

"I am the Horn of a Rhinoceros"

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Rhinoceros horn is one of the 'odd materials' condemned by that remarkable museum director and prolific writer on the applied arts, Gustav E. Pazaurek.¹ He links it with the coconut and the ibex horn in his rare book of 1912 on good and bad taste in the applied arts, describing all three materials—the two horns and the nut—as 'mean-looking, and, let's admit it, hideous' insofar as they are used for artistic embellishment. Nonetheless, Pazaurek continues, they were highly regarded by Renaissance and baroque princes. Rhinoceros horn was hard to work, tough and expensive: all qualities or perhaps defects that made its use so desirable to the Emperor Rudolf II and lesser princes in the Germanic lands and also in Italy to a lesser extent. Horns were first turned on the lathe, and later they were carved, mounted in gold, enamel and precious stones: fit for the *Kunstammer* of any prince. An extreme example of one of the richest of such baubles, a baroque masterpiece, can be seen in the Schatzkammer of the Residenz in Munich (Fig. 1). Constructed of at least three rhinoceros horns, it is 45.7 cms high, made most likely in an Augsburg workshop of about 1660, where ivory was the more usual material.²

Such creations, to be found in quantity only in the great German cabinets such as the Green Vaults in Dresden, in the Rudolfine and later accumulations of the Habsburgs in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and in Schloss Ambras near Innsbruck, as well as in the large Wittelsbach collection in the Munich Residenz, were never a significant part of the somewhat provincial approach of the English to the Cabinet of Curiosities. The English collectors, as opposed to their Continental counterparts, were seldom royal or even rich. As Arthur MacGregor has written in a recently published essay: 'While scholarly collectors can be found in Britain to match those of the Continent, there is a general absence of princely interest in the curious: the tastes of the earliest noble collectors in Britain were tuned to the fine arts rather than to rarities and curiosities



1. A covered goblet of rhinoceros horn, mounted in silver-gilt, enamel and precious stones, S. German, circa 1660. H. 48 cm. Schatzkammer, Residenz, Munich

of art and nature'.³ But there were a few exceptions; Charles I is a case in point. This article concentrates on the few remaining objects made of rhinoceros horn for English clients and also on those which have disappeared.

The ideal *Kunst-* or *Wunderkammer* had as two of its main theoretical divisions *naturalia* and *artificialia*, and there are examples of both in English collec-

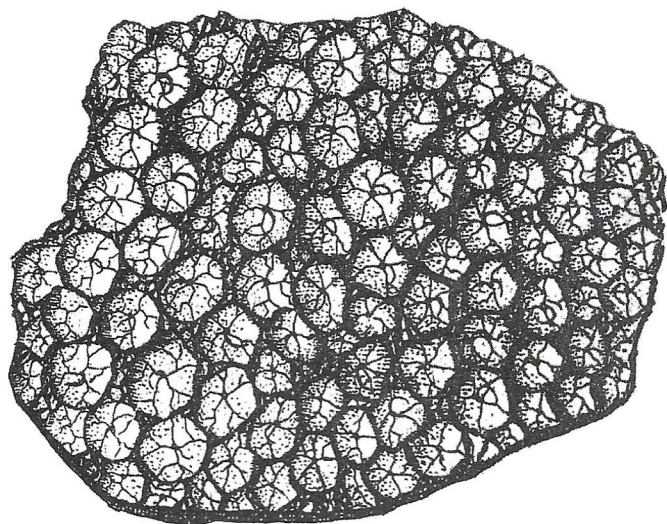
tions. The first are represented by plain rhinoceros horns and other parts of this pachyderm; the second by a very few lathe-turned bowls and a single goblet. These latter are sober in shape and decoration, lacking the involved Mannerism of some Rudolfine pieces or the pomposity of the baroque creations.

Horns of so-called unicorns (in reality the tusks of a narwhal) were to be found in medieval treasuries, both secular and ecclesiastic;⁴ but horns of the rhinoceros were known only from travellers' tales. Nicolo di Conti, as an example, was an Italian who travelled in the East in the 1440's; he reported on the rhinoceros that 'its horn is an antidote against poison', a reputation borrowed from the lore of the unicorn and one that persisted in East and West until at least the eighteenth century.⁵ The horn itself only became a prized and valuable collector's item after the first living animal arrived in Lisbon on 20 May, 1515, an event much publicised by Dürer's celebrated woodcut of 1515. This was, perhaps, the most enduring stereotype of any animal by a European artist, even though it was a second-hand interpretation based on a drawing sent from Portugal. Its effect on the European imagination can hardly be measured: it is still a valid portrait.

Henceforward, there was a market for things rhinocerotie. Above all a living animal was valuable not only in itself but also as a symbol of empire. The rhinoceroses of King Manuel the Good of Portugal (1495–1521) and of Philip II of Spain were royal creatures. Not until the late seventeenth century did the royal monopoly yield to commercial instincts. The next seven rhinoceroses were all imported as private ventures; of these the most interesting were the English imports of 1684 and 1739, the Dutch animal of 1741, and the one painted by Stubbs in about 1792.⁷ The tenth, which was imported for the Zoological Society of London in 1834, ended the commercial exploitation and substituted the zoological garden for didactic and scientific reasons.

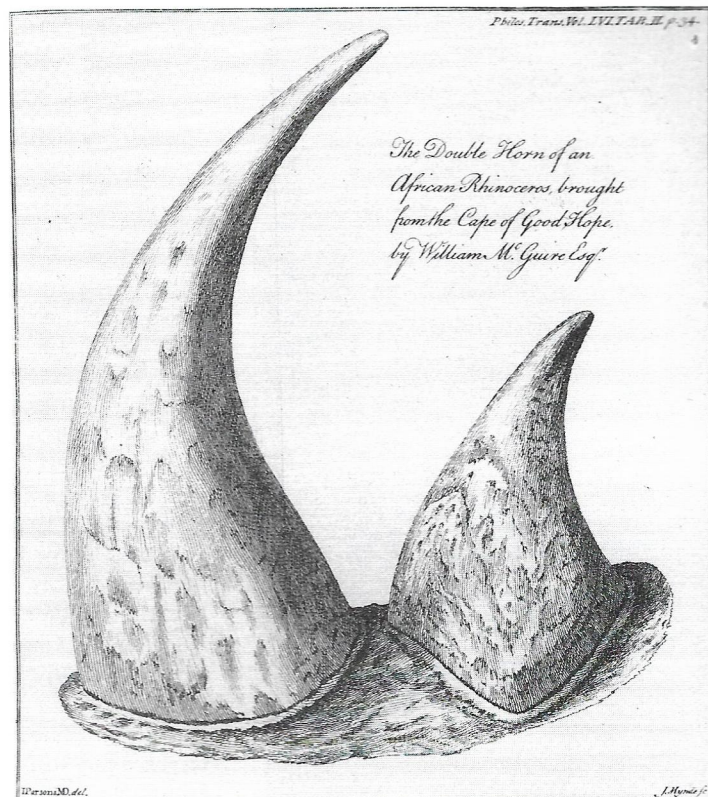
The horn had a double interest, as an

Skin on y^e Buttock of a Rhinoceros



2. A piece of rhinoceros skin, from Nathaniel Grew's *Museum Regalis Societatis, or a catalogue & description of the natural and artificial rarities belonging to the Royal Society and preserved at Gresham college, London 1681*

3. Horns of an African Rhinoceros, from the *Philosophical Transactions*, 1766



exotic curiosity and as a detector of poison, especially when turned into a drinking cup. Related to its use as an antidote against poison, shavings of the horn were used, it was believed, as a cure for a multitude of diseases. It was commended—admittedly as a poor man's substitute for unicorn's horn—in a London pharmacopoeia of 1747⁸ as effective 'against contagious Poisons and the Distempers which require Sudorifics . . . it is alexipharmic, cardiac, stomachis, diaphoretic, and a Sweetener'. But it was never recommended as an aphrodisiac.⁹

The horn, in its natural form, first appears in England in 1599. So rare was such a natural object that it was commented on by two foreign visitors to London. The first was the Swiss, Thomas Platter, who saw the horn in 1599 in the cabinet of Walter Cope (d.1614), who may have acquired it on an 'Indian voyage'. Cope was also the owner of the tails both of a rhinoceros and of a unicorn. Another observer was Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, who in 1602 described the horn as being 'not long, but bent upwards, also the tail with very coarse Hair'.¹⁰ The scarcity of such curiosities was somewhat relieved by the increase of European travellers and merchants to Mughal India, then the main source of supply for the European market. Peter Munday (1608–87), a factor in the East India Company since 1627, noted in 1632 that an Indian merchant had '¾ of a hundred weight of their

large horns to sell': and if requested would provide a 'Young one for a small matter'.¹¹ Evelyn in 1645 casually mentions two horns at the Arsenal in Venice, where there was 'a well of fresh water, which they impute to the two rhinoceros's horns which they say be in it, and will preserve it from ever being empoisoned'.¹²

It is, then, no wonder that the repository of the Royal Society at the time of Nathaniel Grew's catalogue of 1681 had as many as four single horns, including one that 'once belonged to the Duke of Holsteine': showing that provenance was a proper comment even in 1681.¹³ In addition the repository held a piece of 'Skin of ye buttock of a Rhinoceros' (Fig. 2). 'A beautiful horn in the Museum of Dr. Meade' is also mentioned. And there were others, notably in the encyclopaedic collection of Sir Hans Sloane.

A greater rarity than a single horn of the African animal was the double horn of one of the two African species.¹⁴ This was confusing to the natural historians of the mid-eighteenth century, as none had been seen alive in Europe since the late Roman Empire; and rhinocerotologists had to wait until 1868, when a specimen arrived at the Zoological Gardens in Regent's Park.¹⁵ Figure 3 shows an early example of the double horns sent from the Cape of Good Hope, and reported to the Royal Society by Dr. Parsons in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1766. An even greater curiosity figured

in an auction sale on 18 March 1779. A fortunate buyer was able to acquire for half a crown a lot in which one item was described as 'a tooth, said to be taken out of a rhinoceros, which was in the camp of Julius Caesar'.¹⁶

The earliest rhinoceros horn with English silver mounts to be recorded is shown in Fig. 4. Since the silver has no mark, it is not easy to give a precise date, but silver authorities seem to agree that a date between 1610 and 1625 is likely. It may be no coincidence that, according to a recent book on the art of turning on the lathe, Klaus Maurice's *Sovereigns as Turners* (Zurich 1985),¹⁷ a certain Salomon de Caus (d.1626) was appointed 'ingenieur' to Henry, Prince of Wales. On the latter's death in 1612, de Caus worked for a short time for the King, before transferring his allegiance to Princess Elizabeth and her husband, the Elector Palatine, with whom he went to Heidelberg in 1613. In 1615 he published a treatise on the mechanical arts in Frankfurt, *Les Raisons des forces mouvantes*.¹⁸ Amongst the illustrations in this book is one of two lathes (Fig. 5). A cup in the process of being turned on the unmanned lathe is not unlike the shape of the rhinoceros horn cup of Fig. 4. We know that rhinoceros horn was regularly used for turning on the same instruments on which ivory and wood were worked. It is, therefore, tempting to speculate as to whether this goblet might have been turned by Salomon de Caus for one of his



the Archduke Charles, who died in 1618. The English and the German (or Austrian) goblet are of about the same size: they are a nice example of the modest English and more extravagant Continental treatment of such vanities.

Whether or not the goblet of Fig. 4 has a possible royal pedigree, there is no doubt about the 'Rhinoceros Cup graven with figures with a golden foot' listed in 'A true and perfect Inventory of all the Plate and Jewels now being in the Upper Jewell-House of the Tower, made from the 13th to 15th August 1649'. We do not know when Charles I acquired this cup: but we do know that a certain Ann Lucy paid £12 for it when 'sold by the Rebels' on 24 December of the same year, 1649. The cup has disappeared, the mount probably melted down for its gold value. Whether the cup was 'graven' in Europe or in China it is impossible to tell. There are many Chinese rhinoceros horn cups of the late Ming period in the great European *Kunstkammer*, such as the Green Vaults in Dresden, the Habsburg accumulations in Vienna and Schloss Ambras and the Medici treasures in Palazzo Pitti, Florence. But these are usually mounted in silver or silver-gilt,

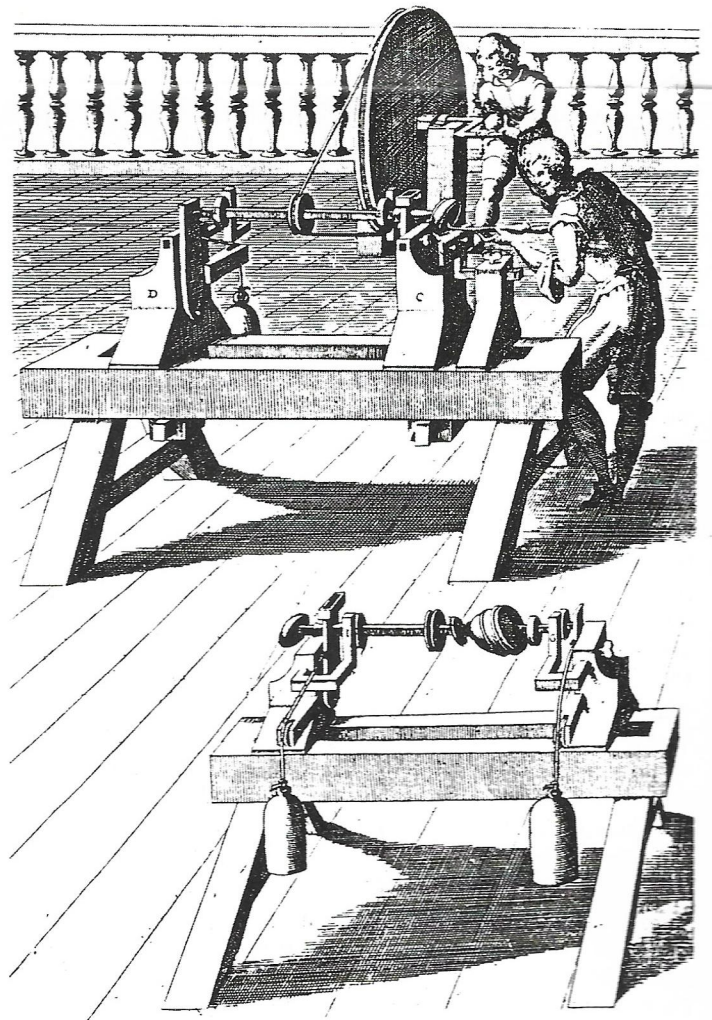
virtually never in gold. So there remains the probability that Charles I's cup may have been 'graven' in England, or was perhaps an import from the German lands, Augsburg, for example. This cup may not have been the only rhinoceros horn example in Charles's collection, for the Inventory lists unicorn cups that may well have been mistakenly described.²⁰

Our next examples are simply shaped bowls, each mounted with a silver rim. The first (Fig. 7) is of honey-coloured horn, whether artificially lightened in colour is not known; indeed, the technique of working rhinoceros horn is obscure. The shape with its double ogee outline reminds one of glass or silver. Its Englishness derives from the triangular form of the coarsely engraved, almost scratched initials, H^HE, on the silver rim. Such an arrangement—also used by the Dutch, but less often—is generally believed to refer to a marriage gift: the initial at the apex being that of the man, the initials below those of the Christian names of husband and wife. On English Delftware such a triangular arrangement of initials is found from around 1630 until well into the eighteenth century: less often on silver.²¹ This gives us only a very

royal English masters. But speculation it must remain in the absence of further information.

The horn is of light chestnut brown colour, with straight sides and rounded base, like a giant thimble turned upside down. The vertical markings of the horn are remarkably similar to the grain of oak. The bowl is made from the base of a horn—whether of Indian or African origin it is not possible to tell scientifically—which is slightly hollow, so giving less work to the turner at his lathe. Four silver straps with scalloped edges, joined at the top to a broad silver band overlapping the lip of the bowl, hold the horn firmly in position. The silver stem has as globular knop lightly engraved and set between two broad multi-petalled discs, while the foot has a low dome which is repoussé and chased with a stylised foliate motif, perhaps intended as an oak-leaf. The goblet is 16.4 cm high, and probably had a cover. In both shape and size it can be compared to a lidded goblet in the Residenz, Munich.¹⁹ But this is a superb example of a royal *Wunderkammer* object (Fig 6). Seldom has such a lowly material as rhinoceros horn been treated with such a sure taste. The mounts are of gold, enamelled on the underside of the lid with the arms of Austria and initials of

4. A James I silver-mounted rhinoceros horn goblet, circa 1610–25. H. 16.4 cm. Private Collection



5. Woodcut of two lathes, from Salomon de Caus, *Les raisons des forces mouvantes*, Frankfurt 1615. (From Klaus Maurice, *Der drechselnde Souverän*, Zurich 1985).



6. A goblet of rhinoceros horn, made for Carl Erzherzog zu Österreich (d. 1618) perhaps Vienna, circa 1590. H. 18.7 cm. Schatzkammer, Residenz, Munich

7. A bowl of rhinoceros horn with English silver mount inscribed with the initials 'H.E.', circa 1670–90. The bowl with diameter of 13.5 cm. Private Collection



rough basis for dating the bowl. The form of the scalloped border to the silver rim is a feature that persists for many decades, and so is no reliable guide. But it is reasonable to look for a historical event that inspired the creation of this cup. In 1684 there arrived in London a live rhinoceros, the third only known to have survived the journey from India. An advertisement (Fig. 8) appeared in the *London Gazette* of Monday 27 October 1684 informing the public where could be seen 'a Very strange Beast called a Rhinoceros'. It aroused much interest. John Evelyn's description is the longest and most amusing account of the animal so far written.²² There were prints, both engravings and mezzotints, galore. We illustrate one only (Fig. 9) from the Douglas Collection, now in Glasgow University Library.²³ It is clearly the Dürer type (see p. 386) with a few alterations, in particular the absence of the miniature wrythen horn on its withers, the less conspicuous rib-cage, and, above all, the stump of a nose as well as the ring and chain. The stubby nose indicates that the London animal was a young one. The superscription refers to the beast being 'Musquett proof' and to its love of virgins. There is yet another possible reason for the making of this bowl—and indeed probably of many others that have either perished or still exist in many a country house. This is the publication in 1678 of a part of Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises, or the Doctrine of Handy-Works*, wherein the author differentiates between lathes used for turning the various hardnesses of wood, horn, bone and ivory.²⁴

The second cup, 15.5 cm in diameter,

is of simple shape, the polished dark brown horn lightly worked by the turner with a bolecion moulding half way between rim and foot (Fig. 10). Its rarity and charm depend on the inscription in the silver band, which is edged with lappets separated by small pierced circles. The inscription reads: 'I am the Horn of a Rhinoceros'. Where the beginning and end of these words meet there is engraved a small image of the rhinoceros derived from the Dürer woodcut, a caricature almost. Here again the creation of this bowl with its definite assertion of personality may well have been triggered off by the presence in London of the second English rhinoceros, the one that arrived in 1739. It was the subject of a long paper read to the Royal Society by Dr. Parsons in 1743.²⁵

The last object to be discussed is unusual in many ways. It is an Anglo-Indian artefact, the rhinoceros horn cup being of Indian origin and its elaborate unmarked silver mount of English or Scottish manufacture (Fig. 11). Further, the mounted cup figures in a conversation piece by an anonymous Scottish artist of circa 1780–5 (Fig. 12). Finally, both cup and painting belong to descendants of Dr. David Shaw and his wife: Dr. William Dalrymple, Minister of Ayr, stands on the left and Mrs Campbell of Fairfield on the right.²⁶

The foot of the silver mount is engraved on a ribbon label with an inscription that is repeated less legibly on the painting. It reads: 'This cup made of the horn of the rhinoceros did once belong to the Nabob Cossim Ally Chawn and is presented to Charles Dalrymple by Jn^o Graham * *Parvum non parvae amicitiae pignus*'. A further inscription appears in the painting at the top of the plinth below the simulated bas-relief portrait bust of John Graham: 'Coll [ie, Coll^o] John Graham, one of the first of men, was taken from us in the 30th (?) year of his age, full of honour. We shall surely meet again'.

The occasion of this conversation piece is rather obscure. The donor of the horn cup can be identified with Mir Kasim Ali Khan, who was appointed by the East India Company as Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on 27 September 1760.²⁷ Mir Kasim then turned against the English and remained an Anglophobe until his death in 1777. It would then seem likely that the gift of the cup must have been made about 1760. As for John Graham, there were several of this name in India at this time. The most likely candidate is the John Graham who arrived in Bengal on 7 October 1759.²⁸ He was appointed Secretary to

A Very Strange Beast called a Rhynoceros, lately brought from the East-Indies, being the first that ever was in England, is daily to be seen at the Bell Savage Inn on Ludgate-hill, from Nine a Clock in the Morning till Eight at Night

8. Extract from *The London Gazette*, Monday 27 October 1684



9. Engraving of the 1684 London rhinoceros, Glasgow University Library

the Committee of New Lands in 1761, remaining in India until he left the service of the company in 1775. The recipient of the rhinoceros horn cup was probably Charles, brother of Dr. William Dalrymple, who stands to the left of the pedestal in the family group. He had indirect Indian connections through the family of his wife, befriended by James Macrae, Governor of Madras from 1715 to 1731.²⁹

Little has been written on Indian rhinoceros horn cups. That they were

regarded as antidotes to poison, as elsewhere in both east and west, is generally agreed. The earliest horn cup of which we are aware was mentioned by Richard Ettinghausen in 1950 as having been described in the memoirs of the Emperor Babur.³⁰ This was in 1525–26. But Ettinghausen was, it seems, not aware of the existence of a cup of this period in the British Museum, in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, which corresponded both in shape and style with Babur's description, and it was even suggested that this boat-

shaped object might be the one described by Babur, when on display at *The Indian Heritage* exhibition of 1982 at the Victoria and Albert.³¹ Also of Indian origin are two remarkable vessels, Indo-Portuguese work of the second half of the sixteenth century. One, at Schloss Ambras, has Indian mounts.³² The other, at the Capodimonte Museum, unpublished, is carved in low relief with animals and pendent jewels after European models.

The form of the Graham/Dalrymple



10. An English rhinoceros bowl, the silver mount inscribed 'I am the Horn of a Rhinoceros'. Diameter 15.5 cm. Circa 1740. Private Collection



11. An Indian rhinoceros horn cup with English silver mounts, circa 1765-85. Private Collection

cup is severely simple, hemi-spherical with slightly everted rim, perhaps based on Chinese porcelain. As to date, it might well be a century or more older than its silver mount, which, it has been suggested, might have been added by an Indian craftsman after an English model. But this is unlikely. The fruiting vine chased in high relief as well as the rather unusual gadrooning are echoed on a George III punchbowl by Charles Wright of London, 1773.³³ This may well be the approximate date of the mount. The strong acanthus foliage at the foot of the horn cup and even the unchanging scalloped rim seem to be all of a piece.

These few survivors of the rhinoceros *artificialia* and *naturalia*, either recorded or still existing in the context of the English Cabinet of Curiosities, must surely be only a part of those that once existed. This article may, one hopes, bring others to light.

³³ Gustav E. Pazaurek, *Guter und Schlechter Geschmack im Kunstgewerbe*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1912, p. 26. Pazaurek (1865-1935) was director of the Stuttgart Landesgewerbemuseum from 1906 to 1932; and author of many important monographs on glass, Hausmalerei, creamware, beads, mother-of-pearl, etc. He also wrote many hundreds of articles and reviews on the applied arts.



12. Detail from a conversation piece, oil on canvas, showing the Indian rhinoceros horn cup presented to Col. John Graham. Circa 1780-5. Mr. James Byam Shaw

² Hans Thoma and Herbert Brunner, *Schatzkammer der Residenz München, Katalog*, Munich 1964, no. 1173.

³ Arthur MacGregor, 'The Cabinet of Curiosities in Seventeenth Century Britain', pp. 147-58 in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, edited by Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, Oxford 1985.

⁴ See Odell Shepard, *The Lore of the Unicorn*, London 1930.

⁵ For Nicolo di Conti see Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe: The Century of Discovery*, Chicago and London 1965, Vol. 1, Book One, esp. pp. 59-63.

⁶ See T. H. Clarke, *The Rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs, 1515-1799*, London 1986.

⁷ Judy Egerton, *George Stubbs, 1724-1806*, Exhibition Catalogue, Tate Gallery, 1984, pp. 124-5, no. 87.

⁸ R. James, *Pharmacopoeia Universalis: or, A New Universal English Dispensatory*, London 1747.

⁹ There is no firm evidence that rhinoceros horn was ever used as an aphrodisiac in the East or in Europe. See the writings of the leading authority, Dr. Esmond Bradley Martin, listed in L. C. Rookmaaker's *Bibliography of the Rhinoceros*, Rotterdam 1983; also *Run, Rhino, Run*, London 1982 and *Cargoes of the East*, London 1978.

The fallacy is largely literary, well exemplified by Norman Douglas's *Paneros: Some words on aphrodisiacs and the like*, Florence 1930. Douglas writes: 'and put not your trust in Arabian skink, in Roman goose-fat... rhinoceros horn (of which vast quantities are at this day exported for amative purposes from Africa to the East)... aphrodisiacs all, and all impostures'. Douglas was wrong in the reason for export of rhinoceros horn to the East, but correct in calling its efficacy 'an imposture'.

¹⁰ See Thomas Plattier's *Travels in England, 1599*, translated and edited by Clare Williams, London 1937, pp. 171-3: 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, through England in the Year 1602', in *Trans. of the Royal Historical Society*, new series 6, 1892: Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London*, Cambridge and London 1978; and MacGregor, *loc. cit.*, p. 148.

¹¹ *The Travels of Sir Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-67*, vol. II, *Travels in Asia 1628-34*, The Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, XXXV 1914 and XLV 1919.

¹² *The Diary of John Evelyn*, Everyman edition, 1911, vol. 1, p. 205.

¹³ Nathaniel Grew, *Musaeum Regalis Societatis, or a Catalogue & Description of the Natural and Artificial Rarities belonging to the Royal Society*, London 1681.

¹⁴ Clarke 1986, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-6. Dr. Meade also had a double-horned African example, the horns attached to part of the skull.

¹⁵ P. L. Selater, 'On the Rhinoceros now or lately living in the Society's Menagerie', in *Trans. of the Zoological Society of London*, 1876, vol. IX, part XI, p. 655 and pl. XCIX. Probably the Black Rhinoceros (*Diceros Bicornis*). See also Rookmaaker, *op. cit.*, chapter 6.

¹⁶ Information kindly communicated by Mr. John Hewett.

¹⁷ Klaus Maurice, *Der drechselnde Souverän (Sovereigns as Turners)*, Zurich 1985, p. 104 and fig. 10.

¹⁸ Also published in German in Frankfurt in 1615. De Caus had worked from 1605-10 in Brussels.

¹⁹ *Schatzkammer der Residenz München*, quoted above, no. 535.

²⁰ The Inventory of Charles I's collections published in the *Walpole Society*, vol. XLIII 1970-2 is based on the copy belonging to the Society of Antiquaries. The 'Rhinoceros Cup' is on f. 13v. The three objects called unicorn's horn are: 'A Cup of Unicorn's horn richly garnish with gold' valued at £10 was sold for £12 to Lavender on 30 December 1649 (f. 12). Two unicorn beakers were also sold. One was 'garnish with gold' and valued at £45 (f. 12v); the other had a 'golden cover with a diamond ring on the topp and the beaker was supported by three unicorns'. The unicorn was not unmasked until 1621, by Gerard Mercator; but it was Ole Worm, Regius Professor of Denmark, who first made public in a dissertation in Copenhagen in 1638 the true facts, namely, that the horn was in fact a tooth of a walrus. Hardly anyone believed him. So there is plenty of excuse for any error in identifying a walrus tooth in 1649 (see Shepard, quoted in note 4, pp. 259-61).

²¹ Anthony Ray, *English Delfware Pottery in the Robert Hall Warren Collection, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, London 1968, p. 143 and note 7 on p. 146. Ray mentions the use of the triangular initials on American silver, as well as their occasional use on Dutch tin-enamelled pottery.

²² *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer, Oxford 1935, vol. IV, pp. 389-90.

²³ L. C. Rookmaaker, 'Two Collections of rhinoceros plates compiled by James Douglas and James Parsons in the eighteenth century' in *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 17-38.

²⁴ Klaus Maurice, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-6.

²⁵ *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. 42, no. 470, pp. 17-38.

²⁶ The other persons in this family group are Dr. David Shaw and his wife and Glencairn Dalrymple, daughter of Charles Dalrymple, who died in 1780. See John Shaw, *The Dalrymples of Langlands*, privately printed, Bath, at the Gazette office, n.d. (c.1869-72).

²⁷ Mir Kassim was also appointed Nawab of Murshidabad from 1761-3. I wish to thank Mr. J. Baxter of the India Office Library and Dr. Mildred Archer for information on Mir Kassim and John Graham.

²⁸ John Graham has for long been thought to have been a Colonel, but it is clear from a closer examination of the inscription on the plinth of Fig. 12 that the first word should be read as Collector, and it is probable that the year of his death, 'in the 30th year of his age', is an error, due to either restoration or perhaps to a later addition. For the head in profile is that of an older man, perhaps 40 rather than 30. A John Graham protested to Clive at being downgraded in 1766 (letters in the India Office Library). The same man, perhaps, became a Member of the Board of Trade in 1774. A John Grahaam is mentioned on 14 May 1772 as one of the senior member of the Company *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. IV, 1929, p. 414. Dr. Mildred Archer has published the portraits of a Mr. and Mrs. John Graham by Tilly Kettle, c.1774-6 (*Indian and British Portraiture*, London, 1979, pls. 42-3).

²⁹ J. T. Wheeler, *Annals of James Macrae Esq., Governor of Madras, 1725-31*, Madras 1862.

³⁰ Richard Eltinghausen, *The Unicorn, no. 1 of Studies in Muslim Iconography*, Washington 1950, p. 112.

³¹ *The Indian Heritage: Court Life and Arts under Mughal Rule*, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1982, Exhibition Catalogue, no. 525.

³² Elisabeth Schleicher, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammer der Habsburger*, Vienna, Munich, Zurich 1979, fig. 79.

³³ Sotheby's, 18 December 1980, lot 267.