



# Part III

## Rhinocerotica

# 10

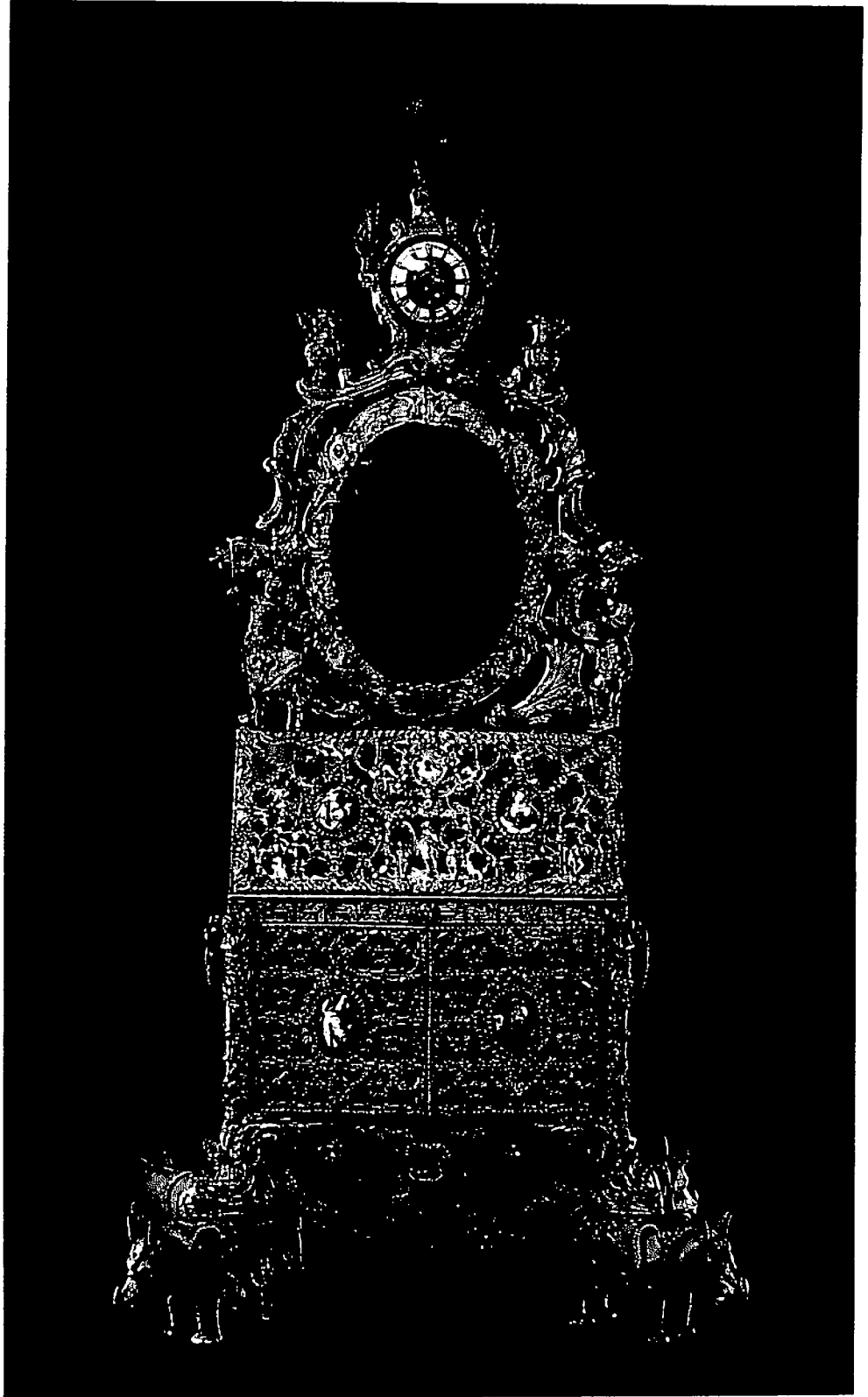
## Pageantry and the Four Continents

### *Pageantry*

By any standard the rhinoceros is an impressive beast, even today; in the sixteenth century even more so. Few people had ever seen a live one unless they were in Lisbon in 1515, or in Lisbon again and in Madrid in the 1580s. To those who relied on its image by Dürer or Philippe Galle it must have appeared equally impressive. In addition it had an exotic quality which made it an admirable adjunct to the numerous festivals in which the Renaissance, and indeed later ages, indulged.<sup>1</sup> These included engagement and wedding celebrations, tournaments, operas and plays, pageants, joyful and solemn 'entries' into

towns by their new rulers, and a host of lesser pretexts for display. Aptly named 'splendours at court', these entertainments were devised by leading writers and artists, and in later years even by a King of Poland.

Many, if not most, of the diverse features of these luxurious spectacles had allegorical overtones that today are often difficult or impossible to unravel. Our particular subject, the Indian rhinoceros, is sometimes used purely decoratively (or so it seems to us), but more often allegorically. First, as a device or *impresa* (particularly related to the Medici) with the sense of its invincibility, a meaning invented by Paolo Giovio for Alessandro de' Medici (ruled 1530-7), it



xxvii James Cox musical table  
clock for the Chinese  
market, c. 1765-70  
(Palace Museum,  
Peking (Beijing))



xxviii *The Marriage Procession of Katharina Payrsberg*, a page from a book on the festivities engraved by Sigmund Elsässer, Innsbruck, 1580 (Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck)



XXIX Jan van Kessel (the elder), *An Allegory of Africa*, with Ceuta in the background, oil on copper, 1664-6 (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich)

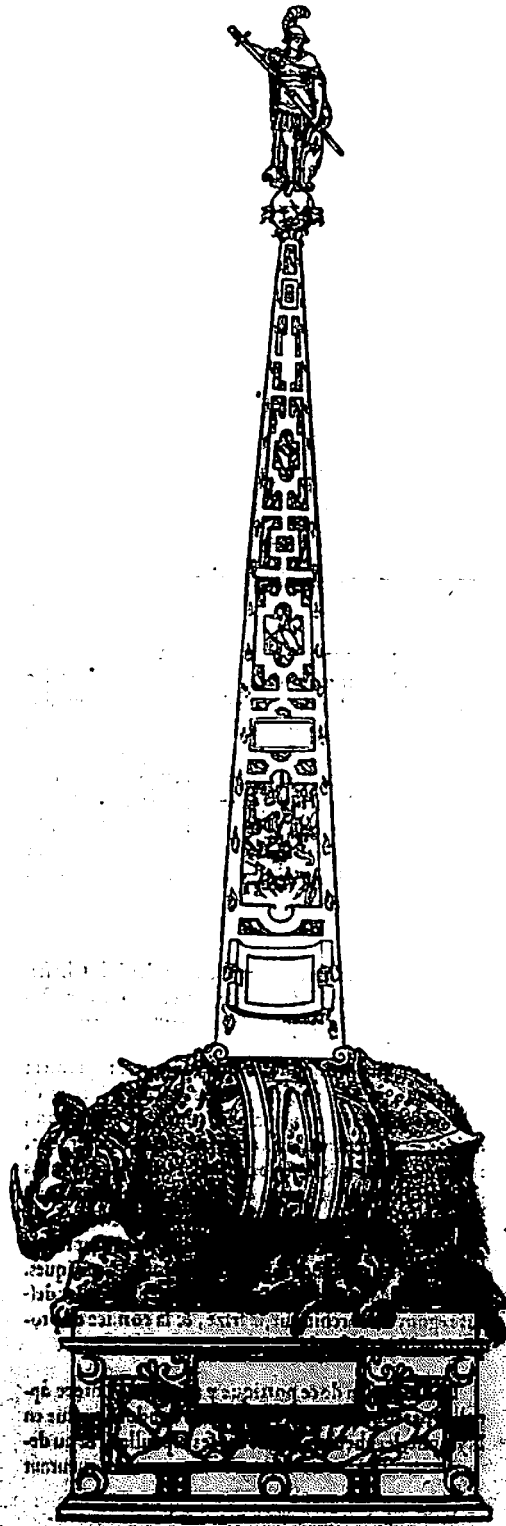


xxx Detail from *An Allegory of Africa in a Carousel of Augustus the Strong*, gouache, Dresden, 1709  
(Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden)

was easily understood by the educated Humanist; and even better understood by the layman as a personification of a Continent, or rather of three Continents – Asia, America or Africa. In some cases our animal had a dual significance: as a Medici emblem and as a Continent. It is therefore not easy to separate these two aspects in this chapter, and there is of necessity some overlapping.

An early instance – perhaps the earliest – of the Indian rhinoceros playing a popular role is as part of the ephemeral decorations that were erected in 1549 for ‘the joyous entry’ of Henri II (ruled 1547–59) and his wife Catherine de’ Medici into Paris (pl. 107). Any Parisian must have been delighted with the sight of such a rare creature as the rhinoceros, even if made of wood and paint, but the allegorical details must surely have eluded most. Topped by a figure of France in the guise of Bellona, an obelisk with pseudo-hieroglyphs is firmly strapped to the back of a Düreresque animal, which itself is trampling on a lion and other wild beasts. The whole was said to symbolise ‘Force and Vigilance’. But there may too have been an additional reference to the Queen as a Medici. Jean Goujon (1515–c.1567) designed this ornament, which was evidently inspired by a woodcut in Francesco Colonna’s *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of 1499.

The next festive appearance of the rhinoceros is at a wedding in Innsbruck in 1580. On 15 February Johann von Kolowrat married Katharina von Payersberg, a rich heiress. Kolowrat was not only chamberlain to the Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand II, ruler of the Tyrol from 1563 to 1595 and the greatest collector of his day after his nephew the Emperor Rudolf II in Prague, but also himself the nephew of Ferdinand’s first wife, Philippine Welser of Augsburg. The Archduke therefore attended the celebrations in person and arranged for the occasion to be recorded by the court painter, Sigmund Elsässer (d.1587), on thirty-six parchment leaves with engraved scenes (col. pl. xxviii, p. 140). These were subsequently coloured or rather illuminated. Whether or not it is the bride riding side-saddle on this caricature of the *Panzernashorn* of Dürer we do not know. The Archduke is depicted in the guise of Jupiter drawn in a chariot by eagles. Whether Katharina is the first and possibly the only rhinoceric equestrienne of her time is unrecorded.



107 *Obelisk and Rhinoceros*, woodcut from a book describing the ‘joyous’ entry of Henri II into Paris, 1549



108 *A Pageant Rhinoceros for the Farnese/Aldobrandini wedding, engraving from *La Montagna Circea* . . ., Bologna, 1600 (Albi Rosenthal, Oxford)*

A few years later, in 1600, there was a minor celebration in Bologna to honour the marriage of Ranuccio Farnese to Donna Margherita Aldobrandini (pl. 108). The engraving is a passable copy of the woodcut, but the ribcage has slipped and the dorsal horn is curved. It is used to illustrate a fictional story told to the crowded audience, in which the animal is most usually described as a thoroughly wicked beast, an idol to whom girls were sacrificed. This counterfeit animal, the anonymous author of a book describing the festivities tells us, was superbly modelled in the round: in what material we are not told. Richly ornamented in gold and various colours, the rhinoceros was led around the parade ground with a man in armour concealed inside, until it reached the five-foot-high pedestal on which it was placed. This well-proportioned pedestal may have been noted by Bernini in his planning of the elephant obelisk outside the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, com-

pleted in 1667. One wonders what the noted Bolognese naturalist Ulysses Aldrovandi (1522–1603) thought of this festival animal, and whether indeed he might not have advised on its construction, for, despite his scientific attitude, he is known to have believed in the reality of the Dürer vision.

From Bologna in 1600 we move south-east to Florence in 1608, to another grander nuptial celebration. Prince Cosimo, son of the Grand Duke Ferdinand I and himself to reign as Cosimo II, was entertained on his marriage to the Habsburg Archduchess Maria Magdalena (sister of the Emperor Ferdinando II) by a string of festivities that read rather like the programme of a venturesome modern *Festspiel*. First came the triumphal entry on 18 October, a banquet and madrigals on the following day, *calcio* (a kind of football) in the Piazza Santa Croce on the 20th and a free day on the 21st. On the next day there was an evening spectacle at the Pitti Palace, which included a performance of a pastoral play with music by Michelangelo Buonarroti, *The Judgement of Paris* (*Il Giudizio di Paride*). It is in one of the intermezzi that the rhinoceros makes its unimportant appearance. To the left of one of seven plates etched by Remigio Cantagallina (fl. 1602–35) after Giulio Parigi (1571–1635), inventor of the entertainments, is to be seen a rhinoceros of rare type, emerging from its hut on a rocky shelf flanked by palm trees (pl. 109). The print, which embodies several incidents in the intermezzo, is an allegory on the glorification of Florentine genius. This could possibly explain not only the presence of the Medici device of a rhinoceros but also its odd appearance. For it seems to be derived iconographically neither from Dürer nor from Philippe Galle, but rather from Granacci's painting in the Uffizi.<sup>2</sup> This would be all the more likely since Granacci's picture had been acquired by the Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici (1541–87) only in about 1584; it had been commissioned by Pier Francesco Borgherini around 1517.

Another nuptial rhinoceros appeared in Paris in the three-day celebrations honouring the marriage of Louis XIII (ruled 1610–43) to Anne of Austria. The *Carousel des Pompes et Magnificences*<sup>3</sup> lasted from 5 to 7 April, 1612. In a procession we see two rhinoceros dummies, based this time on the second or Philippe Galle type, walking – or rather being walked – behind a 'machine' filled with musicians followed





109 Remigio Cantagallina, detail from *Fourth Intermezzo for Il Giudizio di Paride*, etching after a drawing by Giulio Parigi, 1608 (British Library)

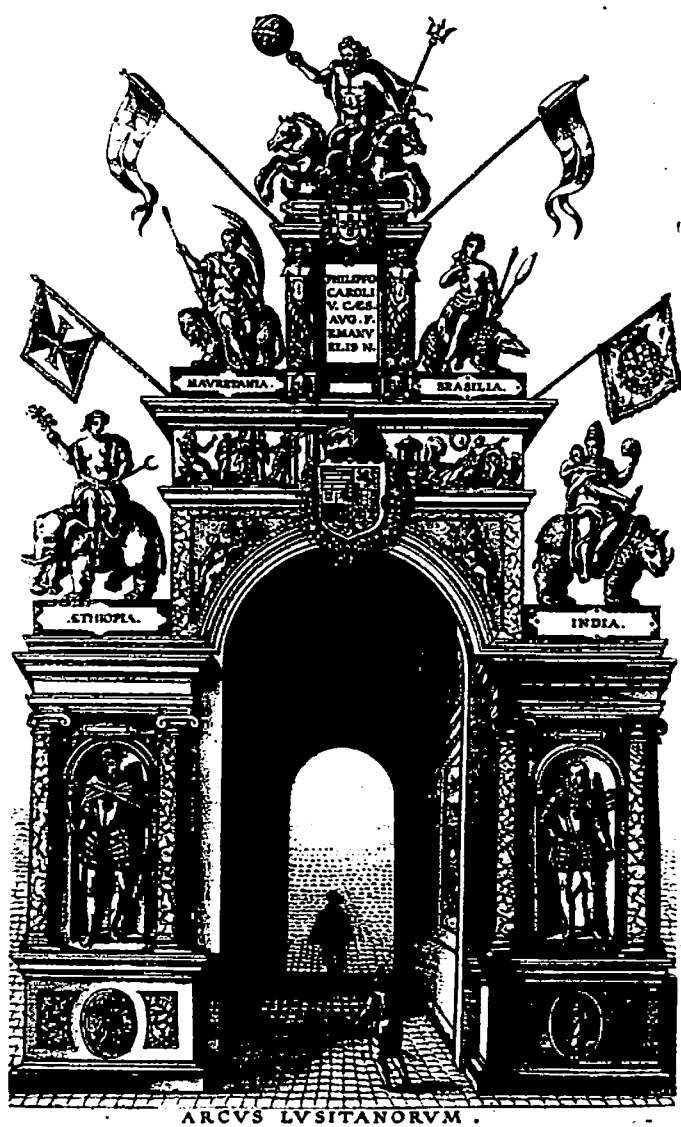
by two Turkish giants. Since Louis XIII was the son of Marie de' Medici, this may have been intended as a symbolic tribute to her family.

Finally, and for a change, a London appearance, in the Lord Mayor's Show of 1638. It was bourgeois rather than royal. Scriptwriter and producer was Thomas Heywood (1574-1641), a popular playwright. Sir Maurice Abbot, an East India merchant was Mayor, and the Worshipful Company of Drapers paid. *The Port or Harbour of Piety*<sup>4</sup> was the title of the procession, which comprised 'Triumphs, Pageants, and Shows', on the Thames and on dry land. Heywood writes: 'The second show by land is of an Indian beast called a rhinoceros which being presented to the life, is for the rareness thereof more fit to beautifie a triumph.' We learn that the animal was life-sized and three-dimensional, and made by the brothers John and Mathias Clarke, 'Modellers

and Composers'. If one can be allowed to generalise, then it would seem that most of the rhinoceroses mentioned here, pageant dummies, were also easy to move, whether on wheels or carried. That the London processions of exotic animals were carried we have the evidence of John Selden, jurist (1584-1654). He writes in his *Table Talk*: 'we see the Pageants in Cheapside, the Lyons and the Elephants, but we do not see the men that carry them'.<sup>5</sup> This suggests papier mâché as a material, or perhaps canvas.

### *The Continents*

Closely related to the pageantry of court life, and indeed often included as a detail of these spectacles, was the personification of the Continents.<sup>6</sup> The discovery of America late in the fifteenth century added



110 Pieter van der Borcht, *Triumphal Arch of the Portuguese*, 1593, engraving, Antwerp, 1595 (British Library)

a fourth Continent to the three of the earlier cosmographers. But it took some time before it was fully realised that Christopher Columbus and, later, Amerigo Vespucci, had almost accidentally stumbled on a fourth Continent; and it took even longer before the four Continents were given appropriate personifications. One of the earlier attempts to define the allegories was presented in Antwerp in 1564; unfortunately there is no visual record of what these were.<sup>7</sup>

None the less, the invention of the allegories seems to have remained a Flemish preserve. It was Marten

de Vos (1532–1603), whose drawings were widely disseminated by their conversion into engravings by Adriaen Collaert II (c.1550–1618), and his connection with the solemn ‘entry’ into Antwerp of Archduke Ernst of Austria in 1594 as Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, who seems first to have established a viable set of Continents in an easily assimilated form. Plate 110 shows the triumphal arch erected by the Portuguese community of Antwerp in 1583. Engraved by Pieter van den Borcht (1545–1608), it comes from the official account of this ‘entrée’, Jean Boch’s *Descriptio publicae gratulationis* (Antwerp, 1595). The allegory of Brazil derives directly from de Vos’s drawing as in Collaert’s print. India is represented by a female figure with child and coconut astride a passable version of the Dürer original. It is a wonder that no use was made of the more recent portrait, that of the ‘Madrid’ rhinoceros as engraved in 1586 by Philippe Galle, also in Antwerp.

The Indian rhinoceros, however, was not content to remain an accessory of a female personification of a mere subcontinent such as India, although strictly this would have been its proper role. Instead, it set out to conquer the world, and almost succeeded. Ignoring the codification of the Continents by Cesare Ripa in the countless editions of his *Iconologia* of 1593 (the first illustrated edition in 1603), the Indian rhinoceros stormed his way into the heart of South America, into Africa and for a brief moment possibly into Europe,<sup>8</sup> as well as representing his home Continent of Asia.

In 1596 we find allegories of the Continents engraved in the spandrels of a clock dial, a rolling ball clock made for the Emperor Rudolf II (reigned 1576–1612). Asia rides perilously side-saddle on a rhinoceros, while America, an almost naked woman, perches on the scales of an armadillo, rather as in the Lusitanian arch of pl. 110, where Brazil alone is symbolised.<sup>9</sup> But soon the rhinoceros began to usurp the function of the armadillo. First, in a Flemish drawing (pl. 111) of about 1600 close to Marten de Vos, America is seated on a tree stump, her head-dress and loincloth feathered, flanked by some of her usual attributes, such as a parrot, but also by a most unusual one, to wit, the forepart of a rather decadent Dürer *Panzernashorn*. Next, there is a lead plaque of about 1600 (pl. 112), known in several examples and said to be derived from prints by the Flemish engraver,



111 Marten de Vos(?), *Allegory of America*, drawing in pen and black ink, Flemish, c.1600 (University of Michigan Museum of Art)

Marcus Geeraerts the Elder (1561–1635). America is depicted as an Amazon scantily clad in ostrich feathers, striding manfully with bow and club in an exotic landscape that includes on the right a complete rhinoceros with outsize dorsal horn, a mere travesty of the woodcut of 1515.

But how did the Indian rhinoceros, unknown in South or North America, come to be associated with this allegory? Hugh Honour has commented that the armadillo 'was sometimes confused with the rhinoceros which it is said to resemble and is to be found snorting in many an allegory of America'.<sup>10</sup> It has also been suggested that Sir Walter Raleigh was in part at least responsible for the confusion. In his account of his expedition to Guiana, *The Discovery of the large, rich and bewtiful Empyre of Guiana* (1596), Raleigh describes the gifts brought to his company by 'the King of Aromata', gifts which included food, wine and exotic birds and animals, amongst which was 'a beast called by the Spaniards *Armadilla*, which they call Cassacam which seemeth to be all barred over with small plates somewhat like to a Renocero'.

Raleigh was evidently unaware of the 'Madrid' animal engraved in 1586 by Phillippe Galle.

Despite this intrusion into South America, around 1600, the rhinoceros had no intention of giving up its rightful connection with India. The title-page of the 1612 edition of Theodor de Bry's *Indiae Orientalis* (pl. 113) is set within a framework of German Renaissance architecture above a watergate, at each side of which stands an elephant and rhinoceros in support. The splendid exotic imagery includes emus, parrots, a basket of tropical fruit; and the two pachyderms. Part only of the allegory of a subcontinent, India, rather than of Asia, the rhinoceros is portrayed in sharp perspective from the front its head turned to its right. It is a mongrel beast, essentially Düreresque; but also paying lip service to the Philippe Galle print of 1596 in having the peculiar central pleats of that Spanish animal converted into a saddle-cloth, placed a little astern of the dorsal hornlet.

North Italy has, it seems, always been rather prone to the rhinoceros cult, as we have seen in previous chapters. America is again represented, rather than Africa, as has been suggested, in a fresco by Antonio

112 *Allegory of America*, lead plaque, (?) German, c.1600





113 Theodor de Bry, title-page of *Indiae Orientalis*, Frankfurt, 1612

114 John Parkinson, detail of title-page of *The Theater of Plantae*, London, 1640

Maria Viani (1560–1629) in Mantua, home of the Gonzagas. A woman in billowing cloak has an unusual seat on a rather poor simulacrum of the Dürer animal, one bare foot grasping the so-called 'Dürer hornlet' between her big toe and its neighbour, the other leg swinging loose on the animal's flank; her attributes of bow, quiver of arrows, axe and feather head-dress together with a scene of cannibals preparing a human meal in the left background leave no room for doubt.<sup>11</sup> The fresco is in the Palazzo dei Gonzaga di Vescovato and is dated c.1615.

There is another Mantuan connection with the rhinoceros, albeit of a very different category to that already discussed. The Mantuan dukes, especially Vincenzo I (ruled 1587–1612) and Vincenzo II, the Cardinal (ruled 1612–27), supported one of the most celebrated troupes of the *commedia dell'arte*, the Accesi, a company that was very popular in Paris. In this troupe and in its successor, the Fedelli, there was a variant of the stock character, the Captain, known as Il Capitano Rinoceronte, played by Girolamo Garavani of Ferrara. How he distinguished himself either in dress or performance from other captains, we do not know; perhaps he wore a mask with an out-size nose. Garavani was in Paris in 1606 and in the 1620s. There must surely be some hidden connection with the fresco mentioned above.<sup>12</sup>

We next observe the 'Madrid' or Philippe Galle iconographic tradition of 1586, in, of all unlikely places, the title-page of an English botanical work, John Parkinson's *The Theater of Plantae* published in 1640 (pl. 114). An equestrienne in exotic splendour sits proudly like a circus performer, her two legs dangling over the scalloped folds of skin. Unusual is the animals' pretence of being in motion by lifting its left foreleg. That beast and rider represent Asia is for once correct.

But we soon switch once more to the authentic tradition of the Dürer woodcut, in caricatured form, however. One of the more magnificent series of prints of pageants (pl. 115) celebrates an event that took place in Naples in 1658 – the birth of a son to Philip



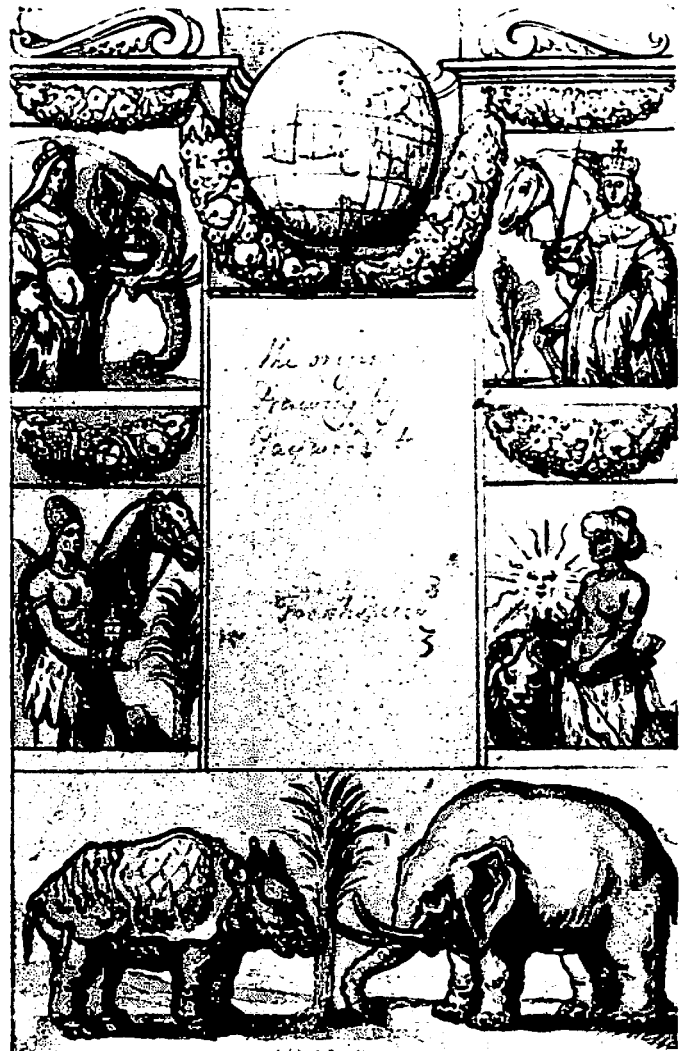


115 *Allegory of Africa*, engraving to celebrate the birth of a son to Philip IV of Spain, Naples, 1658 (British Library)

iv of Spain. In a sense the Four Continents formed an allegory of the Spanish world empire, then rapidly eroding after the breakaway of dependent Portugal in 1640. The Neapolitans have always loved a display. This one must have pleased them, if only because of the baroque richness and splendour of the four floats in the form of four-wheeled chariots each pulled by teams of different animals: all, except possibly Europe using live horses, with the exotic animals as dummies either carried or on wheels. On this occasion the rhinoceroses are symbolic of Africa. The float is filled with feathered figures, pulled by eight rhinoceroses yoked in teams of four. The immediate though not ultimate source is the rhinoceros as given to us by Antonio Tempesta, with the horn at the tip of the nose, the mouth half open as though about to bark. This is the attitude adopted in Tempesta's elephant/rhinoceros fight of pl. 123 (Chapter 11).

Chronologically a year earlier is another contribution by the English animal painter, Francis Barlow (c.1626–1702). This is a drawing for the title-page to a book by Samuel Clarke published in 1657 (pl. 116). The Four Continents are depicted by three-quarter length figures, while at the foot of the page an elephant and rhinoceros stare balefully at each other either side of a palm tree; whether they are intended to represent the universe, unlikely enough, or have some esoteric meaning that escapes us is not known. What is of interest is the conception of the rhinoceros, which owes little to Dürer and more perhaps to intelligent guesswork. The tusk is unrecorded, the nasal horn again stems perhaps from Tempesta, the legs are correctly without scales, but they have hoofs rather than toes; and the back like a carapace is a figment of Barlow's fertile imagination.<sup>13</sup>

116 Francis Barlow, design for a title-page, brush drawing in grey wash, 1657 (British Museum)



Dürer re-appears in purer form in col. pl. xxix (p. 141). This is a painting on copper by Jan van Kessel the Elder (1626–79), part only of an elaborate allegory of the Four Continents, each represented by a central panel in the form of a *Wunderkammer* or Cabinet of Curiosities, dating from 1664–6. Grouped round this panel are sixteen smaller panels painted on copper, each 14.5 by 21 cm, with a distant view of an appropriate town enlivened by flora and fauna in the foreground. The material is derived from a variety of illustrations in travel books, by no means always using material relevant to the particular continent. In the present case, for example, although the town of Ceuta in the distance is indeed in Africa, not far from Gibraltar yet the rhinoceros is single-horned and therefore Indian – single-horned at least as far as the nose is concerned. The African animal, of course, has two horns on the nose; but this was not realised at the time. For once, this is a passable imitation of the Dürer original except for the excess of hair on the chin and the enlarged dorsal hornlet. The younger animal, it will be noticed, has neatly punctured the elephant's stomach. Neither looks very concerned, as though accepting that such behaviour is the normal manner of life – or death.

The two final personifications in which the rhinoceros plays its usual subsidiary role are colourful. Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland had a mania for porcelain (see Chapter 7) and pageants, which he helped to organise down to the last detail. The visit to Dresden by King Frederick IV of Denmark (ruled 1699–1730) on his way home from a journey to Italy<sup>14</sup> was the pretext for a month of elaborate entertainment that Augustus was both unable and unwilling to resist. He himself took the role of Africa in a carousel held on 19 June 1709. In the procession were elephants and rhinoceroses (col. pl. xxx p. 142), both attributes of the dark continent of Africa. Four large folio volumes of gouaches preserved in the Kupferstichkabinett in Dresden, some by Johann Gottlob Schoene (d. after 1754) and others by Johann Samuel Mock (1687–1737), present every detail of the festivities. The rhinoceros is clearly a dummy, accompanied by two supposed Africans with pointed hats, reminiscent of those preceding the Innsbruck equestrienne of 1580 (col. pl. xxviii). Behind, are three black dancers, one holding aloft a maypole topped by a tambourine.

Finally, we have what is the most unusual and amusing allegory of a Continent with a rhinocerotoc content: one that is happily fully documented.<sup>15</sup> The full set of Four Continents executed in *commesso delle pietre dure*, the 'Florentine work' of English and other inventories, hangs today in the Hofburg in Vienna. They were made in the Gallerie dei Lavori, the series of workshops housed in the first floor of the Uffizi, in about 1760, as part of the furnishings of a single room in the Kaiserhaus in Vienna, to the order of Francis I of Lorraine, who had in 1737 exchanged Lorraine for the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in an elaborate game of political musical chairs. Francis visited Florence in person on only one occasion in 1739, when on honeymoon with Maria Theresa, the future Empress. On the extinction of the Medici dynasty with the death of Giangastone in 1737, Francis of Lorraine, absentee Grand Duke of Tuscany, gradually introduced a series of highly unpopular reforms in order to save unnecessary court expenses. The tapestry atelier was abandoned, but the hardstone workshop was not only preserved but strengthened by the appointment of Luigi (or Louis) Siriès as director.

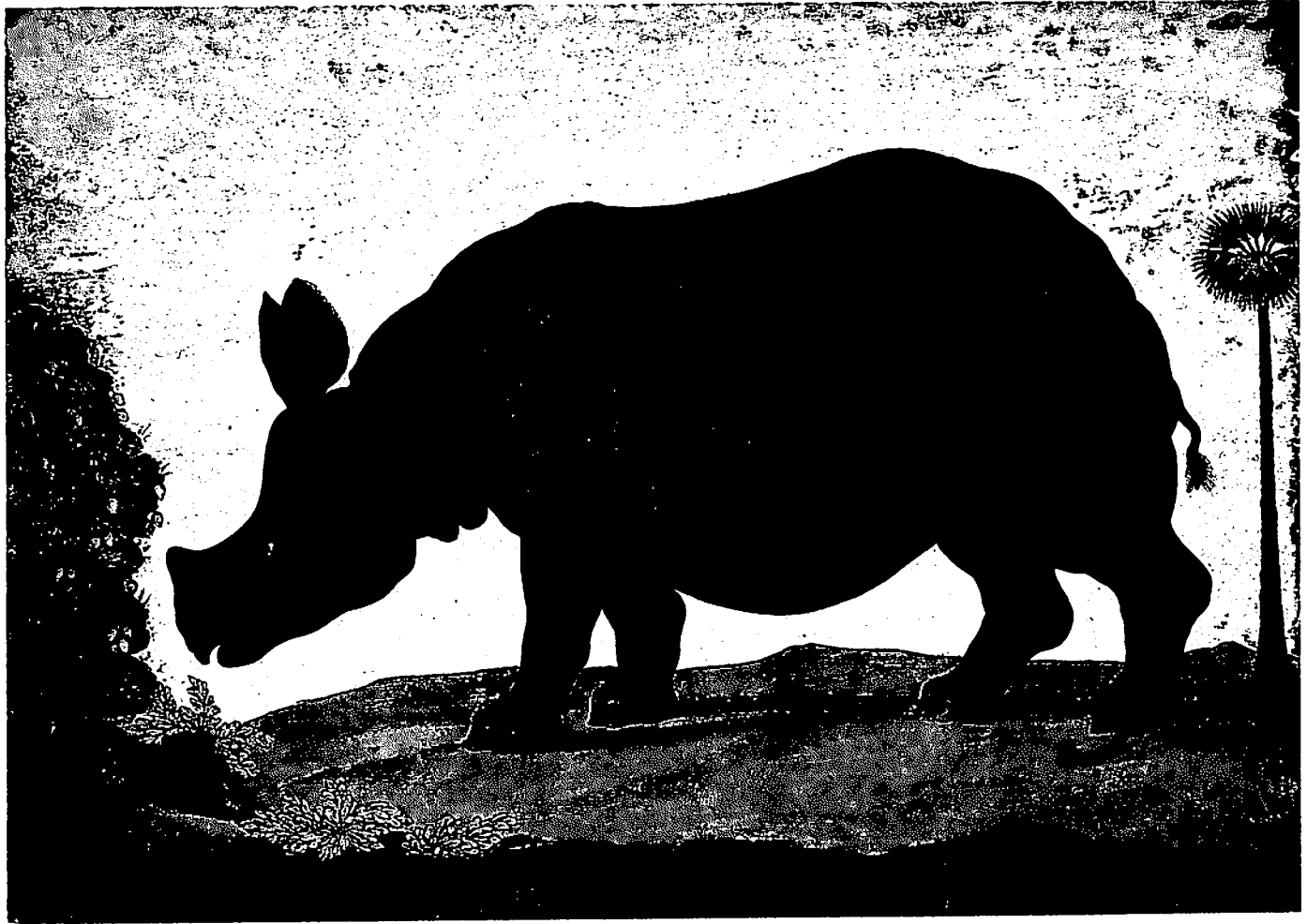
It was in 1748 that Luigi (or Louis) Siriès, by origin a French goldsmith, was appointed head of the hardstone workshop.<sup>16</sup> He was assisted by the Florentine Giuseppe Zocchi (1711–67), topographical draughtsman, engraver and painter, already celebrated for his series of engraved Florentine views.<sup>17</sup> Zocchi was commissioned to prepare some sixty oil paintings to be converted into *pietra dura* plaques, each of which was despatched to Vienna for Francis as soon as completed. The paintings are today for the most part in the Florentine Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure; and the completed *commessi* are still in Vienna.

The subjects were mostly allegorical: the Seasons, the Ages of Man, the Elements, the Arts and, of course, the Continents. Plate 117 shows a detail of Zocchi's America. Here his talents are to be seen at their most captivating. The continents are a good example of the new trend in hardstone composition: gay and full of brilliant improvisation, a contrast to the dark and unpainterly work of earlier decades. We have an eye-witness account by the Abbé Richard of the workmen in the act of creating the Four Continents, early in 1760. 'I saw them at work on four history pictures representing the four parts of the



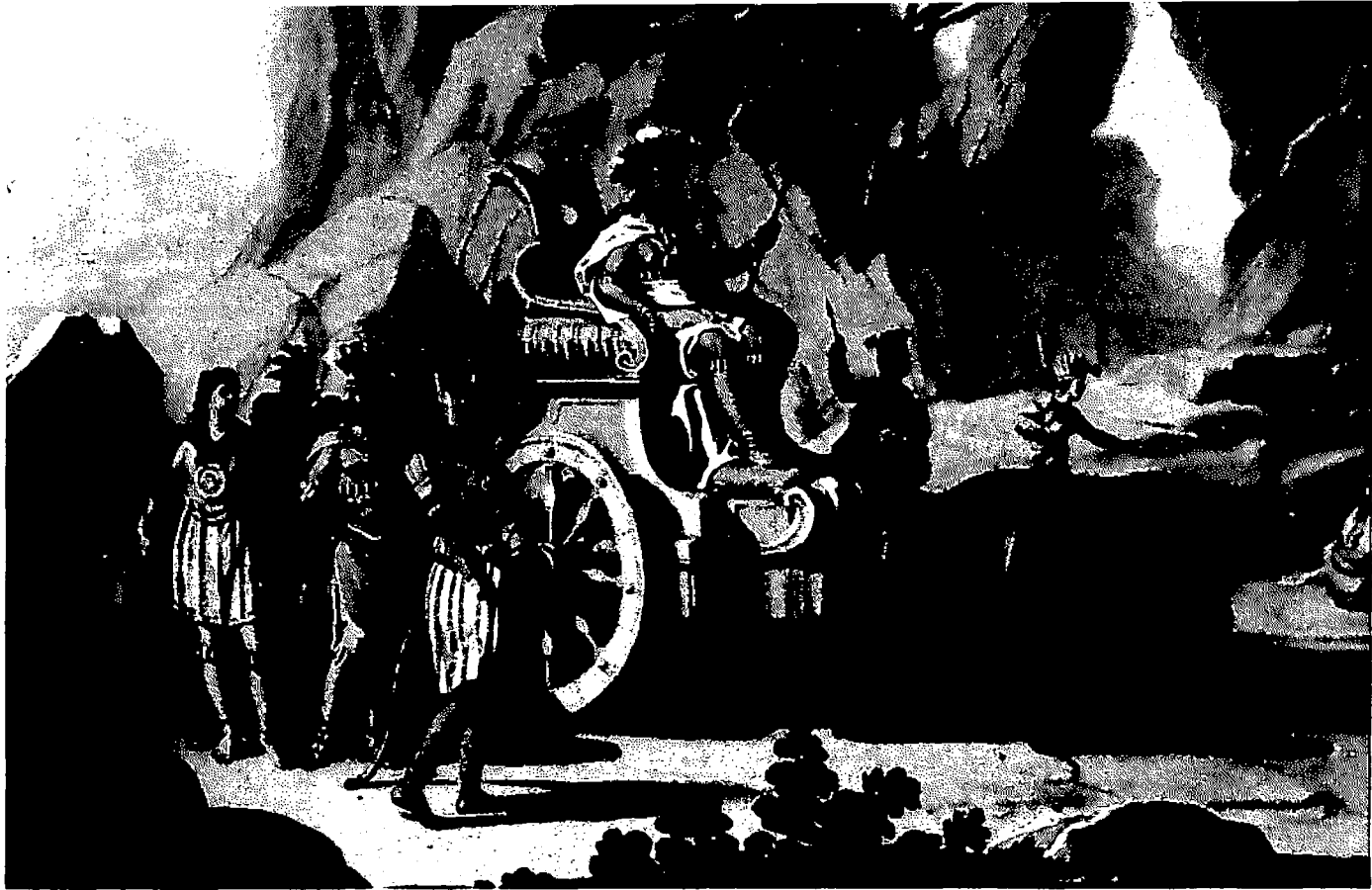
CCXI *An Allegory of America*, a Florentine plaque in *pietra dura*, after a painting by Giuseppe Zocchi, c. 1760 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)





XXXII An Indian miniature of a rhinoceros, gouache, Deccan School, c. 1750, after an engraving by Dr James Parsons (Jacques Soustiel, Paris)





117 Giuseppe Zocchi, detail from *Allegory of America*, oil on canvas, c.1757 (Il Museo dell' Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Florence)

world', writes the Abbé: 'they were already in an advanced state and the parts that had been completed were a conspicuous success. In these pictures the aim was not to imitate nature so much as painting, by using precious materials that do not change colour.'<sup>18</sup> The success of the collaboration between Siriès and Zocchi led to a revival of the hardstone atelier's fame at home and abroad.

It is perhaps just as well that the aim of the Siriès/Zocchi collaboration was 'not to imitate nature', for if we look now at the plaque symbolising America (col. pl. XXXI p. 151) we cannot fail to notice that the rhinoceros, or rather the pair, are from Philippe Galle's engraving of 1586 (see pl. 11). True, the nasal horns have been thickened but the unlikely pleats remain; and it is hardly 'natural' to see two of these graceless animals harnessed and attached to a large-wheeled chariot in which sits an Indian Queen attended by warriors and her ladies of honour. Fantastic rockwork provides the background. The brilliance of execution makes this plaque one of the masterpieces of the genre. This Continent and its

three companions, completed in 1760 but not despatched to Vienna until April 1763,<sup>19</sup> must have pleased the Emperor Francis, who died only two years later.

Luigi Siriès, director of the Opificio from 1748 to 1759, seems to have had a sense of humour. As an appendix to the *pietre dure* allegory of America just discussed, a caricature in the form of an onyx cameo must be mentioned (pl. 118). Luigi Siriès was not only a jeweller and maker of 'toys' in the contemporary sense, but also late in his life a successful carver of 'pierres gravées', that useful French phrase that includes both cameos and intaglios. Accounts of his prowess in this field had been published in 1747, 1753 and 1754.<sup>20</sup> In 1757, Siriès himself published a booklet of forty-seven pages describing 168 engraved gems that he had made. These were eventually sold *en bloc* to Francis, who on his death in 1765 bequeathed them to his wife, Maria Theresa; in her turn she passed them on to her treasury (*Schatzkammer*).<sup>21</sup> Among these gems was a set of the Four Continents in two-coloured onyx, four oval allegories, of which one has



118 Luigi Siriès, *An Allegory of America*, onyx cameo, signed 'LS', c.1757 (Kenneth Snowman Esq., London)

come to rest in an English collection: one among numerous objects that have 'escaped' from the Viennese collections. It is, of course, America that has 'escaped' (pl. 118).

Because the cameo is only 3.2 cm by 2.6 cm, much of the landscape and many of the figures have had to be omitted for lack of space, and those figures on and around the chariot that remain have been converted from grown-ups to children. But even more astounding is that Siriès has evidently found the pair of 'Madrid' rhinoceroses too complicated and out-of-scale, and so has substituted a brace of squat hippopotamuses unnaturally endowed each with a large rhinoceros horn on its flat nose. In his published description of 1757, Siriès refers to a 'char tiré par deux Rhinocéros' with 'figures & autres attributs qui conviennent'. What are we to call this freak? A hippoceros?

That Siriès is having a joke at someone's expense seems to be the only answer to this puerile problem. It is possible to guess how he came to choose a hippopotamus. The Opificio was housed on what we would call the first floor of the Uffizi below the Galleria where the main Medici treasures were kept. With the arrival of the Lorrainers and Habsburgs as Grand Dukes of Tuscany the name was enlarged to that of the Galleria Mediceo-Imperiale. A guidebook written by the keeper of the Uffizi, Giuseppe Bianchi, in 1759 describes the contents of one room (*Decima Camera detta dell' Arsenal*) as containing the *rifuti*, literally refuse, of the Galleria, but in its context meaning rather the leftovers. These included, besides 120 bound volumes of drawings and prints from the collection of Cardinal Leopold (d.1675), 'un Ippopotamo tutto intero'. This stuffed animal (see note to pl. 118) had been there for some years, as earlier travellers mention it. And it still exists, moved in 1775 to the newly founded Museo Zoologico de 'La Specola'. Siriès, then, had only to walk up a floor from the Opificio to the tenth room of the Galleria to see this river monster in the flesh, as it were. But he was only inspired by this apparition, for the hippopotamus that he carved in onyx had its mouth closed, whereas the stuffed animal has its mouth wide open. He must have done a little homework on how the animal looked with its mouth closed, for the wide-open jaws would have been out of scale. Perhaps he modelled the animal on a classical carving or coin, such as were illustrated in an earlier zoological book. As for the plain rhinoceros horns, there was no shortage of these in the Medici collections; and even here he indulged yet again in his humorous vein by applying them to the snout of the hippopotamuses curved the wrong way round. And so was created the most ludicrous personification of America ever to be imagined.

# 11

## The rhinoceros/elephant fight

*I*t was from the *Natural History* of Pliny (AD 23–79) rather than from earlier classical writers that the Humanists of the Renaissance derived their belief in the inevitable hostility between the elephant and the rhinoceros. The reason is that Pliny was readily available as a printed book: twenty-five editions were published before 1500. It was to Pliny that Valentim Fernandes, the Moravian printer who went to Lisbon in 1495, referred in his celebrated letter from Lisbon in 1515, and they are the words of Pliny translated into German that are found on Albrecht Dürer's drawing in the British Museum and on most editions of the 1515 woodcut.<sup>1</sup> And it is mainly through Dürer's image of an armour-plated animal, a beast

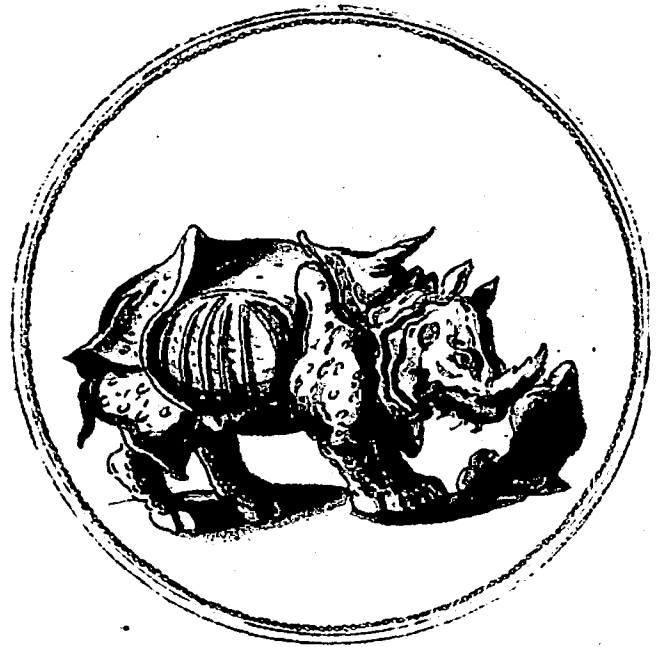
ready for the fight, multiplied in countless copies, ever more debased, that the classical legend of the mutual antipathy between the two largest pachyderms continued at least up to the late eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

It is worth noting, however, that not all early zoologists and travellers necessarily agreed with the classical concept, nor have they all automatically agreed that it was always the rhinoceros that came away from the fray victorious. For example, even Diodorus Siculus (c.40 BC), one of the first classical authors to use the word rhinoceros, gives the elephant a fair chance of winning.<sup>3</sup> Sir John Chardin, the Anglo-French traveller and jeweller, was in Isfahan

on two occasions, in 1667 and from 1673 to 1676. From personal observation he gives the lie to the traditional legend saying that he had seen a rhinoceros sharing a stable with two elephants.<sup>4</sup> Athanasius Kirchner, the prolific German Jesuit writer on matters oriental, who spent his whole life in Rome in the Collegio Romano, must too have rejected the accepted story, else he would not have given adjacent cabins to the two contestants in the cross-section of the Ark, in an amusing illustration to his *Arca Noe* of 1675. It is also remarkable how painters of biblical scenes, especially the late sixteenth and in the seventeenth centuries, were apt to depict our two heavyweights on their best behaviour, walking amicably in pairs, either waiting to walk up the gangway to the Ark or disembarking after the Flood had subsided. Their behaviour was if anything even more pacific when wandering in the Garden of Eden.

But we are here not so much concerned with the truth or falsity of this traditional enmity as with its translation into works of art, mainly graphic. There are two distinct steps in Pliny's account of this deadly fight. The first is that 'when the Beast comes near the Elephant to fight with him, he always first whets his Horn upon the Stones'. This initial episode is often

119 Hans Sibmacher, *A Rhinoceros Whetting its Horn*, engraving from a book of emblems by Joachim Camerarius, 1595



120 Hans Sibmacher (attributed to), *A Rhinoceros Whetting its Horn*, drawing in pen and grey-blue wash for a medal, c. 1580 (Stadtbibliothek, Mainz)

portrayed in emblems: a field of fashionable research into which one need only step gingerly in the context of this book. Two examples will suffice.<sup>5</sup> The first (pl. 119) is a circular engraving from the second of Joachim Camerarius's four books, each of one hundred emblems connected with natural history. Book II was published first in 1595 and is concerned only with quadrupeds. What is remarkable is that Camerarius has used as a model for his animal the engraving of 1586 by Philippe Galle (see pl. 11); an early instance of the 'Madrid' animal's temporary popularity. It is odd to see the Indian animal set in an European landscape, complete with windmill. The second example (pl. 120) is from a drawing attributed to Hans Sibmacher (d. 1611). This, with its unusual motto, is connected with an annual prize medal awarded to a pupil of the Altdorf Academy near Nuremberg in 1582. It has an almost rococo appearance; a travesty of Dürer, particularly with its oversized dorsal horn resembling a shell.

With its horn whetted, presumably only on the front side, the *ganda*, *abada* or rhinoceros was now prepared for the more serious business of attacking and killing its adversary. Whether Manuel of Port



121 Ambroise Paré, *Rhinoceros/Elephant Fight*, woodcut from *Discours . . . de la Mumie*, Paris, 1582

ugal followed classical precedents by going to the trouble of having the horn of his rhinoceros artificially sharpened when he staged the famous but fatuous fight of the two pachyderms on 3 June 1515 we do not know; not that it mattered, for the elephant ignominiously turned tail and fled through the streets. There is, perhaps fortunately for elephantophiles, no graphic record of this shameful scene, which did nothing to discourage belief in the accepted classical myth.

It was over half a century before the rhinoceros/elephant fight was represented in a woodcut in André Thevet's *La Cosmographie universelle* of 1575.<sup>6</sup> Plate 121 shows this print as 'borrowed' by Ambroise Paré (1510–90) for his *Discours . . . de la Mumie . . .*

(Paris, 1582). This caricature of Dürer is ornamented with a variety of shell-like patterns. But it knows what it is about, with its nasal horn about to pierce the soft underbelly, while its dorsal horn is poised for use as an auxiliary weapon against the elephant's rear flank. The elephant has developed a bad squint in its effort to get its trunk in position. In the left background the *ganda* is making a somewhat unorthodox approach, while in the middle distance, having tripped up its foe, it continues the attack with both horns at once in a most unsporting manner. The proper manner of attack is nicely put in the rhymed couplets by Joshua Sylvester<sup>7</sup> in his translation of the *Première Semaine* by Sieur du Bartas, written in 1578 and translated in 1605. Du Bartas is writing about the elephant:

But his huge strength nor subtle witt can not  
 Defend him from the sly Rhinocerot  
 Who never, with blinde furie led, doth venter  
 Upon his foe, but yer the Lists he enter  
 Against a rock he whetteth round about  
 The dangerous Pike upon his armed snout;  
 Then buckling close, doth not at random hack  
 On the hard Cuirasse of his Enemies back  
 But under's bellie (cunning) findes a skinne  
 Whear (and but thear) his sharpened blade will in.

A little earlier in date, 1592, comes the extraordinary woodcut of pl. 122 from Joseph Boillot's *Nouveaux Pourtraitz et Figures de Termes*, published first at Langres and in 1604 in a German edition as *New Termis Buch*. Each cut in this book comprises two antipathetic animals in the form of a term; here the rhinoceros looks thoroughly contented with his superior position, brooking no nonsense from his foe, with an unusually large dorsal horn like a unicorn's horn, wrythen to inflict painful damage if needed.

Soon after the turn of the century, in 1605, comes an amusing rendering of the subject by Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630). Plate 123 shows a more naturalistic elephant than André Thevet's, except for the ears, but a rhinoceros of feigned pugnacity, who looks as though he may miss his target of the underside of the belly unless he raises his head quickly. The bushy tail, the equine mouth, the hoofs rather than toes, have a mannerist touch appropriate to the period.

A view of the city of Ceuta, on the Moroccan coast almost opposite Gibraltar, forms a backcloth to one of the more eccentric rhinocerot groups. Part of an elaborate allegory of the Continents in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich painted from 1664 to 1666 by Jan van Kessel the Elder (col. pl. xxix), it has already been more fully mentioned in the previous chapter. Attention is drawn here only to the two pachyderms in the background, with the flow of blood pouring from the elephant like red wine from a leather sack. Both animals look quite unconcerned. One wonders whether the larger rhinoceros, the mother perhaps, is proud of her offspring, or merely bored with the whole procedure.

Francis Barlow's approach to the subject is more orthodox, as can be verified by looking at plates 17 and 18 in Chapter 3; the drawing of 1684 and the



122 Joseph Boillot, 'Von dem Rhinocerot oder Nashorn', woodcut from *New Termis Buch*, Strasbourg or Frankfurt, 1604 (British Library)

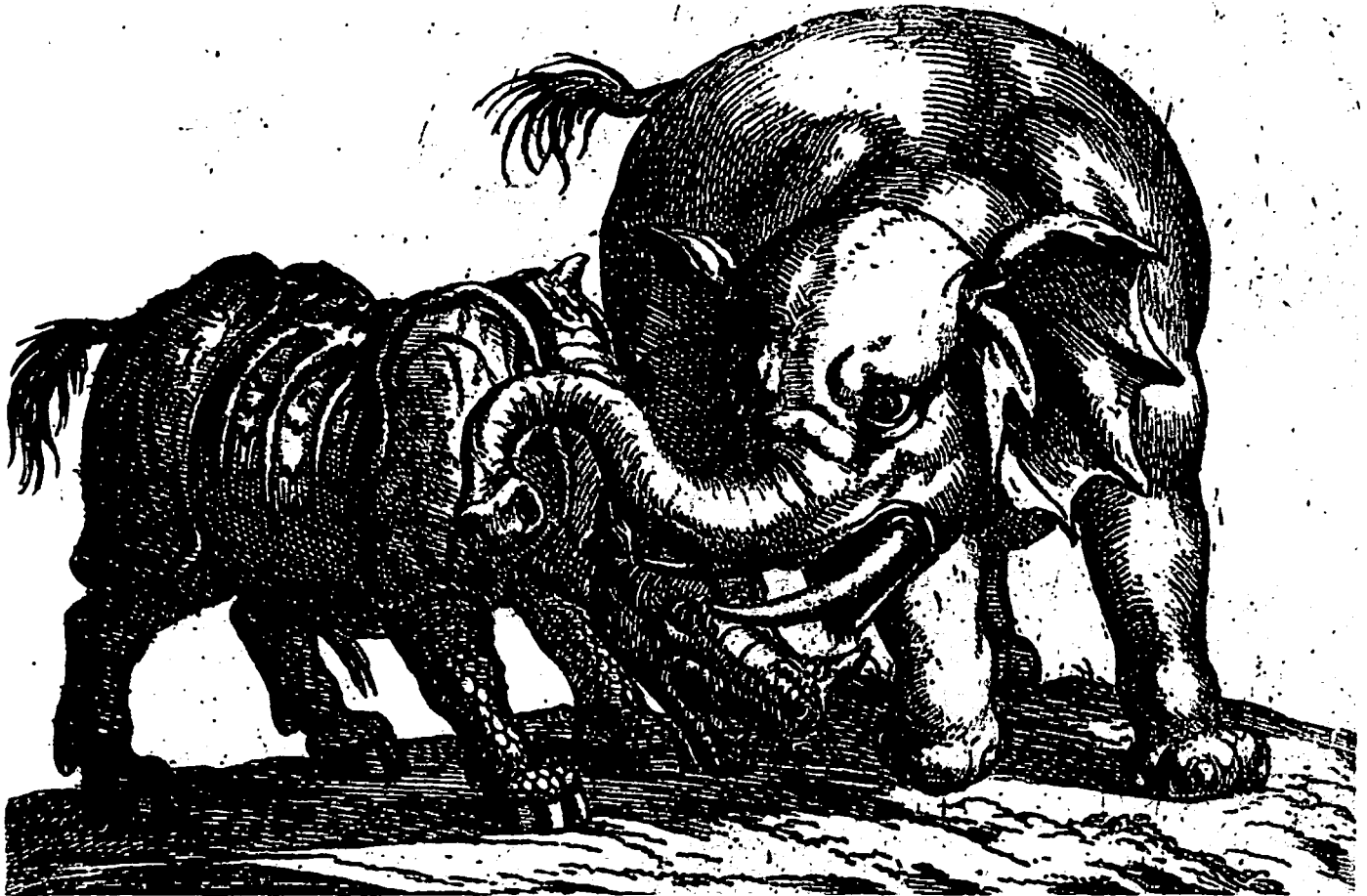
mezzotint of 1684–5. Ten years later a room was decorated by another Englishman, Robert Robinson. The panelled walls painted in 1696 have been removed to Sir John Cass's primary school in Aldgate, London. In a landscape of chinoiserie of pale-green tonality there are two of the most enchant-



Von dem Rhinocerot  
 oder Nashorn.

Der Rhinocerot ist ein  
 Thier aus dem Lande  
 Indien und ist ein  
 Thier das sich nicht  
 scheut die Menschen zu  
 schrecken und zu  
 verletzen. Er hat ein  
 großes Horn auf dem  
 Kopf und ein kleineres  
 auf der Nase. Er ist  
 sehr stark und kann  
 sich durch alle Arten  
 von Hindernissen  
 hindurchschlagen.  
 Er ist ein sehr  
 gefährliches Thier  
 und man sollte  
 sich vor ihm hüten.  
 Er ist ein sehr  
 interessantes  
 Thier und man  
 sollte sich  
 für ihn  
 interessieren.





123 Antonio Tempesta, *Rhinoceros/Elephant Fight*, etching, 1605 (British Museum)

ing and original interpretations of the fight between our two beasts.

Two eighteenth-century examples must suffice. In the first (pl. 124), a monograph on the elephant by G. C. Petri ab Hartenfels (1663–1718), called *Elephantographia curiosa* (1715), the elephant seems to be the aggressor; or is the correct interpretation quite different? Are the deadly enemies calling a truce, and the elephant patting its erstwhile foe on the back in a friendly gesture? Finally, amongst the prints, we have again a work (pl. 125) by the Augsburg artist, Johann Elias Ridinger (1698–1767), engraved by his son Martin (1730–80) in about 1760. The rhymed couplets foretell that both will die, the rhinoceros crushed to death by his rival's superior weight, and in dying driving his horn deep into the

belly of his enemy. This is a novel interpretation of the subject of this chapter: almost a suicide pact.

One tapestry is of interest to our theme. Of late sixteenth-century date, the type is often nowadays referred to as an animal park or *parc sauvage* tapestry (pl. 126). There is a watermill in the background with huntsmen on foot and mounted, pursuing European game; in the foreground are the exotic animals, a camel on the left, a leopard devouring a bird on the right. But in the centre is a strange version of the rhinoceros/elephant combat, with a passive *ganda* appearing to enjoy the attempt of the elephant to throttle him. Unconcerned, because he knows quite well from experience that his throat is too thickly armoured for a soft elephant's trunk to have any serious effect, and he knows too that his turn will soon



124 G. C. Petri ab Hartenfels, etching from *Elephantographia Curiosa*, Erfurt, 1723 edition





*Der Elefant und das Nashorn.*

*Der Elefant macht mächtig ist kein Weib in der Welt,  
 der Nashorn ist nicht list, der ihm die Welt halt.  
 Wer sieht der Elefant, der Sohn der jüdischen Thier?  
 der warmen Indiens, der das der Creaturen.  
 Mit einem Nasenhorn, das sich vor ihm nicht schüt,  
 In einem blutigen und nie verblühenen Streit.*

*Er wachet sich aufsteigt zu gar, die Größe seiner Glieder  
 Drückt den erwachsenen Kind, er list ihn anfluch nieder.  
 Allein spodem er hoch plaut in der Natur  
 Der Elefantens Bauch von jense Horn entzwey  
 Er fällt und ist beuost, doch auch dabey beschluckt,  
 In dem mit sich den Feind, der ihn befiest er drückt.*

125 Johann Elias Ridinger, 'Der Elefant und das Nashorn',  
 etching with engraving by his son Martin Elias Ridinger, 1760



come to find 'a skinne whear (and but thear) his sharpened blade will in'. Related to this tapestry in subject matter is a mid-sixteenth-century pencil drawing (pl. 127) with a throttling scene. The drawing is probably Italian, if one accepts the words *Galor* and *pano* as contemporary inscriptions; and intended as a preliminary sketch either for a tapestry or fresco. More likely the former, for the leopard at the top right could have served as a model for that animal in the tapestry illustrated in Chapter 6 (pl. 58).

126 Detail of an 'animal park' tapestry, Flemish, late second half of sixteenth century (Maitres Ader Picard Tajan, Paris)

127 A sketch for an animal tapestry, pencil, Italian, c.1550 (Private collection, London)



# 12

## The European image in the orient

*T*he original title of this final chapter was 'Oriental influences'. It was intended to note how far the oriental images of the Indian rhinoceros might have effected the European vision of the animal in the period from 1515 to 1799. But this title soon proved to be incorrect, for it is indeed doubtful whether the European vision was in any way influenced by oriental graphic or sculptural prototypes. In fact, the contrary is the case: it was the European image that penetrated the East. And so the title was altered to its present form.

The early civilisation of the Indus Valley, with its gold coins depicting a realistic rhinoceros, still lay buried; as did the early Chinese bronzes and pottery figures of a two-horned animal. It is a fact that there

were oriental miniatures in European collections. Emperor Rudolf II in Prague is known to have owned Persian miniatures;<sup>1</sup> and Rembrandt's copies of Mughal miniatures of about 1654-6 are even better known.<sup>2</sup> But none of these, as far as we know, comprised illuminations with rhinocerotic subjects that could have influenced the West. The live animal alone formed the European's subject matter.

That some countries of the Near and Far East - Persia, India and China - should have succumbed from the late seventeenth century to the West's versions of the appearance of the rhinoceros is typical of the visual history of this extraordinary animal. In China, the rhinoceros had been extinct, at least in the northern parts, for some centuries before the first

鼻角獸圖



128 A page from the great Chinese encyclopaedia of 1728, engraving (British Library)

Dutch embassy to the Imperial Court in Peking arrived in 1656 with the hope of gaining trade concessions. That the Dutch were unsuccessful was due in some measure to opposition from the Jesuit missionaries, who were loth to risk their influence on the Emperor Shunzhi (Shun Chih). An important consequence of the Dutch mission was the publication by Jan Nieuhof<sup>3</sup> of the earliest illustrated account of China, with not only towns, pagodas, the countryside and its people, fully illustrated, but also with many plates of flora and fauna; the print of the rhinoceros, a debased Dürer image, has already been mentioned (p. 121). Nieuhof's book was first published in 1665. It seems likely that a copy was sent to the Jesuit community in Peking, which numbered amongst its leading lights the German astronomer Father Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–88),<sup>4</sup> a man of considerable erudition who was engaged in a new Chinese encyclopaedia. Prompted, we would like to think, by Nieuhof's 'Dürer' beast, he managed to include in an encyclopaedia of 1674 a delightfully idiosyncratic version of this European beast. This information we owe to Dr Berthold Laufer.<sup>5</sup> The encyclopaedia to which he refers has not been traced. What is certain is that the engraving of pl. 128 appeared in the *Great Encyclopaedia* of 1728. Despite the striped nasal horn (a type much prized in China), the bushy tail and the cropped ears, the derivation of this woodcut is abundantly clear; above all in the ribcage, albeit diminished in size, and in the markings of the legs. This Chinese portrait cannot be called an object of beauty, but it does not merit Dr Laufer's denunciation of the animal. 'The rhinoceros is a subject that for obvious reasons has seldom tempted an artist', he writes in a footnote; and again, 'the animal lacks those aesthetic qualities of form which tempt the brush of the painter'.

In India, fights between wild animals, including the rhinoceros, or between humans and animals were a regular feature of court life, as, for example, at the court of the Kings of Oudh.<sup>6</sup> The Moghul iconography of the rhinoceros is remarkably consistent. One of the commonest types to be found in miniature painting is of an animal with the head of a large-eared and gentle antelope, usually with rather a short nasal horn. A single example must suffice: a detail<sup>7</sup> from a miniature of about 1600 (pl. 129), showing Solomon enthroned. In the foreground is a variety of Indian



129 Detail of a Moghul miniature, c.1600 (Owner unknown)

wild life, with most animals depicted in pairs, as though they were about to enter the Ark; on the right are felines and deer, on the left a single elephant but a pair of rhinoceroses of the gentle type. Just such a creature is to be found on an Indo-Portuguese quilt dated to later in the seventeenth century (pl. 130), embroidered with Old Testament and hunting scenes.<sup>8</sup> The detail shown, with a Portuguese in part armour attacking with a spear from the back of an elephant a rhinoceros of the type described above, recalls the custom of organised fights typical of many Indian courts. Such quilts, embroidered in blue silk on white cotton, in this case, were doubtless sent back from Portuguese India to Lisbon; but such hybrid interpretations can not have had any influence on the well-established European traditions, and so remain a curiosity rather than an extra dimension of western ideas.

Apart from the semi-Indian, semi-Portuguese quilt just mentioned there must have been many other oriental likenesses of the rhinoceros sent from the East to Europe within our period. But of the two that



130 Detail of an Indo-Portuguese embroidered quilt, seventeenth century (Museu Nacional de Arte Antigua, Lisbon)

have come to light, one from Persia and one from India, both are exceptional in that, although the miniatures are oriental, the sources are quite clearly European.

The German explorer, botanist and travel writer Engelbert Kempfer<sup>9</sup> was in Isfahan on 30 July 1683, when he recorded seeing three elephants and a single rhinoceros kept in captivity. In 1684 (or 1685) Kempfer was presented with an album of miniatures painted by a local artist specialising in work for foreign clients. Among these sketches of daily life, local costumes and habits is a group of animals, including a portrait of a *karkadann*, as the rhinoceros is called in Arabic (pl. 131). This is derived not from personal observation nor from any local iconographic tradition, but from Philippe Galle's engraving of the 'Madrid' rhinoceros of 1586 (see Chapter 2, pl. 11). It is not an exact copy. Perhaps Kempfer suggested a few minor alterations to the artist on the spot; the horn is short and blunt, and not a long, thin spike, there is a bushy tail and the central scalloped fold hangs less far down the beast's stomach. But there can be no doubt there was an example of Philippe Galle's engraving available in Isfahan in the 1680s.

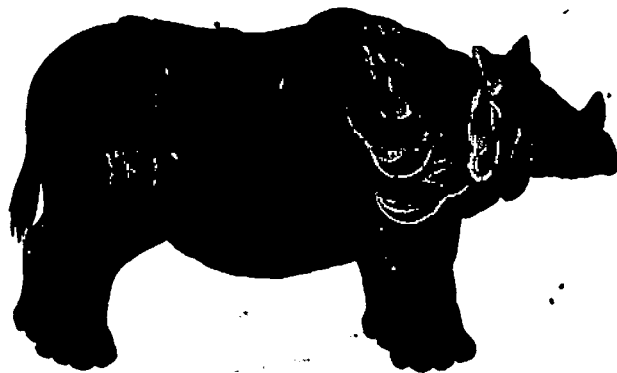
The second example is equally strange; col. pl. xxxii (p. 152) is a splendid miniature of a rhinoceros described as painted about 1770 by an artist of the Deccan School. This may be so. But the source is certainly not a live Indian rhinoceros. It is an accurate

copy by an Indian artist of an engraving of the second live animal to be imported into England, in 1739 (see pl. 24). Dr James Parson's original drawings, with the poster and engravings in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* of 1743, are without a doubt the original source. There would be nothing surprising to find a member of the East India Company subscribing to the *Transactions*; nor would it have been out of character for such an expatriate to have commissioned such a miniature in view of the growing interest in natural history. As for the date the miniature may well be nearer 1750 than the 1770 suggested.

The Turks also knew well the Indian rhinoceros and often had an example in the Sultan's menagerie in Constantinople. We have an eye-witness account from the pen of the distinguished Augsburg physician and botanist, Leonhard Rauwolf (c. 1540–96),<sup>10</sup> who was in Aleppo in 1575, of a rhinoceros, reported to have killed twenty men, on its way on foot from India to Constantinople via the North Syrian town. There must surely be an Ottoman miniature somewhere of our pachyderm in Constantinople, and one can only speculate that it, too, may be based on a European prototype.

In brief, Europe seems to have been an importer of the live animal, but an exporter of its likeness. The iconographic types established by Dürer, by Philippe Galle and even the rather poor efforts of De Parson should in any way have influenced the oriental conception of an oriental beast is strange indeed.

131 A Persian miniature of the rhinoceros (*karkadann*), from an album given to Engelbert Kempfer, Isfahan, 1684/85, after an engraving by Philippe Galle (British Museum)



# Epilogue

*T*he reader who has progressed thus far deserves a final chapter in lighter vein, an epilogue that ignores the limitations of date (1515–1799) imposed on the book as a whole.

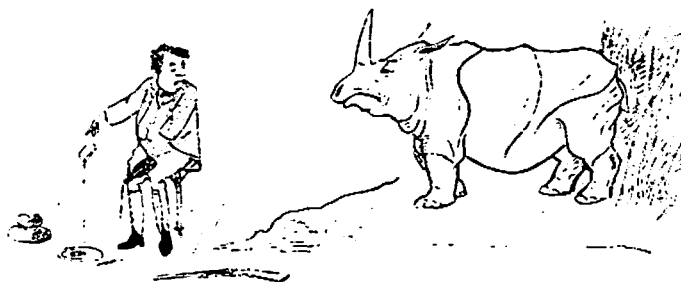
By 1834 the first rhinoceros to be kept in a zoological garden was safely lodged in the Regent's Park Gardens of the Zoological Society of London. Instead of being a wondrous beast, it had become a part of the zoological establishment. Now the establishment, whether political, economic, social or zoological, has always been considered fair game for satire, caricature or just humour: at any rate in England. The instances of such treatment of the Indian rhinoceros seem to have been a peculiarly English eccentricity, perhaps

because the animal was more familiar to the British servants of the East India Company and its successor after 1858, the Crown, than to other nationalities.

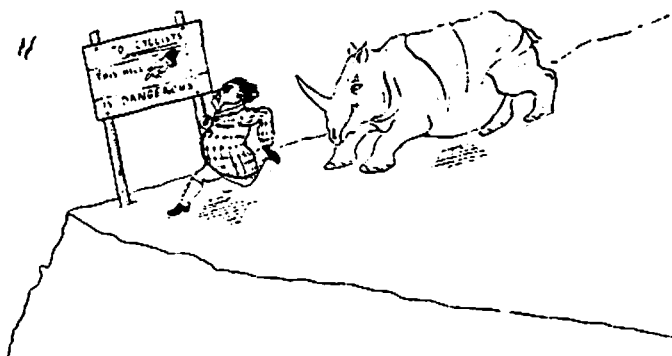
Despite this generalisation, we begin with an American, Berthold Laufer (see p. 165), who was of the opinion 'that only photography has done it [the rhinoceros] full justice'. Poor Dürer, poor Oudry, wretched Ridinger! Laufer, writing in 1914, commented too on the animal lacking 'aesthetic qualities of form', an opinion surprisingly repeated, but in a more modern idiom, by the popular author, Peter Fleming in *My Aunt's Rhinoceros: a Digression* (1956). Fleming notes that 'aesthetically, one fully realises, the rhinoceros has missed the bus'. This is

a matter of opinion; it does not, of course, prevent an artist from portraying something that he considers hideous. A notable example of this is Hilaire Belloc's *The Bad Child's Book of Beasts* (1906), where the drawings aptly reflect the text:

Rhinoceros, your hide looks all undone

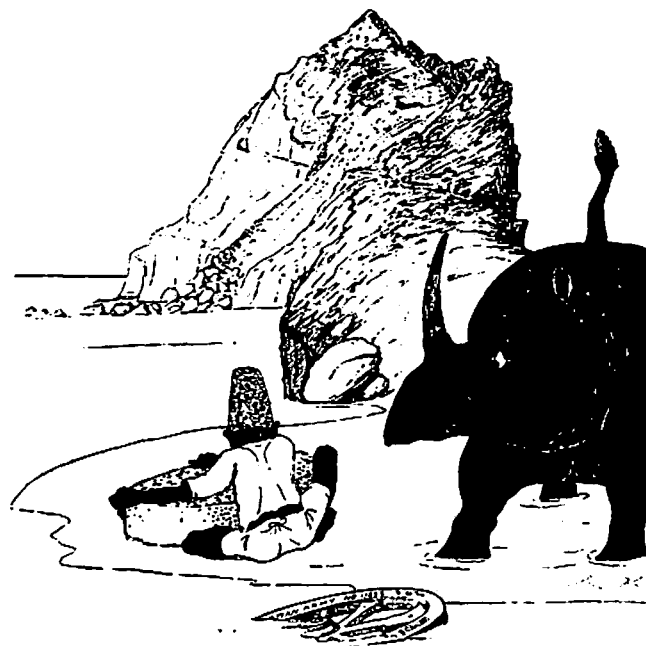


You do not take my fancy in the least:



You have a horn where other brutes have none:  
Rhinoceros, you are an ugly beast.

Belloc may have been inspired by the appearance in 1901, five years earlier, of Rudyard Kipling's *Just So Stories*, part of an English-speaking child's literary heritage. In the story of 'How the Rhinoceros got his Skin', we first meet a smooth-skinned Indian one-horned animal with three buttons on its chest. Undoing these to remove his outer skin, the rhinoceros goes swimming in the Red Sea. The unfortunate creature does not realise while dressing after his refreshing bathe that the Parsee has rubbed some 'sickly cake crumbs and burned currants' into the shed skin. His efforts to remove the irritation gives



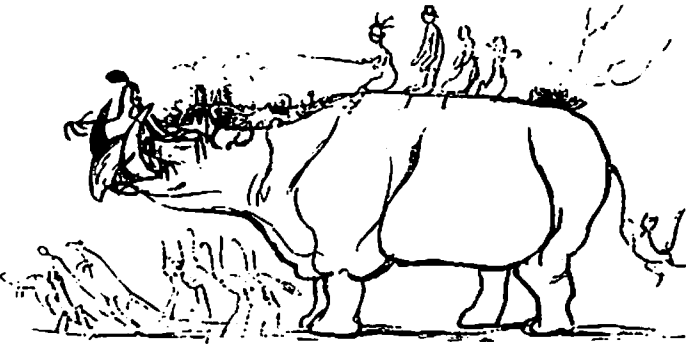
his skin its familiar bumps and unevenness. It perhaps just as well that this story was never treated to detailed analysis by Jean Boulet and J. J. Pauver authors of *Le Symbolisme Sexuel* (1961); for the pretend to find in Longhi's painting of the 'Dutch rhinoceros in Venice in 1751 (col. pl. VII) over twenty concealed sexual symbols, without an understanding of which, they allege, the picture loses much of its meaning.

Flippancy is another aspect of the modern treatment of the rhinoceros. For instance, James Thurber in a short story, 'A friend to Alexander' from *Alarm and Diversions* (1957), remarks: 'I'm going to the zoo and feed popcorn to the rhinoceros. That makes things seem right, for a little while, anyway'. This contrasts with the behaviour of Norman Douglas's character, Mr Ernest Eames, BA, in that naughty novel, *South Wind* (1917); Eames was accused of 'trying to poison the rhinoceros at the Zoo with an arsenical bun'. But which species of rhinoceros were these two talking about? Let the Rumanian playwright Eugene Ionesco, tell us through the lips of the Grocer in Act I of his play, *Rhinoceros* (1959): 'the Asiatic rhinoceros has one horn, the African two. And vice versa'.



This leads us on to the world of inspired nonsense. In 1871 Edward Lear published his *Nonsense Songs, Stories, Botany and Alphabets*. Included was 'The Story of the four little Children who went round the World', which ends as follows:

The Four Travellers were therefore obliged to resolve on pursuing their wanderings by land, and very fortunately there happened to pass by at that moment, an elderly Rhinoceros, on which they seized; and all four mounting on his back, the Quangle-Wangle sitting on his horn and holding on by his ears, and the Pussy-cat swinging at the end of his tail, they set off, having only four small beans and three pounds of mashed potatoes to last through their whole journey.

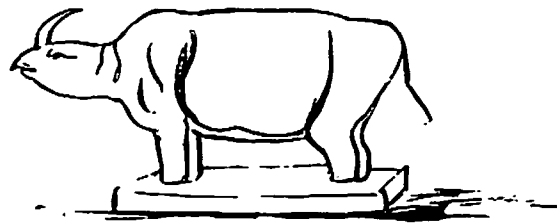


They were, however, able to catch numbers of the chickens and turkeys, and other birds who incessantly alighted on the head of the Rhinoceros for the purpose of gathering the seeds of the rhododendron plants which grew there, and these

creatures they cooked in the most translucent and satisfactory manner, by means of a fire lighted on the end of the Rhinoceros' back. A crowd of Kangaroos and Gigantic Cranes accompanied them, from feelings of curiosity and complacency, so that they were never at a loss for company, and went onward as it were in a sort of profuse and triumphant procession.

Thus, in less than eighteen weeks, they all arrived safely at home, where they were received by their admiring relatives with joy tempered with contempt; and where they finally resolved to carry out the rest of their travelling plans at some more favourable opportunity.

As for the Rhinoceros, in token of their grateful adherence, they had him killed and stuffed directly, and then set him up outside the door of their father's house as a Diaphanous Doorscraper.





Rhinoceros swimming (Kipling, *Just So Stories*)

# Notes



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## Notes to the text

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References are of two forms in the text and plate notes. In the case of a minor reference, or one of specialist interest, full details are given in the notes. The more important sources are abbreviated to author's name followed by the date of publication and the page reference; full details of these latter references will be found in the Bibliography.

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### CHAPTER I (pp. 16-27)

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- 1 The fullest account of the Dürer rhinoceros in all its aspects, and one of the few investigations into the 'Madrid' animal of 1579, are to be found in Donald F. Lach's *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. II, *A Century of Wonder*, book 1, *The Visual Arts* (Chicago, 1970), pp.158-72 - hereafter referred to as Lach 1970. I have relied much on this book in this and the succeeding chapters. Older sources, also used by Lach, include Campbell Dodgson's 'The story of Dürer's ganda', in A. Fowler ed., *The Romance of Fine Prints* (Kansas City, 1938). Also of use is a pamphlet by Abel Fontoura da Costa, *Deambulations of the Rhinoceros (Ganda) of Muzafar, King of Cambaia, from 1514 to 1516* (Lisbon, 1937; published in Portuguese, French and a delightful English by the Portuguese Agency General for the Colonies). For the historical background, see C. R. Boxer's *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (Pelican Books, 1973).
- 2 The spices are listed in Giovanni Giacomo Penni's pamphlet of 13 July 1515, for which see note to pl. 6.
- 3 Stephen Oettermann, *Die Schaulust am Elefanten* (Frankfurt, 1982), p.97 *et seq.*
- 4 Sir William Gowers, 'The classical rhinoceros', *Antiquity*, vol. XXIV (1950), pp.61-71. The rhinoceros was last recorded in Rome in AD 248. See also Rookmaaker 1973, p.39.

- 5 Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean* (London, 1972), vol. 1, p.543, quoting from the journal of Girolamo Priuli, 1501.
- 6 Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, *The Century of Discovery*, book 1 (Chicago, 1965), p.398 - here after referred to as Lach 1965a. Lach quotes a verse by Samuel Butler, referring either to Muzaffar or his father Mahmud. It is from *Hudibras*, part II, Canto 1:

The Prince of Cambay's daily food  
Is asp and basilisk and toad,  
Which makes him have so strong a breath,  
Each night he stinks a queen to death.

- 7 The word *ganda* has many forms: Gomda (used by Dürer), Genda, Gainda, Gomela and Gainra; see Cole 1953, p.33; The word *ganda* was once translated by Lord Stanley in an edition of *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (c.1518), not as a rhinoceros but as a woman of the Gond tribe, so that the passage reads as though King Manuel was sent as a present an India concubine. Sir Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell comment that this translation was 'a marvel in the way of error'; see *Hobson Jobson, being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases* (London, 1866).
- 8 See note to pl. 1.
- 9 Matthias Winner, 'Raffael malt einen Elefanten', in *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, vol. X, parts II and III (November, 1964), pp.71-109; William S. Heckscher, 'Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk', *Art Bulletin* vol. XXIX (1947), pp.165-82; also Lach 1970, pp.135-9.
- 10 Reported by Antoine de Ruffi, *Histoire de la Ville de Marseille* (Marseilles, 1642; 2nd edn 1696).
- 11 *The Worthy Tract of Paulus Iovius, Contayning a Discourse of Rare Inventions, both Militarie and Amorous Calle Imprese*, by Samuel Daniell (London, 1585).
- 12 Costa 1937, p.30.
- 13 F. Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers* (Berlin, 1938) vol. III, 625.
- 14 Leaflet issued by the British Museum (Natural History) (London, 1976).

- 15 Lach 1965a, p.158 *et seq.*, also Lach 1970, p. 162 for Fernandes; and Konrad Habeler, *The Early Printers of Spain and Portugal* (London, 1897).
- 16 *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 42, no. 470 (1743), letter VIII, p.524.
- 17 Dr Parsons's one error is to have supplied the missing numeral '1' in the date '153'; even then, the date is wrong, and should be 1515. This translation differs from Campbell Dodgson's of 1938 (p.46) in that the German word *Krot* is given as 'toad' by Parsons and as 'tortoise' by the former.
- 18 See *British Museum Catalogue* (1971), no. 266.
- 19 See note to pl. 3.
- 20 Cole 1953, p.339.
- 21 James Byam Shaw, 'Dürer the Engraver', in C. R. Dodwell, ed., *Essays on Dürer* (Manchester, 1973), part III, p.52.
- 22 Based on a brief resumé of the various editions in Dodgson 1938.
- 23 Walter Strauss, *Chiaroscuro: The Clair-Obscur Woodcuts by the German and Netherlandish Masters of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* (London, 1973).
- 24 On the unicorn see Odell Shepard's classic, *The Lore of the Unicorn* (London, 1930). The unicorn and rhinoceros not only share a single horn, but these were believed to have medical properties. See also Ettinghausen 1950.
- 25 See note to col. pl. III.
- 26 Cole 1953.
- 27 See note to pl. 6.
- 28 See note to pl. 7.
- 29 Clarke 1974, fig. 2. I thank Dr Manfred Meinz for this information.
- 30 See references in note to pl. 8.
- 31 See note to pl. 9.
- 32 Karl H. Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf: Sixteenth Century Physician, Botanist and Traveller* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p.143.
- 5 Ettore Marcucci, ed., *Lettere edite e inedite di Filippo Sassetti* (Florence, 1855), letters XLV and XLVI, pp.132-8. See also Lach 1965b, especially pp.475-7.
- 6 Lach 1965a, p.159 and Lach 1970, p.169, on Dom Jean Sarrazim, who thought that the *abada* of 1582 was the same as the 1515 *ganda*. It was believed until at least the eighteenth century that the rhinoceros could live in captivity for over a century. There is an unconfirmed longevity record of 47 years, and a confirmed one of 44 years; see L. C. Rookmaaker and R. J. Reynolds, 'Additional data on rhinoceroses in captivity', *Zoologische Garten*, vol. 55 (1985), p. 141.
- 7 'Memoria de Fray Juan de San Geronimo', in *Collecion de Documentos Inedites para la Historia de Espana*, vol. VII (Madrid, 1845), p.368. I owe this reference to Dr Manuel Sanchez Mariana of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
- 8 This singular meeting is recalled in a Latin dialogue by Eduardo de Sande, *De missione legatorum*, one of the earlier books to be printed in Portuguese Goa, in 1590, p.208 (Lach 1970, p.169).
- 9 Vincent le Blanc, *The World Surveyed. Or the Famous Voyages & Travailes of Vincent le Blanc or WHITE of Marseilles*, translated into English by F. B. Gent (London, 1660). The book was first published in Paris in 1648, and in Dutch in 1654.
- 10 See note to pl. 11.
- 11 See note to pl. 12.
- 12 See note to pl. 13.
- 13 See note to pl. 14.
- 14 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Cod. min.* 42; and see note to col. pl. IV.
- 15 See J. L. Hayward's *Virtuoso Goldsmiths, 1540-1620* (London, 1976), pp.369-70, pls 341, 343 and 344. Ewer and basin are here described as 'perhaps the most richly decorated and superbly wrought of the period in existence'. See, too, Heikamp 1980, pp.307-9, fig. 7 and notes 18 and 19. Heikamp wrongly maintains, in my view, that the silver-gilt animal is derived from the Philippe Galle print.

## CHAPTER 2 (pp.28-34)

- 1 For example, Michael Levey, *The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Italian Schools*, Catalogue (National Gallery, London, 1971), pp.155-6 and Basil Taylor, *Stubbs* (London, 1975; first published 1971), p.30.
- 2 Clarke 1974, fig. 3, the inscription omitted; Clarke 1976, fig. 17; and Heikamp 1980, fig. 6, pp.307-8.
- 3 Lach 1970, pp.168-70, gives the fullest account to date of the second rhinoceros to arrive in Europe; I am indebted to him for most of the references in this chapter. For background reading, see Lach's other volumes in his *Asia in the Making of Europe*; G. R. Boxer's *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (Penguin Books, 1973); and Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (London, 1972-3), 2 vols.
- 4 Linschoten, *The Voyage of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, translated by John Wolfe (London, 1598, from the Amsterdam edition of 1596), *Hakluyt Society*, vol. LXXI (1885). Also Lach 1965b, p.200ff.

## CHAPTER 3 (pp.37-46)

- 1 The logbooks of this and later East India Company ships known to have had a live rhinoceros aboard are all preserved at India House in London. But in no case is any mention made of such an animal on the ship's cargo list, which leads one to suppose that they were all private cargo ventures by groups of merchantmen.
- 2 Excerpts from newsletters quoted come from Lady Newdigate-Newdegate, *Cavalier and Puritan in the Days of the Stuarts* (London, 1901) and also from the original newsletters now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC. They were purchased at Hodgson's Rooms, Chancery Lane, on 19 July 1956. See Altick 1978, p.37.
- 3 'To sell by inch of candle = to sell by auction in which bids are received only so long as a small piece of candle burns': *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* (1933).
- 4 Altick 1978, p.37 comments on the different spellings; for example, Rhininceros, Rhinenceras, Rhynonceros and Rhynoceros.

- 5 Altick 1978, pp.35-6.
- 6 Hon. Roger North, *The Lives of the Norths*, vol. 1, *Life of the Right Hon. Francis North, Lord Guilford* (London, 1890), pp.366-8. First published in 1780. Francis North (1637-85) was Chief Justice in 1675, Lord Chancellor (as Lord Guilford) in 1682.
- 7 *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford, 1955), vol. IV, pp.389-90.
- 8 For these two rhinocerotid collections, see note to pl. 16.
- 9 See notes to pl. 17 and 18.
- 10 Rookmaaker 1978.
- 11 Cole 1953, p.351; and Rookmaaker 1978, p.33, no. 8.3.
- 12 See note to pl. 19. For Chardin, see Sarah Searight, *The British in the Middle East* (London, 1969), especially pp.63-4.
- 13 Cole 1953, p.349.
- 14 On Douglas, see Dr C. H. Brock, *James Douglas, 1675-1742: An Exhibition of Books and Manuscripts* (Glasgow University Library, 1975). Born near Edinburgh, Douglas, after studying at Utrecht and in France, practiced medicine and lectured on anatomy in London from 1700 until his death in 1742. A man of wide interests, he wrote numerous papers for the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society. He published a treatise on the Guernsey lily (*Nerine sarniense*), collected all available editions of Horace from 1476 to 1739, helped dissect an elephant in Sir Hans Sloane's garden in Chelsea in 1720, and in 1726 was involved in exposing the fraudulent claims of Mary Toft of Godalming who claimed to be giving birth to rabbits.
- 15 L. C. Rookmaaker, 'An early engraving of the black rhinoceros', *Biological Journal of the Linnean Society*, vol. 8 (1976), pp.87-90.
- 16 *Journal Book of the Royal Society*, vol. XVI (1739), pp.453-4; Rookmaaker 1978, p.17.
- 17 Parsons 1743, p.527.
- 18 Rookmaaker 1978, p.29; an (unpublished) 'Note on the rhinoceros painting in the Mammal Section of the British Museum (Natural History)', and Rookmaaker 1983, fig. 3. In the note, Rookmaaker describes his unexpected discovery in a corridor of the Museum. Parsons painted a second version, as yet untraced.
- 19 Pencilled on an anonymous engraving in the Douglas Collection, Glasgow University Library. Rookmaaker 1978, p.30, no. 5.19.
- 20 'VIII. A letter from Dr Parsons to Martin Folkes, Esq; President of the ROYAL SOCIETY, containing the Natural History of the Rhinoceros', *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 42, no. 470 (1743), pp.523-41; Rookmaaker 1981, pp.113-4.
- 21 Doctor Georg Leonhart Huth, *Die natürliche Historie des Nashorns* (Nuremberg, 1747); and a French translation by De Mours, mentioned by Buffon. Rookmaaker 1978, p.35, note 3.
- 22 For example by Johann David Meyer, *Vorstellung mancherley fremder und seltener Thiere*, vol. 3 (Nuremberg, 1756).

- 23 Parsons continues his account with details of the animal unusual sexual organs, comparing them botanically to the flowers of *Digitalis floribus purpureis* (foxglove) and *Aristolochia floribus purpureis* (birthwort). He adds that the rhinoceros 'is a retromingent animal, and consequently retrogenerative. I have several times seen him pissing; he turns his Tail to the Wall, and, extending his hind legs asunder, crumps himself up, and pisses out in a full Stream as far as a cow'. Parsons 1743, p.535.
- 24 Parsons 1743, p.527. Dr Huth (see note 21) describes London-Spaw as 'an agreeable and pretty garden on the outskirts of London'.

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CHAPTER 4 (pp.47-68)

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The main secondary sources for the first two sections of this chapter are L. C. Rookmaaker's pioneering article of 1973 and his subsequent articles in specialised journals, the present author's article of 1974 and Hubert Emmerig's article of 1978 dealing with both the medallic and travel aspects. To which must be added Detlef Heikamp's essay of 1980. Their full titles are to be found in the Bibliography.

- 1 There was a clear class distinction in the amount charged to viewers. In all countries except England the nobility and upper classes gave as much, or as little, as they pleased; the rest paid a set fee varying according to how close they approached the animal's pen. But the only English postage to have survived has little of this anti-egalitarian pose charges were 'One shilling the first Place, and Sixpence the Second'. See pl. 27c.
- 2 One Jan Albert Sichterman (1693-1764).
- 3 Loisel 1912, vol. II, pp.11, 50-2 and 278-80.
- 4 Ably described by Emmerig 1978. Medals, all dated 1748 were struck in Ansbach, Nuremberg, Strasbourg and Stuttgart.
- 5 Rookmaaker 1973, p.47, quoting archival sources.
- 6 Rookmaaker 1973, p.47; and note to pl. 29.
- 7 Heikamp 1980, pp.310-11, and figs 9 and 10.
- 8 See note to pl.30.
- 9 Heikamp 1980, p.311 and note 25; also Heinz-Georg Klös *Von der Menagerie zum Tierparadies: 125 Jahre Zoo Berlin* (Berlin, 1969), p.17.
- 10 C. A. von Bergen, *Oratio de rhinocerote . . .* (Frankfurt/Oder 1746).
- 11 *Schlesischer Zeitung* (13 September 1746).
- 12 Heikamp 1980, p.312.
- 13 Emmerig 1978, p.21 and note 12.
- 14 Rookmaaker 1973, p.47, quoting J. M. Barth's pamphlet *Schreiben, an einem guten Freund . . .* (Regensburg, 1747).
- 15 Emmerig in correspondence, referring to *Altes und Neues aus dem Erzgebirge* (1747).
- 16 Rookmaaker 1973, p.47; and Emmerig p.21, quoting *Curiosae Saxonica* (1747), p.114.
- 17 Rookmaaker 1973, pp.48-9; the pamphlet called *Rhinoceros: e veterum scriptorum monumentis descriptus* (Leipzig, 1747):

- and Emmerig 1978, quoting *Curiosa Saxonica* (1747), pp.124-5.
- 18 From the diary of a gardener, Johann Ernst Grassmeder, in *Zwei Kasseler Chroniken des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Casel, 1904), p.83; a reference for which I thank Hubert Emmerig.
- 19 Emmerig 1978, p.21, quoting from *Franckfurter Frag- und Anzeigungsnachrichten*, note 17.
- 20 Rookmaaker 1973, p.49; Clarke 1974, p.116, fig. 9; and Emmerig 1978, p.21.
- 21 For reports on the Swiss tour I again have to thank Hubert Emmerig for allowing me to report on his researches.
- 22 I wish to thank Agnes Rutz of the Zentralbibliothek in Zurich for much information from the records under her care.
- 23 For the Strasbourg medals, see Emmerig 1978, p.25.
- 24 Emmerig 1978, p.24, IV.1 and p.25 for description and illustration of the only silver medal known to have been cast in Stuttgart, by Veit Schremph (1716-73).
- 25 Emmerig 1978, p.21, notes 22-3, quoting the *Nürnbergischer Chronik*, nos. 50 and 62.
- 26 Dr W. M. Brod, 'Jungfer Clara', *Mainfränkische Bilder*, Würzburg, vol. 59 (1958), pp.2-3; and note to pl. 33.
- 27 According to Camper's own writings, he modelled this relief in Leiden in 1748. He also made three drawings. The influence of Douwe Mout's posters and engravings is evident, but the detail of the skin markings is much finer. The relief is in the Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijk Historie, Leiden. See Rookmaaker 1973, p.50, fig. 9; and the same author's article, 'De neushoorn van 1741', *Ons Amsterdam*, vol. 30, no. 1 (1978), pp.16-7.
- 28 Loisel 1912 again is the earliest secondary source, used by all subsequent investigators, including Rookmaaker 1973, pp.50-7, Clarke 1974, pp.119-21 and Heikamp 1980, pp.313-14. The latter has followed up many of the Loisel references, particularly in the field of fashion and *rhinomanie*.
- 29 Loisel 1912, vol. II, p.278.
- 30 Heikamp 1980, pp.313-14 for the exact moves, quoting from *Les Affiches de Paris*.
- 31 The copy used was made available by M. Yves Laissus of the Musée National d'histoire Naturelle, Paris; to whom my thanks.
- 32 Vicomtesse de Poillôue de Saint'Mars. This passage is from *Les Galanteries de la Cour de Louis XV* (Paris, 1861), vol. IV, p.2; a source also used by Heikamp 1980, p.314.
- 33 The author, one J.-B. Guiard de Sevigné, is quoted at length by Heikamp 1980, p.314. This epic and in part nonsensical poem received an unflattering review (quite rightly) in the May 1751 issue of the Leipzig literary journal, *Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit*, pp.365-9.
- 34 *Correspondance par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, etc.*, ed. Maurice Tourneux, vol. 1 (Paris, 1877), pp.272-3.
- 35 I have to thank the late Ulrich Middeldorf for this reference. *Mémoires de Jacques Casanova*, reprint of *editio princeps* of 1826-38 (Paris), vol. x, chap. 9, p.150. Whether this incident took place in Paris or Lyons is open to doubt.
- 36 *Journal et Mémoires du Marquis d'Argenson*, vol. v (1863), p.485: '30 Mai 1749. On a eu nouvelles que le rhinocéros est mort enragé à Lyon, qu'il a mordu cinq à six personnes qui sont mortes de même. Sa rage venait de chaleur d'amour; on n'a pas pu trouver de mâle proportionné à cette monstrueuse bête.'
- 37 Issue of 1749, no. 97, p.610.
- 38 D'Argenson, *op. cit.* in note 36, vol. VI (1864), p.77.
- 39 Heikamp 1980, p.314.
- 40 Communicated by Rookmaaker in correspondence.
- 41 *The Letters of Horace Walpole* (Yale edition).
- 42 Emmerig 1978, p.25. Medals with an Italian inscription had been made in Nuremberg in 1748 by the prolific medallist, P. P. Werner; in silver, pewter and bronze. Presumably Douwe Mout had already planned his Italian journey in 1748.
- 43 *The Letters of Horace Walpole* (Yale edition).
- 44 Heikamp, who has an intimate knowledge of Florentine diaries and journals of this period, insists, and it seems rightly, that despite Horace Mann's letter of anticipation the 'monstrous beast' never in fact visited Florence. It appears to have embarked from a Roman port direct for N. Italy, possibly Genoa. See Heikamp 1980, p.325 and note 26.
- 45 Corrado Ricci, *I Teatri di Bologna nei Seicoli XVII e XVIII* (Bologna, 1888), p.692.
- 46 Clarke 1974, note 23; and Heikamp 1980, fig. 15 and note 33.
- 47 Scipione Maffei (1675-1755), known both as 'the Italian Sophocles' and later as 'the Italian Voltaire', was a prolific writer of poems, plays, operas and antiquarian works. The words quoted come from *Raccolta di opuscoli scientifici e filologici*, vol. xv (Verona, 1751), pp.327-36.
- 48 Michael Levey, *The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Italian Schools* (National Gallery, London, 1971), the most informative of museum catalogue accounts of the 'Dutch' rhinoceros. Its main omission is in assuming that the Longhi portrait was of the second live beast to be seen in Europe. As we have seen, it was in fact the fifth.
- 49 See note to col. pl. VIII.
- 50 Terisio Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi, Paintings and Drawings, Complete Edition* (London, 1969), pl. 299c.
- 51 See note to col. pl. IX.
- 52 Heikamp 1980, pp.315-6 and note 34.
- 53 See note to pl. 39.
- 54 My thanks to Bent Jorgensen of the Copenhagen Zoo, who has given valuable proof of this visit based on official documents. On 12 June 1755 King Frederik gave permission to Douwe Mout for the exhibition in Copenhagen. The City Council confirmed this on 16 June, with the rider that 50 thalers should be paid to the poor in lieu of a fee.
- 55 Rookmaaker 1973, p.56.
- 56 See pl. 28b, where the usual engraving has the portrait of Douwe Mout in a rococo frame replaced by the following words: 'Es ist alt worden 21 Jahr in London Crepirt 1758 den 14 April'. Another example is known with a French inscription.

- 57 See note to col. pl. xi.  
58 See note to pl. 43.

CHAPTER 5 (pp.69–78)

- 1 This part of Chapter 5 is based on the detailed article by Jean-Bernard Lacroix, 'L'approvisionnement des ménageries et les transports d'animaux sauvages par la Compagnie des Indes au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, vol. LXV, no. 239 (1978), pp.164–70; supplemented by L. C. Rookmaaker, 'Histoire du rhinocéros de Versailles (1770–93)', *Revue d'Histoire de Science*, vol. 36 (1983), pp.307–18.
- 2 The English East India Company was founded in 1600, the Dutch (known as the VOC) in 1602; and the French in 1664.
- 3 The stables happily escaped damage in the air raids of January 1943.
- 4 Loisel 1912, vol. II, p.114. The plan is still preserved.
- 5 One source affirms that the rhinoceros drowned itself in its pool; another that it was killed by a sabre on '2 vendémiaire de l'an 2 de la République'; see Rookmaaker 1983, *op. cit.* in note 1 above.
- 6 Joseph II (reigned as Emperor, 1765–90), brother of Marie Antoinette, whom he was visiting.
- 7 Rookmaaker 1983, *op. cit.* in note 1 above, fig. 3.
- 8 See R. Saban, 'La dissection au Muséum du Rhinocéros de la Ménagerie de Versailles en 1793, et les "Vélins du Muséum"', *Comptes Rendus 108<sup>e</sup> Congrès National des Sociétés savantes*, 1983, Sciences, fasc. IV, pp.33–40. For the tradition of the *velins*, see Wilfrid Blunt, *The Art of Botanical Illustration* (London, 1950), pp.105–6.
- 9 Part of this chapter was used by Judy Egerton in her catalogue of the Tate Gallery Exhibition, *George Stubbs 1724–1806* (London, 1984–5), pp.124–5.
- 10 Loisel 1912, vol. II, p.17: 'à la fin du siècle, un commerçant d'animaux sauvages, Pidcock [sic], forma un dépôt de bêtes rares à Exeter Change, dans le Strand, . . . c'est là que le public Londonien put voir, en particulier, deux rhinocéros de l'Inde, l'un qui fut exposé en 1770, l'autre en 1799.' The date 1770 is probably a printer's error, for a handwritten 9 could easily be confused with the continental manner of writing the number 7, with a stroke across the oblique line, thus: '7'.
- 11 The Rev. W. Bingley's works included six volumes of travel, a *Musical Biography*, *Useful Knowledge*, *Memoirs of British Quadrupeds*, a *Biography of Celebrated Roman Characters*, etc. One can only imagine that he had a large family to support, for which his stipend was insufficient. The success of Bingley's *Animal Biography* and the demand for books on natural history was such that a fellow ecclesiastic, the Rev. Thomas Smith, produced in 1806 four volumes called *The Naturalist's Cabinet*, in which the account of the Indian rhinoceros is the most flagrant example of parsonic plagiarism ever encountered; not only phrases and sentences, but whole paragraphs have been bodily lifted from the earlier work.
- 12 Two collections of newspaper cuttings and handbills have been used: the Exeter 'Change files in the Enthoven Collection, part of The Theatre Museum at present housed in the

Victoria and Albert Museum in London; and Daniel Lysons's *Collectanea, or a Collection of Advertisements from the Newspapers*, with title pages printed at the Strawberry Hill Press, in the British Library (two further volumes were not available).

- 13 See note to pl. 46.
- 14 Altick 1978, pp.38–9.
- 15 Lysons, vol. II, p.19.
- 16 This and subsequent newspaper extracts are all from the Enthoven Collection; see note 15.
- 17 Altick 1978, p.42.
- 18 Altick 1978, p.307.
- 19 Kindly reported by L. C. Rookmaaker while this book was in proof stage. His source is J. M. Sweet, 'Robert Jameson in London, 1793', *Annals of Science* vol. 19 (1965), pp.91–116, on p.91.
- 20 Other studies of exotic animals drawn from life at Pidcock's menagerie at Exeter 'Change include an antelope, tigers, a leopard and an orang-utan; see Sotheby's, London sale catalogues for 3.1.70, 3.7.70, 16.3.75 and 22.12.77.
- 21 This narrative of live rhinoceroses in Europe could well have been continued to include 'the stupendous Rhinoceros' acquired by Pidcock's successor, S. Polito, in July 1810. This animal's European travels under the aegis of the noted M. Tourniaire rivalled those of the 'Dutch' beast's in the 1740s and 1750s. Details can be found in Rookmaaker 1973, pp.58–9 and in Heikamp 1980, p.319. But, since by the early nineteenth century the rhinoceros's image had been more or less stabilised (it even appeared in 1823 in Rudolph Ackermann's bestselling annual, *The Forget Me Not*) and since the Zoological Society of London purchased a male specimen in 1834, visible to anyone willing to pay the very high entrance fee (£3 was first proposed, reduced to one shilling in 1847 because of falling revenue, with half price on Mondays), there is no compelling need to continue the narrative beyond 1799. See Sally Holloway, *The London Zoo* (London, 1976), pp.4 and 8.

CHAPTER 6 (pp.80–94)

- 1 Götz Pochat, *Der Exotismus während des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Stockholm, 1970), p.173 and note 19; and Lach 1970, pp.100–1, for other tapestries with Indian themes.
- 2 Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532–52), transl. by Peter Le Motteux (1694) book 5, ch. xxx and xxxi, pp.217–25 (OUP World's Classics, 1934).
- 3 Richard Salomon, 'A Trace of Dürer in Rabelais', *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 58 (November 1943), pp.498–501; Lach 1970, p.165.
- 4 Elisa Bonaparte Baciocchi, sister of Napoleon, was appointed Grand Duchess of Tuscany in 1809. The five panels with *The Triumphs of the Gods* were doubtless sent, together with a large Sevres dinner service, to help furnish Palazzo Pitti in a manner fit for a Bonaparte.
- 5 Apart from the standard textbooks, such as Fénaille (1907), R. Joppien's long essay, 'The Dutch vision of Brazil: Johan Maurits and his artists' in *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1606–89: Essays on the Tercentenary of his Death* (The Johan



- Maurits van Nassau Stichting, The Hague 1979), pp.297–376, is essential reading. See also *La Tenture des Anciennes et Nouvelles Indes*, Exhibition Catalogue (Musée des Tapisseries, Aix-en-Provence, 20 June–1 October 1984). But the most complete account of the *Tenture des Indes* tapestries is by P. J. P. Whitehead and M. Boeseman (in press), *A Portrait of 17th Century Dutch Brazil* (Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Amsterdam).
- 6 Madeleine Jarry, 'L'exotisme dans l'art décoratif français au temps de Louis XIV', *Bulletin de la Société d'Étude du XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (1957), pp.39–45.
- 7 The Desportes sketch has been much illustrated. For its history and that of the contents of the studio of Desportes, acquired by the Sèvres factory in 1785, see Tamara Prèaud, *L'Atelier de Desportes à la manufacture de Sèvres*, Exhibition Catalogue (Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, 1982–3), no. 96, p.92.
- 8 The Desportes life-size cartoons of *Les Nouvelles Indes* were dispersed to provincial museums in 1872, in case of further damage to the Garde Meuble after the riots of 1870; hence, the panel of *Le Cheval rayé* is still to be found in the small museum at Guéret (Creuse). See Fénaille 1907.
- 9 See Fénaille 1907, vol. IV, p.55 for list of presents.
- 10 Graf Colloredo's sale of the *tenture* may have been due to his passion for gambling. Sir Charles Hanbury Williams (1708–59), British Envoy in Dresden, has this to say of him in 1753: 'I am sorry to say that Count Colloredo does not love business . . . Colloredo loves play, at which he spends a great deal of time, and at which he loses a great deal of money. He is much beloved at Vienna for the gentleness of his manners and his generous heart have procured him many friends'. See the Earl of Ilchester and Mrs Langford-Brooke, *The Life of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams* (London, 1928), p.277.
- 11 See a neo-classical and almost contemporary rhinoceros by Bergl at Schloss Donauehring c.1770.
- Ceramic Circle*, vol. 7 (1970), pp.200–9; for pill slabs and armorial drug jars see Agnes Lothian, 'Vessels for apothecaries', *The Connoisseur Year Book* (London, 1953) and Louis Lipski and Michael Archer, *Dated English Delftware* (London, 1984), pp.390–2, nos. 675–8.
- 3 J. Pluis, M. van den Akker and H. E. Muller, *Dieren op Tegels* (Lochem, 1974), especially pp.21 and 70–1. Of German tiles with rhinoceroses, the most original are two from the Wrisbergholzen factory, of unusually large size, the subjects taken from Joachim Camerarius's book of emblems, the animals based on the Philippe Galle print of the Madrid rhinoceros of 1586; see Clarke 1976, figs 20–1, and Martin Boyken, *Die Spruchfliesen von Wrisbergholzen* (Hildesheim, 1966).
- 4 Cole 1953, fig. 241, p.354; Clarke 1973, p.12; Anthony Ray, *English Delftware Tiles* (London, 1973), pl. 36; and Clarke 1976, figs 15–16.
- 5 Rainer Rückert, *Meissner Porzellan 1710–1810* (Munich, 1966), p.12.
- 6 S. Ducret, *German Porcelain and Faience* (London, 1962), fig. 48; and C. Troinitzky, *Galerie de porcelaines à l'Ermitage Imperial* (St Petersburg, 1911), fig. 52. The elephant is about 49 cm long.
- 7 Still the fullest account of the Meissen animal sculpture made for the Japanese Palace is Jean Louis Sponcel, *Kabinettstücke der Meissner Porzellan-Manufaktur von Johann Joachim Kaendler* (Leipzig, 1900), pp.3–108.
- 8 See col. pl. xxx in Chapter 10. Also Sponcel, *op. cit.* in note 7, p.68, for the gouache; and for its elephant companion, *Kunstschatze aus Dresden* (Zurich, 1971), catalogue no. 234.
- 9 Sold at Lepke, Berlin, October 1920, lot 198.
- 10 See note to pl. 70.
- 11 T. H. Clarke, 'Das Northumberland Service aus Meissener Porzellan', *Keramos*, vol. 70 (October 1975), pp.17–28.
- 12 See note to pl. 71.
- 13 C. Albiker, *Die Meissner Porzellantiere* shows a white example from the Porzellansammlung, Dresden in both the 1935 and 1959 editions (both Berlin) (figs 202 and 176, respectively).
- 14 See note to col. pl. xix.
- 15 F. J. B. Watson, *Wallace Collection: Furniture* (London, 1956), p.33, quoting earlier articles by Nocq and Verlet.
- 16 See note to col. pl. xx.
- 17 See note to pl. 72.
- 18 F. H. Hofmann, *Frankenthaler Porzellan*, 2 vols (Munich, 1911), vol. II, pl. 124, no. 520. This was exhibited in Munich in 1909 as no. 1566 in *Altes Bayrisches Porzellan*. Could the date 1777 relate to Carl Theodor's succession to the Electorate of Bavaria?
- 19 The entry in the *Inventario de'Modelli* of c. 1780 reads simply: 'Secondo palchetto. No. 22 Un Elefante e un rinoceronte, con forme.' There were seven moulds for the elephant, four only for the rhinoceros. See Claus Lankheit, *Die Modellsammlung der Porzellanmanufaktur Doccia* (Munich, 1982), p.102.

## CHAPTER 7 (pp.95–106)

For a more detailed account of ceramic rhinoceroses, see T. H. Clarke in the journal of the *Keramik-Freunde der Schweiz*, no. 89 (November 1976) – here referred to as Clarke 1976. For permission to use any of this published material I am indebted to Dr Felber, President, and Prof. Rudolf Schnyder, editor.

- 1 'Tin-glazed pottery', an unattractive term, is beginning to oust or supplement the variety of words used by different countries to describe their own particular wares; e.g. maiolica (Italy), faience (France), Fayence (Germany), Delft (Holland), English delft (England). Both Dutch Delft and German fayence were commonly referred to as 'porcelyn' or 'porcelain', not only before the invention of true porcelain at Meissen in 1710, but even as late as 1740 in Frankfurt; see Adolf Feulner, *Frankfurter Fayencen* (Frankfurt, 1938), pp.127–8.
- 2 For English delftware with the arms of the Society of Apothecaries see, for pill slabs (also called pill tiles), L. G. Mathews, 'Apothecary pill tiles', *Transactions of the English*

## CHAPTER 8 (pp. 107–25)

- 1 Small German bronzes are figured by Clarke 1973, as, for example, fig. 9, a pair in the collection of the late Paul Wallraf. A single bronze, possibly Augsburg, late sixteenth century, was exhibited at Harvard University in 1971 as no. 59 in *Auch Kleine Dinge: Dürer and the Decorative Tradition*.
- 2 Lars Olof Larsson, *Adrian de Vries* (Vienna and Munich, 1967), figs 150–2, pp. 26–8; and Ernst Schlee, *Die Ikonographie der Paradiesflüsse, Studien über christliche Denkmäler*, no. 24 (Leipzig, 1937).
- 3 The 'invention' by Paolo Giovio of the Dürer rhinoceros as an emblem for Alessandro de' Medici is mentioned in the *Dialogo dell' Imprese militari et amorose* (Venice, 1556); a work translated into English in 1585 as *The Worthy Tract of Paulus Iovius*; see note 11 to Chapter 1, and pl. 84 and note to it. This Medici emblem was repeated in numerous emblem books of later date, together with the motto in various forms; it helped in the diffusion of the Dürer vision over two centuries. See Lach 1970, p. 167.
- 4 As an example, Cosimo I ordered a statue of his predecessor, Alessandro, to be placed in the Salone dei Cinquecento of the Palazzo Vecchio; and above it was placed a relief of a rhinoceros, gilt all-over, by Baccio Bandinelli (1493–1560).
- 5 See Charles Avery, 'A retreat from reality', *Country Life*, 25 April (1985), fig. 4.
- 6 Fynes Morison, *An Itinerary* (Glasgow, 1907), p. 321; first published 1617.
- 7 Sperlich 1961, pp. 137–45.
- 8 See Vittorio Spinazzola, 'Di un rinoceronte marmoreo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli', *Bollettino d'Arte*, vol. 7 (1913), pp. 143–6; and Paul Eberhard, *Die falsche Göttin* (Heidelberg, 1982), fig. 12; also Lach 1970, p. 166.
- 9 Another English plastic contribution to the iconography of the rhinoceros is to be seen in the neighbouring county of Norfolk, at Blickling Hall. The ceiling of the library has in plaster relief an uncouth beast of about 1620 derived directly from an English emblem book, Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* of 1612 (for which see *Blickling Hall*, National Trust, London, 1970, pp. 7–8; and Clarke 1973, fig. 7 and note 18). Another plaster ceiling rhinoceros, in deep relief and brightly coloured, is in the King's Hall at Skokloster Castle, Sweden (for which see Marcus Binney, 'Skokloster, Sweden', *Country Life*, 17 January (1985), pp. 118–23).
- 10 For Joachim Camerarius, see Chapter 11, notes to pl. 119 and 120.
- 11 Clarke 1974, fig. 14.
- 12 Keysler 1756 (first English edition), p. 75.
- 13 For rhinoceros artefacts at Schloss Ambras, see Scheicher 1979, especially fig. 79 and col. pl., p. 25.
- 14 Keysler (first English edition), vol. 1, p. 29.
- 15 Gian Giacomo de' Medici was created Marquis after the battle of Marignano on 13 September 1513, in which Francis I of France defeated the Milanese and Swiss. It was after returning from this battle that Francis saw the rhinoceros on an island off Marseilles (see p. 19).

- 16 *Jahrbuch des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. VII (1888), p. CIII, no. 4816. Roughly translated from the German, the Markgraf von Marignano had been given in Prague on 28 September 1547 a gold chain made by Blasius von Wolforn, a Prague goldsmith. He was paid 37 gulden 20 kreutzer, plus a tip of 1 G. 15 K for his apprentice for working day and night.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. CCLXIII, fol. 327, no. 5556: 'Johann Jacob marggraf zu Marignan: Ain schwarz halbe geschobne rüstung sambt ainer rundell, mit leder uberzogen, darauf allerlei thier und reimzettl gemalt und vergult.' From the probate valuation of 30 May 1596.
- 18 See note to pl. 97.
- 19 Jakob Schrenck von Notzing, *Augustissimorum imperatorum, serenissimorum regum atque arciducum, illustrissimorum principum ... verissimae imagines, &c. ... descriptiones. Quorum arma ... in Ambrosianae arcis Armamentario ... conspiciuntur* (Innsbruck, J. Agricola, 1601); engraved by Dominic de Coster.
- 20 Described in detail in 'Die Kunstkammer Kaiser Rudolf II in Prag, ein Inventar aus den Jahren 1607–11', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, vol. 72 (1976), item no. 756, pp. 42–3. The same H. Nusser had in 1606 supplied the Emperor Rudolf with a rhinoceros horn beaker, carved as a 'Feldglockchen'; see *ibid.*, no. 19, pp. 4–5.
- 21 I am indebted to Bengt Hermansson of the Kungl. Armémuseum, Stockholm for most of this paragraph. See also Theodor Jacobsson, *Lantmilitär Beväpning och Beklädnad under äldre Vasaliden och Gustav II Adolfs Tid* (Stockholm, 1938), p. 73, fig. 18.
- 22 *Codex 'Artillerie'* (Landesbibliothek, Dresden), Sign. B68, p. 13. Illustrated and discussed by Heinrich Müller, *Deutsche Bronzegeschützrohre, 1460–1750* (Deutscher Militär Verlag, 1968), pp. 52–3.
- 23 H. W. O. F. Neubecker, *Fahnen und Flaggen* (Leipzig, 1939), p. 32.

## CHAPTER 9 (pp. 126–36)

- 1 Paul Hentzner, *Itinerarium Germaniae, Galliae, Angliae, Italiae* (Nuremberg, 1612) and the English translation, *A Journey into England by Paul Hentzner in the year MDXCVIII* (Strawberry Hill Press, 1757). See A. T. Hazen and J. P. Kirby, *A Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press* (London, 1973), pp. x–xi and 31–3.
- 2 For example, two elephant clocks in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, nos. 369–70 in *Katalog der Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe*, vol. II (1960). Also a small herd of elephants in the Munich Exhibition, *Die Welt als Uhr* (1980), nos. 91–3 (in the same exhibition a lion clock from the Swedish Royal Collection had a Dürer animal embossed in copper-gilt on one side of the base, no. 89). See also Klaus Maurice, *Die deutsche Räderuhr* (Munich, 1976), vol. II, figs 285–93.
- 3 On the organisation of the specialised guilds, see F. J. B. Watson, *Furniture, Wallace Collection Catalogue* (London, 1956), pp. lx–lxi; and Svend Eriksen, *Early Neo-classicism in France* (London, 1974), pp. 94–5.

- 4 Eriksen, *ibid.*, p.221.
- 5 For the crowned 'C', see Pierre Verlet in *Apollo*, July (1937), pp.22-3; and F. J. B. Watson, *op. cit.* in note 3, p.33.
- 6 Chiara Briganti, *Curioso itinerario delle collezioni ducali parmensi* (Milan, 1956), is an essential work in tracing the Parma possessions.
- 7 *A Descriptive Catalogue of the several superb and magnificent Pieces of Mechanism and Jewellery exhibited in the Museum at Spring-Gardens, Charing Cross*. The entrance fee was a  $\frac{1}{2}$  guinea. Twenty-three objects were described, introduced by an 'Advertisement' of four pages, from which this paragraph is taken.
- 8 Still the most authoritative account is Clare Le Corbeiller's article, 'James Cox: a biographical review', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 112 (1970), pp.351-8. Also Altick 1978, pp.69-72.
- 9 The glut was perhaps caused, according to the *St James's Chronicle* of 17-19 August 1772, 'by the arrival of a Ship with a very large collection, that was originally designed for the Spring-Gardens Museum, which struck the Chinese with so much Astonishment, that the whole was purchased for the Emperor, and no other was then admired, or would sell.' See Le Corbeiller 1970, *op. cit.* in note 8, p.352, and Harcourt-Smith 1933, pp.15 and 17.
- 10 James Cox, *A descriptive inventory of the several . . . pieces of mechanism and jewellery* (London, 1773). From Le Corbeiller 1970, *op. cit.* in note 8, p.352. The fifty-six items contained only thirteen of those in the 1772 catalogue.
- 11 For Weeks, see Altick 1978, pp.351-2.
- in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. v (Munich, 1967), cols. 1107-1202; Ulla Krempel, *Jan van Kessel D. A., 1626-79, Die Vier Erdteile*, Exhibition Catalogue (Munich, May-September 1973); Honour 1975; and Honour 1976, especially notes on Chapter 4.
- 7 Honour 1975, p.112, for the *tableau vivant* of 1564.
- 8 This unlikely possibility is based on portolans (sailing directions) in an atlas of 1630 made by Giovanni Battista Cavallini for the Grand Duke Ferdinand II de' Medici (ruled 1621-70). The portolans of part of Europe, as well as those of Africa and Asia, are provided with a hornless animal that certainly resembles a rhinoceros in general build, the absence of the horn possibly a reminiscence of the 'Madrid' animal whose horn was alleged to have been cut off (see p.30). Since the compass roses have a pointer in the form of a lily, a Medici device, the explanation for the presence of a rhinoceros in these three Continents is that, as has been often said, this animal was also of Medicean significance as an emblem of the dynasty since the days of Alessandro, murdered in 1537. See Sotheby's Sale Catalogue (15 April 1980), lot 1.D.
- 9 The clock is by Christoph Margraf, active in Prague 1587 to 1620/4 as clockmaker to the Emperor Rudolf, from whose collection it has passed to the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. The Continents derive from engravings after Marten de Vos. See *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlung in Wien* (1963); and *Katalog der Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe*, vol. 11, *Renaissance* (1966), no. 336, pp.86-7.
- 10 Honour 1976, p.89.
- 11 Paolo Carpeggiani, 'Il Crepuscolo dell'Architettura Manierista a Mantovano . . .', *Antichità Viva*, vol. XII, no. 4 (1973), p.66, fig. 22.
- 12 Kathleen M. Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy* (Oxford, 1934), vol. II, appendix E, p.486; Pierre Louis Duchartre, *The Italian Comedy* (London, 1929), pp.76, 93 and 96; and Allardyce Nicoll, *The World of Harlequin* (Cambridge, 1963; paperback 1976), p.98.
- 13 Barlow was also responsible for an allegory of Asia in a book of his prints published by John Bowles of the Black Horse, Cornhill. For a section of this print in the Parsons Collection in Glasgow see Rookmaaker 1978, no. 2.11.
- 14 While a guest of the Venetian Republic in 1708, Frederick IV had acquired, both by gift and purchase, a large quantity of Venetian glass now in Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen: historically of particular value as dating precisely certain types of Venetian glass previously considered to be of earlier date. See Gudmund Boesen, *Venetianske Glas på Rosenborg* (Copenhagen, 1960).
- 15 *Il Museo dell' Opificio delle Pietre Dure a Firenze* (Milan, 1978), pp.319-20.
- 16 Luigi (or Louis) Siriès's descendants remained in charge of the Opificio for a century.
- 17 *Vedute di Firenze* (1744) and *Ville* (1735-40).
- 18 Abbé M. Richard, *Description historique et critique de l'Italie* (Paris, 1770), vol. III, p.89: 'J'ai vu travailler à quatre tableaux d'histoire représentant les quatre parties du monde; ils étoient déjà très-avancés, & les parties finies avoient beaucoup d'éclat. Dans ces tableaux, ce n'est plus l'imitation de la nature, mais celle de la peinture que l'on cherche à rendre avec des matières qui ne s'alterent point, et qui sont très-

## CHAPTER 10 (pp.138-54)

- 1 There is a useful bibliography in Roy Strong's *Splendour at Court* (London, 1973).
- 2 See the *Inventario delle robe della Tribuna, 1589*; a reference for which I thank Tim Llewellyn.
- 3 The full title is: *Le Carousel des Pompes et Magnificences faites en faveur du Mariage de Tres-Chretien Roy Louys XIII avec Anne Infante d'Espagne, le Jeudi, Vendredy, Samedy, 5, 6, 7, d'Avril 1612 en la Place Royale a Paris* (Paris, 1612). The unillustrated book was also published in Italian in Milan in 1612, under the title *Il Theatro Meraviglioso*. See also Strong, *op. cit.* in note 1.
- 4 The full title reads: *Porta Pietatis|or|The Port or Harbour of Piety|Express in sundry Triumphs, Page-ants, and Showes, at the Initiation of the|Right Honourable Sir MAURICE ABBOT|Knight, into the Majoralty of the famous|and farre renowned City London|All the charge and expense of the laborious Projects|both by Water and Land being the sole undertaking|of the Right Worshipful Company of|The Drapers|Written by Thomas Heywood|-Redeunt Spectacula-|Printed at London 1 Octbr. 1638.*
- 5 John Selden, *Table Talk* (1689) edited by Sir Frederick Pollock (London, 1927), p.60.
- 6 On the Continents in general see Clare Le Corbeiller, 'Miss America and her Sisters', *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, vol. XIX-XX (1960), pp.109-223; *The Four Continents from the Collection of James Hazen Hyde* (The Cooper Union Museum, New York, 1961); Erich Köllmann *et al.*, 'Erdteile,

- precieuses.' *Il Museo dell' Opificio delle Pietre Dure a Firenze* (Milan, 1978) p.323.
- 19 The authors of *Il Museo dell' Opificio* (*op cit.* above) have omitted to mention the present whereabouts of the four hardstone Triumphs of the Continents; all are in the Hofburg, Vienna.
- 20 Joannou de Saint Laurent, *Description & explication d'un Camée de Lapis-Lazuli* (Florence, 1747); Dr Lami, *Nouvelles Littéraires*, 19 January and 31 May (1748) and 16 February and 18 June (1754).
- 21 'Inventar der kaiserlichen Weltlichen Schatzkammer in Wien (1750)', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, vol. x p.CCCXVIII.

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CHAPTER 11 (pp.155-62)

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- 1 For Dr Parsons's translation of 1743, see p.20.
- 2 For this mutual antipathy see Shepard 1930, p.218; William S. Heckscher, 'Bernini's elephant and obelisk', *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 29 (September, 1947), p.170; Ettinghausen 1950, pp.78-92; and Cole 1953. Of later writers, Buffon in his *Histoire naturelle* of 1764 tends to sit on the fence, while Capt. Thomas Williamson in his *Oriental Field Sports* of 1807 takes a blimpish attitude in proclaiming that 'the rhinoceros is the inveterate enemy of elephants'.
- 3 'But if the elephant has avoided the attempt of the rhinoceros to get under his belly and has seized it beforehand with his trunk, he easily overcomes it by goring it with its tusks and making use of his superior strength'; Meulen 1963 quoting from Diodorus of Sicily, c.40 BC.
- 4 J. Chardin (1643-1713), *Voyages en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient* (Amsterdam, 1711). He compares the horn of the rhinoceros to a sugarloaf weighing two pounds. Chardin's account of the friendliness of the two animals is echoed by the 1841 issue of that remarkably useful and accurate *Penny Cyclopaedia* where there is a report of the arrival at the Zoological Society of London's premises in Regent's Park in 1834 of the first rhinoceros destined for a modern zoo: 'he [the rhinoceros] contrived to get into the apartment of the old Elephant, but there was no proof of any actual hostility. At present they are the best friends in the world, and it is amusing to see how quiet the Rhinoceros will stand whilst his great friend scrubs his back with his trunk, and occasionally gratifies himself by a sly pull at his tail to make the Rhinoceros turn his head, if his attention is taken off by visitors.'

- 5 See notes to pl. 119 and 120.
- 6 Cole 1953, p.342, remarks that Thevet had seen a live rhinoceros in Cairo in 1544. Also Lach 1977a, pp.302-5, remarking on the enormous bulk of the *Cosmographie*, two folio volumes of over 2000 pages of text. There were thirty-five editions from 1544 to 1628.
- 7 Quoted by Shepard 1930, p.218; see also Lach 1977a, pp.280-1.
- 8 Kindly drawn to my attention by the late Edward Croft-Murray, who has described the room in *Country Life Annual* (1955), pp.174-9; and again in *Decorative Painting in England 1537-1837* (London, 1962), pp.233-4.

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CHAPTER 12 (pp.163-6)

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- 1 'Etlche persianische gemalte stücklein' ('various small Persian paintings') are mentioned, amongst other oriental material, in the 1607-11 inventory of the Emperor Rudolf II's *Kunstammer*; see 'Die Kunstammer Kaiser Rudolfs II in Prag, ein Inventar aus den Jahren 1607-11', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, vol. 72 (1976), item 2680.
- 2 Otto Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt* (London, 1973); and the Robert von Hirsch Collection, Sotheby's London, Sale Catalogue (20 June 1978), lot 38, a portrait of Shah Jahan (with further references).
- 3 See note to pl. 95, Chapter 8.
- 4 *China und Europa*, Exhibition Catalogue (Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, September-November, 1973), A9, for an account of Verbiest.
- 5 A highly argumentative scholar, for whom see note to pl. 128.
- 6 Ettinghausen 1950, p.89.
- 7 See note to pl. 129.
- 8 See note to pl. 130.
- 9 See note to pl. 131.
- 10 Karl H. Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf: Sixteenth Century Physician, Botanist and Traveller* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); based on the original work by Rauwolf written in Suabian dialect in 1582 (*Beschreibung der Raiss inn die Morgenlaender*). The latter was translated into English in editions published in 1693, 1705 and 1738.

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## Notes to the colour plates

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- I Albrecht Dürer, *The Rhinoceros*, drawing in pen and brown ink, inscribed 'Rhinoceros 1515'. 27.4 × 42 cm (British Museum, Sloane Collection)

The date '153' in the inscription at the bottom of the drawing is an inexplicable error.

This drawing is one of ninety by Dürer from the collection of Sir Hans Sloane. These formed a small fraction of Sloane's holdings in the fields of science and art, whose purchase by the British Government in 1753 for £20,000 led to the foundation of the British Museum.

REFERENCES *The Graphic Work of Albrecht Dürer: An Exhibition of Drawings and Prints in Commemoration of the Quincenary of His Birth* (British Museum, 1971), no. 211; and Christopher White, *Dürer, the Artist and his Drawings* (London, 1971), no. 65 (each with further references).

- II Olive-green chiaroscuro woodcut of Dürer's rhinoceros by Willem Janssen, after 1620. 21.1 × 30 cm (British Museum)

In the early seventeenth century Dürer's woodblock was in The Netherlands. It was first used by Hendrik Hondius of The Hague with a Dutch inscription; and later reissued by Willem Janssen of Amsterdam with the addition of a colour block in either olive green, dark green or brown. This not only gave increased bulk to the animal, but also served to conceal the growing crack in the boxwood block across the top of the back legs.

That the Antwerp print by Philippe Galle of 1586 should have been completely ignored proves the invincibility of Dürer's apocalyptic vision. (For the Galle print, see pl. 11.)

REFERENCE Walter Strauss, *Chiaroscuro: The Clair-Obscur Woodcuts by the German and Netherlandish Masters of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* (London, 1973), title-page and no. 2.1.

- III Part of a page from Petrus Candidus (Piercandido Decembrio), *De omnium animalium naturis atque formis*, the manuscript 1460, the illumination c.1600. The page 26.6 × 19.6 cm (Vatican Library, Cod. Urb. Lat 276)

Piercandido Decembrio (1392–1477), humanist, was secretary to the Visconti, King Alfonso of Naples and the Sforzas. This

treatise on natural history was dedicated to Ludovico Gonzaga in 1460. The illuminated miniatures were added about 1600 by an unidentified hand. The direct source of the rhinoceros may well be Enea Vico's engraving of 1548 (see pl. 79), so close is the likeness. The head is slightly shortened, because of lack of space.

REFERENCES S. Killermann, 'Das Tierbuch des Petrus Candidus', *Zoologische Annalen*, vol. 6, Heft 2/3 (1914), pp.113–221, especially pp.216–17; Ernst Ditt, 'Pier. C. Decembris', *Memorie del R. Ist. Lombardo di scienze e lettere*, Cl. di lett. 24, II (1931), p.24; R. Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East', *Warburg Journal* (London, 1942), p.191 *et seq.*; J. W. Einhorn, *Spiritualis unicornis* (Munich, 1976); and Cecile Kruyfhoof, 'Olifanten in de Venationes van Stradanus', *Zoom op Zoo: Antwerp zoo focusing on Arts and Sciences* (Antwerp, 1985), pp.321–57 and col. pls 28–30 for elephants from the same manuscript.

- IV The 'Madrid' rhinoceros, watercolour mixed with white bodycolour, heightened with white bodycolour, on vellum, c.1585–90, Flemish. 39.1 × 27.3 cm (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung, Vienna)

From *Cod. min.* 42 (folio 2r), an album of 170 (or 172) leaves of mostly natural history drawings, assembled in Prague late in the sixteenth century for the Emperor Rudolf II. This volume is almost entirely by German and Flemish artists, many dated between 1530 and 1580, but some earlier. It has an impressive provenance: Rudolf II, the Imperial Treasury, transferred in 1783 to the Kaiserliche Hofbibliothek, when it was described as 'ein in grün pergament gebundener foliant mit verschiedenen illuminirten thieren, vögeln, gewächse, fruchten und blumen, 172 blätter'.

As for the green-stained vellum binding, Otto Pächt (see ref. below) has linked this volume with four richly illuminated manuscripts similarly bound, all with the Imperial eagle; and suggests that they were bound early in the reign of Rudolf II. *Cod. min.* 42 was most likely assembled in Prague; one plant study is inscribed 'in Praha 1579'.

The drawings of the rhinoceros and elephant form, as it were, the title and frontispiece. This only stresses the importance to Rudolf II of these two pachyderms. In particular, it was the less-known rhinoceros that must have appealed to Rudolf, because his collection of carved, turned, jewelled and enamelled rhinoceros horns take pride of place in the inventory of his *Kunstskammer* drawn up in 1607–11; it fills the three opening pages.

Rudolf also owned an oil painting of a rhinoceros, mentioned in an inventory of 1621 as being kept in a vaulted room on the ground floor of Hradschin Castle in Prague. Was this, one wonders, the usual portrait after Dürer or was it after the life, in fact the 'Madrid' animal?

One of Rudolf's court artists, Hans Hoffmann (c.1530–1591/2), also painted a rhinoceros (as well as an elephant); it was in the collection of the noted Nuremberg Praun family as late as 1797, one of 150 drawings, most on vellum, attributed to this artist. It is listed amongst drawings between 1577 and 1585, but itself undated. Again, was this the Dürer animal? Quite likely, since Hoffman was one of the Rudolfine artists involved in the renaissance of Dürer in the last twenty years of the sixteenth century (see Albertina reference below). The Albertina exhibition in 1985 included five drawings from *Cod. min.* 42: three by Ludger Tom Ring the Younger, all flower studies; one by Daniel Fröschel of two woodpeckers, dated 1589; and the fifth attributed to Simon Marmion (see Pächt below).

REFERENCES *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, vol. 16 (1895), p.LVIII, 12658, no. 22 and vol. 25 (1905), p.XLVIII; Franz Unterkircher, *Inventar der illuminierten Handschriften, Inkunabeln und Frühdrucke des Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Vienna, 1959), p.130; Rotraud Bauer and Herbert Haupt, eds, 'Das Kunstskammerinventar Kaiser Rudolf's II, 1607–11', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, vol. 72 (1976), especially pp.4–6; Otto Pächt, 'Simon Marmion myt der handt', *Revue de l'Art*, vol. 46 (1979), pp.7–15; and Fritz Koreny, *Albrecht Dürer und die Tier- und Pflanzenstudien der Renaissance* (Albertina, Vienna, 1985).

- v Miniature of Karl Joseph, son of Maria Theresa, Liotard School, c.1747. Oval, 5.5 × 6.5 cm (Private collection)

The Archduke Karl Joseph (1745–61) was the second son (and seventh child) of the Empress Maria Theresa and Francis I of Lorraine (ruled 1745–65), the favourite and most promising child of the Imperial pair. He is shown, dressed as a girl, as was the custom, with a book in his hands, entitled *Le Rhinoceros* on the left page and with a portrait of the animal from the rear on the right-hand page. This portrait derives from Wandelaar's engraving in Albinus's book on anatomy (see pl. 29), probably via the medium of a broadsheet published by the Homannische Offizin in February 1747.

An attribution to Jean-Etienne Liotard himself (1702–80) cannot be sustained, for Liotard left Vienna in 1744 and did not return until 1762. On the latter occasion he drew portraits of the Imperial family, including one of Karl Joseph who had died the previous year. The miniature here illustrated forms part of a frame of miniatures, many of them by the hand of Liotard himself. It is of interest to note that Liotard in his 1762 posthumous portrait of Karl Joseph uses the same pose as in the 1747 miniature.

REFERENCES Renée Loche and Marcel Roethlisberger, *L'opera*

*completa di Jean-Etienne Liotard* (Milan, 1978); Heikamp 1980, p.312; and *Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit*, Exhibition Catalogue (Vienna, 1980), p.212, 35.05, for the Liotard portrait of 1762.

- vi Johann Elias Ridinger, *The 'Dutch' Rhinoceros Standing*, drawing in lead pencil heightened with white on blue paper, signed and dated 12 June 1748. 28.7 × 44 cm (Private collection, London)

This rather pathetic drawing was etched in reverse by Ridinger himself, and appears to have been in circulation soon after the date of the inscription, which reads: 'Anno 1748 12 Junii habe disen/Rhinoceros allhier in Augsburg nach/dem Leben gezeichnet seine Grösse war/in das Hohe 6. Schuh die Länge 12. Schu./von Farbe ist er meist Castanien braun/unten am bauch und in der Tieffe/seiner Falten Leib und Fleisch farbe gewesen/J. El. Ridinger/hatt ihn von 6. Seiten gezeichnet.'

This and the two drawings by Ridinger in pls. 31 and 32 form part of six possibly made on the same day, 12 June 1748. They formed part of the huge collection of Ridinger material bought in 1830 from the artist's heirs by J. A. G. Weigel. Ridinger also drew two outline portraits in pencil: these have disappeared.

REFERENCES Thienemann 1856, p.280; Clarke 1974, fig. 13; and Clarke 1984, fig. 33.

- vii Neapolitan School, *The Rhinoceros in its Booth near the Castelnuovo*, Naples, oil on canvas, c.1749–50. 52 × 70.5 cm (Collection of the Duke of Wellington)

This unpublished painting in a private English collection has not so far been attributed to any particular artist. Various suggestions have been put forward by Neapolitan scholars. Pietro Fabris (active in Naples 1763–76) is one such choice, but his period of productivity is on the late side. Filippo Falcitore (active 1728–68) is another suggestion; he painted a view of the Largo del Castello filled with a lively scene of street vendors, quacks and others from approximately the same site as the booth in the illustration occupies. But perhaps a third suggestion, Giuseppe Bonito (1707–89), is the more likely. The portrait of a lady shown in the Naples Exhibition of 1979–80 bears a strong stylistic resemblance to the woman on the left talking to an Abbe.

The figure dressed – overdressed – in red on the left is probably that of the influential Marchese Tanucci, later first Minister to Carlo di Borbone. The rhinoceros itself is not drawn from the life, as might appear to be the case, but is an enlargement of one of the many engravings which the showman, Capt. Douwe Mout van der Meer, sold to sightseers (see pl. 27b, c and 28a).

REFERENCE *Civiltà del '700 a Napoli, 1734–99*, Exhibition Catalogue (Naples, December 1979–December 1980), especially vol. 1, pp.210, 238 and 290.

- viii Pietro Longhi, *The Rhinoceros in Venice*, oil on canvas, 1751. 62 × 50 cm (Ca' Rezzonico, Venice, Morosini Collection)

The sheet of paper pinned to the planking of the booth reads in the original: 'Vero Ritratto di un Rinocerotto condotto in Venezia l'anno 1751 fatto per mano di Pietro Longhi per commissione del N. O. Giovanni Grimani dei Servi; Patrisio Veneto.'

Another version in the National Gallery, London, is fully described by Levey (see below). During relining it was found that an inscription recorded that this second version (different mainly in lacking the inscription pinned to the wall of the booth) was painted for another Venetian nobleman, Girolamo Mocenigo.

REFERENCES Terisio Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi, Paintings and Drawings* (London, 1969), p.90, pl. 116; and Michael Levey, *The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Italian Schools* (National Gallery, London, 1971), pp.154-6.

- x Venetian School, *The Rhinoceros in its Booth*, oil on canvas, c.1750-1. 56 × 72 cm (Banca Cattolica del Veneto, Palazzo Leoni Montanari, Vicenza)

PROVENANCE Heirs of the Salom Collection, Segromino Monte.

EXHIBITED *Mostra della pittura italiana del Sei e Settecento in Palazzo Pitti* (Florence, 1922), no. 603; *Il Settecento italiano* (Venice, 1929), no. 27; *Prima Mostra d'arte antica delle raccolte private veneziane* (Venice, 1947), no. 106; Travelling Exhibition *Pietro Longhi: I dipinti di Palazzo Leoni Montanari* (The Italian Institute, London, February 1984).

This very interesting variation on the Pietro Longhi theme has been attributed with varying degrees of emphasis, to Pietro Longhi, to his son Alessandro (1733-1813), to an anonymous Longhi follower and, more recently, to Lorenzo Tiepolo (1736-76). Whoever the artist, the rhinocerotic interest is more definite than the question of attribution. For example, we have one of the few examples of the animal's waggon, with its huge rear wheels. On a wooden shelf below the left window is the horn which was rubbed off in Rome in 1750, and the pinkish tone of the newly sprouted horn looks like a painful wound.

The arena or pen has horizontal planking instead of the vertical of Longhi's Carnival scene at the Ca' Rezzonico in Venice and in London's National Gallery (see col. pl. VIII) The pattern of the pavement with the oblong stones arranged in rectangles divided by narrow strips of a lighter stone may perhaps be indicative of the place where it was painted: possibly not in Venice but in a town of the Veneto on the mainland.

The composition should be compared with the unattributed Neapolitan scene of col. pl. VII. In each case the male figure on the right is probably the owner, Douwe Mout van der Meer. But whereas the Neapolitan painting of the animal is derived from an engraving, the present picture appears to have been drawn from life.

REFERENCES Terisio Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi, Paintings and Drawings* (London, 1969), p.122 and fig. 480; and Vittorio Sgarbi, *Pietro Longhi: I dipinti di Palazzo Leoni Montanari* (Milan, 1982), no. 9, with full references.

Jean-Baptiste Oudry, *Study of the 'Dutch' Rhinoceros*, drawing in black chalk heightened with white on bluish grey paper, 1749-50, signed in ink in the left-hand bottom corner *Oudry fecit*. 27.6 × 44.4 cm (British Museum)

PROVENANCE William Mayor 1875 (collector's mark, Lugt 2799); Sir Edward J. Poynter, Bt (Lugt 874); sold Sotheby's in the Poynter Sale 24-5 April 1918, lot 223 to Colnaghi's for £32; bought by Otto Beit, who presented the drawing to the British Museum in 1918.

Described by Opperman as 'a finished study of the animal, without the landscape, for the painting executed in 1749 and

shown in the Salon of 1750'. See also col. pl. XI and pl. 42.

REFERENCES Jean Loquin, *Catalogue Raisonné de l'Oeuvre de J.-B. Oudry, Archives de l'Art Français, Nouvelle Période*, vol. VI (Paris, 1912); Hal N. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry*, 2 vols (New York and London, 1977), p.785, D751; *J.-B. Oudry 1686-1755*, Exhibition Catalogue (Grand Palais, Paris, 1982) for detailed references; and Clarke 1984, fig. 29.

- XI Dietrich Findorff, *Rhinoceros after Oudry*, reduced, oil on canvas, c.1751-60. 112 × 140 cm (Staatliches Museum, Schwerin; here reproduced thanks to the generous help of Dr Strutz, Director of the Staatliches Museum)

Findorff (1722-72) was a protégé of Christian II Ludwig, Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who sent him as a young man to Dresden to learn his art; the rest of his life was spent in Schwerin. There he copied many of the Oudry paintings acquired by his patron and his patron's son Friedrich, usually in a scale of about one to three. This odd practice turned out to be a wise precaution, particularly in the case of the life-size portrait of the rhinoceros, which has suffered much and today is in poor condition except for the head. It is because of the impossibility of taking a respectable photograph of the original that it has been decided to use as illustration the reduced version by Findorff.

The Oudry original, 310 × 456 cm, was exhibited at the Salon of 1750 as no. 38. The entry in the Salon Catalogue states: 'le Rhinoceros, grand comme nature, sur une toile de 15 pieds de large sur 10 de hauteur. Cet animal a été peint dans sa loge à la Foire de St. Germain: il appartient à l'auteur.' Later in the year the portrait was acquired by the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin for 800 livres.

REFERENCES *Collection des Anciennes Expositions, Salon de 1750*, vol. XV (Paris, 1889), p.17, no. 38; Hal N. Opperman, *Jean-Baptiste Oudry* (New York and London, 1977), p.488 (with earlier references); *J.-B. Oudry 1686-1755*, Exhibition Catalogue (Grand Palais, Paris, 1982), p.183; and Clarke 1984, fig. 30.

- XII George Stubbs, *Rhinoceros*, oil on canvas, 1790-1. 69.9 × 92.7 cm (By permission of the President and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons of England)

Acquired by John Hunter (1728-93), the celebrated surgeon and founder of a museum of comparative anatomy. When Hunter died in debt in 1793, the Hunterian Museum comprised 13,682 specimens; it 'was famed not only in Britain but throughout Europe' (Altick 1978, p.28). The Hunterian Museum was eventually sold to the government for £15,000 and transferred to a new building at the Royal College of Surgeons (founded in 1800 as successor to the Company of Surgeons).

Judy Egerton's catalogue entry for the recent Stubbs exhibition at the Tate Gallery, London (see below) gives a correct summary of our present knowledge. But it may take long for it to be accepted. The most recent booklet on Stubbs, written to coincide with the Stubbs Exhibition (admittedly without knowledge of the new information), states that the animal painted by Stubbs was exhibited all over Europe, so confusing it with the 'Dutch' animal. And, as in every description of the picture, it repeats the date of 1772.

REFERENCES Judy Egerton, *George Stubbs, 1724-1806*, Exhibition Catalogue (Tate Gallery, London, 1984), pp.87-8, with full bibliography.



XIII Large-leaved verdure tapestry, Flemish, probably Grammont, c.1550. 320 × 475 cm (Kronborg Castle, Elsinore)

Woven in tones of dark green and brownish yellow, the contemplative pachyderm ruminates in a jungle setting, although the curly leaves and most of the other foliage, flowers and animals are European. However, there is a further concession to the exotic in some birds and beasts and a medieval touch in the wyvern.

Other tapestries of this type are to be seen in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, in the Fine Arts Museum in San Francisco and elsewhere.

REFERENCES Dario Boccara, *Les Belles Heures de la Tapisserie* (Paris, 1971), p.108; *L'Estampille* (June 1972), pp.48-9; Andre Leth, *Kronborg - A Guide* (1972); and Clarke 1973, fig. 4.

XIV Detail from the Gobelins tapestry, *The Triumph of Mars*, woven by Jans and Lefèvre, c.1695 (Palazzo Pitti, Florence)

The original Brussels series was woven in the atelier of François Geubels (active 1545-85), deriving from grotesques of the school of Raphael. Three Triumphs of Venus, Minerva and Bacchus were shown in Paris in 1695-6; all came from a *tenture* woven in 1570-5 for Pope Gregory XIII. Louis XIV owned seven, four of them bought from ex-King Casimir of Poland in 1673.

REFERENCES Fénaillé 1907, vol. II, pp.222 *et seq.*; Goebel 1928, vol. 1, pp.136-7 and figs 100-1; and *Tapisseries de la Seizième Siècle Européen* (Mobilier National, Paris, 1965-6), p.38.

XV Detail from the Gobelins tapestry, in the set of *Les Nouvelles Indes*, after Desportes (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

A complete *tenture* by François Desportes (1661-1743) was given to the Austrian Emperor, Joseph II, on the occasion of his visit to Paris in 1777; the tapestries had been woven in the atelier of Jacques Neilson. All are still in Vienna. It was on this occasion that the Emperor saw the live rhinoceros at Versailles; but there is no indication that the diplomatic gift was in any way connected.

The Dürer rhinoceros is here depicted more faithfully than was the custom at so late a date; and it even just managed under French patronage to enter the nineteenth century by a short nose, as the final set was begun in 1802.

REFERENCES Fénaillé 1907, vol. IV, pp.40-74; and Goebel 1928, vol. II(1), p.248.

XVI Delft octagonal vase, late seventeenth century. Height 55 cm (Private collection, London)

This massive, heavily potted blue and white vase is unusual in many respects. The double row of lappets on the shoulders have male masks with depressing expressions on the smaller lappets: a rare feature. Also out of the ordinary are the number of exotic animals ridden by orientals, including, of course, a rhinoceros with scales all over except on the ribcage, a camel, a tortoise (on the reverse) and an equestrian figure with banner bearing pseudo-Chinese characters.

The painter might well have been one of the Dutchmen who migrated to the faience factory at Frankfurt, which started work in 1666. Indeed, nearly all the features on this chinoiserie landscape can be matched on Frankfurt pieces: a factory noted for the large size of its vases. The Frankfurt painter called the

'Meister der Elefantritter' (possibly Johann Kaspar Ripp or Rib) was adept at translating subjects from Dutch travel books on China; and it is worth pointing out that an odd-looking spotted animal with bushy tail occurs not only on the back of the present vase but also on a jug firmly attributed to Frankfurt. Excavations already carried out in Frankfurt may help towards a definitive attribution.

The double lambrequins in blue can be found on a Delft vase described as 'colossal' by S. van Eenhorn, noted potter. REFERENCES Adolf Feulner, *Frankfurter Fayencen* (Frankfurt, 1935), especially fig. 170; and Emil Hanover, *Pottery and Porcelain* (London, 1925), vol. I, fig. 266.

XVII Sinceny faience table top, c.1748-50. 44.5 × 56.5 cm (Private collection, London)

This table top or plateau, with its so-called 'Kashmiri' border, is not only a faience rarity but also one of the most imaginative reconstructions of the Dürer rhinoceros. The animal is derived either from André Thevet's *La Cosmographie universelle* (Paris, 1575) (see pl. 121) or from Ambroise Paré's *Les Oeuvres* (Paris, 1579) or *Discours . . . de la Momie* (Paris, 1582). The latter plagiarises the former; as did Michael Bernard Valentini in his *Museum Museorum* (Frankfurt, 1714). The chinaman with drawn sword is clearly unaware of the risks of retromingency, as described by Dr James Parsons (see note 23, Chapter 3).

The opaque egg-yellow is a typical colour of this factory, which had been officially given a licence in 1737. Its owner was Jean-Baptiste de Fayard, whose presumed initial 'F' together with 'Si' for Sinceny can be seen in pseudo-Chinese characters below the plump Chinaman's belt: a hitherto unrecorded mark. Many of the early painters came from Rouen. Somewhat similar subject matter can be seen on the tureen in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and on a plaque in the Musée National de Céramique at Sèvres.

The date c.1749 has been suggested on the grounds that this rhinocerotid subject was likely to have been in fashion while the 'Dutch' rhinoceros was approaching Paris in January 1749. REFERENCES Doctor Chompret, Jean Bloch, Jacques Guérin and Paul Alfassa, *Répertoire de la faience française* (Paris, 1933-5); Arthur Lane, *French Faience* (London, 1948), fig. 30B; Jeanne Giacomotti, *French Faience* (London, 1963), p.84; Chantal Soudée-Lacombe, 'Grande Époque des Faïences de Sinceny', *Cahiers de la Céramique*, Paris, vol. 36 (1964); and *Faïences françaises XVI-XVIII siècles*, Exhibition Catalogue (Grand Palais, Paris, 1980).

XVIII Watercolour drawing of the centrepiece in the Northumberland Service of Meissen porcelain, c.1750 (Collection of the Duke of Northumberland)

This drawing is one of many, apparently executed in Germany, of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams's Meissen dinner service of which the main part is now preserved at Alnwick Castle, and known as the Northumberland Service. Since the German inscriptions contain, besides the name of the shape, its cost expressed in thalers, it would seem that this and other drawings as well as a descriptive list in English were intended to tempt an English buyer. Indeed, in a letter to Henry Fox, Williams in February 1748 suggested that the Prince of Wales might be interested.

REFERENCES The Earl of Ilchester, 'A notable service of Meissen porcelain', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. LV (1929), pp.188-



90; Clarke 1973, p.2; Clarke 1975, figs 8, 11 and 14a-c; Clarke 1976, figs 7-8; *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, Exhibition Catalogue (National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, November 1985-March 1986), no. 389; and *Country Life*, 24 October (1985), pp. 1178-80.

- XIX Meissen pagoda figure and rhinoceros mounted in Louis xv ormolu; the ormolu and animal c.1750, the figure c.1735. Length 34 cm; rhinoceros height 10.5 cm, length 17.5 cm (Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt)

The Meissen Chinaman or 'pagoda' figure dates from a decade or more earlier than the first Meissen rhinoceros to have some semblance of being modelled from life. The 'Dutch' rhinoceros was in Dresden in April 1747, and probably continued on its way to Leipzig via Meissen; it may have been seen by J. J. Kaendler in one of these places and, if so, doubtless sketched by him. It became abundantly clear that J. G. Kirchner's massive baroque figure of the early thirties was hopelessly out of date, and, further, was not available to the public, whose interest in smaller porcelain figures had been aroused by the masterpieces of Kaendler: his figures from the *commedia dell'arte*, the so-called 'crinoline' groups, etc.

The result of Kaendler's effort is at first sight a little disappointing. He has relied too much on the spate of engravings at the expense of his own creative gifts. But his model had much to do with the gradual elimination of the Dürer image because of its adoption in bronze (see Chapter 8, pl. 85).

The mould or model number of this small-sized figure is 1692, equivalent to a date of about 1748. This alone is enough to prove that the Frankfurt ormolu group has been wrongly dated to 1735-40; further, the style of the ormolu is that of mid-century French rococo. It can be fairly accurately dated in that there is no mark of the 'crowned C' on the ormolu. This mark was cancelled on 4 February 1749, the day before the 'Dutch' animal reached Paris from Versailles. This agreeable chinoiserie can be appreciated as a further example of the rhinomania which swept Paris in 1749.

REFERENCES Carl Albiker, *Die Meissner Porzellantiere* (Berlin, 1935), no. 202 (revised ed. 1959, no. 170); *Figürliche Keramik aus zwei Jahrtausenden* (Frankfurt, 1963-4), no. 75; *Ausgewählte Werke des 18. Jahrhunderts aus dem Museum für Kunsthandwerk* (Frankfurt, 1971), p.28; Clarke 1974, fig. 20; and Clarke 1976, figs 36-41.

- XX J. J. Kaendler, *A Turk riding a Rhinoceros*, Meissen porcelain c.1752. Height 24.4 cm (Historisches Museum, Bern, Dr Albert Kocher Bequest)

The animal is an enlarged version of that shown in col. pl. XIX. The realistic overlapping folds of skin are painted over as though they did not exist with a stylised rendering of the Dürer tradition; the factory painter could not admit to himself that the revered Dürer could possibly have been wrong in his woodcut of 1515. Note that the painting is very close to that on the smaller version of col. pl. XIX. The model number is 1692, so the group is dateable to about 1752; the year in which its pair, an elephant with a Sultan indolently seated on its back, was sold to the Duc de Beauvillers by the Parisian dealer, Lazare Duvaux.

A good example of the pair of pachyderms, now treated as turqueries rather than chinoiseries, is in Schloss Wilhelmsthal, near Cassel. The group here illustrated is mistakenly dated 1741-3.

There is in the Untermeyer Collection in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, a reduced copy of this group with the mark of the Ludwigsburg factory, to which it has been attributed; but doubt has been cast on its authenticity, because, among other reasons, Ludwigsburg virtually never copied Meissen so exactly. It preferred its own models.

REFERENCES Yvonne Hackenbroch, *The Irwin Untermeyer Collection: Meissen and other Continental Porcelain* (London, 1956), fig. 193, pl. 126; Robert L. Wyss, *Porzellan: Meisterwerke aus der Sammlung Kocher* (Bern 1965), p.88; Clarke 1974, fig. 20; Clarke 1976, figs 44-5; and Rainer Rückert and Johann Willsberger, *Meissen Porzellan des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna-Munich-Zurich-Innsbruck, 1977), fig. 121.

- XXI The Dürer rhinoceros as a collage of shells, German, seventeenth century. 25.7 x 44.5 cm (Graf von Schönborn, Schloss Pommersfelden (or Schloss Weissenstein), near Bamberg)

The body is formed of a section of tortoiseshell in the centre, with a few mineral fragments, the mouth of coral and the rest of a variety of shells. The latter include *Achatina*, *Chlamys*, *Bursa*, *Nerita*, *Astraea*, *Lioconcha* and an operculum of a turbinid (for which information I have to thank Dr Peter Whitehead of The British Museum (Natural History)).

It is not easy to date at all precisely this triumph of shell-work, but it must be anterior at least to the earliest mention in an inventory of 1732. It was probably removed from an early Schönborn *Kunstammer*, removed to Pommersfelden from another of the family's numerous properties by the Elector Lothar Franz on its completion in 1718. It could even be of late sixteenth century date.

Described in the 1732 Inventory as follows: 'Nr. 15 Sr. Hochfürstl. gnaden Schlafzimmer . . . Ein Muschel Cantor von schwarz ebenholtz worauf in einem verglasten Casten ein Rhinoceros von Muschel formiret nebst etlichen Meer Muscheln und Mineralblühe besetzt . . .' Both cabinet and shell picture remain in the same room.

REFERENCES *Aufgang der Neuzeit* (Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg, 1952), no. P16; *Dürer Renaissance* (Munich, 1971), cat. no. 11; *Bayern - Kunst und Kultur* (Munich, 1972), cat. no. 803; Clarke 1973, fig. 8.

- XXII Goblet of nautilus shell, silver and rhinoceros horn, Vienna, 1691. Height 45 cm (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe)

By an unidentified Vienna maker signing 'I.E.G.'. This is one of the few baroque goblets with rhinoceros horn content (in this case the Dürer animal on the lip of the nautilus shell) to have a precise date.

The fashion for elaborate Mannerist and baroque show-pieces of the exotic and rather untractable material of rhinoceros horn lasted from about 1580 to well into the eighteenth century. Some dozens of such objects are listed in the 1750 Inventory of the *Schatzkammer* of the Habsburgs.

This goblet was one of the thousands of works of art looted by Napoleon's armies and put on display in Paris. In a catalogue of the Musée Napoleon of 1807 this booty 'conquis par la Grande Armée, dans les années 1806 et 1807' is listed in some detail. Under the heading 'Curiosités', there is the following entry: '702. Corne de Rhinocéros 2. Nègre, portant une matrice de perles'. Happily this object was returned to Vienna.

REFERENCES *Curiositäten und Inventionen aus Kunst- und Rüst-kammer*, Exhibition Catalogue (Vienna, 1978) p.58 and fig. 14; and *Dürer's Verwandlung in der Skulptur zwischen Renaissance und Barock*, Exhibition Catalogue (Liebighaus, Frankfurt am Main, 1981), no. 31.

XXIII Johann Melchior Dinglinger, *The Goblet with the Moorish Girl*, Dresden, 1700–9. Height 37 cm (Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden)

Dinglinger (1664–1737) himself described this sumptuous goblet of rhinoceros horn, gold, enamel and jewels in 1717 as 'A beautiful goblet, very artfully carved out of a single piece, with the stem as a Moorish girl holding a shell on her head'. Although named a Moorish girl, she has European features, and is dusky merely because of the material. There is some controversy over the sculptor of the rhinoceros horn. Erna von Watzdorf in 1962 attributed it to an earlier, seventeenth-century hand, whilst Siegfried Asche connects it with a member of the team of sculptors working on the Zwinger, Thomae, who is known to have played some part in helping to design early Meissen figures.

REFERENCES Erna von Watzdorf, *Johann Melchior Dinglinger* (Berlin, 1962); Siegfried Asche, *Balthasar Permoser* (Frankfurt, 1966); *Kunstschätze aus Dresden*, Exhibition Catalogue (Kunsthhaus, Zurich, 1971), no. 41, p.199; J. J. Menzhausen, *Das Grüne Gewölbe* (Dresden, 1976), fig. 90; and *The Splendor of Dresden: Five Centuries of Collecting*, Exhibition Catalogue (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1978), no. 287.

XXIV Louis xv bronze and ormolu 'Dürer' rhinoceros clock, c.1749. Height 49.5 cm (Sotheby's, New York)

This early version of a French rhinoceros clock has been attributed by M. Augarde to Jean-Joseph Saint-Germain, on the evidence of an inventory made after the death of the *fondeur's* first wife and dated 14 December 1747: 'Item deux pendules à rhinoceros l'une pour model et l'autre finie prises la somme de cent quarante livres'. In 1747 the mark of the 'C' *couronnée* was obligatory, but, since the decree was rescinded on 4 February 1749 and the present example lacks the mark, its date must be subsequent, and so perhaps one of the last of this model, and succeeded by Saint-Germain's second model (see col. pl. xxv) which has no trace of Dürer.

The enamel dial is signed *Lepaute H. du Roy à Paris*. There is no musical base, as in so many of this genre. The putto crowning the dial holds a sun in one hand, instead of the usual bow.

Further examples of this model are:

(1) *Gudin à Paris*, with scarlet vernis Martin *boîte-à-musique*. The putto holds a bow. The ormolu has the 'C' *couronnée* mark. Formerly M. Bisset, Paris.

(2) *Gudin à Paris*, plentifully stamped with the poinçon of the crowned 'C', even on the brown patinated animal, c.1747–9. Christie's, London.

(3) *Et. Le Noir à Paris*. The animal gilt, the putto missing, c.1747–9. Sotheby's, London, 23 November 1956.

REFERENCES Clarke 1973, fig. 16; Christie's Sale Catalogue, London (6 July 1978); and Sotheby's New York (4 May 1984), lot 28.

XXV Louis xv bronze and ormolu clock, the ormolu by Saint-Germain, signed S. Germain, the dial signed Viger à Paris, c.1749–52. Height 58.5 cm (Alexander and Berendt Ltd, London)

EXHIBITED Somerset House Art Treasures, 1979, F.74.

Although lacking the musical base with carillon (an optional extra, also absent from Marie-Antoinette's two rhinoceros clocks), perhaps even because of this lack, this example of the second rhinoceros model is very effective with the fine chiselling of the rococo base by Jean-Joseph Saint-Germain (signed at the back S. GERMAIN) contrasting with the dark lacquered animal.

All the clocks with the model of the rhinoceros with head raised and jaws open, whether signed or not by Saint-Germain, have a double foot in the centre of the ormolu base; one cast as a shell, the other as rockwork. Each too has an allegory of America as finial – a young boy clothed as a Red Indian with feathered head-dress and a bow in his right hand (often missing). The rims of the dials also differ from the earlier model of col. pl. xxiv (p.129) by having a simple moulding instead of reeding clasped by acanthus foliage.

Other examples recorded include:

(1) *Gille Lâiné à Paris*, with carillon musical base. Signed Saint-Germain, on green-stained horn carillon base. Height 92 cm. From the Comte de Beaussier (Hotel Drouot, Paris, 7–9 May 1919, lot 177) and the Florence J. Gould Collections (Sotheby's, Monaco, 25 June 1984, lot 704).

(2) *Viger à Paris, pendule à rhinoceros*, Grog Collection, Louvre, Paris since 1973 (from Brook House Collection, London, 25 May 1932, lot 712). Musical base in tortoiseshell, patina of animal dark. Signed S. Germain at the back of the foot mount.

(3) *Louis Montjoye à Paris*. Signed by Saint-Germain, the rhinoceros gilt, perhaps at a later date; carillon base veneered wood. Sale, Palais Galliera, Paris, 26 November 1975, lot 83. Alténor Patiño Collection.

(4) *Julien Jolie à Paris*. No music, dark patina; dial with more elaborate ormolu foliage than normal; signed St. Germain. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

(5) *Noel Baltazar à Paris*. Almost black patina; green-stained ivory *boîte-à-musique* (personal communication from M. Bisset).

REFERENCES Clarke 1974, fig. 12; P. K. Kjellberg, 'La Collection Grog, 6. Les bronzes dorés', *Connaissances des Arts*, April (1974); *Cinq années d'enrichissement du Patrimoine national, 1975–80*, Exhibition Catalogue (Grand Palais, Paris, 15 November 1980–2 March 1981), no. 98; and *Succession de Florence J. Gould*, Sale Catalogue (Sotheby's, Monaco, 25 June 1984), lot 704 (with M. Dominique Augarde's contribution).

XXVI Frankenthal porcelain clock-case, c.1770–80. Height 46 cm (Residenz, Munich)

This is the only eighteenth-century example known to have survived; and then only because it appears to have been the personal property of the Elector Palatine, whom we have met before admiring the animal in Mannheim in 1747 (see p.52). The clock was for long kept in the Electoral Schloss in Bamberg, before being brought to Munich. A price list of 1777 mentions both a rhinoceros alone, and another as an 'Uhrgehaus' costing 33 florins. The sculptor is said to be P. A. von Verschaffelt.

That Carl Theodor should have waited nearly thirty years after first seeing the live animal, before it was immortalised in his own porcelain factory, is a mystery. Evidently it was

a favourite animal with the Wittelsbach dynasty, for a coloured and inscribed example (*Im allerhöchsten Auftrag S. M. K. Ludwig III von Bayern*) was made during the First World War from the Frankenthal moulds which had been acquired by the Nymphenburg factory. This clock was sold at auction by Ruef, Munich on 14 November 1919, lot 667.

REFERENCES *Altes Bayrisches Porzellan*, Exhibition Catalogue (Munich, 1909), nos. 1556 and 955, pl. 11; F. H. Hofmann, *Frankenthaler Porzellan* (Munich, 1911), vol. II, pl. 124, no. 520 and pl. 191, no. 749; Emil Heuser, *Porzellan von Strassburg und Frankenthal im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Neustadt an der Haardt, 1922), p. 188; and F. H. Hofmann, *Das Porzellan* (Berlin, 1932), fig. 273.

XXVII James Cox musical table clock for the Chinese market, c. 1765–70. Height about 61 cm (Palace Museum, Peking (Beijing))

One of a pair, in agate, gilt-metal, enamel and paste jewels, this clock by James Cox (d. 1788) is admirably described by Simon Harcourt-Smith (see below). The *escritoire* contains a *nécessaire* with small perfume bottles, whilst a chinoiserie automaton is concealed in the lower part. The diverse themes of decoration – *commedia dell'arte* figures in enamel, chinoiserie gilt-metal figures and a touch of zoology – combine to produce an English rococo object ideally conceived for export. This clock was probably first intended for the Turkish market, for it is surmounted by the star and crescent, an Ottoman symbol.

Harcourt-Smith also describes three other clocks from the Palace Museum in Peking. One is a musical clock about two feet high with a key dated 1767. Here the animal is the main motif, standing on a wooden pedestal covered in pink velvet. The second pair, with a key dated 1771, again has the rhinoceros as its principal component, with a howdah and a grotto with coral branches. A pagoda and many trembling urns filled with paste flowers add to the gaiety of the pair. The Palace Museum did, and probably still does, house a number of other clocks, at least one of rhinocerotid interest (Harcourt-Smith, p. 5).

Another clock with a wealth of Cox-ian quirks was catalogued as Augsburg, early eighteenth century, when sold by Graupe, Berlin, as part of the collection of Ernst, Graf zu Rantzau (Berlin, 1936, lot 514); but the Dürer rhinoceroses acting as feet, joined by floral garlands in gilt-metal, betray its English origin – an unsigned work by James Cox.

REFERENCES Harcourt-Smith 1933, no. 91; and Otto Kurz, *European Clocks and Watches in the Near East* (Warburg Institute, London, 1975), p. 99.

XXVIII *The Marriage Procession of Katharina Paysberg*, a page from a book on the festivities printed by Hans Bauer and engraved and illuminated by Sigmund Elsässer, Innsbruck, 1580. 32.6 × 43.2 cm (Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck)

This record of the festivities arranged to celebrate the marriage of Johann von Kolowrat to Katharina von Paysberg, is mentioned in the posthumous inventory of the Archduke Ferdinand II in 1586. The Archduke himself took part in a *tableau vivant* as Jupiter in a chariot drawn by eagles. Other entertainments included theatrical performances and tournaments.

Sigmund Elsässer (d. 1587) was appointed court painter in 1587. Another parchment leaf from this book showing a realistic elephant ridden by Chronos is illustrated by Elisabeth

Scheicher (see below). The rider of the rhinoceros is comfortably seated on the dummy, supported by a green bolster. The animal, with its multiple beard, is attended by two blackmoors with conical hats, rather like those worn by the dervishes of Konya, and anticipating those in the pageant of Augustus the Strong in Dresden in 1709 (see col. pl. xxx).

I thank Dr Scheicher for calling my attention to this marriage procession.

REFERENCES Elisabeth Scheicher, *Die Kunstkammer: Sammlungen Schloss Ambras* (Innsbruck, 1977), no. 195; and Scheicher 1979, pp. 106 and 108.

XXIX Jan van Kessel (the Elder), *An Allegory of Africa*, with Ceuta in the background, oil on copper, 1664–6. 14.5 × 21 cm (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich)

Ulla Krempel, in her detailed account of the four allegories, has suggested that the model for the rhinoceros comes not direct from one of the many issues of the woodcut by Dürer but rather from a particular issue of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographiae* of 1628: unlikely in view of the distinct flower-like marking above the animal's ribcage present in the original woodcut but not in Münster. Another version of this copper plaque with rhinoceroses and a view of Ceuta is in the Prado, signed and dated 1660.

For the rhinoceros fight in the left background, see Chapter 11, p. 158. An exceptional painting by van Kessel of Africa, again as a *Kunstkammer*, is signed and dated 1673; exceptional as to size (108.5 × 148 cm) and as to a new version of the elephant/rhinoceros fight in the background. Both pachyderms are mounted, the rhinoceros with a saddlecloth shaped like the pleats of skin in the Philippe Galle engraving of 1586 (pl. 11).

REFERENCES Meulen 1963, no. 71; Ulla Krempel, *Jan van Kessel D.A., 1626–79, Die Vier Erdteile*, Exhibition Catalogue (Munich, May–September 1973); and Honour 1975, no. 109 (America).

XXX Detail from *An Allegory of Africa in a Carousel of Augustus the Strong*, gouache, Dresden 1709. 59 × 91.8 cm (Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden)

On his way home from a journey to Italy, King Frederick IV of Denmark (ruled 1699–1730) was entertained for political and social reasons to a month of festivities. These began with animal fights on 1 June, followed on the 6th, by a ladies' jousting tournament, with fireworks on the River Elbe the same evening. On 10 June there was a foot tournament and on the 19th, the climax of the festivities, a Carousel of the Four Continents (*Karussellrennen der vier Weltteile*) in which Augustus the Strong (who had planned all the details) himself took part, as *Mohrenkönig* (King of the Moors) – incidentally winning the jewelled prize. In his procession there were two white elephants, two rhinoceroses and four ostriches.

Large gouache drawings of the principal episodes by the two artist's Johann Samuel Mock (1687–1737) and Johann Gottlob Schoene (d. after 1745), still exist in the Kupferstichkabinett in Dresden. It is uncertain which of the two painted in gouache this group of the dummy rhinoceros with its attendants is. It gives a vivid idea of the exotic luxury of such processions.

REFERENCES Jean Louis Sponsel, *Der Zwinger, die Hoffeste and die Schloss Baupläne zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1924); reprint Leipzig 1971, p. 86; Erna von Watzdorf, *Johann Melchior Dinglinger* (Berlin, 1962), pp. 93–6; *Kunstschätze aus Dresden*, Exhibition Catalogue (Kunsthau, Zurich, May–September

1971), especially nos. 230-7; Clarke 1973, fig. 10; Clarke 1976, fig. 2; *The Splendor of Dresden: Five Centuries of Collecting*, Exhibition Catalogue (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, 1978), especially nos. 205-7; and *Schallaburg '84. Barock und Klassik: Kunstzentren des 18. Jahrhunderts in der DDR*, Exhibition Catalogue (May-October 1984), especially p.26 and I 38.

xxxI *An Allegory of America*, a Florentine plaque in *pietra dura* after a painting by Giuseppe Zocchi, c.1760. c.40 × 54 cm (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

The Florentine hardstone museum (Il Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure) still owns sixty-seven paintings by Giuseppe Zocchi, all models for hardstone plaques, created from 1750 to 1765. Of these, sixty were converted into *pietra dura* plaques to the order of Francis I of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany and Emperor of Austria; fifty-eight of these are still in existence. They were ordered for a single room in the Kaiserhaus in Valnerstrasse, Vienna and transferred thence to the Hofburg in 1791. The Allegories of the Continents are still in the Hofburg.

Zocchi seems to have been much influenced by traditional Florentine theatre settings of the early seventeenth century in his composition of the allegory of America; Parigi's settings for *Il Giudizio di Paride* of 1608, etched by Cantagallina (see pl. 109) is an example.

The popularity of Florentine *commessi della pietra dura* was not confined to Europe. Although John Evelyn records his purchase of small plaques to be fitted into a cabinet in 1644 (he bought from Domenico Benotti nineteen pieces 'for a cabinet', now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London), it is recorded that the Dutch mission to Peking of 1655 included among their gifts to the Empress 'Two Italian Tables of White Marble, inlaid with Pictures of divers Colours', with similar gifts to the Emperor and the Empress Mother. Among these there may have been portraits of a rhinoceros, such, for example, as can be seen on a *pietra dura* cabinet at Beloeil in Belgium, or one valued at 30 livres in the Inventory of Madame de Pompadour: 'Un rhinocéros fait de pièce de raport

sur une plaque de pierre de Florence arborisée dans sa bordure dorée.'

REFERENCES J. Cordey, *Inventaire des biens de Madame de Pompadour* (Paris, 1939), p.83; and *Il Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure* (Milan, 1978), pp.319-20 and no. 512, fig. 450.

xxxII Indian miniature of a rhinoceros, gouache, Deccan School, c.1750 after an engraving of 1743 by Dr James Parsons. 22.2 × 31.5 cm (Jacques Soustiel, Paris)

At first glance few authorities would doubt that this black beast, standing in profile to dexter between a mango tree and date(?) palm, was a study from life by an Indian artist of an Indian animal. In fact, its source was drawn from the life, but in London in 1739, and by an Englishman, James Parsons (1705-70), then 'scientific assistant and anatomical draughtsman' to Dr James Douglas (1675-1742) (Chapter 3 gives details of the rhinoceros which arrived in London in 1739).

Parsons made several drawings of this second London rhinoceros, most in red chalk (see pls 22 and 23). In 1743, after the death of Douglas, he illustrated his paper read to and printed by the Royal Society with three engravings, of which one was most likely that copied by the Indian artist; although it is possible that the large engraving or poster of pl. 24 might have reached India earlier. This profile portrait was much copied in Europe.

The use of European prints by artists of the Moghul period was standard practice; but it is rare to find the custom surviving to so late a period. In the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Indian artists produced a large number of sets of drawings of natural history for the English. In these drawings the rhinoceros was certainly depicted from life, often in embarrassing detail. These were sent or brought back to England, so furthering the knowledge of the true appearance of the animal.

REFERENCES Jean Soustiel and Marie-Christine David, *Miniatures Orientales de l'Inde*, Exhibition Catalogue (Paris, May 1973), no. 59 (with much further information on Indian miniatures of the rhinoceros); and Rookmaaker 1978.

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## Notes to the black and white illustrations

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- 1 Stone rhinoceros, Tower of Belem, near Lisbon, Portugal, c.1517 (Photograph courtesy of the Portuguese Government)  
The work of Francisco de Aruda, the Manueline tower has been likened by dos Santos to a ship anchored at sea, spiritually defended by the crosses and armillary spheres of the Portuguese Order of Christ  
REFERENCES Reynaldo dos Santos, *O Estilla Menuelino* (Lisbon, 1952); and S. Sitwell, *Monks, Nuns and Monasteries* (London, 1965), p.143.
- 2 Albrecht Dürer, *The Rhinoceros*, woodcut, 1515.  
21.4 × 29.8 cm (British Museum)  
The first of at least eight editions, but the only one to be published during the artist's lifetime.  
Compared with col. pl. 1, the animal is rather squatter, the dorsal horn larger. It has been pointed out that the size of the boxwood block was too small to allow for the completion of the tail and for the lack of adequate space between the nasal horn and the line border.  
For references see under col. pl. 1.
- 3 Albrecht Dürer, *Visor for a Jousting Helm*, drawing in pen and brown ink, c.1515. 19.4 × 27.5 cm (Albertina, Vienna)  
Signed and dated 1517 by a later hand, this drawing is now dated to c.1515, and so is contemporary with the woodcut. It is one of five drawings believed to have been commissioned from the Augsburg armourer, Kolomon Colman, for armour ordered by the Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519); or the group of drawings may have been made for Dürer's 'own amusement' (see Norman, below).  
REFERENCES Christopher White, *Dürer, the Artist and His Drawings* (London, 1971), no. 69; and A. V. B. Norman, 'Albrecht Dürer: armour and weapons', *Apollo*, vol. xciv (1971), pp.36–9.
- 4 Engraving from Albrecht Herport, *Neue Ost-Indianische Reisebeschreibung*, Bern, 1669 (British Library)  
REFERENCE Rowland Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope 1652–1702* (Cape Town, 1971), vol. 1, p. 54.
- 5 François Leguat, *Voyage et aventures . . . en deux isles desertes des Indes orientales*, London, 1708 (British Library)  
These variations on a theme are consistent with Leguat's extraordinary travels. They were 'borrowed' by Michael Bernard Valentini for the second edition of his *Museum Museorum* (Frankfurt, 1714).  
REFERENCES Cole 1953, fig. 19 and p.350; and Rookmaaker 1978, p.21.
- 6 Giovanni Giacomo Penni, title page of *Forma e natura e costumi de lo Rinocerothe stato condotto im Portogallo dal Capitanio de larmata del Re e altre belle cose condutte dalle insule novamente trovate*, Rome, 13 July 1515 (Biblioteca Colombina, Seville)  
The only surviving copy of this pamphlet, it was bought in Rome in November 1515 by Christopher Columbus's son, Fernando, a noted bibliophile.  
REFERENCE Luis de Matos, 'Forma e natura e costumi del rinoceronte', *Boletim Internacional de Bibliografia Luso-Brasiliera*, vol. 1 (1960), pp.387–98.
- 7 Hans Burgkmair, *Rhinoceros*, woodcut, 1515. 21.4 × 31.7 cm (Albertina, Vienna)  
Preserved in this single example, Burgkmair's portrait lacks the fantasy of Dürer. The beast is depicted more naturalistically. Its forelegs are hobbled, as they are too in Penni (pl. 6) and in the Maximilian prayerbook (pl. 8).  
REFERENCE *Hans Burgkmair: das graphische Werk*, Exhibition Catalogue (Augsburg, 1913), no. 87 (with further references).
- 8 Detail from the Emperor Maximilian's prayerbook, drawing in red ink, c.1520 (Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon)  
REFERENCES E. Chmelenz, 'Das Diurnale oder Gebetbuch des Kaiser Maximilians I', *Vienna Jahrbuch*, vol. III (1885), pp.95–128; Campbell Dodgson 1938, p.55; and Lach 1970, pp.164–5.
- 9 Francesco Granacci, detail from *Joseph and his Brethren in Egypt*, oil on wood, c.1517. 95 × 224 cm (Uffizi, Florence)  
One of several paintings commissioned by Pier Francesco Borgherini on the occasion of his marriage to Margherita

Acciaiuolo, and among those bought by Grand Duke Francesco in 1584. The likely source of Granacci's rhinoceros is arguable: it might have been based on yet another drawing sent from Portugal, or – if it really existed – it might have been related to the drowned and subsequently stuffed rhinoceros of 1516, which some authorities believe may yet be found in the vast hidden areas of the Vatican.

REFERENCE Christian von Holst, *Francesco Granacci* (Rome, 1974), cat. no. 25, pp. 143–5.

- 10 *The Creation of the Animals*, detail from Raphael's Loggia in the Vatican, c. 1519  
REFERENCE Nicole Dacos, *Le Logge di Raffaello* (Rome, 1973), pl. xib.

- 11 Philippe Galle, *Rhinoceros*, engraving, Antwerp 1586. 20.5 × 27 cm (Private collection)

The earliest mention of the Galle print is contained in an account of *Le Cabinet de la Bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève* (Paris, 1692), written by the curator, Claude du Molinet. Though Dürer is not mentioned by name, the author discards the generally accepted likeness of the rhinoceros as used by the sixteenth-century natural historians in favour of a print in his library by Philippe Galle; he then gives a précis of the text.

The engraving is now very rare. It is not in F. W. H. Holstein, *Dutch and Flemish Engravings and Woodcuts*, vol. 7 (Amsterdam, n.d.). Besides the present example, only two or three others are recorded: one in the Albertina, Vienna; another was sold at auction in Hamburg on 11 June 1970 (possibly the present example); and the third is in the Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna. But until at least the mid-eighteenth century, the Galle image was widely dispersed over Europe, when it was finally obliterated by the 'Dutch' rhinoceros, painted by Oudry and Longhi, amongst others. Whether the original Galle print of 1586 was the source for the countless paintings, sculpture and minor arts, or whether a copy of the Galle print was used, is hard to establish.

The copies included a version by Galle's son-in-law, Adriaen Collaert II (c. 1560–1618), that went into many editions. This shows the rhinoceros flanked by two elephants; it was not a single print but part of an album, *Animalium quadrupedum*, first published in about 1602 (Clarke 1976, fig. 27). The emblem books also helped to spread this new portrait 'from the life'; in particular, Hans Sibmacher's etchings for Joachim Camerarius's *Symbolorum et emblematum* . . . (Nuremberg, 1595), a work also much copied.

As for the drawing used by Galle, it has been suggested that it may be identical with that in the Museum für Naturkunde in East Berlin. This drawing formed part of a collection of natural history drawings made or assembled by a crippled artist from Nuremberg, Lazarus Roeting (1549–1614); these were mounted by his nephew in 1615. But this theory I believe to be untenable because the quality of the drawing is so markedly inferior to Galle's engraving.

REFERENCES Ilse Jahn, 'Theatrum Naturae – ein handgemaltes Tierbuch der Renaissancezeit in der Bibliothek des Zoologischen Museums', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*, Math.-Nat.R., vol. XIX (1970), pp. 183–6; Albertina, Vienna, *Supplement Oeuvre de Philippe Galle*, vol. LXXV, p. 65, no. 118; Lach 1970, pp. 86–7, for Camerarius; Clarke 1974, fig. 3; Clarke 1976, fig. 17; and Heikamp 1980, fig. 6, pp. 307–8, with a German translation of the Latin legend.

- 12 Jacob Bouttats, detail from *Paradise*, oil on panel, signed and dated 1700. 78 × 117 cm (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich)

This is the only known painting by this member of a Flemish family of painters and engravers. The Galle *abada* in this instance is compared to the Dürer pair in pl. 13, quite disinterested in Adam and Eve.

REFERENCE Heikamp 1980, fig. 8.

- 13 Anonymous, detail from *The Creation*, Flemish School, c. 1580 (Musée des Beaux Arts, Château des Rohans, Strasbourg)

This is an early example of a pair of Dürer rhinoceroses standing head to tail; an iconographic detail that recurs. Perhaps it should be considered as a rehearsal for the Flood, when the two beasts walk side by side, at least when on the gang-plank embarking or disembarking. However, once off the Ark they sometimes resume this head to tail grouping, as, for example, in Simone de Myle's painting of 1570 (Lach 1970, fig. 107).

- 14 Albert Flamen, a group of exotic, European and mythological animals, watercolour drawing, c. 1660. (Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>, Brussels)

Flamen (1620–c. 1693) was a Flemish painter and engraver, who worked much in Paris. There is a collection of ninety drawings by him in the British Museum. This drawing is no. 22 in an album of forty-six watercolour drawings.

- 15 Miniature of an Indian elephant, watercolour on vellum, ?Flemish, c. 1585–95. 39 × 28 cm (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna)

This remarkable drawing, like a late medieval miniature, is reasonably believed to be of the elephant presented together with a rhinoceros to Philip II of Spain when resident in 1581 in Lisbon. It forms folio 1 of *Cod. min.* 42, an almost unexplored volume of signed and dated and other drawings bound in green-stained vellum.

The position of this drawing and of its companion (col. pl. IV) as the first two animals in this volume can only be intended to stress their importance for the Emperor Rudolf II in Prague, whose genuine interest in natural history was paralleled by his patronage of the arts in general. The author is so far unidentified. But the quality both of form and colour makes it perhaps the finest study of an elephant between Raphael's lost drawing of Hanno (known in many copies) and the drawings by Rembrandt of 1637 in the Albertina, a stone's throw away from the Austrian National Library in which these two pachyderms have until recently been concealed or at least ignored for some centuries.

REFERENCES W. S. Heckscher, 'Bernini's elephant and obelisk', *The Art Bulletin*, vol. XXIX (1947), p. 168; Matthias Winner, 'Raphael malt einen Elefanten', *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorisches Institutes in Florenz*, vol. XI, parts 2–3 (November, 1964), pp. 71–109; Franz Unterkircher, *Inventar der illuminierten Handschriften* (Vienna, 1959), part 2; and Oettermann 1982.

- 16 The first London rhinoceros, anonymous engraving, c. 1684. 22 × 29.8 cm (Glasgow University Library, Hunterian Collection)

This, and many subsequent illustrations, come from the two remarkable compilations of rhinoceros prints and drawings discovered about ten years ago in the Hunterian Collection of the Glasgow University Library. A full description and

history has been published by L. C. Rookmaaker, for which see below.

In brief, both collections were made as a result of the interest aroused by the arrival of the second London rhinoceros in 1739 (for which see pp.41–6). One compilation was the work of Dr James Douglas (1675–1742), the other of Douglas's assistant, Dr James Parsons (1705–70). Both volumes ended up in the library of the celebrated Scotsman, William Hunter (1718–83): 'anatomist, obstetrician and pioneer of medical education'. Thence they entered the University of Glasgow, together with a collection of pictures and other objects.

Here I would like to thank Dr C. H. Brock, formerly Research Fellow in the Department of the History of Science, for some years of help and encouragement; and, too, Mr J. Baldwin, late Keeper of Special Collections and Mr P. K. Escreet, the present Keeper, as well as the Trustees for permission to publish.

REFERENCES *Glasgow University's Pictures*, Exhibition Catalogue (P. & D. Colnaghi and the University of Glasgow, 1973); C. H. Brock, *James Douglas, 1675–1742: An Exhibition of Books and Manuscripts* (Glasgow University Library, October–November 1975); Clarke 1976, fig. 35; and Rookmaaker 1978, p.23.

- 17 Francis Barlow, 'A true representation of . . . the Elephant and the Rhinoceros . . .', mezzotint, c.1684–5. 23.4 × 32.7 cm (Glasgow University Library, Hunterian Collection)

How Barlow (1626–1704), a respected animal artist, could lend himself to such a self-evident fraud is hard to believe. For the subject of the rhinoceros attacking an elephant – and a Dürer animal at that – has nothing whatever to do with the live animals on show in London in 1684. Although there was an elephant in London at the same time, the two animals never met in combat. Again *The London Gazette* is the source, for on 26 February 1684 (NS 1685) it announced that there 'will be exposed to Sale by the Candle Two Elephants, the one male, the other Female' (both omitted by Oettermann 1982).

Barlow's drawing (see pl. 18) was engraved in the comparatively new technique of mezzotint by Johan Griffier (1645–1718), engraver and painter. He was a Dutchman who in England lived on a boat on the Thames, from which he painted some of his best landscapes. On his second visit to England he etched many plates after Barlow, and a few mezzotints. Paul Tempest (1653–1717) was the publisher.

The Barlow mezzotint was copied in reverse in North Holland by the engraver P. van den Berghe, who was active in mezzotint in Amsterdam and Hamburg in the late seventeenth century. This pirated edition is dated 1686.

REFERENCES Arthur M. Hind, *A History of Engraving & Etching* (London, 1923; Dover reprint 1963), p.258ff. for early mezzotints; L. C. Rookmaaker, 'An early engraving of the black rhinoceros', *Biological Journal of the Linnean Society*, vol. 8 (1976), p.89; and Rookmaaker 1978, p.21, no. 2.9.

- 18 Francis Barlow, *Rhinoceros/Elephant Fight*, drawing in bistre, pen and india ink wash, signed and dated 1684. 21.6 × 33 cm (The Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, Witt Collection)

Presumably a sketch for the mezzotint (pl. 17). The date 1684 is that of the rhinoceros's arrival in London, but the elephant is unlikely to have arrived before early 1685, since it – or rather they, since there were two – was offered for sale on 26 February. This drawing by Barlow, then, may have no direct bearing

on the use to which it was put in the mezzotint; it could have been a casual essay on copying an earlier composition. For example, André Thevet used such a composition in *La Cosmographie universelle* (Paris, 1575). An opportunist publisher such as Paul Tempest might then have used this drawing in order to be first on the market with a portrait of the 'very strange Beast called a Rhynoceros'.

REFERENCES Anthony Dent, *Animals in Art* (Oxford, 1976), fig. 3; and John Woodward, *Tudor and Stuart Drawings* (Oxford, 1951), fig. 31 and p.49.

- 19 'The true and Exact Portraiture of the Rhinoceros' of 1685, anonymous etching dated 1730. 18.5 × 20.2 cm (Glasgow University Library, Hunterian Collection)

This 'borrowed' pirated version of Sir John Chardin's animal as seen by him in Persia in the 1670s was resurrected in 1739, at the time of the arrival of the second London animal. Its legs are absurdly short; and the date 1685 of the first London animal is a year out – it should be 1684.

Chardin describes the horn as 'almost the shape and size of a two-pound sugar loaf'.

REFERENCES Jean Chardin, *Voyages en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient* (Amsterdam, 1711); Cole 1953, p.351; Basil Taylor, *Animal Painting* (Penguin Books, 1955), p.16; and Rookmaaker 1978, p.33, no. 8.3.

- 20 Jacobus Bontius, *Rhinoceros*, anonymous woodcut from *Historiae naturalis*, 1658

First inserted posthumously by G. Piso in his *De Indiae utriusque re naturali et medica* (Amsterdam, 1658), book v, chapter 1. The original drawing by Philip Angel (1616–83) for the woodcut was published by K. J. Müllenmeister (see below).

REFERENCES Parsons 1743; Cole 1953, p.349; K. J. Müllenmeister, *Meer und Land im Licht des 17. Jahrhunderts*, II. *Tierdarstellungen in Werken niederländischer Künstler A–M* (Bremen, 1978), vol. 2, p.17; and Rookmaaker 1978, p.33, no. 8.1.

- 21 Rhinoceros that died on board the ship *Shaftesbury*, en route to London in 1737, a copy by George Edwards of a lost watercolour. 16 × 22 cm (British Museum, Sloane Collection)

There is some ambiguity in the inscription as to the date when the copy was made. George Edwards (1694–1773), known to English porcelain collectors for the Chelsea birds copied from his *Natural History of Uncommon Birds* (London, 1743–7), wrote in 1758 that the original watercolour had been brought to him by a Dr R. Tyson, and that he had it by him. Yet the copy is in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, who died in 1753. One can only surmise that he had had the original for some time and let Sloane have this copy for his zoological collection. REFERENCE George Edwards, *Gleanings of Natural History* (London, 1758).

- 22 James Parsons, two views of the London rhinoceros, pencil drawing, London 1739. 24 × 33.5 cm (Glasgow University Library, Hunterian Collection)

Two of many drawings made by James Parsons for his employer, Dr James Douglas, when the second London animal was in Eagle Street, near Douglas's home. They are competent amateur work, the most realistic images to date. Unusual are the angles of the portrait, one from the rear, the



- other head-on; a welcome change from the profile portrait almost universally adopted since 1515.  
 REFERENCE Rookmaaker 1978, no. 5.7 and 5.10, fig. 3, pp.25-6.
- 23 James Parsons, *Recumbent Rhinoceros*, drawing in red chalk, London 1739. 20 × 31.8 cm (Glasgow University Library, Hunterian Collection)  
 REFERENCE Rookmaaker 1978, no. 5.4, p.25.
- 24 Poster of the second London rhinoceros, engraved after a drawing by James Parsons, London 1739. 34 × 34.5 cm (Glasgow University Library, Hunterian Collection)  
 A considerable number of these posters remain in the Glasgow University Library, including two coloured copies in the Douglas Collection. A copy in the British Museum (Natural History) has the following written by hand: 'Ja Parsons M.D. ad vivum delin. Londini 1739. Ger. van der Gucht sculps.' Gerard van der Gucht, engraver and dealer in works of art (London 1696-London 1776), worked for Hans Sloane. He had thirty children.  
 REFERENCES Clarke 1974, p.115; and Rookmaaker 1978, p.29.
- 25 James Parsons, engraving from the *Philosophical Transactions*, London 1743. 15.4 × 24 cm  
 The first plate, of the animal seen from the usual side view, has not been reproduced, since it is almost identical to the poster of pl. 24. It is unfortunate that the engraver has not done full justice to the drawings.  
 REFERENCE Rookmaaker 1973, fig. 5.
- 26 William Twiddy, *Rhinoceros*, watercolour, 1744. 16.6 × 20.4 cm (Castle Museum, Norwich)  
 I am obliged to Dr Meklos Rajnai for drawing my attention to this drawing with its happily unusual technique. One other drawing by Twiddy, of exotic birds, is inscribed 'Norwich Feby 23<sup>d</sup> 1745'. Little is known of Twiddy beyond his Norfolk origin; the name was current in early nineteenth-century local Norwich directories.
- 27(a) Elias Baeck, poster of the 'Dutch' rhinoceros in Vienna, 30 October 1746. 39.7 × 30.5 cm (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg)  
 Elias Baeck (1679-1747), probably drew, certainly engraved and published this poster, which records the ceremonial arrival of the animal in Vienna on 30 October, 1746 in a wagon drawn by eight horses and accompanied by eight cuirassiers, presumably hired for the occasion by the talented organiser, Douwe Mout. It must have been one of Baeck's last works, since he died before the end of the year. He was a prolific draughtsman and engraver, as well as a publisher, with scores of chinoiserie and dwarf engravings to his credit. The poster is signed with his name and his nickname abbreviated to A H (alias Heldenmuth), which he acquired as a student in Rome.  
 That a poster could be published in Augsburg and made available in Vienna is evidence of the efficiency of communications in the Holy Roman Empire. This poster could also be obtained as early as 14 November at the shop of Elias Münster in Linz (7 kr. coloured, 4 kr. plain). Information kindly supplied by Dr W. Katzinger, archivist of the Landeshauptstadt, Linz.  
 REFERENCES Dr Ingrid Faust, 'Jungfer Clara im Ballhof', *Der Zoofreund, Hanover*, no. 18 (March 1976), p.3; Emmerig 1978, no. B.I.6; and Heikamp 1980, p.313, fig.12.
- 27(b) Poster of the 'Dutch' rhinoceros in Zurich, March 1748. 39 × 25 cm (Zentralbibliothek, Zurich)  
 This is the standard image as used in most of Douwe Mout's posters and prints from 1747 onwards. It was even 'borrowed' by painters, such as the anonymous artist of the Neapolitan scene in col. pl. VII (in reverse).  
 The long legend on this and the other posters, broadsheets and engravings is essential material for tracing the route across Europe of the rhinocerot party. Berlin, Breslau, Vienna, Munich, Dresden, Leipzig and Frankfurt are all mentioned.  
 For a local woodcut of the animal in Zurich, see pl. 28(c).  
 REFERENCES Clarke 1976, p.12, fig. 48; and Emmerig 1978, B.I.15.
- 27(c) Poster of the rhinoceros in London, c.1752 (Glasgow University Library, Hunterian Collection)  
 The only recorded English poster of the 'Dutch' animal. According to the legend the animal was '18 years of age', which is probably incorrect: perhaps a typographical error for '15' which would correspond for the documented visit of 1752. The worn condition of the broad line border would also coincide with a date of around 1752.  
 REFERENCE Rookmaaker 1978, p.31, no. 6.2.
- 28(a) Engraving of the 'Dutch' rhinoceros c.1746-7. 19 × 28.8 cm (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)  
 One of the earlier and smaller varieties of this print, one with a sailor replacing the blackamoor, but the stance of the animal remains uniform.  
 REFERENCE Faust 1976, *op. cit.* in note to pl. 27(a), p.3.
- 28(b) 'A true delineation or Pourtraicture of a living Rhinoceros', Mannheim, 1747. 43.2 × 58.5 cm (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)  
 An example of the largest size engraving, as sold to the curious who visited the booth of Capt. Douwe Mout. Note the portrait of the Captain, within a trophy of flags, the ship *Knabenhoe* between the legs of the animal, and the elephant/rhinoceros fight on the right. Of particular interest is the doggerel verse above, printed for a special occasion, the visit of Carl Theodor, Elector Palatine and his Zweibrücken relatives to see the animal at the Peacock Inn, 20 November 1747.  
 REFERENCES Rookmaaker 1973, p.49, fig. 7; Clarke 1974, pp.116 and 118, figs 9 and 15; Clarke 1976, fig. 52; and Emmerig 1978, B.I.10.
- 28(c) David Redinger, broadsheet of the rhinoceros in Zurich, 1748, woodcut. 25 × 39 cm (Zentralbibliothek, Zurich)  
 Redinger worked as engraver and on wood in Basel and Zurich. This scene is of value in indicating the solid wooden wagon in which the animal travelled; it also is one of the few to depict the portable wooden pen, shown also by Longhi in Venice (col. pl. VIII).  
 REFERENCES Clarke 1976, pp. 12-13, figs 48-9; and Emmerig 1978, B.I.16.
- 29 Jan Wandelaar, *Human Skeleton and Young Rhinoceros*, engraving from Albinus's *Tables of the Skeleton and Muscles of the Human Body*, London 1749  
 This is the English edition of *Tabulae sceleti et musculorum corporis humani* (Leiden, 1747), by the German anatomist Bernard Siegfried Albinus (1697-1770), with the plates engraved by Charles Grignion. In the original Latin edition



of 1747, the plates were engraved by Wandelaar himself. It is likely that some of the plates were already available in 1742.

The first plate, no. iv, shows us our heroine at a tender age, happily munching grass and impervious to human mortality. It is the earliest life-like image by an artist of talent. Wandelaar was a painter and engraver, born 1690 in Amsterdam and died in Leiden in 1759. The drawings for Albinus's celebrated book on anatomy are amongst his greater achievements; he also illustrated botanical books and helped to establish a school of drawing. He justifies his use of an unusual background to his skeletons in the English edition of 1747 thus:

we conclude this table [the fourth], and the eighth, by exhibiting in the background the figure of a female Rhinoceros that was shown to us in the beginning of the year 1742, being two years and half old, as the keepers reported. We thought the rarity of the beast would render these figures of it more agreeable than any other ornament, resulting from mere fancy. The figures are just, and of a magnitude proportionable to the human figures contained in these two tables.

Charles Grignion (?1716–1810) was one of a group of French engravers who worked in England. Stubbs considered using him for *The Anatomy of the Horse*, as he was much influenced by the work of Wandelaar. In the event, Stubbs was his own engraver.

REFERENCES Rookmaaker 1973, p.47, fig. 6; Clarke 1974, fig. 8; and Judy Egerton, *George Stubbs: Anatomist and Painter*, Exhibition Catalogue (Tate Gallery, London 1976), pp.44 and 56–7.

- 30 G. L. Scheitz, *The 'Dutch' Rhinoceros in Hanover*, watercolour, signed 1746. 19 × 23.5 cm (Stadtarchiv, Hanover)

This amateur sketch is only just recognisable as a rhinoceros, with its cow-like head having scarcely a trace of a single horn. Yet it is clearly from the life, as the title shows; the only trace of the traditional Dürer image is in the ribcage. The man in his tricorne wears a brick-red coat, contrasting with the dark brown of the animal's hide.

REFERENCE Dr Ingrid Faust, 'Jungfer Clara im Ballhof', *Der Zoofreund, Hanover*, no. 18 (March 1976), pp.2–3.

- 31 Johann Elias Ridinger, *The 'Dutch' Rhinoceros Lying on its Left Side, a Study of a Hoof in the Top Left Corner and of Open Jaws in the Top Right Corner*, drawing, lead pencil on blue paper, 1748. 26.3 × 42.5 cm (Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, Witt Collection)

One of six pencil drawings made by Ridinger (1698–1767) during the animal's stay in Augsburg in 1748; all six seem to have been drawn on 12 June. (See pl. 32 and col. pl. vi for other drawings by Ridinger made probably on the same day, 12 June 1748.)

The open jaw is a motif used by Ridinger in the background of one of his *Paradise* series of prints and seemingly by the Parisian clockmakers in 1749: see col. pl. xxv.

REFERENCES Thienemann 1856, p.280; *German Drawings from the Collections of H.M. the Queen, University College London and the Courtauld Institute of Art*, Exhibition Catalogue (Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 1969–70), no. 43; and Clarke 1984, fig. 32.

- 32 Johann Elias Ridinger, *A Sleeping Rhinoceros*, drawing in black chalk with white on blue paper, 1748. 28.5 × 44.5 cm (Collection of Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia)

One of the six drawings of the 'Dutch' rhinoceros made during its stay in Augsburg by Ridinger. One is dated precisely 12 June 1748; all may have been done on that day. See notes to col. pl. vi and pl. 31.

This drawing was formerly attributed to Stubbs, but restored to its correct creator in an article in *The Burlington Magazine* in October 1984, called 'Two rhinoceros drawings re-attributed', by the present author.

The pose recalls Evelyn's description of the first London rhinoceros in 1684, to the effect that when it lay down 'she appeared like a greate Coach overthrowne'.

REFERENCES Thienemann 1856, p.280, no. 11 (*Nashorn, meist Kreide, weiss gehöht, auf blauem Papier. Sechs Blatt*); Basil Taylor, *Stubbs* (London, 1975; first publ. 1971), pl. 71; Judy Egerton, *George Stubbs 1724–1806*, Exhibition Catalogue (Tate Gallery, London, 1984) p.125; and Clarke 1984, fig. 31.

- 33 Johann Elias Ridinger, *Eve gives Adam the Forbidden Fruit*, no. 8 of a set of twelve engravings of the *Paradise* series, c.1748–50. 38 × 54 cm

This set of large engravings is amongst Ridinger's most important works, for which numerous drawings exist. The artist both drew and engraved the set. Each print is filled with symbolic meanings, but the two rhinoceroses of this print seem to play no part in the scene except a decorative one. Neither seems shocked at Eve's behaviour, as do the deer, the cat and the dog in the right foreground.

The rhinoceros in the left foreground is probably derived from one of the three missing drawings that Ridinger is known to have made of the 'Dutch' animal in Augsburg in June 1748. Its attitude should be compared to the amateur portrait by Dr James Parsons (see pl. 25) of 1743, knock-kneed and rather miserable in appearance. Perhaps the rhinoceros in the background, its head raised as if baying (in fact, the sound of a rhinoceros is described as like the bleating of a lamb) is derived from one of the other missing drawings. This figure bears a striking resemblance to Parisian clocks of around 1749, from which it seems likely that the whole *Paradise* set was issued late in 1748 or early in 1749; see col. pl. xxv.

REFERENCES Thienemann 1856, p. 814; Rolf Biedermann, *Johann Elias Ridinger, 1698–1767*, Exhibition Catalogue (Holbein-Haus, Augsburg, May–September 1967); and Clarke 1974, figs 11 and 13.

- 34 Johann Elias Ridinger, *A Rhinoceros Leaping*, coloured etching with engraving, Augsburg, c.1750–5. c. 30.5 × 20.5 cm (Private collection, Madrid)

This print was both drawn and engraved by Ridinger, and issued only in colour, as part of a series of 133 animals. It may well be derived from one of the six drawings made in June 1748 in Augsburg, the original of which has disappeared. Thienemann remarks that 'it is a pity that this very successful portrait of the animal leaping is so little known and so little used in works on Natural History'.

REFERENCE Thienemann 1856, no. 1027.

- 35 Anonymous, *The Rhinoceros*, oil on canvas, German, c.1745–55 (Private collection, Germany)

Paintings, as opposed to engravings or drawings, of the 'Dutch' rhinoceros on its northern travels are rare. This painting, formerly attributed to Johann Heinrich Roos (1631-85), clearly derives from one of the prints that Douwe Mout advertises in his posters: see, for example, pl. 28b, where the rhinoceros/elephant fight in the background is almost identical. Unusual and indeed unnatural is the rounded fold of skin surrounding the ribcage; derived perhaps from a print hitherto untraced.

REFERENCE Sale Catalogue, Neumeister, Munich (1 December 1976), lot 1337.

- 36 Anton Clemens Lünenschloss, 'Jungfer Clara', watercolour, dark brown washed in grey, Würzburg, 3 August 1748. 25.3 x 19 cm (Martin von Wagner Museum, University of Würzburg, Graphische Sammlung)

Lünenschloss (1678-1763) was a local painter, responsible for much ecclesiastical work; he also painted two ceilings in the Würzburg Residenz. The inscription on the drawing has the usual information as found on the posters, but the intriguing comment is in the final sentence: 'Wird genannet die Jungfer Clara.' Who, one wonders, was Clara? A local beauty? This is a refreshing drawing by a minor artist, free from preconceived ideas of what a rhinoceros really looked like to an objective observer.

REFERENCES Dr W. M. Brod, 'Jungfer Clara', *Mainfränkische Bilder*, Würzburg, vol. 59 (1958), pp.2-3; and Dr Ingrid Faust, 'Jungfer Clara im Ballhof', *Der Zoofreund*, Hanover, no. 18 (March 1976), pp.2-3.

- 37 Francesco Lorenzi (attributed to), *The Rhinoceros in Verona*, drawing in black-and-white chalk on blue paper, dated 1 January 1750 (NS 1751). 21.8 x 32 cm (Collection of the late Ulrich Middeldorf)

Inscribed: 'Capitato in Verona il primo Gennaio 1750.' Verona still used Old Style dating, and so the actual date in New Style is 1751. The attribution is based on Zannandreis's report of another drawing in similar technique of 'quel animale enorme', presented to the Académie des Sciences.

REFERENCES Diego Zannandreis, *Le Vite dei Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Veronesi* (Verona, 1891), p.428; Michael Levey, *The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Italian Schools* (National Gallery, London, 1971), pp.155-6; Clarke 1974, note 23; and Heikamp 1980, p.316, fig. 5.

- 38 Alessandro Longhi, 'Il gran Rinoceronte', etching, from a set of six, c. 1751 (Museo Correr, Venice)

REFERENCES Terisio Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi, Paintings and Drawings* (London, 1969), p.90, fig. 33; and Clarke 1974, fig. 18.

- 39 Matthäus Deisch, *The 'Dutch' Rhinoceros in Danzig*, etching on copper, 1754-5. (Martin Sperlich Collection, Berlin-Wannsee)

A very rare print from the well-known collection, Martin Sperlich's 'Rhinoceros Gallery', for which see Detlef Heikamp's article, 'Seltene Nashörner in Martin Sperlich's Nashorn-galerie und anderswo', in the *Festschrift für Martin Sperlich* (Tübingen, 1980).

The rhinoceros was in Danzig in 1754, but the print may date only from Deisch's advertisement in the *Gemeinnützige Dantziger Anzeigen* of 1755, announcing a new print with three views of the animal. Matthäus Deisch (born Augsburg 1718, living in Danzig 1789) worked in various techniques,

including copper engraving and mezzotint. He worked mainly in Danzig.

REFERENCES Dr Ingrid Faust, 'Jungfer Clara im Ballhof' *Der Zoofreund*, Hanover, no. 18 (March 1976), p.3; and Heikamp 1980, fig. 16 and p.316.

- 40 Cornelis van Noorde, *The Rhinoceros in Haarlem*, drawing in black chalk heightened with white, 1756 (Gemeentearchief, Haarlem)

Inscribed at the top: 'this rhinoceros was seen at the Fair in Haarlem, 1756'. The drawing comes from a sketchbook in the town archive of Haarlem. A little heavy in the head perhaps, but by now the Dürer image has been eradicated. Van Noorde (1731-95) was proficient as draughtsman, engraver and blockmaker.

REFERENCES Bert Sliggers, *Het schetsboek van Cornelis van Noorde 1731-1795: het leven van een veelzijdig Haarlems kunstenaar* (Haarlem, 1982).

- 41 *The Death of 'Jungfer Clara' in London*, engraving, 1758 (Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg)

The death of the 'Dutch' rhinoceros attracted more attention in Germany than anywhere else, because that animal was far better known there than elsewhere in Europe. There are two versions of this funeral engraving. One is here illustrated, engraved by Joh. Mich. Eben of Frankfurt (1716-61); the other is engraved by Johann Christoph Berndt of Nuremberg (1707-98). Both are reverse copies of the engraving already shown in pl. 28(b); each has an inscription in a rococo cartouche inhabited in the earlier print by a portrait of Capt. Douwe Mout van der Meer.

REFERENCE Heikamp 1980, p.317, fig. 17 and note 38.

- 42 Jean-Baptiste Oudry, *The 'Dutch' Rhinoceros in Paris*, drawing in red chalk, 1749. 16.1 x 22 cm (Private collection, Paris)

This preliminary study has until recently been attributed to Watteau, presumably on stylistic grounds. But this is a physical impossibility, since there was no such animal in Paris during Watteau's life-time; and to have 'invented' such a life-like portrait would have needed even more genius than Watteau possessed. It was Douwe Mout van der Meer and his personal possession, the Indian rhinoceros, that first gave Parisians a glimpse of this unwieldy pachyderm early in 1749.

As for stylistic matters in comparing this red chalk drawing with the finished (and signed) drawing in the British Museum (col. pl. x) there can be no doubt that the two are by the same hand, namely Oudry's. The latter is obviously a more finished work; in particular, the head is larger in proportion and all details more fully worked out.

It is probable that this drawing (and possibly others masquerading as Watteau's work) was taken from the animal at its booth at the Fair of St Germain.

REFERENCES Note to col. pl. x; and Clarke 1984, pp.625-6 and 629, fig. 28.

- 43 Jacques de Sève, *The Rhinoceros after Oudry*, drawing in grey watercolour, signed and dated 1750. 10.2 x 15 cm (Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

From a volume called *Figures pour l'histoire des Quadrupèdes par Mr. de Buffon, depuis originaux par de Sève*. The drawings, of uniform size, are derived from a number of sources.

REFERENCE Alain-Marie Bassy, 'L'Oeuvre de Buffon à l'Imprimerie royale', in *À l'heure des grandes synthèses* (Paris, 1973), pp.170-89.

- 44 Jean-Charles Baquoy, *The Rhinoceros after Oudry*, etching after de Sève's drawing in pl. 43. 22 × 17 cm (Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

This etching (after the drawing of pl. 43) remained the standard portrait of the rhinoceros for some half century. The thin nose was thickened in later editions of *L'Histoire naturelle*. Because the drawing is dated 1750, the etching must have been in circulation as a single print long before the publication of vol. XI in 1764, in which it finally appeared. As such, it influenced sculptors and other artists; and was, as usual, much plagiarised.

REFERENCE Alain-Marie Bassy, *op. cit.* in note to pl. 43.

- 45 *'The Rhinoceros or Real Unicorn'*, broadsheet, 1790 (British Library)

From Daniel Lysons, *Collectanea; or, A Collection of Advertisements from the Newspapers [1661-1840]*, a series of five albums.

Note that the admittance fee in 1790 is 'one Shilling each Person', the same as that charged in 1684 for the first London rhinoceros, which was 'much visited as twelve pence apiece'. The currency would appear to have been as inflation-proof as the rhinoceros's hide was considered 'musket-proof'.

- 46 Four token halfpennies, copper, 1793-c.1800 (Private collection, London)

Token or commercial coinage began in 1787 as the result of a grave shortage of official royal coinage. No copper coins had been struck since 1775, and no silver since the death of George III in 1760. See R. C. Bell, *Tradesmen's Tickets and Private Tokens, 1785-1819* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1966).

(a) EXETER CHANGE STRAND LONDON. The obverse bears the name of PIDCOCK and is dated 1795. This suggests that the dead beast had been stuffed and was visible in this rather humiliating form at Exeter 'Change.

(b) PIDCOCK EXETER CHANGE LONDON. Derived from a poster of 1790. It can be dated not earlier than February 1793, when Gilbert Pidcock bought out Mr Thomas Clark's stock, including the rhinoceros. By the autumn the animal was dead.

(c) T. HALL CITY ROAD near Finsbury Square LONDON 1795 is inscribed on the obverse, with the delightful boast that T. Hall was 'THE FIRST ARTIST IN EUROPE FOR PRESERVING BIRDS, BEASTS ETC.'

Hall is recorded as 'taxidermist, curiosity dealer and proprietor of a fine exhibition of stuffed birds, beasts and curios'. He was active as late as 1840. The reverse of this token has in low relief figures of 'The Kangaroo', 'The Armadillo' and 'The Rhinoceros'. All three had recently been on show at Exeter 'Change. Thomas Clark had exhibited in 1790 'a curious ARMADILLA or HOG in armour from Patigonia', and also 'a small Kangarow from Botany-Bay'; both probably acquired by Pidcock from Thomas Clark in 1793.

REFERENCE Sue Herriott, ed., *British Taxidermists: A Historical Directory* (Leicester Museums, 1968), p. 18.

(d) SIR SAMUEL HANNAY'S ORIGINAL GENUINE & ONLY INFAL-LIBLE PREVENTIVE OF A CERTAIN DISEASE.

An advertisement in the 1848 edition of Dietrichsen and Hannay's *Daily Memoranda* establishes that the 'certain disease' was venereal, and that the 'infallible' cure had been discovered by Sir Samuel Hannay, Bt, MP, in the year 1750. There is no evidence that any part of the rhinoceros was used in the manufacture of this remedy. I have to thank Mr H.

Symons of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London for this information.

- 47 Samuel Howitt, *'Studies from Nature at Exeter 'Change'*, sepia wash, c.1799 (Private collection, Madrid)

Howitt (1765-1822) was an accomplished animal draughtsman. In so far as he depicted exotic animals, he was an arm-chair traveller, preferring the dangers of Exeter 'Change in the Strand to the rigours of the jungle. Nonetheless, it was Howitt who prepared the finished drawings for Capt. Thomas Williamson's *Oriental Field Sports* (perhaps better known under the name of the publisher, Orme). The editor of 1806 and the cheaper edition of 1807 both have aquatints based on the work of Howitt, whose finished drawings for the aquatints exist in two versions. The present drawing and two others in private collections drawn c.1800 were made use of. Indeed, the features of these three heads reappear in the aquatint in *Oriental Field Sports* in the plate called 'A Rhinoceros hunted'.

REFERENCES J. R. Abbey, *Travel in Aquatint and Lithography* (1957), vol. II, nos 427 and 431; and *Exhibition of English Watercolours* (Leger Galleries, London, 15 November-24 December 1971), no. 26 and pl. VII.

- 48 Thomas Rowlandson, *'The Rhinoceros and The Reef'* [sic], watercolour, c.1799, 21 × 16 cm (Private collection; from the collection of the late Sir John Witt)

The idiosyncratic spelling of both bird and beast - the rhinoceros with the penultimate letter an 'i', an unique version - only adds to the delight of this drawing, which must have been inspired by the menagerie of Pidcock at Exeter 'Change. Incidentally, 'the Reef' seems to be a mixture of the male bird called a Ruff and the female known as a Reeve; only the male has a breeding plumage of 'enormous erectile ruff and ear-tufts' (*A Field Guide to The Birds of Britain and Europe*, Collins, London, 1972 impression, p. 131).

REFERENCE E. H. Gombrich and E. Kris, *Caricature* (King Penguin, London, 1940), p.30 and pl. x.

- 49 Giovanni della Porta, *'Naso molto grande'*, woodcut from *Della Fisionomia dell'Humano*, Padua, 1613. 8 × 11 cm

Rowlandson is known to have been aware of this book by della Porta (1537-1612) on the comparative physiology of man and beast, first published in 1586. Had the author commissioned a portrait of the 'Madrid' rhinoceros as interpreted second-hand by Philippe Galle (see pl. 11) also in 1586, he would have been hard put to it to find an appropriate human analogy.

REFERENCE E. H. Gombrich and E. Kris, *Caricature* (King Penguin, London, 1940), p.30 and pl. XXXIIB.

- 50 *'A Rhinocerate of the Sea'*, an embroidered panel at Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk, c.1580 (On loan from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

This striking panel is amongst those associated with Mary, Queen of Scots (executed in 1587). This is believed to be the only known likeness of such a creature, doubtless derived from some woodcut in a sixteenth-century work of zoological pretensions. Can the large hump on its back derive from the 'Durer hornlet'? And where is the nasal horn, surely the outstanding feature of the rhinoceros? There is here some connection with the so-called sea unicorn, which is shown with a bifid tail. The circular markings on the stomach are indeed of rhinocerotid inspiration. A hybrid monster, happily unique.

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- REFERENCES F. de Zuleta, *Embroideries by Mary Stuart and Elizabeth Talbot at Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk* (Oxford, 1923); G. Wingfield Digby, *Elizabethan Embroidery* (London, 1963); Margaret Swain, *Historical Needlework: A Study of Influences in Scotland and Northern England* (London, 1970) ch. 3; and Swain, *The Needlework of Mary Queen of Scots* (New York and London, 1973).
- 51 Detail of a crewel-work panel, English, c.1600 (Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 23 November 1979, lot 6)  
The pattern book with a rhinoceros of so debased a type has not been identified; it resembles the crest used by the Apothecaries' Company on pill-slabs and drug jars of English delftware after 1617.
- 52 Thomas Johnson, *A Book of Beast [sic], Birds, Flowers, Fruits, Flies, and Wormes, exactly drawne with their Lively colours truly Described*, London, 1630  
It is something of a surprise to find Philippe Galle's engraving of the 'Madrid' rhinoceros (Antwerp, 1586) not only in this pattern book, but also used in the Mellerstain Panel of 1706 (see p.81). An earlier textile association amalgamating the first two Lisbon animals of 1515 and 1586 can be seen on an inked design for applied work in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.  
REFERENCES John L. Nevinson, *Catalogue of English Domestic Embroidery* (Victoria and Albert Museum, 1938 and 1950), pl. xxiii; Margaret H. Swain, 'The Mellerstain Panel', *Apollo*, July (1966), fig. 3; Swain, *Historical Needlework: A Study of Influences in Scotland and Northern England* (London 1970), pl. 21; and Mary Gostelow, 'Senses, Beasts, Birds, Flowers, Fruit Flies and Wormes', *Connoisseur*, October (1979), p.99.
- 53 John Dunsdall, *A Book of Flowers, Fruits, Birds, Beasts, Flies and Wormes*, London, 1662.  
A typical example of an English pattern book, with subjects 'borrowed' from a variety of mostly continental engravings. Dunsdall seems to have been the publisher of this edition; in a 1661 edition he was associated with the better-known publisher, Peter Stent, who was responsible for a number of undated editions with similar titles.  
Nevinson (see below) comments on the pattern books that 'characteristic is the bad quality of the engraving and the mixing together of different-sized animals, birds and flowers on the same plate'.  
REFERENCES John L. Nevinson, *Catalogue of English Domestic Embroidery* (Victoria and Albert Museum, 1938 and 1950); and Margaret H. Swain, *Historical Needlework* (London 1970), p.42.
- 54 Detail of an embroidered panel from Chios, early nineteenth century. 74 x 78 cm (Benaki Museum, Athens)  
This cotton panel is worked in silk with an odd mixture of modern and old creatures. Apart from the rhinoceros, clearly derived from Buffon and Oudry, there is a kangaroo and a cockatoo, a parrot and monkeys; as well as a mermaid and sphinx.  
For Buffon, see Chapter 4 (pp.65-7)
- 55 Sketch for a tapestry, pen and brown ink with grey wash, Flemish, c.1550. 28.4 x 55.5 cm (British Museum)  
The drawing is squared for enlargement as a cartoon. The signature *P. V. Aelst fe* and the date 1549 are later additions, according to Popham (below), who comments: 'the drawing of the animals even when not copied, as is the case of the rhinoceros from Dürer's woodcut, is lifeless and conventional'.  
The drawing is closely connected with the tapestry of pl. 56; see note on this.  
REFERENCES Goebel 1923, vol. II, fig. 162; A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists* (British Museum, 1932), p. 25, no. 12, pl. xix; and Georges Marlier, *Pierre Coeck d'Alost* (Brussels 1966), pp. 351-2.
- 56 Animal verdure tapestry, Brussels, c. 1610. 465 x 615 cm (MM Laloux-Dessain, Brussels)  
The woven signature, JAN RAES ME FECIT, is unusual for this Brussels weaver, who came to notice in 1612, when he was co-operating with the widow Geubels. This panel has been associated with a missing rhinoceros panel allegedly from the collection of King Sigismund II Augustus of Poland (d. 1572). But as Raes was not yet at work, it may be from a later set made for a later King of Poland, possibly a later weaving of an earlier cartoon, such as that shown in pl. 55, which can be dated c.1550.  
REFERENCES Goebel 1923, part I, vol. 1, pp.331-3; Victoria and Albert Museum, *Marillier files* as Flemish 16th/17th century series of animals in woods; Hotel Drouot Sale Catalogue, 21 December 1966 (said to have come from a Roman collection); and Jerzy Szablowski, *Les Tapisseries Flamandes de Wawel à Cracovie* (Antwerp, 1972), p.200.
- 57 'Animal park' tapestry, Flemish, c.1570. 339 x 320 cm (Kronborg Castle, Elsinore)  
The elephant on the right, partly concealed by trees, advances as though looking for a fight. Whether it intends to attract the human figures or its mortal enemy, the rhinoceros, is not clear.  
A panel of similar type is listed by Goebel as being in Spain.  
REFERENCE Goebel 1923, vol. II, fig. 162.
- 58 'Animal park' tapestry, Flemish, c.1570 (Owner unknown)  
The Vitruvian scroll borders enclosing florettes are identical to those in pl. 57, and may be by the same maker, perhaps Nicholas Leynier, here signing 'N.' on the right selvage.  
For leopard and rhinoceros, each in similar stance, see the drawing in Chapter 11 on the rhinoceros/elephant fight (pl. 127). The elephant in the right background is fighting another of its alleged enemies - a dragon; the subject is to be found in a tapestry fragment in the Museo Stibbert, Florence, with the more unusual elephant/rhinoceros fight in the background.  
REFERENCES Victoria and Albert Museum, *Marillier files*, book III, p.216; and Giuseppe Cantelli, *Il Museo Stibbert a Firenze* (Milan, 1974), fig. 345.
- 59 Tapestry border with Orpheus playing to the beasts, Flemish, 1575-1600 (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich)  
This beguiling lower border of which a detail is shown here includes an ostrich eight times the size of the rhinoceros, and a lion larger than a giraffe. The main panel is after earlier designs by Bernard van Orley of 1530-40 depicting the story of Abraham. It is one of seven, all with the Brussels town mark and that of an unidentified maker. This set was formerly in the Munich Residenz.  
Information kindly supplied by Dr Saskia Durian-Ress.  
REFERENCE Goebel 1923, vol. I, pl. 8 for the weaver's mark.

- 60 Detail from a Flemish 'animal park' tapestry, Oudenarde, c.1560-80. The whole panel measures 333 × 521 cm (S. Franses, London)

An almost actual-size detail from an unusually well-stocked 'animal park' panel. The attitude of the rhinoceros, with its head turned to its right, derives probably from a travel book.

Its nasal horn is on the large size and its head conceals the 'Dürer hornlet' on its back; the scaly legs are highly stylised.

- 61 Detail from the tapestry *The Animals entering the Ark*, Brussels, late sixteenth century (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

A pair of patient rhinoceroses wait at the foot of the gangway to embark; a detail of a panel from a set of twenty-five Old Testament subjects. The cartoons were by Raphael Coxcoe.

REFERENCE Victoria and Albert Museum, *Marillier files*, Miscellaneous, no. XCIII.

- 62 and 63 Cartoon sketch and tapestry panel, *Le Char des Rhinocéros*, Paris, c.1610 (Drawing in Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale; tapestry in Mobilier National)

Both drawing and tapestry are from one of a large *tenture* (*The Story of Artemisia*) for which fifty-nine original drawings still exist, out of a possible total of seventy-four. The subjects are based on a manuscript of 1562 by Nicholas Houel, intended to glorify the reign of Catherine de' Medici, wife of Henri II, whom she married in 1533; she died in 1589. Most of the drawings are the work of Antoine Caron, but this particular drawing is unattributed. The tapestry of wool and silk was woven in the atelier of Faubourg St-Marcel; it has the arms of France and Navarre and four crowned monograms 'AMH'. This particular panel (488 × 623 cm), one of twenty-eight still surviving, was at Versailles in 1789.

Iconographically, it is a rare subject. Note the fat spirally ribbed dorsal horns and the exaggerated nasal horns, in particular on the tapestry, which too has strange circular markings. Yoked rhinoceroses are known on a rare engraving in the Parsons Collection in the Hunterian Collection of Glasgow University Library; and again on a jewelled and gold-mounted rhinoceros horn goblet of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, of the second half of the seventeenth century.

REFERENCES Fénaillé 1923, vol. 1, p. 145, no. XXII; *Chefs d'oeuvre de la Tapisserie Parisienne, 1597-1662* (Orangerie de Versailles, 1967), pp. 26-7 (with full bibliography); and Rookmaaker 1978, p. 22, no. 2.14.

- 64 Noël Coypel, *The Triumph of Mars*, detail, watercolour, pen and Chinese ink, c.1685. 47.5 × 59.5 cm overall (Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre)

It is astonishing how the drawing by Poussin (see pl. 65), this drawing by Coypel (1628-1707) and the tapestry in Palazzo Pitti, Florence (col. pl. XIV) differ in detail. The drawing by Poussin is a recognisable rhinoceros in Dürer mould, but Coypel's re-interpretation of 1684 is a parody. There seems to be no nasal horn, unless the flattened foliate pattern is intended as such; but nostrils have been added instead. The edge of the fold of skin over the hind leg have been metamorphosed into a dark yellow fringe; and the body of the animal is now covered with scales.

In the Pitti tapestry a strange protruding and plain horn has appeared, there is rusticated masonry where the shoulder should be and the edges of most folds proliferate with gold

braided. Further, the head with the even more distinct nostrils, would have been taken for that of a horse, were it not for the horn. Dürer would have been horrified.

There is another preparatory drawing for *The Triumph of Mars* by Claude III Audran (1658-1734) in the National Museum, Stockholm, rather smaller in size (32.3 × 36.9 cm); apparently after Coypel.

REFERENCES *France in the Eighteenth Century*, Winter Exhibition (Royal Academy of Arts, London), 1968, no. 8, fig. 29; and see notes to pl. 65 (Poussin drawing) and col. pl. XIV.

- 65 Nicolas Poussin, *Rhinoceros and Rider*, drawing in pen and bistre wash, c.1640 (The Hermitage, Leningrad)

*The Triumph of Mars* tapestry (col. pl. XIV) also includes soldiers on an elephant after another Hermitage drawing by Poussin (1594-1665). Blunt comments on the two pachyderms: 'these two animals are mounted by an armed soldier - in the case of the rhinoceros a feat of considerable daring'.

REFERENCES Anthony Blunt, *Nicholas Poussin: the A. W. Mellon Lecture in the Fine Arts* (London, 1958); Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicholas Poussin* (London, 1961), fig. 99 and p. 103 of text volume; and Walter Friedlaender and Anthony Blunt, *The Drawings of Nicholas Poussin, Catalogue Raisonné* (Warburg Institute, London, 1974), vol. v, p. 97, no. 424.

- 66 Gobelins tapestry panel, *Le Cheval rayé*, from the *tenture of Les Anciennes Indes*, 1708-10. 470 × 504 cm (Palace of the Grand Master of the Order of St John, Valletta, Malta)

The complete set of *Les Indes* (this title later changed to *Les Anciennes Indes*) was ordered by the Grand Master of the Order of St John, Ramon Perellos, and woven with his arms. Instead of the usual eight panels, there were ten, two of the larger being divided into two each to fit the hall for which they were destined. They were woven between 1708 and 1710 by Leblond in *basse lisse*; the fourth complete set to be made.

REFERENCES J. Guiffrey, 'Les Tapisseries du Malte', *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (Paris, 1904), pp. 406-22; Fénaillé 1907, vol. IV, pp. 40-74; Goebel 1928, vol. II, p. 146; and Madeleine Jarry, 'The "Tenture des Indes" in the Palace of the Grand Master of the Order of Malta', *Burlington Magazine*, September (1958), pp. 306-11.

- 67 François Desportes, detail of cartoon for the Gobelins tapestry panel, *Le Cheval rayé*, 1737-8. 375 × 525 cm (Musée de Guéret, France)

The second series of tapestries of *Les Indes*, designed by Desportes (1661-1743) was to succeed even more than the earlier *tenture*. Scattered over French provincial museums, the cartoons all survive, some at least in good condition and brilliant in colour. The rhinoceros of *Le Cheval rayé* is quite a different animal from the first series, now called *Les Anciennes Indes*. Viewed in profile, it has an obvious Dürer ancestry: only the nasal horn is on the large size and its head droops less. It has nothing to do with the 'striped horse' or the 'tigre de la grande espèce'; indeed, it looks sadly isolated from the animal fight behind it. The report in the Salon of 1738, when the cartoon was first shown to the public, says quite simply: 'sur la derrière, un *Rhinocéros* et une gazelle'. Two peaceful creatures.

REFERENCES Fénaillé 1907, vol. IV, p. 44; Goebel 1928, vol. II; Joppien 1982, *op. cit.* (Chapter 6, text note 5), pp. 356-7.

- 68 Johann Bergl, wall painting, Schloss Ober St Veit, near Vienna, 1762-3

A detail of a panel by Bergl (1718-89) in one of a series of rooms deriving their inspiration from *Les Nouvelles Indes*, a series of tapestries brought to Vienna by Graf Colloredo in 1760. The exotic animals and Brazilian flora must have startled Vienna. The rhinoceros is a rather poor attempt at using Desporte's design for the tapestry panel, *Le Cheval rayé*. The markings seem to be an invention of Bergl. Another rhinoceros is to be found in the garden pavilion at Melk, also in 1763-4.

REFERENCES A. Weingärtner, 'Johann Bergl', *Jahrbuch der K. K. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und Historischen Denkmäler*, Neue Folge (Vienna, 1903), vol. 1, pp.331-44; Wilhelm Mrazek, 'Die Fresken Johann Bergls im Melker Gartenpavillon', *Alte und Moderne Kunst* (Vienna, 1960), no. 5, pp.20-3; Joppien 1982, *op. cit.* (Chapter 6, text note 5), pp. 361-70; and *Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit*, Exhibition Catalogue (Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna, 1980), p. 514.

- 69 English delftware drug jar, Lambeth, c.1650-60. Height 23 cm (British Museum)

Painted in green, blue and yellow with the arms of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries, as devised in 1617; the reverse with a chinoiserie scene, an odd combination, perhaps intended to stress the exotic nature of the supporters (unicorns) and crest (rhinoceros) of the arms.

This wealth of horns in the Apothecaries' arms confirms the pharmaceutical value then, and later, attributed to these two animals' appendages. The unicorn myth continued long after the proof that its horn was not a horn but the tooth of a narwhal: on this subject see Odell Shepard, *The Lore of the Unicorn* (London, 1930).

William Salmon, author of the *Phylasca Medicina: A Supplement to the London Dispensatory*, 2nd edn (London, 1688), writes of the rhinoceros that 'the Horn is good against Poyson, Contagion, the Plague and all manner of malignant fevers. It is thought by some to be as efficacious as Unicorn's Horn.' Note that there is no mention of its use as an aphrodisiac, which, as far as Europe is concerned, is not mentioned (except on a single occasion) until the nineteenth century, or possibly this century. Its use, however, is considered as an antidote to other ailments, especially in China, and as an expensive material for dagger hilts in the Arabian Peninsula.

REFERENCES Agnes Lothian, 'The Armorial Delft of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries', *Connoisseur*, March (1951), pp.21-6, figs 11a and 11b; and Louis M. Lipski and Michael Archer, *Dated English Delftware* (London, 1984), pp.366-7, for armorial drug jars dated 1647, 1656 and 1658.

- 70 J. G. Kirchner, rhinoceros after Dürer, Meissen porcelain, 1731-4. Length 106 cm (From the Johanneum Duplicate Sale, 14 October 1920, lot 198)

The mere size of this figure and its elephant companion - nearly 3½ feet (105 cm) - is an astonishing technical achievement; it is too a very remarkable piece of baroque sculpture that happens to be in the unusual medium of hard-paste porcelain. That the ultimate source is the woodcut of 1515 there can be no doubt, but there are many variations from Dürer's invention.

The Kirchner animal has a long bushy tail, whereas the woodcut has only a few hairs issuing from a hard fleshy core:

it is said that the boxwood blank used by Dürer was too small at either end, and so it seems. The so-called 'Dürer hornlet' is larger in scale and is at a lower angle. The scales on the legs are evenly disposed in vertical rows instead of haphazardly. But it is the ribcage that is most obviously different. Dürer has a ribcage in the form of wide flutes and straight lines in the lower part, with the tuberosities only loosely defined: the porcelain animal on the contrary has a clearly defined pattern like a cobbled pavement. The drooping head, as though too heavy to hold upright, and the half-open mouth again are un-Düeresque. The creature has lost its calm, almost benign expression; it is now ferocious and frightening - a horrid nightmare instead of a fantastic dream.

It has been remarked with some justification that Kirchner may well have based at least part of his interpretation on the gouache drawing (Chapter 10, col. pl. xxx) one of dozens still in Dresden commemorating Augustus the Strong's passion for display.

REFERENCES Jean Louis Sponsel, *Kabinettstücke der Meissner Porzellan-Manufaktur von Johann Joachim Kaendler* (Leipzig, 1900), pp.68-9; F. H. Hofmann, *Das Porzellan* (Berlin, 1932), figs 272-3; Carl Albiker, *Die Meissner Porzellan-tiere* (Berlin, 1935), fig. 202 (1959 edition, fig. 176); and Clarke 1976, figs 3-6.

- 71 Chelsea oval dish, c.1752-4. 32.5 cm long (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Untermyer Bequest)

This is one of two copies of the so-called Northumberland dinner service of Meissen porcelain, part of a diplomatic gift from Augustus the Strong of Saxony to the British Envoy, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams in 1748-50. The original of the Chelsea oval dish was a large circular dish, of which it is a faithful copy on a smaller scale and in soft-paste porcelain.

Letters have survived in the Holland House Papers in the British Library, which refer to the borrowing of several pieces of this service from the home of Henry Fox at Holland House, in London, to which it had been sent from Dresden for safe keeping. On 12 August 1751 a shareholder in the Chelsea factory, Sir Everard Fawkener, wrote to Hanbury Williams to thank him for the loan 'of which many imitations are made, as well in some forms as in paintings'. This dish, then, is one of the 'paintings'.

REFERENCES The Earl of Ilchester, 'A notable service of Meissen porcelain', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. LV (1929), pp.188-90; Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Chelsea and other English Porcelain: the Collection of Irwin Untermyer* (London 1957), fig. 48, pl. 17; Clarke 1973, p.10; Clarke 1975, figs 4 and 6; and Clarke 1976, figs 9-10.

- 72 Meissen tureen stand from the 'Japanese Service' made for Frederick the Great, 1762-3 (Musée National de Céramique Adrien Dubouché, Limoges)

This service is particularly well documented, thanks to the work of Otto Walcha, former archivist of the Meissen factory. He published in 1961 an exchange of ideas between the factory's *Modellmeister*, the celebrated Johann Joachim Kaendler, and King Frederick II of Prussia. Kaendler confirms the King's wishes in a letter dated 13 November 1762. The rims were to be painted a good yellow, scale pattern, with the inner edges in a good blue. Each piece was to have an individual 'Indian' animal or bird. Among these there is a specific mention of a 'Venoceros'.

Whether the service was ever completed is a matter of conjecture, because the war ceased in 1763 with the Treaty of



- Hubertusburg. Besides this recently identified turén and stand, eight plates are known to exist: six dessert and two dinner plates. A suggestion that these are all sample pieces seems highly unlikely.
- REFERENCES Otto Walcha, 'Friedrichs II letzte bedeutend Porzellanbestellung in Meissen', *Keramos* vol. 12, (1961), pp.31-3; and Barbara Beaucamp-Markowski, 'Rhinoseros und Panter-Tier: eine wieder gefundene Terrine aus dem Meissner 'Japanischen Service' Friedrich des Grossens', *Keramos* vol. 94 (1981), pp.17-22.
- 73 A Saxon enamelled glass *Humpen*, dated 1621. Height c.30 cm (Schloss Pillnitz, near Dresden)
- From a set of twelve rather narrow, covered *Humpen*, each with a different animal and the enamelled arms of the Elector Johann Georg II, 1611-56. The initials stand for Johann Georg Herzog zu Sachsen G(J)ülich Cleve und Berg Churfürst. The animals on this set include a camel, bear, wolf and unicorn.
- REFERENCES Gustav Klemm, *Die Königlich Sächsische Porzellan-Sammlung* (Dresden, 1834), p.148; and Gisela Haase, *Sächsisches Glas: Ausstellung in Museum für Kunsthandwerk* (Schloss Pillnitz, n.d.), fig. 14.
- 74 Johann Schaper (attributed to), glass bun-footed beaker decorated in *Schwarzlot* with Orpheus playing to the animals, Nuremberg, c.1667-70. Height 11 cm (Schloss Wallerstein, Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallerstein'sche Kunstsammlung)
- The colour called in German *Schwarzlot* varies from sepia through brown to almost black; it was developed on hollow glass by Johann Schaper (1621-70) in Nuremberg, derived from a pigment familiar on stained glass. Other 'Schaper' glasses, as they are familiarly known, are also recorded with a rhinoceros.
- REFERENCE Helmut Bosch, *Die Nürnberger Hausmaler: Emailfarbendekor auf Gläsern und Fayencen der Barockzeit* (Munich, 1984), no. 65.
- 75 Detail from an engraved glass goblet (*Roemer*), c.1730-40, N. German. Height 52 cm (Kestner Museum, Hanover)
- The rhinoceros plays its part in an allegory of the four Elements, representing Earth together with a lion, an elephant and other animals.
- REFERENCES Christel Mosel, *Die Glas Sammlung, Kestner Museum* (Hanover, 1957), no. 112; I. Woldering, *Meisterwerke des Kestner-Museums* (Honnaf, 1961), no. 102; Theuerkauf-Liederwald, *Jagd motive auf Gläsern des Barock* (Hamburg/Berlin, 1968), pp.53-4; and Christel Mosel, *Sammlungskatalog des Kestner-Museums, Hanover I: Glas, Mittelalter-Biedermeier* (2nd edn, Hanover), 1979, no. 256, figs 65-6.
- 76 Grotto by Niccolo Pericoli (called Tribolo) at Villa Castello, near Florence, c.1550
- This illustration shows the left-hand of three groups of animals, carved in stone and marble of different hues. A figure of a unicorn dominates the central group; and it is on this fable of the unicorn that the symbolic programme of the grotto is said to be based. The pink stone rhinoceros, with the unusually long horn on its withers, is intended as a real exotic animal, with apparently no special Medicean significance.
- REFERENCES Bertha H. Wiles, *The Fountains of Florentine Sculptors* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933); Sperlich 1961; Liliare Châtelet-Lange, 'The Grotto of the Unicorn and the garden of the Villa at Castello', *Art Bulletin*, vol. 50 (1968), pp.51-8; and Lach 1970, p.166.
- 77 Detail of a Florentine fountain by Francesco Camilliani in the Piazza Pretoria, Palermo, c.1560.
- This fountain was commissioned from Tribolo, who, like his patron, Cosimo I's father-in-law, Don Pedro da Toledo, died before the project was far advanced. Eventually it was shipped from Florence to Palermo in about 650 separate pieces of marble, in 1573.
- REFERENCE John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* (London, 1963), text vol. p.117 and fig. 168.
- 78 Marble relief of a rhinoceros, Italian, c.1550. 37 x 25 cm (Museo Nazionale, Naples, Borgia Collection)
- It is hard to credit that from the date of the earliest catalogue of 1817 until Spinazzola's article in 1913 (see below) this relief could have been considered not only Roman but actually from Pompei. Its dependence on the Vico print (see pl. 79) is very close, and there is little doubt that this was the model for the sculptor; perhaps Florentine, perhaps Roman. Lach's suggestion that the head is a replacement, or at least had been broken off, is not confirmed by examination.
- The 1842 edition (first edition 1817) of the catalogue of what was then known as Il Regal Museo Borbonico reads as follows on p.242:
- RINOCERONTE IN MARMO LUNENSE, *bassorilievo alto 92/100, per palmo uno e 42/100. Pompei*
- Il corno che ha sul naso, ed il lavorio della sua pelle non mettono in dubbio la denominazione che gli si è data. Era credenza presso i Romani che adoperato il corno di questo quadrupede per versare l'acqua ne'bagni servisse ad un tempo come amuleto e come segno di lusso.
- REFERENCES Otto Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* (Leipzig, 1909); Vittorio Spinazzola, 'Di un rinoceronte marmoreo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli', *Bolletino d'Arte*, vol. VII (1913), pp.143-6; Gowers 1952, pp.288-9; Paul Eberhard, *Die falsche Göttin* (Heidelberg, 1962), pp.46-7, fig. 12; Clarke 1973, fig. 5; and Lach 1970, p.166, fig. 121.
- 79 Enea Vico, *Rhinoceros*, engraving after Dürer, Florence, 1548. 26.5 x 36.5 cm
- Enea Vico (1523-67), engraver and illustrator, was born in Parma, studied in Rome, settled in Florence in 1545. This is perhaps the earliest copy of Dürer's woodcut as a single print, not an illustration in a zoological book.
- The print, although created in Florence, was perhaps published in Rome by Antonio Salamanca, print dealer and engraver.
- REFERENCES Bartsch, xv, 305. 47; Sperlich 1961, p.137; Clarke 1973, fig. 3; and *Old Master Prints from Chatsworth*, Christie's Sale Catalogue (5 December 1985), lot 79.
- 80 Detail of a bronze door of Pisa Cathedral, school of Giovanni Bologna, 1602
- The allegorical interpretation of the three bronze doors on the west front was based on a programme derived from Scipione Bargagli's *Dell'Imprese* (Venice, 1594). The rhi-

noceros is said to represent Christ Incarnate, and so to have no particular Medici significance. Angelo Scalani, a minor sculptor in the Bologna circle, was paid for the eight animals of the lateral doors, which included 'uno rinoceronte'.

REFERENCES John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* (London, 1963), catalogue vol. p.90; and H.M. von Erffa, 'Das Programm der Westportale des Pisaner Domes', *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, vol. XII (1965), p.93, fig. 27.

- 81 Onyx double cameo of the 'Dürer' rhinoceros, Milanese, c.1600, attributed to Gian Antonio Masnago. Mounted as the bezel of an eighteenth-century gold ring. 1.3 cm wide (Private collection)

Related to a series of twelve agate cameos of animals, all with enamelled gold mounts, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. It was suggested that they were intended as hat ornaments, to be used in pairs. Also related to two double cameos of lions and tigers included in a set of sixteen buttons in Palazzo Pitti, Florence; each of agate.

The Vienna pieces were attributed to Antonio Masnago by Eichler/Kris on the basis of a passage in Morisia's *La Nobiltà di Milano* (1595, p.295), which reads: 'fu huomo di gran valore nell'arte delli camei, e massime nell'intagliare animali e frutti di colori giusti conformi al naturale.' Admittedly the animal on this cameo is white and not grey, but yet the attribution is possible, given that Eichler/Kris refer to the poverty of workmanship. Presumably our Antonio is related to the well-known Alessandro Masnago.

It is tempting to identify this cameo with an item in Mariette's Sale Catalogue of 1775, in the section devoted to 'Pierres gravées', lot 93, described as 'autre petite Onix, de deux couleurs, aussi montée en bague, sur laquelle est gravé en relief un rhinocéros, très-bien exécuté'.

REFERENCES Fritz Eichler and Ernst Kris, *Die Kameen in Kunsthistorischen Museum: Beschreibender Katalog* (Vienna, 1927), nos 236-47; and *Curiosità di una reggia: Vicende della guardaroba di Palazzo Pitti*, Exhibition Catalogue (Florence, 1979), part II, no. 10.

- 82 Detail of an alabaster monument to Sir Robert Gardener, 1619, attributed to Maximilian Colt (St John's Church, Elmswell, Suffolk)

A typical example of an early Stuart church monument on a grand scale; the partly pigmented Galle rhinoceros, crest of Sir Robert, standing between father and son. Colt was a Huguenot, born in Arras, and responsible for much important church sculpture. Sir Robert was for twenty years Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, followed by two years as Viceroy.

REFERENCE Katherine A. Esdaile, *English Monumental Sculpture since the Renaissance* (London, 1927), pp.124-7.

- 83 Andrea Brustolon, pedestal base with an ebony head of a rhinoceros, Venetian, c.1715 (Ca' Rezzonico, Venice)

Brustolon (1662-1730), celebrated Venetian maker of sculptured furniture, made a remarkable suite (*fornimento*) of furniture, largely of ebony, for the Venetian patrician family of Venier after his return from Rome in 1715. It comprised twelve armchairs, five life-size ebony statues, two large pedestals, and a group symbolic of Forza (Strength), the latter signed. This curious and sleek head of the rhinoceros appears to be of Düreresque tradition; it is carved on the base of one of the large statues, probably that called an Ethiopian warrior (*Guerriero etiopo*).

REFERENCES Giuseppe Biasuz and Enrico Lacchin, *Andrea Brustolon* (Venice, 1928); G. Mariacher, 'Nuovi appunti sul Brustolon a Ca' Rezzonico e al Museo Correr', *Bollettino dei Musici civici veneziani*, no. 12 (Venice, 1965), p.26; and Giuseppe Biasuz and Maria Giovanna Buttignon, *Andrea Brustolon* (Venice, 1969).

- 84 Anton Francesco Selvi, bronze medal of Alessandro de' Medici, Florence, c.1740. Diameter 9 cm (British Museum)

From a set of medals of the 'Real Gran Casa de' Medici', advertised by Selvi in the 1 April 1740 issue of *Novelle Letterarie*, a Florentine periodical. No sixteenth-century medal with the *impresa* of the rhinoceros is known, although many examples have the signature A.SELVI F. below the exergue erased, so that they can and often have been passed off as earlier than they are. It is remarkable that the rhinoceros symbol survived until after the end of the Medici dynasty in 1737, unless perhaps it was a conscious revival. This particularly fine example comes from the collection of George III.

REFERENCE Klaus Lankheit, *Florentischine Barockplastik* (Munich, 1963), pp.195-7.

- 85 Bronze rhinoceros, German (or possibly French), c.1750. Width 16 cm (Private collection, England)

This small bronze is a replica of a Meissen porcelain rhinoceros of about 1748; see col. pl. XIX. Several examples, all on the same flat, shaped base, are known. In some instances this bronze was used as the support for a clock; in one instance mounted in ormolu in Louis XV style, in another it has a Louis XVI mount.

REFERENCES Meulen 1963, no. 115, quoting a Vienna sale of 1929; and Clarke 1976, fig. 42.

- 86 White marble rhinoceros, German, c.1750. Length 48 cm (Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, Co. Durham, England)

This belongs iconographically to a small group in which the back, between front and rear folds of skin, is slightly longer than in other images. The group includes a larger white marble group, formerly at the Rothschild home at Grüneburg, Frankfurt, the large bronze of pl. 87 and the two Frankenthal animals, one in white dated 1777 and the other with a howdah for holding a watch or small clock.

There is some doubt as to whether the marbles and bronzes are German or French, and whether they were made around 1750 or perhaps a quarter of a century later.

See pl. 87 and col. pl. XXVI.

REFERENCES Clarke 1974, fig. 14; and Clarke 1976, figs. 53-6.

- 87 Bronze rhinoceros, German, c.1750. Length 46.1 cm (The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham England)

Other examples are in the Louvre (ex Heseltine Collection) and in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, probably a later cast.

Weihrauch (see below) remarks on the fineness of chiselling of the Louvre example, and describes it as both realistic and stylised. He is a little premature in saying that the Dürer image was by now extinguished. The great length of the body between the fore and aft folds is exaggerated as in the Frankenthal porcelain clock (see Chapter 9, col. pl. XXVI).

REFERENCES Wilhelm von Bode, *The Italian Bronze Statuettes of the Renaissance*, 1st edn (Berlin, 1906-7), vol. II, pl. CXVIII; A. C. Sewter, 'Small Italian Bronzes at the Barber Ins-



titute', *Connoisseur*, vol. CXXIV (1949), pp.28-9; H. R. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten, 15-18 Jahrhunderte* (Brunswick, 1967), fig. 526; Clarke 1974, fig. 23, note 27; and Clarke 1976, fig. 55.

- 8 Terracotta rhinoceros, French, c.1750. Length c. 50 cm (Private collection, France)

This very late example of the second Lisbon or first Madrid rhinoceros seems to be French. We know the Philippe Galle engraving of 1586 was available in Paris. This figure may well have been intended as a sketch for a bronze clock. This is another example of the rhinomania of 1749-50.

- 9 Marquetry card table, probably S. German, c. 1700 (Private collection, W. Germany)

The table top is inlaid in a variety of woods with eight figures of animals, including the rhinoceros after Dürer, after a sixteenth-century zoological compendium. The choice of subject-matter is unusual; one might guess that the table was made for a zoological enthusiast. The edge of the table is inlaid in ivory or bone in unusually large letters with the name of the makers, who are so far unidentified. The inscription reads: OPUS IOANIS ME<sup>T</sup>FRATRUM DIRI.

REFERENCE Cole 1953, fig. 9.

- o Venetian green lacquer bureau-cabinet, detail of drawer front, early eighteenth century (Civiche Raccolte d'Arte, Castello Sforzesco, Milan)

The form of this handsome bureau-cabinet is said to have been of English origin, but the decoration is much inferior to English japanning (as imitations of Japanese and Chinese lacquer were known in England). The Venetians had long been keen importers of oriental lacquer, and had early tried to imitate its appearance with their own method. Painted lacquer or japanning was a major industry early in the eighteenth century. The present example is of the type called *arte povera*, or *industria povera*, whereby painting is replaced by prints produced by the Venetian presses; these are glued to the surface and varnished over.

REFERENCES Giulio Lorenzetti, *Lacche Veneziane del Settecento*, Exhibition Catalogue (Ca' Rezzonico, Venice, 1938); W. Holzhausen, *Lackkunst in Europa* (Brunswick, 1959); Giuseppe Morazzoni, *Mobile Veneziano Laccato* (Milan, 1958 edition), pls XXVI-XXVII; Gilda Rosa, 'I mobili nelle civiche raccolte' (Milan, 1963); Hans Huth, *Lacquer of the West* (Chicago, 1971), especially fig. 109; and Annalisa Zanni, 'Stravaganze in Lacca', *Antiquariato*, Milan, no. 62 (July/August 1985), p.49.

- i Detail of a bouille table top, Augsburg, c.1712-15 (Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)

From the Collection of Lady Baillie, Leeds Castle, Kent (Sotheby's, London 15 June 1973).

Amongst the most sumptuous furniture supplied by the Augsburg makers were the garnitures comprising a table, a pair of *torchères* or *guéridons* and a wall mirror. Where possible, the wooden core was covered with silver by leading makers, and the tops of torchères and the table embellished with marquetry in the manner of André Charles Boulle (1642-1732). This detail from a table has white and green-stained ivory line borders enclosing tortoiseshell-shaped panels whose effect is enhanced by having gold leaf at the back. The chinoiserie motifs are in pewter, mother-of-pearl, ivory and

tortoiseshell. Among these, mostly derived from Dutch travel books, the rhinoceros plays an insignificant role.

The silver mounts are the work of the Augsburg silversmith, Jeremias Jakob Ab(c)rell (1678-1716). Dr R. Stratmann (see below) has attributed the three pieces to the Johannes Mann mentioned in the text (p.120). He was celebrated for his use of rich materials, such as lapis lazuli, amber, amethyst and other hardstones.

REFERENCES Rosemarie Stratmann, 'Eine Garnitur Augsburger Prunkmöbel aus frühen 18. Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch der Staatl. Kunstsammlungen in Baden Württemberg*, vol. 12 (1975), p.157 et seq.; W. Brander, J. M. Fritz and W. Knoblauch, 'Die restaurierung einer Garnitur Augsburger Prunkmöbel', *ibid.*, vol. 13 (1976), pp.55-65; and Helmut Selig, *Die Kunst der Augsburger Goldschmied, 1529-1868* (Munich, 1980), vol. 1, p.321, note 819; vol. II, fig. 1064; vol. III, p.308, no. 2013.

- 92 Detail of a bouille table top, Augsburg, early eighteenth century. 81 x 93.5 x 70 cm (Formerly at Schloss Pommersfelden)

The type of table with a hinged flap at the back is called in German a *Zierklapptisch*. The top of this grand German baroque table (from the Schönborn family) is inlaid in green-stained ivory and engraved mother-of-pearl with a wealth of chinoiserie subjects derived ultimately from late seventeenth-century travel books. In the four corners are allegories of the Four Continents coming from a quite different source: from the title-page of an English book on botany, John Parkinson's *The Theater of Plantas* (London, 1640) (see pl. 114).

It is the second rhinoceros to arrive in Europe, the so-called 'Madrid' animal, that is the origin of this mounted woman elegantly seated in short skirt and with feathers as head-dress. Instead of the trefoil pleats of skin on the original engraving of 1586 by Philippe Galle, Asia has magically turned these into a saddle-cloth, and the artist too has added a collar fitting over the animal's pricked ears.

REFERENCES Heinrich Kreisel, *Die Kunst des deutschen Mobels: Spätbarock und Rokoko* (Munich, 1970), figs 315-6; *Bayern. Kunst und Kultur*, Exhibition Catalogue (Munich, 1972), no. 1375; and Rosemarie Stratmann, *op. cit.* in note to pl. 91.

- 93 Detail of an Augsburg chessboard of tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl, c.1710-30. 48.4 cm square

The tortoiseshell ground is inlaid in mother-of-pearl, copper and stained green ivory to create a choice selection of chinoiserie figures; many of them re-occur on the Pommersfelden table (pl. 92), and may be by the same hand. At least nineteen of the subjects have been traced without question to the oft-quoted book of travel on China by Jan Nieuhof: in its Dutch title, *Het Gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Amsterdam, 1665).

The Augsburg worker may well have used one of the large series of Dutch or German prints derived from the original in place of the cumbersome folio.

REFERENCE *China und Europa: Chinaverständnis und Chinamode in 17 und 18. Jahrhundert*, Exhibition Catalogue (Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, September-November, 1973), for the different editions of Nieuhof.

- 94 Detail of a chessboard, S. German or Austrian, c.1710. 21 cm square (Schatzkammer, Residenz, Munich)

From the collection of Amalia (1702-56), daughter of the Emperor Joseph I, wife of the Elector of Bavaria Karl Albrecht in 1725, and later his Empress when from 1742 to 1745 he became Holy Roman Emperor.

REFERENCE Hans Thoma and Herbert Brunner, *Schatzkammer der Residenz München* (Munich, 1964 edition), no. 1119.

- 95 Louis Roucel, gold and *piqué coulé* snuffbox, Paris, 1768-9 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Wrightsman Collection)

PROVENANCE Louis-Jean Gaignat, his sale, February 1769, *marchand-mercier* Poirier; Grimode de la Reynière, his sale; René Fribourg, his sale, Sotheby's, London 14 October 1963, lot 266; Wrightsman Collection, 1963; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976.

This engaging box is a triumph of the technique of *piqué*, a minor art about which there is much to learn. It has been fully catalogued by Sir Francis Watson in his book on gold boxes in the Wrightsman Collection: to this the reader is referred. Since 1973, however, when this catalogue was published, two items of interest have come to light.

The first is the discovery by Miss Rosalind Savile, of the Wallace Collection in London, that this box appeared for a second time in a Parisian saleroom in 1797, when the collections of the *fermier-général* M. Grimod de la Reynière were disposed of. This seems to have been soon after his death, for he is referred to in an earlier sale of April 1793 as 'citoyen La Reynière' and not until 1797 does he become 'le feu Citoyen'. He must have been quite old, for he was a client, with his wife, of Lazare Duvaux (see below) in the 1750s. The entry in the 1797 catalogue refers to the box as follows: '196. Une tabatière carrée, à charnière, doublure à cage en or, garnie de six plaques d'ancien coulé, sur écaïlle, dont le dessus est un sujet de Rhinocéros.'

The second discovery, more pertinent to the subject of this book, concerns the origin of the particular rhinoceros which was so excellently made in 'hair' *piqué*. It was not 'a somewhat unusual instance of antiquarian feeling', but, on the contrary, a typical chinoiserie, even Chinese animal. For the source is an engraving in Nieuhof's account of the first Dutch trading mission to China, a work already often quoted, first published (in Dutch) in 1665. Here (1) is the Nieuhof rhinoceros. The two palm trees come from a separate but adjacent engraving (2) in the same work; not from the Dutch edition but perhaps from the German edition, where the plates are in reverse.

Further to stress the essential import of Nieuhof's travel book, it will be found that the *piqué* snuffbox belonging to the Maréchal-Duc de Richelieu, mentioned in Sir Francis's text as sold in 1788 as lot 781, is described as having 'le dessus présentant un elephant, le dessous un chameau'. These two exotic creatures share a plate in Nieuhof's work; see (3). Both panels are of *écaïlle piquée*, that is a dark shell; in all likelihood also of 'hair' *piqué*.

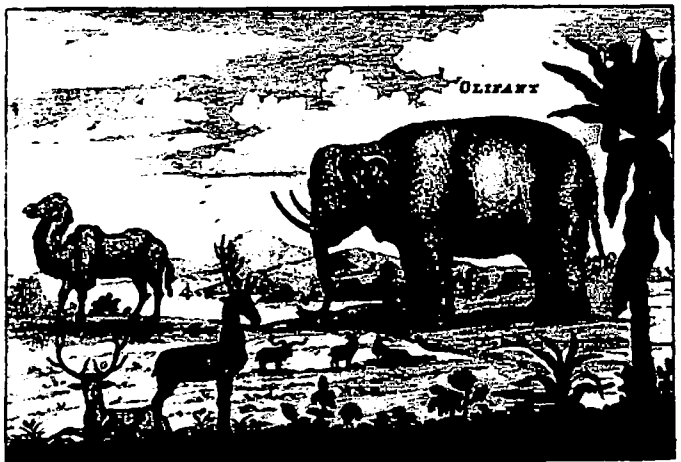
This dependence for design on a single book published as early as 1665 raises some doubts as to the accepted dating of *piqué coulé* or 'hair' *piqué*. French or rather Parisian society was accustomed to be always in fashion. It is strange to see the gold box-makers depending on a source that was by 1740 already *démodé*. As can be noted from earlier objects illustrated in this chapter, even the Germans used this particular source in the first quarter of the eighteenth century; and the Dutch too, or even earlier, as pl. 96 shows. Since some at least of the boxes *piqué* on dark shell seem to have been re-mounted



(1)



(2)



(3)

or the panels cut down, it is a reasonable hypothesis to look much earlier than has been so far done for the date and place of origin of this interesting group of 'galanterie'. Perhaps it will be found that they date from early rather than mid-eighteenth century.

It is mentioned in an earlier paragraph that the rhinoceros on this *piqué* box could be called Chinese rather than chinoiserie. Why should a European book on China be illus-

trated with the Dürer animal? An answer to this piquant situation can be found in Chapter 12.

REFERENCES Nicuhof 1669; Courajod, ed., *Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux* (Paris, 1873), pp. LIII-LIV and CCCI-CCCH; Kenneth Snowman, *Eighteenth Century Gold Boxes of Europe* (London, 1966), fig. 369; Clare Le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuff Boxes, 1730-1830* (New York, 1966), fig. 152; *France in the Eighteenth Century* (Royal Academy, London, 1968), cat. no. 875, fig. 379; *China und Europa* (Berlin, 1973), *op. cit.* in note to pl. 93, E12; Clarke 1973, fig. 15; *Apollo*, January (1968), col. pl. VI; and Clare Le Corbeiller, *The Wrightsman Collection: Gold Boxes* (New York, 1983), no. 17.

- 96 Detail of *Verre églomisé* and tortoiseshell cabinet on giltwood stand, Dutch, c. 1690-1700. Height 178.5 cm; glass panel 71 × 34.3 cm (The Art Institute of Chicago)

This remarkable piece of furniture is of interest not only for its technical brilliance but also because of the quality of the chinoiserie, nearly all of which can be traced to one of the Dutch travel books or to engravings in Athanasius Kircher's *China Monumentis* (Amsterdam 1667).

Three of the relevant engravings (1, 2, 3) from Nieuhof are reproduced on the opposite page. They come probably from the German edition, which has the plates in reverse.

REFERENCES Nieuhof 1669; and *China und Europa* (Berlin, 1973) *op. cit.*, note to pl. 93, E12a and E13 for the Nieuhof and Ogilby editions.

- 97 Leather shield or roundel of Gian Giacomo de' Medici, Marquis of Marignano, Italian, c. 1550. Diameter 90 cm (Imperial Armouries, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

This roundel or shield can be seen clearly in the folio woodcut of the Archduke Ferdinand's posthumous catalogue of his collection of armour, written by his secretary Jacob Schrenck von Notzing. The Latin edition (for title, see text note 19, Chapter 8) was published in 1601; the German edition, with a happily shorter title, in 1603: *Der . . . Keyser . . . Bildnissen und . . . Beschreibungen ihrer Teten, deren Waffen . . . in Schloss Ombrass . . .*. A later edition of 1735 bears the title *Armamentarium Heroicum Ambrosianum*. The leather shield and the suit of blued steel were removed from Schloss Ambras to Vienna in 1806.

Gian Giacomo commanded the Medici/Imperial forces in the conquest of Siena; hence perhaps the inclusion of the Medici lily and the double-headed Imperial eagle in the spaces between the animal *imprese*.

In a posthumous inventory of the contents of Schloss Ambras dated 30 May 1596 the shield is described as 'einer rundell, mit leder uberzogen, darauf allerlei thier und reimzettl gemalt und vergult'.

REFERENCES Jacob Schrenck von Notzing (1603), pl. 42 (see above); A. Grosz and B. Thomas, *Katalog der Waffensammlung in der neuen Burg zu Wien* (Vienna, 1936), II, 29; and *Palazzo Vecchio: Committenza e collezionismo mediceo*, Exhibition Catalogue (Florence, 1980), no. 238.

- 98 Scale drawing of a Pomeranian gun barrel, dated 1545 (Kungl. Armémuseum, Stockholm)

Although the date on the gun is 1545, the drawing was not prepared until 1674, by Christian Ludewig Hannitzes, of Stralsund. The barrel was cast by Wolf and Oswaldt Hilger for Philip I, Duke of Pomerania (d. 1560). The drawing comes

from one of a series of books of scale drawings showing guns in Swedish fortifications in the Baltic.

I am grateful to Bengt Hermansson for the above information.

REFERENCE Theodor Jacobsson, *Lantmilitär Bevåpning och Beklädnak under äldre Vasaliden och Gustav II Adolfs Tid* (Stockholm, 1938), p. 73, fig. 18.

- 99 Detail of a Saxon gun barrel dated 1559, from the *Codex 'Artillerie'* (Landesbibliothek, Dresden)

This barrel was cast by Wolfgang Hilger the Elder, of Freiberg, Saxony. The arms are those of Duke Johann Friedrich II, known as the Mediator (*der Mitler*). He founded the University of Jena in 1558, two years before his arrest and life imprisonment. The drawing is of later date, probably seventeenth century.

REFERENCE Heinrich Müller, *Deutsche Bronzegeschützrohre, 1460-1750* (Deutsche Militär Verlag, 1968), pp. 52-3.

- 100 Louis XV ormolu rhinoceros clock, the dial signed ET<sup>NE</sup> LENOIR A PARIS, c. 1750. Height 42 cm (Sotheby's, London)

This clock, entirely gilt, although the animal might have once been brown, differs from the normal model of the Dürer type in lacking the distinctive ribcage. The ormolu base mount is also unlike the Saint-Germain model, as is the luscious rocaille of the drum-shaped clock.

Etienne Lenoir was active from 1740.

REFERENCE Sale Catalogue, Sotheby's, London (2 December 1983), lot 30.

- 101 Terracotta rhinoceros with head raised, on wood stand painted to imitate jasper, c. 1750. Height 36 cm; length 41 cm (Maitres Ader Picard Tajan, Paris)

At the Paris sale in 1974 this was called early nineteenth century, but it might well be earlier and a preliminary model for the rhinoceros clock with mounts by Saint-Germain. Note how the left legs are just in front of the right, a feature of the clock shown in col. pl. XXV. It might have been modelled from the life in Paris in 1749, but more likely the inspiration comes from the print by Ridinger from the *Paradise* series (for which see pl. 33).

REFERENCE Sale Catalogue, Palais Galliera, Paris (26 November 1974), lot 51.

- 102 Louis XV bronze and ormolu rhinoceros clock, the dial signed Thiout l'Ainé à Paris, c. 1750. 68 × 38 × 18 cm (The Hermitage, Leningrad)

This, the third type of French rhinoceros clock, is less common than the two already mentioned in the text. It may be derived from a combination of actual observation and influence of the many prints distributed by the animal's owner, Douwe Mout, as well as perhaps relying on the Meissen porcelain figure of Chapter 7 (pl. 70). The only trace of Dürer is the scale-pattern on the legs. Thiout l'Ainé (1692-1767) was clockmaker to the Duc d'Orléans and a horologist of distinction. The clock is crowned by an ormolu Chinese boy holding a parasol, so emphasising the adoption of the rhinoceros as an element of chinoiserie.

REFERENCE E. M. Efimova and M. N. Torneus, *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Western European Clocks from the 16th to the 19th Centuries from the Hermitage Collection* (Leningrad 1971), no. 107.

There are slight variations of this model recorded. A short list follows:

(1) The Hermitage example here described.

(2) An identical rhinoceros standing loose without base mounts on the top of a musical box. The clock is crowned by the same Chinese boy as the Hermitage example. Size 85 × 57 cm; dial signed Wm. Blakey a Paris. Private collection, Paris. See Stéphanie Faniel, *French Art of the 18th Century* (London, 1957), p.118, fig. A; also 'Pendules à animaux', *Connaissance des Arts* (May 1953), p.100.

(3) Another described as 'au rhinoceros et au chinois' in the collection of Dr Sauvage. Grown Chinaman as a terminal with a parrot. See Tardy, *La Pendule française dans le Monde* (Paris, 1974), vol. 1, p.169.

(4) Known only from a painting by Laurent Pécheux in Palazzo Pitti, Florence. See note to pl. 103.

- 103 Laurent Pécheux, *Portrait of Maria Luisa of Bourbon-Parma*, signed and dated 'Parma 1765', oil on canvas. 228 × 151 cm (Palazzo Pitti, Florence)

The original painting, commissioned by the fiancé of Maria Luisa, later Charles IV of Spain (reigned 1788–1808), is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the present portrait by Pécheux (1729–81) is a replica made for the family, with certain differences of detail. The Metropolitan original shows an elephant clock (still in Palazzo Pitti), whereas the replica has a rhinoceros clock, which has not yet been traced.

The name of the maker, but not the Christian name, is easily discernible as Leroy à Paris. It was almost certainly bought by Maria Luisa's mother, the extravagant eldest and only married daughter of Louis xv, Louise Elisabeth. Her purchases of porcelain, furniture and other luxuries are duly registered in the Parma archives. Maria Luisa is better recognised from her portraits by Goya; she died in 1819.

The finial is not a chinoiserie one, as in the other examples mentioned, but a putto as allegory of Music or possibly of Sight. The tambour is affixed to the animal's body by a pair of gilt-metal straps, so avoiding the slipping of the rococo saddle.

The rhinoceros clock was still in Florence at Palazzo Pitti in 1805. It is described in an inventory (Archivio di Stato, Florence, Imperiale e Real Corte, 1298), where the name of the maker is given as 'Pyerr Le Roy'. Pierre Le Roy (1717–85) was an eminent horologist.

REFERENCES L. Bollea, *Laurent Pécheux* (Turin, 1942); *Pittura francese nelle collezioni pubbliche fiorentine*, Exhibition Catalogue (Palazzo Pitti, 1977), p.229, pl. xciv; and *Curiosità di una reggia*, Exhibition Catalogue (Palazzo Pitti, 1979), pp.121–2. Also James Parker, 'French eighteenth century furniture depicted on canvas', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, January (1966), pp.177–92.

- 104 Detail of a James Cox musical table clock for the Chinese market, c.1765–70 (Palace Museum, Peking (Beijing))

See note to col. pl. xxvii.

- 105 James Cox, musical table clock with lion and rhinoceros, c.1770 (The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad)

The watch at the top, within its ring of revolving dials, is signed 'Jas. Cox, London'. It sits above a small Dürer rhinoceros, which surmounts a much larger lion, the pivot of the composition. Below, in an agate and gilt-metal case is a musical movement, supported on feet in the form of bulls.

The elements are clumsily put together, with no apparent sense of scale, and in materials of poor quality. This example of Cox's export drive exemplifies his strictures on 'the barbaric cast' of the 'taste and customs of Orientalists'. In fact, of course, their taste was considerably in advance of Cox's, whose work can never have been taken seriously as the West's contribution to civilisation. Cox's work was ingenious but shoddy.

REFERENCES C. Troinitski, *Stary Gody* (St Petersburg, 1914), pp.38–42; and E. M. Efinova and M. N. Torneus, *Western European Clocks from the 16th to the 19th Century in the Hermitage Collection*, Exhibition Catalogue (Leningrad, 1971), no. 207.

- 106 Detail of an English bronze and gilt-metal rhinoceros mantel clock, inscribed WEEKS'S MUSEUM, c.1800. 42 × 36 cm (Private collection, New York)

When sold by the Codrington family at Sotheby's, Geneva on 11 November 1980, little was known of its history. Thomas Weeks, entrepreneur of ability, died in 1834, when two auction sales were held on his premises, each containing figures of a rhinoceros. Lot 247 on 3 December 1834 comprised 'AN ORMOLU TEMPLE supported by gilt rhinoceroses and elephants, containing two jewelled singing birds'; and an earlier sale on 15–16 September of 1834 had two bronze rhinoceroses for £115-0 (lot 50) and a lot of mixed pachyderms, an elephant and a rhinoceros for the same price (lot 77). Whether these were the same model as the clock is doubtful, considering their low price; but sale-rooms can and often do produce bargains, especially in the case of a dealer's stock. The sales were conducted by E. Foster.

Weeks was also responsible for a number of secretaire bookcases containing clocks.

REFERENCES Christopher Gilbert, 'Some Weeks cabinets reconsidered', *Connoisseur*, May (1971), pp.13–20; Altick 1978, pp.351–2; Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, Geneva (11 November 1980), lot 10.

- 107 *Obelisk and Rhinoceros*, woodcut from a book describing the 'joyous entry' of Henri II into Paris, 1549

The full title of the anonymous book is *C'est l'Ordre que a este tenu à la nouvelle et joyeuse Entrée que ... le Roy tres chrestien Henry deuxieme ... a faicte ... de Paris* (Paris, 1549).

For the allegorical significance of the rhinoceros monument, which was allegedly seventy feet high, see Heckscher (see references) who writes: 'this colossal piece of wood and canvas, beautifully painted to give the impression of porphyry, jasper and serpentine, was anchored some seven feet in the ground, and showed the rhinoceros triumphant'.

There is little reason in the suggestion that Jean Goujon used the copy of the Dürer woodcut by Enea Vico of 1548 as his model, for the former woodcut had two editions in the 1540s; see V. L. Saulnier in *Fêtes de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1956), p.42, note 47. It should be noted that Goujon had himself illustrated the French edition of Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, which had been translated by Jean Martin, chief designer of the 1549 *Entrée*; see Joseph Chartrou *Les Entrées solennelles et triomphales à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1928).

REFERENCES William S. Heckscher, 'Bernini's elephant and obelisk', *The Art Bulletin*, September (1947), p.169; Erik

Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and its Hieroglyphs* (Copenhagen, 1961), pl. XIII; and Lach 1970, fig. 124 and p. 165.

08 *A Pageant Rhinoceros* for the Farnese/Aldobrandini wedding, engraving, Bologna 1600 (Albi Rosenthal, Oxford)

Details of the festivities can be found in a rare contemporary account, *La Montagna Circea Tornamento nel passaggio della Seren. Duchessa Donna Margherita Aldobrandina Sposa del Sereniss. Ranuccio Farnese, Duca di Parma e Piacenza, Festeggiato in Bologna xxvii Giugno, 1600*. Adrian Eeles suggests that the engraving may be by Cherubino Alberti (1553–1615).

This book is remarkable for the inclusion in a pocket of a stage setting with interchangeable scenes.

REFERENCES William S. Heckscher, 'Bernini's elephant and obelisk', *The Art Bulletin*, September (1947), pp. 165–82, for a detailed account of Bernini's last work for Pope Alexander VII.

09 Remigio Cantagallina, detail from *Fourth Intermezzo for Il Giudizio di Paride*, etching after a drawing by Giulio Parigi, 1608. 19.4 × 27 cm (British Library)

The only interest of this etching to this study is the diminutive rhinoceros of hybrid type emerging from its cabin on rockwork to the left. A drawing in Parigi's hand that must have served at least as a guide to the etcher is in the Theatre Museum at present in London's Victoria and Albert Museum; the rhinoceros is only marginally different from that on the etching.

REFERENCES Bartsch xx. 61. 16; A. M. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1593–1637* (Yale University Press, 1964), p. 101ff.; Honour 1975, no. 96; Roy Strong, *Splendours at Court* (London, 1973), pp. 206–11; Arthur R. Blumenthal, *Theater Art of the Medici* (Dartmouth College Museum, New Hampshire, 1980), nos 23 and 24; and Timothy Clifford, 'Old Master drawings in London', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 118 (August 1976), fig. 74.

10 Pieter van der Borcht, *Triumphal Arch of the Portuguese for the Entrée into Antwerp of Archduke Ernst of Austria*, engraving, Antwerp, 1593 (British Library)

From the contemporary description by Jean Boch, *Descriptio publicae gratulationis spectaculorum et ludorum, in adventu. Ernesti Archiducis Austriae, an. MDXCIII, XVIII Kal. Iulius aliisque diebus Antwerpiae editorum* (Antwerp, 1595)

The allegory of Brazil derives from a drawing by Marten de Vos popularised by engravings (see Honour below).

REFERENCES Lach 1970, p. 170, fig. 49; Honour 1975, fig. 88; and Honour 1976, fig. 82.

11 Marten de Vos(?), *Allegory of America*, drawing in pen and black ink, Flemish, c. 1600. Depth 12.5 cm (The University of Michigan Museum of Art)

Though inscribed with the name of Marten de Vos, this drawing is unattributed according to Honour.

REFERENCES *Architectural and Ornamental Drawings . . . in the Collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art* (1965), no. 5; and Honour 1975, no. 89.

2 *Allegory of America*, lead plaque, c. 1600, (?) German. Depth 17.7 cm

The date and even country of this plaquette, of which many examples are known (for example, in Basel, Berlin, Munich

and the Metropolitan Museum, New York), have been the object of some controversy; Dutch or Flemish, the date varying from 1580 to first quarter of the seventeenth century. Even the graphic prototype is disputed. But none of this affects the astonishing substitute of the rhinoceros for the armadillo as an attribute of America.

REFERENCES Klaus Pechstein, *Bronzen und Plaketten* (Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, 1968), no. 285; and Honour 1975, no. 87 (with refs).

113 Theodor de Bry, title-page of *Indiae Orientalis*, Frankfurt, 1612

Theodor de Bry moved from Liège to Frankfurt in 1570. There he published illustrated collections of voyages to India from 1590 to 1634. An earlier edition of *Indiae Orientalis* (Frankfurt, 1601), has the more usual profile view of the rhinoceros, clearly Düreresque, but a travesty, with the armour on its rear left leg about to slip off like a pair of shorts. REFERENCE Lach 1965a, illus. opp. p. 101 and p. 216.

114 John Parkinson, detail of title-page of *The Theater of Plantes*, London, 1640

At the age of seventy-three, John Parkinson (1567–1650), who had been appointed *Botanicus Regius Primarius* by Charles I, published his *Theatrum Botanicum, The Theater of Plantes or An Universall and Compleat Herball*, illustrated by hundreds of small woodcuts. For the title-page (engraved by W. Marshall, fl. 1617–49) he used allegories of the Four Continents, all personified by women, three of them astride animals, the fourth, Europe, riding in a chariot drawn by two horses. All have appropriate floral symbols. Asia, in tall head-dress and holding a spear, was copied both in German (Wiesbaden) creamware and in Augsburg inlaid furniture (see pl. 92).

REFERENCES Cole 1953, fig. 13; F. D. and J. F. M. Hoeniger, *The Growth of Natural History in England from Gerard to the Royal Society* (Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, 1969), pp. 22–6; Clarke 1974, fig. 6; and Clarke 1976, figs 22–3.

115 *Allegory of Africa*, engraving to celebrate the birth of a son to Philip IV of Spain, Naples, 1658 (British Library)

One of a set of four folding plates of the Continents in *Feste celebrate in Napoli per la nascita del Serenissimo Principe di Spagna, dall' Exc. Sign. Conte di Castiglio, Viceré e Capitan Generale nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1658).

These prints may well have influenced Giuseppi Zocchi's designs for the *pietre dure* Continents (see col. pl. xxxi); and the figure of Africa, in particular her head-dress, can also have been the model for Luigi Sirti's cameo (see pl. 118).

REFERENCE James Hazel Hyde, 'The Four Parts of the World as represented in oldtime Pageants and Ballets', part II, *Apollo*, vol. v (1927), p. 22.

116 Francis Barlow, design for a title-page, brush drawing in grey wash, 1657. 23.7 × 15 cm (British Museum)

This is a design for Samuel Clarke's *A Geographical Description of all Countries in the knowne World*, 3rd edn (London, 1657). The drawing was engraved by Richard Gaywood, whose name is wrongly inscribed as the designer. I am indebted to Dr Bernard Watney for drawing my attention to this drawing.

For a mezzotint and drawing by Barlow, see pl. 17 and 18.

REFERENCE Edward Croft-Murray and Paul Hulton, *Catalogue of British Drawings*, vol. 1, XVI and XVII Centuries (British Museum, London, 1960), p. 100, no. 6 and pl. 54.

- 117 Giuseppe Zocchi, detail from *Allegory of America*, oil on canvas, c. 1757. The complete painting, 40 × 54 cm (Il Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Florence)

Although dated c. 1760 in the Opificio Catalogue (see below, nos 509–12), it seems more likely that Zocchi (1711–67), who had been employed by the Opificio since 1749 by its new director, Giuseppe Siriès, painted the set of Continents a few years earlier, and that these were kept in reserve until the work could be begun. This would explain how Siriès was able to carve his cameos before the publication of his booklet of 1757, for which see note to pl. 118.

REFERENCE *Il Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure* (Milan, 1978), pp. 319–20 and no. 512.

- 118 Luigi Siriès, *An Allegory of America*, onyx cameo, signed 'LS', c. 1750. Oval, 3.2 × 2.6 cm (Kenneth Snowman, Esq., London)

From the collection of the Emperor Francis I of Austria and his wife the Empress Maria Theresa.

The early career of Louis (Luigi) Siriès (also called Sires) is something of a mystery. Born at Figeac in the Lot, he is said to have emigrated to Florence as early as 1722, although in 1757 he was still describing himself as 'Orfèvre du Roi de France'. Of his work as a goldsmith we have little to record. A *lapis lazuli* and gold snuffbox, signed in full, is dated to about 1730 (see Snowman below). The correspondence of the two Horaces, Mann in Florence and Walpole in England, adds a little to our knowledge. Walpole evidently made friends with him during his stay in Florence in 1740, for, referring to him simply as 'Louis', he asks Mann to buy three pairs of gold scissors for Lord Lincoln; Mann replies that it is simpler for Lincoln to buy them in Paris at the Palais Royal, where there is a dealer whom Siriès supplies with such things. In September 1747 Mann reports to Walpole that 'Louis is making six gold razors which is thought may induce the Sultan to shave his beard, or his favourites – a *l'uso italiano*'. These were part of a gift to the Sultan on the occasion of a commercial treaty between Tuscany and Turkey.

According to his own account in a booklet, *Catalogue des pierres gravées par Louis Siriès*, published in Florence in 1757, Siriès only began engraving hardstones in 1746, two years before he was made director of the Opificio. In this booklet are described 168 engraved gems, arranged in six fitted cases. America is no. x in case no. 5.

In the text on p. 154 was mentioned the substitution by Siriès of two hippopotamuses for the two 'Madrid' rhinoceroses of both Zocchi's painting and of the *pietra dura* plaque. The stuffed hippopotamus was not mentioned by John Evelyn in his diary of 1645 (it may have been kept elsewhere at that time), but it is mentioned by two English travellers, P. Skippon and John Ray, the latter a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge and tutor of the former. They travelled together to Italy in the mid-1660s, and Ray published an account of the stuffed animal in 1673. But how early this hippopotamus arrived in Florence has not yet been discovered.

It is tempting to think that this may be the same animal offered to the Grand Duke Ferdinand in 1602 by the traveller

Federico Zerenghi, who had caught two hippopotamuses at the mouth of the Nile in 1601. In an apparently unpublished letter (Archivio del Stato, Florence, Mediceo del Principato 912), Zerenghi had offered the head and skin of two of these creatures to the Grand Duke in Florence late in 1602 for the adornment of the Galleria of the Uffizi; but having no response, he took them to Rome. It seems likely that Rubens's two paintings of animals that include a hippopotamus (the destroyed *Neptune and Amphitrite* of Berlin and *The Crocodile and Hippopotamus Hunt* of Munich) were based, as far as the hippopotamus is concerned, on Zerenghi's head and skins in Rome, whether by then stuffed or not is difficult to say. It should be noted that Rubens was in Rome in 1601–2 and 1605–8. Since the first live animal did not arrive in Europe until 1850 it is hard to determine where else Rubens could have found a model for his very life-like paintings. Whether one of the skins was later stuffed and sent to Florence is not proved – yet.

REFERENCES Louis Siriès, *Catalogue des pierres gravées par Louis Siriès Orfèvre du Roi de France Présentement directeur des Ouvrages en pierre duré de la Galerie de S. M. Imperiale a Florence* (Florence, 1757); Kenneth Snowman, *Eighteenth Century Gold Boxes of Europe* (London, 1966), p. 112 and pl. 722; *Letters of Horace Walpole, Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann* (Yale edition), vol. 1/17, 17 and 30 July 1747, vol. III/19, 19 September 1747; Arnout Balis, 'Hippopotamus Rubenii: Een hoofdstukje uit de geschiedenis van de Zoologie', in *Feestbundel: Kolveniershof en Rubenianum* (Antwerp, 1981), pp. 127–43 (a detailed study of the Rubens paintings, with full references; I am grateful to van der Meulen for drawing my attention to this essay); and Detlef Heikamp, 'La Galleria degli Uffizi descritta e disegnata', in *Gli Uffizi, quattro secoli di una galleria. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, Florence, 20–24 September 1982 (Florence, 1983), 2 vols, vol II, p. 461ff.

- 119 and 120 Hans Sibmacher, *A Rhinoceros Whetting its Horn*, engraving from a book of emblems by Joachim Camerarius, 1595; and Sibmacher (attributed to), a drawing in pen and grey-blue wash for a medal, c. 1580. Depth 9 cm (The latter, Stadtbibliothek, Mainz)

These two illustrations are so closely connected both in subject matter and authorship that they must be considered together. The first is an engraving from the celebrated emblem book by Joachim Camerarius of Nuremberg (1534–98) published in four volumes between 1590 and 1604 (and often reprinted). The emblem with the 'Madrid' rhinoceros comes from the second volume, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera* published in Nuremberg in 1595 with engravings by Hans Sibmacher (d. 1611). The text states that the source was an accurate drawing received from Spain, which might account for the windmill.

Joachim Camerarius the Younger was a doctor, botanist (who planned botanical gardens) and philosopher; he acquired the botanical drawings of the Zurich naturalist, Conrad Gesner. Hans Sibmacher was an engraver and designer, best known for his book on heraldry, the *New Wappenbuch* of 1605.

The drawing of pl. 120 is from a MS in the Stadtbibliothek of Mainz which came to light some twenty years ago. This travesty of the Dürer woodcut appears to have been among 200 emblems drawn by Sibmacher under the control of

Camerarius for use as designs for medals awarded annually to scholars of the Altdorf Academy (1580–1623), later the University of Altdorf (1623–1809). The rhinoceros medal (now in the Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg) was awarded in 1582 to Georg Erasmus Freiherr von Tschernembl. A detailed study of these medals has been made by F. J. Stopp (see below).

REFERENCES Cole 1953, pp.344–5, fig. 10; Lach 1970, pl 129, pp.84, 26–7 and 169; Rookmaaker 1973, fig. 4; Clarke 1974, fig. 5; Frederick John Stopp, *The Emblems of the Altdorf Academy, 1577–1626* (London, 1974); and Rookmaaker 1978, no. 3.1, p.22.

- 121 Ambroise Paré, *Rhinoceros/Elephant Fight*, woodcut from *Discours . . . Asçavoir, de la Mumie, de la Licorne*, Paris, 1582

Paré (1510–90), 'Father of French Surgery', was by no means the first to have illustrated the elephant/rhinoceros fight. Indeed, he seems to have used the same woodblock as that initiated by André Thevet (1502–90), traveller and author of *La Cosmographie universelle* of 1575.

But there are earlier versions of the fight noted by van der Meulen (see below): a Brussels tapestry of c.1540, a print by Jan Mollijns the Elder (d.1574) of about 1563 and the well-known emblem of J. Pierus Valerianus in his *Hieroglyphica* (Bale, 1556).

REFERENCES H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche* (Leipzig, 1923–4), part I, vol. II, fig. 148; Shepard 1930, pp.168–72; Coste 1946, fig. 9; Cole 1953, fig. 8; Meulen 1963, figs 32–5 and 38; Lach 1970, fig. 126; and Rookmaaker 1978, no. 2.6 and 1983, p.13, 3.7.3, with many references.

- 122 Joseph Boillot, 'Von dem Rhinocerot oder Nashorn', woodcut from *New Termis Buch*, Strasbourg or Frankfurt, 1604 (British Library)

This is a translation of the French original, *Nouveaux Pourtraits et Figures de Termes* (Langres, 1592). Forsman (see below) has pointed out the Burgundian character of these strange conceptions. Anthony Blunt has described the prints as 'one of the most astonishing documents about provincial Mannerism at this period'.

REFERENCES Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France, 1500–1700* (London, 1953), p.106, note 37; E. Forsman, *Säule und Ornament* (Uppsala, 1956); Sperlich 1961; *Tiere und Pflanzen in der Graphik*, Exhibition Catalogue (Kunstabibliothek, Berlin 1967), no. 52; and Lach 1970, fig. 128.

- 123 Antonio Tempesta, *Rhinoceros/Elephant Fight*, etching, 1605. 1.8 × 11.1 cm (British Museum)

The Dürer ancestry is obvious, but the relationship is a distant one. Note the bushy tails of the two beasts, almost interchangeable, and the cloven feet of the rhinoceros. Yet it is a lively picture of combat, with the victor not yet certain.

The Parsons Collection in Glasgow University Library has an engraving after Tempesta by the Frenchman, Jean-Baptiste Bonnat (1678–1726), in reverse, with the following comment written by Dr Parsons: 'he has so altered the Beast as to give him the feet of a bull & the pizzle; and the tail like a horse, but the ornaments are like those of Alb: Dur:.' REFERENCES Bartsch XVII. 161. 916; Meulen 1963, no. 54; and Rookmaaker 1978, no. 2.12.

- 124 G. C. Petri ab Hartenfels, etching from *Elephantographia curiosa*, Erfurt, 1723 edition

It is hard to guess whether this is a peaceful scene or just the preliminaries to a serious bout. Is the elephant raising his trunk to try to throttle his enemy, or is he just giving a paternal pat on the back of his rival? We will never know. The jungle is derived from Dutch travel books, such as Jan Nieuhof's. The first edition was published at Erfurt and Leipzig in 1715.

REFERENCES Cole 1953, fig. 20; and Oettermann 1982, p.193.

- 125 Johann Elias Ridinger, 'Der Elephant und das Nashorn', etching with engraving by his son Martin Elias Ridinger, 1760. 35.3 × 29 cm

From a set of eight plates of animals fighting called *Kämpfe reisender Thiere*. The verses are by B. H. Brockes.

Other drawings and prints of the rhinoceros that visited Ridinger's home town, Augsburg, in May–June 1747 can be seen in col. pl. VI and pls 31, 32 and 33 of Chapter 4. Several drawings for this series, some of them never engraved, were in the collection of Rudolph Weigel early in the nineteenth century, dated from 1758 to 1768.

REFERENCES Thienemann 1856, no. 721; and *Johann Elias Ridinger, 1698–1767*, Exhibition Catalogue (Städtische Kunstsammlungen Augsburg, Holbein-Haus, May–September 1967), no. 75.

- 126 Detail of an 'animal park' tapestry, Flemish, late second half of sixteenth century (Maitres Ader Picard Tajan, Paris)

This is a rare deviation from the traditional depiction of the natural antipathy of the two pachyderms. The rhinoceros takes pride of place in the centre foreground. Perhaps the reason for the attempted garrotting is knowledge in Europe of this practice in India.

REFERENCE Sale, Ader Picard Tajan (18 May 1979), lot 80.

- 127 A sketch for an animal tapestry, pencil, Italian, c.1550. 18.7 × 22.7 cm (Private collection, London)

This unattributed drawing of exotic animals seems intended as a preliminary sketch for either a tapestry or possibly a fresco. The two Italian words on the right of the beast's hindquarters are *galo*, meaning possibly a cockscomb, and *pano*, a pimple. The latter word is pointed at the scale pattern of the rear right leg, the former to the cresting, an exaggeration of the Dürer original.

It is not easy to tell whether the elephant's trunk comes from above or below the rhinoceros's neck. The rhinoceros has an expression of slight anxiety, perhaps because the elephant's tusks are beginning to try to pierce its armour.

For another example of strangling, see pl. 58, Chapter 6.

- 128 A page from the great Chinese encyclopaedia of 1728, engraving (British Library, Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books)

It is possible that the Dürer woodcut had already appeared in the *san-cai tu-hui* of c.1610; in which case Father Verbiest's introduction had been anticipated. The *Great Encyclopaedia (tu shui go cheng)* was the first book to be printed in China in moveable copper type. Only 64 sets, each of 5,020 sections, were published; that in the British Library is one of the very few to have survived intact. Of the second edition, published c.1890, there were only 100 sets, but the text is slightly longer.

REFERENCES Lionel Giles, *An Alphabetical Index to the Chinese Encyclopaedia* (British Museum, 1911); Berthold



Laufer, 'History of the rhinoceros', *Chinese Clay Figures* (Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1914), pp.73-173; Soame Jenyns, 'The Chinese rhinoceros and Chinese carvings in rhinoceros horn', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, vol. 29 (London 1954-5), pp.31-62; and *China und Europa*, Exhibition Catalogue (Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, September-November 1973), A9, B26 and B28-31 (for details of Verbiest's publications).

29 Detail of a Moghul miniature, c.1600 (owner unknown)

This detail from a large miniature of King Solomon enthroned with his court of angels, demons, animals and birds is attributed to the artist Madhū Khānahzād. This antelope-like gentleness of expression is a recognised Moghul iconographic type. There could hardly be a greater contrast to the West's acceptance of Dürer's *Panzernashorn*.

Another Moghul miniature of slightly earlier date is that of the Emperor Babur on a rhinoceros hunt, in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; again a gentle creature. But there is also a fiercer type, for which see Ettinghausen below.

That the 'gentle' type of rhinoceros is of ancient lineage is shown by a mosaic on the floor of St Mark's, Venice, described as Byzantine.

REFERENCES Ettinghausen 1950 (especially figs 30, 32-3); and Sotheby's Sale Catalogue (13 July 1971), lot 275 (for further references).

30 Detail of an Indo-Portuguese quilt, seventeenth century (Museu Nacional de Arte Antigua, Lisbon)

The quilt of which this plate illustrates a small part measures 184 × 135 cm, and even this is only a part of the original size. It is embroidered in blue 'tussah' silk in chain and back stitch on a white cotton ground with biblical and hunting scenes in strips and rectangular panels. This is one of the rare instances of an oriental iconographic type exported to Europe, but it had no impact on the established European iconography.

There is evidence of the import of 'quilts of course sarcenet and of calico' as early as 1592, mentioned by

Richard Hakluyt as part of the cargo of the *Madre de Dios* captured by English privateers (see Impey below).

This quilt was to be seen in London in 1978 in an exhibition in Kensington Palace on the occasion of the visit of the Portuguese President to London.

REFERENCES Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie* (New York, 1977), p.37; and *Embroidered Quilts from the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon*, Exhibition Catalogue (Kensington Palace, London, November 1978), no. 4.

131 A Persian miniature of a rhinoceros (*karkadann*) from an album given to Engelbert Kempfer, Isfahan, 1684/5, after an engraving by Philippe Galle. 21 × 29.2 cm (British Museum, Department of Oriental Art)

That a keen observer such as Kempfer should not have objected to the artist using Philippe Galle's print as his source is odd. The leaf is inscribed both in Arabic and in European script, the latter possibly by Kempfer in person. His transliteration is *Kergqden*. The album is dated AH 1096, equivalent to the Christian date 1684/5.

Kempfer was on his way to Japan to take up an appointment as doctor to the Dutch factory in Deshima, Japan. After his death in 1716, his literary remains were bought from his nephew by Sir Hans Sloane; and so form part of the original British Museum, founded in 1753. This Persian drawing was copied by Parsons while in Sloane's possession c.1739. Among the material then acquired are his illustrated travel diaries, as well as this album of, as it were, 'Cris d'Isfahan'.

An earlier traveller, Sir John Chardin (see p.41), had noted a captive *karkadann* in Isfahan a few years previously, between 1673 and 1676.

REFERENCES Jean Chardin, *Voyages en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient* (Amsterdam, 1711), vol. II, p.45; Loisel 1912, vol. II, p.6; Coste 1946; Rookmaaker 1978, nos 8.2-8.4; and Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts* (BM Publications, London, 1977), p.74, no. 227.



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This bibliography of articles and books has been kept as short as possible: a complete bibliography including all aspects of the rhinoceros in the fine and applied arts would be impracticable. But many other references can be found both in the notes to the text and in the notes to the illustrations. Happily, there has recently been published L. C. Rookmaaker's *Bibliography of the Rhinoceros: An Analysis of the Literature on the Recent Rhinoceroses in Culture, History and Biology* (published by A. A. Balkema, Rotterdam, 1983). Readers needing further information are urged to consult this work; in particular Chapter 3 on 'Publications between 1500 and 1800'.

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