

French Paintings and Pastels, 1600–1945

The Collections of The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

Aimee Marcereau DeGalan, Editor



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Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Mill on the Tiber*, ca. 1650, and
Landscape with a Piping Shepherd, 1667

Artist	Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, French, 1604–1682
Title	<i>Mill on the Tiber</i>
Object Date	ca. 1650
Medium	Oil on canvas
Dimensions (Unframed)	21 3/8 x 28 1/8 in. (54.3 x 71.4 cm)
Credit Line	The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. Purchase: William Rockhill Nelson Trust, 32-78

doi: 10.37764/78973.5.206

Artist	Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, French, 1604–1682
Title	<i>Landscape with a Piping Shepherd</i>
Object Date	1667
Alternate and Variant Titles	<i>Landscape with a Piping Goatherd</i>
Medium	Oil on canvas
Dimensions (Unframed)	20 1/2 x 27 3/8 in. (52.1 x 69.5 cm)
Credit Line	The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. Purchase: William Rockhill Nelson Trust, 31-57

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Catalogue Entry

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Fig. 1. English, *Oval Claude Lorrain mirror*, ca. 1701–1800, brass, copper, fish skin, glass, metal, velvet, and wood, 3/5 x 5 1/2 x 7 2/3 in. (1.5 x 14 x 19.5 cm) (open), Science Museum, London, on loan from the Wellcome Trust

Claude Gellée, who adopted the name Claude Lorrain after his native French duchy, achieved renown and popularity for his light-filled landscapes both during his lifetime and posthumously.¹ Claude, generally known by his given name, emerged from the workshop of Agostino Tassi (Italian, ca. 1579–1644), where he worked in close collaboration with other pupils on Tassi's paintings from 1620 to 1625.² Claude derived his signature motif of architectural elements in imagined landscapes from Tassi, as well as his passion for the Roman Campagna.³ Ancient ruins, framing trees, lazy rivers zigzagging through the landscape, and, above all, a hazy, warm, golden light are hallmarks of Claude's paintings. Centuries later, his popularity achieved its zenith in Britain.⁴ Nineteenth-century British artists, like John Glover (1767–1849), a previous owner of the Nelson-Atkins Claudes, traversed the countryside with a "Claude glass" in hand, in the hope of capturing the painter's colors and bending the contours of the landscape.⁵ Gazing into this optical device (Fig. 1)—a small, handheld mirror of polished dark stone—as the American author Henry Clay Trumbull wrote, "It does not take long for one who uses the Claude Lorraine [*sic*] glass to come to the conclusion that without its help it is impossible to realize the fullest beauties of the simpler and more home-like landscape."⁶ The idealizing device, which required turning one's back on the landscape to

focus instead on its reflection in the dark surface, literally reshaped the visible landscape in Claude's Italianate style. The impact of Claude's painting, in which nature is not merely recorded but improved and reorganized, stretched to the corners of the British Empire when the artists he influenced traveled to Africa, South Asia, Oceania, and elsewhere.⁷ The Nelson-Atkins paintings *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* and *Mill on the Tiber*, which have three closely related copies on the other side of the world in Australian collections, provide concrete evidence of Claude's sustained impact on painting in the British Empire.



Fig. 2. John Glover, after Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*, ca. 1815, oil on canvas, 21 x 27 in. (53.3 x 68.6 cm), Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston, Tasmania. Purchased with funds from the Turner Ralph Bequest through the QVMAG Arts Foundation, 2011, QVM:2011:FP:0009

Both Nelson-Atkins paintings formed a meaningful part of the English landscape painter John Glover's collection for almost twenty years; he purchased them no later than 1813 from another British collector, his Scottish friend Lord Charles Kinnaird (1780–1826).⁸ Glover exhibited his Claudes extensively, likely beginning in 1820.⁹ Glover scholars often question whether he gave up his appreciation for Claude when he left England for Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania), Australia, in 1830.¹⁰ He tried to sell both pictures upon his move to there, probably more a sign that he needed funds to purchase a tract of land than that he had lost interest in the paintings.

He made his first copy of *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* (Fig. 2) around 1815 in England, working directly from the original painting that hung on the walls

of his home. Every detail of the composition, including the shepherd in classical dress playing his pipe, follows the precedent set in the Nelson-Atkins painting. Both Glover and, before him, the painter Richard Wilson (1714–1782) were nicknamed the “English Claude”—a sign that emulation of Claude was the ideal among English landscape artists.¹¹ Glover filled hundreds of sketchbooks with copies after after Claude and other Old Masters he saw at picture galleries or English country estates.¹² Like Claude, Glover also composed picturesque landscapes after careful observation of his surroundings. Ian McLean has argued that to criticize Glover for not finding “empirical truth” in painting, for rendering both English and Australian landscapes alike in a Claudian image, is to dismiss nineteenth-century England’s demand for idyllic landscapes amid the tumult of industrialization and the destruction of the British countryside.¹³ Glover earned good money in Regency England, and his fellow artists regarded him highly, although his application for membership in the Royal Academy was rejected.¹⁴ After embarking on an ambitious program of solo exhibitions on Pall Mall in the 1820s, Glover may have judged the British art market too crowded for him to earn what he wanted, prompting him to sell his art collection in preparation for a move to Oceania.¹⁵



Fig. 3. John Glover, after Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*, 1833, oil on canvas, 28 1/2 x 43 7/8 in. (72.5 x 111.5 cm), National Gallery of Australia, Canberra. Purchased with the assistance of Henry Dalrymple 2012, 2011.1273

Glover’s two Australian copies of the Nelson-Atkins Clauses—apparently done from memory, as there are no drawings after them in Glover’s sketchbooks—are proof that Glover never lost his taste for Claude. Like other English artists-turned-settlers in British colonies, Glover “homogenized” his Australian views in the

preferred aesthetic of his homeland.¹⁶ In 1833, two years after arriving in Van Diemen’s Land, Glover painted another version of *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* (Fig. 3). When this copy of Claude’s painting was exhibited in 2004 together with the original, curator David Hansen noted that Glover painted a “Regency buck” playing a pipe instead of a classical shepherd.¹⁷ Glover also painted a brighter blue sky and replaced Claude’s thick-trunked framing tree to the left with a slender eucalyptus tree, a trademark of the Australian landscape. These trees are also visible to the right of Glover’s backdrop, poking up at the base of the cliff face instead of forming an undulating canopy, as in Claude’s original. Jeffrey Auerbach has explained that Australian forests were sparser than European ones; in Glover’s Australian copies after Claude, he blended a European deciduous forest with a handful of local trees.¹⁸ Glover was captivated by the foliage near his settlement—nostalgically named Patterdale after his home in Britain’s Lake District—and his work often incorporated both his new surroundings and evidence of the British colonization of Australia.



Fig. 4. John Glover, *Moulting Lagoon and Great Oyster Bay, from Pine Hill*, ca. 1838, oil on canvas, 29 3/4 x 44 1/2 in. (75.6 x 113 cm), National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. Purchased with assistance of an anonymous donor and the M. G. Chapman Bequest, 2011, 2011.11. Photo: National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne

The reasons behind John Glover’s choice to set sail for Australia at the age of sixty-three after a successful career in England, undertaking a five-month sea journey with his family, are unclear. Glover lived in a free-settler colony that was diminutive compared to the number of convicts sent to Van Diemen’s Land.¹⁹ At times, Glover’s art nods to the use of the convicts’ forced labor in the ranching endeavors of British settlers, as in his *Moulting*

Lagoon and Great Oyster Bay, from Pine Hill (Fig. 4), where the Claudian shepherd's red coat identifies him as a convict.²⁰ In another deviation from Claude's Eden-like landscapes, Glover's paintings bear signs of modern agricultural development. The land jutting out into the lake with a distant small town is present in both the Nelson-Atkins *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* and the Glover copy, but Glover's town is the logical extension of farmland, excised of trees, whereas Claude's town is nestled within lush greenery.



Fig. 5. John Glover, *Mount Wellington and Hobart Town from Kangaroo Point*, 1834, oil on canvas, 30 x 60 in. (76.2 x 152.4 cm), Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery and National Gallery of Australia, Canberra. Nerissa Johnson Bequest Fund 2001, 2001.207



Fig. 6. John Glover, after Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Mill on the Tiber*, ca. 1840, oil on canvas, 30 x 45 in. (76 x 114 cm), private collection

This claiming of the Australian landscape by the interests of British settlers is most explicit in Glover's *Mount Wellington and Hobart Town from Kangaroo Point* (Fig. 5), which depicts caricatured Palawa people dancing against the backdrop of Hobart Town, now Tasmania's largest city.²¹ By 1834, the Tasmanian Black War (1820s–1832) had resulted in the near annihilation and forced displacement of the Palawa to Flinders' Island, although there is evidence that John Glover observed the Palawa directly in his sketches.²² In his 1835 exhibition in

London, Glover's depictions of the Palawa were described as "portraits," though he also acknowledged the difficulty of observing them, remarking that one fishing spot was "formerly a spot much frequented by the Natives . . . but they are now nearly extirpated."²³ In the distance, Hobart Town spreads out at the base of Mount Wellington, just as a Europeanized city threatens to do in the backdrop of Glover's copy after Claude's *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*.

In his 1835 exhibition, John Glover's Australian pictures were exhibited alongside the Claude originals he left behind. He helped shape the English people's view of their vast empire, enticing viewers to compare and contrast his Australian surroundings with his landscapes of Italy and Britain, and to compare them all with Claude's originals.²⁴ It is impossible to divide the European, Claude-inspired Glover from the Anglo-Australian settler he became later in life. In 1840, ten years after leaving his homeland and his Claudes, Glover made a copy from memory of the Nelson-Atkins *Mill on the Tiber* (Fig. 6), unknown until it was sold from a private collection in Sydney in 2006. The sales catalogue notes that the canvas is similar in size to Glover's other Tasmanian canvases.²⁵ The mill seems newer than in Claude's antique vision, and Glover does away with the classical figures altogether, filling the foreground with oversized cattle. Claude's mossy mountains in the backdrop become bare and sunbaked in the Tasmanian sun, but ultimately Glover creates a relatively faithful copy, shaped by the Claudean ideal and its nineteenth-century implications of a perceived European cultural supremacy and imperial domination. Painted just a year before Glover's last recorded oils, Glover's copy of *Mill on the Tiber* speaks to Claude's lasting impact on the paintings of the British empire.

Glynnis Napier Stevenson
February 2022

Notes

1. See Claire Pace, "'Paise antique:' Claude Lorrain and Seventeenth-Century Responses to Antique Landscape Painting," *Artibus et Historiae* 36, no. 72 (2015): 305–39; Katalin Bartha-Kovács, "Réminiscences nostalgiques: la lumière et le Rien dans les marines de Claude Lorrain," *Svět literatury* 30 (March 1, 2020): 15–28; Franz R. Kempf, *Poetry, Painting, Park: Goethe and Claude Lorrain* (Oxford: Legenda, 2020), 2.

2. See Tassi's drawing *The Goddess Diana with Her Hounds Standing in a Landscape*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for evidence of elements familiar to Claude's paintings. He also worked with Goffredo Wals (German, ca. 1605–1638) briefly. See Patrizia Cavazzini, "Claude's Apprenticeship in Rome: The Market for Copies and the Invention of the Liber Veritatis," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 73, no. 3 (2004): 133–46; and Marcel Roethlisberger, "From Goffredo Wals to the Beginnings of Claude Lorrain," *Artibus et Historiae* 16, no. 32 (1995): 9–37.
3. Patricia Cavazzini, "Agostino Tassi and the Organization of His Workshop: Filippo Franchini, Angelo Caroselli, Claude Lorrain, and the Others," *Storia dell'arte* 91 (1997): 401.
4. Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring, *Italian Landscape in Eighteenth Century England: A Study Chiefly of the Influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English Taste 1700–1800* (1925; repr. London: Frank Cass, 1965); Pietro Piana, Charles Watkins, and Ross Balzaretto, "'Saved from the sordid axe': Representation and Understanding of Pine Trees by English Visitors to Italy in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century," *Landscape History* 37, no. 2 (2016): 32–56.
5. Dark mirrors made of obsidian and jet were used as early as the sixteenth century, but they became invaluable tools in experiencing nature in the late eighteenth century. For references to British artists using "Claude glasses," see Claire Pace, "Claude the Enchanted: Interpretations of Claude in England in the Earlier Nineteenth-Century," *Burlington Magazine* 111, no. 801 (December 1969): 733; Jeffrey Auerbach, "The Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire," *British Art Journal* 5, no. 1 (Spring–Summer 2004): 48; and Stephen R. Wilk, *Sandbrows and Black Lights: Reflections on Black Lights* (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship, 2021), 170–81. The educational materials for David Hansen's 2003–2004 John Glover exhibition (*John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque*, Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart) make clear that Glover used a Claude glass, as well as a camera lucida, to reframe the landscape. His glass is in the collection of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart. The definitive text on this device is Arnaud Maillet, *The Claude Glass: Use and Meaning of the Black Mirror in Western Art*, trans. Jeff Fort (Brooklyn, NY: Urzone, 2004). Thank you to David Hansen for suggesting it to me.
6. Henry Clay Trumbull, *Seeing and Being: Or, Perception and Character* (Philadelphia: John D. Wattles, 1889), 133.
7. Auerbach, "Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire," 50.
8. David Hansen says that it is "feasible" that Glover purchased both *Mill on the Tiber* and *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* from Kinnaid in late 1812. The English landscape painter Joseph Farington (1747–1821) notes in his diary entry for January 1, 1813, that Glover "had lately given 1700 guineas for two pictures painted by Claude"; see David Hansen, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque*, exh. cat. (Hobart, Tasmania: Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, 2003), 135.
9. Beginning in 1820, after the Royal Academy denied him admission, Glover began hosting exhibitions of his own at 16 Old Bond Street in London. There are no catalogues for these exhibitions.
10. Glover put the Nelson-Atkins Claudes up for sale in 1830 to help fund his emigration; they were not purchased until 1836. John Glover's admiration for Claude, a sign of his Englishness, is a core facet of research on the artist. See John McPhee, *John Glover*, exh. cat. (Launceston, Tasmania: Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, 1977); Hansen, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque*; Ian W. McLean, "The Australianness of the English Claude: Nation and Empire in the Art of John Glover," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art* 7, no. 1 (2006): 125–42; and Jim Berryman, "Nationalism, Britishness and the 'Souring' of Australian National Art," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44, no. 4 (2016): 573–91.
11. Hansen, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque*, 40, 74.
12. He brought these notebooks to Tasmania, and the State Library of New South Wales has digitized them: <https://collection.sl.nsw.gov.au/record/nZNvqE8n>.
13. McLean, "The Australianness of the English Claude," 132.

14. Glover did exhibit at the Royal Academy multiple times, however. Hansen, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque*, 18, 70.
15. Hansen suggests that one reason for Glover's move, despite weathering multiple economic recessions, was the competitive British art market of the 1820s. By that time, London was flush with galleries and independent art exhibitions outside of the Academy. Hansen, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque*, 72.
16. Auerbach, "Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire," 48.
17. Hansen, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque*, 208.
18. Auerbach, "Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire," 50.
19. Seventy-two thousand convicts were sent to Van Diemen's land in the first half of the nineteenth century to do hard labor. James Boyce, "Return to Eden: Van Diemen's Land and the Early British Settlement of Australia," *Environment and History* 14, no. 2 (May 2008): 289. In the census of 1835, Hobart Town had 13,826 inhabitants. See Charles Darwin, *Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries Visited during the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle Round the World*, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1845), 356.
20. His contemporaries noted Glover's use of convict labor on his Tasmanian farm. In his memoir of a six-year visit to Tasmania, an Englishman named James Backhouse wrote, "We visited John Glover, a celebrated painter, who came to this country when advanced in life, to depict the novel scenery: his aged wife has been so tried with the convict female servants, that she has herself undertaken the house-work. We generally find that females prefer England to Tasmania, on account of this annoyance." Excerpt from "A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies," *Launceston Examiner* 3, no. 169 (February 3, 1844): 78.
21. The Palawa are the Aboriginal people native to Tasmania.
22. See David Hansen, "The Picturesque and the Palawa: John Glover's Mount Wellington, and Hobart Town from Kangaroo Point," in *Art and the British Empire*, eds. Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 38–52; Jeff Malpas, ed., *The Place of Landscape: Concepts, Contexts, Studies* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), 3–4; Hansen, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque*, 210–11; Julia Lum, "Fire-Stick Picturesque: Landscape Art and Early Colonial Tasmania," *British Art Studies* (2018): <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-10/jlum/001>.
23. *A Catalogue of Pictures; Descriptive of the Scenery, and Customs of the Inhabitants of Van Dieman's Land, Together with Views in England, Italy, etc. Painted by John Glover, Esq.; To Which are Added Two Genuine, and Highly Finished Landscapes, by the Celebrated Claude Lorraine [sic]*, exh. cat. (1835; repr. London: J. Rogers, 1868), 3.
24. *A Catalogue of Pictures*.
25. Glover used canvases that are roughly 30 by 45 inches while he was in Tasmania. See *Australian, International and Aboriginal art* (Double Bay, Australia: Bonhams and Goodman, December 5 and 11, 2006), unpaginated, as *The Mill on the Tiber*.

Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Mill on the Tiber*, ca. 1650

Technical Entry

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Claude Gellée, otherwise known as Claude Lorrain or Le Lorrain (1604–1682), completed *Mill on the Tiber* around 1650 on a twill-weave canvas.¹ Little more can be inferred from the canvas, as the painting's tacking margins were removed, possibly during a lining at an early date in its history. The painting was resized to enlarge the picture plane, likely before 1837, with additions of approximately 1 to 1.5 centimeters around all four sides.² While the original dimensions for this painting are unknown, stretcher-bar cracks indicate that the current width may be slightly reduced from the original size, despite the prior extension at the edges.

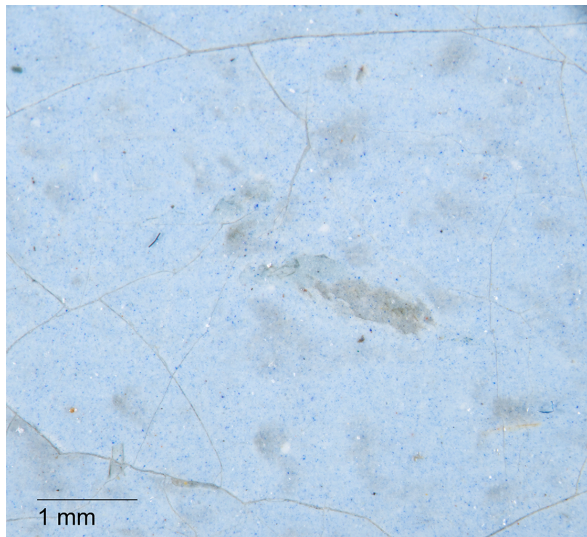


Fig. 7. Photomicrograph of loss in the sky revealing a gray preparatory layer, *Mill on the Tiber* (ca. 1650)

Paint applications limit the visibility of the ground layer. However, the ground layer appears white or off-white through cracks and abrasions. Colored preparatory layers specific to regions of the composition are more evident. Beneath the sky, a light gray tone is present (Fig. 7). In contrast, the majority of the foreground was blocked in with a dark brown or green-brown preparatory layer. This dark color extends beneath the water and is readily apparent through the streaky brushwork, such as vertical brushstrokes within the water, possibly indicating where there would later be grass added (Fig. 8). Although the visibility of this

preparatory layer in the water may partially be the result of cleaning abrasion and natural aging of the paint layer, much of it appears to be Claude's technique for rendering shadow and reflection.



Fig. 8. Photomicrograph of the water, illustrating textured brushwork and the dark preparatory layer, *Mill on the Tiber* (ca. 1650)



Fig. 9. Photomicrograph of incised horizon line, *Mill on the Tiber* (ca. 1650)

No underdrawing was detected on the painting through microscopy or infrared reflectography. A horizontal line incised near the painted horizon line was likely a marker for the artist as he began his composition (Fig. 9).³ No other preparatory design elements were identified; however, possible vanishing marks have been estimated based on the limited architecture to the right. Claude was known for his elaborate and calculated perspective, with vanishing points located outside of the picture plane.⁴ In this painting, one vanishing point can be extrapolated past the top left, by a line connecting the mountains and architecture, and following some of the design of the large tree. Another vanishing point can be

extrapolated past the right side of the canvas, again connecting the architecture and mountains, while also linking the figures and design elements of the foreground and middle ground (Fig. 10). Two vanishing points that are not equidistant are sometimes observed in Claude's landscapes. However, unlike perspectives observed in his other paintings and drawings, the vanishing points for *Mill on the Tiber* do not fall on the horizon line, nor is there a significant central compositional element within a vertical axis. Instead, the figures are placed on the left side of the composition, and the architecture is placed on the right.⁵ Although these vanishing points may not entirely follow Claude's common practice, the alignment of so many landscape features with these radiating lines argues strongly for their validity as planning devices.

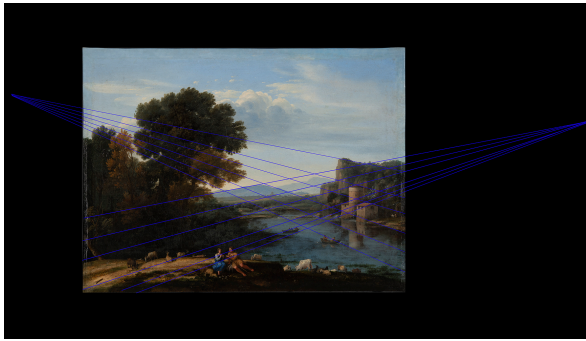


Fig. 10. Perspective diagram illustrating vanishing points that extend past the picture plane of *Mill on the Tiber* (ca. 1650)

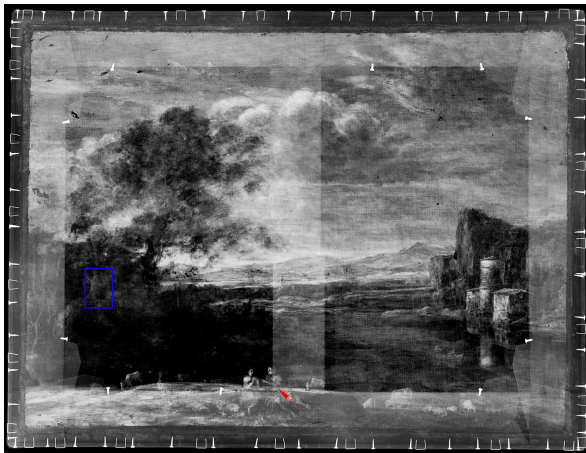


Fig. 11. X-radiograph of *Mill on the Tiber* (ca. 1650), with a blue box around a possible artist change of a tree trunk and a red arrow indicating the landscape application beneath the figures

Thinly painted with soft brushwork, Claude's composition was built from the background to the

foreground, without any apparent reserves for compositional elements. This method of paint application has a unifying effect on the composition, with each element seamlessly blending into the next. Claude's technique is most noticeable when observing the foreground figures and animals. Here, the texture of the underlying paint layers remains visible through the figures. In addition, the foreground elements on which the figures sit are clearly visible beneath them in the x-radiograph (Fig. 11). With one exception, no artist changes are found on this composition. A possible change within the foliage on the left is identifiable in the x-radiograph, where a cylindrical shape is present beneath orange leaves. This may have been a tree stump, eliminated from the final composition.⁶



Fig. 12. Photomicrograph illustrating wet-over-wet paint application in the large tree, *Mill on the Tiber* (ca. 1650)

Blending along the edges of many components of the composition reveals that Claude painted quickly, with wet-into-wet and wet-over-wet applications to create this picturesque scene. Dabs of paint along the edges of the large tree were applied over the still-wet paint of the sky, pulling the pale color into the leaves (Fig. 12). In this location, it is likely that the sky visible in the

clearing was added over the dark underpainting of the tree.⁷ Although the artist was an expert at landscape painting, he struggled with realistic depictions of figures.⁸ In this scene, while the main figures appear somewhat coarsely painted, the middle ground and distant figures, at times formed with merely a few flicks of paint, are much more convincing (Fig. 13).



Fig. 13. Detail of a figure in a window, *Mill on the Tiber* (ca. 1650)

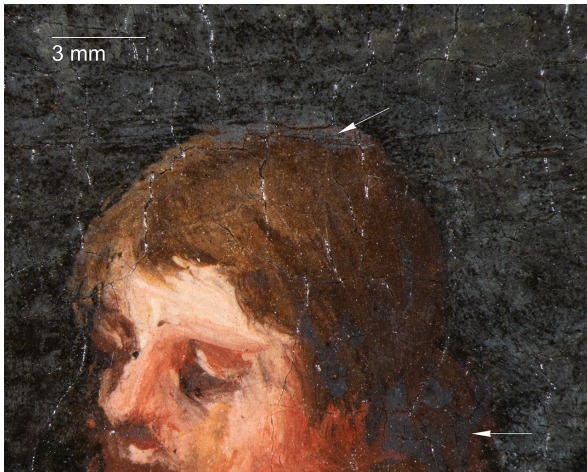


Fig. 14. Photomicrograph of blanching crossing the hair of the main male figure, *Mill on the Tiber* (ca. 1650)

Unfortunately, the most striking aspect of this painting is the uneven blanching or haze that has developed on the paint surface. While this alteration of materials is most noticeable within the dark passages of the trees, the haze-like appearance extends throughout the painting in more subtle ways, including portions of the figures (Fig. 14). In addition, it has resulted in difficulty in reading the artist's signature.⁹ This surface phenomenon has been identified on many paintings

by Claude, and theories on its cause range from lower quality materials to improper restorations.

Both Claude paintings in the Nelson-Atkins collection were studied to determine possible causes of this blanching. Comparative samples were taken in blached and non-blached regions of various colors, and cross sections were prepared to study the alteration. Their various strata were examined with the optical microscope. Elemental compositions were obtained in the scanning electron microscope (SEM), paying particular attention to the alteration of pigments and the formation of deterioration products atop the layers. In addition, regions of *Mill on the Tiber* were scanned with X-ray fluorescence elemental mapping (MA-XRF). The combined results of elemental analyses in the SEM localized in individual layers, elemental distributions mapped over the painting surface, and optical microscopy of paint samples allowed a partial palette to be identified.¹⁰



Fig. 15. Uneven blanching within the large tree, *Mill on the Tiber* (ca. 1650)

The majority of pigment particles throughout the painting are small in size, sometimes causing complications in the identification of pigments. While metal soaps were not abundant on this painting or *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*, reaction products of lead with chloride and sulfate were often found atop the paint layer. The combination of fine particles with high surface area and lead mobilization to form these reaction products on the surface may have been the cause of blanching. In addition, the use of pre-industrial cleaning products, such as alkaline soaps, during historical restorations may have supplied some of the reactants contributing to the whitish appearance. In the case of *Mill on the Tiber*, additional uneven cleaning techniques may have resulted in the

localized removal of blanching or localized formation of blanching (Fig. 15).

While the blanching seems to follow some brushwork in the foreground, it does not appear to relate to any single pigment, as Claude employed a variety of complex admixtures. The pigments in both Nelson-Atkins paintings are consistent with those identified in other Claude paintings as the “typical Claude mixture.”¹¹ Both smalt and ultramarine are present, with ultramarine as the sole blue in the sky, while smalt is found throughout the foliage. Two lead-containing yellow pigments may have contributed to the formation of lead alteration products. Lead-tin yellow and Naples yellow are often found to retain unreacted raw materials from their manufacture and to be in an altered state, deficient in lead. Lead-tin yellow is used in admixtures throughout the foliage, whereas Naples yellow is the primary yellow pigment used for highlights in the trees. Although there is an overall brown tone throughout the foliage, these regions are formed primarily with green earth pigments. Alteration products associated with chloride are found in the foliage and not the sky, indicating that these products are not associated with lead white, which is found throughout the composition.

The painting has an elaborate restoration and conservation history, making it unclear precisely how it appeared when it was first completed. The earliest documented conservation treatment dates to 1942/1943, when the painting was cleaned and relined with wax by James Roth.^{12,13} The painting was subsequently cleaned from 1980 to 1982 by Forrest Bailey.¹⁴ Photographs captured during Bailey’s treatment document that original paint had been overpainted along the edges and was revealed during his cleaning. This original paint, however, appeared to be severely fragmented and was subsequently covered again during the 1982 treatment. Retouching and overpaint dating from this treatment do not match the milky or hazy appearance found within the adjacent foliage of the composition today, suggesting that the change in surface appearance has progressed over the forty-plus years since 1982. During that conservation campaign, a synthetic varnish was applied and appears to have darkened slightly.

Diana M. Jaskierny and John Twilley
September 2023

Notes

1. Evidence of the twill weave is visible in x-radiography and in raking light.
2. Marcel Rothlisberger notes that the dimensions of the painting were altered sometime before 1837, which is when the current dimensions were first mentioned. Marcel Rothlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1979), 303.
3. Beneath this incised line is perhaps a second, less prominent incised line.
4. Sheila McTighe, “Poussin’s Practice: A New Plea for Poussin as a Painter,” *Kermes* 27, nos. 94–95 (April–September 2014): 14.
5. For more information on Claude’s use of perspective, see Hubert Damisch, “Claude: A Problem in Perspective,” *Studies in the History of Art* 14 (1984): 29–44.
6. This component is not present in the final drawing in *Liber Veritatis*, a compilation of drawings the artist created to record his completed paintings. However, as that series of drawings was used to chronicle completed work, Claude would not have included changed elements of the original composition.
7. There are few cracks in this area; however, it appears there is a dark layer present below the paint for the sky in this clearing.
8. Humphrey Wine, *Claude: The Poetic Landscape* (London: National Gallery, 1994), 12–13.
9. The signature is found in the landscape to the right of the male figure and reads “Claudio 1650” in stylized lettering appearing as “CLAJDIO.”
10. John Twilley, “Blanching Phenomena, Pigment Analyses, and XRF Elemental Mapping Results for Claude Gellée’s *Mill on the Tiber*, ca. 1650, #32-78,” unpublished scientific report, Nelson-Atkins conservation file, January 7, 2024.

11. Karin Groen, "Scanning Electron-Microscopy as an Aid in the Study of Blanching," in *The Hamilton Kerr Institute Bulletin Number 1: The First Ten Years; The Examination and Conservation of Paintings 1977 to 1987*, ed. Ian McClure (Cambridge: Hamilton Kerr Institute of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, 1988), 49.
12. James Roth, September 11, 1943, treatment report, Nelson-Atkins conservation file, 32-78.
13. A document in the Nelson-Atkins curatorial file also mentions a 1933 treatment of a Claude Lorraine [sic] painting, which was cleaned by M. J. Rougeron, a paintings restorer based in New York. However, it is not specified by title which Claude Lorraine painting was treated, *Mill on the Tiber* (32-78) or *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* (31-57).
14. Forrest R. Bailey, September 11, 1980, and September 2, 1982, treatment reports, Nelson-Atkins conservation file, 32-78.

With Giuseppe de Rosis, Rome, by December 1, 1663;

Purchased from Giuseppe de Rosis, Rome, by Don Antonio Ruffo (1610–1678), 1st Principe della Scaletta, Messina, Italy, by December 1, 1663–December 26, 1673 [2];

Given to his son, Don Placido Ruffo (1646–1710), 2nd Principe della Scaletta and 1st Principe della Floresta, Messina, Italy, 1673–May 5, 1710 [3];

Probably by descent to his son, Don Antonio Ruffo e La Rocca (ca. 1680–1739), 3rd Principe della Scaletta and 2nd Principe della Floresta, Messina, Italy, 1710–1739;

Probably by descent to his son, Don Calogero Ruffo (ca. 1706–1743), 4th Principe della Scaletta and 3rd Principe della Floresta, Messina, Italy, 1739–1743;

Probably estate of Don Calogero Ruffo, ca. 1743–1750 [4];

Probably by inheritance to his uncle, Don Giovanni Ruffo e La Rocca (ca. 1684–ca. 1755/1756), 5th Principe della Scaletta, Messina, Italy, 1750–1755/1756 [5];

Probably by descent to his son, Don Antonio Ruffo (1707–1778), 6th Principe della Scaletta, Messina, Italy, 1755/1756–October 15, 1778;

Probably by descent to his son, Don Giovanni Ruffo (1751–1808), 7th Principe della Scaletta, Messina, Italy, 1778–March 11, 1808 [6];

With Philip Hill, London, by July 3, 1811 [7];

Probably Lord Charles Kinnaid (1780–1826), 8th Lord Kinnaid of Inchture, Scotland, by late 1812 [8];

Probably purchased from Lord Kinnaid by John Glover (1767–1849), London and Patterdale, UK, by January 1, 1813–1836 [9];

Jointly purchased from Glover, through John Lord and George Stanley, by John Smith and Robert Hume, London, Smith stock book A 1822–ca. 1850, no. 1071, as *Compⁿ Shepherd and Shepherdess Even*, by September 6, 1836–1838 [10];

Purchased from Smith and Hume by William Hornby (1797–1869), The Hook, Hampshire, UK, April 18, 1838;

Bought back from Hornby by John Smith and Sons, London, stock book A 1822–ca. 1852, no. 1394, by 1839 [11];

Documentation

Citation

Chicago:

Glynnis Napier Stevenson and Brigid M. Boyle, "Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Mill on the Tiber*, ca. 1650," documentation in *French Paintings and Pastels, 1600–1945: The Collections of The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art*, ed. Aimee Marcereau DeGalan (Kansas City: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2024), <https://doi.org/10.37764/78973.5.206.4033>.

MLA:

Stevenson, Glynnis Napier, and Brigid M. Boyle. "Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Mill on the Tiber*, ca. 1650," documentation. *French Paintings and Pastels, 1600–1945: The Collections of The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art*, edited by Aimee Marcereau DeGalan, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2024. doi: 10.37764/78973.5.206.4033.

Provenance

Commissioned by Signor Lorette, Italy, ca. 1650 [1];

Purchased from John Smith and Sons by Sir Thomas Baring (1772–1848), 2nd Baronet, London, May 10, 1839–April 3, 1848 [12];

Purchased by his son, Thomas Baring (1799–1873), London, 1848–November 18, 1873 [13];

By descent to his nephew, Thomas George Baring (1826–1904), 1st Earl of Northbrook, London, 1873–November 15, 1904 [14];

By descent to his son, Francis George Baring (1850–1929), 2nd Earl of Northbrook, London, 1904–at least 1926 [15];

With Durlacher Brothers, London, by September 9, 1930 [16];

Transferred to Durlacher Brothers, New York, by December 9, 1930–December 17, 1931 [17];

Purchased from Durlacher Brothers, through Harold Woodbury Parsons, by The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO, 1931.

Notes

[1] An inscription on the verso of no. 123 in Claude's *Liber Veritatis*, the book of drawings he used to record his painting compositions, indicates that *Mill on the Tiber* was undertaken for a certain "Signor Lorette." (John Smith erroneously identifies Claude's patron as "Signor Piretti" in his 1837 catalogue raisonné, a mistake that was repeated by later scholars. Elsewhere the patron is incorrectly referred to as Parette and Torette/i.) Nothing is known about Lorette, though Marcel Røethlisberger believes he was a minor patron, given the small size of the picture and the one-off nature of the commission; see Marcel Røethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 302.

[2] Extant correspondence between Ruffo and his agents in Rome attests to this purchase. Vincenzo Ruffo, "Galleria Ruffo nel secolo XVII in Messina (con lettere di pittori ed altri documenti inediti)," *Bollettino d'Arte* 10, nos. 5–6 (May–June 1916): 192, as *Paesaggio con due figure ed alcune capre*.

[3] Furthermore, these pictures were part of Don Antonio's *propter nuptias* (marriage gift) to his son Don Placido, prince of Floresta, which was finalized on December 26, 1673. In Vincenzo Ruffo's compilation of his family's inventories, he sets off the paintings given as wedding gifts with asterisks. See Vincenzo Ruffo, "Galleria Ruffo nel secolo XVII in Messina (con

lettere di pittori ed altri documenti inediti)," *Bollettino d'Arte* 10, nos. 9–10 (September–October 1916): 314, 316, in the "Catalogo generale dei 364 quadri della galleria," where the paintings are number 108*: "Lorenese (Claudio il), *Paesaggio con due figure ed alcune capre*, 2-1/2 x 3 ; *La nascita del Sole*, 2 1/2 x 3."

[4] In 1743, Don Calogero (eldest son of the younger Don Antonio) died childless, causing problems of succession between his sister, Antonia Ruffo, and uncle, Don Giovanni Ruffo e La Rocca (the younger Don Antonio's brother). Don Giovanni got the title of 5th Principe della Scaletta and the Palazzo Regio Campo in Messina, which included the Claude paintings; Donna Antonia Ruffo got the title of Principessa della Floresta. See Rosanna De Gennaro, "Aggiunta alle notizie sulla collezione di Antonio Ruffo: 'nota di quadri vincolati in primogeniture' scampati al terremoto del 5 febbraio 1783," *Napoli nobilissima* 2, no. 5/6 (September–December 2001): 211.

[5] See note 4.

[6] See "Note of paintings bound in primogeniture, recovered by Don Giovanni Ruffo, prince della Scaletta from the ruins of the palace which fell in Messina with the horrible earthquake of 5 February 1783," where two Claude paintings are listed as nos. 85–86 and located in the chapel: "Due paesini, di palmi 2 1/2 e 3, di monsieur Claudio Lorenese, onze 40." These are probably *Mill on the Tiber* and *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*. See De Gennaro, "Aggiunta alle notizie sulla collezione di Antonio Ruffo," 213–14.

Edward Dillon, *Claude* (London: Methuen, 1905), 187, alleges that *Mill on the Tiber* was purchased from the Colonna Palace in Rome by William Young Ottley, Esq. (1771–1836) in 1798 or 1799, who had it until at least May 16, 1801. Ottley bought *Ascanius Shooting at Silvia's Stag* from the Colonna Palace but appears to have purchased a different *Mill on the Tiber* from the Corsini Palace, also in Rome. See *A Catalogue of The Superb, Capital, and Truly Valuable Collection of Celebrated Italian Pictures, Lately Purchased from the Colonna, Borghese, and Corsini Palaces, etc. by William Young Ottley, Esq., Forming an Unrivalled Assemblage of the Genuine and Finest Works of the Italian Schools* (London: Christie's, May 16, 1801), 6, as *Landscape, with Pastoral Figures, Afternoon, View on the Tiber, in his finest manner, and in the highest Preservation; a Cabinet Picture, from the Corsini Palace*. A copy of the catalogue at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is annotated as "Goats & Shephds. Fine Tree & Blue Sky"

and purchased by a "Lord D." It is unlikely that this is the Nelson-Atkins painting.

[7] The dealer Philip Hill consigned *Mill on the Tiber* to a Christie's sale, but it was bought in for 390 guineas; see *A Choice and Highly Valuable Assemblage of Exquisite Cabinet Dutch Pictures*, Christie, Manson, and Woods, London, July 3, 1811, lot 105, *View on the Banks of the Tiber*.

[8] On January 1, 1813, the English landscape painter Joseph Farington (1747–1821) noted in his diary that John Glover "had lately given 1700 guineas for two pictures painted by Claude." David Hansen proposes that it's "feasible" that Glover purchased both *Mill on the Tiber* and *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* from Kinnaid in late 1812; see David Hansen, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque*, exh. cat. (Hobart, Tasmania: Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, 2003), 135. It is unclear whether Glover purchased them together or separately. *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* was likely owned by Lord Charles Kinnaid (1780–1826) in 1812, but the ownership of *Mill on the Tiber* is less clear. Either Philip Hill still owned the picture, or he found a private buyer after it failed to sell at auction. Hansen also confirmed that the prices Glover paid for the pictures varied between sources. See email from Dr. David Hansen, Australian National University, to Glynnis Stevenson, NAMA, April 20, 2021, NAMA curatorial files.

[9] See note 8.

On September 4, 1830, John Glover emigrated with his family to Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania). Prior to this, *Mill on the Tiber* was bought in at his emigration sale of May 12, 1830, for 700 guineas; see John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters* (London: Smith and Son, 1837), 8:258. According to the same source, *Mill's* pendant *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* was also bought in by John Glover in 1830 for 700 guineas. Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters*, 8:289. It seems evident that George Stanley, in his capacity as auctioneer, bought in the pictures on John Glover's behalf, likely before giving them to the artist's son-in-law and London agent, John Lord (1795–1854). They remained in Lord's custody until at least July 1835, when the exhibition of Glover's work (and his two Claudes) closed.

[10] See letter from John Smith, London, to John Mountjoy Smith, Rome, September 6, 1836, in Charles

Sebag-Montefiore and Julia I. Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers: John Smith and Successors 1801–1924; A Study of the Art Market in Nineteenth-Century London* (London: Roxburghe Club, 2013), 219–21. Smith and Hume paid £1840 for *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* and *Mill on the Tiber*. See also "Records of John Smith and successors, 1812–1892," daybook 3, part 1, 1837–1847, p. 93, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

[11] Sebag-Montefiore and Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers*, 220n111.

[12] Baring purchased *Mill on the Tiber* for £600. See Sebag-Montefiore and Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers*, 220n111; and "Records of John Smith and successors, 1812–1892," daybook 3, part 1, 1837–1847, p. 175, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

[13] Sir Thomas Baring's will stipulated that his collection be sold after his death. Thomas Baring purchased his father's Italian, Spanish, and French pictures when they were put up for sale; see the introduction to *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures Belonging to the Earl of Northbrook* (London: Griffith, Farran, Okeden, and Welsh, 1889), unpaginated.

[14] Thomas George Baring was the eldest son of Thomas Baring's older brother, Francis Thornhill Baring (1796–1866), 1st Baron Northbrook. He succeeded his father in 1866 as the 2nd Baron Northbrook and became 1st Earl of Northbrook in 1876; see Sebag-Montefiore and Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers*, 65.

[15] See Louis Hourticq et al., *Le Paysage Français de Poussin à Corot à l'Exposition du Petit Palais*, exh. cat. (Paris: Éditions de la Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1926), 115. The painting likely remained in Francis George Baring's collection until his death on April 12, 1929.

In the catalogue raisonné, Marcel Roethlisberger erroneously states that the painting was in the possession of Colnaghi, London, by 1929/1930; see Marcel Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 304. However, researchers have not found evidence of the two Nelson-Atkins canvases in the Colnaghi archives. See email from Catherine Taylor, Head of Archives and Records, Waddesdon Manor, to Glynnis Stevenson, NAMA, April 22, 2021, NAMA curatorial files.

[16] See letters from Harold Woodbury Parsons, art advisor for the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, to J. C.

Nichols, Trustee for the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, September 9, 1930, and November 22, 1930, NAMA curatorial files.

[17] See letter from Harold Woodbury Parsons to Robert A. Holland, curator of collections, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, December 9, 1930, NAMA curatorial files.

Related Works

Possibly Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *The Sea of Galilee with Christ Calling Peter and Andrew*, 1665, oil on canvas, possibly 19 11/16 x 25 9/16 in. (50 x 65 cm), now lost; see Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *The Sea of Galilee with Christ calling Peter and Andrew (Matthew, IV, 18 and Mark, I, 16f)*, record of painting (whereabouts unknown) from the *Liber Veritatis*, 1665, pen and brown ink on paper, 7 5/8 x 10 in. (19.5 x 25.4 cm), *Liber Veritatis*, no. 165, British Museum, London, 1957,1214.171.

Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*, 1667, oil on canvas, 20 1/2 x 27 3/8 in. (52.1 x 69.5 cm), The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO, 31-57.

Preparatory Work

Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Figure study for a pastoral landscape; a woman seated playing a musical instrument, a herdsman beside her*, 1650–1651, black chalk, brown wash; Verso: *The same herdsman, holding a staff*, black chalk, 6 1/8 x 9 in (15.5 x 22.9 cm), British Museum, London, Oo,7.141.

Copies

Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Pastoral Landscape, Record of a Painting in Kansas City (Missouri)*, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, from the *Liber Veritatis*; two figures seated on a rock in the center foreground, goats nearby, two boats on a river with trees on the left bank, buildings and cliffs towards the right, ca. 1650, pen and brown ink, with brown and gray wash on paper, 7 5/8 x 10 in. (19.4 cm x 25.4 cm), *Liber Veritatis*, no. 123, British Museum, London, 1957,1214.129.

Richard Earlom (English, 1743–1822), after Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *The Mill on the Tiber*, 1776, etching with mezzotint, plate: 8 1/4 x 10 1/4 in. (20.9 x 26 cm), sheet: 10 1/4 x 16 7/8 in. (26 x 42.8 cm), The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO, Purchase: acquired through the Print Duplicate Fund, 68–6/1.

John Glover (English, 1767–1849), after Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Mill on the Tiber*, ca. 1840, oil on canvas, 30 x 45 in. (76 x 114 cm), sold at *Important Australian and International Art*, Menzies, South Yarra, Australia March 27, 2024), lot 39, as *Mill on the Tiber (after Claude)*, <http://www.menziesartbrands.com/items/20599>.

Exhibitions

Possibly *Mr. Glover's Exhibition*, 16, Old Bond Street, London, opened April 24, 1820, no cat.

Possibly *Mr. Glover's Exhibition*, 16, Old Bond Street, London, May–June 1821, no cat.

Possibly *Glover's Exhibition*, 16, Old Bond Street, London, 1823, no. 65 or 84, as either *One of the most beautiful pictures* or *Landscape*.

Pictures, Descriptive of the Scenery, and Customs of the Inhabitants of Van Dieman's Land, Together with Views in England, Italy, etc. Painted by John Glover, Esq.; To Which are Added Two Genuine, and Highly Finished Landscapes, by the Celebrated Claude Lorraine [sic], 106 New Bond Street, London, June–July 1835, no. 68 or 69, as *Two Landscapes by Claude Lorraine [sic]*.

Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters and by Deceased Masters of the British School; Including a Special Selection from the Works of Frank Holl, R. A., and a Collection of Water-Colour Drawings by Joseph M. W. Turner, R. A., Winter Exhibition, Royal Academy, London, January 7–March 16, 1889, no. 85, as *Shepherd Teaching a Shepherdess to Play on the Pipe*.

Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters Including a Special Collection of Paintings and Drawings by Claude, Winter Exhibition, Royal Academy, London, January 6–March 15, 1902, no. 56, as *A Shepherd and Shepherdess*.

Old Masters: XVII. and XVIII. Century French Art; Contemporary British Painting and Sculpture, Spring Exhibition, Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, February 8–April 3, 1907, no. 34, as *The Music Lesson*.

Exposition du Paysage Français de Poussin à Corot, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Paris, May–June 1925, no. 120, as *Moulin sur le Tibre*.

Paintings Owned by W. R. Nelson Trust, Kansas City Art Institute, by January 17–May 20, 1932, unnumbered, as *The Mill on the Tiber*.

Exhibition of French Painting from the Fifteenth Century to the Present Day, California Palace of the Legion of

Honor, San Francisco, June 8–July 8, 1934, no. 14, as *The Mill on the Tiber*.

An Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings of Claude Lorrain, 1600–1682, Durlacher Brothers, New York, January 19–February 12, 1938, no. 2, as *The Mill on the Tiber*.

Landscapes of the European War Theatre, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO, January 1–February 13, 1944, no cat.

Landscape: An Exhibition of Paintings, Brooklyn Museum of Art, NY, November 8, 1945–January 1, 1946, no. 30, as *The Mill on the Tiber*.

Fiftieth Exhibition of the Art of Europe during the XVIIth–XVIIIth Centuries, Worcester Art Museum, April 11–May 16, 1948, no. 15, as *The Mill on the Tiber*.

Twenty Years of Collecting, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO, December 11–31, 1953, no cat., as *Mill on the Tiber*.

Claude Lorrain, 1600–1682: A Tercentenary Exhibition, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, October 17, 1982–January 2, 1983; Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, February 15–May 16, 1983, no. 40, as *The Mill on the Tiber*.

John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque, Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart, Tasmania, Australia, November 28, 2003–February 1, 2004; Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, February 19–April 12, 2004; National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, April 24–July 18, 2004; National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, August 13–October 3, 2004, no. 1, as *The Mill on the Tiber*.

References

A Catalogue of a Choice and Highly Valuable Assemblage of Exquisite Cabinet Dutch Pictures, Being the Select and Remaining Part of the Collection of a Gentleman of Refined Taste Purchased from nearly all the distinguished Cabinets that have been offered for Sale for many Years past in this Country; and including several Valuable Purchases made on the Continent; Among Them Are Specimens of the First Degree of Merit, By Corregio, Garofalo, Guido, Domenichino, Albano, Poussin, Claude, Teniers, Cuyp, Potter, Berchem, Wouvermans, A. V. de Velde, Ostade, Du Jardin, Hobbema, Brekelcamp, Mignon, Wilson ([London]: Christie, July 3, 1811), 12, as *An elegant Landscape, View on the Banks of the Tiber*.

Liber veritatis, or, A collection of prints, after the original designs of Claude le Lorrain: in the collection of His Grace the duke of Devonshire; executed by Richard Earlom, in the manner and taste of the drawings; to which is added, a descriptive catalogue of each print; together with the names of those for whom, and the places for which, the original pictures were first painted, taken from the handwriting of Claude le Lorrain on the back of each drawing, and of the present possessors of many of the original pictures (1819; repr., London: Boydell, [1841?]), 2:4, as *A Shepherd teaching a Shepherdess to play on a pipe. The scene exhibits a woody and well watered Landscape, with a Mill and a round Tower at its base*.

Possibly "Mr. Glover's Exhibition," *Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review*, no. 106 (May 26, 1821), 334.

Possibly "Mr. Glover's Exhibition," *Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, etc.* 11, no. 66 (June 1, 1821): 374.

Probably "Fine Arts: Mr. Glover's Pictures," *New Monthly Magazine* 9 (1823): 397.

"Sales by Auction: Mr. Glover's Pictures, and Landscapes by Claude," *Times* (London), no. 14,209 (April 24, 1830): 4.

"Sales by Auction: Mr. Glover's Pictures, and Landscapes by Claude," *Times* (London), no. 14,213 (April 29, 1830): 4.

A Catalogue of Sixty Pictures Painted by John Glover, Esq., and Two Landscapes by Claude, His Property ([London]: [Stanley], April 29, 1830), 6, as *Landscape with a Mill*.

A Catalogue of Pictures, Descriptive of the Scenery, and Customs of the Inhabitants of Van Dieman's Land, Together with Views in England, Italy, etc. Painted by John Glover, Esq.; To Which are Added Two Genuine, and Highly Finished Landscapes, by the Celebrated Claude Lorraine [sic], exh. cat. (1835; repr. London: J. Rogers, 1868), 4, as *Two Landscapes*.

John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters*, vol. 8, *The Life and Works of Nicholas Poussin, Claude Lorraine [sic], and Jean Baptiste Greuze* (London: Smith and Son, 1837), 258, 471, as *A Shepherd teaching a Shepherdess to play on the Pipe*.

Frederick Christian Lewis, *Liber Studiorum of Claude Lorrain* (London: F. C. Lewis, 1840).

John Smith, *Supplement to the Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French*

Painters; In which is included a short Biographical Notice of the Artists, with a Copious Description of Nearly The Whole of Their Pictures; A Statement of The Price At Which Such Pictures Have Been Sold At Public Sales On The Continent And In England; A Reference To The Galleries and Private Collections, In Which A Large Portion Are At Present; And The Names Of The Artists By Whom They Have Been Engraved To Which Is Added, A Brief Notice Of The Scholars And Imitators Of The Great Masters Of The Above Schools, pt. 9 (London: Mssrs. Smith, 1842), 808, as *A Shepherd teaching a Shepherdess to play on the Pipe*.

John Mitford, ed., "Obituary—Mr. John Glover," *Gentleman's Magazine* (July 1850): 97.

[Gustav Friedrich] Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain: Being an Account of the Chief Collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, Illuminated Mss., etc.* (London: John Murray, 1854), 2:177.

[Emilia Francis Strong Dilke], *Claude Lorrain: Sa Vie et ses Œuvres d'après des documents inédits* (Paris: J. Rouam, 1884), 217, 233, as *Moulin sur le Tibre*.

Owen J. Dullea, *Claude Gellée le Lorrain* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1887), 112, 125, as *Landscape with broad river and water-mill*.

Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters and by Deceased Masters of the British School; Including a Special Selection from the Works of Frank Holl, R. A., and a Collection of Water-Colour Drawings by Joseph M. W. Turner, R. A., exh. cat. (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1889), 22, 69–70, as *Shepherd Teaching a Shepherdess to Play on the Pipe*.

W. J. James Weale and Jean Paul Richter, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures Belonging to the Earl of Northbrook: The Dutch, Flemish, and French Schools by Mr. W.H. James Weale; The Italian and Spanish Schools By Dr. Jean Paul Richter* (London: Griffiths, Farran, Okeden, and Welsh, 1889), 188, 192, 216, as *A Shepherd Teaching a Shepherdess to play on the Pipe and The Music Lesson*.

Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters Including a Special Collection of Paintings and Drawings by Claude, exh. cat. (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1902), 17, as *A Shepherd and Shepherdess*.

H. C., "Correspondance d'Angleterre: Exposition de maîtres anciens à la Royal Academy (Suite)," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité: supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts*, no. 11 (March 15, 1902): 85.

Verlags-Katalog von Franz Hanfstængl Kunstverlag München (Munich: Franz Hanfstængl, 1903), 2:56, as *Ein Schäfer lehrt eine Schäferin auf einer Pfeife*.

Raymond Bouyer, *Les grands artistes: Leur vie—leur œuvre; Claude Lorrain* (Paris: Henri Laurens, [1905]), 77, 126, (repro.), as *Le Moulin sur le Tibre*.

Edward Dillon, *Claude* (London: Methuen, 1905), 187, as *Mill by the Tiber*.

Masters in Art: A Series of Illustrated Monographs (Boston: Bates and Guild, 1905), 6:377, as *Mill on the Tiber*.

Spring Exhibition: Section I.—Old Masters: XVII. and XVIII. Century French Art; Section II. Contemporary British Painting and Sculpture, exh. cat. ([London]: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1907), 7, as *The Music Lesson*.

The Masterpieces of Claude (1600–1682) (London: Gowans and Gray, 1911), 48, 67, (repro.), as *Mill on the Tiber / Moulin sur le Tibre / Mühle am Tiber and Shepherd teaching shepherdess to play the flute (Mill on the Tiber)*.

Algernon Graves, *A Century of Loan Exhibitions, 1813–1912* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1913), 1:179, as *Shepherd and Shepherdess*.

Probably Vincenzo Ruffo, "Galleria Ruffo nel secolo XVII in Messina (con lettere di pittori ed altri documenti inediti)," *Bollettino d'Arte* 10, nos. 5–6 (May–June 1916): 167n6, 175n2, 190, 192; nos. 7–8 (July–August 1916): 238; nos. 9–10 (September–October 1916): 316, as *Paesaggio con due figure ed alcune capre*.

Algernon Graves, *Art Sales from Early in the Eighteenth Century to Early in the Twentieth Century: (mostly Old Master and Early English Pictures)* (London: Algernon Graves, 1918), 1:110, as *Landscape with Mill*.

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Claude Gellée, *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*, 1667

Technical Entry

Citation

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In 1667, Claude Gellée, also known as Claude Lorrain or Le Lorrain (1604–1682), completed the painting *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*, a work that demonstrates his skill in capturing atmospheric perspective. Questions exist regarding the original size of the painting because the tacking margins of the twill-weave canvas are no longer extant.¹ The canvas was resized to enlarge the composition at an unknown date. An attempt was made to recreate the original dimensions during a conservation campaign at the Nelson-Atkins in 1971.

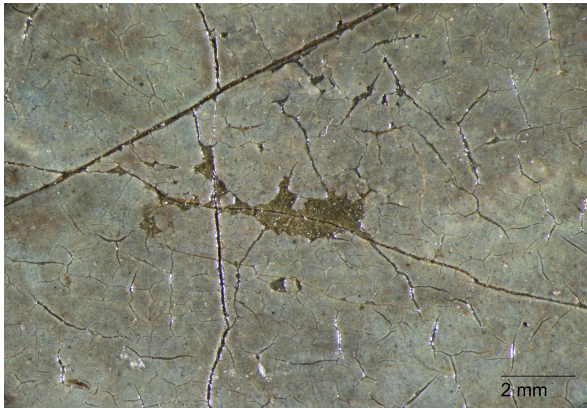


Fig. 16. Photomicrograph of light green underlayer within the middle ground, *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* (1667)



Fig. 17. Claude Lorrain, drawn record of *Mill on the Tiber*, ca. 1650, pen with brown and gray washes on paper, 7 5/8 x 10 in. (19.4 cm x 25.4 cm), British Museum, London, 1957,1214.129

The off-white ground layer of the painting is visible only through microscopy and in limited areas of abrasion along cracks. While there is no imprimatura, colored preparatory layers were applied to selected regions of the composition. A light gray layer is revealed by paint losses in the sky,² while a dark

brown preparatory layer was applied over the ground within the majority of the foreground and large tree. This can be identified in large traction cracks especially prevalent in the tree.³ Within the distant middle ground, specifically under and around the bridge, a muted green preparatory layer was used (Fig. 16).



Fig. 18. Claude Lorrain, drawn record of *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*, 1667, pen and brown ink with gray and gray-brown washes on paper, 7 5/8 x 10 3/16 in. (19.3 x 25.8 cm), British Museum, London, 1957,1214.178

No preparatory underdrawing was visible through either microscopy or infrared reflectography. Additionally, no incised lines were found. A prolific draftsman, Claude often formulated his compositions with an ink drawing before transferring the design to a canvas. In this case, the known drawings corresponding to *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* and *Mill on the Tiber* (32-78) belong to the artist's record of his completed paintings, *Liber Veritatis*.⁴ In his comparison between *Mill on the Tiber* and its corresponding drawing, (Fig. 17), Michael Kitson speaks of the presence of birds in the drawing and their absence in the painting. However, as birds are present in both *Mill on the Tiber* compositions, it is possible that Kitson's note relates to *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* and its drawing (Fig. 18), in which this discrepancy occurs.

Claude formed the majority of the composition with wet-over-wet paint application, in which edges blend softly into one another to produce a diffused appearance. The sky was built from the sun outward with radiating brushwork. Similarly soft wet-over-wet painting created the distant bridge and the buildings along the cliff. In the middle ground, a series of figures, perhaps an animal and cart with a driver, cross

the bridge. The muted tones of these figures nearly blend into their surroundings (Fig. 19). As the composition progressed and the paint was nearly dry, highlights were added with wet-over-dry paint strokes. Bright dashes of paint were placed along the lower edges of the clouds, while on the distant buildings on the cliff, warm peach highlights were added along each building's left side to indicate the glow from the sun (Fig. 20).



Fig. 19. Photomicrograph of figures and an animal on the bridge, *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* (1667)



Fig. 20. Detail of the buildings on the cliff, illustrating the peach highlights, *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* (1667)

As with many of Claude's landscape paintings, the central figure, here a shepherd, lacks the delicacy in paint handling of the other compositional elements, appearing heavy and stilted. Early sources speculate that the inconsistency in technique could be due to Claude's employment of Filippo Lauri (Italian, 1623–1694) to incorporate figures into his landscapes. However, this has not been proven. Claude's compositions are more successful in cases where the figures play a significant role in relation to the landscape.⁵



Fig. 21. Detail of the large tree, *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* (1667)

An uneven bluish haze or blanching is visible across all dark and most mid-toned regions in the composition. This, in combination with traction cracks and paint wrinkling, has reduced the legibility of the brushwork of the tree (Fig. 21). The signature on the rock below the figure's proper left leg is nearly indecipherable because of the paint surface condition.⁶ In addition, the contrast between planes, and therefore the atmospheric perspective of which Claude was lauded a master, has been lost due to this haze.⁷ Similar blanching has been found throughout Claude's oeuvre, and theories on its cause range from poor choices in materials to restoration campaigns. Both Claude paintings in the Nelson-Atkins collection were studied in an effort to understand the causes of this blanching. Comparative samples were taken in blanching and non-blanching regions of various colors, from which cross sections were prepared in order to study the alteration. Their various strata were examined with the optical microscope, and elemental compositions were obtained in the scanning electron microscope (SEM), paying particular attention to the alteration of pigments and the formation of deterioration products atop the layers. In addition to identifying contributory factors to the blanching, a partial palette was established.

Minute layers of lead-containing reaction products were found on the uppermost paint layer in these analyses. Chloride and sulfate, whose origins remain unknown, were often identified in the reaction products. Unlike *Mill on the Tiber* (32-78), the haze in *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* is relatively uniform and does not appear to follow brushwork or specific-colored passages, nor are there any central passages lacking the haze that could relate to past cleanings.

Along the bottom edge, however, there is a clear delineation between the affected and unaffected areas, crossing the leaves in the foreground (Fig. 22). This division between hazy and clear portions of the same brushwork does not correspond with overlap of the frame rabbet or any existing restorations. However, it may relate to early restorations or to actions taken during the reformatting. While other studies have found that the thickness of the paint could impact the severity of blanching, that does not appear to be the case in *Piping Shepherd*, where blanching occurs across the picture plane, regardless of paint application.⁸



Fig. 22. Photomicrograph of blanching delineation on the lower left edge, *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* (1667)

The pigments found in both Nelson-Atkins paintings are consistent with those identified in other Claude paintings as the “typical Claude mixture.”⁹ The majority of the pigments are finely ground and are utilized in complex admixtures. Throughout the foliage, green earth, smalt, and lead-tin yellow are present, with Naples yellow used within highlights. Ultramarine blue is the primary blue in the sky. Vermilion and bone black were also identified, and lead white is prevalent throughout the painting.

The painting has undergone multiple restoration and conservation campaigns throughout its history.¹⁰ The most recent conservation campaign was completed in 1971, when the painting was cleaned, a glue-paste lining was removed, a new wax-resin lining was completed, and the canvas was reformatted to its current size.¹¹ This reformatting reduced the picture plane by approximately 1 1/2 inches vertically and 1 inch horizontally. During this campaign, an attempt was made to reduce the blanching; however, the haze

was not successfully removed. A significant amount of retouching was completed to integrate traction cracks and create a cohesive image. Warm retouching was liberally added within the foliage, presumably to balance the overly blue appearance caused by the blanching, and a synthetic varnish was applied to the surface.

Diana M. Jaskierny and John Twilley
September 2023

Notes

1. Evidence of the twill weave is visible in the film-based x-radiograph, no. X, NAMA conservation file, 31-57.
2. The lower gray layer in the sky may have appeared bluer when it was first applied, shifting to gray due to smalt degradation.
3. Many traction cracks contain retouching, while some allow this dark preparatory layer to remain exposed.
4. Claude Lorrain created this sketchbook as a record of his completed paintings in order to prevent forgeries and confusion of his works. Both drawings are titled *Pastoral Landscape*, and in reference to the corresponding drawing for *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*, Michael Kitson states that “the drawing corresponds to the painting exactly.” Michael Kitson, *Claude Lorrain: Liber Veritatis* (London: British Museum Publications, 1978), 7, 160.
5. Marcel Roethlisberger, “Claude Lorrain: Some New Perspectives,” in “Claude Lorrain 1600–1682: A Symposium,” ed. Pamela Askew, special issue, *Studies in the History of Art* 14 (1984): 59–61.
6. The signature was identified by Hal Prestwood, conservation technician, Nelson-Atkins, in 2004 as: “Claudio [or CLAUDIO] / ROMA [or ROMÆ] 1667.” Hal Prestwood, February 17, 2004, digital documentation, Nelson-Atkins conservation file, no. 31-57.
7. David C. Ditner, “Claude and the Ideal Landscape Tradition in Great Britain,” *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 70, no. 4 (April 1983): 152.

8. Karin Groen, "Scanning Electron-Microscopy as an Aid in the Study of Blanching," in *The Hamilton Kerr Institute Bulletin Number 1: The First Ten Years; The Examination and Conservation of Paintings 1977 to 1987*, ed. Ian McClure (Cambridge: Hamilton Kerr Institute of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, 1988), 49.
9. Groen, "Scanning Electron-Microscopy as an Aid in the Study of Blanching," 49.
10. A brief note in the Nelson-Atkins curatorial file states that on a Claude Lorrain painting, the following treatment was completed in 1933 by M. J. Rougeron: "Dissolve varnish and repainted parts on the edge. Re-place priming, properly restore aged and damaged parts. Light glazing, varnish and encaustic finish." It is unclear if this note is in reference to this painting or *Mill on the Tiber* (32-78). Marcel Jules Rougeron was a paintings restorer, art dealer, and collector in New York.
11. James Roth, September 15, 1971, treatment report, Nelson-Atkins conservation file, 31-57.

Documentation

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Glynnis Napier Stevenson and Brigid M. Boyle, "Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*, 1667," documentation in *French Paintings and Pastels, 1600–1945: The Collections of The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art*, ed. Aimee Marcereau DeGalan (Kansas City: The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2024), <https://doi.org/10.37764/78973.5.208.4033>.

MLA:

Stevenson, Glynnis Napier, and Brigid M. Boyle. "Claude Gellée, called Le Lorrain, *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*, 1667," documentation. *French Paintings and Pastels, 1600–1945: The Collections of The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art*, edited by Aimee Marcereau DeGalan, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2024. doi: 10.37764/78973.5.208.4033.

Provenance

Probably purchased from the artist by Cornelis de Wael on behalf of Don Antonio Ruffo (1610–1678), 1st Principe della Scaletta, Messina, Italy, 1667–December 26, 1673 [1];

Probably given to his son, Don Placido Ruffo (1646–1710), 2nd Principe della Scaletta and 1st Principe della Floresta, Messina, Italy, 1673–May 5, 1710 [2];

Probably by descent to his son, Don Antonio Ruffo e La Rocca (ca. 1680–1739), 3rd Principe della Scaletta and 2nd Principe della Floresta, Messina, Italy, 1710–1739;

Probably by descent to his son, Don Calogero Ruffo (ca. 1706–1743), 4th Principe della Scaletta and 3rd Principe della Floresta, Messina, Italy, 1739–1743;

Probably estate of Don Calogero Ruffo, ca. 1743–1750 [3];

Probably inherited by his uncle, Don Giovanni Ruffo e La Rocca (ca. 1684–ca. 1755/1756), 5th Principe della Scaletta, Messina, Italy, 1750–1755/1756 [4];

Probably by descent to his son, Don Antonio Ruffo (1707–1778), 6th Principe della Scaletta, Messina, Italy, 1755/1756–October 15, 1778;

Probably by descent to his son, Don Giovanni Ruffo (1751–1808), 7th Principe della Scaletta, Messina, Italy, 1778–March 11, 1808 [5];

Lord Charles Kinnaird (1780–1826), 8th Lord Kinnaird of Inchtute, Scotland, by late 1812;

Purchased from Lord Kinnaird by John Glover (1767–1849), London and Patterdale, UK, by January 1, 1813–1836 [6];

Jointly purchased from Glover, through John Lord and George Stanley, by John Smith and Robert Hume, London, Smith stock book A 1822–ca. 1850, no. 1070, as *Landscape Youth Playing on Pipe*, by September 6, 1836–1838 [7];

Purchased from Smith and Hume by William Hornby (1797–1869), The Hook, Hampshire, UK, April 18, 1838;

Bought back from Hornby by John Smith and Sons, London, by 1841 [8];

Purchased from John Smith and Sons by Sir Thomas Baring (1772–1848), 2nd Baronet, London, June 18, 1841–April 3, 1848 [9];

Purchased by his son, Thomas Baring (1799–1873), London, 1848–November 18, 1873 [10];

By descent to his nephew, Thomas George Baring (1826–1904), 1st Earl of Northbrook, London, 1873–November 15, 1904 [11];

By descent to his son, Francis George Baring (1850–1929), 2nd Earl of Northbrook, London, 1904–at least 1926 [12];

With Durlacher Brothers, London, by September 9, 1930 [13];

Transferred to Durlacher Brothers, New York, by January 27, 1931 [14];

Purchased from Durlacher Brothers, through Harold Woodbury Parsons, by The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO, 1931.

Notes

[1] Cornelis de Wael (Flemish, 1592–1667) was a dealer and painter of marine subjects who lived primarily in Genoa (1631–1656) and Rome (1656–1667). He is thought to be the “Deveal” whom Claude mentions in connection with no. 152 in his *Liber Veritatis*, the book of drawings he used to record his painting compositions; see Marcel Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings*, 2nd ed. (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1979), 1:359n1. Roethlisberger believed that Ruffo ordered two paintings “as pendants a posteriori” to *Mill on the Tiber*, which Ruffo had acquired in 1663. One is *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* and the other painting entitled *Sunrise* is now lost, but Roethlisberger proposed *The Sea of Galilee with Christ Calling Peter and Andrew*, which is known only by a drawing in the *Liber Veritatis*, no. 165. The *Mill on the Tiber* and *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* have similar dimensions and are both morning scenes. See Marcel Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 303, 304n2, 356, 359n1.

[2] The painting was part of Don Antonio’s *propter nuptias* (marriage gift) to his son Don Placido, which was finalized on December 26, 1673. In Vincenzo Ruffo’s compilation of his family’s inventories, he sets off the paintings given as wedding gifts with asterisks. See Vincenzo Ruffo, “Galleria Ruffo nel secolo XVII in Messina (con lettere di pittori ed altri documenti inediti),” *Bollettino d’Arte* 10, nos. 9–10 (September–October 1916): 314, 316, under the “Catalogo generale dei 364 quadri della galleria,” where the paintings are

number 108*: “Lorenese (Claudio il), *Paesaggio con due figure ed alcune capre*, 2-1/2 x 3 ; *La nascita del Sole*, 2 1/2 x 3.”

[3] In 1743, Don Calogero (eldest son of the younger Don Antonio) died childless, causing problems of succession between his sister, Antonia Ruffo, and uncle, Don Giovanni Ruffo e La Rocca (the younger Don Antonio’s brother). Don Giovanni got the title of 5th Principe della Scaletta and the Palazzo Regio Campo in Messina, which included the Claude paintings; Donna Antonia Ruffo got the title of Principessa della Floresta. See Rosanna De Gennaro, “Aggiunta alle notizie sulla collezione di Antonio Ruffo: ‘nota di quadri vincolati in primogeniture’ scampati al terremoto del 5 febbraio 1783,” *Napoli nobilissima* 2, no. 5/6 (September–December 2001): 211.

[4] See note 3.

[5] See “Note of paintings bound in primogeniture, recovered by Don Giovanni Ruffo, prince della Scaletta from the ruins of the palace which fell in Messina with the horrible earthquake of 5 February 1783,” where two Claude paintings are listed as nos. 85–86 and located in the chapel: “Due paesini, di palmi 2 1/2 e 3, di monsieur Claudio Lorenese, onze 40.” These are probably *Mill on the Tiber* and *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*. See De Gennaro, “Aggiunta alle notizie sulla collezione di Antonio Ruffo,” 213–14.

[6] According to John Smith, John Glover purchased *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* from Lord Kinnaid for £1000 (date not specified); see John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters* (London: Smith and Son, 1837), 8:289. The only painting by Claude in Lord Kinnaid’s sale, *A Genuine and Highly Select Collection of Sixteen Pictures: Being Chef d’Œuvres of the Most Eminent Artists of the Different Schools, Collected by a Nobleman at Phillips*, London, on May 21, 1811, was lot 11, an “elegant Italian landscape” that was offered for £640.10, but it was bought in. Therefore, it is more likely that Glover purchased *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* directly from Lord Kinnaid—whom he had known since at least 1808—in a private sale. David Hansen proposes that it is “feasible” that Glover purchased both *Mill on the Tiber* and *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* from Kinnaid in late 1812, because the English landscape painter Joseph Farington (1747–1821) noted in his diary entry for January 1, 1813, that Glover “had lately given 1700 guineas for two pictures painted by Claude”; see David Hansen, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque*, exh. cat. (Hobart, Tasmania:

Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, 2003), 135. See also Hansen's essay for Glover's copy after the Nelson-Atkins picture in *Important Australian and International Art: including property formerly in the collection of the Late Mr Irvin Rockman CBE* (Melbourne: Smith and Singer, November 22, 2011), 36, where he asserts that Glover bought *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* from Kinnaird in 1812.

On September 4, 1830, John Glover emigrated with his family to Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania). Prior to this, *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* was bought in at his emigration sale of May 12, 1830, for 700 guineas; see John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters*, 8:289. According to the same source, its pendant *Mill on the Tiber* was also bought in by the auctioneer George Stanley for 700 guineas. It seems evident that George Stanley, in his capacity as auctioneer, bought in both pictures on John Glover's behalf, likely before leaving them with Glover's son-in-law and London agent, John Lord (1795–1854). They remained in Lord's custody until at least July 1835, when the exhibition of Glover's work (and his two Claudes) closed.

[7] See letter from John Smith, London, to John Mountjoy Smith, Rome, September 6, 1836, in Charles Sebag-Montefiore and Julia I. Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers: John Smith and Successors 1801–1924; A Study of the Art Market in Nineteenth-Century London* (London: Roxburghe Club, 2013), 219–21. Smith and Hume paid £1840 for *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* and *Mill on the Tiber*. See also "Records of John Smith and successors, 1812–1892," daybook 3, part 1, 1837–1847, p. 93, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

[8] Sebag-Montefiore and Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers*, 220n111.

[9] Baring purchased *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd* for £800. See Sebag-Montefiore and Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers*, 220n111; and "Records of John Smith and successors, 1812–1892," daybook 3, part 1, 1837–1847, p. 337, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

[10] Sir Thomas Baring's will stipulated that his collection be sold after his death. Thomas Baring purchased his father's Italian, Spanish, and French pictures when they were put up for sale; see the introduction to *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures Belonging to the Earl of Northbrook* (London:

Griffith, Farran, Okeden, and Welsh, 1889), unpaginated.

[11] Thomas George Baring was the eldest son of Thomas Baring's older brother, Francis Thornhill Baring (1796–1866), 1st Baron Northbrook. He succeeded his father in 1866 as the 2nd Baron Northbrook and became 1st Earl of Northbrook in 1876; see Sebag-Montefiore and Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers*, 65.

[12] See Louis Dimier, *Histoire de la Peinture Française: Du Retour de Vouet à la Mort de Lebrun, 1627 à 1690* (Paris: G. van Oest, 1926), 1:76, 86. The painting likely remained in Francis George Baring's collection until his death on April 12, 1929.

In the catalogue raisonné, Marcel Roethlisberger erroneously states that the painting was in the possession of Colnaghi, London, by 1929/1930; see Marcel Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 304. However, researchers have not found evidence of the two Nelson-Atkins canvases in the Colnaghi archives. See email from Catherine Taylor, Head of Archives and Records, Waddesdon Manor, to Glynnis Stevenson, NAMA, April 22, 2021, NAMA curatorial files.

[13] See letters from Harold Woodbury Parsons, art advisor for the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, to J. C. Nichols, Trustee for the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, September 9, 1930, and November 22, 1930, NAMA curatorial files.

[14] Durlacher shipped the painting to Kansas City on January 27, 1931. See letter from R. Kirk Askew, Jr., Durlacher Bros., New York, to Robert A. Holland, curator of collections, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, January 27, 1931, NAMA curatorial files.

Related Works

Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*, ca. 1629–1632, oil on canvas, 25 3/4 x 37 1/2 in. (65.4 x 95.3 cm), Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena, CA, M.2007.3.P.

Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *A Landscape with a Shepherd Piping*, 1630–1635, oil on canvas, 37 3/4 x 52 in. (96 x 132 cm), Schoellerbank, A. G., Vienna, ca. 1995.

Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Pastoral Landscape*, 1644, oil on canvas, 38 1/2 x 54 in. (98 x 137 cm), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble.

Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Landscape with Apollo Guarding the Herds of Admetus and Mercury Stealing Them*, 1645, oil on canvas, 21 5/8 x 17 11/16 in. (55 x 45 cm), Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome.

Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Mill on the Tiber*, ca. 1650, oil on canvas, 21 3/8 x 28 1/8 in. (54.3 x 71.4 cm), The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO, 32-78.

Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Landscape with Apollo Guarding the Herds of Admetus and Mercury Stealing Them*, 1660, oil on canvas, 29 5/16 x 43 7/16 in. (74.5 x 110.4 cm), Wallace Collection, London, P114.

Possibly Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *The Sea of Galilee with Christ Calling Peter and Andrew*, 1665, oil on canvas, possibly 19 11/16 x 25 9/16 in. (50 x 65 cm), now lost; see Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *The Sea of Galilee with Christ calling Peter and Andrew (Matthew, IV, 18 and Mark, I, 16f)*, record of painting (whereabouts unknown) from the *Liber Veritatis*, 1665, pen and brown ink on paper, 7 5/8 x 10 in. (19.5 x 25.4 cm), *Liber Veritatis*, no. 165, British Museum, London, 1957,1214.171.

Preparatory Work

Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Landscape with Apollo and Mercury, Record of a Painting in the Collection of Maj-Gen E H Goulburn (England), from the Liber Veritatis; A figure on a rock in the foreground, cattle, some herded by another figure, and goats nearby, a river with wooded banks moves into the right foreground*, 1666, pen and brown ink, with gray and brown wash, heightened with white; on blue paper, 7 5/8 x 10 in. (19.4 x 25.6 cm), *Liber Veritatis*, no. 170, British Museum, London, P_1957-1214-176.

Copies

Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Pastoral landscape, record of painting in William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri from the Liber Veritatis; In foreground figure (Apollo) sitting on a rock at left, and a herd of goats, beyond herdsman (Mercury?) at right, and river meandering into background*, 1667, pen and brown ink, and gray wash, with gray-brown wash on paper, 7 5/8 x 10 3/16 in. (19.3 x 25.8 cm), *Liber Veritatis*, no. 172, British Museum, London, 1957,1214.178.

Richard Earlom (English, 1743–1822), after Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*, 1776, etching with mezzotint, plate: 8 1/4 x 10 1/4 in. (21 x 26 cm); sheet: 10 1/4 x 16 7/8 in. (26 x

42.8 cm), The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO, Purchase: acquired through the Print Duplicate Fund, 68–6/2.

Matthew Dubourg (British, active 1786–1838), after Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Landscape*, 1809, engraving print proof on India paper, no dimensions given, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, DYCE.2927.

John Glover (English, 1767–1849), after Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*, ca. 1815, oil on canvas, 21 x 27 in. (53.3 x 68.6 cm), Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston, Tasmania, QVM:2011:FP:0009.

John Glover, after Claude Gellée (Claude Lorrain), *Landscape with Piping Shepherd*, 1833, oil on canvas, 28 1/2 x 43 9/10 in. (72.5 x 111.5 cm), National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, 2011.1273.

Exhibitions

Possibly *Mr. Glover's Exhibition*, 16, Old Bond Street, London, opened April 24, 1820, no cat.

Possibly *Mr. Glover's Exhibition*, 16, Old Bond Street, London, May–June 1821, no cat.

Possibly *Glover's Exhibition*, 16, Old Bond Street, London, 1823, no. 65 or 84, as either *One of the most beautiful pictures* or *Landscape*.

Pictures, Descriptive of the Scenery, and Customs of the Inhabitants of Van Dieman's Land, Together with Views in England, Italy, etc. Painted by John Glover, Esq.; To Which are Added Two Genuine, and Highly Finished Landscapes, by the Celebrated Claude Lorraine [sic], 106 New Bond Street, London, June–July 1835, no. 68 or 69, as *Two Landscapes by Claude Lorraine [sic]*.

Exhibition of the Works of the Old Masters, Associated with Works of Deceased Masters of the British School, Winter Exhibition, Royal Academy, London, January–March 1871, no. 166, as *A Landscape: Sunrise*.

Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters and by Deceased Masters of the British School; Including a Special Selection from the Works of Frank Holl, R. A., and a Collection of Water-Colour Drawings by Joseph M. W. Turner, R. A., Winter Exhibition, Royal Academy, London, January 7–March 16, 1889, no. 88, as *Shepherd Playing on a Pipe*.

Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters Including a Special Collection of Paintings and Drawings by Claude, Winter

Exhibition, Royal Academy, London, January 6–March 15, 1902, no. 71, as *A Shepherd Playing on a Pipe*.

Old Masters: XVII and XVIII Century French Art; Contemporary British Painting and Sculpture, Spring Exhibition, Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, February 8–April 3, 1907, no. 26, as *A Shepherd Playing on a Pipe*.

Exposition du Paysage Français de Poussin à Corot, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Paris, May–June 1925, no. 119, as *Paysage avec un pâtre jouant du fifre*.

Exhibition, Kansas City Art Institute, MO, December–January 1931, no cat., as *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*.

Landscape Paintings from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century, Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, MA, June 25–July 20, 1937, no. 9, as *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*.

An Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings of Claude Lorraine, 1600–1682, Durlacher Brothers, New York, January 19–February 12, 1938, no. 3, as *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*.

Temporary Exhibition, The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, MO, December 1941–January 1942, no cat., as *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*.

Renaissance and Baroque Art, Seattle Art Museum, February 8–March 5, 1950, no. 82, as *Landscape with Piping Shepherd*.

Claude Lorraine, 1600–1682: Paintings, Drawings, Prints, Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, MA, May 1–June 23, 1952, no. 4, as *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*.

Opening Exhibition, George Thames Hunter Gallery of Art, Chattanooga, TN, July 12–August 3, 1952, as *Landscape with a Piping Shepherd*.

John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque, Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart, Tasmania, Australia, November 28, 2003–February 1, 2004; Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, February 19–April 12, 2004; National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, April 24–July 18, 2004; National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, August 13–October 3, 2004, no. 2, as *Landscape with Piping Shepherd*.

References

A Genuine and Highly Select Collection of Sixteen Pictures: Being Chef d'Œuvres of the Most Eminent Artists of the Different Schools, Collected by a Nobleman ([London]:

[Phillips], May 21, 1811), 4, as *An elegant Italian Landscape*.

Liber veritatis, or, A collection of prints, after the original designs of Claude le Lorraine: in the collection of His Grace the duke of Devonshire; executed by Richard Earlom, in the manner and taste of the drawings; to which is added, a descriptive catalogue of each print; together with the names of those for whom, and the places for which, the original pictures were first painted, taken from the handwriting of Claude le Lorraine on the back of each drawing, and of the present possessors of many of the original pictures (1819; repr. London: Boydell, [1841?]), 2:4, 8, as *A Shepherd playing on a pipe, five Goats repose near him, and seven others are browsing in the surrounding meadows of a rich and well wooded landscape*.

Possibly "Mr. Glover's Exhibition," *Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review*, no. 106 (May 26, 1821): 334.

Possibly "Mr. Glover's Exhibition," *Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, etc.* 11, no. 66 (June 1, 1821): 374.

Possibly "Fine Arts: Mr. Glover's Pictures," *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* 9 (1823): 397.

"Sales by Auction: Mr. Glover's Pictures, and Landscapes by Claude," *Times* (London), no. 14,209 (April 24, 1830): 4.

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A Catalogue of Sixty Pictures Painted by John Glover, Esq., and Two Landscapes by Claude, His Property ([London]: [Stanley], April 29, 1830), 6, as *Landscape, Morning*.

Peregrine Langton Massingberd, "Journal of Peregrine Langton Massingberd (as filmed by AJCP)," 1832–1833, originals in Massingberd Family Archives, Lincolnshire Archives, Lincoln, UK; microfilm of the records as part of the Australian Joint Copying Project, National Library of Australia, M M719, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-893508024/view>.

A Catalogue of Pictures, Descriptive of the Scenery, and Customs of the Inhabitants of Van Dieman's Land, Together with Views in England, Italy, etc. Painted by John Glover, Esq.; To Which are Added Two Genuine, and Highly Finished Landscapes, by the Celebrated Claude Lorraine [sic], exh. cat. (1835; repr., London: J. Rogers, 1868), 4, as *Two Landscapes*.

John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters*, vol. 8, *The Life and Works of Nicholas Poussin, Claude Lorraine [sic], and Jean Baptiste Greuze* (London: Smith and Son, 1837), 288–89, 472, as *A Shepherd playing on a Pipe*.

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John Mitford, ed., "Obituary—Mr. John Glover," *Gentleman's Magazine* (July 1850): 97.

[Gustav Friedrich] Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain: Being an Account of the Chief Collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, Illuminated Mss., etc.* (London: John Murray, 1854), 2:177, as *A landscape, with trees and water; in front a shepherd piping. A charming picture, of his middle time*.

Exhibition of the Works of the Old Masters, Associated with Works of Deceased Masters of the British School, exh. cat. (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1871), 16, 38–39, as *A Landscape: Sunrise*.

[Emilia Francis Strong Dilke], *Claude Lorrain: Sa Vie et ses Œuvres d'après des documents inédits* (Paris: J. Rouam, 1884), 94, 96, 191, 233, as *Effet de soleil couchant*.

Owen J. Dullea, *Claude Gellée le Lorrain* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1887), 116, 125, as *Landscape: Shepherd Piping and goats*.

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George Grahame, *Claude Lorrain: Painter and Etcher* (London: Seeley, 1895), 51.

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H. C., "Correspondance d'Angleterre: Exposition de maîtres anciens à la Royal Academy (Suite)," *La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité: supplément à la Gazette des beaux-arts*, no. 11 (March 15, 1902): 85.

Verlags-Katalog von Franz Hanfstængl Kunstverlag München (Munich: Franz Hanfstængl, 1903), 2:56, as *Schäfer auf einer Pflöfe spielend*.

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Algernon Graves, *A Century of Loan Exhibitions, 1813–1912* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1913), 1:179, as *Shepherd playing on Pipe*.

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August 1916): 238; nos. 9–10 (September–October 1916): 316, as *Nascita del Sole*.

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Basil S[omers] Long, "John Glover: Born 1767, Died 1849," *Walker's Quarterly*, no. 15 (April 1924): 18, 47, as either *One of the most beautiful pictures* or *Landscape*.

Henri Lapauze, Camille Gronkowski, and Adrien Fauchier-Magnan, *Exposition du Paysage Français de Poussin à Corot*, exh. cat. (Paris: Imprimerie Crété, 1925), 17, as *Paysage avec un pâtre jouant au fifre*.

Léon Plée, "Exposition du Paysage Français de Poussin à Corot," *Les Annales politiques et littéraires*, no. 2185 (May 10, 1925): unpaginated, as *Le Paysage au Pâtre*.

Edouard Sarradin, "Au Petit Palais: L'Exposition du Paysage français de Poussin à Corot," *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, no. 129 (May 10, 1925): 3, as *le Paysage avec un pâtre jouant au fifre*.

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Robert De La Sizeranne, "Au Petit Palais: Le Paysage français de Poussin à Corot," *Revue Des Deux Mondes (1829–1971)*, 27, no. 3 (June 1, 1925): 670.

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