

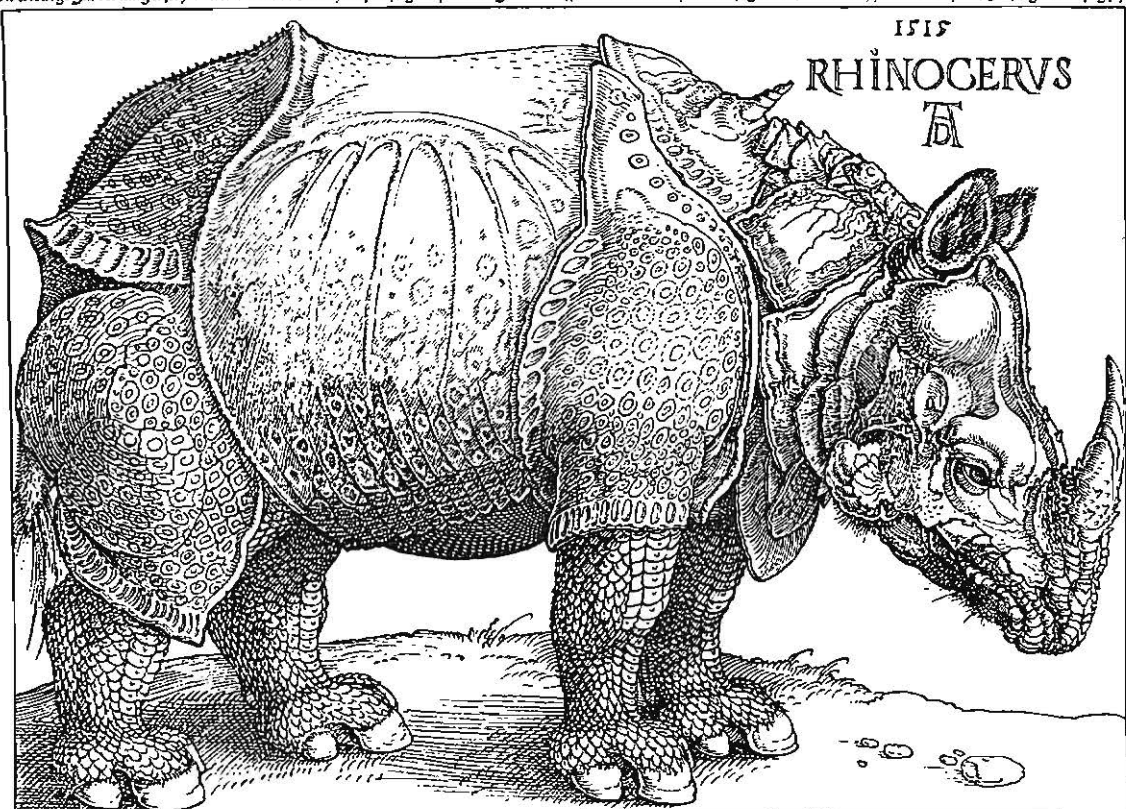
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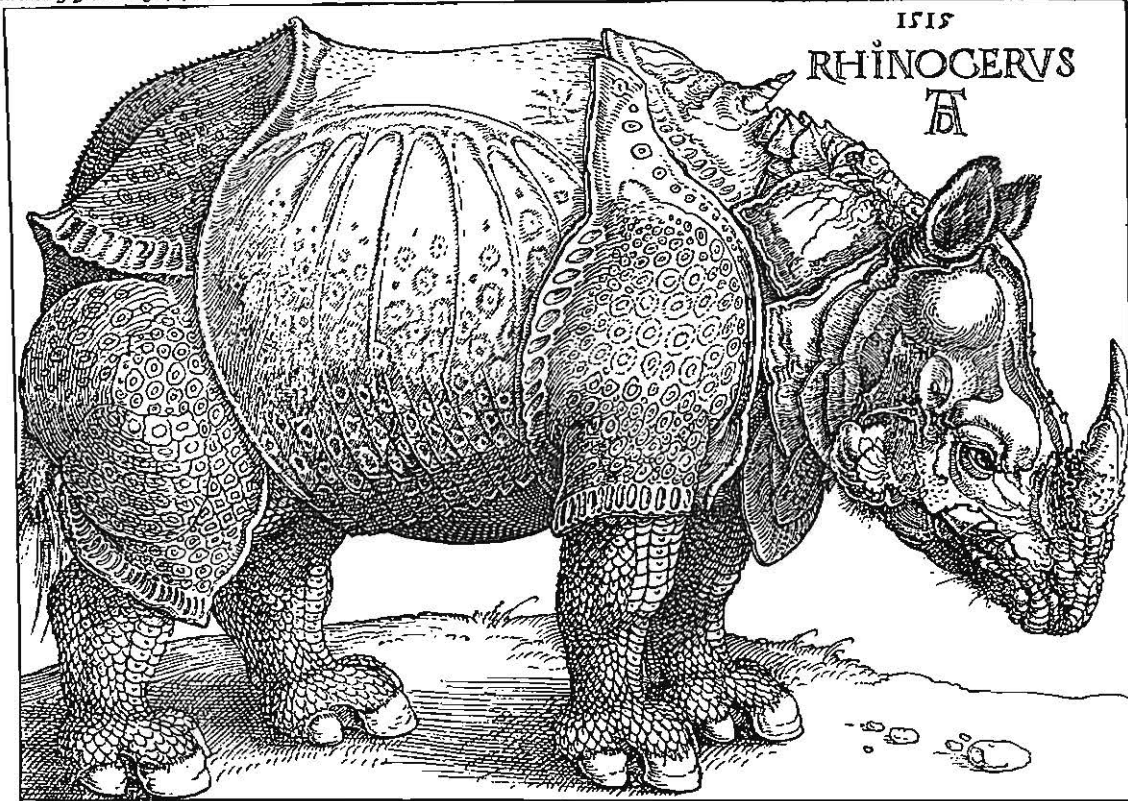
Nach Christus geurt. 1513. Jar. Abi. 4. May. Hat man dem großmichtigen König von Portugal (Em anuell gen Lysabona) pacht auf India ein sollich lebendig Thier. Das nennet sie Rhinoceros. Das ist hirt mit aller seiner gestalt d'vonderste. Es hat ein farb wie ein gespessete Schildkröte. Und ist vñ dicker Schale vberlege fast stift. Und ist in der groß alder d'Gefände d'Er in d'vortragener von payen und fast wachstiffig. Es hat ein schaffstark Horn von auff der nase. Das beynde es alweg zu wegen wo es bey steynen ist. Das d'vorig Thier ist des Schiffes fang tode stunde. Der d'vorige furcht es fast vñel d'ann wo es in anstumbet so lufft in das Thier mit dem kopff zwischen d'ye so d'vorn payen und reyt das d'vorige vñder am pauch auff vñ erwidrigt in das mag a sich mit craxen. D'ann das Thier ist also gewapent das in der d'vorige nichts kan thun. Sie sagen auch das der Rhinoceros Schnell/Straydig vñ d'vorig sey.



Umschlagbild:
Albrecht Dürer. Rhinoceros. Holzschnitt 1515.
British Museum, London.

Clarke

Nach Chusuo gepart. 1713. Jar. Abt. f. May. Hat man den großmüthigen König von Portugal den amüßigen Lysabona stadt auf Tablaren sollich lebendig Thier. Das nennen sie Rhinoceros. Das ist hie mit aller seiner gestalt Absonderliche. Es hat ein sard wie ein gesprenckeltes Schildkröte. Und ist des vicken Schales überlege fast ist. Und ist in der groß als der Schiffende Alter in der trachtiger von paymen/ und fast wechaffig. Es hat ein schaff stark horn vorn auff der nase/ Das beynde es allweg zu wegen wo es bey steynen ist. Das vösig Thier ist des Schiffen feind. Der Schiffende fürcht es fast vbel/dann wo es In anhangt/so laufft In das Thier mit dem kopff zwischen drey foiden paymend ruyf der Schiffende vnter am pauch auff vñ erwürge. In des mag a sich nit erwan. Dann das Thier ist also gewapent/das In der Schiffendereiches kan vñ. Sie sagen auch das der Rhinoceros Schmelz/ Straydig und Listig sey.



The rhinoceros in European ceramics

by T. H. Clarke

The elephant and the rhinoceros are the two largest surviving mammals, and of each there are Indian and African species. This article deals only with the single-horned Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*), for the African double-horned rhinoceros (*Diceros bicornis*) was not to be seen alive in Europe from its appearance in Rome in the later Roman Empire until a specimen arrived at the Zoological Gardens in Regent's Park, London, in 1868. Compared to the elephant, the rhinoceros was a rare beast. We have certain knowledge of only eight between 1500 and 1800, and of these only three (or possibly four) enjoyed such fame as to be rendered in some form or another in European pottery or porcelain. The elephant on the other hand was to be seen in Europe throughout the Middle Ages; so that, although exotic, its features and peculiarities were nearly a commonplace. Not so the rhinoceros.

The eight rhinoceroses which we know arrived alive in Europe are as follows:

1. 1515 The Lisbon or Dürer rhinoceros, also known as the Ganda
2. circa 1579—86 The Madrid rhinoceros or Abada
3. 1684—5 The first London rhinoceros
4. 1739 The second London (or Parsons) rhinoceros
5. 1741—circa 1756 The 'Dutch' rhinoceros
6. 1770 The Versailles rhinoceros
7. 1790 The third London rhinoceros
8. 1799 The fourth London rhinoceros

That Portugal, Spain, Holland, England and France should have been the hosts of this oriental animal is natural, for they were the great sea-borne empires. Only these coun-

tries had the necessary maritime facilities to bring this large animal alive from India.

Of these eight, the first, second and fifth have made the greatest imprint on Europe's potters. We shall deal with each in turn.

Dürer's Rhinoceros at Meissen

The first rhinoceros to be seen in Europe since Roman days arrived in the Tagus estuary on the 20th May, 1515¹. It was an Indian rhinoceros, *Rhinoceros unicornis*, a one-horned animal, native at that time of north and north-east India. This particular specimen had been sent as a diplomatic gift by the Moslem ruler of Cambaia, a small state on the north-west seaboard of India, to the Portuguese viceroy, Alfonso de Albuquerque, who had been entrusted with the task of consolidating Portuguese influence subsequent on Vasco da Gama's triumphal voyage of 1497—9. Albuquerque in turn passed on the animal to his King, Manuel I the Fortunate (1495—1521), who placed it in his menagerie in Lisbon where he had an assortment of exotic beasts. After having arranged a fight with one of his elephants on Trinity Sunday, 1515, in order to test out the classical story of the natural antipathy of these two pachyderms (the elephant fled), Manuel sent the rhinoceros by sea to the Pope, Leo X, to join another elephant, the celebrated Hanno, which had been presented the previous year. But the rhinoceros never arrived alive; it was shipwrecked off Spezia and continued its journey to the Vatican, we are told, after being stuffed by a taxidermist. Whether it is still in the Vatican I have been unable to discover. Whilst in Lisbon a description and history of the rhinoceros, filled with appropriate humanist learning, was made by one Valentin Ferdinand, a successful printer from Moravia. This description together with a drawing by a Portuguese artist reached Nuremberg, where it was seen by Dürer, whose imagination must have been fired, for he at once made a detailed drawing (now in the British Museum) from which was prepared his well-known woodcut (fig. 1).

Dürer's woodcut of an animal he had never seen proved so popular — it went into many editions — that this extraordinary armour-clad beast with a small twisted horn on its back as well as a larger one on its snout almost monopolised the zoological textbooks as well as the arts for the next 230 years. Small wonder, then, that when Augustus the Strong included this animal in his astounding porcelain furnishings for his reconstructed Japanese Palace it was the Dürer version, the Panzernashorn of 1515, that Kirchner provided in 1731, and not the Madrid rhinoceros of the 1580's or the London animal of 1684.

It was Jean Louis Sponcel in 1900 who first suggested in his rather neglected but essential work, *Kabinetstücke der Meissner Porzellan-Manufaktur*, that the immediate prototype of the large Meissen animal was not so much Dürer's woodcut as a wooden 'Maschine' or dummy used on two occasions at the spectacular court festivities of Augustus the Strong, in 1709 and 1714; and he reinforced this suggestion by illustrating on opposite pages a drawing of the rhinoceros (fig. 2) and one of the surviving examples of Kirchner's porcelain animals. The drawing², anonymous, is apparently contemporary with the festivals of 1709 and 1714. Whether it was the dummy life-size Panzernashorn or the drawing that Kirchner used as his model we cannot say; maybe the dummy was destroyed or fell to pieces, since it was in essence something ephemeral, a stage prop. The main variations from the Dürer woodcut are the greater length of the dorsal horn and in particular the abbreviated rib-cage; in the woodcut the flutes continue under the belly of the beast, in the Meissen and water-colour versions the ribs degenerate into a pattern of ovals much resembling corn on the cob. (One scholar, Friedrich H. Hoffmann, has interposed between Dürer and the water-colour a painting in the Dresden gallery by Franz Francken [d. 1642] showing a rhinoceros amongst other animals in a typical Flemish depiction of the animal world of Paradise.) But what distinguishes the Meissen animal³ (fig. 3) from all the possible prototypes is its ample and zoologically quite incorrect tail: Dürer's tail is a short affair with a few stiff hairs, cut off, it has been said, by the limitations of his boxwood block, while the dummy in the water-colour has no tail at all.

Both the early Meissen elephant and the rhinoceros, the largest of the birds and animals ordered for the Japanese Palace, are quite unrealistic. In the case of the rhinoceros this is understandable, for no live one could have been observed in Meissen or Dresden before 1747 (of this we write later), but it is difficult to understand the stylisation of the elephant, because there had been a live one in Dresden, brought back as booty by the Elector Johann Georg III after the raising of the siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1683. The legs of the Meissen elephant are too short, its eyes almost human, its ears acanthus-like, the tip of its trunk pierced like a watering-can.

Both elephant and rhinoceros are generally accepted as being modelled by Kirchner during his second period as Modellmeister from June, 1730 until his dismissal on 31st March, 1733. Sponcel, Zimmermann and Albiker⁴ all give Kirchner the credit, albeit on stylistic rather than on documentary grounds. The editor of the revised Albiker of 1959 is more cautious. After quoting from the archives «1 Uhrgehäuse und Rhinocerus» under the name of Kirchner, he proceeds to give a longer excerpt from the Meissen

archives under the name of Kaendler who, it should be noted, had joined the staff of the factory in June, 1731 as a 25-year old «Modellirer», (One forgets how young were the creators of the Meissen style — Kirchner also 25 in 1731, Hoeroldt only 27 when appointed Hofmaler in 1723.) The references to Kaendler are dated February, 1732: «Es sind auch Uhrgehäuse mit der Jägerei und anderen Zierathen als welche von der Churprinzessin verlangt worden, wie nicht weniger von den grossen Elefanten und dem Rhinozero gefertigt worden, die aber noch nicht zum Brennen befördert werden können, weil sie nicht ausgetrocknet, man wird aber nechstens erfahren, wie sothane Stücke im Feuer geraten werden.»⁵ Kirchner und Kaendler, then, were both aged 25 in 1731. The former was the senior in experience, he had already worked for a year from April, 1727 to April, 1728; further, the elephant and rhinoceros are markedly different in style from those other animals, birds too, that are unquestionably the work of Kaendler alone. To Kirchner should go the credit, in my opinion, of these two models of the elephant and rhinoceros.

What is of interest in the excerpt from the archives quoted above is the insight it gives into the technical difficulties of these large animals that Augustus the Strong was continually browbeating his modellers to produce. Fortunately we are reasonably well-informed on the details of this 'Grosstierauftrag' (literally, 'large animal commission'), in particular with regard to the rhinoceros, a word which, incidentally, seems to be spelt differently on each occasion. Our earliest record is in a list dated Meissen, the 13th December, 1731, where under the heading 'Was in Thon poussiret und noch ausgeformet werden muss' ('modelled in clay and the moulds still to be made') is mentioned '1 Stuck Rhenocerus' as well as one elephant. Two months later, in February, 1732, as we have noted above, both elephant and rhinoceroses (Rhinozero) had been 'formed' in raw porcelain, and were drying out preparatory to firing. An the 18th August, 1732 two 'Rhinoceri' were still in the same state, namely 'rohe Porcellaine' (unfired porcelain). Two years later, on an unspecified date in 1734 the manager of the Dresden warehouse, S. Chladni, in a long list of almost 200 large birds and animals mentions that '4 Rhinoceros' valued at 172 Thalers each had been delivered to the Japanese Palace. The last documentary evidence published is a 'Specificatio' dated 18th February 1735. This time our animal is called 'Reinocerus', and four are mentioned as 'soll geliefert werden' ('to be delivered'), and four as 'ist geliefert worden' ('have been delivered').⁶

Augustus the Strong had died in Warsaw on 1st February, 1733, but his death seems to have made little difference at first to the rate of delivery of the thousands of wares and figures already ordered for the furnishing of the Japanese Palace. As for the rhinoceros, we cannot tell for certain

whether his son and successor the Elector Frederick Augustus II of Saxony (King Augustus III of Poland) (1733—63) insisted on the completion of the remaining four rhinoceroses. But it would seem likely, for as late as August, 1741, reference is still being made to unfulfilled orders. Where are the surviving specimens? Fortunately two are preserved in the State Collections in Dresden at the Zwinger, one in white, the other cold-painted in brown (figs. 4 and 5). These are presumably the ones referred to rather ambiguously by Sponzel in 1900, writing on the elephants and rhinoceroses together: 'Von diesen grössten aller Meissner Tierfiguren sind in der Königl. Porzellansammlung je zwei Stück in weisser Masse vorhanden sowie ein mit Olfarbe bemaltes Rhinoceros' ('Of these largest of all the Meissen animal figures there are present in the Royal Porcelain Collection two examples in white and one rhinoceros painted in oil colours'). Yet in the 1920 Dresden duplicates sale⁸ there was sold another cold-painted rhinoceros (fig. 6), the tip of its left ear broken; its present whereabouts are not known to me. So there were perhaps two cold-painted rhinoceroses in the Dresden collections in 1900, in which case Sponzel erred. A fourth example, in white this time but with traces of cold painting, is in the Musée National de Céramique at Sèvres (fig. 3), where it has been since 1837 together with four other large white figures from the Japanese Palace — a bear, a pelican, a peacock and a vulture. These and 52 other pieces of Meissen porcelain, including many rare early pieces such as a 'seladon' bowl inscribed 'Meissen 27 Augusti 1726', were acquired in an exchange arranged by the energetic Alexandre Brongniart (1770—1847), originally a geologist, then director of the Sèvres factory from 1800 until his death. We are not told what the Sèvres factory or museum presented to Dresden as its side of the bargain⁹.

Four, then, of the large Dürer rhinoceroses in Meissen porcelain survive, three certainly, the fourth probably. A fifth is said to be in an English collection. This article may bring others to light.

The translation of Dürer's two-dimensional woodcut into the three-dimensional Meissen porcelain rhinoceros by Kirchner, whether direct or more likely through an intermediary, is to my mind wholly successful as a baroque work of art with a rather awesome exotic overtone. But, strangely, when some ten years later Johann Gregor Hoeroldt's Malerstube went back to the same Dürer source for a model in decorating two pieces of the Northumberland dinner service the result was not nearly so successful; hilarious rather than solemn, as the illustrations (figs. 7—9) show¹⁰.

This remarkable Meissen service has recently been published in *Keramos*¹¹; here it is only necessary to recall that accompanying the service (which can be seen at Alnwick

Castle in Northumberland) are a series of water-colour drawings and a contemporary description in English. One of the drawings is of the *Plat de ménage* (fig. 7). If you compare it with the Dürer woodcut of fig. 1, you can see at a glance how the proportions have been altered, and for the worse; head too narrow, body compressed, the markings on the folds of the skin have become stylised. It is a stage animal, not a living one; made of cardboard rather than flesh and bone. How absurd it looks flanked by rich swags of martagon lilies, carnations, larkspur and other *Holz-schnittblumen*, brilliantly painted but on quite another scale. Note the cost, 24 Reichsthaler. On this dish stood four cruets and a tall basket for lemons. The English description says of this dish that it is painted 'after the Life', a patent lie.

There is a second piece from the same service (fig. 9), a round dish 30 cm in diameter, executed by a different hand and a year or so later in date, about 1747 because the flowers are no longer botanical but have evolved into the type called *deutsche Blumen*, of a softer palette, no longer with shadows, with pink roses a prominent flower. The Indian rhinoceros has its head held higher, the markings are closer to the wood-cut, but the spiral horn is much longer, and the whole back slopes the wrong way, from the tail end up towards this horn instead of *vice versa*. But what is of special interest about this Meissen dish is that there is a faithful copy in English porcelain from the Chelsea factory with red anchor mark, so dating from about 1752—5. This Chelsea copy (fig. 10) is on an oval scalloped dish in the Irwin Untermyer Collection¹², now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Every flower is precisely imitated, down to the single rose on the upper rim; only the moths and butterflies on the Chelsea copy have incautiously approached closer to the Panzernashorn. Why the Chelsea painter chose to copy this animal derived from Dürer is a mystery, for there was a live rhinoceros to be seen in London in December, 1751, as will be seen later in this article. I doubt whether Meissen would have gone on depicting the Dürer beast as late as this, for the same animal which came to London had been in Dresden in 1747. It is this beast, I believe, which figures on fig. 11, a slop basin from a Meissen tea service dating from about 1760.

Dürer's rhinoceros on English delftware

It is disappointing that the theme of the *rinoceronte* seems not to have appealed to the Italian maiolica painters of the 16th or indeed later centuries. This is strange because the rhinoceros was chosen as an emblem for Alessandro de'Medici (d. 1537) by Paolo Giovio, the erudite Bishop of

Nocera, and figures often in Florentine art of the period. Enea Vico, for example, a Florentine, made a fairly close copy of the Dürer wood-cut in 1548, and the Bolognese natural historian, Ulysses Aldrovandi (1522—1607) followed suit. In sculpture Dürer's animal can be seen on the west door of Pisa Cathedral, circa 1600, and again on a marble relief in the Museo Nazionale, Naples. But nothing ceramic has so far come to my notice.

England is the country which first used the *Panzernashorn* on anything ceramic. In the year 1617 was formed in London the Society of Apothecaries, an institution still in vigorous existence. The grant of arms made to this society in April 1620 included not only two unicorns as supporters but also as crest 'a Rhynoceros, proper', both doubtless as tribute to their efficacy as detectors of poison, in which guise they figured in the pharmacopoeias until the mid-18th century. 'The Horn (of the rhinoceros) is good against poyson, Contagion, the Plague and all manner of malignant fevers', wrote one William Salmon in 1693¹³.

A seventeenth century engraving of the arms of the Society of Apothecaries (fig. 12) demonstrates quite clearly that it is the rhinoceros of 1515, the *Ganda*, that is the prototype for the crest. Note how a century after it was first published the animal has degenerated; the mouth open, as though panting for breath, the legs too tall, the tail too high. But worse was to follow, for when transferred to that peculiarly English object, the pill-slab (figs. 13 a—e) of tinglazed pottery, it becomes almost unrecognisable, a *Fabeltier*. On none of the 100 or so surviving pill-slabs is there any attempt to draw a recognisable Dürer rhinoceros, indeed, some of them look more like armadilloes¹⁴.

Pill-slabs, or pill tiles as they are also called, are usually painted with the arms of the Society of Apothecaries in blue, on rare occasions with other high-fired colours. Never intended for the actual rolling of pills, they were rather used for display by the apothecary. They date from about 1660 to the 1760's and come in different shapes — oval, octagonal, shield or heart. Most are the product of London, particularly Lambeth potteries, but doubtless Bristol and Liverpool made them also. At least one drug jar painted with a rhinoceros has survived (fig. 14) in a private English collection. Scaly and much horned, it stands guard between two birds on a jar filled with King Agrippa's Ointment, made, so Agnes Lothian tells us, of wild herbs and 'applied to the stomach in dropsical conditions'¹⁵.

We have already said that these armorial pill-slabs were being made up to the 1760's. It might be argued that the rhinoceros, that is Dürer's rhinoceros, was only incidental to the whole design of the coat-of-arms, and so its survival in this form is a mere historic accident. But this can hardly be said of the English delftware tile¹⁶ which we show in figure 15. It derives from *The Ladies' Amusement* of 1762,

a pattern book of miscellaneous designs for the use of amateurs in many branches of the arts. Figure 16 gives us this extraordinary survivor of Dürer's woodcut of 1515. By the time the tile was made, around 1770, there were more recent and indeed more accessible portraits of the rhinoceros to copy, as I shall show. This tile, then, is a witness to the survival of a work of genius, the woodcut by Dürer that had become part of the European subconscious.

The Madrid Rhinoceros or Abada

Earlier in date than either the English delftware or the Meissen porcelain just discussed was the second rhinoceros to come to Europe of which we have detailed knowledge, but its fame was limited and its delineation could not hope to rival Dürer's genius, although in fact its portrait was a better likeness than Dürer's. The animal arrived in Lisbon from India probably in 1579¹⁷. In 1580 Philip II of Spain (1527—1598) succeeded in adding Portugal and its overseas empire to the dominions of Spain. In order to make his rule more palatable to his new Portuguese subjects he removed his court to Lisbon for three years, from 1580 to 1583. On his return to Madrid he appears to have been accompanied by the rhinoceros. Not that this unlikely pair actually travelled together, but there are indications that Philip II was attached to the animal. In Madrid it was referred to as the *bada* or *abada*. There is a record of a visit paid to the *abada* in November 1584 by the first Japanese delegation ever to visit Europe, four young noblemen who later went on to Rome to visit the Pope, Gregory XIII. We are told that so fierce was the animal that it had to be blinded and to have its horn sawn off.

Fortunately we know how this rhinoceros appeared to its contemporaries, for there exists a very rare print (fig. 17) by Philippe Galle (1537—1612), a leading member of the celebrated Antwerp family of printmakers and printsellers. The caption tells us in Latin how Philippe Galle came to be in possession of a drawing sent to him from Madrid. This print, dated 1586, gives us a picture far removed from the Dürer vision of an armour-plated beast. Instead, we have a placid animal, cow-like, with a thin horn, the skin on its neck falling in two double folds, the *plicae* or folds of skin on its back gently rounded.

This copper engraving by Philippe Galle of 1586 served in its turn as a model for the two etchings (figs. 18 and 19) by Hans Sibmacher commissioned for Camerarius's popular book on animal emblems first published in Nuremberg in 1595 under the title *Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera*. The

work was an immediate success, particularly in this overcrowded field of emblem books, and went into many editions in many languages throughout the seventeenth and even into the eighteenth century. An edition of 1654 published in Mainz is still to be found in the Schloss at Wrisbergholzen near Hanover, from the library formed or inherited by Baron Rudolf von Wrisberg. This enterprising gentleman, not content with practising law in the neighbouring town of Celle, found time for a variety of industrial and commercial activities, including the founding of a faience factory in 1735 in his village of Wrisbergholzen: a factory that was to last until 1834¹⁸.

The Baron was, it seems, fascinated by his emblem books, for not only did he make use of Camerarius but he also borrowed from Italian emblem books subjects for a series of tiles of unusual size (measuring 23,5 by 27 cm) that still decorate his dining room. Painted in blue, most probably by Johann Christoph Haase who is recorded as working at Wrisbergholzen from 1746 until his death in October, 1749 at the age of 49, these tiles, which cover the walls from floor to ceiling, must have given great pleasure to the Baron's guests, or perhaps perplexed them, as they sat on after dinner. The two that concern us (figs. 20 and 21) must have given the guests ample opportunity for showing off their classical knowledge, for both have subjects that derive from Antiquity. The rhinoceroses themselves are, as stated above, modelled on Philippe Galle's 1586 engraving via Sibmacher. One shows a rhinoceros tossing a bear on its horns, a theme dealt with in a couplet by Martial, while the other of the beast whetting its horn on a rock is a reference to the presumed antipathy of the rhinoceros for that other huge pachyderm, the elephant, again a classical legend.

The Madrid rhinoceros is also — or so I believe — connected in a very curious way with an allegory of Asia¹⁹ to be found in a hitherto unique example of Wiesbaden creamware in the Museum für Kunsthandwerk in Frankfurt, shown here in fig. 22²⁰. It must be realised that the snout of the beast has been considerably restored, and that it must once have had a single horn pointing backwards and not the two elephant tusks with which its restorer has gratuitously adorned it. Compare this rendering of the Continent with this detail (fig. 23) from the frontispiece of an English book of 1640, John Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum, The Theater of Plantes, or an Universall and Compleate Herball*. The animal is quite clearly Philippe Galle's rhinoceros of 1586 with its single nasal horn and the rounded *plicae* of its skin, but mounted on its back is a figure seated barebacked and as it were side-saddle, holding a staff in one hand, the other held akimbo. Admittedly, Parkinson's rider seems to be feminine, while the Wiesbaden model has a male figure, holding a sceptre rather than

a wand, but in a pose that is very similar, too similar to be accidental. It has been observed further that this same English frontispiece was used by the designer of the well-known Augsburg table at Schloss Pommersfelden dating from the first quarter of the eighteenth century²¹. And Augsburg made use of the Madrid rhinoceros on other pieces of furniture²². It seems not unlikely, therefore, that the Wiesbaden modeller of circa 1770 was familiar with the Galle print or a derivative, but he could not help adding a Düreresque scale pattern, and he has simplified the neck folds.

Dutch tiles

Rather than deal with Dutch Delft tiles on a purely iconographic basis, I have thought it more convenient to bring together both those derived from Dürer and those from Philippe Galle, the Ganda and the Abada, the Lisbon and Madrid animals. This theme has recently been thoroughly covered as part of a much wider study of Dutch animal tiles and their graphic prototypes in a special issue of the publication of the Dutch ceramic society; it is to one of the authors, J. Pluis, that I am indebted for most of the material in this section. The title of this work is *Dieren op tegels*²³, in English 'Animals on Tiles'.

The authors have drawn attention to the flood of prints produced in the Netherlands in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, particularly in Antwerp. As far as animals are concerned, there was extensive borrowing from earlier works such as the natural history compendiums of Conrad Gesner (1551) and Pierre Belon (1555). The Dutch tile makers of the seventeenth century are most likely to have known of Dürer's rhinoceros woodcut of 1515 at second hand, or even third hand, that is, via Gesner and then from his printed book to one of the sets of prints by Marcus Gheeraerts or Abraham de Bruyn (1540—1587). I show in fig. 24 one of the latter's set of 12 prints of circa 1583 which may have been the immediate source of the two tiles in figs. 25 and 26²⁴. Both are considerably simplified but easily recognisable; both are in blue, one (fig. 25) dating from the second quarter, the other (fig. 26) from the second half of the seventeenth century.

That the Dutch tile makers ever consciously differentiated between the Dürer and the Madrid rhinoceros is unlikely, for both species were readily to hand in local prints. Just as it is unlikely that the potters had access to the Dürer woodcut direct, so it is unlikely that they had as model the actual engraving of the Madrid animal of 1586 by Philippe Galle (fig. 16), which must have been issued in a small edition, for none of the print rooms that I have

consulted know of its existence. But the Flemish print makers soon broadcast it, as well as the writers of emblem books, as we have already seen. It is probably through the medium of Adriaen Collaert's print shown in fig. 27 that the Madrid beast appeared on tiles, for nearly all the other animals in this series of 20 engravings also appear on tiles. The title of the set was *Animalium Quadrupedum omnis generis*²⁵, it was first issued in Antwerp in about 1612 and exists in various editions. Adriaen Collaert (c. 1516—1618) was the son-in-law of Philippe Galle, so that the Madrid rhinoceros remained in the family, as it were.

There is no difficulty in recognising at once the prototype of the animal on the polychrome tile of the mid-seventeenth century in fig. 28. Nor again in the blue painted tile of fig. 29 which is rather earlier in date. But it has the extraordinary feature of two horns on its nose, probably an error of the painter, since the two-horned African animal (*Diceros bicornis*) was virtually unknown.

The characteristic folds of skin are already rather blurred in the next tile (fig. 30), which is also in blue. But it is not easy to know what to make of the last tile in fig. 31. Playfully approaching a dog nearly as large as itself, it has the two horns of the Dürer animal but rather the plicae of the Madrid beast. Such a hybrid is not surprising in the history of this remarkable exotic pachyderm.

Glass

I should like to interpolate here two pieces of glass, because after all glass is a material allied to both pottery and porcelain; that felicitous French phrase, 'les arts du feu', embraces both those techniques of materials that have passed through the ordeal by fire.

The first (fig. 32) is a Saxon Humpen or *Hofkellerei* glass enamelled on one side with a crude version of Dürer's rhinoceros. The dorsal horn is much too big, the legs too long. One wonders why such an animal was used at the Saxon court in 1621, the date of the glass, which has too the initials of the Elector Johann Georg I (1611—56). It can be seen in Schloss Pillnitz²⁶, and is here illustrated by courtesy of the Dresden authorities.

The second glass is in the Kestner Museum in Hanover²⁷. It is a tall Roemer with cover, of clear glass, and called South German and dated circa 1730—40. The illustration (fig. 33) shows a detail of the bowl which is wheel-engraved with allegories of the Four Elements. This group of exotic and domestic animals presumably represents Earth. The catalogue postulates a Netherlandish source, and with this I agree. Our rhinoceros is a delightful combination of

Philippe Galle and Dürer, more Galle than Dürer. The folds of skin, in particular the centre of the back with the ogee fold at the edge of the stomach is pure Galle, while the second horn on the withers is a tribute to Dürer. And its placidity is that of the Madrid beast as depicted by Philippe Galle.

The London Rhinoceros of 1684

The arrival of an Indian rhinoceros in London in 1684 is well documented, thanks largely to the *Diary*²⁸ of John Evelyn which has been published in many editions. This animal is the third of its species to arrive in Europe, or at least the third that we have knowledge of, and the first to grace England's shores. Evelyn went to visit her (it was a female animal) on the 22nd October, 1684. He commented on her 'set of most dreadful teeth' and added that 'if she grow proportionable to her age, she will be a Montaine'. She was to be seen on Ludgate Hill on payment of one shilling, and the curious could also admire elsewhere in London at the same time a camel that had been captured as part of the baggage train of the Turkish army after the raising of the Siege of Vienna in 1683.

Ceramically there is only one item to report on in connection with this first London rhinoceros. In 1671, John Dwight was granted a patent for the manufacture of German stoneware. The patent recalls that Dwight 'had discovered the Misterie of the stoneware vulgarly called Cologne ware' and that 'he designed to introduce a Manufacture of the said wares into our Kingdome of Englande where they have not hitherto been wrought or made'. The pottery that Dwight established in Fulham, then a village on the banks of the Thames and now almost in the centre of London, has until recently been in almost continuous production. In the course of excavations carried out over the past few years a vast quantity of brown stoneware shards has been discovered and is in course of being systematically examined. It is through the kindness of Mr. V. R. Christophers, Director of Excavations, that I am able to show in figure 34 one of these shards. It was once part of the belly of a large salt-glazed brown stoneware jug. The rhinoceros that it depicts is a strange beast. Apart from the two horns, one on the nose and an unusually long one on its withers, it owes nothing to Dürer and not much to Philippe Galle's engraving of 1586. I like to think that it was inspired by the rhinoceros that Evelyn described in 1684; if this proves to be correct, then the rhinoceros will have been of help in the accurate dating of these finds in the Fulham pottery which await publication. Figure 35 shows a print of this

animal, recently discovered³⁰, for comparison with the saltglaze fragment, or perhaps to contrast with it.

The 'Dutch' Rhinoceros 1741—1756(?)

I will do more than mention briefly the fourth rhinoceros to arrive alive in Europe. This was the animal that came to London in 1739, died young and was the first to be studied scientifically, by an English doctor, James Parsons, who published an account with illustrations in 1743 in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society³¹. But I have not yet found that this beast inspired any English potter to model him (it was a male animal) or depict him in any way. I can see a saltglaze teapot in my mind's eye, the kind of exotic object that should have appealed to a Staffordshire modeller, but so far my quest has proved unfruitful.

Meanwhile, early in 1741, a fifth Indian rhinoceros had arrived safely in Europe aboard the good ship 'Knapenhof' under the command of Captain Douwe Mout van der Meer of Leiden. This was the animal whose influence on the iconography of the rhinoceros was to rival and eventually to supersede that of the magnificent armoured beast invented by Dürer in 1515, the *Panzernashorn* that had dominated for nearly two and a half centuries not only the minds of the zoologists but also of artists and indeed of the educated man-in-the-street. Captured in Assam as a two-year-old, the young animal seems to have spent its first years in Europe becoming acclimatised to the harsher weather of Northern Europe. But in 1746 the Captain and his charge set out on their travels, on a Grand Tour of Europe that was to last certainly for five and possibly for ten years³².

It has been possible to trace the journeys of this intrepid pair across the face of Europe in some detail, but there are many gaps waiting to be filled. The first town to be visited was Berlin (April, 1746), whence animal and keeper went on to Breslau, Frankfurt an der Oder, then on to Vienna. They are next heard of in Regensburg (probably March, 1747), then in Dresden (in April), Leipzig, Nuremberg, perhaps Ansbach, Munich and so south-west to Switzerland. Their stay in Zurich in March, 1748 is dealt with later in this article. From Switzerland the two moved north down the Rhine to Strasburg and Stuttgart and Frankfurt, before leaving the territory of the Holy Roman Empire and invading the France of Louis XV.

The 30th December, 1748 was spent in Rheims; on the next day the Captain set out for Versailles, where he had hopes of selling his charge to the King for 100 000 écus. But

the price was too high (Louis XV had to wait twenty-two years for a cheaper rhinoceros), so man and beast returned to Paris, becoming the main attraction of the annual Fair of St. Germain. The rhinoceros became indeed the rage of Paris in these early months of 1749. The Encyclopaedists as well as fashionable society flocked to the left bank, Casanova included. Ladies had their hair dressed *à la rhinocéros*, dandies too were prevailed on to wear *harnais à la rhinocéros*. Bad epic poems were written in its honour. Then Capt. van der Meer continued on his journeys, visiting Lyons en route to Rome for the Holy Year of 1750. From Rome to Florence, and on to Venice for the Carnival of 1751, with possibly a second visit to Vienna squeezed in. By December, 1751 the two were in London. The track then gets cold, but a visit to Danzig in 1756 seems likely. The death of the Dutch rhinoceros is unrecorded; perhaps it got to Moscow or St. Petersburg.

Capt. Douwe Mout van der Meer proved to be an exceptionally able travelling showman; perhaps impresario is the fitter word to cover his activities. The towns visited would be plastered with posters, of which a number have survived, in German, French and English. In these posters he advertised the sale of three different prints of the rhinoceros. Further, at Nuremberg and elsewhere he had made for him small commemorative medals in base metal or occasionally silver by the leading medallists of the day, again in various languages, including Italian. Many artists must have taken the opportunity to record such a strange monster. We know that the Augsburg animal artist, Johann Elias Ridinger, made six drawings of the rhinoceros in Augsburg in June, 1748, of which I have been able to trace three. When in Paris the French painter Jean-Baptiste Oudry made a drawing from life (now in the British Museum), which he used for his life-size painting (now in the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin) that was exhibited in the Salon of 1750. Then there are two versions of Pietro Longhi's painting of the rhinoceros in its stall at the Venice Carnival in 1751³³.

So much for graphic sources. But there was also sculpture in stone, bronze and porcelain which we must examine. What is surprising is how few of the dozens of faience and porcelain factories that were on the route of the 'Dutch' rhinoceros took the trouble to record such an exotic beast, one that fitted so well into the current vogue for the exotic. Vienna and Doccia among the hard-paste factories (for the Ginori paste despite its *bastarda* element is rather hard than soft) missed their opportunity, and as for the French soft-paste establishments of Vincennes, St. Cloud Mennecy and Chantilly this pachyderm went unheeded, which is strange, considering how the bronze workers celebrated it, as we shall see. Likewise Capodimonte spurned it. And as for the countless German faience factories it

seems incredible that they neglected such a choice subject. Instead, all we have in the ceramic line is Meissen in porcelain and, of all places, Zurich in pottery, and, later, Ludwigsburg (possibly) and Frankenthal indulging in a kind of rhinocerototic nostalgia. It is on these few that we must concentrate.

Augustus III had succeeded his father Augustus the Strong in 1733. More interested in paintings than in porcelain, he was no philistine but disliked business and politics. He was interested in 'low pleasures such as Operas, Plays, Masquerades, Tilts and Tournaments, Balls, Hunting and Shooting', as Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, English Minister to the Court of Saxony, reported in 1747³⁴. It was perhaps this passion for hunting, a passion shared with other ruling princes (in particular his son-in-law Charles III of the Two Sicilies) that induced him to pay at least two visits to Capt. van der Meer and his protégé. Augustus may well have considered the rhinoceros a 'hunt-able' (*jagdbar*) animal, though it would be an anachronism to suppose that he had any idea of a safari in mind. His first visit was not in Dresden but in Berlin, on the 26th April, 1746, when he paid 12 ducats for the privilege. So fascinated was he that he returned on the following day, when the Captain had to be satisfied with only 6 ducats. Just a year later the animal was in Dresden for a fortnight, from the 5th to the 19th April, 1747. Here at the Reithaus the Elector, accompanied by his wife, saw it for the third time. And, although we can offer no proof, it was most likely seen too by Kaendler and sketched from the life, just as more than a decade earlier, when working on the life-size parrots and other exotic and European birds, he is known to have drawn both from the life and from stuffed specimens. Both Elector and sculptor must quickly have realised that the Dürer vision of the rhinoceros as perpetuated at Meissen by Kirchner in 1731 was no longer valid, and that something must be done to save Saxony's reputation.

That the small Meissen figure of a rhinoceros is based on a study of the animal itself rather than depending on the numerous engravings then current is deducible from a comparison of the two. Figures 36 and 37 show white³⁵ and coloured examples of the Meissen animal, while fig. 38 is of an engraving allegedly made in Dresden from the life by M. Bodenehr. Both porcelain figure and engraving have adapted the same stance. The head is held high, the lips are parted and both have roughly the same markings (which can be indistinctly seen on the white rhinoceros), white scales on the legs and a pattern of circles on the body; both have the ears pricked, the tail held close to the body. In individual features, there is a family likeness. But Kaendler — if indeed he was the sculptor — subtly alters the proportions. His animal is more pig-like, it stands

leaning slightly backwards on its legs, whereas in the print it leans rather menacingly forwards.

The Nashorn in this small size (17 cm) is an uncommon model, rarer than the larger one with a Turk on its back. Occasionally, the colouring is fairly naturalistic as in fig. 37 which is grey except for the under-belly; this is white in the porcelain figure and should of course be grey also. But usually the painter cannot forget the markings of the Dürer animal. Look, for example, at fig. 39 and at the enchanting creation of fig. 40, one of the many delights of the Museum für Kunsthandwerk in Frankfurt³⁶. Wittily mounted in Paris (but later than the catalogue suggests) in ormolu, sharing a rococo platform with a squatting pagoda figure from which it is separated by an ormolu palm-tree, its back is painted with the pattern of ribs degenerating into seed-pods that is a feature of Kirchner's 1731 beast seen in figs. 3—6.

We have no certain knowledge of the date when this small Meissen rhinoceros was first put into production, but it is likely to have been made soon after the live animal astounded the Saxons in April, 1747. It may well have been made as a pendant to a small elephant, an animal with which it was associated since Antiquity; there are several references to elephants in the 1740's³⁷. The identical model exists in bronze. Three are illustrated here. The first, fig. 41, was purchased in Switzerland, and is in a London collection; the shaped base is of gilt metal, the animal itself has a dark brown patination. The next illustration (fig. 42) is of the same model with a clock on its back, and standing on a musical box in Louis XV style, of about 1750. The third bronze again is mounted as a clock in ormolu, but in Louis XVI style (fig. 43). It shows how popular the rhinoceros must have been in France, for there are also two other quite different bronze rhinoceroses also used as the main motif of a clock, both Louis XV in style. One must conclude, I believe, that a veritable rhinoceros mania swept through the French capital in 1749. It is possible that the Meissen model was already to hand when the 'Dutch' rhinoceros was to be seen at the Fair of St. Germain in March and April, 1749, and that the bronze casters lost no time in pandering to popular taste.

We are better informed about the larger Meissen figure of a rhinoceros with a languid Turk propped up with pillows on its back. Two examples are illustrated³⁸, one from the Kocher collection in Berne (fig. 44) and the other on display again at Schloss Wilhelmsthal near Kassel, together with its pair of a Sultan seated on an elephant (fig. 45). It is the same model as the riderless animal, but enlarged to 27,5 cm. Dr. Rückert has given us solid information on which to base a likely date. The elephant and Sultan bears the mould or Form number 1165, which approximates to 1749 as the date of conception, but the

rhinoceros and Turk has a later number, 1692, indicating a date early in 1752. However, it appears that for some unknown reason the elephant group was not on sale until January, 1752, when it is mentioned in the *Livre-Journal* of that eminent *marchand-mercier*, Lazare Duvaux³⁹. On the 4th January, 1752 he sold to the Duc de Beauvilliers 'un elephant de porcelaine de Saxe portant une figure' for 216 livres. It seems, then, as though the two animals and their Turkish riders were issued at the same time. Incidentally, it is worth noting that the 'staffage' of the Kocher animal is identical to the smaller Frankfurt beast of fig. 40

To sum up, the small Meissen rhinoceros and the enlarged version with Turk both derive from the live 'Dutch' beast that visited Dresden in April, 1747. The smaller one is probably earlier, about 1749, the larger can be dated to 1752. Both are eloquent testimonies to the fascination exercised by this Indian pachyderm.

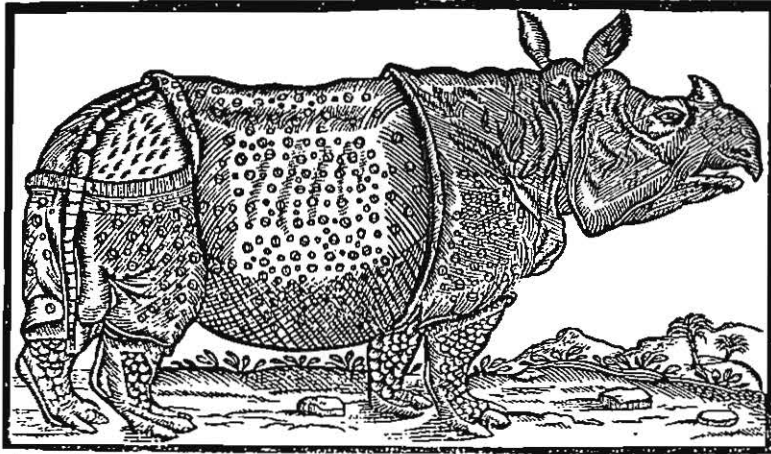
The 'Dutch' Rhinoceros in Switzerland, March 1748

One of the treasured possessions of the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zurich is the inkstand of the celebrated Swiss writer Gottfried Keller (1819—90), at present on loan to the Zentralbibliothek. We illustrate two views (figs. 46 and 47), but it is of course the back which concerns us here. Both sides are painted in blue on a ground of a black pigment, perhaps added later, which has begun to flake. The material is not faience, as one would expect, but what Dr. Schnyder explained to me is painted on a white slip under a colourless transparent glaze. The inkstand is of local manufacture, that is to say, made at an anonymous pottery in or near Zurich. There are others of identical and similar shape. One of these in the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum is inscribed 1766, and the whole group is usually dated to the 1760's.

But I wonder whether this is not too late, for the 'Dutch' rhinoceros came in person to Zurich in March, 1748. The proof of this is in documents that can be seen in the Zentralbibliothek⁴⁰. The first is an example of the poster which Capt. van der Meer used to advertise the arrival of his animal — in this case the original is missing, but the photograph (fig. 48) shows clearly both the German text and the inscription at the bottom saying that the rhinoceros was to be seen in March, 1748 near the Münster⁴¹. Note that the price of admission at the bottom is in Batzen, in origin a German Swiss coin, used at Bern and over South Germany.

Of even greater interest are two other prints, issued evidently soon after the animal left Zurich by a local engraver and printseller, David Redinger. They prove that the rhinoceros had much impressed the citizens of Zurich.

Es wird allen respective Liebhabern kund gethan,



Dies anjetzo allhier ankommen ist ein lebendiger RHINOCEROS, wird zwar zum theil nicht unbekant seyn, daß dasselbe schon vor einem Jahr zu Berlin / Breslau / Wien / München / Dresden / Leipzig und Frankfurt und anderen grossen Städten des Reichs / für Geld zu sehen herum geführt worden / da aber doch die meyste kleine Verbschafften hiez zu keine Gutes gedenkt / auch wohl nichts erfahren haben / als haben deswegen für danielisch erfunden / denselben zu Lieb ein solches sowohl in natürlich vorgestellter Form / als auch die wahre Beschreibung inskurreülen. Dieser Rhinoceros, der nach vieler Gedanken der Rehemoth seyn solle / nach der Beschreibung Hubs Cap. XL. v. 10. Es ist Ye wunders würdla für einen jedwedem / der dasselbe lebendig zu sehen bekommt / Altemehr aber kan die Allmacht des Schöpfers solcher grossen Thieren dabey bewandert werden. Wie dann auch viele: so es um ein Billiges gesehen bezuaten / daß ihnen 2. bis 1. fl. und mehr nicht so lieb / als solches anzusehen / gewest seye. Und ist dieses das erste Thier / welches in Teutschland lebendig gekommen ist. es ist 2. Jahr alt / und gleichsam noch ein Kalb / dieweil dasselbe noch viele Jahre wächst / und diese Thiere auf 100. Jahre alt werden / es ist 2. Schuh und 7. Zoll hoch und 12. Schuh lang / und 12. Schuh dicke gewesen den 1. May 1727. so daß solches viel schwerer ist / als wie es aus Senalen im Jahr 1721. da es 2. Jahr alt gewesen / und durch den See-Capitain David. 1722 von der Meer / auf dem Meer nach Holland überbracht worden. Es ist in Asia / unter der Herrschafft des grossen Moguls / in der Landschaft Asten / welches von hier 4000. Meilen weit liegt / gefangen worden. Dieses Wunder-Thier ist dunckel braun / hat keine Haare / gleich wie der Elefant / doch an den Ohren / und am Ende von dem Schwanz seynd einige Härlein: Auf der Nase hat es sein Horn / und ist schnell im Lauffen / kan schwimmen und tauchen im Wasser / wie eine Goble: sein Kopf ist nach und nach forme solchs / die Ohren gleich eines Hais / die Augen nach Proportion von diesem grossen Wunder Thier / seyn sehr klein: Die Haut ist als ob sie mit Schildern bedekt seye / dieselbe schlagen wol eine Hand kreit übereinander hin / sie sind 2. Zoll dicke: die Füße sind kurz und dicke / versehen mit 2. Klauen. Dieses Thier ist auch ein grosser Feind von dem Elefanten / so / daß wann es ihn antrifft / denselben mit seinem Horn unten in Leib stößt / auch anreißet und tödtet. Zu tödtlicher Unterdaltung frisset es Heu und Brod / auch sauct es Bier und Wasser. Es ist zahm wie ein Lamm / dieweil dasselbe einen Monat alt gewesen ist / wie es mit Stricken gefangen worden / nachdem zuvor die Mutter von diesem Thier von dem schwarzen Inblauen mit Pfeilen tödt gefressen worden. Es hat dieses Thier / wie es gar jung gewesen / zwen Jahr in denen Zimmern um den Tisch herum / zur Curiositat. wo Dames und Herren gesisset. Dasselbe wird auf einem zugemachten und mit 10. Pferden bespannten Wagen von einem Orth zum andern geführt / und wo es übel fortzukommen ist / müssen wohl 16. bis 20. Pferde gebraucht werden. Wann dieses Thier an Orth und Stelle gelanget / muß man diesen Wagen durch kleine Räder erheben / und solches Thier hinterwärts / über gelagte Bretter aus dem Karren heimen. Mächten wohl einige auf Gedanken gerathen / ob dieses Thier nicht selbst zu gehen umher gebracht werden könnte? so fraget sich / ob hundert oder zwey hundert Mann / so zahm als es ist / wann es Freiheit mercket / und nach seiner Art wild werden sollte / ein solches dändigen könnten / weil diese Thiere von Natur sich nicht mit Stricken wollen lassen binden. Wann diese Thiere Durst haben / suchen sie nach den schäusen diesen Landes / allwo sich auch viele 1000. andere wilde Thiere von allerhand Gattungen / wegen Mangel des Wassers / wellen es an ihails Verthen nicht reynen / und die Flüsse gefalgen sind / einfinden. Wann dann ein solches Rhinoceros in Gegenwart solcher Thiere an besagten süßen Wassern sind / oder deren Anfunst vermercket wird / so wird keines der andern Thieren trinken / bevor die Rhinoceros gefressen haben / hernach fangen sie auch alle an zusauffen. Die Hörner dieser Thiere werden in Indien sehr hoch gehalten / und wider alles Gift / hinsfallende und andere Krankheiten gebraucht. dergleichen auch seine Zähne / Klauen / Fleisch und Blut / ja sein Mist und Wasser / und alles was er am Leibe hat / wird in Indien sehr werth gehalten / und dergleichen gebraucht / weil alles sehr würcklich und gut ist / dasselbe wie durch eigene Erfahrung haben / nemlich das Horn von den Füßen 11. hat schon unterschiedlichen Menschen von der hinsfallenden Krankheit gehelffen. Und dieses ist gleichfalls bey denen Bedienten vor ihre Mäße / um ein Trinkt: Geld zu bekommen.

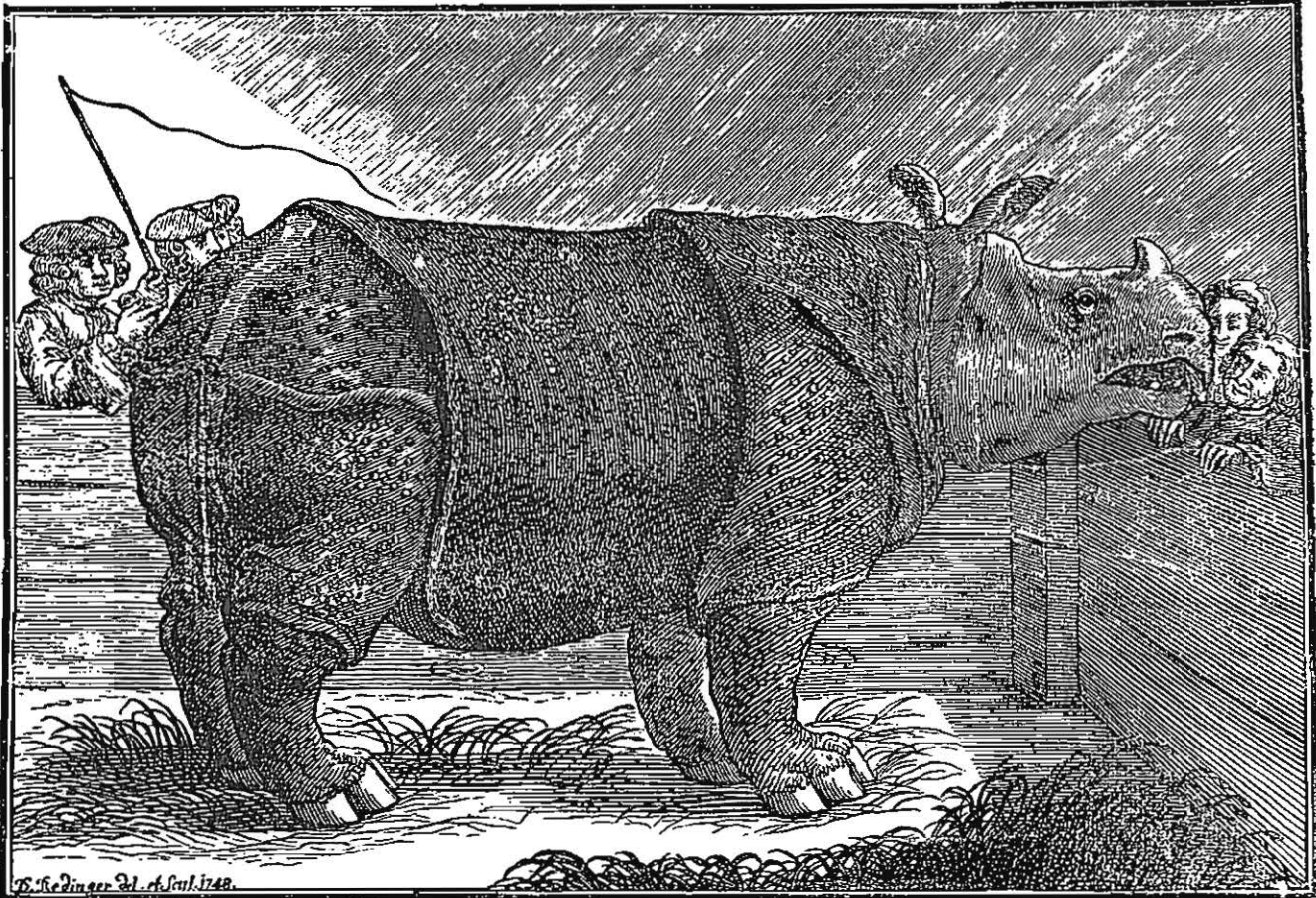
Wunderbar ist GOTT in seinen Creaturen,
 Man findet überall der Allmacht weise Spuren,
 Von so viel Tausenden ist keins so groß und klein,
 Wo dessen Herrlichkeit nicht wird zu sehen seyn.
 Betrachte dieses Thier, so du hier vor dir siehest,
 Und mach den Schluß, ob du mit recht dich nicht bemühest,
 Im Buche der Natur nach Gottes Wunder-Macht
 Zu forschen ernstlich so wohl bey Tag als Nacht:
 Das Auge wundert sich, der Mund muß frey bekennen:
 GOTT ist wie Allmächtig, voll so wundersam zu seyn!
 Und dieses treibet uns zu dessen Lobe an,
 Der wohl niemahlen genug gepriesen werden kan;
 Besonders wann man auch noch dieses hinzu sehet:
 GOTT hats gemacht, daß sich der Mensch darob erget.

Dieses Thier kan von 8. Uhr frühe bis Mittag um 12. Uhr, und Nachmittag von 1. Uhr bis Abends 6. Uhr gesehen werden. Jede Standes-Personnen geben nach ihrem Willen. andere geben 8. Bagen, 4. und 2. Bagen.
 Dieser Zeit ist gleichfalls bey dem Thier zu bekommen vor 2. Kreuzer. Die großen Kupferfische vor 12. Bagen, die mittlere Sorte vor 4. Bagen, und die kleinen Kupferfische mit den Medren vor 2. Bagen.
 NB. Es dienet denen respective Liebhabern zur Nachricht, daß dieses Thier sich einige Tage hier aufhalten wird.

Anno 1728. im Monat
 August die 10. des Monats August in
 London bei der Spritze auch gewest

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Wahrhafte und nach dem Leben gezeichnete Abbildung und Beschreibung des Rhinoceros oder Nashorns, welches bereits in verschiedenen Ländern von Europa zur Schau herum geführt, und erst neulich in den meisten Haupt-Städten der Schweiz gesehen worden.



S Eilen dieses seltsame Thier würdig geachtet wird von Hohen und Niedern in Augenschein genommen, ja auch betastet zu werden, so achtet man blüthlich nicht inlander der Mühe werth / den Liebhabern hiermit eine fleißige nach der Natur und dem Leben gemachte / Zeichnung / wie auch kurze Beschreibung deneiben mitzutheilen. Dieses wird einerseits zum Angedenken dienen können denen, welche das Vermögen gehabt, dieses Thier selbst zu sehen, theils denjenigen die Curiosität um etwas stillen, welche das/ste zu sehen die Gelegenheit nicht gehabt.

Die Abbildungen, welche wir ausleihen, werden auch den Liebhabern der Natur-Wissenschaften und der Künste desto angenehmer seyn, weil die meiste über die in Kupferstichen, Holzschritten, und so gar auf neuen Medaillen, auch die man hat in Gemälden, wie ungleich, also sammtlich nicht allzumal getroffen und zum theil sehr unflüchtig verfertigt sind. Wie dann der Herr und Besitzer dieses Thiers erkennt, daß die Abbildungen, die er ausliefert, an sich selbst schlecht seyen, anders aber sie für gut genug hält, wann man dieselbe ihm wol bezahlt. Da das Thier auch in allen andern Abbildungen sich nicht anders als lebend zeigt, hat man nun gut besunden, es lebend und lebend abzubilden; in welcher letztern Gestalt wahr die Falten, die es in seiner Haut hat, sich nicht so scheinbar zeigen, als wann es stebet und sich strecket. Aus gegenwärtiger Abbildung ist wahr die Gestalt dieses Wunder-Thiers un schwer abzumachen, nicht aber die Farb. Deswegen zum Bericht dienet, daß sie dunkelbraun ist, und etwas einer Kröte gleichen mag.

Unter denen Berichten, mit welchen dieselbe, welche dieses Thier zu beschauen herzuführen, daßste die d. Ho Bewundrungs-würdiger machen wollen, ist die weitte Entfernungs seines ersten Heimaths. Dann wie sie vorüber, soll es 4000 Meilen weit her seyn. Zumal es in Afrika im Gebiet des Großen Mozogs in der Landschaft Nijem gefangen, und im Jahr 1741. als es dreifährig gewesen, durch den Capitain Donnemouth, oder David Mout van der Meer, aus Bengalen in Holland übergebracht worden. Wann man aber weiß, wie viel Meilen umgefahr der ganze Umfang der von uns bewohnten Erd-Kugel ausmacht, so sieht man leicht, daß diese 4000 Meilen von dem weitern Weg zu verleben, dann den nähern möchte es bey 2500 Meilen nürder weit seyn. Eben wie die Meile, welche man mit diesem Thier von Basel über Bern und Zürich gen Schaffhausen gemacht hat, um etwas weiter gewesen, als die nächste Straf, deren sich die Post von Schaffhausen gen Basel bedient. Was aber dieses Thier in der That Bewundrungs-würdig macht, ist seine ungeheure Größe und sein so schweres Gewicht, daß die augenscheinliche und wohlbesetzte Meile sich doch darunter zu krümmen scheinen. Das hier abgebildete neun jährige ist nur als ein Kalb zu betrachten, zumal diese Thiere auf 100. oder nach andern Bericht auf 170. Jahre alt werden. Gleichwol soll es bey nahe 1000 Pfund schwer seyn. Nach was für einem Gewicht aber diese Ausrechnung gemacht sey, ist nicht eigentlich zu bestimmen. Seine Höhe soll im Monat May 1747. 5. Schuh 7. Zoll gewesen seyn, die Länge 12. Schuhe. Die Dicke auch 12. Schuhe.

Von dem Horn, welches dieses Thier auf seiner Nase hat, heißt es Nashorn. Dasselbe dienet ihm, wie den Schweinen, mit denen es viel Gleichheit hat, der Küssel, die Erde sehr geschwind umzugraben, und in den Sümpfen und Morästen, in denen es sich gern aufhält, seine Nahrung zu suchen. Es braucht aber auch dieses Horn zu seiner Vertheidigung mit einer ungemeynen Stärke. Wann es mit dem Elephanten, mit dem es in größte Feindschaft steht, in einem Kampf kommt, so sticht es mit demselben unten am Bauch, wo er am weichsten ist, bezujucken, und wann es diesen Vortheil gewonnen, so ist es ihm ein leichtes, des Elephanten Leib aufzureißen, und ihn also um das Leben zu bringen.

Der Kopf des Nashorns ist sehr groß, doch nach und nach zugespitzt; die Ohren sind gleich eines Esels; die Augen sind nach seiner großen Gestalt sehr klein und schläfrig; es kan mit denselben nur von der Seite nitlich sehen. Es liebet den Rauch-Labak mit sonderlicher Begier. Die Stimme ist gedehnt, wie eines Hirsches. Die Zunge weich, die untere Lippe wie eines Ochsen, die obere wie eines Pferdes; es belenet sich dieser nach Heu, Gras und anderer Grasse zu langen, und kan sie über sechs Zoll ausstrecken und zuspitzen, und was es damit ergreift, weß bältern.

Das seltsamste an dem Nashorn ist seine Panzer-gleiche und undurchdringliche Haut, welche zwar Zoll dick ist, und kräftigen ihm zu einer fast unüberwindlichen Schutzwand gegen alle seine Feinde die Hüfte nitlich groß sind. Da nun die Haut, wie sie oben beschrieben, ganz unerschütterlich ist, also daß wann sie, wie die Haut anderer Thieren, ganz über das Nashorn ausgebreitet wäre, es keine nothige Verwundungen machen könnte, hat der weise Schöpfer die Einrichtung gemacht, daß sie verschiednen einer Hand breit über einander gehende Falten hat, zwischen denen die Haut so glatt und lind wie Seide ist; da dann je nach dem das Nashorn eine Bewegung zu machen hat, ein Theil der schlüßlichen Haut sich leicht über den andern hinstrebet.

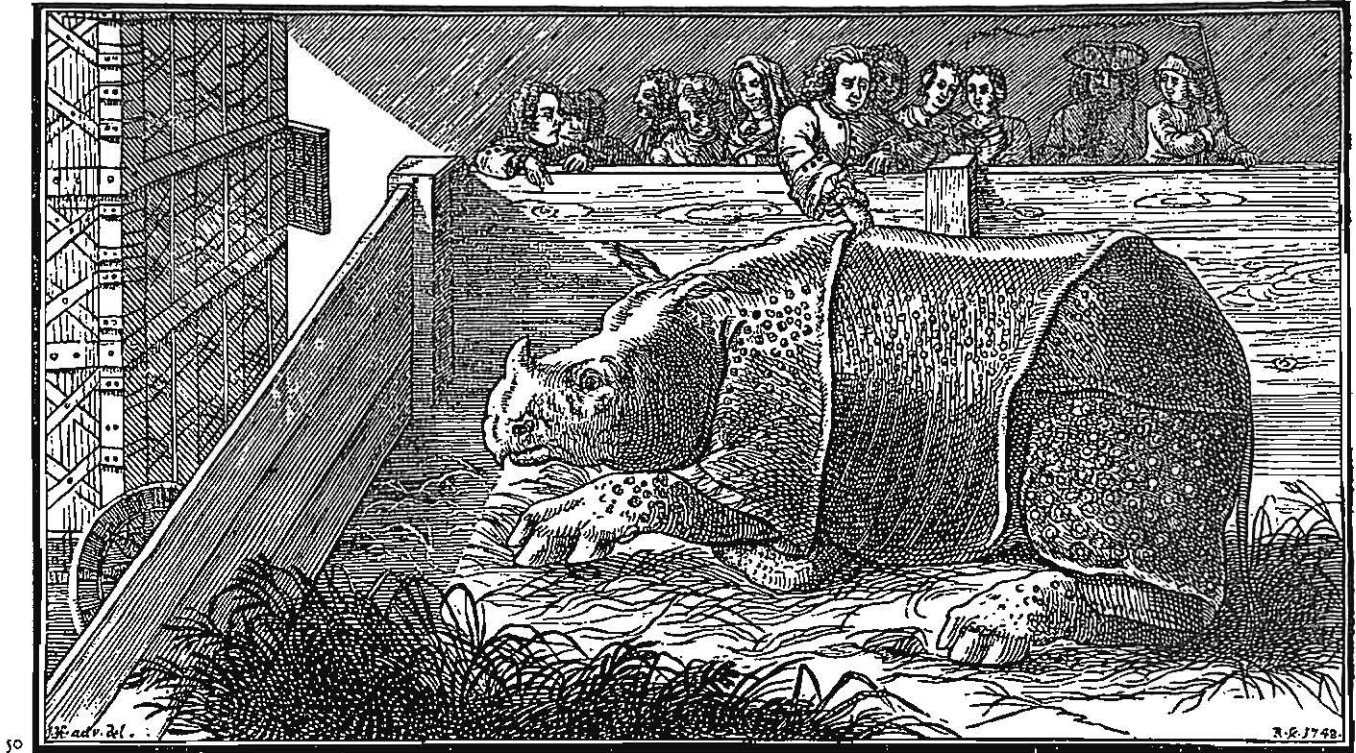
Das geringste an diesem Thier ist der Schwanz, der weder lang noch dick ist; er hat am Ende etliche wenige schwarze und starke aber kurze Härlein, da sonst das Thier keine Haare hat. Es ist leicht zu erachten, daß ein so großes Thier zu seinem Unterhalt viel bedürfte; wie man dann sagt, es brauche täglich 60. Pfund Heu und 20. Pfund Brod; auch trinke es täglich 14. Eimer Wasser; (welches aber nicht von 60. Maß haltenden Eimern zu verstehen ist.)

Ob nun das Nashorn der Behemot sey, dessen bey Job am XL. Capitel gehandelt wird, wollen wir weder bejahen noch verneinen, sondern den Leser auf Entgegenhaltung der deneiben sich befindenden und unferer gegenwertigen Beschreibung und Abbildung selbst Schließen lassen.

Wer eine weitläufigere und gründliche Beschreibung des Nashorns verlangt, den wollen wir gewislich haben auf die gelehrte Oratio Doctor Caroli Augusti von Bergin, welche er den 16. October 1744. von eben diesem hier erscheinenden Rhinoceros gehalten, getrukt zu Frankfurt an der Oder. Dergleichen auf die natürliche Historie des Nashorns, welche von Doctor Warfens an Martin Folkers Rittern und Präsidenten der Königl. Engl. Societät abgefasset, und aus dem Englischen in das Deutsche übersezt worden von Doctor Georg Leonhart Junb. Nürnberg 1747.

Zürich, zu finden bey David Rebling.

Sabrhafte und nach dem Leben gezeichnete Abbildung des liegenden Rhinoceros
 oder Nashorns, welches bereits in verschiedenen Ländern von Europa zur Schau herum geführt, und erst
 neulich in den meisten Haupt-Städten der Schweiz gesehen worden.



One (fig. 49) is a pirated version of Capt. van der Meer's poster illustrated in figure⁹⁸, with the addition of a background showing the animal in a wooden enclosure with its owner holding a whip on the left, and to the right two citizens of Zurich who have evidently paid the higher price of 8 Batzen or even more if they considered themselves *hohe Standes-Personen*. The second paragraph of the text is worth reading. In it Redinger takes pains to criticise previous portraits of the rhinoceros, whether copper engravings, woodcuts, medals or paintings, but he himself has given his *Liebhaver* precisely the same portrait as the Dutch Captain. This plagiarism is typical of the iconography of the *Nashorn*.

Redinger's companion engraving (fig. 50) of the animal lying down in its wooden pen does indeed break new ground, particularly by including on the left the vast wooden carriage in which, we are told, the beast was dragged round Europe by a team of ten to twenty horses — doubtless an exaggeration in the interests of publicity. It is a feature which I have noted only in a Venetian painting of the Longhi school a few years later.

If we turn again to the blue rhinoceros at the back of Keller's inkstand in fig. 47 and compare it to these posters and broadsheets, or even to the Meissen rhinoceros of

fig. 37, there can be little doubt of the source. And in view of the intense local interest it seems to me likely that a Zurich potter would pander to the immediate popular taste of 1748 rather than wait ten to fifteen years to depict it.

The 'Dutch' Rhinoceros — Ludwigsburg and Frankenthal

The exact itinerary of the Dutch rhinoceros is still partly a matter of conjecture. After its visit to Zurich and other Swiss towns in the spring of 1748 it moved north-east to Stuttgart where we learn from two sources that it paid a visit in May. It was perhaps the memory of this visit that suggested to the young Carl Eugen, Duke of Württemberg (d. 1793), the advisability of copying the Meissen group of a Turk seated on the back of a rhinoceros in his own factory of Ludwigsburg, which had been founded in 1758. Perhaps the group (fig. 51) was supervised by Gottlob Friedrich Riedel (1724—84) who joined the factory in 1759 after 13 years at Meissen, and short stays at Höchst and Frankenthal. It is known in an apparently unique example in the Untermyer collection now in the Metropolitan

Museum, mounted on a finely chiselled Louis XV ormolu base, and marked with the interlacing C's in blue⁴². For long there were suspicions that this group must be a much later copy, for Ludwigsburg virtually never imitated Meissen so closely, but recent examination in particular of the typical range of colours used has made me change my mind and to accept its genuineness. A further point in its favour is that it measures appreciably less than the Meissen group, which indicates that it may have been moulded from the Meissen original direct. The difference in length, 8 1/4 in. (21 cm) against 28 cm for the Meissen group, is the approximate shrinkage that one would expect. The ears are rather larger, the horn points forward instead of backward, the languorous Turk lacks the splendid waistcoat of the original but apart from that and the less stylised decoration of the animal the groups are identical.

There is in the Rijksmuseum a copy of one of the three prints which Capt. Douwe Mout van der Meer habitually offered for sale, over-printed with a nine-line verse to the effect that Carl Theodor (1724—1799) had visited the rhinoceros on the 20th November, 1747 at a place or inn called the Pfau (fig. 52). The Elector Palatine, like the Duke of Württemberg, must have been impressed, for 30 years later his porcelain factory at Frankenthal produced a white figure of a rhinoceros (fig. 53), different from the Meissen one, rather larger, marked with the CT in monogram and the figures 77; one assumes then that 1777 is the date of manufacture⁴³. Whether this is also the first date on which the model was made is open to some doubt; it could have been an older model. But if so, not much older, for the Mannheim Price List of 1777, as reprinted by Heuser⁴⁴, mentions under the heading of Uhrgehäuse a clock 'mit Rhinoceros' priced at 33 florins, and it is unlikely that such an unusual object would have been in production over a long period.

Only one example of a Frankenthal rhinoceros clock has survived, as far as I am aware, that in the Residenz in Munich seen in fig. 54⁴⁵. It is the same as the white rhinoceros but with a clock or, more accurately, a watch-holder, set in a baroque structure like an elephant's howdah with a rococo urn above, the whole reposing on a saddle-cloth which has on either side the head of a grinning blackamoor in high relief. The mixture of styles is curious. The watch dial is flanked by heavy swags of *garrya elliptica* which have a neo-classical overtone. Altogether a mixture of styles that makes a late date, that is to say 1777, more probable. Why the Elector waited so long to have his own porcelain rhinoceros is not known. Could it be, perhaps, to celebrate his inheritance in 1777 of the Bavarian dominions of the Wittelsbach, added as they were to the Palatine? In any event, the Frankenthal clock has remained in Wittelsbach possession. Formerly in the Schloss at Bamberg,

it is now, as mentioned, safely housed inside the Residenz with the rest of the Wittelsbach family treasures.

I am in some doubt as to where these Frankenthal rhinoceroses fit from an iconographic point of view. They are more naturalistic than the Meissen models we have been discussing; which were without doubt based on the 'Dutch' rhinoceros that was last heard of in Danzig in 1756. It is possible that a later animal, the sixth to arrive alive in Europe, was the model. This rhinoceros is believed to have been acquired by Louis XV for his menagerie at Versailles in 1771 as a two-year-old⁴⁶, so that by 1777, the probable date of the Frankenthal figures, it might well have grown such a thick horn. But I have not yet found any engravings or drawings of this Versailles animal, which is strange considering what a stir the 'Dutch' animal had made in Paris in 1749. On the other hand, there is a more or less contemporary bronze (known in several examples) and at least two marble figures of precisely the same rhinoceros.

The bronze that I illustrate in fig. 55 is in the Barber Institute in Birmingham; another example in the Louvre is shown by H. R. Weihrauch⁴⁷, and called German, as is the Birmingham example. Weihrauch considers it to be a portrait of the 'Dutch' rhinoceros, and maybe it is, but I prefer to be cautious until a graphic prototype can be discovered. As for both bronze and this marble rhinoceros (fig. 56) being German rather than French there is some slight evidence in that another marble figure can be shown to have come from Frankfurt. The bronze measures 46 cm in length, the marble in the Bowes Museum 48 cm, the porcelain model from Frankenthal 38 cm. Note the closed mouth as compared with the Meissen model, the clear markings on the skin and the length of the central section of the body — all clearly derive from the same source, but as to whether the porcelain pre-dates the bronze or *vice versa* we can at the moment only speculate.

Later Rhinoceroses — 1770—1910

As the eighteenth century drew to its close, scientific knowledge was expanding fast. Natural History, in line with other disciplines, was no longer the monopoly of a few. Both the *Encyclopédie* and Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle* in its numerous editions in many languages spread the knowledge of the Indian rhinoceros to all and sundry. The English were perhaps especially favoured in that further specimens of *Rhinoceros unicornis* were to be seen in London at Pidcock's Ménagerie in the Strand in 1790 and 1799; thus four out of the eight rhinoceroses that arrived alive in Europe between 1500 and 1800 can be called

'English' rhinoceroses. And the English were also fortunate in having most of India as part of their overseas empire, at least as far as knowledge of this animal goes. Letters from the British empire-builders to their friends at home were doubtless often filled with rhinoceros adventures. Travel books filled with coloured prints using the newly developed aquatint process also helped to educate the stay-at-homes in the fauna, flora and architecture of foreign lands.

It is two of these topographical works that provide our next ceramic rhinoceros. In 1808 the Spode factory produced a service of blue transfer-printed creamware which they called the Caramanian service⁴⁸. The centres of the plates and dishes were decorated with landscapes taken from Luigi Mayer's *Views in Egypt, Palestine and the Ottoman Empire*, published in three volumes from 1801—4. The title of the service was taken from that part of Asia Minor known as Caramania. But the pattern used for the rims was derived, incongruously, from one of a series of aquatints of Indian interest, in a volume by Capt. Thomas Williamson called *Oriental Field Sports*, published in 1805. The drawings for this book were the work of Samuel Howitt, one of the band of English artists who found a lucrative living in India. Fig. 57 shows the Spode plate.

There must be many records in ceramics of another rhinoceros that travelled extensively in Europe early in the nineteenth century, but so far I have come across nothing definite. This animal⁴⁹ after a stay in London in 1810, was to be seen in Paris (1815), Frankfurt (1816), Nuremberg, Leipzig, Munich and Vienna (1835). With 20 years of travel, it seems to have made much the same journey as the Dutch animal of the 1740's but in the reverse direction. Whether this was the animal that inspired the two lead-glazed figures in the Metropolitan Museum in New York is very doubtful⁵⁰. These two figures (fig. 58) are said to be by the English potter Ralph Wood of Burslem, who flourished in the 1770's and 1780's. But I have my doubts, for the moss-like ground-cover of the oblong bases is not a typically Ralph Wood feature, but it is found on many pottery objects in similar technique made in the later nineteenth century in the Portuguese factory at Caldas. The modelling has something in common with the rhinoceroses which serve as knops to the celebrated 'Rhinoceros Vases' made at the Rockingham factory in Yorkshire⁵¹ (fig. 59). I will not inflict on you the full horror of these monstrosities, one of which can be precisely dated to the year 1826. 114 cm high, one can be seen in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. A contemporary visitor to the factory enthused over this 'large specimen of porcelain ware of the finest quality and the most exquisite workmanship. The cover is ornamented with oak branches and foliage to correspond, the whole being surmounted by a beautiful

model of a rhinoceros or unicorn of Holy Writ'. The partial absence of its ears does nothing to enhance its beauty.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the rhinoceros no longer wanders over the highways of Europe as a curiosity with its manager, but comes to rest instead in a zoological garden where it can be scientifically studied. But it remained a rare animal in captivity, at least compared to that other giant pachyderm, the elephant. Up to 1960 it was reckoned that not more than 94 individual specimens of *Rhinoceros unicornis* had been exhibited in captivity anywhere in the world, but they made up in longevity perhaps for their scarcity in numbers, for at least four have survived in captivity for over 40 years.

My remaining examples are a mixed lot, and I hope that readers will bring others to my attention. Figure 60 is a faded sepia photograph of a rhinoceros made at the Worcester factory in England in the 1860's; it is an unashamed copy of the Meissen figure of about 1750 shown in figs. 36 and 37. A copy too (fig. 61) is Dr. Peter Ducret's olive-brown glazed rhinoceros by the distinguished ceramist Theodor Deck (1823—1891); the model is the Frankenthal clock of fig. 54 in the Munich Residenz, but the structure on its back is hollow and so can serve as a vase. Its date must be in the 1880's. Finally, a rhinoceros from the Doulton factory at Lambeth in London (fig. 62). It was modelled by L. Harradine in 1910 and is covered with a copper-lustre glaze⁵².