# ZOOLOGISCHE GARTEN

Zeitschrift für die gesamte Tiergärtnerei (Neue Folge)

Offizielles Organ des Verbandes Deutscher Zoodirektoren und Organ of the World Zoo Organisation (founded as IUDZG)



www.urbanfischer.de/journals/zoolgart

ISSN 0044-5169 Zool. Garten N. F. **70**(2000)5 · S. 273–344

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# Woodcuts and engravings illustrating the journey of *Clara*, the most popular Rhinoceros of the eighteenth century

By Kees Rookmaaker, North Riding and Jim Monson, Tourette-Levens

With 11 Figures and 2 Tables

Received 13 June 2000

# Introduction

On 22 July 1741, the ship *Knappenhof* of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) pulled into the harbour of Rotterdam, Holland, skippered by the young Captain Douwemout van der Meer, 36 years old and dreaming of a new enterprising future. While in Calcutta, India, earlier that year, he had procured a young female Indian Rhinoceros (Rhinoceros unicornis Linnaeus, 1758), two and a half years of age. She had been taken from her mother just months after birth and had been raised in the household of VOC director J. A. SICHTERMAN. She was therefore tame as a lamb and would eat off a dinner plate. She had survived the long trip in good health and now the captain intended to present his Wunderthier around Europe. He would become rich and famous, he thought, because he imagined that a rhinoceros can live to be a hundred years and his young charge had not even celebrated her third birthday. At first he would stay close to his home in Leiden, Holland, so as to raise money for the essentials, like a re-usable wooden enclosure, a solidly built waggon to comfortably carry the beast, and to hire a young assistant to look after the rhinoceros as well as a team of eight horses. A rhinoceros, he knew, had never been exhibited before on the West European mainland, so even royalty would want to see it for themselves.

Captain Douwemout van der Meer, enterprising by nature, knew that a printed image would serve well to advertise and promote his young attraction. As soon as he had the means, he commissioned the animal's likeness to be immortalized in a woodcut and shortly afterwards in a copper engraving. This paper will deal with these woodcuts and engravings commissioned by the captain and sold during the tour around Europe. A good number of additional drawings and prints were created by other artists after they saw the animal, such as Wandelaar, Oudry, Ridinger and Longhi, which have been well treated and illustrated in Clarke (1986). The itinerary of the captain with the rhinoceros has been a matter of rather intense research during the past 25 years (Clarke 1974, 1986, Rookmaaker 1973, Emmerig 1978, Faust

1978, HEIKAMP 1980, VERHEIJ 1992) and the available records of the tour around all major European countries from her arrival in 1741 to her death in 1758 have been summarized by ROOKMAAKER (1998 a: 61-67)

# Prints commissioned by Captain Van der Meer

The visits of the rhinoceros "Clara" were advertized by Captain Douwemout through newspapers and through the distribution of woodcuts, which could serve as a poster or as a leaflet. Six different variants of the woodcut are known. They are all similar in size and content, showing a picture of the rhinoceros above a long text. Three are in German, one is in French, one in Dutch and one in English. At the end of the text, the woodcuts include details about the entry fee and about the prices of the woodcuts and copper engravings which were offered for sale, summarized in Tables 1 and 2.

The text on three of the woodcuts states that the copper engravings were sold in three sizes: small, medium and large. It is a puzzle to match these categories with the 14 different copper engravings that have been found. We can arrange the engravings in three categories, but they appear to be either small or large in size.

- 1. The small copper engraving is the one with the Indian boy shooting an arrow at the rhinoceros (no. 7). The other engraving included in this category (no. 8) is similar in text and composition, but the background is quite innovative.
- 2. The copper engravings with a simple landscape (nos. 9-12) differ in the placement and length of the text. However, they all show the rhinoceros in a simple landscape, with just a few hills and trees.

Date	Place	Currency	Entry fee (from high to low)	Source	
1746 Regensburg		Gulden, Groschen	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Gulden, 4 or 2 Groschen	no. 1	
1747	Leipzig	Gulden, Groschen	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Gulden, 4 Groschen	no. 2	
1748	Zürich	Batzen	8, 4 or 2 Batzen	no. 3	
1748	Zürich	Baçes	8, 4 or 2 Baçes	no. 4	
1751	Holland	Schellink, Stuyver	1 Schellink, 4 or 2 Stuyver	no. 5	
1756	London	Shilling, Pence	1 Shilling, 6 Pence	no. 6	

Table 1. The entry fees charged to visit the rhinoceros 1746-1756.

Table 2. Prices of the woodcut and the copper engravings sold during Clara's tour.

Date	Place	Currency	Woodcut	Small	Simple	Medallion	Source
1746	Regensburg	Gulden, Groschen	1 Gr.	2 Gr.	_	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Gulden	no. 1
1747	Leipzig	Gulden, Groschen	1 <b>G</b> r.	2 Gr.	_	<sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Gulden	no. 2
1748	Zürich	Krautzer, Batzen	2 Kr.	2 B.	4 B.	12 B.	no. 3
1748	Zürich	Groschen, Baces	2 Gr.	2 B.	4 B.	12 B.	no. 4
1751.	Holland	Stuyver	_	4 St.	6 St.	10 St.	no. 5
1756	London	Shilling, Pence	-	-	-	-	no. 6

3. The copper engravings with a medallion (nos. 13-20) show the rhinoceros with a quite elaborate background. The text is often short and repeated in four languages, usually Latin, Dutch, French and English. A German text is found in two examples only. Between the text there is a medallion, usually showing a portrait of Captain Douwemout van der Meer, and otherwise a ship or just text.

These prints can hardly be considered works of fine art. They were produced as news sheets or broadsheets, to attract attention and to report an event with some concern for truthful information. By their nature, they were ephemeral, easily destroyed and not the object of sophisticated collectors, so it is remarkable that these few examples still exist. They were obviously intended as an additional source of revenue. The image of the rhinoceros is very realistic. It remained consistent throughout the series, varying only in technique, the length of the horn and in the background scenes.

One of the scenes in the landscape of the large copper engravings is a rhinoceros fighting with an elephant. This refers to the rather persistent tradition that the elephant and the rhinoceros are deadly enemies who fight to death when they meet. The composition of this depiction of the fight is obviously in the tradition of Ambroise Paré and Francis Barlow as illustrated by Clarke (1986, figs. 121 and 17), but it differs in detail. Of course, the rhinoceros here attacking the elephant is like the one on Albrecht Dürer's woodcut of 1515, easily recognizable by the twisted hornlet on the shoulders.

# **Artist**

In the absence of any kind of written record other than the prints themselves, the artist responsible for the likeness of the rhinoceros and the background has remained elusive. Only a few of the copper engravings are signed in the plate – Moritz Bodenehr of Dresden (no. 10), H. Oster (no. 13), Johann Christoph Berndt (no. 19), and Johann Michael Eben (no. 20), or reliably attributed – Etienne Charpentier (no. 17). For the most part, they can be considered competent local artisans who were commissioned to engrave, copy or re-engrave the image of the animal and the varying texts. They were probably responsible for the different backgrounds as well, but they should not be considered as doing the job of a creative artist.

There is, however, one indication towards the identity of the first artist, which has long been known, but which at the same time presents such problems that it may or may not provide an answer. Joseph Banks (1743–1820), the British maecenas of science, had three copies of the copper engraving in his library, listed by his assistant Joseph Dryander (1796, II: 65–66), which can be identified as nos. 13, 14 and 17 of our list below. No. 13 is the one that interests us in this context. The text of the engraving is either handwritten or, more probably, a rough print, as the ruling to keep the lines straight is still partly visible. The engraving is signed in Dutch: "gestocken door H. Oster: Poet Ext: 25 May 1741" [engraved by H. Oster: Poet Ext: 25 May 1741]. The first confusion was in the name of the supposed artist, H. Oster or H. Oster Poet. Dryander did not include the colon after Oster in his catalogue of 1796. This can now be clarified after the print has been found in the collection of the British Museum, London. The artist's name should be H. Oster – but who was

he? The second confusion is in the words "Poet Ext.", which don't seem to mean anything, although it may partly be a place name. The third confusion is the date, 25 May 1741. Douwemout left Calcutta on the *Knappenhof* on 30 November 1740 and reached the Dutch shores at Goeree on 20 July 1741. Where was he in May of that year? Although the reason is not clear, maybe the Captain had landed on English shores first? In support of this, firstly there is a sentence in the letter written in 1743 by James Parsons to the Royal Society of London about the male rhinoceros seen in London in 1739, which he compared with a female specimen: "We need say no more of the female rhinoceros that came over since, but that she is exactly like this in all respects, except the sex; and by the horn, and size, of the same age; and the pudenda like that of a cow" (Parsons 1743: 535). Secondly, the text on this engraving is written in four languages, Latin, Dutch, French and English. English would be an odd choice for somebody on the European mainland, German would be far more logical. Finally, the print was found in the collection of Banks, although again we don't know how it came to be there.

Having said all this, the entire argument seems to be overthrown by another handwritten sentence on the same print stating the measurements of *Clara* in May 1747. Still, it may just be possible that the rhinoceros image was first drawn in 1741 by this elusive H. Oster. In any case, we are convinced that this engraving (no. 13) is an early one, showing the "veiny" texture especially on the head, which becomes less noticeable in later engravings where the body tonality is darkened. Also, there is no wear in the details of the medallion and the background.

# **Date of the Prints**

The woodcuts and the copper engravings can sometimes be dated by the age of Clara mentioned in the text. Clara was about 3 years old on arrival in Holland in 1741, hence she was born around 19 June 1738 (of course, the date can never be ascertained in such detail, but it helps the memory). Most of the woodcuts were printed quickly on the occasion of a visit to one town, and often the date of the exhibition has been ascertained from other sources (see Clarke 1986, Rookmaaker 1998 a). The date of individual prints can also be reasonably restricted by the measurements given in the text. Clara was weighed on 1 May 1747 during her visit to Leipzig, and found to be 5 feet 7 inches high, 12 feet long, and 12 feet in circumference. The animal was in Stuttgart in May 1748 where she was found to be 5 000 pounds in weight and her height had increased to 6 feet. Many of the prints date from the early part of Clara's European tour from 1746 to 1749, later the woodblock began to deteriorate and the evidence becomes more scanty.

# The text of the prints

The woodcut and some of the copper engravings have a rather long text. Below we have transcribed the German text of one of the earlier woodcuts, and attempted an English translation as well as given some comments. Unfortunately, analysis of the text does not provide any clue who might have been the author. Some of the

subjects mentioned in the text could have been taken from Peter Kolb's "Description of the Cape of Good Hope", published in German in 1719, but at the same time there are quite a few instances where the claims appear to be original and unique to the advertisements related to *Clara's* travels.

Transcription of German text of woodcut no. 1

Es wird allen resp. Liebhabern in Regenspurg kund gethan,

Daß anjetzo allhier ankommen ist ein lebendiger RHINOCEROS, der nach vieler Gedancken der Behemoth seyn solle, nach der Beschreibung Hiobs Cap. XL, v. 10. (1) Es ist Verwunderns würdig für einen jedweden, der dasselbe kommt zu sehen. Und ist das erste Thier von dieser Sorte, welches hier ist gewesen; ist ohngefehr 8. Jahr alt, und gleichsam noch ein Kalb, dieweil dasselbe noch viele Jahre wächset, und diese Thiere auf hundert Jahre alt werden. (2) Es wieget anjetzo beynahe 5000 Pfund, es ist viel grösser und schwärer, als wie es aus Bengalen im Jahr 1741 da es 3. Jahr alt gewesen ist, und durch den Capitain Douwemout nach Holland überbracht worden. Es ist in Asia, unter der Herrschafft des Grossen Moguls, in der Landschafft Asem, welches von hier bey 4000. Meilen weit lieget, gefangen worden. (3) Dieses Wunder-Thier ist dunckel-braun, hat keine Haare, gleichwie der Elephant, doch an den Ohren, um am Ende von dem Schwantz seynd einige Härlein; auf der Nase hat es sein Horn, womit es die Erde viel geschwinder kan umgraben, als niemahls ein Bauer mit dem Pflug thut, (4) ist schnell im Lauffen, kan schwimmen und tauchen im Wasser, wie ein Endte; (5) sein Kopf ist nach und nach forne spitzig, die Ohren gleich eines Esels, die Augen nach Proportion von dem grossen Thier, sehr klein, und kan nicht anders als über die Seite von sich ab sehen; die Haut ist als ob sie mit Schilden gedeckt sey, dieselben schlagen wohl eine Hand breit übereinander hin, sie seynd 2 Zoll dicke; die Füsse sind kurtz und dick, als wie des Elephanten, versehen mit 3. Klauen. Diß Thier ist auch ein grosser Feind von dem Elephanten, so, daß wann es ihn antrifft, denselben mit seinem Horn unten in Leib stösset, auch aufreisset und tödtet. (6) Zu täglicher Unterhaltung frisset es 60 Pfund Heu und 20 Pfund Brod, auch sauffet es 14 Eimer Wasser. Es ist zahm wie ein Lamm, dieweil dasselbe 1. Monath alt gewesen ist, wie es mit Stricken gefangen, als zuvor die Mutter von diesem Thier von den schwartzen Indianern mit Pfeilen todt geschossen worden. Es hat dieses Thier, wie es gar jung gewesen, 2 Jahr in denen Zimmern um den Tisch gelauffen, zur Curiosität, wo Damen und Herren gespeiset. Das oben genannte Thier giebet etwas von sich, wodurch viele Leute curirt seyn worden von der hinfallenden Kranckheit. (7)

So wunderbar ist GOTT in seinen Creaturen
Man findet überall der Allmacht weise Spuhren
Von so viel Tausenden ist keins so groß und klein,
Wo dessen Herzlichkeit nicht wird zu sehen seyn.
Betrachte dieses Thier, so du hier von dir siehest,
Und mach den Schluß, ob du mit Recht dich nicht bemühest,
Im Buche der Natur nach Gottes Wunder-Macht
zu forschen einsiglich so wohl bey Tag und Nacht;
Das Auge wundert sich, der Mund muß frey bekennen:
GOTT ist wie Allmachts-voll so wundersam zunennen!
Und dieses treibet uns zu dessen Lobe an,

Der wohl niemahlen gnug gepriesen werden kan; Besonders wann man auch noch dieses hinzu setzet: GOTT hats gemacht, daß sich der mensch darob ergetzet.

Dieses Thier kan von 9. Uhr frühe bis Mittag um 12. Uhr und Nachmittag von 2 biß 6. Uhr Abends gesehen werden. Hohe Standes-Persohnen geben nach hohen Belieben. Andere einen halben Gulden, und 4. Groschen, nachdem der Platz ist. Dieser Zettel ist gleichfalls bey dem Thier zu bekommen vor 1 Groschen. Die grossen Kupferstiche vor 1 halben Gulden, und die kleinen Kupferstiche mit den Mohren 2 Groschen. NB. Es dienet denen resp. Liebhabern zur Nachricht, daß dieses Thier sich nur ein 10. Bis 12. Tage hier aufhalten wird.

Translation of the German text into English:

All Animal Lovers in Leipzig are informed

That now has arrived a living RHINOCEROS, which many people believe to be the Behemoth as described in the book of Job, chapter 40 verse 10. (1) It is worth seeing to all those who come to visit it. It is the first animal of this species which has come to this town; it is about 8 years old, and therefore still a calf, as it will continue to grow for many years, because these animals can reach an age of 100 years. (2) It is almost 5000 pounds in weight, and much larger and heavier than in 1741, when it was brought from Bengal to Holland by Captain Douwemout, only about 3 years old at the time. It was caught in Asia, in the dominions of the Great Mogul, in the region of Asem, which is some 4000 miles distant from here. (3) This wonderful animal is dark-brown, has no hairs just like the elephant, except for some hairs at the end of the tail; it has a horn on the nose, with which it can plough the ground much faster than a farmer with a plough; (4) it can walk fast, and also swims and dives in the water like a duck; (5) the head is pointed in the front, the ears are like those of a donkey, and the eyes are very small compared to the size of the animal, and only allow it to look sideways; the skin looks as if it is covered with shells, which lay a hand breadth over each other, about 2 inches thick; the feet are short and thick, like those of an elephant, with three hoofs. The animal is an arch-enemy of the elephant, and when the two species meet, the rhinoceros tries to hit it with his horn under the belly and kill it in that fashion. (6) For daily nourishment, he eats 60 pounds of hay and 20 pounds of bread, and he drinks 14 buckets of water. It is tame as a lamb, because it was only one month old when it was caught with snares, after the mother had been killed with arrows by the black Indians. When the animal was very young, it walked around in the dining room, when ladies and gentlemen were eating, as a curiosity. This animal secretes some potion, which has cured many people from the falling sickness. (7)

# [Poem in German]

This animal can be seen from 9 am to 12 noon, and again from 2 pm to 6 pm in the afternoon. Persons of rank can pay according to their desire, while others pay 1 Gulden or 4 Groschen, according to the view. This woodcut can be bought at the same place for 1 Groschen. Also available are large engravings for half a guilder, while the small engravings with the Indian cost 2 Groschen. NB. All are advised that the animal will only stay 10 or 12 days in this town.

Notes to the text.

- 1. The writer refers to a verse in the old testament book of Job: "Canst thou bind the unicorn with his band in the furrow? or will he harrow the valleys after thee?" The passage was in the 40<sup>th</sup> chapter in the German Bible, but in chapter 39 verse 10 in the English Bible. The statement that the "Behemoth" of the Hebrew text would be the rhinoceros, rather than the unicorn or some other animal, sparked a theological discussion, without a clear answer. Barth (1747) accepted the possibility, while Reinhard (1748) in another small booklet denied it.
- 2. That the rhinoceros would live to be 100 years old, or even 150 years as claimed on another woodcut (no. 3), is not a repetition of traditional wisdom, instead it seems to be a new invention by the writer. We have not been able to identify any older written source about the rhinoceros with a similar statement.
- 3. It is likely that *Clara* was caught somewhere in the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam in North-East India, where the Indian Rhinoceros can still be seen in Kaziranga National Park and a few other localities.
- 4. The rhinoceros ploughs the ground with its horn, also found, for instance, in Kolb (1719: 160): "mit welchen [Horn] er auch, wenn er erzürnet und böse gemachet wird, den Erdboden umackert, und dabey sehr schnell fortlauffet."
- 5. The fact that the rhinoceros would swim and dive is a novel statement not found in other sources.
- 6. The enmity between rhinoceros and elephant is already found in the old Roman literature and is often mentioned in natural history books through the eighteenth century.
- 7. That rhinoceros parts would produce a remedy for epilepsy and a host of other ailments, is claimed by Kolb (1719: 161). Marggraf (1758) examined a substance taken from the rhino's urine in a chemical laboratory, but could not find any reason why it would have such curative powers.
- 8. The author of this poem has not been identified. The poem does not appear in older sources on the rhinoceros.

# The Woodcuts

Captain Douwemout usually advertised the arrival and exhibition of the rhinoceros in a local newspaper. He also distributed a woodcut with text. These woodcuts are known with German, French, Dutch and English texts. Opening times and the prices of admission are mentioned at the end of the text. The woodcuts obviously served to attract the attention of the citizens of the town to this forthcoming attraction.

1. "Es wird allen resp. Liebhabern in Regenspurg kund gethan"

Title  $(1^{1}/_{2} \text{ lines})$ , rhinoceros (facing right), German text of 25 lines, plus poem of 14 lines, plus local information of 8 lines (fig. 1).

Size 11.4×19.7 cm (rhino image only), 28×40.7 cm (paper); copy in Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek (Rat.civ. 147/16); see KILLERMANN 1908: 582 with figure (partial); RIETH, 1974, fig. 12.

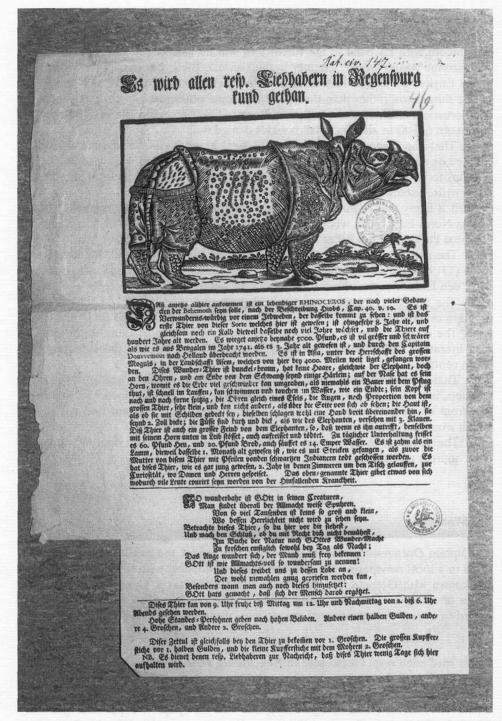


Fig. 1. Woodcut sold in Regensburg, Germany, 1747, no. 1. Archive: Staatliche Bibliothek, Regensburg

Clara was in Regensburg in February or March 1747. No measurements of the rhinoceros are given in the text, indicating that the print was ready early in 1747 as most prints state that it was measured on 1 May 1747.

# 2. "Es wird allen resp. Liebhabern in Leipzig kund gethan"

Title (2 lines), rhinoceros (facing right), German text of 24 lines, plus poem of 14 lines, plus local information of 8 lines.

Size unknown; this woodcut has been mentioned several times, but the whereabouts of a copy are unknown; see Emmerig 1978, no. 8; Kroker 1890: 125; Lehmann 1952: 65, fig. 38; Petzsch 1935: 373.

This print was made for Clara's visit to Leipzig in April-May 1747.

# 3. "Es wird allen respective Liebhabern kund gethan"

Title (1 line), rhinoceros (facing right), German text of 35 lines, plus poem of 14 lines, plus local information of 5 lines.

Size 29×41 cm; copies in Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek; Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum; Zürich, Zentralbibliothek; see Clarke 1976: 12, fig. 48; 1986, fig. 27 b; EMMERIG 1978, no. 7.

The printed text states that the animal had been exhibited previously in Berlin, Breslau, Vienna, München, Dresden, Leipzig, Franckfort and other large towns of the empire. The copy in Zürich has five manuscript lines below the printed text to say that the animal was seen in Zürich in 1748 which reads: "Anno 1748 im Merz ward dieser Rhinocer in Zürich auf dem Münsterhoff in einem sonderbaren dazu aufgerichteten Haus zu sehen" [Translated: In March 1748, this rhinoceros was shown in Zürich on the Münsterhoff in a specially erected home.] This woodcut probably dates from 1748. However, it may have been used in more than one city, explaining the absence of a locality in the title. Again, as in nos. 1 and 2, the measurements of the rhinoceros in May 1747 are not yet mentioned.

# 4. "Avertissement"

Title (1 line), rhinoceros (facing right), French text of 28 lines, plus poem of 10 short lines, plus local information of 5 lines (fig. 2).

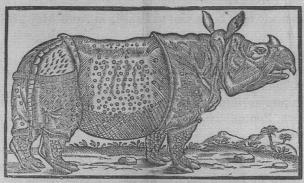
Size 11×19.5 cm (rhino image only); copy in Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, while another was previously in the collection of T. H. CLARKE, London.

It is likely that this woodcut was made for the visits to cities in France, December 1748 to November 1749. However, the currency used in the local information is "Baçes" pointing at exhibition in Switzerland. This dates the woodcut to the first half of 1748, during which months *Clara* visited a number of Swiss cities (Rookmaaker 1998 a: 64). The text of this woodcut is very similar to no. 1, translated into French. There is a list of cities previously visited as found in no. 3. München is left out, but no other places were added. The German poem had to be replaced with a French one, as follows:

Les bêtes en chaque lieu,/ De la gloire de Dieu,/ Instruisent les humains;/ Dans leur immense tour/ Ils montrent tous les jours,/ Les oevres de ses mains./ Venes Mortels & dites,/ Tous ce que Dieu merite/ Dites que ce Roi des Rois/ Fait seul mille grands exploits.

5. "Het wordt alle Respective Heeren en Liefhebbers bekent gemaeckt" Title (1 line), rhinoceros (facing right), Dutch text in two columns of 17 lines each, plus local information of 7 lines in two different font sizes (fig. 3).

# AVERTISSEMENT.



N ignorera pas le bruit qui s'est repandu de la bête vivante, nommée Rhinocerot, qui vient d'arriver let, & qu'on a fair voir pour de l'agent à Betha. Brelau, Vienne, Drefde, Leipzig, Franckfort, & dans les principales villes de l'Emprée; Mais comme la plus part de cux, qui font aux villages & aux bourgs, ne peuvent pair profiter de voir cette bête, on à jugë à propost, de la mettre en taillé douce, & d'en faire une défeription parfaite & d'apres nature, pour la pour voir communiquer à chacune; il yen a boaucoup qui difient, que cette bête étoit le Behemont dont plo fair mention dans son LX. Cap, § 10. Tous ceux qui la voient vivante, auront lieu, non feulement de réconner de la Toure puissance du Cerateur de ces fortes de monstres, mais audit davoure qu'ils n'estimionen pas tant a. ou 3, doites, que de ne pas avoir viva etc arrête. Ce Rhinocerot qu'il n'estimionen pas tant a. ou 3, doites, que de ne pas avoir viva etc arrête. Ce Rhinocerot qu'il n'estimionen pas tant a. ou 3, doites, que de ne pas avoir viva etc arrête. Ce Rhinocerot qu'il a rétre la couleur de Mule, & a point de pour de la reasporte de Bengalen pagh Mer. an Hellande Arige de 3, ans part un Capitaine Marinier 1741; 3 [164] prejet ne l'avoire d'artivité de la gueue, ou on en voir tant foit peut la Corne lui et l'avoire d'artivité de l'avoire de coquilles, qu'il é batte d'avoire de l'avoire de coquilles, qu'il é batte d'avoire

Les bêtes en chaque lieu, De la gloire de Diju,

Instruient les humains;
Dans leur immense son
lis montrent tous les jours,
Les œvres de se mains.
Venes Mortels és dites, Tous-ce que Dieu merite, Dites que ce Roi de: Rois, Fait seul mille grands exploits,

On peut voir la bête depuis les huit heure du matin jusqu'a midi, & l'apresmidi d'une heure jusqu'a cinq heure : La Personne de qualité donne ce qui ini plaira: Les autres 8, 4, & 2, Baçes.

Ces billes sone à recordi au logis pour 2, gr. les tailles douces en grande forme à 12, Baçes: les Mediocres à 4, Baçes; & les petites tailles avec le Maure à 2, Baçes.

On avertit que la bête ne s'arretera que peu de jous ici,

Fig. 2. Woodcut with French text, 1749, no. 4. Copy formerly in coll. T. H. CLARKE, London

Size unknown. This print was illustrated in Elseviers Weekblad, Amsterdam, 27 August 1949, p. 17; present whereabouts not known.

This woodcut must be later 1750. It is said that the horn started to grow again, after the first horn was shed in Rome in June 1750. The Dutch text on this print is rather shorter than in the German copies, but is similar in intent. There is no poem.



Fig. 3. Woodcut with Dutch text, after 1750, no. 5. From an illustration in Elseviers Weekblad, Amsterdam, 1949

The text refers to the custom at the Cape of Good Hope to use horn cups to detect poisonous wine as related by Kolb (1727: 192). At the end of the text, the reader is referred for more information on the rhinoceros to "Dione Solino Festo" which is rather incomprehensible, but may be a list of ancient authors, who mentioned the animal in a rather passing fashion: Dio Cassius (Roman History, liber 51, cap. 22), Solinus (Polyhistoria, cap. 43), and Festus (De significatu verborum, 370).

6. "To be seen, at the Horse and Groom in Lambeth-Marsh, the Surprising, Great and Noble Animal called Rhinoceros alive"

Rhinoceros (facing right), title (5 lines), English text of 19 lines, plus local information of 4 lines.

Size unknown; copy in Hunterian Library, University of Glasgow (Parsons coll. no. 28); see Rookmaaker 1978: 31, no. 6.2; Clarke 1986, fig. 27 c.

The rhinoceros is said to be 18 years of age, which would date this woodcut to her visit to London in 1756. In this woodcut both the title and text are below the representation of the rhinoceros. The text is much shorter than the original ones in German, but it is obviously a translation. "The Royal family and the nobility and gentry have seen this animal", which is not confirmed in other sources so far.

# **Small Copper Engravings**

The copper engravings were more expensive than the woodcut. The smallest and least expensive engravings were available in Regensburg and in Leipzig in 1747 and again in Switzerland in 1748. No examples in languages other than German are known, possibly these prints were not sold from 1749 onwards. The text is similar in content to that on the woodcut, but rather less elaborate. The representation of the rhinoceros is very similar to that in the woodcut.

7. "Wahre Abbildung von einem lebendigen Rhinoceros oder Nashorn" Rhinoceros (facing left); landscape simple; on left, an Indian ("Moor") points a bow and arrow at the animal. Text in German in 10 lines (fig. 4).

Size 18.7×28.8 cm; copy in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (FM 3786 B); see Muller 1882: 297; Clarke 1986, fig. 28 a; Faust 1978: 3.

This small copper engraving should be dated 1747, possibly 1746, because it is included in the advertisements at the bottom of the woodcuts produced in Regensburg (no. 1) and Leipzig (no. 2) of early 1747.

8. "Wahre Abbildung von einem lebendigen Rhinoceros oder Nashorn"

Rhinoceros (facing left) standing on a wooden platform. Behind it is scene with a calm sea. On the left, there is a sailor with a large beer glass and handwritten text in Dutch: "Clar als gij belieft een mahl te drincken" ("Clar, would you like to have a taste?"). Behind the man a boat is shown. German text of 9 lines (fig. 5).

Size unknown; copy in Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska; see ROOKMAAKER 1998 a, fig. 32.

No clue has been found as to the date of this engraving. The text is identical to that in no. 7. The Indian is replaced by a Dutchman offering a glass of beer or ale to

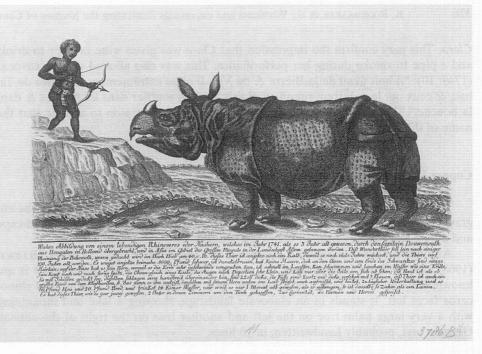


Fig. 4. The smallest size copper engraving with the Indian, no. 7. Archive: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 5. "Clar, do you want a sip?", no. 8. Archive: Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Krakow

Clara. This may confirm the impression that Clara was given wine or beer to drink, and a pipe to smoke during her performance. This was also alluded to by LADVOCAT (1749: 10): "il boit aussi de la Bièrre & du Vin. Il aime extrêmement la fumée de Tabac, & ceux qui le montrent prennent plaisir à lui en souffler dans les narines & dans la bouche." The words spoken by the sailor are the main reason to assume that the name of this rhinoceros was Clara.

# Copper Engravings with Simple Landscape

The representation of the rhinoceros is the same as in the woodcut and in the engravings of other sizes. This category of prints is distinguished by a simple landscape and a long text, usually printed below the animal.

A rather similar illustration is illustrated in a recent book by ULLRICH & ULLRICH (1968: 259), without indication of the source. While the original of the plate is unknown, we conjecture that it is a drawing or a watercolour, not a print. The rhinoceros faces left. It stands in an elaborate landscape showing a lake and mountains, with a very large palm tree on the left and another tree on the right of the animal. German text, probably handwritten, in 10 lines.

9. "Wahre Abbildung von einem lebendigen Rhinoceros oder Nashorn"

Rhinoceros facing right. Landscape simple, with some small hills, two large palm trees below the animal's head, with others in the distance. Text is printed above the animal. German text of 9 printed lines, of which the first four are much longer than the remaining. In the London copy only, the printed text is followed by  $4^{1}/_{2}$  lines of varying length in manuscript.

Size 19.3×30.8 (rhino image only) or 22.7×34.2 (paper); copies in Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Kupferstichkabinett HB 10019–1338); London, Linnean Society (bound in the copy of C. A. von Bergen, Oratio de Rhinocerote, 1746 owned by Linnaeus); see Emmerig, 1978: 52, no. 13, Rookmaaker 1998 b, fig. 6.

This example differs from the others of similar composition by having the text above the animal. It almost appears as if the artist ran out of space, because the end of the text, although similar to that of other examples, is written rather clumsily by hand. The last part of the text states that this was the second rhinoceros in Europe, as the first was the one donated in 1515 by the King of Portugal to the Emperor Maximillian. This alludes to the animal depicted by Albrecht Dürer in 1515, which arrived in Lisbon but was donated to the Pope in Rome, not to the German emperor. The source of this information about Maximillian is likely to be a late variant of Dürer's woodcut of the rhinoceros produced by H. Hondius with a Dutch text in 1620.

10. "Wahre Abbildung von einem lebendigen Rhinoceros, oder Nashorn" [BODENEHR] Rhinoceros facing right. Landscape simple as in no. 9. German text of 9 lines, plus printed signature in lower right corner. The last two lines are shorter than the others. Signed in lower right hand corner: "Dresden, M. Bodenehr ad viv. del et sc." Size  $30.3 \times 40.2$  cm (image only) and  $42.2 \times 56.5$  cm (paper-size); copies in Leiden, Museum Boerhaave (B. 662); Zürich, Zentralbibliothek; Strassburg, Bibl. Nat. et

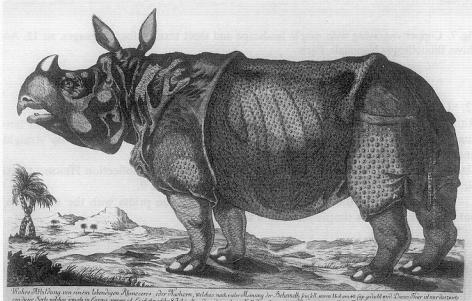
Univers. One sold in Sale of Teuner, Heidelberg, October 1958, no. 129; see Clarke 1976, fig. 38; Emmerig 1978, no. 12; Hufnagel 1873 (text quoted); Verheij 1992, fig. 6 (Leiden).

This engraving should date from 1747 or 1748. Moritz Bodenehr (1665–1748) was the royal engraver in Dresden. *Clara* visited Dresden in April 1747, before reaching Leipzig. This print was for sale in Switzerland in 1748 and also in Nürnberg in July 1748 as mentioned by Meijer (1756: 7, pl. 19): "Als wir es im Jahr 1748 zu Nürnberg gesehen, verkaufte der Bezitzer die Abbildung davon." The last line states that the rhinoceros was found to be 5 feet 7 inches high, 12 feet long and 12 feet thick in May 1747

11. "Wahre Abbildung von einem lebendigen Rhinoceros oder Nashorn" Rhinoceros facing left, in simple landscape as in no. 9. German text in 8 lines of similar length (fig. 6).

Size 41.2×54.5 cm (rhino image only) or 44.9×58.2 cm (paper-size); copy in Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Kupferstichkabinett 10482/1338).

Date unknown. The measurements in May 1747 and the signature seen on no. 9 are absent from this example.



Waltere il Hal Dansy ven eineim belendigen. Minisceres i der Machiern, welches nach vider oll annang der Behancill, pin fill sowen thoù am 40 fan griads mei Dieses Thier ist nurhastwiste ven incer Sorle wilden jemale in Europa geneem ist. Es of changeles Blathe oft, und anjetie nech an belit beweit a mech wide lehten wachest, und die Thiere out for the att worden 6 wieget anjetie on state of the proposed for the second of the Allendia international worden 6 wiede jemen out of raise blatten wachest, and pilled a second of the second of the griftien Blagsing worden. Dieses Thiere of Amstellman was the second of the pilled of the second of the second of the griftien Blagsing worden. Dieses Thiere of Amstellman wall to the second of the s

Fig. 6. Copper engraving with simple background, no. 11. Archive: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg

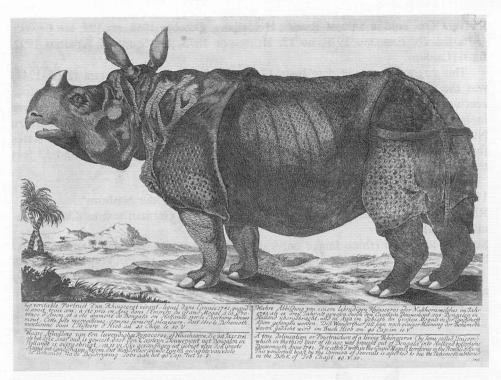


Fig. 7. Copper engraving with simple landscape and short texts in four languages, no. 12. Archive: Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris

12. "Le véritable portrait d'un Rhinocerot vivant"

Rhinoceros facing left in simple landscape with hills and palm tree. Text in four languages: French, Dutch, German and English, in two columns, divided by straight lines. Each language text is five lines long (fig. 7).

Size  $40.2 \times 54.8$  cm; copies in Paris, Bibliothêque Nationale, Collection Hennin t. 100 Nr. 8631; Zürich, Zentralbibliothek; see Emmerig 1978, no. 9.

This example has the text in four languages like the prints with the medallion, but the background is simple like nos. 9 to 11.

# Copper Engravings with a Medallion

Copper engravings of large size were advertised for sale in Regensburg and Leipzig in 1747, in Switzerland in 1748, and in Holland in 1751, and probably refer to this category of prints. They are characterized by the presence of a medallion in the middle of the text. In most cases, the medallion shows a portrait of Douwemout van Der Meer, and his name and date of birth are recorded in a banner above it. There is a more elaborate landscape, including a depiction of a Dürer-rhinoceros fighting with an elephant. The text is short and present in four different languages.

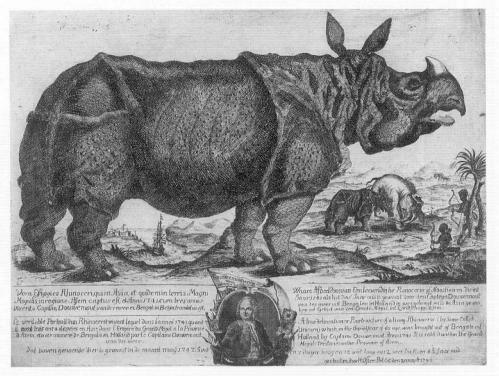


Fig. 8. The copper engraving "engraved by H. Oster, 25 May 1741", no. 13. Archive: British Museum, Department of Prints, London

# 13. "Vera Efifigies Rhinoceri" [sic] [signed by Oster]

Rhinoceros facing right. Under the head of the animal there is an elaborate scene with a palm tree, two Indians with bows and arrows, and a rhinoceros with the DÜRER-hornlet on the shoulders fighting an elephant. Under the belly of the animal we see a ship, with a Dutch flag, in a small harbour. The medallion shows a portrait of the captain. In a banner above his head is written (in 3 lines): "DOUWEMOUT VAN DER / MEER / gebooren den 12 April 1705". The text below the image of the rhinoceros is in four languages: Latin, French, Dutch and English, 4 lines each. Below the text, across the entire breadth of the print, there is an additional line in Dutch with the rhino's measurements in May 1747 (fig. 8).

Size 40.2×53.5 cm; copy in London, British Museum (Department of Prints, Foreign History, 1914-5-20-660); see DRYANDER 1796, II: 65–66.

This print is the one listed by DRYANDER in the printed catalogue of the library of Joseph Banks (1796, vol. 2, p. 65–66): "Waare afbeelding van een leevendighe Renoceros." DRYANDER states that the text includes the artist and date: "gestocken door H. OSTER Poet Ext. 25 May 1741." There would have been a second example without this addition.

# 14. "Vera Effigies Rhinocerotis"

The depiction and the medallion are exactly as no. 13. The text is printed in four languages: Latin, French, Dutch and English, 4 lines each. In the lower left, beneath the

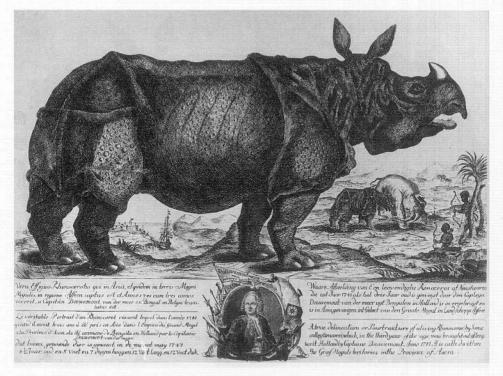


Fig. 9. Copper engraving with medallion and elaborate landscape, no. 14. Archive: Coll. Monson. Tourrette-Levens

French text, there are an additional two lines in Dutch about the rhino's measurements in May 1747 (fig. 9).

Size  $41.2 \times 54.5$  cm; copy in coll. Monson; see also Hans Markus, Antiquariat Düsseldorf, Katalog XVIII, no. 196 (ca. 1980); Antiquariat Venator & Hanstein, Köln (September 1999).

# 15. "Vera effigies Rhinocerotis"

The scene is exactly as no. 13. The medallion shows the portrait of the captain as in no. 13, but differs in the fact that the words in the banner are written in four lines instead of three: "Douwemout van der / Meer / gebooren den 12 April / 1705." Text in Latin, French, Dutch and English, 4 lines each, with the additional two lines in Dutch about the rhino's measurements in May 1747, as in no. 14.

Size 43.7×59 cm; copy Rotterdam, Atlas Van Stolk (no. 3674); see Verheij 1992, fig. 7.

# 16. "Vera Effigies Rhinocerotis"

The scene and medallion as in no. 13, the text as in no. 14. Above the animal there is a German poem of 9 lines, signed by "MARIA BARBARA ENDTIN, Pfau-Wirthin".

Size  $44.7 \times 55.5$  cm; copies in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (no. 3786), Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum; see Muller, 1877, no. 3786; Clarke 1974, fig. 9, 1976, fig. 52, 1986, fig. 28 b; Emmerig 1978: 52, no. 10; Rookmaaker 1973, fig. 7; Verheij 1992, fig. 8.

The poem above the rhinoceros refers to the animal's visit to Mannheim, Germany, in November 1747. The Gasthof zum Pfau in Mannheim was owned by Georg Adam End (Emmerig 1978). The text of the poem is as follows:

In dem 1747ten Jahr, Carl Theodor Durchläucht im Pfau war,
Den zwanzigsten Tag Novembris Sie diesen Tag sich auserkietz,
Hertzog Christian Prinz Friederich auch, beyde Durchläuchten nach Gebrauch,
Zu gleicher Zeit sich funden ein, wo der Rhinoceros solt seyn,
Durchläucht auch unserer Churfürstin, und Pfaltz-Gräfin es kam in Sinn,
Zu sehen dieses Wunder-Thier, so niemahl nicht gewesen hier,
Weil nun meinem Hauß Heyl wiederfahren, die Kosten auch nicht wolte spahren,
Zu setzen diese Zeilen bey, welches ein steths Andencken sey,
Die ich in Demuth sonst verbleibe, und dero Magd mich unterschreibe.

Maria Barbara Endtin. Pfau-Wirthin

17. "Véritable Portrait d'un Rhinoceros vivant que l'on voit à la Foire Saint Germain à Paris" [Charpentier]

The scene is like no. 13. The portrait of the captain in the medallion seems to present a younger figure than in nos. 13–16. The name of the captain in the flag above the medallion has 3 lines as no. 13. The text is in French only. The title is written above the animal on the top of the print. The text below the image has 13 lines, which read from left to right on both sides of the medallion.

Size  $40.5 \times 54.2$  cm; copies in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Collection Hennin t. 100 Nr. 8630); Paris, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle; see Clarke 1974, fig. 15.

This print is attributed to ETIENNE CHARPENTIER (1705–1764). It probably dates from the end of 1748 and was sold during the visit of the rhinoceros to Paris in January 1749. It was included as a plate in Ladvocat's booklet of 1749, and again as an additional plate illustrating the French translation of James Parsons' "Letter about the rhinoceros", first published in English (1743). The French translation of the journal appeared in 1760. The plate I\* is explained in a note added on p. 254 written by De Mours, which refers to this print by Charpentier. The arrival of the rhinoceros in France in January 1749 is mentioned in the text.

18. "Wahre Abbildung von einen lebendigen Rhinoceros oder Nashorn"

The scene is like no. 13. However, the horn on the rhinoceros, which faces right, is much longer than in nos. 1–17. The medallion shows a ship, not the portrait of the captain. The text, in four languages, German, French, Dutch and English. The name of the captain is not mentioned in the first three languages and blotted out in English (fig. 10).

Size unknown; copy in Leiden, Museum Boerhaave; see Verheij 1992, fig. 10.

This copy should be dated 1748 or later. The text mentions the size of the animal at Stuttgart in 1748.

19. "Dieses is das wahre Original von dem weltbekanten Rhenoceros oder Naßhorn" [Berndt]

Like no. 13, but the animal faces left, and the horn is longer (as seen in no. 18). Also some saliva is falling from the animal's mouth. The medallion doesn't have a portrait, just the text here quoted as title. The style of this print and also of no. 20 vary

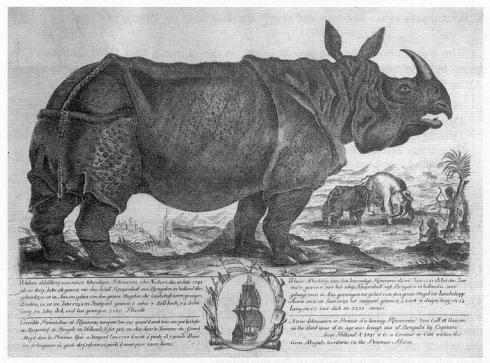


Fig. 10. In this copper engraving Clara has a long horn, no. 18. Archive: Museum Boerhaave, Leiden

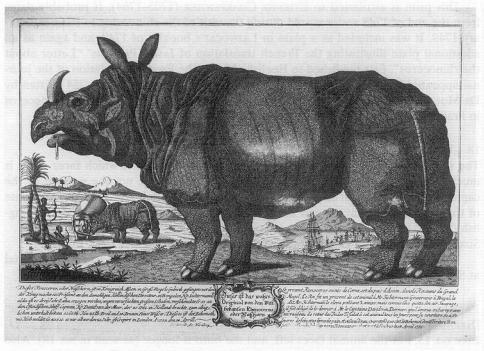


Fig. 11. The copper engraving signed by Berndt, with *Clara's* date of death, 24 April 1758, no. 19. Archive: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg

slightly from the other engravings which suggests that there was a less rigorous demand for an exact copy of previous images. The text is in German, 7 lines left of medallion, and in French, 7 lines right of medallion (fig. 11).

Size unknown; copy in Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 423); see Heikamp 1980: 316, fig. 17.

The print was signed by Johann Christoph Berndt (1707–1798). It should date from 1758, in view of the last sentence of the text stating that the rhinoceros became 21 years old and died in London on 14 April 1758.

20. "Dieses is das wahre Original von dem weltbekanten Rhenoceros oder Naßhorn" [EBEN]

Similar to no. 19, but no saliva is leaving the mouth. The medallion has text only, as the title quoted here. The text is in German, 6 lines left of the medallion, and in French, 6 lines right of the medallion (fig. 11).

Size unknown; copies in Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek; Frankfurt, Historisches Museum; Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Kupferstichkabinett, Ms. 513); see HEIKAMP 1980, note 38; CLARKE 1986, fig. 41.

The print is signed underneath the medallion "Ioh. Mich. Eben sc. Francofurti", i.e. Johann Michael Eben (1716–1761) working in Frankfurt. It should date from 1758. Like no. 20 it also has the additional sentence about *Clara's* death in 1758.

# Summary

Six woodcuts and 14 copper engravings were produced for Captain Douwemout van der Meer who exhibited the Indian Rhinoceros called "Clara" around Europe 1741–1758. The artist of the rhinoceros depiction possibly was H. Oster. The text of the woodcut is reproduced and annotated. All copper engravings show differences in the landscape and the text, but the rhinoceros image remained remarkably constant. The name of the animal and the date of death are only known from these otherwise ephemereal broadsheets.

# Acknowledgements

We are most thankful for all those who have provided us with information on the woodcuts or engravings relating to the journey of *Clara*, the rhinoceros, especially Marijke Brouwer of Elseviers Weekblad, afdeling Documentatie, Amsterdam, Holland; Mrs. T. H. Clarke, Ashford, United Kingdom; Dr. Michael Drucker, Bibliotheksdirektor, Staatliche Bibliothek Regensburg, Germany; J. C. Nix, Curator, Stichting Atlas van Stolk, Historisch Museum, Rotterdam, Holland; Martin Royalton-Kisch, Assistant Keeper, Prints and Drawings, British Museum, London, United Kingdom; M. D. Haga, Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, Holland.

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# Addendum

Soon after this paper was accepted for publication, another variant of a copper engraving with simple landscape and long text was found in Paris. It can here be added to our catalogue: 22. "Véritable Portrait d'un Rhinocéros vivant que l'on voit à la Foire St. Germain à Paris." Rhinoceros facing left in a landscape resembling no. 13. The Indians with bows and the palm trees are absent and substituted by a larger elephant facing rather than fighting a rhinoceros with a Dürer-hornlet on the shoulders. There are a further two elephants and four rhinoceroses in the background. The large ship and harbour are replaced by a small fishing vessel. Title in one line above the animal's image. French text in 12 lines below the image across the entire width of the print. Below this is the seller's imprint in 2 short lines: "A Paris chez DAUMONT, rude de la Feronnerie à l'Aigle d'Or/Avec Permission de Mr le Lieutenant GAL de Paris."

Size 37.0×49.0 cm; copy in collection JIM Monson, Tourrette-Levens.

The text states that the rhinoceros was brought to France in January 1749 and this is the likely date for this copper engraving.