

Helen. A preliminary payment of £35 was made in September 1801 and further payments in September 1803 for its delivery and affixing on the north wall of the chancel of Wolverley Church.³⁶ A plaster model is now in Sir John Soane's Museum, purchased from Flaxman's sister-in-law, Maria Denman.³⁷

Unfortunately, much of the new material which these notebooks have to offer relates to works by Flaxman whose whereabouts are now unknown. Nonetheless it enables us to fill an important gap – perhaps the most important gap – in our knowledge of the artist's early career. Edward Knight was, arguably, even more important than the 'Earl-Bishop' of Bristol and Derry or Thomas Hope and was certainly more sympathetic and helpful than either to the young Flaxman.³⁸ As a token of his outstanding gratitude Flaxman presented Knight with a particularly fine and carefully executed signed self-portrait. This is now in the possession of Earls High School, Halesowen, Worcestershire purchased from the local Wolverley House Sale in 1945 (Fig. 25).³⁹ It is greatly to be hoped that some of the other six important early works which I have listed – sold as recently as 1945 – may still be in the possession of the original buyers and thus may also reveal themselves.

³⁶ British Library, Business Books, Add. Ms. 39784BB, fol. 22v, entries 11th September 1801 and 8th September 1803 and 39784A, fol. 27v, 12th September 1801.

³⁷ SUMMERSON, *op. cit.* at note 23 above, p. 37, incorrectly ascribed to 'Mrs Samuel Knight'. This is Elizabeth Knight of Milton, Cambridgeshire (d. 1800) for whose monument there is a model in the Flaxman Gallery, University College, London.

³⁸ Cf. s. SYMONS: 'The Spirit of Despair: Patronage, Primitivism and the Art of John Flaxman', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, CXVII [1975], pp. 644-50. Knight must stand as a corrective to this pessimistic view of Flaxman's early patrons.

³⁹ Appendix 2, lot 350. Mr H. J. Wordsall, the present Head Master, thinks it highly probable that the school's Flaxman self-portrait is the same one mentioned in the 1945 Wolverley House Sale since their art collection was compiled from local auctions at about this period. More definitely it is stated in *The Age of Neo-Classicism*, exh. cat. Arts Council of Great Britain [1972], No. 562, that the school's drawing was purchased by Dr J. Ball from Major Knight in 1945.

Appendix 1

Entries in Edward Knight's notebooks, Kidderminster Public Library, Mss. 283 and 285-92, relating to Flaxman commissions.

All annotations and prices are as written by Knight (namely with pound, shilling and pence units separated by a point).

27 April	1779	Jno. Flaxman in part of a fig. of Alesr.	30. 0.0
14 March	1780	Flaxman Junr. in part of a fig. of Alesr.	20. 0.0
28 June	1780	Flaxman in full for a fig. of Alexander	50. 0.0
9 March	1781	Flaxman on accot. for a Chimney Ps.	50. 0.0
15 April	1781	Flaxman on accot. of Chimney Ps.	10. 0.0
26 April	1781	Flaxman on accot. of Chimney Ps.	30. 0.0
11 May	1781	Flaxman on Chimney Pieces	50. 0.0
28 July	1781	Flaxman on accot. of Chimney Ps.	40. 0.0
8 August	1781	Wm. Flaxman on accot. of Carving	10. 0.0
28 August	1781	J. Flaxman on Chimney Ps.	40. 0.0
1 September	1781	Flaxman on accot. of carving	10. 10.0
26 September	1781	Wil. Flaxman on Carving	20. 0.0
3 October	1781	J. Flaxman on Chimney Pieces	40. 0.0
8 October	1781	Flaxman on Chimney Ps.	100. 0.0
3 November	1781	Flaxman on Chimney Pieces	40. 0.0
21 December	1781	Flaxman moulding Lion Frieze	2. 3.0
		Thirteen Casts	12. 14.0
		Jno. Flaxman on Chimney Ps.	40. 0.0
10 January	1782	J. Flaxman on Chimney Ps.	80. 0.0
11 January	1782	W. Flaxman in full of Carving	54. 9.0
26 January	1782	Jno. Flaxman on Chimney Pieces	30. 0.0
1 March	1782	Jno. Flaxman on Chimney Ps.	20. 0.0
1 May	1782	J. Flaxman on Chimney Ps.	20. 0.0
27 June	1782	Jno. Flaxman on Chim. Ps. & c.	30. 0.0
19 July	1782	J. Flaxman on Chimnies & c.	30. 0.0
28 August	1782	Flaxman Junr. on Chim. Ps.	20. 0.0

30 December	1782	Jno. Flaxman on Busts	20. 0.0
3 May	1783	Jno. Flaxman in full	9. 3.0
23 October	1783	Jno. Flaxman (Flora)	40. 0.0
13 May	1784	Flaxman in full for Flora	30. 0.0
6 September	1784	John Flaxman on piping Fawn	20. 0.0
7 January	1785	Flaxman-Piping Fawn in full	50. 0.0
23 September	1785	Flaxman a bust of Venus	25. 0.0
3 November	1785	Flaxman on accot. of Vase	19. 19.0
27 January	1786	Flaxman Drawings	10. 0.0
27 April	1787	Flaxman	39. 10.0
15 August	1787	Flaxman on accot. of Group	10. 0.0
13 September	1787	Flaxman in full of Groupe	60. 0.0
11 March	1789	Freight duty & c. of Basso. rel.	5. 9.0
8 June	1789	J. Flaxman Jun.	100. 0.0
12 October	1791	Freight Duty & c. Homer's Bust	10. 12.0

Appendix 2

Entries in the Wolverley House Sale Catalogue, Kidderminster Public Library, R 71-1974, relating to works by John Flaxman.

G. H. Banks Auctioneer, Kidderminster, April 25-28, 1945.

Inner Hall

350 Pen and Ink drawing in gilt frame of the sculptor John Flaxman by himself.

494 WHITE MARBLE BUST, 'Antinous', by John Flaxman, 2-ft. 5-in., on imitation marble column, total height 6-ft. 2-in.

495 WHITE MARBLE BUST, 'The Emperor Hadrian' by John Flaxman, 2-ft. 5-in., on square ebonised wood base.

Main Hall

502 SMALL WHITE MARBLE BUST, 'The Laughing Boy', on grey marble plinth, by John Flaxman.

512 VALUABLE WHITE MARBLE CARVING, 'Bacchanalian Scene' by John Flaxman (copied from the Borghese Vase), in adjustable glazed Chippendale mahogany Case on stand, 4-ft. 10-in. wide x 3-ft. 3-in. high x 1-ft. 3-in. deep.

Drawing Room

589 WHITE MARBLE STATUE, 'Achilles', 2-ft. 7-in., by John Flaxman, on square ebonised wood base.

602 WHITE MARBLE SCULPTURE, 'Venus and Cupid' 2-ft. 4-in. high by John Flaxman, on square ebonised wood base.

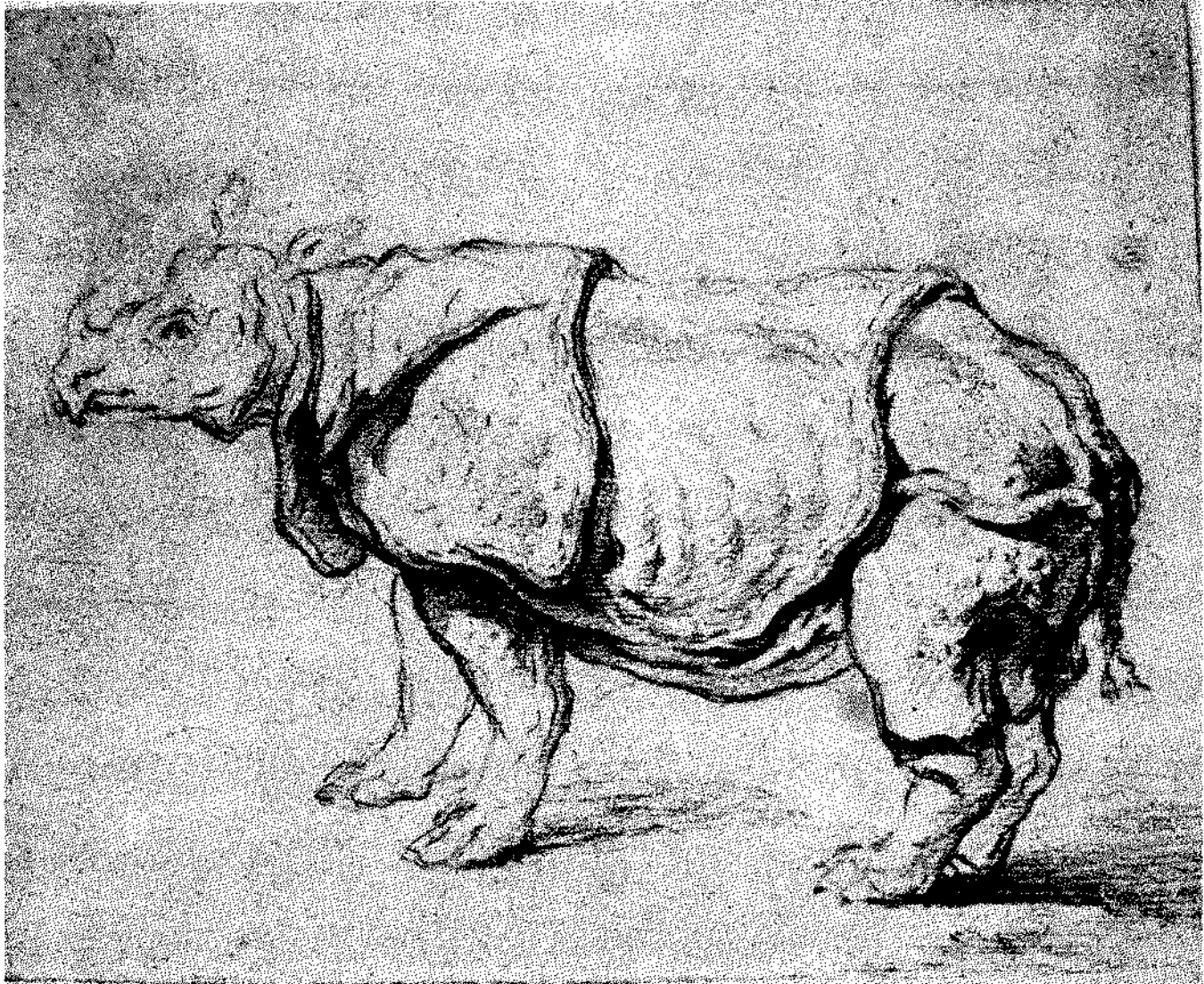
Shorter Notices

Two rhinoceros drawings re-attributed

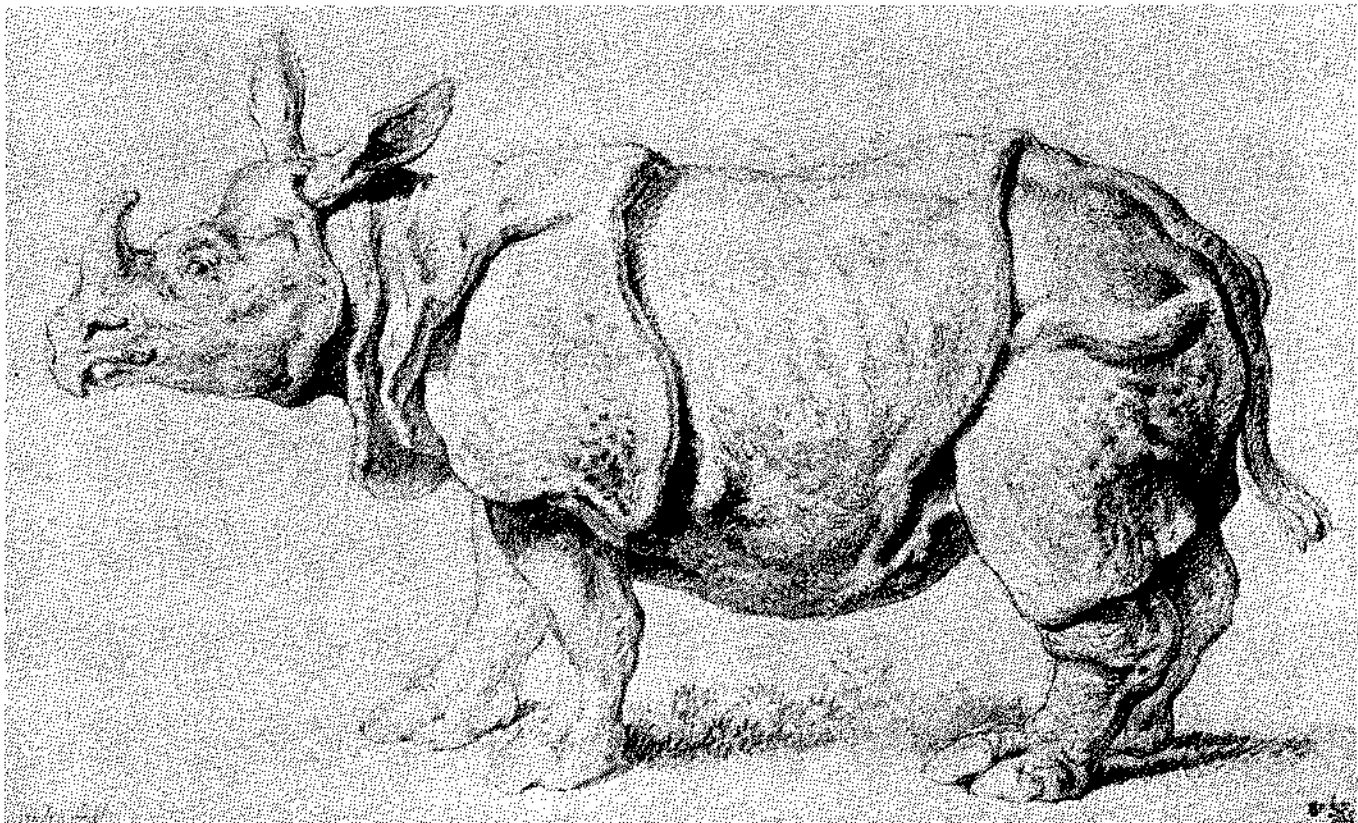
BY T. H. CLARKE

EUROPEAN drawings of the live Indian rhinoceros are of extreme rarity before 1739, when London welcomed its second living specimen.¹ That there had been earlier drawings from the life can be deduced from the woodcuts of 1515 by Dürer and Burgkmair, both based on a drawing sent from Lisbon; and the same is true of the rare print of 1586 by Philip Galle, inspired by a drawing from Madrid. But none of these has survived. The sole exception is an unpublished water-colour in a volume of dated and signed drawings almost certainly prepared for the Emperor Rudolf II in Prague. It was, therefore, of significance for the iconography of this curious animal when James Byam Shaw

¹ The number of Indian rhinoceroses that survived the journey from India was small: 1515 (the 'Dürer' or first Lisbon rhinoceros), 1581 (the 'Madrid' or second Lisbon), 1684 (first London animal), 1739 (second London animal), 1741 ('Dutch'), 1770 (Versailles), 1790 (third London or Stubbs), 1799 (fourth London). See KEES ROOKMAAKER: *Bibliography of the Rhinoceros*, Rotterdam [1983], for an analysis of rhinocerotid literature.



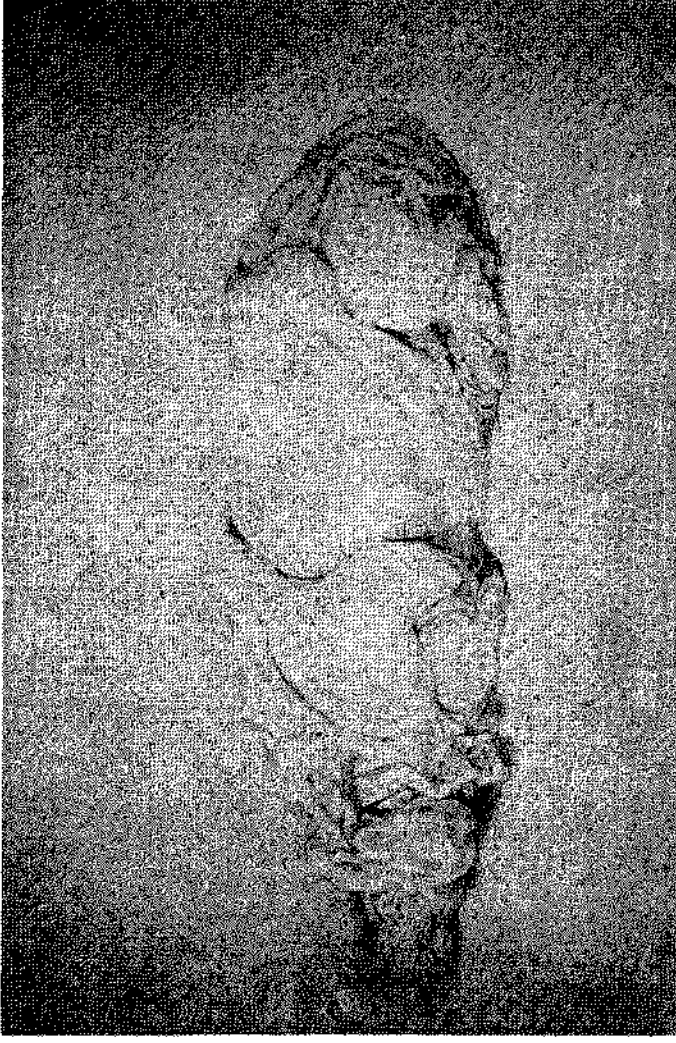
28. *The 'Dutch' rhinoceros in Paris*, here attributed to Jean-Baptiste Oudry, as a preliminary drawing of 1749 for the painting of 1750. Red chalk, 16.1 by 22 cm. (Private collection, Paris).



29. Finished study of *The 'Dutch' rhinoceros*, by Jean-Baptiste Oudry. 1749. Inscribed *Oudry fecit*. Black chalk heightened with white on bluish-grey paper, 27.6 by 44.4 cm. (British Museum).



30. *Rhinoceros*, by Dietrich Findorff (reduced copy after Oudry). 1755. 112 by 140 cm. (Staatliches Museum, Schwerin).



31. *A sleeping rhinoceros*, by Johann Elias Ridinger. 1748. Formerly attributed to Stubbs, here attributed to J. E. Ridinger. Black chalk with white on blue paper, 28.5 by 44.5 cm. (Collection Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia).



32. *The 'Dutch' rhinoceros lying on its side*, by Johann Elias Ridinger. 12th June 1748. Pencil on blue paper, 26.3 by 42.5 cm. (Courtauld Institute of Art).



33. *A rhinoceros standing*, by Johann Elias Ridinger. Signed, with inscription, and dated 12th June 1748. Black chalk on blue paper, 28.7 by 44 cm. (Collection the late Sir John Witt).

kindly drew my attention to a drawing attributed to Watteau in a private collection in Paris (Fig.28).

The 'Watteau' drawing was believed to have been a study of a living animal, but this seemed unlikely for historical reasons. The only such beast to have arrived in Europe during Watteau's lifetime was shipped to London in 1684 and died in September 1686, when Watteau was not yet two years old. Having worked for some time on the Indian rhinoceros and its images, I realised that here was a preliminary sketch not by Watteau but by Oudry. Moreover, it was clearly connected with Oudry's life-size oil painting exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1750.² The attribution of this red chalk drawing is confirmed by comparison with the highly-finished sketch of larger size in the Print Room of the British Museum (Fig.29).³ This is in black chalk heightened with white, on bluish-grey paper, bearing the name of Oudry in the left bottom corner. It shows considerable improvement on the preliminary sketch of Fig.28, which may well have been made in the uncongenial atmosphere of a booth at the Fair of St Germain. Whilst the bulk of the body with its pleated skin is much alike in both drawings, the BM drawing has the head markedly larger in proportion to the body; the ears too are larger and the nasal horn is both longer and thicker. Further comparison of both drawings with the life-size oil painting at Schwerin,⁴ illustrated here by a reduced copy (Fig.30), shows just how faithfully Oudry relied on the finished study now in the BM. Few people have had the opportunity of seeing the original canvas in Schwerin. Described in the catalogue of the Salon of 1750 as 'The Rhinoceros, life size, on a canvas 15 feet long and 10 feet high', this was the largest painting by Oudry acquired by that enthusiastic and discriminating German prince, Christian II Ludwig, Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (reigned 1728-56); at a cost of 800 *livres*. Had it not been in need of considerable restoration, it would doubtless have been included in the Paris exhibition of 1982-83. *J.-B. Oudry, 1688-1755*. The canvas has no stretcher and is torn in places, and although the head seems to be in good condition⁵ the copy (Fig.30) gives a clearer idea of Oudry's original portrait. The Duke had had many of his favourite pictures copied on a smaller scale (in this case one to three). The artist here employed, of local origin and sent for training to Dresden at the Duke's expense, was Dietrich Findorff (1722-72).

The likeness that was drawn and painted by Oudry gained international recognition largely because of its inclusion by Buffon in his *Histoire Naturelle*. It was the first to challenge seriously the image created by Dürer in his woodcut of 1515: an image that is still part of the European inheritance. The Oudry rhinoceros was the fifth to have survived the journey from India. It arrived in Holland in 1741, the property of a retired sea captain, Douve Mout van der Meer. For years it travelled slowly in a special carriage through Europe, beginning with three years in the Holy Roman Empire, before arriving in Paris on the 3rd of February 1749. Later it spent nearly two years in Italy before visiting London. It is this same rhinoceros that is the subject of the second erroneous attribution of a drawing.

In 1971 Basil Taylor published a short monograph on Stubbs in which he attributed a drawing of *An Indian rhinoceros sleeping*

to the English painter. A second edition followed in 1975.⁶ On pl.71 is shown the drawing on the upper half (see Fig.31 here), while the oil painting by Stubbs is shown on the lower half. In the four years between the two editions no one challenged the attribution of the drawing to Stubbs. Presumably Taylor's opinion was based on a supposed stylistic resemblance, reinforced by the knowledge that in Stubbs's posthumous sale in May 1807 Lot 15 on the first day, 26th May, was described as follows: 'Lot 15 Nine Studies of the Rhinoceros, in different attitudes'. The price was £1-6-0. But this evidence proved to be unreliable.

In the study of the rhinoceros in European art, the work of the Augsburg artist Johann Elias Ridinger (1698-1767) plays a significant role in the gradual extinction of the Dürer monopoly: second only to that of Oudry and Buffon. As draughtsman and even more as print-maker and publisher, Ridinger enjoyed a European reputation, particularly amongst sportsmen fond of hunting. He was interested too in exotic animals, and so, when a live rhinoceros spent nearly a month in Augsburg (from 18th May to 16th June 1748) Ridinger made the most of the opportunity of sketching this animal never before seen in Germany. His biographer, Thienemann,⁷ noted that Ridinger made a series of six drawings 'mostly in chalk heightened with white'.

Two of these six drawings by Ridinger were available in London. One in the Courtauld Institute of Art, the gift of Sir Robert Witt in 1952, *A rhinoceros lying on its side* (Fig.32), is exceptionally in 'lead' pencil rather than in chalk and on white rather than on blue paper.⁸ The second, in the collection of the late Sir John Witt, is of *The 'Dutch' rhinoceros standing* (Fig.33). This is in black chalk heightened with white on blue paper. Iconographically it is the most important of the drawings, because it shows the rhinoceros in the normal standing position, and because it was used for a popular print; further, this drawing has the distinction of a lengthy inscription in the bottom right hand corner. Translated, it reads: 'On 12 June 1748 I drew this rhinoceros here in Augsburg after the life. Its height was 6 feet, its length 12 feet, in colour it is chestnut brown, the bottom of its belly and the inside of the folds of the body are flesh coloured. J. El. Ridinger drew it from six sides'.⁹

When the drawing attributed to Stubbs, *An Indian rhinoceros sleeping*, was placed alongside *The Dutch rhinoceros standing* it was at once evident that both were by the same hand, as was the pencil drawing in the Courtauld Institute. Paper, technique and similarity of treatment united the three drawings as undoubtedly the work of Ridinger. Further, there is the documentary evidence mentioned above. It remains to discover the whereabouts of the other three drawings that Ridinger made of the same animal 'from six sides'. These were not necessarily drawn on the same day, as the inscription on the drawing of the standing rhinoceros might suggest. The animal spent nearly a month in Augsburg in May and June 1748, and one cannot imagine Ridinger, if indeed he was not away from Augsburg, waiting until the last week of this visit to seize the opportunity of portraying this most foreign of beasts. It occurs in two views in a print from the *Paradise* set, and again in a large set of the *Thier-Reich*; these may well be based on the three missing drawings.¹⁰

² *Collection des Anciennes Expositions, Salon de 1750*, Vol.XV, Paris [1899], p.17, No.38; HAL N. OFFERMAN: *Jean-Baptiste Oudry* [1977], p.488; Paris exhibition, *J.-B. Oudry 1686-1755*, 1982-83, p.183; and DETLEF HEIKAMP: 'Seltene Nashörner in Martin Sperlich's Nashoergalerie und anderswo', *Festschrift für Martin Sperlich zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Tübingen [1980].

³ Inventory No.1918-6-15-7. (From the William Mayor, Sir Edward J. Poynter and Otto Beit Collections).

⁴ T. H. CLARKE: 'The Iconography of the Rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs', *Connoisseur* [February 1974], Fig.16. Schwerin Inv.No.G.1928.

⁵ Staatliches Museum Schwerin, Inv.No.G.1515. I am indebted to the Director Dr Stutz for making the huge painting available at considerable trouble.

⁶ BASIL TAYLOR: *Stubbs*, London [1971] and second edition [1975], pl.71.

⁷ GEORG AUG. WILH. THIENEMANN: *Leben und Wirken des unvergleichlichen Thiermalers und Kupferstechers Johann Elias Ridinger*, Leipzig [1856] (reprint by N. Israel [1962], here used), p.280: 'No.11 Nashorn, meist Kreide weiss gehöht, auf blauem Papier. Sechs Blatt'.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.280. Exhibited Courtauld Institute of Art, *German Drawings*, 1969-70, No.43; Witt Bequest, 1952, Inv. No.2164.

⁹ 'Anno 1748 12. Juni habe disen/Rhinoceros althier in Augsburg nach/dem Leben gezeichnet seine Grösse war/in das Hohe 6. Schu die Länge 12. Schu, /von Farbe ist er meist Castamen braun/unten am Bauch ind in der tieffe/seiner fallen Leib und Fleisch farbe gewesen./J. El. Ridinger/hatt ihn von 6. Seiten gezeichnet'.

¹⁰ THIENEMANN, *op. cit.* at note 7 above, Nos. 810 and 1027.

Both the Ridinger drawing formerly attributed to Stubbs and the painting in the Royal College of Surgeons were dated to 1772 by Basil Taylor. The drawing, as we have noted, dated from 1748; and it is worth pointing out that the oil painting cannot have been begun until 1790 at the earliest.¹¹ Again, as in the case of the so-called 'Watteau', the reason is the same: namely, that there was no live rhinoceros (in London) available to Stubbs. The picture cannot be later than 1793, when the third London rhinoceros died in agony at Corsham. Another strange fact worth noting is that the Surgeons' picture was not, apparently, attributed to Stubbs until 1930, in a catalogue prepared by the eminent anthropologist Sir Arthur Keith.¹² These and other points will doubtless figure in the catalogue of the Stubbs exhibition due to open at the Tate Gallery on 17th October 1984.

¹¹ GUSTAVE LOISEL: *Histoire des Ménageries de l'antiquité à nos jours*, Paris [1912], 3 Vols. The error in date seems to derive from a remark in Vol. II p. 17, where Loisel mentions a rhinoceros in the Exeter Change 'qui fut exposé en 1770'. This is a mis-print for 1790. All writers have followed Loisel in dating this third London rhinoceros according to the printer's error, i.e. about 1772.

¹² ARTHUR KEITH: *Hunterian and other pictures in the Museum Collection of the Royal College of Surgeons* [1930], No. 9.

Angelica Kauffman's 'Memorandum of Paintings'*

BY WENDY WASSYNG ROWORTH

IN 1924 Lady Victoria Manners and G. C. Williamson published an English translation of an Italian manuscript belonging to the Royal Academy of Arts.¹ This manuscript, entitled *Memoria delle pitture fatte d'Angelica Kauffman dopo suo ritorno d'Inghilterra che fu nell' mese d' ottobre 1781 che vi trovo a Venezia*, is a memorandum of paintings made by Angelica Kauffman after her return to Italy from England where she had lived since 1766. The manuscript consists of a list of works arranged chronologically by month, year, and place, beginning in December 1781, in Venice. Each entry includes the subject of the painting, a description, name of the patron, price, and manner of payment and delivery. In the case of history paintings the literary source is frequently identified. Manners and Williamson described the manuscript as having been written in Kauffman's own hand, and as being thus a reliable source for attributions, provenances, and identification of subjects.² Indeed this document provides an invaluable account of the artist's years in Italy, including information on the identity of portraits and allegories as well as her contacts with clients throughout Europe and England. Since its publication the *Memoria delle pitture* has been a primary source of information for all subsequent works on Kauffman.³

Manners and Williamson believed that Kauffman kept the *Memoria* until her death in November, 1807, despite the fact that

* I wish to acknowledge gratefully the support of a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend which facilitated my research on Angelica Kauffmann in England.

¹ LADY VICTORIA MANNERS and DR G. C. WILLIAMSON: *Angelica Kauffmann, R. A., Her Life and Her Works*, London and New York [1924], pp. 141-74.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³ See A. HARTGUP: *Angelica, The Portrait of an Eighteenth-Century Artist*, London [1954]; *Exhibition of Paintings by Angelica Kauffmann, Iveagh Bequest*, Kenwood, London [1955]; *Angelica Kauffmann und ihre Zeitgenossen*, Bregenz, Vorarlberger Landesmuseum [1968]; C. HELBOK: *Miss Angel. Angelika Kauffmann, Eine Biographie*, Vienna [1968]; D. M. MAYER: *Angelica Kauffmann, R. A., 1741-1807*, London [1972]; A. HARRIS and L. NOCHLIN: *Women Artists: 1550-1950*, catalogue entry by P. WALCH, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles [1976], pp. 174-78.

the last recorded date in the manuscript is November 1798, a full nine years before her demise. They recognized that the list was incomplete but made no attempt to explain the omissions or the gap of time between the last recorded entry and her death.⁴ This abrupt termination of the *Memoria* has tended to create the impression that Kauffman stopped producing works of major interest during the late 1790s or, at least, that declining health and depression, especially after the death of her husband, discouraged her from continuing to maintain a well-organized permanent record of her painting commissions.

The 'literal translation' of the entire *Memoria* was provided by Donna Stella Vitelleschi, who noted that she followed the text very closely, including curious spellings, although she admitted to correcting names where she felt the artist's memory or handwriting were at fault; Kauffman's handwriting is described as difficult to decipher.⁵ The authors added their own explanatory notes, primarily to identify the sitters in portraits, the current location of known works, or engravings after them. They did not, however, provide a complete description of the document's form and appearance or an analysis of its contents. Nevertheless, neither the accuracy of its transcription and translation, nor the reliability of the memorandum as evidence of Kauffman's professional activities and psychological condition, has been questioned.

An examination of the original manuscript reveals several inconsistencies of handwriting, format, use of language and interpretation, which cast the document in a new light. The manuscript is made of bound, unlined pages approximately 36 by 25 cm. (Fig. 36) The first 47 pages are filled with entries on both sides, but the rest of the pages, more than half the volume, remain blank. On the first two pages of this section seven small leaves, measuring approximately 12.5 by 7.5 cm, have been fastened. (Fig. 34) These appear to have been torn from a small notebook and also are written on both sides. Manners and Williamson refer to these as 'odd leaves pasted in', yet they did not specify that they are completely different in size and appearance.

The last date in the bound section is Rome, November 1795, and the first date on the small leaves is 20th January 1796, a space of less than two months. These small odd leaves appear to continue the record of work until the final dated notation on 16th November 1798, although it seems strange that Kauffman would have continued the memorandum in a separate, small portable notebook when so many empty large pages in the bound volume remained to be filled. Other notable discrepancies between the large and small pages, besides size, are the spelling of names of patrons and subjects, the type of information included and the fact that the earlier entries are almost all struck through by diagonal lines, presumably to indicate payment and delivery. The small odd leaves contain references to personal matters and financial transactions apart from the record of pictures.

The most significant difference between the two parts is the handwriting. On the bound pages it is very shaky and uneven as though written by an elderly individual with a tremulous hand, and it becomes progressively more illegible, quavery, and blotted with spots. (Fig. 36) During the years covered by these pages, 1781 to 1795, Kauffman was at the height of her career and produced some of her finest, most graceful and polished works, a circumstance wholly inconsistent with such an unsteady, irregular hand. Moreover, a comparison with known examples of Angelica's handwriting reveals that they are not alike in

⁴ MANNERS AND WILLIAMSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 141, 174.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 141, note 1.