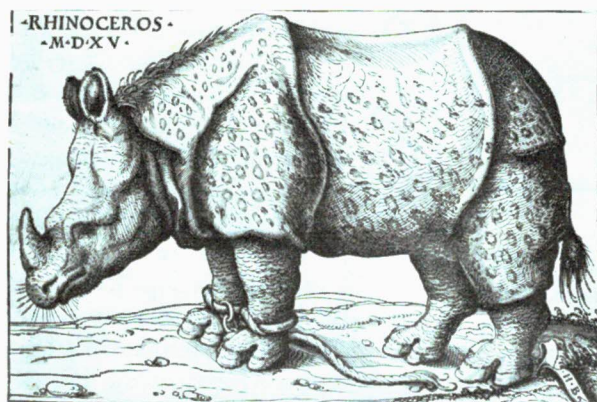


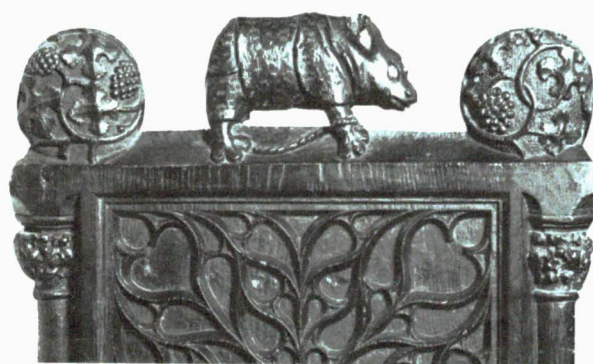
The Iconography of the Rhinoceros

Part II: The Leyden Rhinoceros

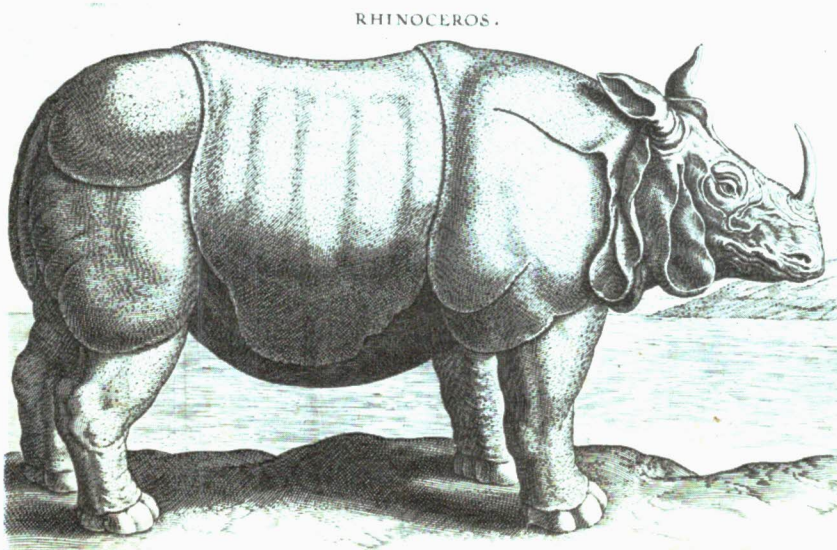
T. H. Clarke



1. HANS BURGMAIR. *Rhinoceros*, woodcut, 1515, 214 x 317 mm. Albertina, Vienna.



2. Choir-stall, St. Martin's Church, Minden, N. Germany. Oak, c. 1520.



The previous article¹ was confined to a brief account of the influence of Dürer's rhinoceros, the Ganda, on the visual arts. That this influence was still very strong in the mid-18th century was shown by the persistence of this Renaissance visual tradition as late as the Wrightsman piqué snuff box of 1768 and the Chelsea dish of c. 1755. The present article traces briefly the alternative tradition of a more naturalistic beast with its culmination in 'the Leyden rhinoceros' of the 1740's, when for the first time a living animal was seen, not as was the case with the Portuguese beast of 1515 in one country only and then for a few weeks by comparatively few people, but by thousands of people in different countries over a number of years, and immortalised in prints, by sculpture in bronze, marble, terracotta and porcelain and in paintings by Oudry and Longhi.

It is a curious unexplained fact that Dürer's woodcut of this ungainly armoured beast with its gratuitous miniature unicorn's horn on its withers should have remained for nearly two and half centuries the accepted likeness of the Indian rhinoceros, despite the existence of other more accurate delineations and despite too the occasional appearance in Europe of the live animal in person. The problem exists already from Dürer's lifetime, for there is in the Albertina in Vienna an unique woodcut of a rhinoceros by Hans Burgkmair, (No. 1), dated, as is Dürer's, 1515 and derived apparently from the same Portuguese sketch. The fact that only one example has survived, unlike the numerous editions of the Dürer woodcut, shows that Burgkmair's version of a more placid animal, its forelegs shackled, its hide thickly folded but not armour-plated, and lacking the writhen horn on its shoulders, did not suit the popular fancy. One of the very rare examples of the Burgkmair woodcut translated into another medium is an oak carving² on a choir-stall in the church of St. Martin at Minden in N. Germany (No. 2). Porcine in character, its legs terminating in trefoil feet, it is nonetheless with its roped forelegs and hornless withers clearly not of Dürer inspiration but derived from the Burgkmair woodcut.

From 1515 until 1586, then, Dürer's animal had a virtual monopoly in the zoological world, as the previous article showed. In the latter year another rhinoceros arrived in Lisbon, the second of which there is record - there may well have been others that

3. Engraving of a rhinoceros to be seen in Madrid, by Phillipe Galle of Antwerp, 1586.



4 and 5. Etchings by Hans Sibmacher from J. Camerarius's book on animal emblems, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera*, first published in Nuremberg in 1595.

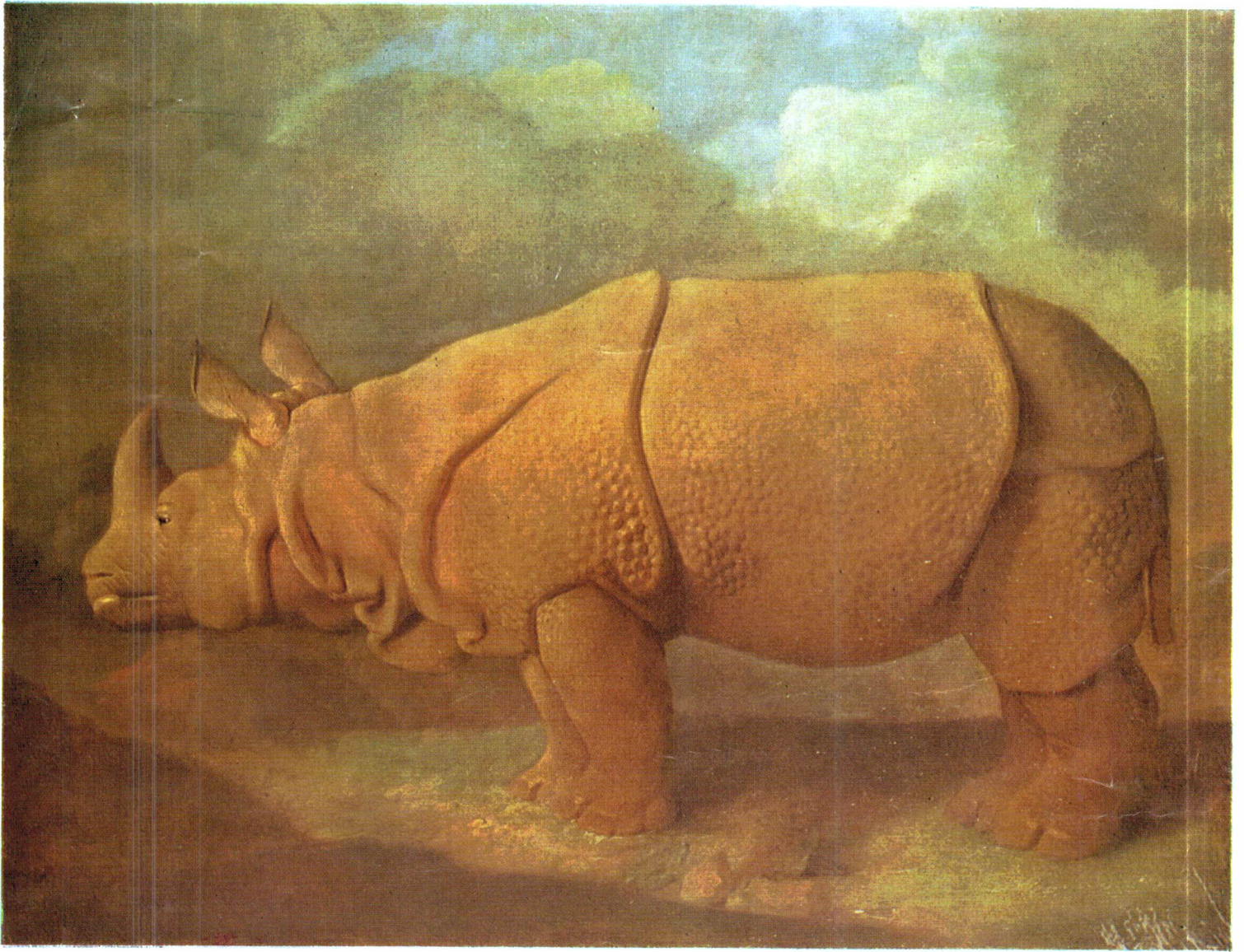


6. Allegory of Asia, detail of frontispiece to John Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum*, London, 1640.



enjoyed only a local Lusitanian fame. It will be recalled that in 1580 the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal were, albeit temporarily, united under Philip II, so that it was perhaps fitting that this beast should be brought to the capital, Madrid, where doubtless it was a centre of interest. Although no Spanish portrait has yet been found, this animal nonetheless achieved a certain fame in other countries. As the caption to No. 2 shows, a portrait of the animal was brought to Antwerp by Jean Moflinius, described as a chaplain to the king. There it was engraved by Philippe Galle, as this recently discovered print, unique and unrecorded, shows (No. 3). Over a century later, in 1692, Claude de Molinet writing in Paris on the cabinet of curiosities belonging to the library of Ste. Geneviève³ describes clearly the differences between Dürer's imaginary creature and Philippe Galle's more likely animal, though he does not mention Dürer by name.

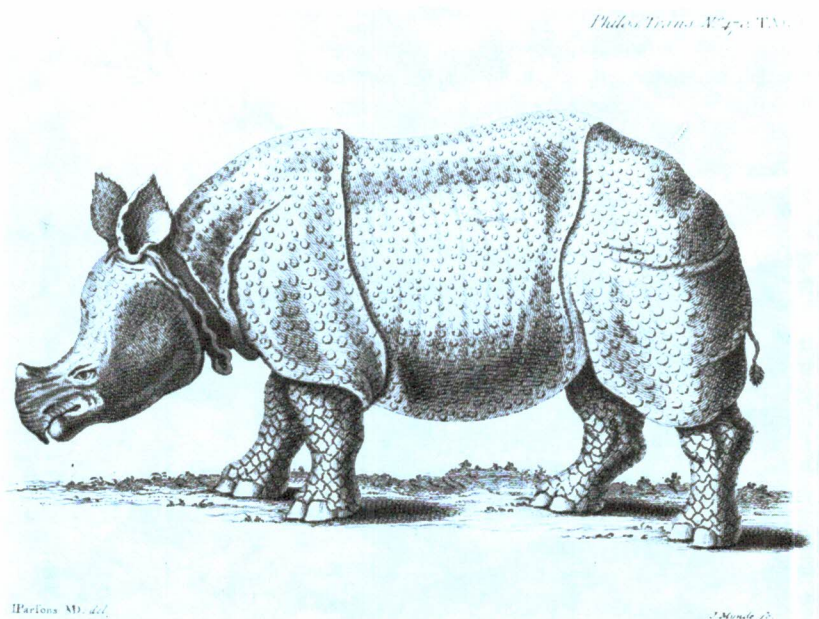
The Galle engraving of 1586 is clearly the source of the two etchings by Hans Sibmacher in Camerarius's popular work on animal emblems first published in Nuremberg in 1595 (Nos. 4 and 5).⁴ Cole remarks of the latter 'that they are at least based on nature, and apart from Burgkmair's print, they are the first representations of the Indian rhinoceros in modern literature of which this can be said'.⁵ But the discovery of the Galle print shows us the true source. Derived from the same source is the allegory of Asia (No. 6) to be found as part of the frontispiece of an English work, J. Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* of 1640.⁶ Clearly owing nothing to Dürer, no twisted dorsal horn, no scales, no suggestion of a panzer hide, it seems happy to be bearing, though perilously, on its back an oriental lady holding a spear, part Chinese, part Turkish, behind her a coconut palm, a conception which possibly inspired the Meissen group (No. 21). A few years later, in the second, 1658 edition of Piso's work on the East Indies there is another more or less natural animal derived from the personal observation of Bon-tius, who had travelled in the East. But if no one would believe travellers' tales, preferring in their imagination Dürer's woodcut armoured brute to the animal itself, yet there was no excuse for a Londoner in 1684 any longer to speculate on the appearance of the Indian rhinoceros. 'Sir William Godolphin and I' wrote Evelyn in his Diary⁷ under the date October 22, 1684, 'went to see the Rhinoceros (or Unicorn) being the first that I suppose was ever brought into England'. He comments on her (it was a female beast) 'set of most dreadful teeth' and on her skin which was 'loose like so much Coach leather . . . loricated like Armor . . . of a mouse Colour'. But she was 'Tame enough, & suffering her mouth to be open'd by her keeper, who caus'd her to lie downe, when she appear'd like a Coach overthrowne . . . but if she grow proportionable to her present age, she will be a Mountaine . . .' For two years she was on exhibition in London, on view 'at twelve pence apiece, and two shillings those that ride him. They get fifteen pound a day'. This, then, seems to have been the third rhinoceros to have arrived safely in Europe. It is strange indeed that no one besides Evelyn seems to have mentioned this exotic beast, that no one drew it,⁸ that the Royal Society was



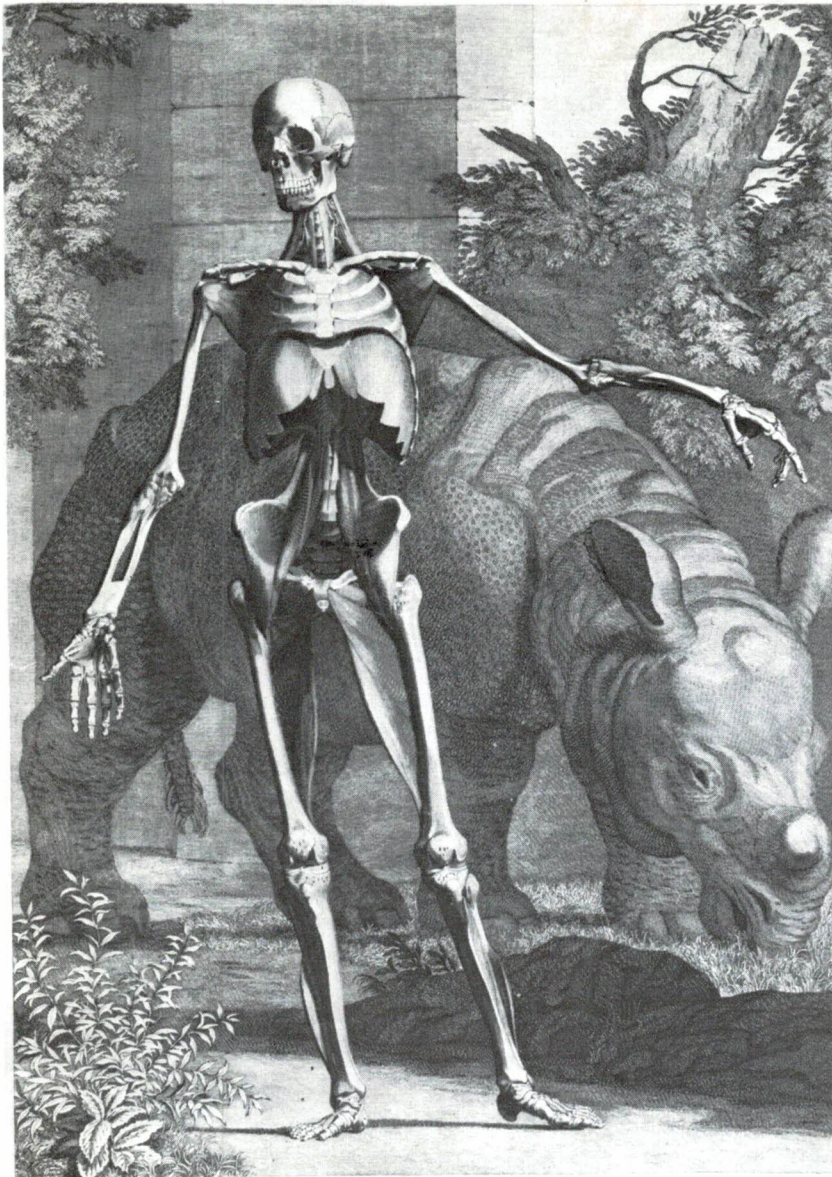
Colour. GEORGE STUBBS. Oil painting, c. 1790.
Hunterian Museum, Royal College of Surgeons, London.

silent, that it might have been an ordinary wild animal like a lion or even elephant for all the attention that it got.

Dr. James Parsons, F.R.S., was the first to publish a detailed study of a live rhinoceros, in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1743.⁹ The animal he lovingly described was a young male which had arrived in England in June, 1739, the second live rhinoceros to reach England, the fourth to have been noted as arriving in Europe. 'Humphrey Cole, Esq; being Chief of the Factory at Patna in Bengal, procured this *Rhinoceros*, when young, and sent it to England by Captain Acton in the Ship *Lyel* . . . He appeared very peaceable in his Temper; for he bore to be handled in any Part of his Body; but is outrageous when struck or hungry, and is pacified in either Case only by giving him Victuals (seven pounds of rice and three of sugar daily, and a truss of hay a week). In his Outrage he jumps about, and springs to an incredible Height . . . notwithstanding his lumpish Aspect . . .' Nothing daunted Parsons observed, described and drew him (No. 7). But such was still the subconscious power of Dürer's woodcut that the doctor proceeded to give him scales on his legs, although he expressly states that to call 'these scabbed roughnesses scales . . . is a great inaccuracy'. There was a front view, rear and side views,

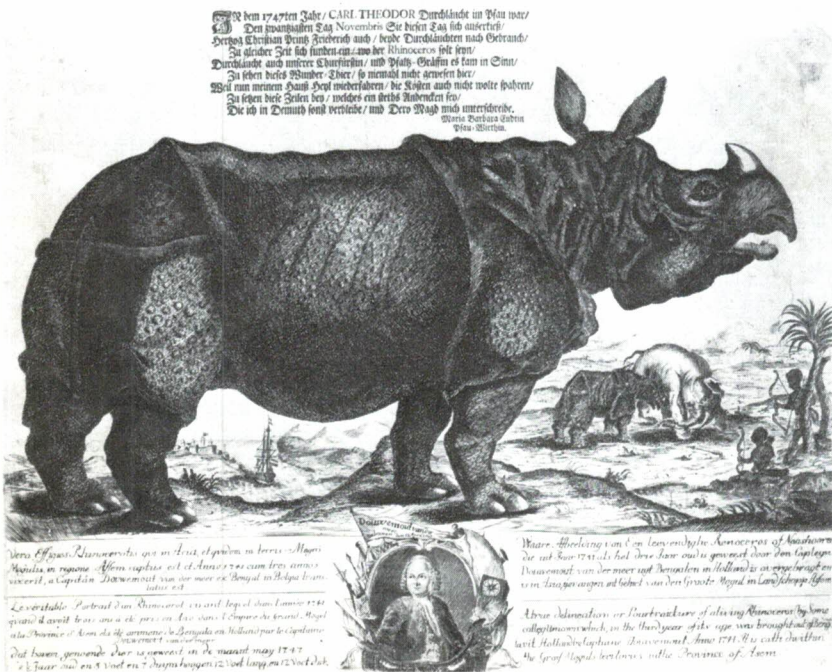


7. A side View of the *Rhinoceros*, Plate I in 'A Letter from Dr. Parsons to Martin Folkes, Esq., President of the Royal Society, containing the Natural History of the *Rhinoceros*', published in *The Philosophical Transactions*, No. 470, 1743.



8. The Leyden rhinoceros in 1742, aged 4, line engraving from Siegfried Albinus, *Tabulae Sceleti et Musculorum Corporis Humani*, 1747.

9. 'A true delineation of Portraiture of a living Rhinoceros', 1747, the Leyden rhinoceros, aged 9. Engraving, anonymous.



Den 1747ten Jule / CARL THEODOR Durchlauchte in Wien woz / Den zwanzigsten 24 November Sie diesen Tag sich anfertigen / Herrsch Christian Durchlauchte auch / beide Durchlauchte nach Österreich / Zu gleicher Zeit sich finden eine am her Rhinoceros die Frau / Durchlauchte auch unterer Scharfstein / und Pfalz / Gießen es kam in Gien / Zu ihren beiden Stüber / Aber / so man sich nicht anfertigen hier / Soll man merken dass / Die Stüber auch nicht mehr haben / Zu ihren beiden Stüber / und / werden ein jedes / Die ich in Deutsch sind vertrieben / und / Der Rhinoceros haben / Zwei Stüber.

Veris Effigies Rhinocerotis qui in Asia, et quidem in terra India / Habitat, in regione Africa capta est et Anno 1741 cum loco amicus / vivens, a Capite in Diermonti via per mare et Angliam in Hollandiam / venit.

Levissimè Portrahitum cum Rhinocerotis, et cum Equo, Anno 1747 / quod à veris Effigies Rhinocerotis, et cum loco amicus / vivens, a Capite in Diermonti via per mare et Angliam in Hollandiam / venit.

Meer Afbeelding van een leeuw en vyfde Rhinoceros of Neushoorn / Die uit Java 1741 is het door haar over de zee van Captegen / Diermont, van der zee van Diermont in Holland is in eenige tijden / te in Assam vangen en beheld van den tyranen Regent in Landshoop d'Am /

Utriusque Individuum, et Portraiture of a living Rhinoceros by some / collectionen which, in the third year of the year was brought to England / with Holland's physician Diermont, Anno 1741. Et cum Equo / Die tyran Regent's beheld van den tyranen Regent in Landshoop d'Am /

and a third plate devoted to horns and feet and more intimate anatomical details. It was a brave attempt to kill the Dürer legend, but unfortunately the doctor was a poor draughtsman, and the *Philosophical Transactions*, though translated into French and German,¹⁰ had only a small circulation outside scientific circles.

However, in 1741 there arrived in Europe a young female rhinoceros, briefly mentioned by Parsons in his 1743 *Letter to the President of the Royal Society*, one that was destined to rival Dürer's unseen Portuguese beast, eventually to oust it from zoological books and to substitute itself as the authentic pachyderm. But it took time to convince the natural historians of Western Europe that Dürer's powerful woodcut was largely a work of creative imagination. This animal, the Leyden rhinoceros,¹¹ gives its name to the present article, for it was a Dutch sea captain, Captain Douvemont (sometimes David Mont, but more correctly Douwe Mout) van der Meer of Leyden, who imported it as a three-year-old from Assam, and who proved to be a brilliant if obscure impresario, arranging long tours in Germany, France and Italy, selling to a willing public medals, prints and descriptive pamphlets. It was this animal, then, that had the greatest impact since Dürer's Ganda on the iconography of the rhinoceros, although as has been shown it was at best only the fifth to have arrived in Europe. It is possible to follow the career of the Leyden rhinoceros from 1741 to 1751 in some detail, although there are gaps in its biography that remain to be filled, particularly concerning its early years in the peaceful university town of Leyden, where it seems to have spent some time recovering from the long sea journey and getting on terms with the harsher European climate.

Also in Leyden in 1742 was the celebrated Dutch anatomist Bernard Siegfried Albinus, who somewhat surprisingly included in his folio volume of 1747, *Sceleti et Musculorum Corporis Humani*, the earliest portraits so far discovered of our heroine (No. 8); our illustration is from the 1749 English edition. Albinus disarmingly explains: 'We conclude this table, and the eighth, by exhibiting in the background the figure of a female Rhinoceros that was shewed to us in the beginning of the year 1742, being two years and a half old, as the keepers reported. We thought the rarity of the best 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 figure contained in these two tables'. Apart from the macabre and slightly comical effect of these line-engravings, we have here the earliest delineations from the life of a rhinoceros drawn by an artist, however humble, but good enough to supersede Parson's amateur effort of 1743.

Albinus's work was, in its Latin edition, dated 1747. The rhinoceros had begun its travels in 1746 with visits to Berlin and Frankfurt on the Oder.¹² Regensburg and Dresden followed early in 1747, then Leipzig in late April and Nuremberg in November, 1747, where it was seen by Carl Theodor, Elector Palatine.

On the 6th May, 1748 it is recorded at Stuttgart;

Waarom 6 mei?
of het
Leyden specimen?



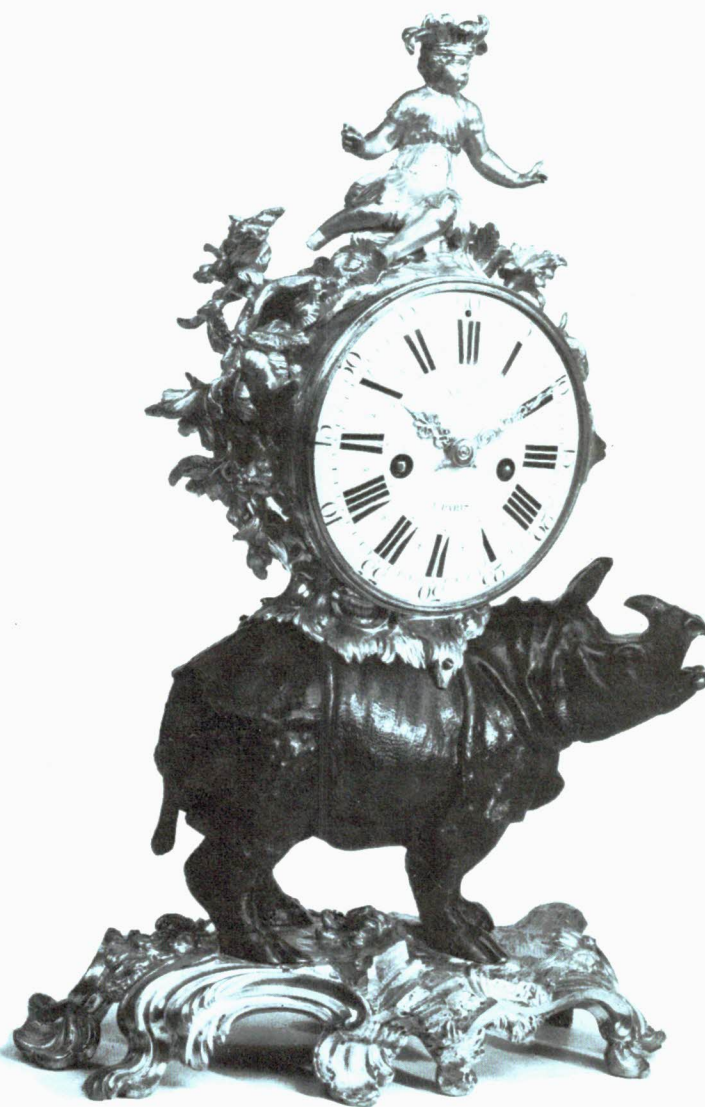
10. Base metal medal by P. P. Werner, Nuremberg, 1748. The Leyden rhinoceros, aged 10. *The British Museum.*

it then apparently moved to Ansbach, and later in that month and in June it was in Augsburg, before moving again to Nuremberg. By December, it had reached Rheims on its way to Paris. In all of these places a record of some kind was made. Doubtless the engraving of No. 9 was always available, whilst in Nuremberg the medallist P. P. Werner produced a base-metal circular relief (No. 10), of which there are also also differing versions with inscriptions in German and Italian.¹³ The example here shown, in the British Museum, is inscribed on the reverse in French, as though Capt. van der Meer was already planning his advance on Paris. By now the Leyden rhinoceros was about ten years old and it was getting near its maximum size; note how its horn has grown and the details of its weight and appetite. We are told that its keeper would rub its skin with fish oil, that it seemed to be very fond of wine and beer, and that its greatest delight was to have tobacco smoke blown into its nostrils. In Augsburg, the well-known animal painter and engraver Johann Elias Ridinger (1698-1767) made many drawings from the life in May and June 1748, we are told by his biographer Thienemann;¹⁴ they seem to have disappeared. But two engravings by Ridinger concern us here, the first a detail from one of a series of twelve engravings of Paradise (No. 11) of the late 1740's,¹⁵ with the animal raising its mobile snout in a manner peculiar to the Indian as opposed to the African rhinoceros, was perhaps used by the sculptor of the Louis XV bronze and ormolu clock (No. 12); its date, since it lacks the crowned 'C' poinçon, is about 1750.¹⁶

The second etching by Ridinger (No. 13) of a drooling creature, sad-eyed, slightly knock-kneed and quite unafraid is also undated, but is clearly from the life as the publication line specifically states. Ridinger was rightly proud of this print, for he almost boasts that it is all his own work (J. El. Ridinger ad vivum del. fec. et execut. A.V.). He was a typical Augsburg artist, not an Oudry but talented and influential



11. Detail of an engraving by Johann Elias Ridinger, Augsburg, no. 8 from the Paradise series, c. 1747.



12. Louis XV bronze and ormolu rhinoceros clock, the ormolu base inscribed S. Lerman, c. 1750. *Alexander & Berendt Ltd., formerly Sir Felix Cassels, the Brook House Collection.*



13. 'Rhinoceros, Nashorn, Rinocerot', no. 53 in a set of 127 etchings of animals by J. E. Ridinger, Augsburg, c. 1752, after drawings made in Augsburg from the life in May and June, 1748.



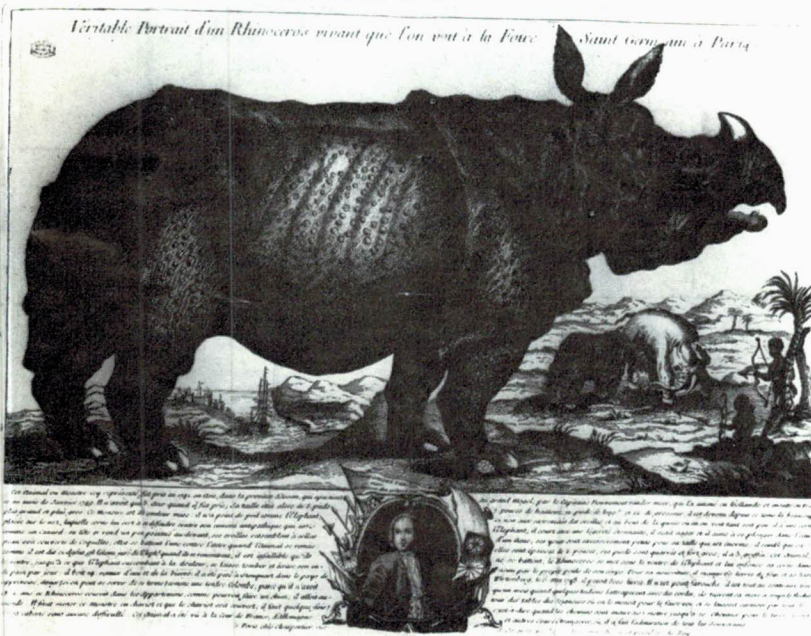
14. Marble rhinoceros from the Rothschild house at Grüneburg, Frankfurt. German, c. 1750. Private Collection.

through his many series of engravings published in the 1730's and 1740's and used as sources of decoration on Meissen and other German porcelain, both by factory and outside painters or *Hausmaler*. It might well have been one of the drawings mentioned by his biographer, now lost, that was used as model for the white marble figure (No. 14) which was for many years in the collection of Baron Anselm de Rothschild at Grüneburg near Frankfurt. The plicae or folds of skin, the irregular markings, the concertina-like folds at the neck, the general proportions, even the pointed toes are all echoes of the engraving. That this, the

earliest sculpture in the round of the Leyden rhinoceros, is of German origin seems very probable both from its provenance and from our knowledge of its incongruity.

But it is time to leave Germany and move on to the sophisticated world of Paris under Louis XV. Late in December 1748, the Leyden rhinoceros arrived in Rheims from Stuttgart, still accompanied by its owner, Capt. van der Meer, 'in a cage set on a strong cart drawn by twenty horses'.¹⁷ On the December 30 it continued its journey to Paris, where it was hoped that the King would buy it for 100,000 écus. But the price was too high, so it continued its career as a public attraction at the Fair of St. Germain, where during the spring and summer of 1749 it became the rage of Paris; for no live rhinoceros had been seen in France since Dürer's animal was put ashore at Marseilles in 1515 for the enjoyment of Francis I. 'Rubans à la rhinocéros' for the ladies, 'harnais à la rhinocéros' for the dandies; even the Encyclopaedists were beguiled. With *Ladvocat's* hastily produced pamphlet¹⁸ could be bought a large engraving (No. 15) of 'cet animal ou monstre', showing its right flank for a change, its mouth part-open, the traditional elephant fight on the right, a portrait of the Captain below; the whole a quickly produced rehash of the German engraving (No. 9). And now at last the rhinoceros meets a painter worthy of him in *Jean-Baptiste Oudry* who a few months later, in the summer of 1749, sketched and painted him *in situ* 'dans sa loge à la Foire de St. Germain'. Exhibited at the Salon in 1750, this huge life-size picture, a masterpiece of animal portraiture (No. 16), is even less known than the Stubbs portrait of c. 1790.¹⁹ It is one of some forty paintings by Oudry acquired by Christian Ludwig II (1683-1756), Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, all now at the Staat-

15. Engraving, anonymous, Paris, spring, 1749. *Musée National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris.*

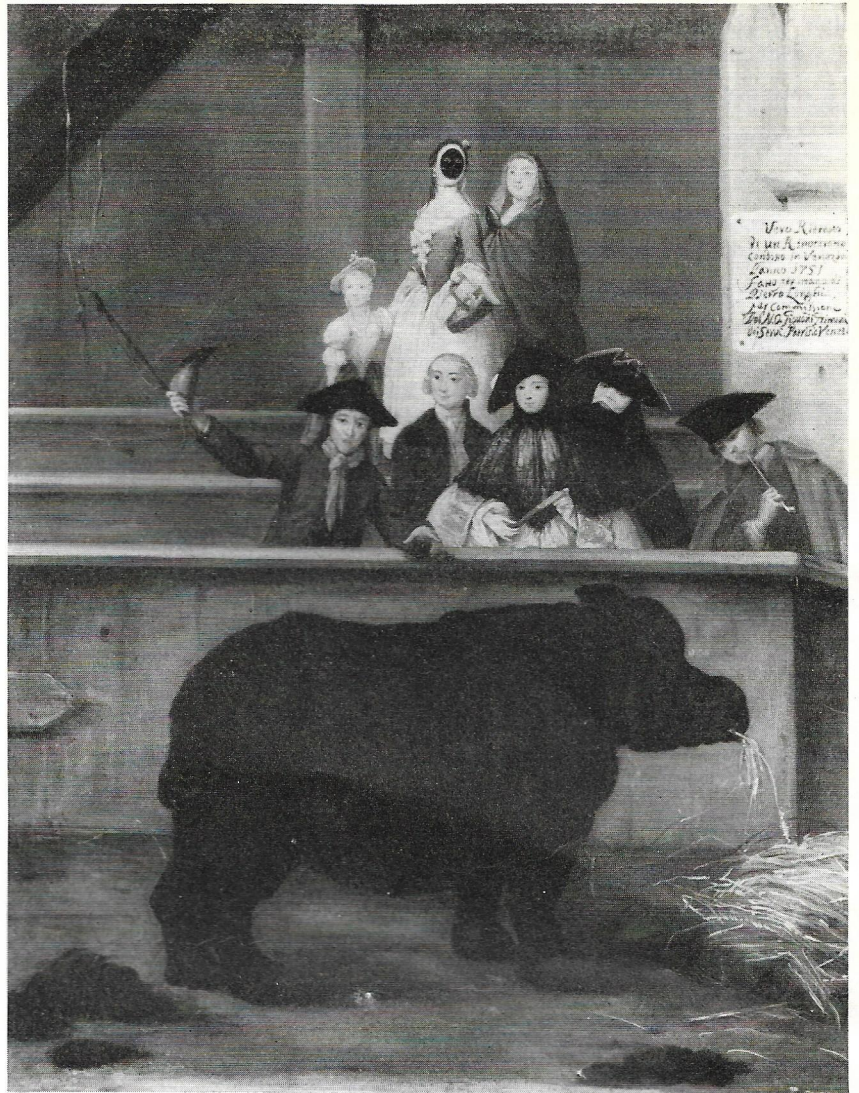


Pl. in Charpentier!

liches Museum in Schwerin. Despite the exaggerated curve and sharpness of the horn, and its thinness,²⁰ the rhinoceros had finally acquired a prestige which it had been tending to lose in the watered-down versions of Dürer's *ganda*. Oudry after all was an artist of international reputation, Ridinger provincial, Albinus an amateur. And when Buffon used an engraving derived from Oudry's painting in the first edition of his *Natural History* of 1754 at long last the European world had a reliable image of the rhinoceros.

Not that it was yet an ordinary animal, its likeness familiar to all. There was still money to be made by displaying it in booths, with a medal or an engraving as a souvenir, so in the late summer or autumn of 1749 the Leyden rhinoceros continued on its travels. From Lyons came a most disturbing report that greatly worried its Parisian admirers, namely that it had expired of a love-stroke ('*chaleur d'amour*'), which is strange considering that its imagined mate can not have been closer than India. But it was only a rumour, for in November it was in Italy, where once again there was a report of disaster. On the November 21, 1749, D'Argenson noted that the rhinoceros, together with its owner and several passengers, had been drowned while on a sea journey between Rome and Naples. First Dürer's Lisbon rhinoceros, then Capt. van der Meer's, both drowned in the same corner of the Mediterranean; but it was rumour only, for in just over a year our Leyden friend was to be seen at the Carnival in Venice in 1751. The two portraits by Pietro Longhi²¹ of the by now hornless animal bring us on to familiar ground, one example being in the National Gallery in London, the other at the Ca' Rezzonico in Venice (No. 17). But is it indeed the same animal? Loisel writing in 1912 seems to think so, and informed zoological opinion is also in favour of their identity. Longhi's creature looks smaller than Oudry's, almost too docile, happily or unconcernedly chewing straw in an arena or pit whose sawdust and squalor contrast with the elegant company in their *bautas* and *moretas*. The great difference is that it has shed or lost its horn²² which is being held by its keeper in the front row to the left, and the horn itself is shorter than in Oudry's picture. There is an etching by Alessandro Longhi of the painting in reverse, with additional figures including a PUNCHINELLO with tall hat of the type associated with Domenico Tiepolo (No. 18), the caption wrongly describing it as an

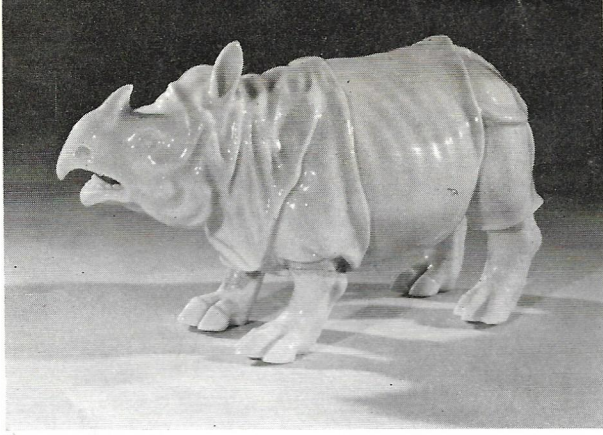
16. JEAN-BAPTISTE OUDRY. Oil painting 'from the life'. 3 m. 10 by 4 m. 56. Exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1750 Staatliches Museum, Schwerin.



17. PIETRO LONGHI. Oil painting, 1751. Ca' Rezzonico, Venice.

18. ALESSANDRO LONGHI. Etching, 'Il Gran Rinoceronte', Museo Correr, Venice.





19. Meissen porcelain rhinoceros modelled c. 1751 (this example of later date, from the Marcolini period, c. 1770).
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.



20. Meissen porcelain group of a Sultan on a rhinoceros,
c. 1749. 24.4 cm. high. *Kocher Collection, Historical Museum, Bern.*



21. Louis XV ormolu and Meissen
porcelain group, c. 1751.
34 cm. wide overall.
*Museum für Kunsthandwerk,
Frankfurt am Main.*

African animal, 'Il gran Rinoceronte. . . dal 'Africa'. Late in 1751, Carnival over, we catch a final glimpse of the Leyden rhinoceros in the Roman amphitheatre at Verona, where for the last time it sat to a painter, of the Tiepolo school, one Lorenzi.²³

How and where the Leyden rhinoceros died is unfortunately not known, maybe its bones are still in Verona, but there is no record of it having been stuffed like Dürer's beast. Nor is it likely to be identical with another female rhinoceros drawn in London in 1752 by George Edwards in his *Gleanings of Nature's History* published in 1758, for the latter was described as a 'creature not nearly arrived at its full stature'. But the Leyden rhinoceros died famous if unwept, for its likeness was in all the serious works on Natural History, in print cabinets and on the walls of ordinary people. The porcelain factories were not slow to follow the fashion; indeed such an exotic beast as the rhinoceros fitted easily into the context of the orientalism which Meissen had for years been exploiting to its great advantage in the series of oriental figures by Kaendler and in the painted chinoiserie wares of Höroldt. Meissen's first rhinoceros of 1731 after the Dürer woodcut was mentioned in the previous article (*The Connoisseur*, September 1973); its second was much smaller and exists in two versions, with and without its Turkish rider (Nos. 19 and 20), the latter version usually paired with an elephant carrying a Sultan and mahout. Since the elephant and rider can be dated to about 1749 it is reasonable to suggest, in the absence of documentary proof, that the rhinoceros and rider was of the same date, although the animal alone may well be earlier.²⁴ It is a dumpy creature, almost porcine, its head too large, the modeller, probably Kaendler in collaboration with Reinicke, had most likely not seen it in the flesh, but relied on engravings or drawings, possibly by Ridinger, since the factory is known to have used many of his engravings of the 1740's. Despite its new look, however, the painter of both the riderless rhinoceros with the ormolu palmtree and the astonished 'pagoda' figure at Frankfurt (No. 21), and the painter of the Sultan seated cross-legged on his bolstered cushion perched dangerously on the back of the unicorned animal have not altogether thrown off the centuries-old influence of Dürer, for the legs remain heavily scaled, and the markings on the back still have echoes of armoured plating. As for the latter figure of the mounted Turk one wonders as suggested earlier whether it can have been inspired perhaps by Parkinson's allegory of Europe in his *Theatrum Botanicum* of 1640 (No. 6).

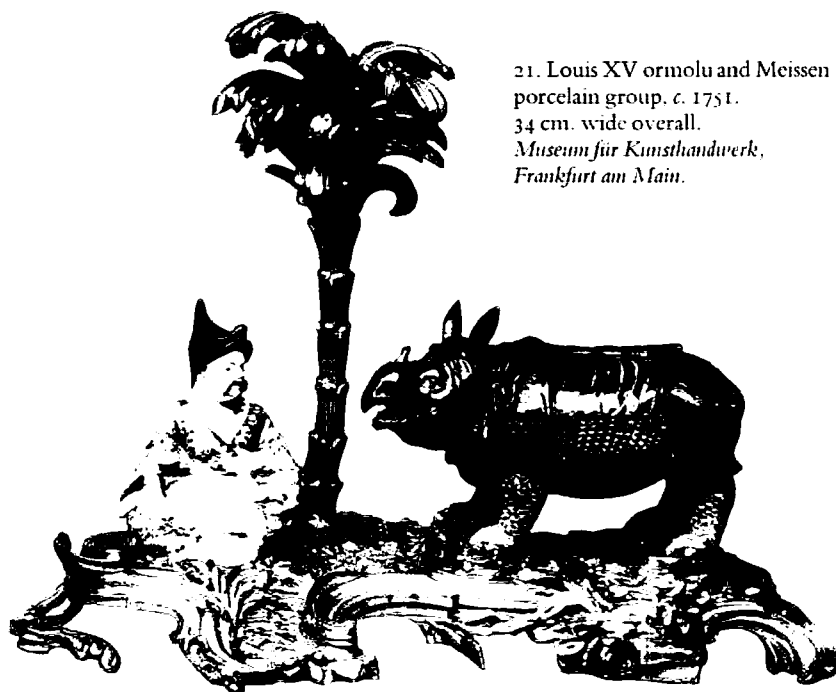
It is known that Carl Theodor, Elector Palatine, had been introduced to the rhinoceros in November, 1741. It was clearly an experience that he never forgot. A patron and later, in 1762, owner of the Frankenthal porcelain factory, he was in a position to have at least some of his whims gratified, so that one would like to think that it was he in person who commissioned the model of the rhinoceros.²⁶ This exists in two versions in plain white (dated 1777) and in colours. The latter now in the Residenz at Munich, has on its back a baroque howdah with a negro mask and rococo ornament containing a small clock (No. 22). I



19. Meissen porcelain rhinoceros modelled c. 1751 (this example of later date, from the Marcolini period, c. 1770). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.



20. Meissen porcelain group of a Sultan on a rhinoceros, c. 1749. 24.4 cm. high. Kocher Collection, Historical Museum, Bern.

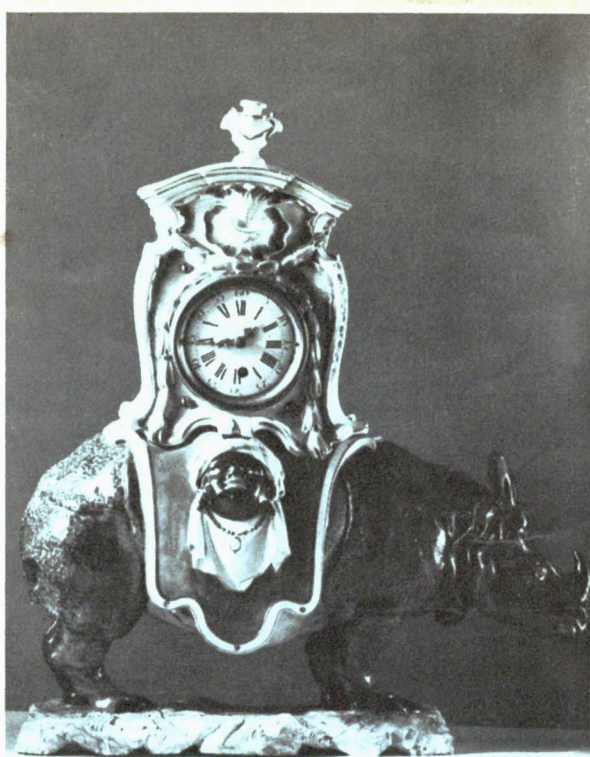


21. Louis XV ormolu and Meissen porcelain group, c. 1751. 34 cm. wide overall. Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt am Main.

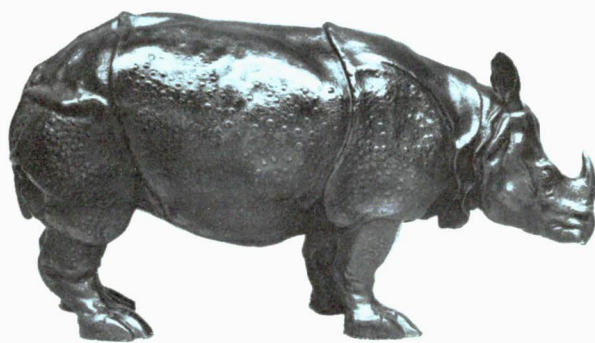
African animal, 'Il gran Rinoceronte. . . dal 'Africa'. Late in 1751, Carnival over, we catch a final glimpse of the Leyden rhinoceros in the Roman amphitheatre at Verona, where for the last time it sat to a painter, of the Tiepolo school, one Lorenzi.²³

How and where the Leyden rhinoceros died is unfortunately not known, maybe its bones are still in Verona, but there is no record of it having been stuffed like Dürer's beast. Nor is it likely to be identical with another female rhinoceros drawn in London in 1752 by George Edwards in his *Gleanings of Natural History* published in 1758, for the latter was described as a 'creature not nearly arrived at its full stature'. But the Leyden rhinoceros died famous if unwept, for its likeness was in all the serious works on Natural History, in print cabinets and on the walls of ordinary people. The porcelain factories were not slow to follow the fashion; indeed such an exotic beast as the rhinoceros fitted easily into the context of the exotic which Meissen had for years been exploiting to its great advantage in the series of oriental figures by Kaendler and in the painted chinoiserie wares of Höroldt. Meissen's first rhinoceros of 1731 after the Dürer woodcut was mentioned in the previous article (*The Connoisseur*, September 1973); its second was much smaller and exists in two versions, with and without its Turkish rider (Nos. 19 and 20), the latter version usually paired with an elephant carrying a Sultan and mahout. Since the elephant and rider can be dated to about 1749 it is reasonable to suggest, in the absence of documentary proof, that the rhinoceros and rider was of the same date, although the animal alone may well be earlier.²⁴ It is a dumpy creature, almost porcine, its head too large, the modeller, probably Kaendler in collaboration with Reinicke, had most likely not seen it in the flesh, but relied on engravings or drawings, possibly by Ridinger, since the factory is known to have used many of his engravings of the 1740's. Despite its new look, however, the painter of both the riderless rhinoceros with the ormolu palmtree and the astonished 'pagoda' figure at Frankfurt²⁵ (No. 21), and the painter of the Sultan seated cross-legged on his bolstered cushion perched dangerously on the back of the unicorned animal have not altogether thrown off the centuries-old influence of Dürer, for the legs remain heavily scaled, and the markings on the back still have echoes of armour-plating. As for the latter figure of the mounted Turk, one wonders as suggested earlier whether it can have been inspired perhaps by Parkinson's allegory of Europe in his *Theatrum Botanicum* of 1640 (No. 6).

It is known that Carl Theodor, Elector Palatine, had been introduced to the rhinoceros in November, 1747. It was clearly an experience that he never forgot. As patron and later, in 1762, owner of the Frankenthal porcelain factory, he was in a position to have at least some of his whims gratified, so that one would like to think that it was he in person who commissioned the model of the rhinoceros.²⁶ This exists in two versions, in plain white (dated 1777) and in colours. The latter, now in the Residenz at Munich, has on its back a baroque howdah with a negro mask and rococo ornament containing a small clock (No. 22). Its



22. Frankenthal porcelain rhinoceros clock, c. 1770, 46 cm. high. *Residenz, Munich.*



23. Bronze rhinoceros, German, c. 1750. *The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham.*

date is given as c. 1770. It is almost an exact replica in porcelain of a bronze rhinoceros which exists in several examples, that here reproduced (No. 23) being in the Barber Institute at Birmingham, where it is probably correctly called 'German, 18th Century'. I think this date, in view of the iconographical material assembled here, could be made more precise, c. 1750. Of the J. P. Heseltine example of this large bronze, now in the Louvre, the great Berlin museum director, Bode, writing on Italian Renaissance bronzes in 1908 said, '... the larger bronze of a beast at that time still unknown in Europe, the rhinoceros, in the possession of Mr. Heseltine, exhibits a more accurate study of nature [he had been writing about the elephant], and generally in conception and in execution may confidently be pronounced one of the best animal bronzes of the Renaissance'. A mistake that was corrected in later editions.²⁷ But of course it is our old friend the Leyden rhinoceros in a new guise.

By the early 1770's, the Indian rhinoceros had lost its appeal of novelty, and was no longer an exotic animal to be stared at in fair booths; it had left the travelling menagerie for the zoological garden. The natural historians were still hotly disputing the question

of its horns; no one could quite believe in the two-horned variety, they were travellers' tales, despite the two horns themselves in the possession of Sir Hans Sloane or Dr. Mead.²⁸ In 1770, a one-horned rhinoceros arrived at the Versailles menagerie, from the Cape says Loisel writing in 1912, from India says Buffon its contemporary who visited it as did the anatomist Camper. It was a male, very young, its horn only just sprouting, and suffered considerably from the biting of the flies.²⁹

Also in 1770, according to Loisel, or more likely in 1790,³⁰ another Indian rhinoceros was to be seen in London at Pidcock's Menagerie in Spring Gardens. Here it was painted by Stubbs for John Hunter, the surgeon, founder of the Hunterian Museum, and there in the Royal College of Surgeons in Lincoln's Inn Fields it can still be seen (see colour p. 115). Pink and grey, placid and solid, it is a painting of considerable power. Dürer, Oudry, Longhi, Stubbs no animal could ask for more.

NOTES

1. See *The Connoisseur*, September 1973, pp. 2-13.
2. Dr. Manfred Meinz of the Osnabrück Museum very kindly reported on and photographed this North German rhinoceros. The Burgkmair woodcut was recently included in the Augsburg exhibition commemorating the 500th anniversary of the artist's birth, and illustrated in the catalogue, *Hans Burgkmair: das graphische Werk*, 1973, No. 87, fig. 104. The catalogue entry calls attention to the drawing of a rhinoceros in the Emperor Maximilian's prayer-book at Besançon which is apparently derived from both the Dürer and Burgkmair woodcuts. See also Campbell Dodgson's article, 'The Story of Dürer's Ganda' in *The Romance of Fine Prints*, The Print Society, Kansas City, 1938 and Coles's essay, 'The History of Albrecht Dürer's Rhinoceros in Zoological Literature' in the *Charles Singer Festschrift*, Oxford University Press, 1953, p. 339.
3. Claude du Molinet, *Le Cabinet de la Bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève*, Paris, 1692, p. 193.
4. J. Camerarius, Jun., *Symbolorum et emblematum ex animalibus quadrupedibus desumptorum centuria altera*, Nuremberg, 1595, 4to. The prints reproduced here come from a later edition. They were the sources of two tiles in a series still displayed on the walls of the dining room in the Schloss at Wrisbergholzen, site of a small faïence factory near Hanover.
5. Cole, *op. cit.* p. 345.
6. John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum, The Theater of Plantes*, London, 1640. This is the second earliest example of a rhinoceros with rider so far discovered; the other is a drawing by Poussin in the Hermitage, of an animal with a peopled castle on its back, a pendant to an elephant similarly caparisoned. Blount suggest a date in the 1620's; see his *Nicolas Poussin, the A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts*, 1958, Phaidon Press, 1967, fig. 99, p. 103.
7. *The Diary of John Evelyn*, edited by E. S. de Beer, 1955, Vol. iv, pp. 389-390. A footnote states that this rhinoceros was sold by auction for £2,320 but that the buyer failing to pay, she was re-offered and failed on her second appearance to get a bid at all.
8. There is in the Print Room of the Rijksmuseum a Dutch mezzotint of 1686 by P. van den Berge purporting to show Evelyn's rhinoceros in mortal combat with an elephant, both drawn 'from the life', but it is nothing of the sort. It is in fact Dürer's armoured beast, as in the background to the Pisa relief (No. 6 in the previous article); and furthermore there was no elephant in London in 1684.
9. 'A Letter from Dr. Parsons to Martin Folkes, Esq.,

President of the Royal Society, containing the Natural History of the Rhinoceros', *Philosophical Transactions*, 1743, No. 470, pp. 523-541.

10. By Doctor Georg Leonhard Huth of Nuremberg into German in 1747 and by M. Demours into French.
11. The main secondary source for the biography of the Leyden rhinoceros is Gustave Loisel's *Histoire des Ménageries de l'Antiquité à nos Jours*, Paris, 1912, esp. Vol. II, pp. 50-2 and 278-80. A copy of the rare 1749 pamphlet there mentioned, *Lettre sur le Rhinocéros*, by one Ladvocat, a librarian at the Sorbonne, is in the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle in the Jardin des Plantes, Paris.
12. Further details of the itinerary of the Leyden rhinoceros have been published since this article was written by L. C. Rookmaaker in *Bijdragen tot de Dierkunde*, 43 (1), 1973, 'Captive Rhinoceroses in Europe from 1500 until 1810', pp. 46-56.
13. The version of the medal here reproduced (in the British Museum) is inscribed in French on the reverse. The Italian version, also signed by Werner, is published in an article by Baletti, 'Medagliere Veneto', in *Rassegna d'Arte*, Milan, 1903. The German edition differs in showing the rhinoceros in profile to sinister and in another pose, and apparently unsigned; see *Country Life*, August 8, 1952, p. 401. A medal was also struck in Ansbach after a model by Gözinger.
14. Georg Aug. Wilhelm Thienemann's *Leben und Werk des Johann Elias Ridinger*, Leipzig 1856, reprinted 1962, mentions six chalk drawings on blue paper, p. 284. The Paradise engraving of No. 11 is no. 814, No. 13 is Thienemann no. 1027.
15. Preparatory drawings for the Paradise series bear dates between 1744 and 1747, the etchings being dated 'towards the end of the 1740's' by Rolf Biedermann in the *Catalogue of the 1967 exhibition, Johann Elias Ridinger, at Augsburg*, no. 57.
16. From the collection of Sir Felix Cassels, sold as lot 712 in the Brook House Collection, London, 25 May, 1932.
17. See Loisel, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 278-80.
18. Not only is this engraving the same as the 1747 example in No. 20, it seems likely that Capt. Douvemont van der Meer took the original copper plate with him on his travels and had the legends appropriately altered. And he must have been a capable organiser, for although the rhinoceros cannot have reached Paris until mid-January 1749 at the earliest, yet the pamphlet in which this example of the engraving is bound was already on sale by the end of February. The scholarly references are again not original, but there are at least a few first-hand observations.
19. The Oudry portrait at Schwerin is here reproduced by kind permission of the director of the Staatliches Museum. It measures 3.10 x 4.56 metres, bears the inventory No. G 1928, and when this photograph was taken in 1971 was kept rolled up, as can be seen. Exhibited by Oudry (1686-1755) in the Salon of 1750, no. 38, 'Cet animal a été peint dans sa Loge à la Foire St. Germain'. A signed drawing in black chalk heightened with white on grey paper was in the William Mayor Collection, London, no. 451. The painting was probably acquired by Duke Christian Ludwig II from Oudry's heirs after the latter's death in 1755.
20. Buffon complained that Oudry had made the horn too curved, too thin and too sharp.
21. For the Longhi portraits and related material see Michael Levey in the 1971 edition of *The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Italian Schools (National Gallery Catalogues)*, pp. 154-6, Moschini, *Pietro Longhi*, 1956, figs. 107-8, Aldo Rava, *Pietro Longhi*, 1923 and Terisio Pignatti, *Longhi*, 1968. Most of these authors talk of the animal in Venice in 1751 as the second rhinoceros to be seen in Europe.
22. That the rhinoceros can lose its horn while in captivity is proved by the following report of an incident at the London Zoo in Regent's Park in August, 1870. 'Our male and female Indian Rhinoceroses having been placed in the adjoining yards, in front of the new Elephant house, on the 10th August last the male made frequent attempts to raise the lower transverse bar of the strong iron railing that separates the two enclosures, by placing his horn under it. After repeating these attempts several times, in spite of the interference of the keepers, his efforts were such that the horn became suddenly detached under the violent pressure to which it was subjected, and rolled off into the yard. The animal appeared to be much hurt, and roared lustily for a few minutes. There was considerable loss of blood from the wound, which, however, healed in a few days, neat's-foot oil being applied to it to keep off the flies', *Transactions of the Zoological Society of London*, Vol. IX, Part XI, p. 647, an article by P. L. Sclater, 'On the Rhinoceroses now or lately living in the Society's Menagerie', including a reprint of part of the 1871 *Proceedings*.
23. Francesco Lorenzi made a drawing in red and black chalk of 'quell animale enorme' for a Frenchman François Seguier who is said to have presented it to the Académie des Sciences, but it seems to have disappeared. See Zannandrei, *Le Vite dei Pittori, Scultori e Architetti Veronesi*, 1891, p. 428.
24. There is disagreement on the dating of these two groups. There is firm evidence derived from the mould numbers that the companion group of the elephant with riders, with the mould no. 1165, dates from about 1749: see Rückert, *Meissener Porzellan*, 1966, no. 1060 and pl. 263. The Kocher group in Berne here illustrated is wrongly dated 1741/3.
25. Illustrated in the *Catalogue of the 1963-4 Exhibition, 'Figürliche Keramik aus zwei Jahrtausende'*. Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt-Main, no. 75. The date given here, 1735-40, is again too early if the iconographic derivation from the Leyden animal is correct. The same applies to the mounts, which may well be French but not from Lazare Duvoux's shop, since no rhinoceros appears in his *Livre-Journal* after 1749.
26. See F. H. Hoffmann, *Frankenthaler Porzellan*, 1911, Vol. II, pls. 124 and 191, also the same author's *Das Porzellan*, 1932, p. 269, fig. 273, where the model is dated c. 1770 and attributed to Pierre-Antoine Verschaffelt.
27. See A. C. Sewter, 'Small Italian Bronzes at the Barber Institute', *The Connoisseur*, 1949, Vol. CXXIV, pp. 28-9, and H. R. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronzestatuetten*, 1967, p. 443 and fig. 526. It was Sewter who first exposed Bode's error. Weihrauch, illustrating the Louvre bronze (ex-Heseltine and Mme. de Behague Collections), points out that the Frankenthal porcelain version has lost some of the fine chiselling of the bronze. An example in the Salting Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum seems to be of later date.
28. See *Philosophical Transactions*, 1749, p. 118 and 1766, p. 32, Letters from Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Parsons, the latter with very shrewd comments, as in his earlier letter of 1743, for which see footnote 9.
29. Loisel, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 143-4, although mistaken as to the number of horns gives a few interesting details, namely that this rhinoceros had a hatred of pigs but a love for a particular goat.
30. Apart from a statement by Loisel, *ibid*, Vol. II, p. 17, there is no evidence that there was a rhinoceros in London in 1770. This seems to have been a mis-print for 1790, when several writers mention a live rhinoceros at Pidcock's menagerie, one whose 'docility was about equal to that of a tolerably tractable Pig'. Loisel also mentions another rhinoceros in London in 1799, and this is confirmed by other writers. The traditional date of 1772 for Stubbs portrait seems therefore to be wrong, in which case it could well have been painted at the same time as Warren Hastings' yak, dated 1791, also in the Hunterian Museum. See William Le Fanu, *A Catalogue of the Portraits in the Royal College of Surgeons of England*, 1960, Nos. 267 and 268, also Basil Taylor, *Animal Painting in England*, 1955, col. pl. I and Stubbs, 1971, figs. 71 and 72.

LORENZI

is dit ad geheel naggaan?

nalyseert