Keller, Martin Scheutz and Harald Tersch (eds.), *Einmal Weimar–Wien und retour: Johann Sebastian Müller und sein Wienbericht aus dem Jahr 1660* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, vol. 42), Vienna – Munich 2005, pp. 17–140

Müller Hofstede 1979
Justus Müller Hofstede, 'Zur Interpretation von Bruegels Landschaft: Ästhetischer Landschaftsbegriff und Stoische Weltbetrachtung', in: Otto von Simson and Matthias Winner (eds.), *Pieter Bruegel und seine Welt: Ein Colloquium veranstaltet vom Kunsthistorischen Institut der Freien Universität Berlin und dem Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz am 13. und 14. November 1975,* Berlin 1979, pp. 73–142

Muylle 2020 (forthcoming)
Jan Muylle, 'Pieter Bruegel's The Heath. Collectors and Conoisseurs', in: *The Bruegel Success Story. Symposium XXI for the Study of Underdrawing and Technology in Painting, Brussels, 12–14 September 2018,* Brussels 2020 (forthcoming)

Nakada 2009
Asuka Nakada, *L'iconographie de la conversion de Saül dans les anciens Pays-Bas et dans la Principauté de Liège au XVIe siècle,* master's thesis, Université de Liège 2009

Narayanamurti et al. 1961
D. Narayanamurti, S. Ghosh and G.M. Verma, 'Structural Changes in Wood Caused by Swelling and Shrinkage under Mechanical Restraint', in: *Holzforschung und Holzverwertung – Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Holzforschung* 13, no. 2, 1961, pp. 31–34

Neumann 1966
Jaromir Neumann, *Die Gemäldegalerie der Prager Burg,* Prague 1966

Noflatscher 1987
Heinz Noflatscher, *Glaube, Reich und Dynastie: Maximilian der Deutschmeister (1558–1618)* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, vol. 11), PhD thesis, Universität Innsbruck 1986, Marburg 1987

Noll 1999
Thomas Noll, 'Pieter Bruegel d. Ä. Der Bauer, der Vogeldieb und die Imker', in: *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Künste* 50, 1999, pp. 65–71

North 2016
Michael North, *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800,* London 2016

Novotny 1948
Fritz Novotny, *Die Monatsbilder Pieter Bruegels d. Ä.,* Vienna 1948

Nuttal 2000
Paula Nuttall, '"Panni Dipinti di Fiadra": Netherlandish Painted Cloths in Fifteenth-Century Florence', in: *The Fabric of Images. European paintings on textile supports in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,* London 2000, pp.109–17

Oberthaler 1996
Elke Oberthaler, 'Zur Geschichte der Restaurierwerkstätte der "k.k. Gemälde-Galerie"', in: exh. cat., Wilfried Seipel and Hubert Dietrich (eds.), *Restaurierte Gemälde. Die Restaurierwerkstätte der Gemäldegalerie des Kunsthistorischen Museums 1986–1996,* Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 1996, pp. 26–33

Oberthaler 1998
Elke Oberthaler, 'Tafelbildbehandlungen im Kunsthistorischen Museum', in: *Restauratorenblätter* 19, 1998, pp. 45–54

Oberthaler (2018) 2019
Elke Oberthaler, 'Materials and Techniques. Observations on Pieter Bruegel's Working Methods as seen in the Vienna Paintings', in: exh. cat., Sabine Pénot et al., *Bruegel. The Hand of the Master,* Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 2018–19, published 2018 as e-book in English and German, included in this volume pp. 414–70

Op de Beeck 2005
Jan Op de Beeck, *Mayken Verhulst (1518–1599),* Mechelen 2005

Orenstein 2001
Nadine M. Orenstein, 'The Elusive Life of Pieter Bruegel the Elder', in: exh. cat., Nadine Orenstein and Manfred Sellink (eds.), *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints,* Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) – New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2001, pp. 3–12

Orenstein 2003
Nadine Orenstein, 'Followers and Fakers of Pieter Bruegel', in: *International Foundation for Art Research Journal* 6, 2003, pp. 12–17

Orenstein 2006
Nadine Orenstein, *Pieter Bruegel, The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etching, Engravings and Woodcuts,* Oudekerk aan de IJssel 2006

Orenstein 2014–2015
Nadine Orenstein, 'Customs and Fashions of the Turks', in: Exhibition Catalogue, Elizabeth Cleland et al. (eds.), *Grand Design: Pieter Coecke van Aelst and Renaissance Tapestry,* New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2014–15, pp. 176–82

Parshall 2016
Peter Parshall, 'Pieter Bruegel the Elder (review of the Chemnitzer exhibition "Pieter Bruegel der Ältere und das Theater der Welt 2015")', in: *Print Quarterly* XXXIII, no. 3, September 2016, p. 345

Papenbrock 2001
Martin Papenbrock, *Landschaften des Exils. Gillis van Coninxloo und die Frankenthaler Maler,* Cologne – Weimar – Vienna 2001

Paredez 2014
Cecilia Paredez, 'The Confusion of the Battlefield. A New Perspective on the Tapestries of the Battle of Pavia (c. 1525–1531)', in: *RIHA Journal* 0102,28 December 2014, online: www.riha-journal.org/articles/2014/2014-oct-dec/paredes-battle-of-pavia

Pawlak 2011
Anna Pawlak, Trilogie der Gottessuche: Pieter Bruegels d. Ä. Sturz der gefallenen Engel, Triumph des Todes und Dulle Griet, PhD thesis, Universität zu Köln, Cologne 2008, Berlin 2011

Pawlak 2018
Anna Pawlak, 'The Imaginarium of Death: Pieter Bruegel's The Triumph of Death', in: Bertram Kaschek, Jürgen Müller and Jessica Buskirk (eds.), *Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Religion,* Leiden – Boston 2018, pp. 134–58

Pendergast 2004
Sara Pendergast and Tom Pendergast, *Fashion, Costume, and Culture,* vol. 2: *Early Cultures Across the Globe,* New York 2004

Pénot 2009
Sabine Pénot, 'Der napoleonische Kunstraub im Belvedere (1809) und seine Folgen', in: exh. cat., *Napoleon: Feldherr, Kaiser und Genie,* Schallaburg 2009, pp. 111–19

Pénot (2018) 2019
Sabine Pénot, 'The Rediscovery of Pieter Bruegel the Elder. The Pioneers of Bruegel Scholarship in Belgium and Vienna', in: exh. cat., Sabine Pénot et al., *Bruegel. The Hand of the Master,* Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 2018–19, published 2018 as e-book in English and German, included in this volume pp. 358–67

Piot 1884
Charles Piot (ed.), *Correspondance du Cardinal de Granvelle 1565–1583,* vol. IV, Brussels 1884

Pitthard et al. 2006
V. Pitthard, M. Griesser, S. Stanek and T. Bayerová, 'Study of complex organic binding media systems on artworks applying GC-MS analysis: selected examples from the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna', in: *Macromolecular Symposia* 238, 2006, pp. 37–45

Polleroß 2015
Friedrich Polleroß, '"Kayserliche Schatz- und Kunstkammer": Die habsburgischen Sammlungen und ihre Öffentlichkeit im 17. Jahrhundert', in: Sabine Haag, Franz Kirchweger and Paulus Rainer (eds.), *Das Haus Habsburg und die Welt der fürstlichen Kunstkammern im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums, vol. 15), Vienna 2015, pp. 255–95

Popham 1931
Arthur E. Popham, 'Pieter Bruegel and Abraham Ortelius', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 59, no. 343, October 1931, pp. 184–88

Porras 2016
Stephanie Porras, *Pieter Bruegel's Historical Imagination,* University Park, PA 2016

Postec 2012
Marie Postec, 'Technical Reconstitutions Based on "The Seven Sacraments" by Rogier van der Weyden: an Experimental Approach', in: Lorne Campbell et al. (eds.), *Rogier van der Weyden in Context, Proceedings of Symposium XVII, Leuven, November 2009* (Underdrawing and Technology in Painting. Symposia 17), Louvain 2012, pp. 147–58

Povey 2003
Deboray Povey, 'Twelve Months and Four Seasons. Towards the Clarification of a Bruegel Dilemma', in: *Umeni* 2003, pp. 484–94

Preimesberger 2011
Rudolf Preimesberger, *Paragons and Paragone: Van Eyck, Raphael, Michelangelo, Caravaggio and Bernini,* Los Angeles 2011

Pino (1548) 1960
Paolo Pino, *Dialogo di Pittura di Messer Paolo Pino, nuovamente dato in luce,* Venezia 1548, re-edited by Paola Barocchi (ed.), *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento fra Manierismo e Controriforma,* 2 vols, vol. I, Bari 1960, pp. 95–139, 396–432

Persels 1997
Jeffery C. Persels, 'Bragueta Humanistica, or Humanism's Codpiece', in: *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 28, 1, Spring, 1997, pp. 79–99

Philippot 1966
Paul Philippot, 'Les Grisailles et les "degrés de réalité" de l'image dans la peinture flamande des XVe et XVIe siècles', in: *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 15, 1966, no. 4, pp. 225–42

Philippot et al. 1969
Albert Philippot, Nicole Goetghebeur and Regine Guislain-Wittermann, 'L'Adoration des Mages de Bruegel au Musée des beaux-arts de Bruxelles: traitement d'un "Tuechlein"', in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* 11, 1969, pp. 5–33

Picquard 1950
Maurice Picquard, 'Le cardinal de Granvelle, amateur de tapisseries', in: *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 19, 3–4, 1950, pp. 111–26

Pikhaus 1988-1989
Patricia Pikhaus, *Het Tafelspel bij de Rederijkers,* 2 vols, Ghent 1988–89 (Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde)

de Piles 1708
Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes,* Paris 1708

Prenner 1728
Anton Joseph von Prenner, *Theatrum artis picturiae quo tabulae depictae quae in Caesareā Vibdobonensi Pinacotheca servantur leviore caelaturā aeri insculptae exhibentur […]*, vol. 1, Vienna 1728

Pride 1812
B. Pride, *The Art of Pen-Cutting, comprising an history of the invention and first use of pens, etc.*, London 1812

Puttevils 2015
Jeroen Puttevils, *Merchants and Trading in the Sixteenth Century: The Golden Age of Antwerp* (Perspectives in Economic and Social History, vol. 38), London 2015

Radolt 1678
Clement von Radolt, *Der Röm[ische] Kaij[ser] auch zu Hungarn und Böhaimb königl[iche] Maij[estät] Leopoldi des Ersten Intracten und Auszgaben, oder Einkom[m]en […] und schlüsslichen was in der kaij[serlichen] Kunst- und Schatz Cammer für preciose unschätzbare Sachen verhanden und zu sehen seind*, Vienna 1678, Ms. Codex 1176, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania

Ramakers 1997
Bart A. M. Ramakers, 'Bruegel en de rederijkers: Schilderkunst en literatuur in de zestiende eeuw', in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 47* (1996), Zwolle 1997, pp. 80–105

Raupp 1986
Hans Joachim Raupp, *Bauernsatiren: Entstehung und Entwicklung des bäuerlichen Genres in der deutschen und niederländischen Kunst ca. 1470–1570*, Niederzier 1986

Raux 2018
Sophie Raux, *Lotteries, Art Markets, and Visual Culture in the Low Countries, 15th–17th Centuries*, Leiden 2018

Read 1923
Herbert Read, 'The Labours of the Months: A Series of Stained Glass Roundels', in: *The Burlington Magazine 43*, 1923, pp. 166–68

Reiter 2009
Cornelia Reiter, 'Die Geschichte der Gemäldesammlung des Schottenstiftes', in: Martin Czernin (ed.), *Museum im Schottenstift. Kunstsammlung der Benediktinerabtei Unserer Lieben Frau zu den Schotten in Wien*, Vienna 2009, pp. 20–27

Renger 1970
Konrad Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft. Zur Ikonographie des Verlorenen Sohnes und von Wirtshausszenen in der niederländischen Malerei*, Berlin 1970

Richardson 2011
Todd M. Richardson, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Art Discourse in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands*, Farnham 2011

Riggs 1971
Thimothy A. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock (1510–1570): Printmaker and Publisher in Antwerp at the Sign of the Four Winds*, PhD thesis, Yale, 1971 (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor 1977)

Roberts-Jones 1969
Philippe Roberts-Jones, *Bruegel: Der Maler und seine Welt*, Brussels 1969

Roberts-Jones 1997
Philippe and Françoise Roberts-Jones, *Pieter Bruegel de Oudere*, Ghent 1997

Robinet et al. 2011
Laurianne Robinet, Marika Spring, Sandrine Pagès-Camagna, Delphine Vantelon and Nicolas Trcera, 'Investigation of the Discoloration of Smalt Pigment in Historic Paintings by Micro-X-ray Absorption Spectroscopy at the Co K-Edge', in: *Analytical Chemistry 83* (13), 2011, pp. 5145–52, online DOI: 10.1021/ac200184f

Rombouts – van Lerius 1872
Ph. Rombouts and Th. Van Lerius (eds.), *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde onder zinspreuk: uut ionsten versaemt*, vol. 1, Antwerp 1872

Romdahl 1905
Axel Romdahl, 'Pieter Brueghel der Ältere und sein Kunstschaffen', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 25*, 1905, pp. 85–169

Rosenfeld 1974
Hellmut Rosenfeld, *Der mittelalterliche Totentanz. Entstehung, Entwicklung, Bedeutung*, 3rd edition, Cologne – Weimar – Vienna 1974

Roy 1988
Ashok Roy, 'The Technique of a 'Tüchlein' by Quentin Massys', in: *National Gallery Technical Bulletin 12*, 1988, pp. 36–43

Roy 1993
Ashok Roy (ed.), *Artists' Pigments: A Handbook of Their History and Characteristics*, vol. 2, New York – Oxford 1993

Royalton-Kisch 2000
Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'A Sketch for a "Journey to Emmaus" by Pieter Bruegel the Elder', in: *Master Drawings 38*, 2000, pp. 443–47

Royalton-Kisch 2001
Martin Royalton-Kisch, 'Pieter Bruegel as a Draftsman: The Changing Image', in: exh. cat., Nadine Orenstein and Manfred Sellink (eds.), *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*, Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) – New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2001, pp. 13–39

Rybníček et al. 2006
Michal Rybníček, Hanuš Vavrčík and Robert Hubený, 'Determination of the number of sapwood annual rings in oak in the region of Southern Moravia', in: *Journal of Forest Science 52*, 2006, pp. 141–46

Schmidt 2013
Jan Schmidt, 'Teamarbeit in Vollendung: Zum Werkprozess der Madonna im Blumenkranz von Peter Paul Rubens und Jan Brueghel d. Ä.', in: Mirjam Neumeister (ed.), *Brueghel. Gemälde von Jan Brueghel d. Ä.*, Munich 2013, pp. 109–23

Schmitz-von Ledebur 2013
Sabine Haag, Katja Schmitz-von Ledebur (eds.), *Kaiser Karl V. erobert Tunis: Dokumentation eines Kriegszuges in Kartons und Tapisserien*, Vienna 2013

Schoell-Glas 1999
Charlotte Schoell-Glas, 'En grisaille – painting difference', in: M. Heusser, M. Hannoosh, L. Hoek, C. Schoell-Glas and D. Scott (eds.), *Text and Visuality. Word and Image. Interactions 3*, Amsterdam – Atlanta 1999, pp. 197–206

Schramm – Hering 1995
H.P. Schramm and B. Hering, *Historische Malmaterialien und ihre Identifizierung*, Stuttgart 1995

Schreiber 2004
Renate Schreiber, *'Ein Galeria nach meinem Humor': Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm* (Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums, vol. 8), Vienna 2004

Schryen 2006
Annette Schryen, 'Die k.k. Bilder-Galerie im Oberen Belvedere in Wien', in: Bénédicte Savoy (ed.), *Tempel der Kunst. Die Geburt des öffentlichen Museums in Deutschland 1701–1815*, Mainz am Rhein 2006, pp. 279–303

Schütz 1998
Karl Schütz, *Die Sammlung Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelms*, in: exh. cat., Klaus Bußmann and Heinz Schilling (eds.), *1648: Krieg und Frieden in Europa*, Münster – Osnabrück 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 181–90

Scully – Seidel 2016
Sophie Scully and Christine Seidel, 'A Tüchlein by Justus van Ghent: "The Adoration of the Magi" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art reexamined', in: *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art 8*, 1, 2016, online DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2016.8.1.3

Sedlmayr 1934
Hans Sedlmayr, 'Die "Macchia" Bruegels', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, New Series 8, 1934, pp. 137–59 (reprinted in: Hans Sedlmayr, *Epochen und Werke: Gesammelte Schriften zur Kunstgeschichte*, 3 vols, Vienna etc. 1959, vol. 1, pp. 274–318)

Sellink (2007) 2011
Manfred Sellink, *Bruegel: The Complete Paintings, Drawings and Prints*, 2nd edition, Brussels 2011

Sellink 2012
Manfred Sellink, '"Nous devons chercher à atteindre la plus grande diversité…". Copia et varietas dans le paysage de l'art néerlandais du XVIe siècle', in: exh. cat., Alain Tapié and Michel Weemans (eds.), *Fables du paysage flamand: Bosch, Bles, Brueghel, Bril*, Lille 2012–13 (Palais des Beaux Arts de Lille) 2012–13, pp. 72–75

Sellink 2013
Manfred Sellink, 'The Dating of Pieter Bruegel's Landscape Drawings Reconsidered and a New Discovery', in: *Master Drawings 51*, no. 3, 2013, pp. 291–322

Sellink 2016–2017
Manfred Sellink, 'Der Großen Verschiedenheit sowohl in Farbe als auch Aussehen sollen wir weise und rücksichtsvoll folgen, denn das bringt die große gepriesene Schönheit', in: exh. cat., Uta Neidhardt and Konstanze Krüger (eds.), *Das Paradies auf Erden: Flämische Landschaften von Bruegel bis Rubens*, Dresden (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister) 2016–17, pp. 14–27

Sellink 2017
Manfred Sellink, 'El triunfo de la Muerte y El vino de la fiesta de San Martín: Dos obras maestras de Pieter Bruegel el Viejo en el Museo del Prado', in: Miguel Falomir et al., *Los tesoros ocultos del Museo del Prado*, Madrid 2017, pp. 165–81

Sellink (2018) 2019
Manfred Sellink, 'Leading the Eye and Staging the Composition. Some Remarks on Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Compositional Techniques', in: exh. cat., Sabine Pénot et al., *Bruegel. The Hand of the Master*, Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 2018–19, published 2018 as e-book in English and German, included in this volume pp. 336–52

Serlio 1545
Sebastiano Serlio, *Secondo libro dell'architettura*, Paris 1545

Silva Maroto et al. 2011
Pilar Silva Maroto, Manfred Sellink and Elisa Mora, *Pieter Bruegel el Viejo, El vino de la fiesta de San Martín* (Serie uno / Museo del Prado 6), Madrid 2011

Silva Maroto – Sellink 2011
Pilar Silva Maroto and Manfred Sellink, 'The rediscovery of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's "Wine of St Martin's Day", acquired for the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid', in: *The Burlington Magazine 153*, December 2011, pp. 784–93

Silver 2001
Larry Silver, 'The Importance of Being Bruegel: The Posthumous Survival of the Art of Pieter Bruegel the Elder', in: exh. cat., Nadine Orenstein and Manfred Sellink, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*, Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) – New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2001, pp. 67–84

Silver 2006
Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market*, Philadelphia 2006

Silver 2011
Larry Silver, *Pieter Bruegel*, New York – London 2011

Slotsgaard 2011
T.L. Slotsgaard, *A 17th Century Netherlandish Panel Painting*, University of Copenhagen, 2011

Smolderen 1967
Luc Smolderen, 'Une médaille inédite de Jean Franckaert, ami de Bruegel l'Ancien par Jacques Jonghelinck', in: *Revue belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie 113*, 1967, pp. 81–86

Smolderen 1973
Luc Smolderen, entries on 'Jonghelinck (Nicolas und Jacques)', in: *Biographie Nationale*, vol. 38 (Supplément X), edited by the Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels 1973, pp. 370–91

Smolderen 1995
Luc Smolderen, 'Tableaux de Jérôme Bosch, de Pierre Bruegel l'Ancien et de Frans Floris dispersés en vente publique à la monnaie d'Anvers en 1572', in: *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art 64*, 1995, pp. 33–41

Sohar et al. 2012
Kristina Sohar, Adomas Vitas and Alar Läänelaid, 'Sapwood estimates of pedunculate oak (Quercus robur L.) in eastern Baltic', in: *Dendrochronologia 30*, no. 1, 2012, pp. 49–56

Soly 1977
Hugo Soly, *Urbanisme en kapitalisme te Antwerpen in de 16 de eeuw. De stedebouwkundige en industriële ondernemingen van Gilbert van Schoonbeke* (Historische Uitgaven Pro Civitate, series in 8 no. 47), Brussels 1977

Spicer 1970
Joaneath Ann Spicer, 'The Naer het Leven Drawings: by Pieter Bruegel or Roelandt Savery?', in: *Master Drawings 8*, no. 1, 1970, pp. 3–30

van Sprang 2018
Sabine van Sprang, 'Winter Landscape with Skaters and Bird Trap or Time Suspended', in: Tine Luk Meganck and Sabine van Sprang (eds.), *Bruegel's Winter Scenes: Historians and Art Historians in Dialogue*, Brussels 2018, pp. 54–81

van Sprang – Meganck 2018
Sabine van Sprang and Tine Luk Meganck, *Bruegel's Winter Scenes: Historians and Art Historians in Dialogue*, London 2018

Spring et al. 2005
Marika Spring, Catherine Higgitt and David Saunders, 'Investigation of Pigment-Medium Interaction Processes in Oil Paint containing Degraded Smalt', in: *National Gallery Technical Bulletin 26*, 2005, pp. 56–69

Spring 2017
Marika Spring, 'New insights into the materials of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Netherlandish paintings in the National Gallery, London', in: *Heritage Science*, December 2017, published online DOI: 10.1186/s40494-017-0152-3

Spronk (2018) 2019
Ron Spronk, 'On Pieter Bruegel's Creative Process', in: exh. cat., Sabine Pénot et al., *Bruegel. The Hand of the Master*, Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) 2018–19, published 2018 as e-book in English and German, included in this volume pp. 398–408

Standen 1971
Edith A. Standen, 'Drawings for the "Months of Lucas" Tapestries', in: *Master Drawings 9*, 1971, pp. 3–14

Van der Stock 1989
Jan Van der Stock, 'The impact of the prints of Pieter Bruegel the Elder', in: exh. cat., David Freedberg (ed.), *The Prints of Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, Tokyo (Bridgestone Museum) 1989, pp. 89–102

Van der Stock 1998
Jan Van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp: The Introduction of Printmaking in a City; Fifteenth Century to 1585* (Studies in Prints and Printmaking, vol. 2), Rotterdam 1998

Van der Stock 2013
Jan Van der Stock, 'Hieronymus Cock and Volcxken Diericx. Print Publishers in Antwerp', in: exh. cat., Joris Van Grieken, Ger Luijten and Jan Van der Stock (eds.), *Hieronymus Cock: De renaissance in prent*, Leuven (M – Museum Leuven) and Paris (Institut Néerlandais) 2013, pp. 14–21

Stols-Witlox 2014
Maartje Stols-Witlox, *Historical recipes for preparatory layers for oil paintings in manuals, manuscripts and handbooks in North West Europe, 1550–1900: analysis and reconstructions*, PhD thesis, Amsterdam School of Historical Studies 2014, online: https://hdl.handle.net/11245/1.430263 (last consulted 4.6.2019)

Storffer 1720
Ferdinand A. Storffer, *Neu eingerichtes Inventarium der Kayl. Bilder Gallerie in der Stallburg welches nach denen Numeris und Maßstab ordiniret und von Ferdinand à Storffer gemahlet worden*, vol. I, Vienna 1720

Strachwitz 1969
Moritz Strachwitz, *Die letzten Jahre des Erzherzogs Ernst von Österreich († 1595)*, PhD thesis, Universität Wien 1969

Stridbeck 1956
Carl Gustav Stridbeck, *Bruegelstudien, Untersuchungen zu den ikonologischen Problemen bei Pieter Bruegel d. Ä. sowie dessen Beziehungen zum niederländischen Romanismus*, Stockholm 1956

Stridbeck (1956) 1977
Carl Gustav Stridbeck, *Bruegelstudien. Untersuchungen zu den ikonologischen Problemen bei Pieter Bruegel d. Ä. sowie dessen Beziehungen zum niederländischen Romanismus* (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, vol. 2), Stockholm 1956, Neudruck Soest 1977

Sullivan 2010
Margaret A. Sullivan, *Bruegel and the Creative Process, 1559–1563*, Farnham 2010

Sullivan 2015
Margaret A. Sullivan, 'Peasant and Nestrobber: Bruegel as Witness of His Times', in: *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art 7/2*, 2015, pp. 1–26

Sulzberger 1948
Suzanne Sulzberger, 'Dominique Lampsonius et l'Italie', in: K.C. Peeters (ed.), *Miscellanea J. Gessler*, Deurne 1948, pp. 1187–89

Suykens 2012
Ben Suykens, *Belang en betekenis van de autochtone koopluí in de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw te Antwerpen: De casus Daniel de Bruyne*, master's thesis, Universiteit Antwerpen 2012

Swoboda 1959
Karl M. Swoboda, 'Dvořák, Max', in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 4, 1959, pp. 209–10

Swoboda 2008
Gudrun Swoboda, *Die Wege der Bilder: Eine Geschichte der kaiserlichen Gemäldesammlung von 1600 bis 1800*, Vienna 2008

Swoboda 2010
Gudrun Swoboda, 'Die verdoppelte Galerie. Die Kunstsammlungen Kaiser Karls VI. in der Wiener Stallburg und ihr Inventar', in: Sabine Haag and Gudrun Swoboda (eds.), *Die Galerie Kaiser Karls VI. in Wien: Solimenas Widmungsbild und Storffers Inventar (1720–1733)*, Vienna 2010, pp. 11–31

Swoboda 2013
Gudrun Swoboda (ed.), *Die kaiserliche Gemäldegalerie in Wien und die Anfänge des öffentlichen Kunstmuseums*, 2 vols, Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 2013

Sybesma 1991
Jetske Sybesma, 'The Reception of Bruegel's Beekeepers: A Matter of Choice', in: *The Art Bulletin 73*, 1991, pp. 467–78

Tate-Harte 2006
Alice Tate-Harte, *The Technique and Function of Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery; a Grisaille Painting by Peter Bruegel the Elder*, unpublished final year

research project for the Postgraduate Diploma in the Conservation of Easel Paintings, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London 2006

Teniers 1660
David Teniers the J., *[…] Theatrum Pictorum […]*, Brussels 1660

Thiel 1980
Erika Thiel, *Geschichte des Kostüms*, Berlin 1980

Thoré-Bürger 1862
Théophile Thoré-Bürger, *Musée d'Anvers*, Paris 1862

Tijs 1999
Rutger Tijs, 'De twaalfmaandencyclus over het landleven van Pieter Bruegel als interieurdecoratie voor het huis van playsantie "ter Beken" te Antwerpen', in: *Berichten en Rapporten over het Antwerps Bodemonderzoek en Monumentenzorg* 3, 1999, pp. 117–33

Tikkanen 1913
J.J. Tikkanen, 'Studien über den Ausdruck in der Kunst I: Zwei Gebärden mit dem Zeigefinger', in: *Acta Societatis scientiarum Fennicae* 43, 1913

Tolnai 1934
Karl von Tolnai, 'Studien zu den Gemälden P. Bruegels d. Ä', in: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* New Series 8, 1934, pp. 105–35

de Tolnay 1935
Charles de Tolnay, *Pieter Bruegel l'Ancien*, 2 vols, Brussels 1935

de Tolnay 1952
Charles de Tolnay, *Die Zeichnungen Pieter Bruegels*, Zürich 1952

de Tolnay 1965
Charles de Tolnay, 'Newly discovered Miniatures by Pieter Bruegel the Elder', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 107, 1965, pp. 110–15

de Tolnay 1978
Charles de Tolnay, 'A new miniature by Pieter Bruegel the Elder', *The Burlington Magazine* 120, 1978, pp. 393–95

de Tolnay 1980
Charles de Tolnay, 'Further Miniatures by Pieter Bruegel the Elder', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 122, no. 930, September 1980, pp. 616–23

Tolner 1702
Tolner, *Kurtz: Lesens-Würdige Erinnerung Von Herrührung, Erbau: und Benambsung, Auch Vilfältig-anderen, alt:*

und neuen Seltenheiten, Bemerck: und Andenckungen, sowohl in: als um die Käyserliche Haubt: und Residentz-Stadt Wien In Oesterreich … kürtzlich in Druck verfertiget, und mit Kupffer-Stichen gezieret im Jahr 1702, Vienna 1702

Trunz 1992
Erich Trunz, *Wissenschaft und Kunst im Kreise Kaiser Rudolfs II: 1576–1612* (Kieler Studien zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte, vol. 18), Neumünster 1992

Tummers 2011
Anna Tummers, *The Eye of the Connoisseur, Authenticating Paintings by Rembrandt and his Contemporaries*, Los Angeles 2011

Uhlir et al. 2012
K. Uhlir, B. Frühmann, G. Buzanich, M. Griesser, C. Streli, P. Wobrauschek, B. Grössmayer & S. Smolek, 'A newly developed, portable, vacuum-chamber equipped XRF-instrument, designed for the sophisticated needs of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna', in: *IOP Conference Series: Materials Science and Engineering* 37, 2012, 012008, online DOI:10.1088/1757-899X/37/1/012008

Unverfehrt 1980
Gerd Unverfehrt, *Hieronymus Bosch: Die Rezeption seiner Kunst im frühen 16. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1980

Uzielli 1998
Luca Uzielli, 'Historical Overview of Panel-Making Techniques in Central Italy', in: *The Structural Conservation of Panel Paintings: Proceedings of a Symposium at the J. Paul Getty Museum, 24–28 April 1995*, Los Angeles 1998, p. 110–35

Vandenbroeck 1981
Paul Vandenbroeck, 'Rudolf II als verzamelaar van werk van en naar Jheronimus Bosch', in: *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1981, pp. 119–33

Vandivere 2011
Abbie Vandivere, 'In search of Van Mander's primuersel: Intermediate layers in early Netherlandish Paintings', in: J. Bridgland (ed.), *ICOM-CC 16th Triennial Conference Preprints Lisbon 2011*, Lisbon 2011, p. 11

Varchi 1549
Benedetto Varchi, *Due lezzioni, di M. Benedetto Varchi, nella prima delle quali si dichiara un sonetto di M. Michelagnolo Buonarroti. Nella seconda si disputa quale sia più nobile arte, la scultura o la pittura, con una lettera d'esso Michelagnolo e più altri eccellentissimi pittori e scultori sopra la questione sopradetta*, Florence 1549

Varda 1996
Liana Varda, 'Imagining the Harvest in Early Modern Europe', in: *The American Historical Review* 101, 1996, pp. 1357–97

Vasari 1550
Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite De' Piv Eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scvltori Italiani, da Cimabve insino a' Tempi Nostri: Descritte in Lingua Toscana, da Giorgio Vasari Pittore Aretino. Con vna sua vtile & necessaria introduzzione a le arti loro*, Florence 1550

Vasari 1568
Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite De' Piv Eccellenti Pittori, Scvltori, E Architettori. Di Nuovo dal Medesimo Riuiste Et Ampliate Con I Ritratti Loro Et con l'aggiunta delle Vite de' viui, & de' morti Dall'anno 1550, insino al 1567*, Florence 1568

Vasari (1568) 1881
Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti*, re-edited and annotated by Gaetano Milanesi, vol. 7, Florence 1881

Vasari (1550/1568) 1966–1987
Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, re-edited by Rosanna Bettarini, comments by Paola Barocchi, 6 vols, 1966–87

Veeckman 1996
Johan Veeckman, 'Een waterput in het Groot Sarazijnshoofd in de Antwerpse Hoogstraat', in: *Berichten en Rapporten over het Antwerps Bodemonderzoek en Monumentenzorg* (BRABOM) 1, 1996, pp. 47–86

van de Velde 1965
Carl van de Velde, 'The Labours of Hercules, a lost series of paintings by Frans Floris', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 107, no. 744, March 1965, pp. 114–23

Verougstraete 2015
Hélène Verougstraete, *Frames and Supports in 15th- and 16th-Century Southern Netherlandish Painting* (Contributions of the Study of the Flemish Primitives, vol. 13), e-book, Brussels 2015

Verri et al. 2010
Giovanni Verri, Satoko Tanimoto and Catherine Higgitt, 'Inks and washes', in: Janet Ambers, Catherine Higgitt and David Saunders (eds.), *Italian Renaissance Drawings, Technical Examination and Analysis*, London 2010, pp. 57–76

Verstegen 2016
Ian Verstegen, 'Obscene History: The Two Sedlmayrs', in: *Studia austriaca* XXXIV, 2016, pp. 73–93

Vignau-Wilberg 2013
Thea Vignau-Wilberg, *Der Blumen-Brueghel. Naturdarstellung und Allegorie bei Jan Brueghel d. Ä.*, in: exh. cat., Mirjam Neumeister (ed.), *Brueghel: Gemälde von Jan Brueghel d. Ä.*, Munich (Alte Pinakothek) 2013, pp. 65–77

Villers 2000
Caroline Villers (ed.), *The Fabric of Images: European Paintings on Textile Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, London 2000

Vinken – Schlüter 1996
Pierre Vinken and Lucy Schlüter, 'Bruegels Nestrover en de mens die de dood tegemoet treedt', in: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 47, 1996, pp. 55–79

Virch 1969
Claus Virch, 'The Story of Bruegel's Harvesters: A Curator's Coup', in: *Connoisseur* 172, 1969, pp. 223–27

Vöhringer 2002
Christian Vöhringer, *Pieter Bruegel d.Ä. Landschaft mit pflügendem Bauern und Ikarussturz*, Munich 2002

Vöhringer 2013
Christian Vöhringer, *Pieter Bruegel d. Ältere: Malerei, Alltag und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert: Eine Biographie*, Stuttgart 2013

Voltelini 1892
Hans von Voltelini, 'Urkunden und Regesten aus dem k. u. k. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 13, 1892, XXVI–CLXXIV

Voltelini 1894
Hans von Voltelini, 'Urkunden und Regesten aus dem k. u. k. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 15, 1894, XLIX–CLXXIX

Van de Voorde et al. 2014
Lien Van de Voorde, J. Van Pevenage, K. De Langhe, R. De Wolf, B. Vekemans, L. Vincze, P. Vandenabeele and M. P. J. Martens, 'Non-Destructive In Situ Study of "Mad Meg" by Pieter Bruegel the Elder Using Mobile X-Ray Fluorescence, X-Ray Diffraction and Raman Spectrometers', in: *Spectrochim Acta*, Part B, no. 97, 2014, pp. 1–6

de Vrij 2012
Marc Rudolf de Vrij, *Jheronimus Bosch: An Exercise in Common Sense*, Hilversum 2012

Waagen 1863
Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Manuel de l'Histoire de la Peinture: Ecoles allemande, flamande et hollandaise*, 3 vols, Brussels 1863

Waagen 1866
Georg. F. Waagen, *Die vornehmsten Kunstdenkmäler in Wien. Erster Theil. Die k.k. Gemälde-Sammlungen im Schloss Belvedere und in der k.k. Kunst-Akademie, Die Privatsammlungen*, Vienna 1866

Wadum 1998a
J. Wadum, 'Historical Overview of Panel-Making Techniques in the Northern Countries', in: *The Structural Conservation of Panel Paintings: Proceedings of a Symposium at the J. Paul Getty Museum, 24–28 April 1995*, Los Angeles 1998, pp.149–77

Wadum 1998b
J. Wadum, ' The Antwerp Brand on Paintings on Panels', in: E. Hermens (ed.), *Looking Through Paintings: The Study of Painting Techniques and Materials in Support of Art Historical Research* (Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek XI), Baarn 1998, pp.179–98

Wagner 2007
Andreas Wagner, *Das Falsche der Religionen bei Sebastian Franck. Zur gesellschaftlichen Bedeutung des Spiritualismus der radikalen Reformation*, PhD thesis, Freie Universität Berlin 2007

Warda 2011
Susanne Warda, *Memento mori. Bild und Text in Totentänzen des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, Cologne – Weimar – Vienna 2011

Watteeuw 2019
Lieve Watteeuw, 'Bruegel's drawing for *The Dirty Bride* (c. 1566). A Fingerprint Project case study', in: Maarten Bassens and Joris Van Grieken (eds.), *Bruegel in Black and White, The Complete Graphic Works*, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, Veurne 2019, pp. 50-57

Watteeuw – van Bos 2014
Lieve Watteeuw and Marina van Bos, 'Composition of iron gall inks in Illuminated Manuscripts (11th–16th century). The Use by Scribes and Illuminators', in: Gillian Fellows-Jensen, Peter Springborg (eds.), *Care and Conservation of Manuscripts: Proceedings*

of the 14th International Seminar held in the Royal Library Copenhagen 2012, vol. 14, 2014

Watteeuw – van Bos 2018
Lieve Watteeuw and Marina van Bos, 'Black as Ink: Materials and Techniques in Fifteenth-Century Flemish Grisaille Illuminations by Jan De Tavernier', in: Lieve Watteeuw, Jan Van der Stock, Bernard Bousmanne and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (eds.), *New Perspectives on Flemish Illumination* (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 22, Low Countries Series, 16), Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT 2018, pp. 249–67

Watteeuw et al. 2016
Lieve Watteeuw, Hendrik Hameeuw, Bruno Vandermeulen, Athena Van der Perre, Vanessa Boschloos, Luc Delvaux and Luc van Gool, 'Light, shadows and surface characteristics: The multispectral Portable Light Dome', in: *Applied Physics A* 122, no. 11, 2016, pp. 1–7

Wažny – Eckstein 1987
Tomasz Wažny and Dieter Eckstein, 'Der Holzhandel von Danzig/Gdansk – Geschichte, Umfang und Reichweite', in: *Holz als Roh- und Werkstoff* 45, 1987, pp. 509–13

Wažny 1992
Tomasz Wažny, 'Historical Timber Trade and its Implications on Dendrochronological Dating', in: T.S. Bartholin, B.E. Berglund, D. Eckstein and F.H. Schweingruber (eds.), *Tree-rings and Environment, Proceedings of the International Dendrochronological Symposium, Ystad, South Sweden 1990* (Lundqua Report, 34), Lund University 1992, pp. 331–33

Wažny 2002
Tomasz Wažny, 'Baltic Timber in Western Europe – An Exciting Dendrochronological Question', in: *Dendrochronologia* 20/3, 2002, pp. 313–20

Wažny 2005
Tomasz Wažny, 'The Origin, Assortments and Transport of Baltic Timber: Historic-Dendrochronological Evidence', in: C. van de Velde, H. Beeckman, J. van Acker and F. Verhaeghe (eds.), *Constructing Wooden Images: Proceedings of a Symposium, Brussels, 25-26 October, 2002*, Brussels 2005, pp. 115–26

Weale 1906
W.H. James Weale, 'Livina Teerlinc, Miniaturist', in: *The Burlington Magazine* 9, 1906, p. 278

van der Wee 1963
Herman van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market and the European Economy (Fourteenth–Sixteenth Centuries)*, The Hague 1963

Wendland 1998
Ulrike Wendland, *Biographisches Handbuch deutschsprachiger Kunsthistoriker im Exil. Leben und Werk der unter dem Nationalsozialismus verfolgten und vertriebenen Wissenschaftler*, 2 vols, Munich 1998

Wenzel 2009
Horst Wenzel, 'Deixis und Initialisierung. Zeigehände in alten und neuen Medien', in: Horst Wenzel, *Spiegelungen. Zur Kultur der Visualität im Mittelalter*, Berlin 2009, pp. 231–57

White et al. 1998
Raymond White, Jennifer Pilc and Jo Kirby, 'Analysis of Paint Media', in: *National Gallery Technical Bulletin* 19, 1998, pp 74–95

Wied 2004–2005
Alexander Wied, 'Zur Provenienz der "Anbetung der Könige" von Pieter Bruegel d. Ä. in der National Gallery in London', in: *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 6/7, 2004–5, pp. 251–54

Wille 2002
Friederike Wille, *Die Todesallegorie im Camposanto in Pisa. Genese und Rezeption eines berühmten Bildes*, Munich 2002

Winkler 1955
Friedrich Winkler, 'Ein unbeachtetes Eyckisches Werk', in: Georg Rohde (ed.), *Erwin Redslob zum 70. Geburtstag. Eine Festgabe*, Berlin 1955, pp. 90–95

Wolfthal 1986
Diane Wolfthal, 'Early Netherlandish canvases: documentary evidence', in: *Annales d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie Université Libre de Bruxelles* 1986, pp. 19–41

Wolfthal 1989
Diane Wolfthal, *The Beginnings of Netherlandish Canvas Painting: 1400–1530*, Cambridge 1989

Wouk 2018
Edward H. Wouk, *Frans Floris (1519/20–1570): Imagining a Northern Renaissance*, Leiden – Boston 2018

Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda 1983
Monque Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda, *Les Encres noires au Moyen-Age (jusque'à 1600)*, Paris 1983

Zimerman 1888
Heinrich Zimerman, 'Urkunden, Acten und Regesten aus dem Archiv der k. k. Ministeriums des Inneren', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7, 1888, XV–LXXXIV

Zimerman 1889
Heinrich Zimerman, 'Inventare, Acten und Regesten aus der Schatzkammer des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 10, 1889, CCI–CCCXXIV

Zimmermann 1905
Heinrich Zimmermann, 'Das Inventar der Prager Schatz- und Kunstkammer vom 6. Dezember 1621', in: *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 25, 1905, XIII–LXXV

Zunde 1998–1999
Māris Zunde, 'Timber Export from Old Riga and its Impact on Dendrochronological Dating in Europe', in: *Dendrochronologia* 16–17, 1998–99, pp. 119–30

Zunde 2011
Māris Zunde, 'New dendrochronological, historical and archaeological evidence of long-distance floating of timbers to Riga', in: P. Fraiture (ed.), *Tree Rings, Art, Archaeology: Proceedings of a Conference, Brussels, Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage, 10–12 February 2010* (Scientia Artis 7), Brussels 2011, pp. 125–35

TITLE

Bruegel. The Hand of the Master
The 450th Anniversary Edition
Essays in Context

COLOPHON