

ART AND MERCHANDISE, FOLLOWERS AND FRAGILITY

Creating the Blueprint for Animal Celebrity

GLYNIS RIDLEY

However we define “celebrity” or seek to clarify what we mean by achieving a degree of “fame,” it is inarguable that nonhuman animals may experience their share of both and yet cannot be said to pursue or cultivate either. From Rin Tin Tin to Grumpy Cat, Alex the Parrot to the lioness Elsa, Tilikum the orca to Knut the polar bear, nonhuman celebrities and causes célèbres have typically not been expected to do anything remarkable but simply be themselves, no matter that anything assumed to be a natural self might be the product of sustained training and repeated human intervention in a particular animal life. In today’s media-savvy age, human celebrities have the power to disappoint and enrage the public as never before, with an ill-judged tweet or a thoughtless action caught on a bystander’s cell phone. But the animal celebrity is incapable either of giving offense to or letting down its public. Perhaps because nonhuman animals cannot be accused of cravenly seeking the limelight or manipulating the media, famous animals test the boundaries of the notion of “celebrity,” for they are celebrated, but not conscious of fame, and are wholly indifferent to its pursuit and maintenance. This chapter will describe an eighteenth-century nonhuman animal celebrity, Clara the rhinoceros.¹ From 1741 to 1758, she was displayed across Europe to commoners and kings by a Dutch sea captain, Douwemout Van der Meer, who succeeded in doing what no one since the fall of the Roman Empire had done, which was to transport to Europe and sustain for years a healthy Indian rhinoceros.² Indeed, from the fall of the Roman Empire until the 1800s, only eight such animals were recorded in Europe, making each an object of wonder.

What distinguishes Clara from all other rhinoceroses seen in Europe until the end of the eighteenth century was her relative longevity and Van der Meer's ability to market his investment across the Continent.

By the end of her life, Clara had been painted, life-size, by Jean-Baptiste Oudry for Louis XV (when she was displayed in Paris), and had been painted twice by Pietro Longhi for two different Venetian patrons (when she was exhibited in Venice).³ Clara's various manifestations in oils can be contrasted with the numerous broadsheet woodcuts produced to advertise her display in cities throughout the Dutch Republic, France, and the Hapsburg Empire. Clara was sketched by the porcelain makers of Meissen and sculpted; her profile was embossed on medals and illustrated on fans. It is her likeness that represents the rhinoceros in both the *Encyclopédie* and the *Histoire Naturelle*.⁴ In all cases, Clara's image supplanted what had previously been the stereotypical representation of her species: Albrecht Dürer's *Rhinoceros* (1515). Clara changed the way that Europeans viewed the rhinoceros as no single animal had ever changed the way its species was viewed and understood.

Through his various marketing strategies, Van der Meer stumbled upon the blueprint for creating and marketing the nonhuman animal celebrity. And his marketing strategies were remarkable in terms of their range and wide social appeal, giving credence to Sören Hamerschmidt's assertion in chapter 4 of this volume that "celebrities were collectibles, available for consumption through a range of modular print objects." For Clara's likeness could be purchased in two-dimensional or three-dimensional form, as an illustration or a sculpture, in media as diverse as oil and ink, and clay and bronze. Her representation features both as a part of various books and also as a series of single broadsheets, adapted for the specifics of particular stages of her tour. And all images of her and stories told about her contributed to create a biography for her, including an origin story and details about her dietary preferences and character. Finally, through making strategic announcements about Clara's health, including originating rumors about her impending demise, or that she had fallen into the Grand Canal while in Venice, Van der Meer periodically refreshed interest in the travels and travails of the pan-European celebrity he had created: the first animal star.

In order to understand why a rhinoceros on a mid-eighteenth-century tour of Europe proved to be such a sensation, it is important to

appreciate the rarity of the chance to see such an animal at that time. Of the five species of rhinoceros that survive today, only one was known in the Western classical world up until the early nineteenth century: the one-horned or Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*).⁵ The last recorded use of the species in the Roman games was in 248 C.E., after which there is no evidence of any rhinoceros being seen in Europe until eight of the animals were transported there from India across a roughly 300-year period from the early sixteenth to the late eighteenth century.⁶ In all literature on this subject, it has become conventional to name each of the eight animals for the place or artist with which it was most associated, and to further differentiate them one from another by referring to the documented period of display. (Since some animals were displayed for no more than one year, the difficulty of keeping a captive rhinoceros healthy may be inferred.) T. H. Clarke's widely accepted listing is as follows: the first Lisbon or Dürer rhinoceros of 1515; the Madrid rhinoceros of 1579–1587; the first two London rhinoceroses of 1684 and 1739; the Dutch rhinoceros of 1741–1758; the Versailles rhinoceros of 1770–1793; the third London or Stubbs rhinoceros of 1790–1793; and the fourth London rhinoceros of 1799.⁷ Of these eight animals, only one—the Dutch rhinoceros—was given a name: Clara.⁸ From this list, it is clear that most of these rhinos were separated from each other by decades, and the only two that happened to be in Europe at the same time—the so-called Versailles rhinoceros of 1770–1793 and the third London rhinoceros of 1790–1793—were separated from each other geographically. It therefore follows that any representation of the rhinoceros in early modern Europe, whether visual or verbal, can be traced to one of these eight animals. In practice, however, only two of the animals listed would shape the European conception of the rhinoceros: the so-called Lisbon or Dürer rhinoceros of 1515 and Clara herself. Indeed, Van der Meer's marketing of Clara's image would prove to result not only in the creation of an animal celebrity but also in the correction of perceptions of the species caused by the wholly erroneous nature of one of Dürer's most famous engravings (figure 6.1).

The animal that was the inspiration for Dürer's woodcut arrived in the Tagus Estuary in May 1515, and its historic landing would be commemorated within two years, as a stone rhinoceros was made one of the corbels on the Belem Tower that commands the estuary's edge. This adult rhinoceros was a gift from the ruler of the Indian state of

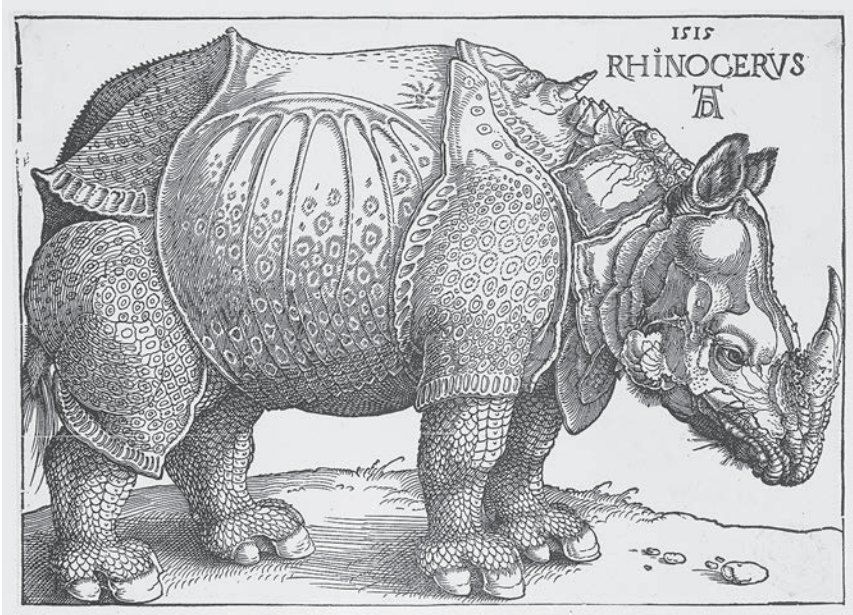


Figure 6.1. Albrecht Dürer, *Neushoorn*, 1618–1622, engraved print on paper. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Gujarat to the governor of Portugal's Indian territories, who in turn regifted the rarity to his sovereign, Manuel. Seeking to ingratiate himself with Pope Leo X, Manuel sent the rhinoceros to Rome, but the ship carrying the animal foundered off the Italian coast in January 1516 and the rhinoceros drowned.⁹ Its likeness had already been sketched in Lisbon, and possibly also on a stopover in Marseille. But Dürer himself did not see it firsthand, which likely accounts for many inaccuracies in his famous engraving, including the presence of an anomalous and sharply angular dorsal horn. In the absence of any corrective to this image, it became the archetype of the species as the woodcut was used in nine separate printings to generate an unknown number of prints. Indeed, for more than 200 years from its first production, Dürer's *Rhinoceros* was the only reference source for depicting the species, as can be seen in representations as diverse as those that appear in a grotto by Tribolo at the Villa Castello near Florence (ca. 1550), on a bronze door of Pisa Cathedral (School of Giovanni Bologna, 1602), and on the coat of arms of the Worshipful Societies of Apothecaries in London (1617). Across a range of media, from London to the eastern border of the Holy Roman Empire, the Lisbon rhinoceros of

1515 as depicted by Dürer became the erroneous blueprint for a host of representations of the species. Yet starting in 1742, new—and accurate—depictions of the Indian rhinoceros began to appear and to supplant conceptions indebted to Dürer, as a Dutch sea captain began to publicize the growing rhinoceros calf that he had brought back with him from Chinsurah, in Dutch Bengal.

The first known representation of Clara, and the beginning of her rise to celebrity status, is in a plate engraved by Jan Wandelaar for an anatomical atlas, the *Tabulae sceleti et musculorum corporis humani* of noted anatomist B. S. Albinus (figure 6.2).¹⁰ While the accompanying text in the atlas makes no mention of Clara by name, the fact that she was the only live rhinoceros in Europe at the time and was stabled in Van der Meer's hometown of Leiden where the atlas was first published makes her the only candidate for the artist's rhinoceros model. (Had Wandelaar based his representation of the species on the most widely reproduced image of the rhinoceros at this time—Dürer's *Rhinoceros*—then his copy would exhibit the same erroneous features as Dürer's original.) A plate in an anatomical atlas is, admittedly, an unpromising beginning to the making—and marketing—of a celebrity, but plate IV enjoys a particular distinction among all those in the atlas. Surprisingly, the unique nature of this plate is not its inclusion of the most accurate representation of an Indian rhinoceros in Western art at the time, for plate VIII shows a dorsal view of the same scene, allowing the viewer to appreciate both the anatomy of Clara and the skeleton of the accompanying juvenile male from behind. Rather, the singularity of plate IV lies in the fact that, out of all the plates engraved by Wandelaar for Albinus, this one was issued singly in 1742, fully five years before Albinus's complete atlas was pulled from Leiden's presses. It is inconceivable that plate IV, published as a stand-alone engraving, did not hold its own when competing for viewers' attention in the many shop fronts of Leiden's thriving print industry. And not only could the arresting image be purchased but also, for a small charge, its subject could be seen in the flesh and even touched. While today's celebrities take understandable precautions to limit public access to their private space, Van der Meer encouraged Clara's public to come close. An understanding of the origin story Van der Meer told about Clara helps us to understand how such a thing was possible.

Wandelaar's composition of the scene depicted in the plate sets up a series of implicit contrasts: man and beast, flesh and bone, life and death. And because the plate was designed for an anatomical textbook,

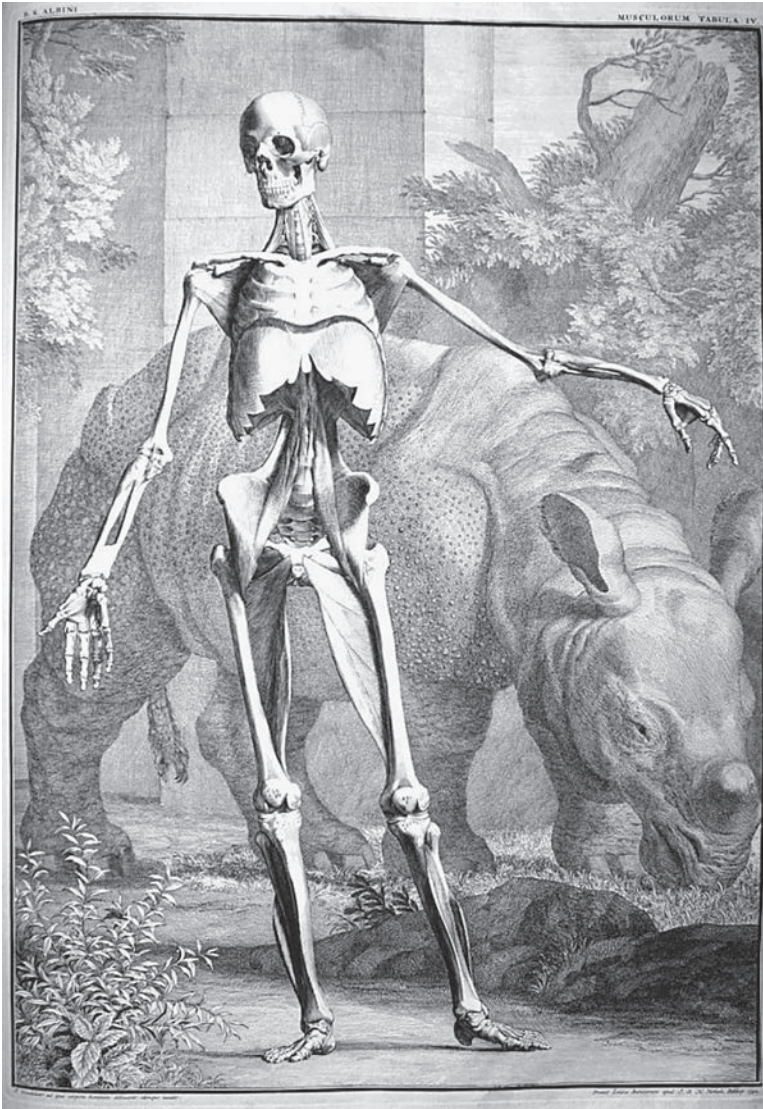


Figure 6.2. Jan Wandelaar for B. S. Albinus, plate IV. *Tabulae sceleti et musculorum corporis humani*, 1747. © British Library Board: 599.C(1).

one would expect Wandelaar's rendering of the skeleton to be the most important element of the engraving. But any attention directed to the vertical axis occupied by the skeleton surely pales in comparison to the visual interest of the horizontal background plane wholly dominated by Clara. As she grazes, it is hard to resist the temptation to say

that the skeleton averts his gaze: she eats to preserve life and to continue to grow; he is diminished to nothing, and sensuous pleasures are now impossible for him to enjoy. Yet the juxtaposition of Clara and the skeleton surely recalls the tradition of the *memento mori*, and, in doing so, it reminds us that all flesh is liable to decay: underneath her three-inch-thick hide, Clara is blood and bone and is subject to the same processes of decay that the human skeleton represents. The Lisbon rhinoceros engraved by Dürer survived less than one year on European soil; the London rhinoceros lasted for only two years in captivity. Foreshadowing Van der Meer's later media manipulations, the image reminds us that Clara may look indestructible, but she too is mortal. It is a subliminal exhortation to pay the price of admission to see a live rhinoceros while it is still able to be seen. And those who would pay the price of admission to see Clara would find her to be perfectly tame, as she was already when Van der Meer purchased her from a Dutch East India Company representative, J. A. Sichterman, stationed in a company outpost in Bengal.

Sichterman claimed to have had Clara since she was very young, stating that she came into his possession when her mother was shot by hunters. As a party piece, Sichterman had trained the calf to come into his home at the conclusion of an evening's dining, and to lick clean the plates of guests, much as if Clara were a large dog. Reflecting on this from a twenty-first-century perspective, Clara appears almost to be Sichterman's pet, and it is tempting to see in this part of her story the precursor of what has today become a recognizably distinct genre: one whose books and movies chronicle the enlargement of a human family to include a wild, nonhuman animal. The most famous example of the form is surely Joy Adamson's 1960 nonfiction account of how she and her husband, Kenyan game warden George Adamson, raised an orphaned tame lioness, Elsa, and returned Elsa successfully to the wild. *Born Free* was a publishing sensation, and the story reached an even wider audience when made into a popular movie released in 1966. But the fact that the story told in *Born Free* has seeped into the popular cultural imagination and prompted wonder (and perhaps envy) at the Adamsons' achievement in living comfortably with a wild, alpha predator has the potential to cloud our understanding of Sichterman's engagement with the calf Clara. Sichterman had no stories of humans living successfully with wild exotica to guide him and therefore no model for such an arrangement that he could reasonably aspire to, even supposing that this was his wish. It is true that companion

animals became increasingly popular during the eighteenth century; indeed, according to Keith Thomas, as early as 1700 in England, “all the symptoms of obsessive pet-keeping were in evidence,” but Clara was not a dog or cat whose primary residence was the house rather than the yard or stable.¹¹ Had she been Sichterman’s pet, he surely would not have parted with her to Van der Meer, consigning her to an uncertain fate. If Clara was not Sichterman’s beloved pet, what was she? An analogy for her situation can perhaps be found in today’s sadly thriving trade in young great apes, particularly chimpanzees, trafficked from Africa to buyers in the Middle and Far East where they are typically discarded when they become adults.¹² Clara as a calf was a status symbol, a novelty, a prized curiosity but one that, like any baby chimpanzee illegally trafficked today for the exotic animal trade, will rapidly prove to require more of the humans around it than they choose to give. Like those baby chimpanzees who typically imprint on their traffickers (and ironically on those responsible for the slaughter of their mothers and wider family), Clara’s experience in Sichterman’s household made her used to the company of humans, and she likely imprinted upon them. Indeed, Clara seems to have been unique among those rhinoceroses displayed in early modern Europe in having been habituated to human presence and human touch. And humans had nothing to fear from her: Wandelaar’s engraving accurately depicts the bulbous, unthreatening appearance of the budding horn of a juvenile Indian rhinoceros. While Van der Meer waited for Clara and her horn to grow, Wandelaar’s engraving, issued singly as a broadsheet around Leiden, allowed Van der Meer to gauge public interest in the singular creature he had brought back from his last voyage to India. Her origin story, of being orphaned while young, found its echo in a rising tide of sentimental art across Europe and promised an unthreatening encounter with a creature at once exotic, powerful, and yet tame.

Through Wandelaar’s engraving, Van der Meer’s rhino calf was introduced to Leiden’s residents and visitors. Like any media icon, Clara would quickly prove her bankability by simultaneously generating and feeding a public appetite, the scale of which had simply not been anticipated. The powerful appeal of publicizing a nonhuman animal as Van der Meer publicized Clara is perhaps nowhere more evident today than in the popularity of Esther the Pig, who currently enjoys upwards of a million and a half followers on her various social media accounts.¹³ Esther was only a 4-pound piglet when she was adopted in 2012 by Steve Jenkins and Derek Walter, who believed she

would never exceed 70 pounds; the couple decided to keep her even when they learned she was a livestock breed and might reach more than 200 pounds. (To date, Esther tops the scales at 650 pounds.) A crowdfunding campaign allowed Jenkins and Walter to buy and found what has become the Happily Ever Esther Farm Sanctuary in Campbellville, Ontario, in November 2014, thanks to the social media engagement of more than 9,000 of Esther's fans in forty-four countries. The sanctuary is partly funded by documenting Esther's life on social media and selling products associated with her. Jenkins and Walter have their critics who accuse them of exploiting Esther, but she does not leave the comfort of her home, and it is hard to imagine any pig enjoying a better life, let alone one originally destined for the slaughterhouse. Of course, the establishment of Esther's fan base was made possible only because of her presence on Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter—the necessary accoutrements of celebrity in today's world. To make a lucrative income from Clara's display—enough to cover her upkeep and surely also in hopes of making a profit—Van der Meer had to overcome the two obstacles that previously had prevented anyone from capitalizing on a live rhinoceros on early modern European soil: Clara had to be kept alive and a means had to be found for transporting what would be her fully grown weight of three tons across thousands of miles of unforgiving coaching roads. Addressing these concerns, it is surely not accidental that Wandelaar's engraving shows Clara grazing, just as many later illustrations of her would show a plentiful supply of hay in whatever temporary enclosure Van der Meer might engineer for her while on tour. In a 1751 Venetian oil painting, *The Rhinoceros in its Booth*, a pile of hay and a large circular tub of water feature prominently in a sturdy wooden pen containing Clara, but the canvas is unique among known images of her in its depiction of the vehicle used to move her the length and breadth of Europe for nearly twenty years.¹⁴ In the center of the painting, Clara stands in the middle of a wooden enclosure that is the height of an average human waist. She returns the stare of a gentleman seen to the viewer's left, who squints through a monocle at her. Behind him, a huge vehicle is parked. Clearly not a carriage of the aristocracy, it is best described as a long, low, fully enclosed wooden precursor of the modern horse box. From surviving accounts of the attempted transportation of a later rhinoceros within France in 1770, it can be seen that a single journey transporting that male rhinoceros from the port to Lorient to the menagerie of Versailles caused the French government to pay for two days of

work by carpenters, thirty-six days by locksmiths, fifty-seven by blacksmiths, and seventy-two by a team of wheelwrights. The mere two days' labor for carpenters in contrast to seventy-two days' work for the wheelwrights indicates, as perhaps nothing else can, that it is relatively easy to build a sturdy wooden crate in which to house a rhinoceros, but extremely difficult to secure the combined weight of crate and live contents on wooden wheels that will stand up to the rigors of the eighteenth-century road. That Van der Meer succeeded in overcoming this obstacle speaks volumes to his determination to make touring with Clara feasible: a determination that must surely have come from his conviction of the money that might be made in the process.

With a viable means of transporting Clara, and one that surely generated interest as the wagon rumbled through various towns and cities, even though nothing could be seen of its occupant, Van der Meer embarked upon a European odyssey that is chronicled in an extraordinary range of merchandise and art. As twenty variants of broadsheet publicity are known, all illustrated with woodcut designs and language adapted to the region being visited, it is worth pausing to consider the broadsheets as a group before examining the particulars of one of the form's many variants used to advertise Clara's arrival and stay in a particular location.

Broadsheets are, by their very nature, ephemeral: the forerunner of the mass-produced advertising flyer, designed to be stuck to a range of outdoor surfaces or distributed in public venues. That twenty known variants of Van der Meer's basic broadsheet produced for Clara's European tour have survived may give some indication of the sheer range and scale of publicity designed to market her. No matter if some of those confronted by a broadsheet had limited literacy or none: all variants share the same layout whereby an image of Clara fills the top half of the page and repays close inspection. The characteristic hide of the Indian rhinoceros is always delineated, pointing to Clara's difference from any other creature. Clara is always shown open-mouthed, as though ready to seize on whatever might present itself. Where a landscape is suggested in the background, there is typically a palm tree or two, sometimes affording shelter to one or more African natives with prominent bows and arrows, for even as the text typically proclaimed Clara's Indian origins, one non-European native was evidently thought as good as another to conjure up a vaguely conceived exotic other. A small copper engraving in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam shows an African warrior taking aim at Clara, though the version



Figure 6.3. *De neushoorn Clara*, 1741, H. Oster after Anton August Beck, after Johann Friedrich Schmidt, 1747, engraved print on paper. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

of this broadsheet that survives in the Biblioteka Jagiellonska in Kraków replaces the African warrior with a European sailor whose ship rides in the background as he waves a beery glass toward Clara’s open mouth, asking, in a cartoonish speech bubble, “Clar, do you want a sip?” For anyone who viewed Clara at the time, there was no point of comparison—no crash of rhinos available—that allowed this one to be seen as either typical or atypical of her kind, though the act of giving her a name surely had the effect of humanizing what might otherwise have been perceived as wholly alien. Two versions of the broadsheet show Douwemout Van der Meer himself; ship’s pennants streaming around him as he gazes out from multilingual versions of the printed text that summarizes his extraordinary experience (figure 6.3). It is apparent from the various versions of the broadsheet that the image of Clara is virtually identical: only the text changes. The broadside made for Clara’s 1746 tour of what is modern-day Austria and Germany is, as one would expect, wholly in German. Yet in a version that survives in the British Museum (which is known to have been in

the collection of Sir Joseph Banks), the text has been noticeably shortened, and it is this shorter version that can be found replicated across further versions of the broadsheet in Dutch, English, and French. As with the most successful modern advertising campaigns, the visuals and graphics can move seamlessly between cultures, while minimal text can be fine-tuned to allow for local differences. The text of the most substantial German broadside relates to Clara's display in Leipzig and shows how her story was spun to sell her first significant tour: it is unusually lengthy, and it demonstrates how shrewdly Van der Meer made his sales pitch to a wide social and intellectual spectrum.¹⁵

The text begins with an appeal to sentimentalists and readers of scripture alike: "All animal lovers in Leipzig are informed of the arrival of a living rhinoceros, which many believe to be the Behemoth of the Book of Job . . . it is worth seeing by all who care to visit it. It is the first animal of this species seen in this town; it is about eight years old, and therefore still a calf, for it will continue to grow for many years, since these animals may live to be one hundred years old." Clara is here made novel on two counts: as the first of her kind to visit the area and as a Methuselah of the animal kingdom. (Captive rhinoceroses today may live for up to forty years, but no European had any experience that could contradict the claim of longevity, so it cannot be seen as deliberately deceitful.) From public weighings, the next information offered was unassailable: "It is nearly 5,000 pounds in weight, and much larger and heavier than in 1741, when it was brought from Bengal to Holland by Captain Douwemout, not even three years old at the time." Remarkably, this single sentence manages to hint at both an origin story for Clara (in faraway "Bengal") and also a success story, for she has gained weight, which can only signify robust good health. Since the viewing and reading public generally like to know something of the proclivities and preferences of favorite personalities, the broadsheet offers this too, though a careless typographical error makes Clara male as her regimen is shared: "For daily sustenance, he eats sixty pounds of hay and twenty pounds of bread and he drinks fourteen buckets of water." The nervous reader need, however, have nothing to fear from a visit to see Clara: "It is tame as a lamb, because it was only one month old when it was caught after its mother had been killed with arrows by the black Indians. When the animal was very young, it walked around a dining room, even when ladies and gentlemen were eating, as a curiosity." Additionally, the species is credited with mysterious healing powers: "This animal secretes some potion, which has cured many people from sickness."

A poem concludes the body of the text and insists upon Clara as a walking illustration of divine power or what is characterized as “God’s miraculous might in the book of nature: the eye stares in amazement, the mouth must freely admit: God is as almighty as he is wonderful.” What is remarkable about this sprawling narrative contained within half a side of broadsheet text is how hard it works to sell Clara to a range of disparate groups. Indeed, whoever looked at the broadsheet was promised that Clara was a reflection of their interests: the devout were reminded of Job’s dumbness when confronted with the existence of Behemoth, and of the ineffable ways of the creator; the educated are offered a tale at once both logical and sentimental accounting for Clara’s tameness and extrapolating from current data her projected, continued growth; the working classes whose horizons were probably limited to a small radius of countryside were promised the chance to see a creature from faraway “Bengal”; the plain curious of all classes were invited to simply stand and stare at the “wondrous animal, the likes of which had never been seen before.” Then, having conjured all manner of wonders, the broadsheet concludes with a stark reminder that the display of Clara was at heart a commercial venture:

This animal can be seen from nine A.M. to twelve noon, and again from two P.M. to six P.M. in the afternoon. Persons of rank can pay what they wish: all others pay one Gulden or four Groschen, according to the view. Copies of this woodcut will be on sale at the same place for one Groschen. Also available are large engravings for half a guilder, while the small engravings with the Indian cost two Groschen. N.B. You are advised that the animal will only stay ten or twelve days in this town.

The passage suggests at least two tiers of viewers, with those paying the least presumably being moved along as they moved behind and tried to peer around the throng of those paying more. (“Persons of rank” had to decide what payment was appropriate to maintain the performance of status.) Yet no matter how one entered the viewing arena, nor what one paid to do so, all visitors seem to have experienced a mid-eighteenth-century equivalent of “exit through the gift shop.” Copies of the broadsheet could be purchased as keepsakes, but the most intriguing detail is that “small engravings with the Indian” were more costly than larger engravings of Clara without any Indian in sight. For the viewer fazed by so much choice and so many ways to part with money for celebrity mementos, the text concludes with what has now

become a standard advertising trope: the time-limited offer. Those wishing to see Clara or to purchase a souvenir of her visit had at most “ten or twelve days” in which to make use of the opportunity: once gone, she was gone forever.

These cheap broadsheet mementos and engravings of Clara’s display in a particular place may be contrasted with exquisite objets d’art using her as their model and produced by Europe’s leading artists for a wealthy few. The following will give some indication of the range of products and art that made Clara a pan-European celebrity, while also identifying the main stops on her tour: from Leiden, Van der Meer set out in the spring of 1746 for Vienna. At a stopover in Hanover, a local chronicler reported a “hideous animal of the female gender,” and one G. L. Scheitz executed the watercolor *The Dutch Rhinoceros in Hanover* (now in the Stadtarchiv, Hanover), proudly proclaiming it to be taken “from the life.” As evidence that Clara’s fame was already beginning to precede her, a stop at the Spittelmarkt in Berlin in April 1746 had the rare distinction of inducing Frederick the Great and the most prominent members of his court to come and see her. Frederick was so delighted by his encounter with Clara on April 26 that he publicly pressed twelve ducats upon Van der Meer, sending a further six the following day. Since Clara was placid enough to permit herself to be touched by royal visitors, Van der Meer had only to allow her to be herself, eating her way through the day, in order to generate wonder, interest—and money. From Berlin, Clara’s wagon rolled on to Frankfurt in August and then Breslau in September, where evidence of her wide appeal survives in the diary of Johann Ernst Grassmeder: gardener. A mid-eighteenth-century gardener, even one in the pay of a wealthy household, can have had little in the way of disposable income, but Clara’s presence in any town presented its residents with an opportunity that neither they nor any of their family members might ever expect to have again. As a new variation in the text of Van der Meer’s broadsheet flyers emphasized, she was the rhinoceros “which many have thought apocryphal until now.”

Incessant rain—recorded in Grassmeder’s diary—must have turned coaching roads to mud and perhaps have extended Clara’s stay in Breslau in September 1746, delaying her planned arrival in Vienna. If so, then Van der Meer used the time well to capitalize on the Viennese public’s appetite to see her for themselves since, while in Breslau, he commissioned Elias Baeck of Augsburg—a well-known engraver of exotica—to produce yet another new broadsheet to be sent ahead to

Vienna. Baeck's broadsheet shows an open-mouthed Clara beside an elaborately dressed swordsman with a conspicuous feather in his cap. Although there is nothing in text of the broadsheet that explains the swordsman's presence, reports of Clara's entry into Vienna on October 30, 1746, concur that she had an escort of eight swordsmen, one for each of the eight horses that pulled her wagon into the city.¹⁶ The economics of making and sustaining an animal celebrity are worth pausing over here: since Clara did not habitually travel with an eight-strong sword-wielding guard, it can only be assumed that Van der Meer hired eight men for the sole purpose of staging an elaborate entrance. Furthermore, he must have had this in mind when directing Baeck to produce a new woodcut. Gambling that the publicity generated by a showy entrance into the city would guarantee a steady stream of visitors prepared to pay to see Clara in the flesh, Van der Meer must have been confident that the monetary outlay would be recouped. If so, his confidence was not misplaced. The stay in Vienna is remarkably well documented in the pages of the local paper, the *Wienerisches Diarium*, which could scarcely conceal its surprise that, on November 5, 1746, the empress Maria Theresa, the emperor, and the empress dowager left the Schönbrunn Palace and came with leading members of the imperial court to see Clara themselves at her impromptu stall in the Freyung, an open area in the heart of the city.

The creation of Clara's celebrity can therefore be seen in sharp focus when considering events in Vienna in late 1746. Broadsheets preceded Clara's arrival and generated interest: an interest that could only have been heightened by the theatrical nature of her entry into the city, duly recorded in the local paper. This press coverage (to use an admittedly anachronistic term) brought Clara's presence to the attention of the imperial court, and brought the empress and her inner circle to Clara, inadvertently making a visit to see the rhinoceros a fashionable and worthy activity. If all of this was achieved with broadsheets and some carefully planned stagecraft designed to guarantee newspaper column inches, then the fame achieved led directly to a different signifier of eighteenth-century celebrity: the inclusion of Clara in a painting by Jean-Étienne Liotard, who had enjoyed Hapsburg patronage since 1742. In a miniature of Archduke Karl Joseph, one of Empress Maria Theresa's sixteen Hapsburg children, the two-year-old boy sits facing the viewer in a high-backed chair, his tiny hands resting on the pages of an open book.¹⁷ His left hand rests on its left page, in the middle of a text under the unmistakable heading "Le Rhinocéros." His

right hand strokes the illustration that occupies the whole of the right-hand page: a one-horned (and therefore Indian) rhinoceros. As no child's picture book—or royal picture book—is known from this period that shows this configuration of image and text, the book is presumably Liotard's invention: an image showing Karl Joseph not only as a prince of the Enlightenment but as an ordinary child, fascinated by the wonderful animal that all of Vienna, including his mother, was talking about. Given the miniature portrait's human sitter, the empress herself is the obvious candidate for its commission, but since Clara could be the only source of Liotard's miniature depiction of the Indian rhinoceros, Liotard must have shuttled between the Hofburg Palace, home to the royal children, and Clara's Viennese accommodation in the Freyung. It is inconceivable that Van der Meer allowed Clara's likeness to be drawn, perhaps in private viewings, without being recompensed. And though Van der Meer cannot have known it at the time, through Wandelaar's engraving and Liotard's oil painting, he was becoming the *de facto* owner of copyrights to images of Clara. Her novelty and rarity had initially made money for him as viewers paid to see her in the flesh, but the reproduction of her image, whether in broadsheets sold in volume or in portraits unique of their kind, promised to realize even greater sums. Clara not only was rare but was the rarest of celebrities: her appeal cutting across social boundaries; her image reproduced in both high and low art forms; time in her presence desired by rulers and ruled. Throughout, nothing was expected of her but to be herself. The success of this strategy and the extent of Clara's growing celebrity may be evinced in the correspondence of Sir Horace Mann, British ambassador in Florence, who wrote to his friend Horace Walpole in March 1750 of Clara's expected arrival there from Rome: "This place is so void of events that we have been forced to be entertained with a most shabby Tripoline ambassador whom people's curiosity led to see as much as it will the rhinoceros which we expect from Rome, where it is gone to the jubilee. This animal is to be recommended to me with its master, Vander Meer, whom the Emperor has made a Baron for the merit of the beast."¹⁸ From showing Clara in the Freyung in November 1746, Van der Meer had been made a baron of the Holy Roman Empire: a symbolic title, to be sure, but an imperial seal of approval for his management of the animal celebrity that he had created, and perhaps the earliest example of an honorific title being bestowed upon someone whose own claim to fame rested solely upon association with a celebrity. (In searching for analogous cases, it is hard

not to compare Van der Meer with a famous twentieth-century “manager” such as George Martin, often referred to as “The Fifth Beatle,” for his extensive involvement in producing The Beatles’ original albums. Martin was knighted by the queen in 1996 in recognition of a long career in the music business, but his fame will surely forever rest on his long-standing association as the manager of those more famous than he.)

Before Sir Horace Mann’s predictions about Florentine society’s eagerness to see Clara could be proved, however, she was displayed in a number of major European cities as well as smaller towns on major coaching routes. Most notable after Vienna was what must have been a carefully planned visit to Dresden, since Clara was viewed by Meissen’s master modeler, Johann Joachim Kaendler, whose duties for his employer, Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony, included the creation of a menagerie of life-size porcelain figures. Prior to Clara’s Dresden visit of April 1747, Kaendler, who is generally credited as the man who invented collectible china figures, had only Dürer’s *Rhinoceros* as a reference point for modeling a rhino. Meissen’s appropriation of Dürer’s model is most evident in the centerpiece of a Meissen dinner service now in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland and on display at Alnwick Castle, where a rhinoceros complete with an erroneous, sharply angled dorsal horn is surrounded by a floral horseshoe border. Produced in the 1740s, this elaborate porcelainware service would be Meissen’s last use of Dürer’s *Rhinoceros* as the model for its kind. From April 5 to 19, 1747, Kaendler sketched Clara from as many angles as possible in order to make her the factory’s model for all future representations of the rhinoceros. Among the acknowledged results of Kaendler’s work are a Meissen sculpture of a seated mandarin and rhinoceros under a palm tree, complete by 1750 (now in Frankfurt), and the sculpture *A Turk Riding a Rhinoceros* of 1752 (now in Bern). (While both sculptures are anatomically accurate in their depictions of the Indian rhinoceros, the title attributed to each figurine shows that neither has any fidelity to geographic or cultural realities.) With Kaendler’s porcelain sculptures, Clara was memorialized for the first time in a three-dimensional form, and in wares designed for an elite few. Since Van der Meer did not receive the equivalent of royalties for the continued reproduction of her image, he presumably charged a hefty fee up front for the privilege of undisturbed time in her presence in which to sketch her and record details, such as relative proportions

and skin color and texture that would allow future products to be made based around accurate models of an Indian rhinoceros.

Kaendler's tabletop figurines are not, however, the only German models of Clara from this period: a white marble rhinoceros in the collection of the Bowes Museum (at Barnard Castle, Durham, England) is identical in all but the medium of the sculpture's execution to three bronze rhinoceroses now in the collections of the Barber Institute of Fine Arts in Birmingham; in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Salting Collection); and in the Louvre in Paris (the Heseltine and Madame de Behague collections). The same model also presents itself in yet another medium: as the support of a Frankenthal porcelain clock (now in Munich). The same model of Clara therefore appears in marble, bronze, and porcelain manifestations of near-identical size, and the nature of three media allows the sequence of the models' production to be deduced. Since marble cannot be cast, but a metal cast can be made from a marble statue and used as a mold into which molten metal can be poured, a single marble sculpture of Clara would appear to be the origin of three bronze castings of the same statue. A plaster of Paris mold made from either a marble or bronze statue could in turn be filled with porcelain paste; indeed, the Frankenthal porcelain model of Clara that supports a clock shows precisely the degree of shrinkage that would be expected by the firing of a porcelain cast originating from the marble or bronze versions of the sculpture. It is unlikely that Van der Meer commissioned such expensive items and paid for them out of his own pocket, hoping to find a buyer. Rather, it seems likely that the marble tabletop sculpture of Clara was commissioned by a third party from a highly skilled sculptor, and the medium chosen to allow for identical versions in other media to be made. That a single high-end model was ultimately replicated across three distinct media suggests that some of those who saw Clara were not satisfied simply with woodcuts and copper engravings but wanted memorabilia of outstanding quality, fit to be displayed even in aristocratic homes. Demand for such luxury items no doubt benefited from the fact that, before Clara left Dresden on April 19, 1747, the Elector of Saxony requested a private viewing of her and brought with him his ailing heir. It is therefore no exaggeration to assert Clara's celebrity to be of the most rarified kind: in a Europe still ruled by hereditary monarchs who expected all to bow before them, rulers such as the empress Maria Theresa and Augustus the Strong requested audiences with her and, in

doing so, only fueled the rhinomania found everywhere that Clara visited.

From Dresden, Van der Meer took Clara to the annual Easter fair in Leipzig. The broadsheet designed for this market has already been mentioned, though not the means by which that broadsheet could assert her vital statistics. In May 1747, Van der Meer's publicity declared Clara to be five feet seven inches high, twelve feet long, and twelve feet in circumference, tipping the scales at 5,000 pounds. Her weight was not an educated guess but rather the result of a public weigh-in, at which a block and tackle pulley system typically used for moving heavy bales of cargo could be rigged to accommodate Clara. As a piece of showmanship, a public weigh-in was masterful and an obvious crowd-pleaser against which other fairground attractions could not compete. But the regular weigh-ins of the tour also served another function: confirming to the viewing public that Clara was in robust good health. One year after the Leipzig weigh-in, her height was recorded in Stuttgart as having increased to six feet. If a rhinoceros generated wonder, then a growing rhinoceros generated insatiable curiosity to see how big she might become. Throughout this process, it must be emphasized, no living European had any firsthand experience or sure knowledge of what a fully grown Indian rhinoceros might look like. Clara's celebrity status was fixed, but her size was not.

Two further stops on Clara's tour—Paris and Venice—may be used to illustrate how Van der Meer continued to improvise and innovate in the promotion of Clara's celebrity status. In late 1748, she was recorded in Rheims en route to the French court at Versailles. In January 1749, Louis XV expressed his desire to have Clara installed in the royal menagerie at Versailles, but Van der Meer declined to donate her gratis, asking instead for 100,000 ecus to part with her. Louis, offended, demurred, and Van der Meer retreated from Versailles on the pretext of taking Clara to be displayed at February's annual St Germain Fair. Casanova's diaries record a visit to see Clara there, and an exchange between his current mistress and a "man, dressed in the African fashion [who] was very dark and enormously stout." The marquise generated laughter in the party by asking the doorman, "Are you the rhinoceros, sir?"¹⁹ Since Casanova was a relentless traveler and socialite, his reference to a doorman "dressed in the African fashion" does not necessarily signify the type of cultural confusion and casual stereotyping evident when Kaendler modeled Clara with a Chinese mandarin sitting under a palm tree, seeing all non-European cultures as

interchangeable. Rather, Casanova's observation suggests that, at the St Germain Fair, Van der Meer hired a doorman who either may have been of African origin or was made up to appear so. This is the only known instance during Clara's European tour when a human actor in costume is known to have been employed to generate interest outside her screened viewing area and may be indicative of a need to provide an easy visual reference point for crowds looking for her enclosure. Ticket sales were certainly not a problem. Grimm wrote to Diderot that "all Paris, so easily inebriated by small objects, is now busy with a kind of animal called rhinoceros," while the memoirs of the Vicomtesse de Poillouë de Saint Mars unwittingly confirms Grimm's observation by referring to that season's fashion for ribbons "à la rhinoceros."²⁰ This baffling allusion is clarified in a poem by J. B. Guiard de Seigné, who implies that just as elaborately placed feathers signified the animal's horn, so a strategically placed cascade of silk ribbons was understood to symbolize the tail: a fashionable allusion that Guiard de Seigné suggests could be sported by women and carriage horses alike. In February 1749, Clara was clearly a Parisian cultural sensation. And despite Grimm's implicit characterization of Parisians as superficial, ceaselessly moving from one season's fashion to the next, he would doubtless have found it ironic that, out of Clara's residence in Paris would come some of the most enduring representations of her: her celebrity making her the indisputable archetype of her kind, and banishing Dürer's conception of the species forever, for it is Clara who is the model for the rhinoceros in Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* (1751–1772) and Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle* (1749–1804).

The *Encyclopédie* reports of the rhinoceros that it is a quadruped standing six feet from the ground to the middle of its back, and that it is twelve feet long from nose to tail and twelve feet in circumference, measured at the widest point of its girth. Since these are precisely the measurements given for Clara at reported public weigh-ins from 1748 onward, the writer of this entry either had asked Van der Meer for Clara's vital statistics or had enterprisingly approached her, tape measure in hand, in the true spirit of the *Encyclopédie*. Clara had always acted as a corrective to Dürer's representation of the rhinoceros, and now she became the *Encyclopédie*'s archetype for her kind. Her dimensions established, the article proceeds to elaborate upon her gray skin, which is seen to be remarkable for the presence everywhere of tuberculous swellings (a distinctive feature of the hide of the Indian rhinoceros), except on the head and the neck, where great pleats of flesh are noted.

The writer is careful to explain that the upper lip comes almost to a point and can therefore be used, like a finger, to grasp and pull at the grass that is a staple of the animal's diet. The accuracy of this description suggests a close inspection of Clara, for Indian rhinos do indeed possess a prehensile upper lip that can snare leaves on overhanging branches. Finally, the writer acknowledges that, while some authors report animals with two horns and readers may expect these to be of considerable length, he has evidence of only a single-horned rhinoceros, displaying a horn that is not even two feet in length. In every factual detail, the entry in the *Encyclopédie* describes Clara as she can be reconstructed from other contemporary accounts. The text is complemented by an illustration: not simply a graphic representation of a generic Indian rhinoceros but an image that is unmistakably a particular rhinoceros: Clara as seen in 1749 at the St Germain Fair (figure 6.4).

At this point, an immediate qualification of the preceding statement is in order. From the perspective of a twenty-first-century viewer, able to compare the young rhinoceros in Wandelaar's engraving with an array of Van der Meer's broadsheets and all of these with the rhinoceros plate of the *Encyclopédie*, plus a host of representations of Clara not touched upon in this essay, it is possible to identify the same animal throughout, and to see the same individual given three-dimensional form in objets d'art made of bronze, marble, and porcelain.²¹ Yet the ability to identify Clara—to look at an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century representation of an Indian rhinoceros and to be confident in stating whether that representation is modeled on her or on another individual—is made from a privileged position of being able to compare and contrast members of a species, and multiple representations of a single member of that species. For the first buyers of one of Van der Meer's broadsheets, the image depicted was self-evidently Clara not because they had any point of comparison but because they had *no* point of comparison: as the only one of her kind in Europe at the time, she was surely the rhinoceros depicted in all mementos of her tour. Clara's uniqueness is therefore an exception to Bourque's proposition, as he mentions in his chapter in this volume, that "celebrity . . . trades in a certain interchangeability or commonality." While this is true of most human celebrities, nonhuman celebrities are less easily substituted one for another, especially if rarity or singularity is the basis of their fame. Of course, prior to the advent of photography, all memorabilia commemorating an individual and claiming to reproduce that individual's likeness was, to a certain extent,

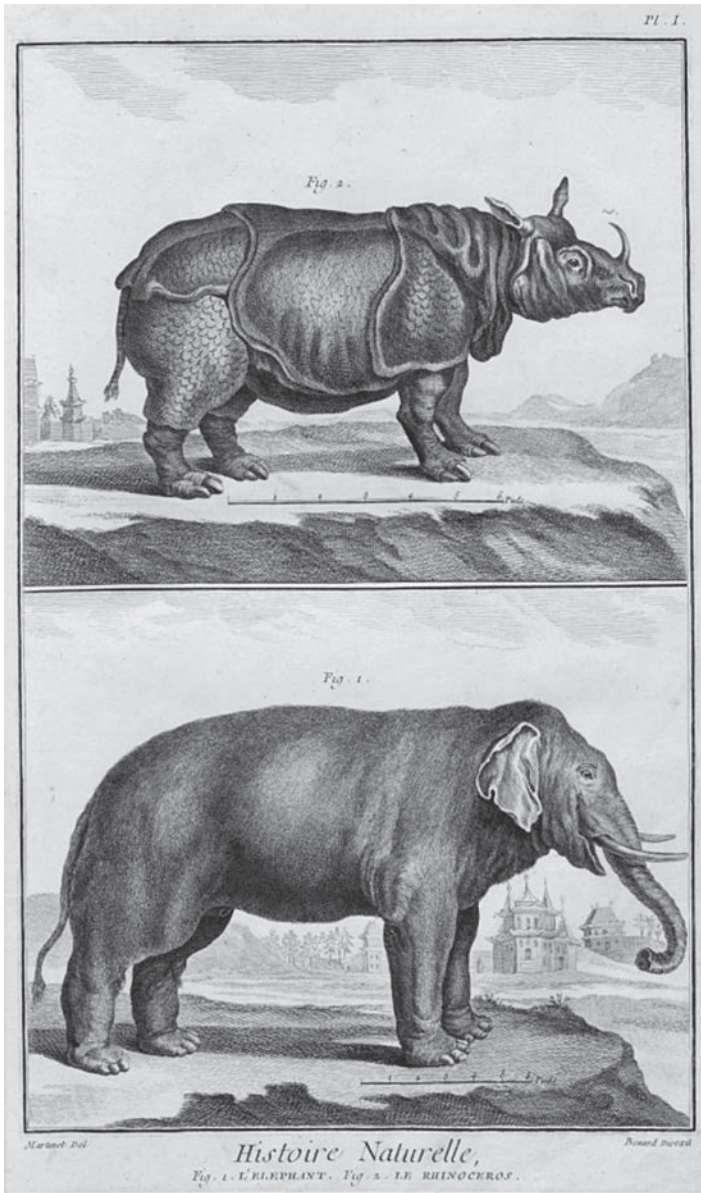


Figure 6.4. *Le Rhinocéros* after Oudry. From *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des arts et des métiers par une Société de gens de lettres: mis en order et publié par M. Diderot et, quant à la partie mathématique par M. d'Alembert*. Paris: Briasson, 1751–1780 t. XXIII, pl. 1. Archives and Special Collections, University of Louisville.

an exercise in trust (and perhaps an opportunity for the exercise of diplomatic artistic license). But even if we allow that those who bought the cheapest engravings of Clara or who cherished one of Van der Meer's many broadsheets owned a memento that made them confident in recognizing a species rather than an individual, those patrons who commissioned high-end representations of Clara, whether in two- or three-dimensional form, expected veracity. As for the depiction of Clara in the *Encyclopédie*, its readers expected that all of its plates offered empirically verifiable representations of both the natural and the man-made world.

While ownership of a copy of the complete first edition of the *Encyclopédie* in folio was a pleasure limited to a relative few, the afterlife—and influence—of its engraving of Clara cannot be overstated. Buffon appropriated the *Encyclopédie*'s engraving of Clara for the *Histoire Naturelle*, and both encyclopedic works were reissued in other formats, including abridged and children's editions, until well into the nineteenth century. In all these works, the natural history plates of quadrupeds are a popular inclusion. Oliver Goldsmith's *History of the Earth and Animated Nature*, first published in 1774 in eight volumes, borrowed liberally from its French counterparts, including reengraving the *Encyclopédie*'s image of Clara. As Goldsmith's text was distributed across the nineteenth-century British Empire, this single engraving of Clara originating with the *Encyclopédie* took her to schoolrooms and libraries across the world where she was "the rhinoceros": the model for her kind. In taxonomy, a single member of a species is designated the lectotype, or type specimen. In the absence of any competing representation of the (Indian) rhinoceros (other than Dürer's erroneous 1515 woodcut), the *Encyclopédie* and successive publications that made free use of its plates made Clara the lectotype of her kind.

The endlessly recirculated, reengraved, and reappropriated plate of the *Encyclopédie* is not the only legacy of Clara's display at the St Germain Fair. For the *Encyclopédie*'s engraving is itself an appropriation of a life-size oil painting *Le rhinoceros* by Louis XV's court painter, Jean-Baptiste Oudry. The catalog of the Parisian Salon of 1750 confirms the dimensions of the overall canvas (and therefore, indirectly, the dimensions of Clara in 1749): "The Rhinoceros, life size, on a canvas fifteen feet long and ten feet high. This animal was painted in its pen at the St Germain Fair." The likeliest explanation for the origin of

the painting seems to be that Louis XV commissioned the painter of his beloved hunting dogs to produce a work that would hang with the series *Chasses exotiques*, which Louis had commissioned between 1735 and 1739 to adorn the Petite Galerie of the upper apartments at Versailles. Examples of all the animals depicted, including an elephant, leopard, and tiger, were sometime residents of the Versailles menagerie, and Louis likely commissioned Oudry in early 1749 to add a rhinoceros to the sequence when he expected to obtain Clara. When relations soured between Louis and Van der Meer, Oudry may have believed the rift to be temporary, or that Louis might yet take possession in oil of what he could not have in the flesh. When Louis ultimately declined to take delivery of the massive canvas, it eventually came to rest in the ducal palace of Schwerin, Germany. From there, it would enjoy a remarkable afterlife, becoming the subject of a highly publicized restoration project undertaken by conservators of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, in exchange for making the canvas and another by Oudry central to a 2007 Getty exhibition: *Oudry's Painted Menagerie*.²² Given a room to itself at the Getty Museum and hung on a wall opposite a tiered viewing platform, Oudry's life-size oil painting of Clara afforded exhibition visitors the nearest approximation of the wonder of seeing Clara at the St Germain Fair that could be experienced more than 250 years from that original event. Since the display of Oudry's life-size painting of Clara, restored by Getty conservators, was the culmination of this exhibition, all visitors who came face-to-face with Clara had already passed through a series of exhibition spaces, including a room dedicated to and explaining "Clara mania," and that showcased various objets d'art modeled upon her. This exhibition setup, together with national press coverage about the restoration, allowed viewers to understand something of Clara's eighteenth-century celebrity status, while endowing her with a new sort of fame as a prize specimen of the Getty conservators' skills.²³ But Clara's twenty-first-century fame did not end with the return of Oudry's life-size oil to its permanent home in Schwerin. In 2011, the British version of the popular television program *Antiques Roadshow* called at the University of Birmingham, where the director of the university's Barber Institute of Fine Arts presented appraisers with a bronze sculpture of a rhinoceros originally acquired by a former museum director for £575.²⁴ A valuation in excess of £200,000 for the bronze of "Miss Clara" gained national media attention and the Barber's website

now showcases the bronze as one of its most popular and famous attractions, while a short video explains how a team of computer science postgraduates worked with the Barber's curatorial staff to produce an animated version of Clara's story.²⁵ As the Bowes Museum (County Durham, England) possesses an identical sculpture executed in marble (which was perhaps used to generate a cast and mold for the Barber's bronze, as discussed earlier in this essay), it too has begun to foreground Clara's story and has even lent the marble sculpture out to local schools: Clara as community outreach.²⁶ In the last decade, various children's books telling Clara's story have appeared.²⁷ And reminiscent of the wide range of depictions of Clara available during her lifetime, today's relatively inexpensive children's books about her may be contrasted with the Nymphenburg porcelain factory's 2014 issue of a costly tabletop porcelain sculpture of Clara, based upon an eighteenth-century original: the manufacturer's website explained that "the living original version of Clara was . . . a rock star, touring throughout Europe. . . . Clara remains a seminal figure of European culture and science, and is exceedingly popular."²⁸ It is surely a true test of celebrity: to have not one but many afterlives.

After Paris, Clara continued to tour for another ten years, including a period in Venice during Carnival in spring 1751. As well as being the subject of oil paintings commissioned by two different patrons from Pietro Longhi while there, Clara's tour of Italy manifests one further, final component in the creation of animal celebrity: a recognition of the animal's fragility and that, unlike its human counterparts, a nonhuman animal celebrity cannot tell those around it how it is feeling. At an early stage in Clara's Italian tour, she shed her horn in June 1750 while in Rome. The phenomenon is observed in captive rhinos today, though it has not been recorded in wild rhino populations, and whether it is indicative of stress is presently unknown. Where modern zookeepers at least understand that this may happen, and that a naturally shed horn will regrow in time without any apparent ill effects to the animal, Van der Meer had nothing to guide him as to what a shed horn might mean. Pietro Longhi's two canvases from Clara's display in Venice both show a young man holding up the intact, shed horn for inspection in the seating area bordering Clara's enclosure. Public concern that Clara might be ailing was only compounded by a series of conflicting rumors about accidents that had befallen her on her way to Italy. For example, in November 1749, the German paper *Auszug der Neuesten Weltgeschichte* reported the overturning of the

small vessel transporting Clara from the quayside of Marseilles out to a waiting sailing ship.²⁹ The Marquis d'Argenson reported a different but similarly themed story in his memoirs, to the effect that the ship taking Clara down the western Italian seaboard had been lost, and Clara drowned.³⁰ In both stories, it is hard not to see the specter of the fate of the Lisbon rhinoceros immortalized by Dürer. These competing reports of Clara's watery fate would be joined by yet another in Venice, where Van der Meer himself may have been the originator of a rumor that Clara had fallen into the Grand Canal. From broadsheets prefiguring today's time-limited offers ("You are advised that the animal will only stay ten or twelve days in this town"), Van der Meer was clearly not above exploiting the recognition that Clara herself would be around for only a limited amount of time. All celebrities are fragile, of course, and all are subject to the same processes that lead to the inevitable end recalled in Wandelaar's skeleton. Since animal celebrities cannot articulate that they are feeling unwell and must wait for human caretakers to learn the state of their health, the animal celebrity has a particular kind of fragility that can be managed for commercial ends—as Van der Meer marketed Clara—or today made to serve a cause. When Esther the Pig fell ill in 2017, her global fan base donated more than \$750,000 to purchase a CT scanner for the University of Guelph's Ontario Veterinary College that would be large enough to accommodate her—a scanner that is now available for all animals of a similar size.³¹ In the public concern evinced for Esther, the interest of people in her story, the desire of fans to buy Esther-related merchandise, and the outpouring of concern at her illness, Esther is in some respects Clara's heir, though in other fundamental ways her celebrity is managed very differently. Profits from the sale of Esther-related merchandise go to her upkeep and the upkeep of the farm animal sanctuary she calls home, and public concern for Esther's well-being resulted in the crowdfunding of much-needed veterinary college equipment. Profits from Clara's tour served to keep her touring, and periodic concern regarding her health served only to revivify ticket sales to see her. Human celebrities must trust that their managers and agents treat them fairly: animal celebrities must trust those who manage them not only with their well-being but with their very lives.

Celebrity itself is often thought of as fragile too: something fleeting and ephemeral. But Clara's celebrity is surely of a different order, enjoying a celebrity life and afterlife *sui generis*: a unique and recognizable individual made the archetype not only of the Indian rhino but of all

rhinoceroses. No other single animal has so changed the way its species was imagined and portrayed.

Notes

1. I provide a full account of Clara's seventeen-year European odyssey in Glynis Ridley, *Clara's Grand Tour: Travels with a Rhinoceros in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (London: Atlantic Books, 2004). For an account of Clara mania in eighteenth-century Europe, see Mary Morton, ed., *Oudry's Painted Menagerie* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 90–103.

2. The name of the Dutch sea captain who brought Clara to Europe and displayed her has been represented variously in the secondary literature. T. H. Clarke refers to him as “Douwe Mout,” though Sir Horace Mann referred to him as “Vander Meer” (1750). See T. H. Clarke, *The Rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs: 1515–1799* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986), 47–68, and *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 20, ed. W. S. Lewis (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960), 28, entry for March 13, 1750. Broadsheets produced at the direction of the individual concerned that name him give the form as “Douwemout van der meer.” Leiden city archives for the mid-eighteenth century show a number of individuals with the surname “Van der Meer,” though I did not find “Douwe Mout Van der Meer” among them. (At the time of my visit to Leiden to research *Clara's Grand Tour* archivists had not heard of Clara's story or the Dutchman who had brought her to Europe.) Since “Van der Meer” is a Dutch toponymic surname (and also the origin of other Anglicized and contracted surname forms), given its use in Leiden city records in the mid-eighteenth century, its use by Sir Horace Mann to refer to the sea captain, as well as its presence on broadsheets for Clara's tour, it is the form of nomenclature I have preferred. If and when Douwemout Van der Meer finally emerges from the archives unambiguously named in a different way, I am happy to own any error in my choice.

3. Jean-Baptiste Oudry, *Le Rhinocéros*, 1749, oil on canvas, Staatliches Museum, Schwerin; Pietro Longhi, *The Rhinoceros in Venice*, 1751, oil on canvas, Ca'Rezzonico, Venice; Pietro Longhi, *Exhibition of a Rhinoceros at Venice*, 1751, oil on canvas, National Gallery, London.

4. “Le Rhinocéros after Oudry,” from *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des arts et des métiers par une Société de gens de lettres: mis en order et publié par M. Diderot et, quant à la partie mathématique par M. d'Alembert* (Paris: Briaçon, 1751–1780), t. XXIII, pl. I. The same image was repurposed by George-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, in the *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière, avec la description du Cabinet du Roi* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1749–1804), t. XI, pl. VII.

5. Five species of rhinoceroses are alive in the world today: the Sumatran rhino and Javan rhino are both reclusive forest dwellers and so rare that the Javan rhino may already be functionally extinct. Africa is home to two species—the black and the white rhino—and today both are found only in sub-Saharan Africa. Both have two horns at the end of their nose, in contrast to the single horn of the Indian rhinoceros.

6. L. C. Rookmaaker, *The Rhinoceros in Captivity: A List of 2439 Rhinoceroses Kept from Roman Times to 1994* (The Hague: SPB Academic Publishing, 1998), 29.

7. Clarke, *The Rhinoceros*.

8. While reasons for the choice of the name “Clara” are unknown, the name is confirmed in the caption to a sketch by Anton Clemens Lünenschloss, made when

Clara passed through Würzburg, Germany, on October 3, 1748, which refers to her as “Jungfer Clara.”

9. The ill-fated voyage of this rhinoceros is the subject of Lawrence Norfolk’s novel, *The Pope’s Rhinoceros* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1996).

10. B. S. Albinus, *Tabulae sceleti et musculorum corporis humani* (Leiden, 1747), pl. IV.

11. Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), 117. The rise of pet-keeping is also examined in Kathryn Shevelov, *For the Love of Animals: The Rise of the Animal Protection Movement* (New York: Henry Holt, 2008), esp. chapter 3, “Pets and the City,” 55–75.

12. The illegal trade in baby great apes trafficked from Africa to buyers in the Middle East and Far East has recently attracted increasing media coverage, including Jeffrey Gettleman, “Smuggled, Beaten and Drugged: The Global Illicit Ape Trade,” *New York Times*, November 4, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/04/world/africa/ape-trafficking-bonobos-orangutans.html>; and David Shukman and Sam Piranty, “The Secret Trade in Baby Chimps,” BBC News, January 30, 2021, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/1d5e8c4bac-c236-4cd9-bacc-db96d733f6cf>.

13. Allison Klein, “These Men Thought They Adopted a Mini Piglet. She Became Esther the Wonder Pig, Darling of the Internet,” *Washington Post*, December 14, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/inspired-life/wp/2017/12/14/these-men-thought-they-adopted-a-mini-piglet-she-became-esther-the-wonder-pig-a-650-pound-darling-of-the-internet/>.

14. Venetian School, *The Rhinoceros in its Booth*, 1750–1751, oil on canvas, Vicenza Banca Cattolica del Veneto.

15. The Leipzig broadside is discussed at length by Charissa Bremer-David in Morton, *Oudry’s Painted Menagerie*, 90–91.

16. Detlef Heikamp, “Seltene Nashörner in Martin Sperlich’s Nashorngalerie und anderswo,” in *Eine Festschrift für Martin Sperlich zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Tübingen, Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1980), 301–325.

17. Miniature of Archduke Karl Joseph, son of Maria Theresa, Liotard School, ca. 1747, private collection, reproduced in Clarke, *The Rhinoceros*, 36.

18. *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, entry for March 13, 1750, 20:128. Walpole mentions Clara a second time when discussing the fashion for dressing hair “a la rhinocéros,” which presumably means having the hair swept up and dressed to face forward. See entry for May 8, 1750, *Yale Edition of Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, 20:148.

19. Giacomo Casanova, *Memoirs of My Life*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1966), 3:164.

20. *Correspondence par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, etc.*, ed. Maurice Tourneux (Paris, 1877), 1:272–273.

21. Depictions of Clara not considered in this essay include a series of illustrations by Johann Elias Ridinger such as *The Dutch Rhinoceros Lying on its Left Side*, 1748, drawing, lead pencil on blue paper, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London; and *A Rhinoceros Leaping*, colored etching with engraving, Augsburg, ca. 1750–1755, private collection, Madrid.

22. Edward Wyatt, “How Clara and Leo Lost Their Spots,” *New York Times*, June 10, 2007, <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/10/arts/design/10wyat.html>.

23. Diane Haithman, "A Rhino's Restoration," *Los Angeles Times*, January 5, 2007, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2007-jan-05-et-clara-5-story.html>.
24. Jane Tyler, "A UNIQUE Sculpture of a Rhinoceros from Birmingham's Barber Institute of Fine Arts Will Be the Star Exhibit on the BBC's Antiques Roadshow," *BirminghamLive*, October 24, 2012, <https://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/local-news/a-unique-sculpture-of-a-rhinoceros-from-birminghams-barber-164250>.
25. "Artistic Responses: Barber Institute of Fine Arts," University of Birmingham, <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/culture/reel-culture/artistic-responses-barber-institute.aspx>.
26. Graeme Hetherington, "Clara the White Rhino Swaps Bowes Museum for Classroom in Darlington," *Northern Echo*, March 5, 2019, <https://www.thenorthernecho.co.uk/news/local/darlington/17475543.clara-the-white-rhino-swaps-bowes-museum-for-classroom-in-darlington/>.
27. Clara's story naturally lends itself to picture books; these include Mary Tavener Holmes, *My Travels with Clara* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2007), and Emily Arnold McCully, *Clara: The (Mostly) True Story of the Rhinoceros Who Dazzled Kings, Inspired Artists, and Won the Hearts of Everyone . . . While She Ate Her Way Up and Down a Continent!* (New York: Schwartz and Wade Books, 2016).
28. While this language is no longer available on Nymphenburg's website, the product is for sale in three different versions, all of which describe Clara as the "icon of the Nymphenburg Manufactory," <https://www.nymphenburg.com/search?q=clara>.
29. *Auszug der Neuesten Weltgeschichte*, no. 97 (1748).
30. *Journal et Mémoires du Marquis d'Argenson* 6 (1864): 77.
31. Jason McBride, "The Charmed Life of Esther the Wonder Pig," *The Walrus*, August 15, 2018, <https://thewalrus.ca/the-charmed-life-of-esther-the-wonder-pig/>.