

ASIA

IN THE MAKING OF EUROPE

DONALD F. LACH

VOLUME

II

A

*Century of
Wonder*

BOOK ONE: THE VISUAL ARTS



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO AND LONDON

The Iconography of Asian Animals

The naturalists, somewhat like the artists, seem to be baffled by the problem of reconciling the living creature with the prevailing traditions. Gesner presents a mélange of tradition, myth, and contemporary observations of the elephant which makes strange reading indeed. He quotes Aelian and Varthema on the same page, and evidently gives equal weight to their testimony. The later editions of Gesner fail completely to note the report of Pierre Gilles, who dissected the elephant at Aleppo in 1545 and published his semianatomical description in 1562. The essentially factual material in Orta's *Coloquios*, as relayed to Europe through L'écluse and Acosta, seems not to have entered the mainstream of natural history until the seventeenth century.¹⁹⁴ Throughout the sixteenth century writers about animals continued to treat seriously the stories and traditions surrounding all monstrous creatures. But then, who is to blame the naturalists for their hesitation in identifying the dragon and the unicorn as mythical creatures when, within a single century, living exemplars of the behemoth of the past (not to mention the absurd giraffe and the ridiculous rhinoceros) had presented themselves for all to see and to wonder about?

2

THE RHINOCEROS

The Indian rhinoceros, like the Indian elephant, was brought to Europe early in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese. The *ganda*,¹⁹⁵ or rhinoceros of Cambay, was originally sent as a gift to King Manuel by the sultan of Gujarat. And then, like Hanno, the rhinoceros was sent off as a gift to Rome. The *ganda* quickly began to compete with the elephant for the attention of royalty, aristocracy, Humanists, and artists. And, while Hanno found his Raphael, the *ganda* contemporaneously found his artist in a sketch and a woodcut by Albrecht Dürer. The print of the *ganda* completed by Dürer in 1515, was to set the

¹⁹⁴ Elephants, both in reality and art, become more numerous in the seventeenth century. King Christian IV of Denmark in 1620 tried, though unsuccessfully, to buy two big elephants with tusks and two elephants for work (see M. Boyer, *Japanese Export Lacquers . . . in the National Museum of Denmark* [Copenhagen, 1959], p. 30). Wenzel Hollar sketched and engraved from life an elephant that was on display at Frankfurt and Nuremberg in 1629. For a fascinating fictional account of Hollar's life and his interest in "Trompette," the female elephant, see the delightful story by the modern writer Johannes Urzidil, entitled "Das Elefantenblatt." A white elephant imported into Amsterdam in 1633 was drawn by Rembrandt four years later (see the pencil drawings in the Albertina [Vienna], H26). An African elephant sent to Louis XIV in 1668 is preserved in an etching by Pieter Borel (see Popham, *loc. cit.* [n. 31], p. 191). At Rome, in 1691, Marcello Malpighi observed a living elephant and wrote an exact scientific description of it. See H. B. Adelman, *Marcello Malpighi and the Evolution of Embryology* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), p. 623. For a complete dissection of the elephant see P. Blair, "Osteographia elephantina . . .," *Philosophical Transactions* (London), XXVII (1710-12), 53-168.

¹⁹⁵ Sanskrit for rhinoceros; Hindi, *gainda*; Marathi, *genda*; cf. Denis Sinor, "Sur les noms altaïques de la licorne," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, LVI (1960), 173-74.

The Rhinoceros

standard for the artistic depiction of the rhinoceros up to the eighteenth century (see pl. 119).¹⁹⁶

The one-horned rhinoceros of India was much more alien than the elephant to European writers and artists of the pre-discovery era. Possibly the earliest literary description of the Indian rhinoceros is the story in the *Indica* (dated ca. 400 B.C.) of Ctesias about the "wild asses of India." These are one-horned beasts, presumably rhinoceroses, to whom the fanciful Ctesias adds features derived from the traditions associated with the unicorn and other real and fabulous animals.¹⁹⁷ Ctesias tells of the medicinal virtues of the horn, a belief of commoners and kings in sixteenth-century Europe which has lived on into the twentieth century in Asia.¹⁹⁸ Aristotle in his *History of the Animals* vaguely refers to the one-horned "Indian ass," and he mistakenly asserts in his discussion of parts of the body that its hoof is not cloven. Biblical references to the unicorn are too vague to tell whether or not the authors are alluding to the rhinoceros. The probability is that they were repeating stories about the unicorn that were current everywhere in the ancient world.¹⁹⁹

Strabo (ca. 63 B.C.—A.D. 21), the author of six geohistorical books on Asia in Greek, gives the first literary description of the Indian rhinoceros based on personal observation. He is likewise the first to use the word "rhinoceros" (Greek, *ῥινόκερως*, meaning nose horn; German, *Nashorn*) and to mention the *pliae*, or folds, of the skin. Strabo, on the basis of stories he heard, mentions the combat between the rhinoceros and the elephant, a powerful tradition that was to be tested practically at Lisbon in 1515.²⁰⁰

Pliny the Elder is the earliest of the Roman writers to comment on the rhinoceros. He records that it first appeared at Rome in 61 (?) B.C., the occasion being the games organized to celebrate the return to Italy of Pompey the Great. The

¹⁹⁶ The best studies of the *ganda* are A. Fontura da Costa, *Les d'esambulations du Rhinocéros de Modofar, roi de Cambaye, de 1514-1516* (Lisbon, 1937); C. Dodgson, "The Story of Dürer's Ganda, in A. Fowler (ed.), *The Romance of Fine Prints* (Kansas City, 1938), pp. 45-54; C. Coste, "Anciennes figurations du rhinocéros," *Acta tropica*, III (1946), 116-29; F. J. Cole, "The History of Albrecht Dürer's Rhinoceros in Zoological Literature," *Science, Medicine, and History: Essays on the Evolution of Scientific Thought and Medical Practice, Written in Honour of Charles Singer*, collected and edited by E. Ashworth Underwood (London, 1953), I, 337-56; and L. de Matos, "Forma e natura e costumi del rinoceronte," *Boletim internacional de bibliografia Luso-Brasileira*, I (1960), 387-98.

¹⁹⁷ For critical commentary see C. Gould, *Mythical Monsters* (London, 1886), chap. X; and O. Shepard, *The Lore of the Unicorn* (New York, 1930), pp. 26-32.

¹⁹⁸ In sixteenth-century Europe even the prehistoric cave sites were searched for the rare rhinoceros horn. By 1600 dozens of prized alicorns (mounted horns and tusks) were on display in Europe (Shepard, *op. cit.* [n. 197], p. 105). S. H. Prater, curator of the Bombay Historical Society, in *The Book of Indian Animals* (2d ed.; Bombay, 1965), pp. 229-30, warns that the rhinoceros of Asia is today in danger of extinction, largely owing to the exaggerated value and the mythical beliefs still attached to the virtues of its horn, blood, and urine.

¹⁹⁹ For a succinct summary see Shepard, *op. cit.* (n. 197), pp. 41-45.

²⁰⁰ There is no reference, as far as I know, to a fight between the elephant and the rhinoceros in classical Indian literature or art. In a fresco of the third century B.C. found at Marissa in Palestine a rhinoceros is shown with an elephant, but it is not clear whether or not they are in combat. It should be noted also that this story of mortal enmity which seems to have originated in the Roman world was kept alive and embellished by Muslim authors. See Ettinghausen, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 29-30, 78-90.

The Iconography of Asian Animals

Indian rhinoceros was seen again repeatedly in ancient Rome down to the time of Vespasian, even though it came from a vast distance. The two-horned African rhinoceros was also displayed in Rome, but not so frequently. The one-horned Indian rhinoceros is very hardy, thrives in small quarters, and has a life expectancy in captivity double that of the two-horned African rhinoceros.²⁰¹ Hence it is not surprising that it appeared more frequently in Rome than its African cousin from much closer by.

Pliny, Aelian, Diodorus Siculus, and Julius Solinus were stimulated by the presence of living animals to learn all they could from others about the origins and habits of the rhinoceros. From their investigations they concluded that it was the original of the unicorn and so attached to the rhinoceros (both Asiatic and African) many of the beliefs about the unicorn current in the markets of the Levant and Egypt. The mosaic artists of Palestrina and Perugia depicted in early Roman times the two-horned rhinoceros as did the minters of two coins in the first century A.D.²⁰² On a medal struck for Emperor Caracalla (ruled A.D. 211-17) there is a device of a wrecked ship with a number of animals engraved below it, including a clear portrait of the one-horned rhinoceros.²⁰³

From the fall of the Roman Empire to 1515 there is no literary or artistic record which would confirm the presence in Christian Europe of the living rhinoceros.²⁰⁴ And, among Muslim authors of the Middle Ages, the only one to give a fairly accurate description of the rhinoceros was al-Biruni in his book on India.²⁰⁵ So, the rhinoceros, like most other exotic animals, was invested by the writers of the bestiaries with all the traditional attributes of the unicorn and with Christian symbolism as well. The writer of a Tuscan-Venetian bestiary summarizes the medieval view as follows:

The rhinoceros, one of the most fierce of animals, has between its eyes a terribly sharp horn which no armor in the world can withstand. Because of its ferocity this animal can be captured by humans only through a ruse; a pure virgin approaches it, and drawn by her smell of virginity, it lies down at her feet where it falls asleep and is killed by the hunter.

The rhinoceros symbolizes fierce and savage people whom no human can withstand, but who may be overcome through the power of the divinity and reformed. As this power proved itself with Saul, so it effects the same [reform] upon many others.²⁰⁶

The rhinoceros as the symbol of Saul-become-Paul also appears in a Latin hymn to St. Paul written by Abelard early in the twelfth century.²⁰⁷ In his

²⁰¹ Jennison, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 34-35.

²⁰² Cole, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), pp. 337-38.

²⁰³ For a reproduction see Jennison, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 82.

²⁰⁴ There is a curious mosaic in the pavement of St. Mark's in Venice, close by the Door of the Madonna, which displays clearly the head of the rhinoceros. Traditionally this is dated in the thirteenth century and is associated vaguely with Marco Polo. It has been conjectured that the unknown mosaicist was trying to depict the unicorn. See Shepard, *op. cit.* (n. 197), p. 216.

²⁰⁵ See Ettinghausen, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 12.

²⁰⁶ Translated from Goldstaub and Wendriner, *op. cit.* (n. 28), pp. 310-14. The story of capture by a virgin is likewise associated with the unicorn. See Shepard, *op. cit.* (n. 197), pp. 47-51.

²⁰⁷ As cited by Cole, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), pp. 338-39.

The Rhinoceros

poem "De laudibus divinae sapientiae" Alexander Neckam mentions that the dragon and rhinoceros, respectively the symbols of sin and ferocity, are in league against the elephant, symbol of good, and that the rhinoceros with its sharp horn tears open the belly of the elephant.²⁰⁸ In a Latin manuscript of the early thirteenth century and in the work of Bartholomew Glanvil the identity of the rhinoceros with the unicorn is forthrightly asserted. But Marco Polo and Jordan of Severac in their eye-witness accounts of the rhinoceros are firm in saying that the beasts they saw could not be captured by maidens. Jordan therefore concludes that the rhinoceros is different from the "real unicorns." Such testimony from the field had the effect for a time at least of reinstating the legendary unicorn as an independent beast.²⁰⁹

Throughout the Middle Ages the depiction of the rhinoceros was confined to the miniatures in the bestiaries. And in most of these imaginary pictures it looks more like a unicorn than a genuine rhinoceros. In the *Physiologus* of Cosmas Indicopleustes it is shown as a horse with two horns on its nose.²¹⁰ The artists of the Italian Renaissance, with all of their interest in exotic animals, did not try to depict the true rhinoceros in painting, sculpture, or textiles. It was left to Dürer to produce the first modern depiction of the Indian rhinoceros on the basis of a sketch which was forwarded to Nuremberg from Lisbon in 1515 (pl. 119).

The inspiration for Dürer's rhinoceros was the living exemplar sent as a gift from India to King Manuel of Portugal. In 1514, Albuquerque dispatched a mission from Goa to Cambay to request permission of Sultan Modafar II to build a fortress on the island of Diu. In September of that year the embassy returned to Goa with the *ganda*. This animal, judging from Dürer's depiction of it, was of the variety now called the Great Indian one-horned rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*). It was sent to Portugal in the fleet that left Cochin at the beginning of January, 1515, and arrived in Lisbon on May 20, 1515. Because the *ganda* was the first rhinoceros to be seen in Europe since Roman times, it caused an immediate sensation.

The king and his circle were anxious to "test by experience," as Gois remarks,²¹¹ the assertions of Roman writers about the natural enmity of the rhinoceros and the elephant. It was therefore arranged that the meeting of the two beasts should be made into a public spectacle. On June 3, 1515, they confronted each other in a courtyard enclosed by high walls between the Paço da Ribeira and the Casa da India.

The native Oçem [its Indian keeper] had led the rhinoceros by its chain to a place behind the tapestries covering the passageway, where it remained well hidden. Then the elephant,

²⁰⁸ See Druce, *loc. cit.* (n. 27), p. 41.

²⁰⁹ Robin, *op. cit.* (n. 192), frontispiece and pp. 75-76. Also see distinction that is made by Nicolò de' Conti in the fifteenth century in R. H. Major (ed.), *India in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1857) p. 13.

²¹⁰ J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus des Kosmas Indicopleustes . . .* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 62.

²¹¹ D. de Gois, *Chronica do felicissimo rei Dom Emanuel* (Lisbon, 1566), Pt. II, chap. xlii.

The Iconography of Asian Animals

a young one with short tusks, was brought into the arena. When the tapestries were pulled aside revealing the rhinoceros, the elephant took flight and sought refuge in the shelter where it was usually kept.²¹²

The rhinoceros, proclaimed victor by default, was heralded as the vindicator of the ancient writers,²¹³ and it became immediately one of King Manuel's most prized possessions. In his Book of Hours (1517) a realistic rhinoceros appears in the right margin of the illustration "Flight from Egypt" (pl. 86).

The *ganda* was dispatched by ship in December, 1515, to Pope Leo X. It was sent by Manuel to Rome, along with other gifts, in appreciation of the "Golden Rose" he had been awarded by the papacy in July, 1515. It may have been Manuel's intention, as Jovius suggests, to give the spectacle-loving pope the opportunity to match the *ganda* against Hanno, his own elephant. Among the other gifts taken aboard were lavish silverworks of animals (*bastiães*), silks, large quantities of pepper and other spices, and a green velvet harness for the rhinoceros decorated with gilded roses and carnations and edged with fringe.²¹⁴ The ship commanded by João de Pina arrived at the roads of Marseilles in January, 1516, and the rhinoceros was put ashore for rest and refreshment on one of the islands in the bay. King Francis I, who had been on a campaign in Provence, was in Marseilles at this time and he went out to the island to see the "wonderful beast called Reynoceron."²¹⁵ After departing from Marseilles, Pina's vessel was struck by a storm off Genoa, in February, and sank with all on board. The corpse of the rhinoceros was washed ashore near Villefranche.²¹⁶ After being stuffed it was sent to the pope and arrived in Rome in February, 1516,²¹⁷ about eight months after Hanno's death.

In the meantime a Latin poet, possibly in anticipation of the rhinoceros' arrival in Rome, wrote a stanza of twelve lines celebrating the beast.²¹⁸ And the Florentine physician Giovanni Giacomo Penni published in Rome, during July, 1515, a poem entitled "Forma e natura e costumi de lo Rinocerothe stato con-

²¹² From the letter of Valentim Fernandes to a friend in Nuremberg, of June, 1515. Italian translation of the text in A. de Gubernatis, *Storia dei viaggiatori italiani nelle Indie Orientali* (Leghorn, 1875), pp. 389-92.

²¹³ As an indication of how important this event was to the scholars of the sixteenth century, see the letter of Gerardus Suberinus Corcquires of April 27, 1595, to Ortelius (in J. H. Hessels [ed.], *Abrahami Ortelii . . . Epistulae . . . [1524-1628]* [Cambridge, 1887], p. 637). Corcquires sent the geographer in this letter a collection of anagrams for the foremost events of particular years. The victory of the rhinoceros he used for 1515, Charles V's birth for 1500, and Luther's attack on the pope for 1517.

²¹⁴ For the complete list with quantities see E. de Campos de Andrada (ed.), *Relações de Pero de Alcaçova Carneiro, conde da Idanha* (Lisbon, 1937), pp. 198-99.

²¹⁵ See P. de Vaissière (ed.), *Journal de Jean Barrillon, secrétaire du Chancelier Duprat, 1515-1521* (Paris, 1897), I, 193.

²¹⁶ Paulus Jovius wrote in 1555: ". . . for it was not possible that such a beast could save itself being chained, albeit it swam miraculously among the sharp rocks which are along that coste . . ." (*The Worthy Tract . . . Contayning a Discourse of Rare Inventions, both Militarie and Amorous called Impresse*, trans. of the Italian version of 1555, London, [1585], p. D ii verso).

²¹⁷ Matos, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), p. 390.

²¹⁸ Published in *Pauli Iovii novocomensis Episcopi Nucernini Elogia virorum bellica virute illustrium veris imaginibus supposita . . .* (Florence, 1551), p. 206.

The Rhinoceros

duto im Portogallo dal capitano de larmata del Re. . .”²¹⁹ Penni, from the evidence of his poem, was well informed about the activities of the *ganda* in Lisbon. The probability is that he had learned of the “battle” with the elephant from the letter of Valentim Fernandes of May, 1515, which was circulated in Florence and today exists only in its Italian translation.²²⁰ The artist who prepared the crude woodcut which graces the title page of Penni’s poem was evidently not in possession of a sketch done from life, for his woodcut shows but slight improvement over the rhinoceros of the bestiaries.

Dürer himself had probably never seen a rhinoceros, living or dead, before he received the sketch from Lisbon in 1515. It is possible that he had seen a depiction of the rhinoceros on the Roman coins and medals that his German contemporaries were avidly collecting. But there is no evidence, in either literature or art, to indicate that Dürer had a source other than the Lisbon sketch.²²¹ While the sketch itself is not extant, the drawing by Dürer (pl. 119) labeled “Rhinoceron 1515” seems to be an elaborated rendition of it, and the caption beneath is evidently a German translation from Portuguese of the textual material that accompanied the Lisbon sketch.²²² In English translation the caption reads:

It was in the year 15[1]3,²²³ on May 1, they brought our King of Portugal at Lisbon such a beast alive from India, which they call a Rhinoceros. For the wonder’s sake, I have had to send you a likeness of it. It has a colour like a tortoise and is covered nearly all over with thick scales, and in size is like the elephant, but lower, and is the elephant’s mortal enemy. It has in front on its nose a strong sharp horn, and when the beast comes at the elephant to fight him, it has always first whetted its horn sharp against the stone and runs at the elephant with its head between his forelegs, and rips him up where the skin is thinnest, and so kills him. The elephant is very badly afraid of the rhinoceros, for it kills the elephant whenever it comes at him, being well armed and very lively and active, This beast is called rhinoceros in Greek and Latin, but in the Indian language, “Ganda.”²²⁴

The text of the caption placed above the woodcut of Dürer’s rhinoceros, also dated 1515,²²⁵ is essentially the same as the text on the sketch. The only omission is the reference to its being known in India as a “Ganda.” While the sketch

²¹⁹ The only extant copy of this little book is today in the Biblioteca Colombina of Seville. It was brought to Rome in November, 1515, by Fernando Colombo. It is reproduced photographically in Matos, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), pp. 395–98.

²²⁰ Gubernatis, *op. cit.* (n. 212), p. 389.

²²¹ Hermann Dembeck (*Animals and Men* [Garden City, N.Y., 1965], p. 279), asserts that Dürer depended upon a description by the Welser agent, Lucas Rem. Examination of Rem’s *Tagebuch* fails to disclose such a description. Rem, according to the diary, was in Antwerp, but not in Lisbon, between 1513 and 1516.

²²² While Fontura da Costa (*op. cit.* [n. 196], pp. 23–25) argues that this drawing is by a Portuguese, the Dürer experts agree in attributing it to the master. See Dodgson, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), p. 46. Original of Dürer’s drawing is in the British Museum.

²²³ This seems to be an error for 1515; the date May 1 should also be May 20.

²²⁴ Translation by Campbell Dodgson as printed in *loc. cit.* (n. 196), p. 46. This account of the fight between the elephant and rhinoceros is based on ancient authors rather than on the confrontation of June 3, 1515, at Lisbon. Hence, it may be conjectured that this letter was written before June 3, since it makes no mention of the actual meeting at which the elephant was not killed but ran in terror.

²²⁵ See plate in *Asia*, I, following p. 356.

exists only in a single exemplar today, the woodcut went through many editions and is still commonly reproduced as an example of Dürer's treatment of animals. The first edition of the woodcut published in 1515 was followed by two editions published between 1540 and 1550. As many as five editions of the woodcut may have been in circulation by 1600. Throughout history the woodcut has had around ten editions, as nearly as can be reckoned from the extant versions.²²⁶

While Dürer prepared his sketch and woodcut, his contemporary and associate, Hans Burgkmair, prepared an excellent large woodcut (pl. 120) called "Rhinoceros M.D.X.V." Today but one copy of Burgkmair's rhinoceros exists, in the Albertina of Vienna. By 1515 Burgkmair, even more than Dürer, was acquainted with the activities of the Portuguese traders and their associates, the south German commercial agents. In the woodcuts prepared for his India series of 1508-9 which he printed as illustrations to Balthasar Springer's account of his journey to the East, he reproduced sheep, elephants, cattle, and camels. Since Burgkmair possibly based his animal woodcuts upon watercolors made by an artist who had been in the East,²²⁷ it may not be too farfetched to suggest that his rendition of the rhinoceros may likewise have been based upon a watercolor which remained in his possession and which he had not seen fit to use in the preparation of the earlier series. Certainly, both he and Dürer produced realistic woodcuts of the rhinoceros and probably from different artistic sources.²²⁸ But it is also possible that both worked from the same drawing.²²⁹

Dürer's rhinoceros differs strikingly from Burgkmair's by the imposing coat of armor made of scales, laminae, and shells with which he embellished the *plicae* of the skin. Particularly striking and completely fictitious is the dorsal spiral horn which Dürer added to the cervical vertebrae. Perhaps he decided to introduce this quaint element because he was uncertain of the accuracy in detail of the sketch sent from Lisbon. Or he certainly might have seen a two-horned rhinoceros depicted on Roman coins.²³⁰ Or it may be that he related it to the defense tusk of the narwhal which was valued in Europe as a substitute for ivory and rhinoceros horn.²³¹ Whatever the reason for its introduction the spiral protuberance gives the art historian interested in tracing the influence of Dürer's rhinoceros an identification mark that is easy to follow.

A third rhinoceros (pl. 122) dated *ca.* 1515 is usually attributed to Albrecht Altdorfer (1488-1578).²³² It is to be found in that portion of Emperor Maximilian's Prayer Book preserved at Besançon and is a red ink drawing at the bottom of

²²⁶ Dodgson, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), pp. 51-52.

²²⁷ See above, pp. 80-81.

²²⁸ For a general discussion of the resemblances and differences between the Dürer and Burgkmair rhinoceroses see Dodgson, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), pp. 55-56.

²²⁹ E. Ehlers, "Bemerkungen zu den Tierdarstellungen im Gebetbuch des Kaisers Maximilian I," *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXVIII (1917), 168.

²³⁰ Cole, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), p. 340, considers it possible that he might have been trying to depict a two-horned animal but fails to observe that Dürer might have seen the two-horned rhinoceros on Roman coins.

²³¹ Suggested by Coste, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), p. 119.

²³² For the debate over the attribution to Altdorfer see Dodgson, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), p. 55.

The Rhinoceros

one of the marginal illustrations which make the Prayer Book an art treasure. While the authorship of the drawing is in dispute, the Prayer Book rhinoceros carries the dorsal spiral and armor plate of Dürer's animal. But the steeper slope of the neck, the rope around the forefeet, and the tail whose end straggles off into a disarray of hairs make it equally reminiscent of Burgkmair's portraiture. The artist of the Prayer Book rhinoceros appears to have used Burgkmair's animal as the base for his drawing and to have added to it embellishments copied from Dürer as well as a cross-hatched pattern across the center part of the back which is of his own devising.²³³

The Burgkmair and Altdorfer rhinoceroses fall from view after 1515. This was perhaps due to the greater fame of Dürer and to the repeated publication of the woodcut of his bizarre rhinoceros. Dürer himself incorporated a tiny reduction of his rhinoceros into the "Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I" first printed in 1517 (pl. 123). It has also been alleged that Dürer's rhinoceros figures in one of the sculptures in the Tower of Belém at Lisbon, which was probably built between 1514 and 1519.²³⁴ But it would seem more likely, if we can depend upon the dating of Belém's construction, that the sculptor in Lisbon worked from a drawing similar to the one that was used in King Manuel's Book of Hours.²³⁵ Indeed, it might even be possible that both the Portuguese and the German portraits of the rhinoceros derive from the same original drawing of the *ganda* made in Lisbon.

The second and third editions of Dürer's woodcut appeared between 1540 and 1550 and evidently stimulated much more general artistic interest than the first edition. Rabelais tells of examining one of Dürer's prints shown to him at Lyons by the German merchant Hans Kleberger. To celebrate the entry into Paris of Henry II and Catharine de' Medici in 1549, Jean Goujon erected a monument on which a rhinoceros stood bearing an obelisk topped by a sphere on which a warrior stands who symbolizes France. According to the *Ordre de l'entrée* the rhinoceros monument was intended to symbolize "Force and Vigilance." It may also have been meant to symbolize union with the Medici, who used the rhinoceros as one of their emblems. While this creation probably owed a certain amount to the inspiration of the elephant and obelisk in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499) of Francesco Colonna, the rhinoceros itself is copied directly from Dürer's woodcut (pl. 124).²³⁶ A drawing for a tapestry attributed to Pieter Coecke van Alost and dated 1550 shows Dürer's rhinoceros at the center of a depiction which features wild animals, including an elephant.²³⁷

²³³ S. Killermann (*Dürers Tier- und Pflanzenzeichnungen und ihre Bedeutung für die Naturgeschichte* [Strassburg, 1910], p. 86) suggests that the Prayer Book animal might be a portrait based on the stuffed rhinoceros sent to Rome. This seems highly dubious since it so closely resembles the portraits by Dürer and Burgkmair.

²³⁴ Matos, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), p. 389.

²³⁵ See above, p. 162.

²³⁶ For commentary see Chartrou, *op. cit.* (n. 137), pp. 111-17.

²³⁷ For a reproduction see G. Marlier, *La renaissance flamande, Pierre Cock d'Alost* (Brussels, 1966), p. 352.

The Iconography of Asian Animals

A catalogue of 1556 giving the marbles held in the collection of Metello Varro Porcari of Rome lists a rhinoceros "without its head."²³⁸ Today the National Museum at Naples possesses a marble relief of a rhinoceros to which the head has obviously been added and which prominently displays the dorsal spiral of Dürer's beast (pl. 121). While it was at one time believed that this Naples rhinoceros came from the ruins of Pompeii, it now seems much more likely that it is of the sixteenth century and that it was once in the possession of M. V. Porcari.²³⁹

That Italian sculptors knew Dürer's rhinoceros and used it as a model is best illustrated by its presence as one of the animals in the grotto of the Medici villa at Castello (pl. 125). Niccolo Pericoli, often known as Tribolo, planned the gardens at Castello at the request of Archduke Cosimo I de' Medici.²⁴⁰ Tribolo's grotto, completed before 1568, was divided into three enclosed niches in each of which sculptured animals stand against the rear walls and behind large basins. The theme of the grotto is based on the story of the unicorn at the water with the animals that appears in the Greek *Physiologus*. Along with common beasts the elephant, lion, giraffe, camel, monkey, and rhinoceros are represented. The rhinoceros stands behind the monkey and giraffe in the left-hand niche. Its dorsal horn is so elongated as to make it roughly the same size as the nose horn, and its other features are likewise based upon Dürer's beast. But what is most striking is the acceptance by Tribolo and his followers of the exotic rhinoceros as one of the realistic beasts and as being quite different from the mythical unicorn whose symbolism provided the artistic inspiration for the grotto. And, since the rhinoceros was the device of Duke Alessandro de' Medici (ruled 1532-37),²⁴¹ the predecessor of Cosimo, the conviction is strengthened that the allegorical intent of the grotto was to glorify the achievements of the Medici.²⁴²

The first author to use Dürer's woodcut as a book illustration was Sebastian Münster in his *Cosmographie . . .* (1550).²⁴³ In the accompanying text he recounts the story of its meeting with the elephant in Lisbon. His woodcut is a fairly faithful copy of Dürer's original except that the hairs around the mouth are more profuse. Konrad Gesner in his *Historiae animalium* (1551-58) likewise reproduces in reduced size a faithful copy of the original, acknowledges Dürer as its creator, and comments admiringly on the merits and popularity of the

²³⁸ See L. Mauro, *Le antichità de le città di Roma* (Venice, 1556), p. 246. For this reference I am indebted to Professor Phyllis P. Bober of New York University.

²³⁹ Before going to the Museo Borgiano, the marble relief was the property of Count Borgia, an inveterate collector of oddities. Otto Keller (*op. cit.* [n. 5]) was responsible for assigning it to Pompeii. The great student of Pompeian antiquities, V. Spinazzola ("Di un rinoceronte marmoreo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli," *Bollettino d'arte*, VII [1913], 143-46), was the first modern to see that it was not from Pompeii but was based on Dürer's rhinoceros.

²⁴⁰ For the history and program of the grotto see L. Châtelet-Lange, "The Grotto of the Unicorn and the Garden of the Villa di Castello," *Art Bulletin*, L (1968), 51-58.

²⁴¹ See below, p. 167.

²⁴² Cf. Châtelet-Lange, *loc. cit.* (n. 240), p. 57, who stresses the profane and political implications of the grotto's program. She fails, however, to point out the profane symbolism of the individual animals.

²⁴³ Woodcut on p. 1171.

The Rhinoceros

woodcut.²⁴⁴ Valeriano in his *Hieroglyphica* (1556) includes Dürer's rhinoceros in two emblematic woodcuts.²⁴⁵ In the first he shows it with a bear, a reference to Martial's observation to the effect that the rhinoceros can toss a bear with its horn (or horns?).²⁴⁶ The second emblem shows the rhinoceros puncturing the soft underbelly of the elephant.

Paulus Jovius, the solon of collecting and making emblems, evidently had a copy of Dürer's rhinoceros on display in his museum.²⁴⁷ And when the great Humanist and bishop was asked to design a device for Duke Alessandro de' Medici of Florence, Jovius turned to the rhinoceros as a symbol of invincibility. In telling of this episode, Jovius relates the story of the *ganda* of Lisbon and how its meeting with the elephant confirmed the reports of Pliny.²⁴⁸ In response to Jovius' suggestion that he adopt the rhinoceros as his emblem, the duke first had it embroidered on the covers for the Barbary horses which he raced in Rome. "This devise pleased him [Alessandro]," reports Jovius, "so that he caused it to be engraven in his breast plate."²⁴⁹ The rhinoceros that was actually engraved on the armor was a copy of Dürer's woodcut with the dorsal spiral somewhat elongated. Above it was engraved the motto coined by Jovius: "Non bueluo sin vincer" ("I warre not but I win").²⁵⁰ The rhinoceros as a symbol of unconquerable might continued to appeal to the Medici successors of Alessandro as is illustrated by the Castello rhinoceros and by engravings on armor of later times.²⁵¹ The contemporary of Alessandro in Ferrara, Duke Ercole II d'Este (ruled 1534-59), had a medal struck, possibly by Alfonso Ruspagliari, with his own portrait on the front and a rhinoceros on the reverse with the inscription "urget maiora" ("He presses harder").²⁵²

André Thevet in *La cosmographie universelle* (Paris, 1575) is the first of the sixteenth-century authors and collectors of prints who attempts to depart from the Dürer depiction.²⁵³ In his description of the rhinoceros he writes, perhaps unjustifiably, with the authority of an eyewitness but continues to describe a beast which resembles nothing so much as Dürer's rhinoceros. Its head is like that of a pig, its tail like that of a cow, its skin armored naturally like that of a

²⁴⁴ I, 953. For further commentary see Cole, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), pp. 340-41.

²⁴⁵ Bk. II, p. 21 recto and verso.

²⁴⁶ For discussion of whether Martial referred to a one- or two-horned rhinoceros see Cole, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), p. 338.

²⁴⁷ P. Giovio (Jovius), *Elogios o vidas breues de los cavalleros antiguos y modernos, q estan al bivo pintados en el museo de Paulo Iovico*, trans. from Latin to Spanish by Gaspar de Baeca (Granada, 1568), fols. 127-28.

²⁴⁸ See *The Worthy Tract* (n. 216), p. Ciii recto.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ For a woodcut of this device see J. Nestor, *Histoire des hommes illustrés de la Maison de Medici* . . . (Paris, 1564), p. 174. Also see Tasso's comment on this device in Raimondi, *op. cit.* (n. 146), pp. 1076-77.

²⁵¹ See the engraving of the armor preserved at Ambras which shows Giovanni Medici holding a shield on which the rhinoceros badge is clearly discernible at the bottom. Published in J. Schrenck von Nozing, *Augustissimorum imperatorum* . . . (Innsbruck, 1601).

²⁵² A. Armand, *Les médailleurs italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles* (Paris, 1883), I, 219.

²⁵³ Cf. I, 403r-404v; also see the elephant and rhinoceros symbols on his map of Sumatra (*ibid.*, p. 419r). Here the natives allegedly call the elephant "Celbarech" and the rhinoceros "Ganda."

crocodile, and its proportions roughly the same as those of the elephant. His rhinoceros has a horn on the nose and a second one on the back between the shoulders which is not as large as the nose horn but is equally tough and sharp. He claims to have obtained a dorsal horn while in Cairo in 1554 from a "merchant of Bengal named Maldard" which can be seen in his collection of oddities in Paris. He then goes on to attack Girolamo Cardano²⁵⁴ for saying that the rhinoceros has shorter legs than the elephant; he claims personally to have seen them both and he knows they are of equal height.

The absurdity of Thevet's written claims is matched only by the woodcuts of the rhinoceros fighting the elephant which illustrate his account. The dorsal horn is larger than in Dürer's depiction, the external armor plate has lost all relation to the *plicae* of the skin, and the three toes on the foot are changed into an uncloven hoof. Thus, the depiction of Dürer is rendered even less realistic by making it conform to the fabrications of Thevet.²⁵⁵ The elephant and rhinoceros are likewise shown to be of the same height in a pictorial refutation of Cardano.

Ambroise Paré, councillor and first surgeon to Henry II and Henry III of France, inserted a woodcut of the *ganda* into his *Deux livres de chirurgie* (Paris, 1573).²⁵⁶ A caricature of Dürer's woodcut, this shapeless rhinoceros appeared repeatedly in the various editions of Paré's works. In the edition of 1579 he added to his work Thevet's woodcut (pl. 126) showing the combat between the rhinoceros and the elephant.²⁵⁷ The indomitable rhinoceros is also celebrated by G. de Saluste du Bartas (1544-90) in the sixth "day" of his long poem called *Hiérosme de Marnaf* which was published in 1585, the year when Paré's *Oeuvres* appeared.

In the meantime a second live rhinoceros, referred to in Europe as the *bada*,²⁵⁸

²⁵⁴ Cardano (*De subtilitate* [Basel, 1554], p. 626) describes the rhinoceros mainly on the basis of Varthema's account, the only eyewitness description generally available in his day. Varthema, first published in 1510, describes two live "unicorns" which had been presented as gifts to the sultan of Mecca by the king of Ethiopia. See R. C. Temple (ed.), *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508* . . . (London, 1928), p. 22. Ramusio (*op. cit.* [n. 51], p. 165r) published Varthema's description of the unicorn in 1550. Ramusio also published a brief mention of the rhinoceros and its hostility for the elephant in his epitomized version of Niccolo Conti's fifteenth-century travels to India as written down by Poggio Bracciolini (see *ibid.*, p. 376v). In 1575, Leonhard Rauwolf saw a young rhinoceros at Aleppo that was on its way to the animal market in Constantinople. See K. H. Dannenfeldt, *Leonhard Rauwolf* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p. 143.

²⁵⁵ It is possible that Thevet based himself upon what correspondents from India told of its height. For example, a letter from Cochin (January 16, 1563) written by Andreas Fernandes to his fellow Jesuit, Pedro da Fonseca, in Portugal, asserts that the rhinoceros is "not much shorter than the elephant." See J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica* (Rome, 1948-62), V, 731.

²⁵⁶ For a commentary and reproductions of Paré's woodcuts see Coste, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), pp. 122-23, and Cole, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), pp. 342-43.

²⁵⁷ Also see the Dürer rhinoceros in A. Lonitzer, *Kreuterbuch* . . . (Frankfurt am Main, 1598).

²⁵⁸ Gaspar da Cruz in his *Tractado* . . . published at Lisbon in 1569 describes the rhinoceros on the basis of his experiences in Cambodia. He says that they are called *badas* (*abada*), an old Portuguese word for rhinoceros derived from the Malay *badoh* which is pronounced *bada* in certain dialects of Malay. For Cruz see C. R. Boxer (ed.), *South China in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1953), pp. 77-78. In 1592, James Lancaster, while trading in the Straits of Malacca, exchanged "ambergris for the horns of 'Abath.'" See Hakluyt, *op. cit.* (n. 128), VI, 399. In modern Portuguese the word *abada* means the female rhinoceros. For further discussion see Yule and Burnell, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 1-2.

had been brought to Portugal. Filippo Sassetti wrote in 1579 to his correspondents in Florence that the *bada* is "the marvel of Lisbon."²⁵⁹ And he applies to it Petrarch's line: "Che sol se stessa e null'ultra simiglia."²⁶⁰ Dom Jean Sarrazim (1539-98), the abbé of St.-Vaart and first councillor to Philip II in Artois, visited Portugal with an embassy in 1582. In his correspondence he reported on the rhinoceros of Lisbon in the time of King Manuel and on the *bada* that he saw there. From his own experience he found the rhinoceros to be "as admirable among the works of nature as the monastery of Belém is among the works of art."²⁶¹ It was evidently after 1582 that this rhinoceros was sent to Madrid as a gift to King Philip II.²⁶² On public display in Madrid by November, 1584, it was shown, along with an elephant, to the Japanese legates.²⁶³ Juan González de Mendoza in his book *China* (first published in 1585) also tells of its being there and comments on the reactions of the spectators.²⁶⁴ The rhinoceros, which long remained on display in Madrid, had its horn sawn off and was blinded to keep it from harming persons.²⁶⁵

At Seville, meanwhile, Juan de Arphe y Villafañe published in 1585 his manual on decorations in which he presents both a written description and a print of the rhinoceros.²⁶⁶ His rhinoceros resembles Dürer's woodcut in its general proportions, but differs markedly from it in that the dorsal spiral is missing. A copy of Arphe's rhinoceros in mural size (pl. 127) in a ceiling decoration of a late sixteenth-century house at Tunja in the highlands of Colombia differs similarly from Dürer's rendition, showing the nose horn as longer and the feet uncloven.²⁶⁷ It is perhaps possible that the departures from Dürer's beast were introduced into these Spanish studies as a result of information conveyed to the artists by sketches of the Madrid animal.

Such a conclusion is reinforced by reference to the text in Joachim Camerarius' *Symbolorum*. . . .²⁶⁸ Here the author acknowledges that his source of information about the rhinoceros is an accurate drawing received from Spain. Hans Sibmacher, the graphic artist who illustrated this work, must certainly have been acquainted with Dürer's woodcut, since they were both natives of the same city. But, as even a cursory examination of Sibmacher's rhinoceros will show, he eschewed the great master's rendition and followed the depiction done from nature (pl. 129). In the text Camerarius describes Dürer's dorsal horn as a mere

²⁵⁹ For his comment see his letter to Francisco Bonciani in Marucci, *op. cit.* (n. 186), pp. 134-35.

²⁶⁰ As quoted in R. Jorge, *Amato Lusitano* (Lisbon, 1962), p. 263, n. 1.

²⁶¹ From P. de Caverel (ed.), *Ambassade en Espagne et en Portugal (en 1582) de R. P. en Dieu, Dom Jean Sarrazim* . . . (Arras, 1860), as extracted in *Boletim de bibliografia portuguesa*, I (1879), 162.

²⁶² J. Castilho, *A ribeira de Lisboa* (2d ed.; Lisbon, 1941-48), II, 173.

²⁶³ J. A. Abranches Pinto et al., *La première ambassade du Japon en Europe* (Tokyo, 1942), p. 106, n. 399.

²⁶⁴ G. T. Staunton (ed.), *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China* . . . (London, 1854),

II, 311-12.

²⁶⁵ S. de Cobarruvias, *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana o Española* (Madrid, 1611), s.v. "Bada."

²⁶⁶ *Op. cit.* (n. 177), p. 206.

²⁶⁷ Cf. E. W. Palm, "Dürer's Ganda and a XVI Century Apotheosis of Hercules at Tunja,"

Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 6th ser., XLVIII (1956), 46-71.

²⁶⁸ (Nuremberg, 1590-1604), Bk. II, No. V, p. 10. Also see Cole, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), pp. 344-45.

tuberosity on the back and not a true horn. And he goes on to criticize Martial for referring misleadingly to a two-horned rhinoceros. Camerarius, it is evident, was unaware of the fact that the two-horned rhinoceros from Africa (or perhaps even from Asia) was known to the Romans even though he himself had never heard of it.

While Camerarius and Sibmacher strove for a more realistic depiction of the rhinoceros, other artists of the latter half of the sixteenth century continued to base their renditions upon Dürer's woodcuts. One of the famous Brussels tapestries dated 1565 and attributed to Guillaume Tons l'Ancien shows Dürer's rhinoceros in combat with an elephant.²⁶⁹ A Viennese silver tankard with lid is decorated with a Düreresque rhinoceros.²⁷⁰ The west portal of the cathedral at Pisa, left side at the base, completed around 1595, shows Dürer's rhinoceros by itself and in a confrontation with an elephant.²⁷¹ On a map of Africa, prepared by Arnoldus F. à Langren for the frontispiece to Linschoten's *Itinerario*, Dürer's rhinoceros is shown as a symbol for the region of Angola. The triumphal arch of the Portuguese erected in Antwerp to celebrate the solemn *entrée* of July 18, 1593, shows Dürer's rhinoceros as a symbol of India (pl. 49). Astride the rhinoceros sits an Indian woman with a child on her back and a coconut in her left hand. And Joseph Boillot's *New Termis Buch*, which contains designs for fifty-five animal caryatids, includes one which shows Dürer's rhinoceros twisted triumphantly around an elephant (pl. 128). The dorsal spiral is shown almost as prominently as the nose horn and the cloven hoofs and the legs are bedecked with armor. In the accompanying text Boillot relates the story of the *ganda* of 1515 in Lisbon and discusses its victory over the elephant. He explains that in his drawing of the caryatid he has interlocked the two animals on the pillar with the weight resting on the elephant and with the rhinoceros triumphantly supporting the entablature.²⁷²

The rhinoceros as it was depicted on ancient coins and in medieval bestiaries was completely replaced after 1515 by Dürer's depiction. The more realistic rhinoceros of Burgkmair was never any competition for Dürer's armor-plated beast. The early edition of Dürer's woodcut seems to have been known mainly in Germany; the two editions of the 1540's inspired artists in France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and the Low Countries. After the mid-sixteenth century the artists who employed Dürer's woodcut as a model began to fantasize it by elongating the dorsal spiral and by redesigning the armor. As they increasingly used the rhinoceros in conjunction with other animals or people, they sometimes felt required to modify Dürer's animal simply for the sake of artistic design.

²⁶⁹ M. Roethlisberger, "La tenture de la licorne dans la Collection Borromée," *Oud-Holland*, LXXXII (1967), 92, pl. 5.

²⁷⁰ For a photograph see H. Thoma and H. Brunner, *Schatzkammer der Residenz München: Katalog* (Munich, 1964), p. 221, no. 535.

²⁷¹ See H. M. von Erffa, "Das Programm der Westportale des Pisaner Domes," *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XII (1965), pl. 2 and 27, and p. 93 n.

²⁷² See the suggestive discussion of fused and interlocked fauna in R. A. Jairazbhoy, *Oriental Influences in Western Art* (Bombay, 1965), chap. xv.

The Rhinoceros

But that there was genuine dissatisfaction with Dürer's portrayal becomes evident as artists of the last decade of the century, even in Dürer's home city, began to look to contemporary drawings of the Madrid rhinoceros for inspiration.

But Dürer's *ganda*, despite its bizarre appearance, was not replaced in the sixteenth century and traces of its influence on the "scientific" depiction of the rhinoceros can be discerned as late as the eighteenth century.²⁷³ In the sixteenth century the Dürer woodcut was used as a model by other graphic artists, by workers in metal, by ecclesiastical and secular sculptors, by tapestry makers and embroiderers, and by designers of emblems, maps, monuments, and caryatids. Unlike Hanno, the *ganda* seems not to have appealed to European painters, the only sixteenth-century painting of which I have seen a copy being the mural in the Spanish colony of Tunja, Colombia.²⁷⁴ On medals, monuments, and armor plate the rhinoceros continued to represent patient invincibility, force, and ferocity. And it was used increasingly as a symbol for Asia, an honor that it often shared with the elephant.²⁷⁵

What is most remarkable is the fact that the Indian rhinoceros, unlike the elephant, has occupied a much less significant place in Indian and Far Eastern than in Western art. This is particularly hard to understand when it is recalled that the rhinoceros was revered in ancient India as a sacred animal and is today worshipped by the Nepalese.²⁷⁶ The rhinoceros, it is true, appears on seals found at the archaeological sites of the Indus Valley and clay figurines of the animal made by children seem to indicate that it was well known to the Mohenjo-daro civilization.²⁷⁷ Somewhat later it is used on Indian coins. In Hindu and Buddhist lore the rhinoceros symbolizes the pious recluse,²⁷⁸ a meaning that it seems never to have acquired in the Christian West. But it is rarely, if ever, shown in the famous animal sculptures which appear around and on the Hindu temples. Carpets and a few miniatures of the Mughul period show the rhinoceros and rhinoceros-like animals, but these are probably derived from Persian art. The rhinoceros is conspicuously ignored by the Indian designers of the decorative motifs which have long been and are still used commonly on textiles, metal-work, and jewelry.²⁷⁹

²⁷³ Coste, *loc. cit.* (n. 196), pp. 124-26.

²⁷⁴ A painting of a rhinoceros is mentioned in the 1621 inventory of Rudolf II's collection. See R. Beer (ed.), "Inventare aus dem Archivio del Palacio zu Madrid," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XIX (1898), Pt. 2, xlvi.

²⁷⁵ For example see the engraving on the title page of Theodor de Bry, *India orientalis* (Frankfurt am Main, 1601), reproduced in pl. 146.

²⁷⁶ G. W. Briggs, "The Indian Rhinoceros as a Sacred Animal," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LI (1931), 281. It should also be observed that the rhinoceros is the official emblem of modern Nepal.

²⁷⁷ Ettinghausen, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 95.

²⁷⁸ See the famous refrain in the Buddhist canonical book of the third century B.C. called *Sutta Nipāta*: "Let him wander alone like a rhinoceros."

²⁷⁹ Examination of five thousand traditional Indian designs turned up just one in which the rhinoceros figures, a crude design based on a Harappa seal. The elephant by contrast appears regularly in these designs. For the rhinoceros see Indian Institute of Art in Industry, *5000 Indian Designs and Motifs* (Calcutta, 1965), p. 1.

The Iconography of Asian Animals

Whatever the reason for the greater appeal of the rhinoceros to Western artists, there can be no doubt that it was Dürer's woodcut which gave it an initial popularity. And that Dürer's woodcut made the rhinoceros familiar to Europeans is attested to textually by Fray Luís de Urreta in his book on Ethiopia published in 1610.²⁸⁰ The *ganda* itself helped to sustain the interest of Humanists and artists by defeating the elephant to vindicate the authorities of Antiquity. And, like Hanno, it symbolized for the Western artists the remote and fascinating overseas world, an exotic appeal that neither animal could possibly have had in its homeland.

3

THE TIGER

Ctesias, the Greek physician who was the source of much fabulous lore about Indian animals, is often credited with reporting on the tiger for the first time. Through informants in Persia he learned about a marvelous Indian beast called "Martichoras" (from Old Persian *martijaqâra* meaning literally "man-slayer").²⁸¹ According to his description this beast resembles a lion, possesses a human face, carries a stinger in its tail, and shoots spines like arrows from its tail. The likelihood is that Ctesias is here repeating Persian lore about the Bengal tiger. His stories were then picked up and embellished by Pliny and Aelian.²⁸²

Specimens of tigers and reports based on actual observations reached the Greek world as a result of Alexander's invasion of India. Seleucus, the successor to Alexander, sent a tiger as a present to the people of Athens late in the fourth century. Although tigers were native at this period to the southern reaches of the Caspian Sea, it is possible that Seleucus had a tiger sent from India as a symbol of his efforts in the subcontinent to take up where Alexander had left off.²⁸³ Aristotle, it appears, did not have an opportunity to observe the living tiger.²⁸⁴

Tigers were not brought into the Roman Empire until the time of Augustus. Dio reports that the Indian embassy received at Samos by the Romans in 20-19 B.C. brought tigers as gifts. About a decade later a caged tiger was exhibited in Rome at the festivities attending the dedication of the temple of Marcellus. On this same occasion as many as six hundred panthers and similar animals from Africa were killed. In the time of Claudius (*ca.* A.D. 50) four tigers were shown to the Roman public. To celebrate the return to Rome of Emperor Domitian, a number of tigers were exhibited in A.D. 93. And, at the marriage of Emperor

²⁸⁰ As cited in Shepard, *op. cit.* (n. 197), p. 67.

²⁸¹ This word is possibly of Indian origin.

²⁸² Robin, *op. cit.* (n. 192), p. 4.

²⁸³ Cf. Jennison, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 24.

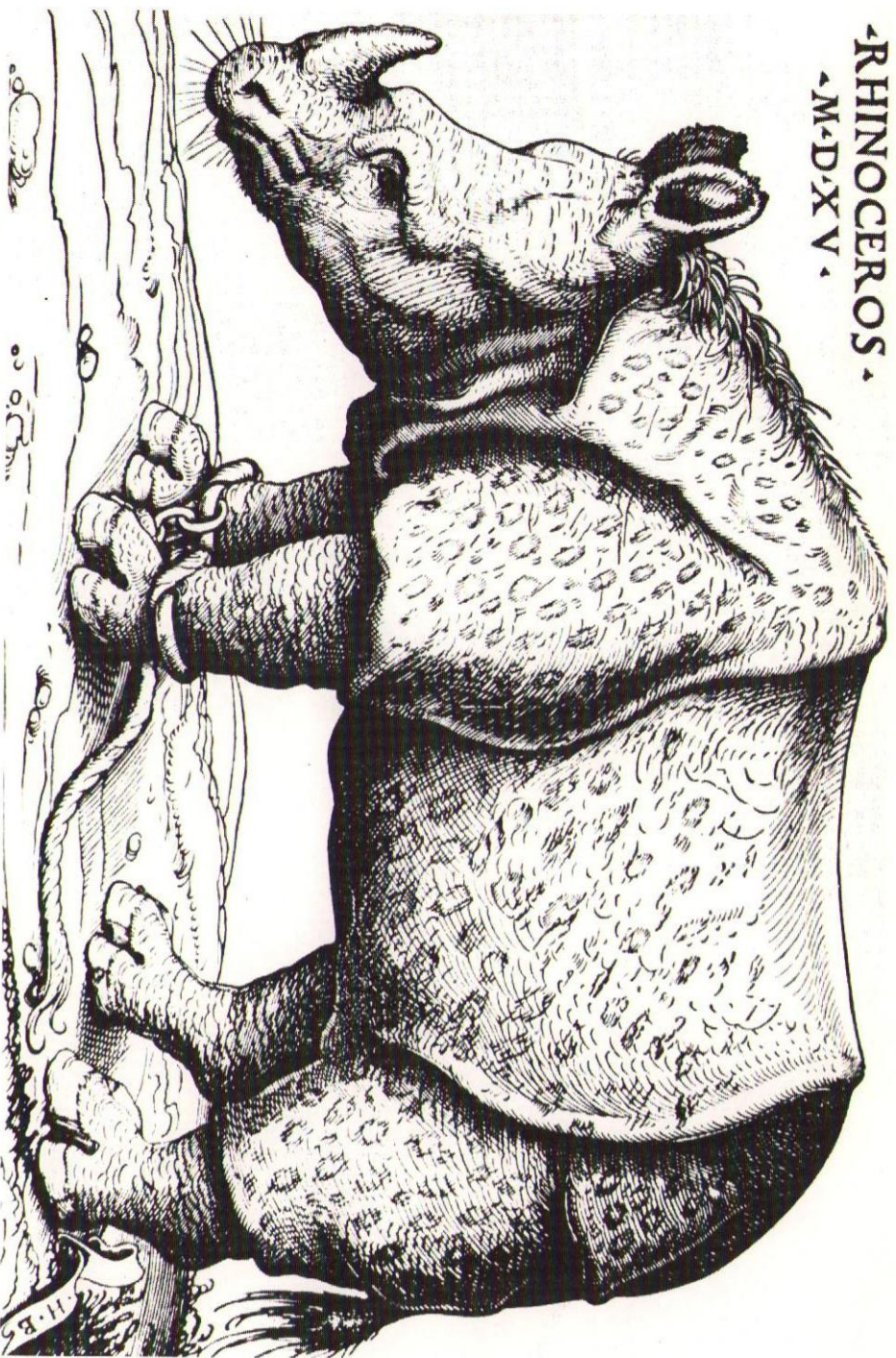
²⁸⁴ Keller, *op. cit.* (n. 5), I, 62.



The rhinoceros is a very large animal, and is found in the forests of the East Indies, the Cape of Good Hope, and the mountains of the Himalayas. It is a very fierce animal, and is known for its strength and endurance. It is also a very slow-moving animal, and is often found in the same places as the elephant. The rhinoceros is a very important animal in the East Indies, and is often used for transport and for carrying heavy loads. It is also a very valuable animal for its hide, which is used for making shoes and other articles. The rhinoceros is a very interesting animal, and is well worth seeing if you have the opportunity.

119. Dürer's drawing of the Rhinoceron, dated 1515. From C. Dodgson, "The Story of Dürer's Ganda," in A. Fowler (ed.), *The Romance of Fine Prints* (Kansas City, 1938), p. 44.

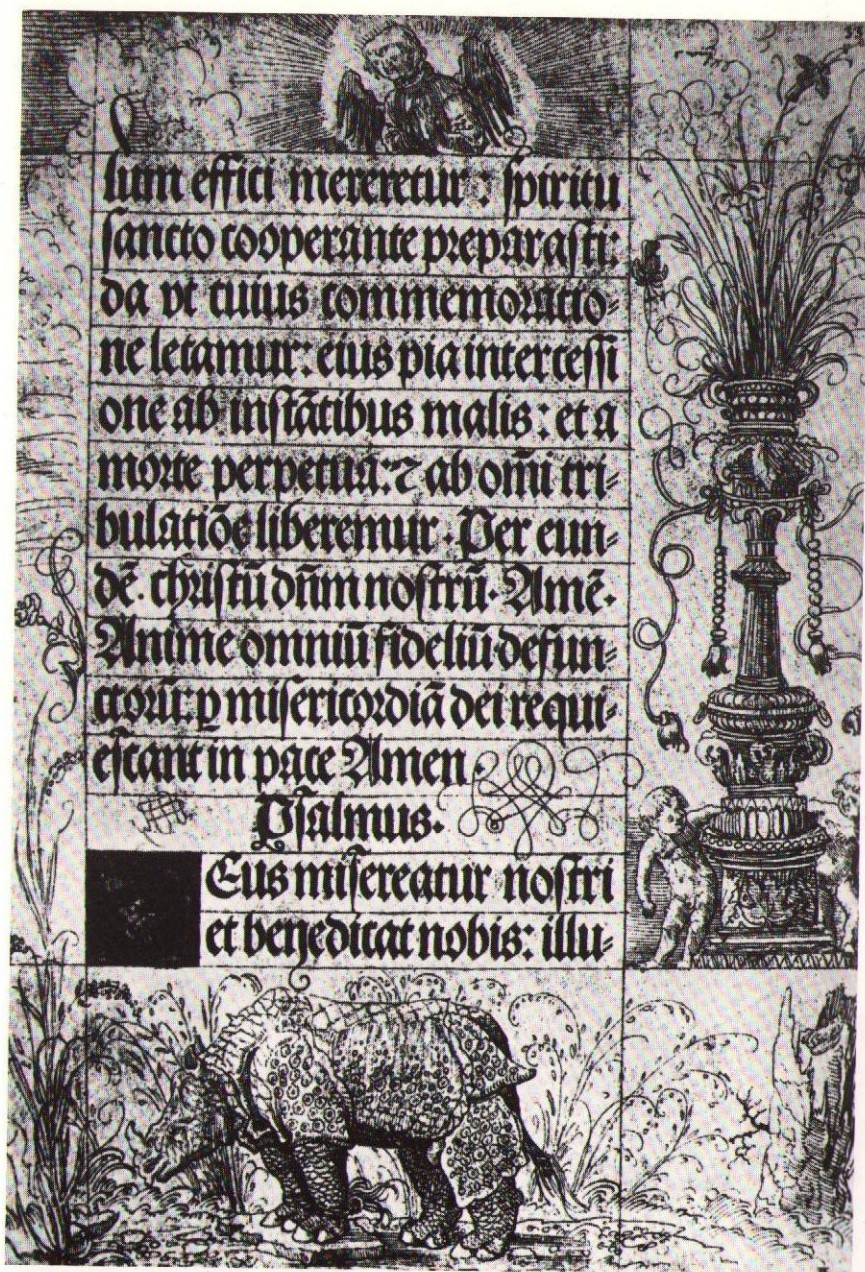
·RHINOCEROS·
·M·D·XV·



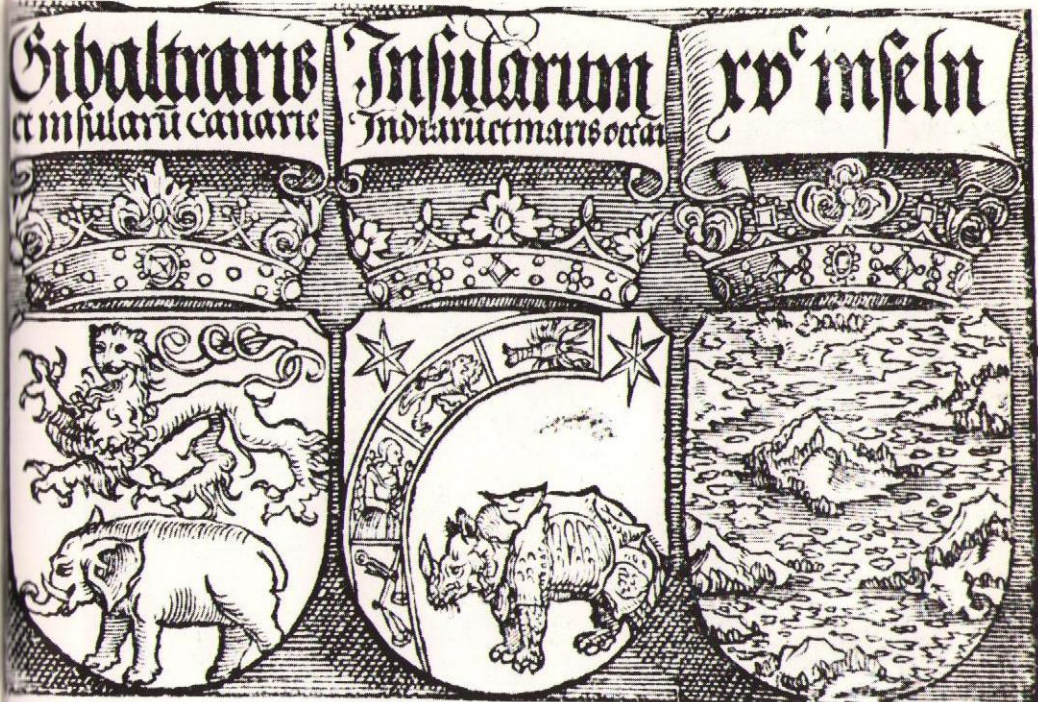
120. Rhinoceros by Hans Burgkmair, dated 1515. Woodcut in the Albertina, Vienna. From Dodgson, *loc. cit.* (pl. 119), p. 54.

121. Rhinoceros in marble relief. Courtesy of the National Museum, Naples.

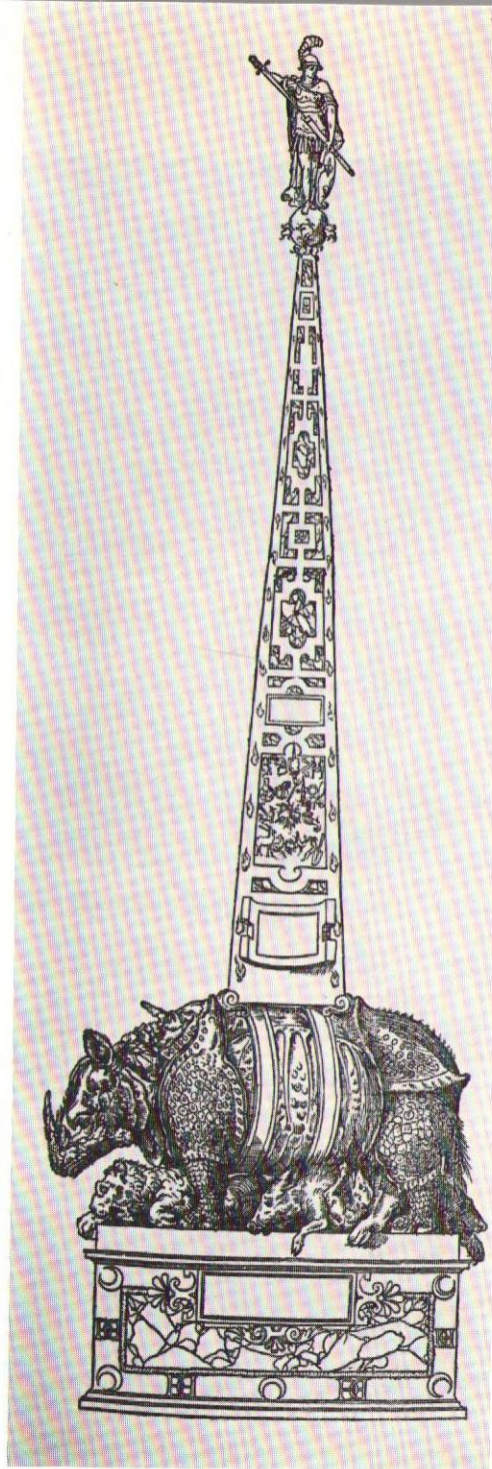




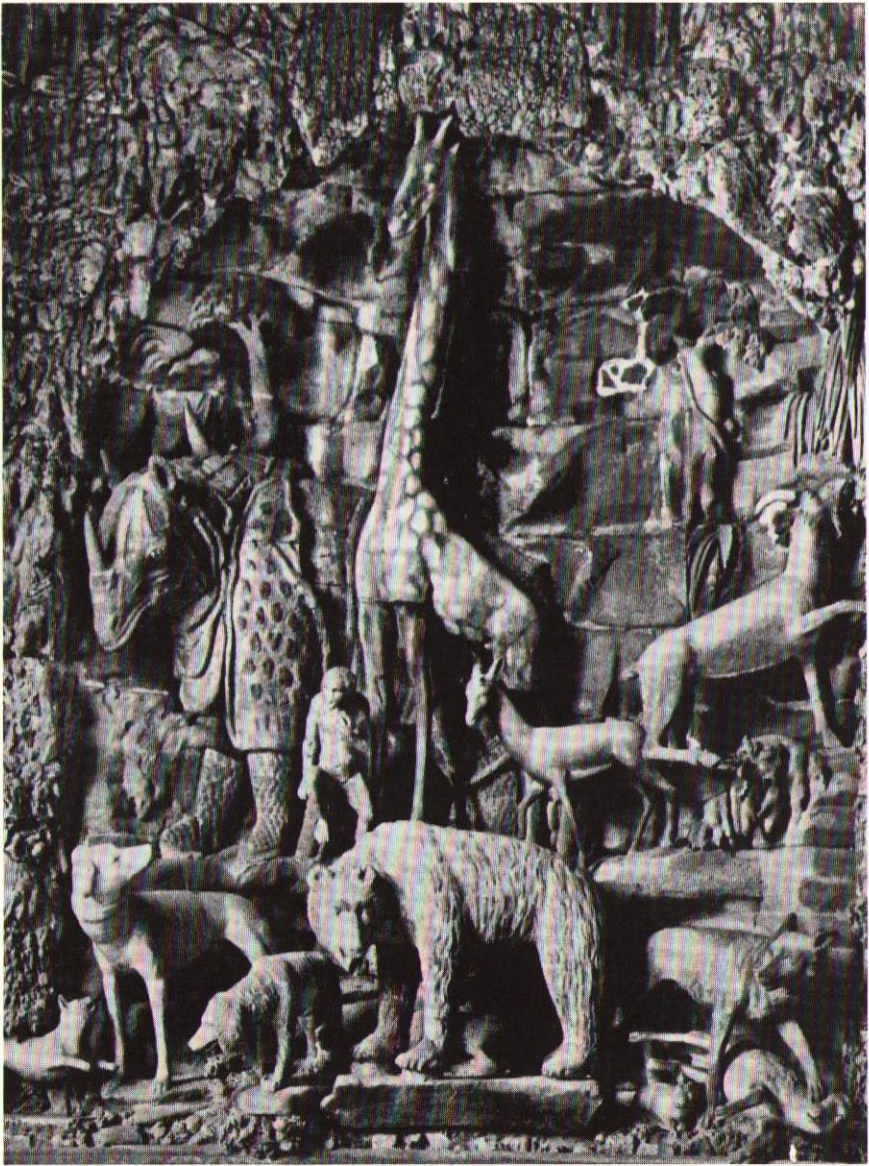
122. Drawing of rhinoceros in Maximilian's Prayer Book. From E. Chmelanz, "Das Diurnale oder Gebetbuch des Kaiser Maximilians I.," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vol. III (1885), pl. XXXVIII.



123. Woodcut detail from "Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I," by Dürer. Courtesy of the Albertina, Vienna.



124. Rhinoceros with obelisk. Engraving of monument erected on King Henry II's entry into Paris in 1549. From E. Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and Its Hieroglyphs . . .* (Copenhagen, 1961), pl. XIII.



125. Grotto in the garden of the Villa Medici in Città di Castello (post 1565). From F. Württenberger, *Der Manierismus* (Vienna-Munich, 1962), p. 132.



126. Combat between rhinoceros and elephant in *Oeuvres d'Ambroise Paré* (Paris, 1585).
From C. Coste, "Anciennes figurations du rhinocéros," *Acta tropica*, III (1946), 123.



127. Rhinoceros. Ceiling decoration of sixteenth-century House of the Scribe, Tunja, Colombia. From Palm, *loc. cit.* (pl. 104), p. 68.



Von dem Rhinocerot/
oder Nashorn.

Der Rhinocerot / ist bey-
nahe so groß als der Ele-
phant / sein Todfeind: hat
ein Horn auff der Nafen
das ist Eisenmäßigs / vnd ganz schwarz /
davon ihm auch der Griechische Na-
men gegeben worden: Wir dem selb-
gen sezt er de Elephanten zu / vnd res-
set ihm den Dauch auff / so er kan zu-
kommen. Doch zuvor / ehe er den streit
angeht / wetet er sein Horn / vnd
schärfft es an einem Felsen oder stein
wie erwan die Bauwren ihre Ven-
gelspieß. Solches hat man gesehen in
Portugal / Anno 1515. als dem
König Emanuel ein Rhinoceros auß
India zugebracht worden: Do dann
der Elephant / als sie zusamen gelassen
wurden / sich erstlich hinder sich bega-
be / als ob er seinen Todfeind so vnver-
sehens vor sich zusehen erschrocken
were vnd sich entsetzte. Doch hat der
Elephant auch seine wehre vnd wo-
sen / namlich seine Schnaugen oder
Nüssel / vnd seine Zähne / mit welchen
er sich ritterlichen weis zu wehren /
wen nur dem Rhinocerot der Nafen-
streich mit dem Horn / darinn alle sei-
ne stercke gelegen / gefehlet hat. Da-
rumb hab ich diese zwey Thier gleich-
sam als zusamen gekossen / vnd also
auff dem Rhinocerot ein Temis ge-
macht: Dessen werde sich der Kunst-
bauch wol wissen zu gebrauchen / vnd
ihme solche löstle aufsetzen wie dem
Elephanten / vnd das in etwas
niderigen Gema-
chen.

X ff



128. Engraving of caryatid of rhinoceros and elephant. From Boillot, *op. cit.* (pl. 117).
Courtesy of the Newberry Library.



129. Emblem of rhinoceros and bear. Etching by Hans Sibmacher. From Camerarius, *op. cit.* (pl. 110), Bk. II, No. V, p. 10.