

Intersections

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The Construction of Animals in Science,
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Edited by

Karl A.E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith



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RENAISSANCE MENAGERIES.
EXOTIC ANIMALS AND PETS AT THE HABSBURG
COURTS IN IBERIA AND CENTRAL EUROPE

Almudena Pérez de Tudela
Annemarie Jordan Gschwend

All these beasts Arcimboldo has painted from life [...] Imagine his cleverness; there is something stupefying about it (Gregorio Comanini, *Il Figino, ovvero del fine della pittura* (Mantua: 1591) 44).¹

Introduction

This essay represents the third in a series of studies undertaken by the authors on the artistic and cultural exchanges between the courts of Iberia (Madrid and Lisbon) and those of Central Europe (Vienna, Prague, Graz, Innsbruck and Munich) in the sixteenth century. The first, published in 2001,² constituted a systematic approach to a series of unpublished documents, letters, accounts and inventories dispersed in archives in Spain, France, Portugal, Belgium and Austria. The second essay appeared in an exhibition catalogue of a show held in the Palacio Real in Madrid in 2003, dedicated to the Oriental and exotic objects in Spanish royal collections from the sixteenth to the eighteenth

¹ This article is dedicated to Pedro Fuerte, Master of the Horse of the Imperial Ambassador in Spain, Hans Khevenhüller, and others like him, who traversed Europe many times with wild, exotic animals, large and small, in order to please emperors and kings. The authors are grateful for Paul Smith's critical editing of this text and for his insightful comments.

² Pérez de Tudela A. – Jordan Gschwend A., "Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors: Exotica, princely gifts and rare animals exchanged between the Iberian courts and Central Europe in the Renaissance (1560–1612)" in Trnek H. – Haag S. (eds.), *Exotica. Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance. Die Beiträge des am 19. und 20. Mai 2000 vom Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien veranstalteten Symposiums, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 3 (Mainz: 2001) 1–127.

centuries.³ Both studies made advances into the history of Habsburg collecting at the courts in Spain, Portugal, Austria and the Netherlands, presenting new insights on how collectors in the Renaissance acquired their objects, from where, and how these reached their final destinations. As the century progressed, the exotic component of these Habsburg collections took precedence, assuming the most important area of collecting. After 1550, Habsburg collectors concentrated on, and spent a great deal of time, energy and money, in the acquisition of luxury wares from distant points of the world.

Curiosity collections, or *Kunstkammern*, reflected the peculiarities and tastes of their princely owners. The discovery of direct sea routes to Africa, Asia, the Far East and the Americas in the sixteenth century opened up a global market and a traffic for goods, which afforded discriminating collectors a unique opportunity to buy, commission and collect an assortment of commodities (spices, medicinal drugs, plants, seeds, herbs), luxury goods, furniture, textiles, all forms of exotic wares, and above all, animals and birds, never seen in Europe before. Owning and collecting exotic and domestic pets became part of the tradition of Habsburg collecting in the Renaissance.⁴ Menageries of live specimens, some exotic pets reserved for amusement, entertainments and hunting, became extensions of the *Kunstkammer* outdoors. Menageries with European, New World and Asian animals mirrored in microcosmic fashion the collections of rarities indoors, displayed in magnificent gardens, themselves planted with exotic trees, shrubs and ornamental flowers. Novel fauna and flora reflected a ruler's mastery and dominion over territorial space.⁵ By the late sixteenth century, princes cultivated a garden culture, some patrons more scientific and systematic than others, whereby animals and plants were assembled and planted to dazzle and amaze, as symbols of an owner's power and prestige.⁶ As Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has recently observed, gardens and menageries

³ Jordan Gschwend A. – Pérez de Tudela A., "Exotica Habsburgica. La Casa de Austria y las colecciones exóticas en el Renacimiento temprano", in *Oriente en Palacio. Tesoros asiáticos en las colecciones reales españolas* (Madrid: 2003) 27–44.

⁴ Schleichl A., *Cammerhundt, Schweitzerkue und Tigertier. Frühneuzeitliche HabsburgerInnen und ihre Tierwelt* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Vienna: 1999). The authors are grateful to Andrea Scheichl for permission to consult her unpublished thesis; Jordan Gschwend A., "Animals in Sixteenth-Century Europe" in Jackson A. – Jaffer A. (eds.), *Encounters. The Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500–1800* (London: 2004) 41–43.

⁵ Cañizares-Esguerra J., "Iberian Science in the Renaissance: Ignored How Much Longer?", *Perspectives on Science* 12,1 (2004) (86–124) 114.

⁶ Cañizares-Esguerra, "Iberian Science" 98.

served a political function for monarchs, glorifying them as learned kings deeply concerned with the secrets of nature.⁷

The objective of this present contribution is to introduce a series of unpublished documents regarding exotic and domestic animals at Habsburg courts, the purposes of such collections, the role these creatures played in court life, and their imaging at court in various media. The best artists were recruited to execute portraits, drawings, watercolors, engravings, medals and Flemish tapestries, some of which are illustrated here, as visual records not only of favorite pets, but also as visual records of the patronage of menageries, aviaries and gardens the Habsburgs promoted in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Royal Menageries in Portugal

No other Renaissance court was so altered by the Age of Discoveries than Portugal. The overseas explorations and the establishment of trade routes via Africa to India, Southeast Asia and the Far East – after Vasco da Gama's historical journey around the Cape of Good Hope in 1498 –, forever changed the manner in which daily life in Lisbon was led. After 1500 no other contemporary European court could even dream of competing with the opulence of this court. The strange, the fantastic, the marvelous and the exotic became not only commonplace, but also part and parcel of everyday life in Portugal. Asian animals were the first rarities brought to Portugal by the fleets returning from India.⁸

As ruler of a newly discovered Eastern empire, Manuel I set the trend in Renaissance Europe, by imitating Indian potentates and collecting elephants of state. A rhinoceros from Cambay (the first seen in Europe since antiquity), sent to Lisbon by the sultan of Gujarat, reconformed Manuel as *dominus mundi*, ruler of the world.⁹ On ceremonial occasions, Manuel paraded from the royal palace (the *Paço da Ribeira*) to the cathedral with no fewer than five pachyderms, led

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ Vilhena Barbosa I. de, *Apointamentos para a história das collecções e dos estudos de zoologia em Portugal* (Lisbon: 1885), especially iv–vii. Also Lach D., *Asia in the Making of Europe, Volume I: The Century of Discovery* (Chicago: 1969).

⁹ Manuel reigned from 1498 to 1521. Brito G. de, "Os pachidermes do Estado d'El Rei D. Manuel", *Revista de educação e ensino* 9 (1894) 80–85.

by Asian trainers (mahouts). During the sixteenth century, at least thirteen young Asian elephants were imported to Portugal; some of which Manuel later sent as rare gifts to other rulers. The Portuguese demanded tribute from Asian vassals and the kingdom of Jaffna was expected to send ten elephants each year to Portugal.¹⁰ European rulers vied with one another with requests for Manuel to send them elephants and other rare specimens for their menageries. The most famous of Manuel's elephants was Hanno, a white elephant, which Pope Leo X received as a gift for his coronation, along with panthers for his Vatican zoo, when a formal embassy led by Tristão de Cunha arrived in Rome in 1514.¹¹ The Papal court and Rome's citizens were overwhelmed by the pachyderm, its Hindu mahout, the lavish gifts of Asian beasts and luxury wares sent by the Lisbon court, beside the luxurious opulence and exoticism of the Portuguese entourage. Later Popes kept up this tradition of receiving elephants from the Lisbon court for the papal menagerie, as in 1561, when Pius IV requested Sebastian of Portugal (ruled 1557–1578) to send a pair.¹²

Portuguese sailors brought home smaller animals (monkeys and parrots) as pets, or as supplemental income. Lucas Rem, a commercial agent for the Welser family of Augsburg, in Lisbon from 1503 to 1508, bought 'strange new parrots and long-tailed monkeys' from Africa available for sale in Lisbon.¹³ In 1500 Pedro Alvares Cabral discovered Brazil, a new land called 'the land of the parrots', from where feathers of red macaws and other parrots species were brought to Lisbon. Gray parrots, weaver birds and parakeets came from Africa, large macaws from Brazil, while small multicolored ones (Lories), came from Asia, as did the plumage of the bird of paradise from Indonesia. A profitable trade in parrots and exotic birds was established by the first quarter of the sixteenth century, as Diego Velho da Chancellaria commented in 1519: Lisbon was a place where 'monsters, talking birds, diamonds

¹⁰ *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo 2* (Lisbon: 1962) doc. 2067, 706–711 (letter from the Viceroy Antão de Noronha to Catherine of Austria, Goa, December 30, 1564).

¹¹ Bedini S., *The Pope's Elephant* (Nashville: 1998).

¹² The letter of the Portuguese ambassador to Sebastian in Sousa Viterbo F.M.O, "Orientalismo em Portugal no Século XVI", *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* 12,7–8 (1892–1893) 318. The Portuguese king promised to find a pair as soon as possible, but no record exists of their arrival in Rome.

¹³ Lach, *Asia* 22; Barclay Lloyd J., *African Animals in Renaissance Art and Literature* (Oxford: 1971).

and porcelain' had become quite common.¹⁴ Manuel I created an aviary within the compound of the Lisbon royal palace, stocked with parrots and hunting falcons imported from the Netherlands.¹⁵ In 1514 he offered Leo X numerous parrots from his personal collection.¹⁶ As ruler of a global empire, Manuel's aviary symbolically embodied the distant reaches of the earth: the gray parrots from Africa representing the Old World and the large colorful macaws the New World.¹⁷

*Catherine of Austria, Queen of Portugal:
Royal Link to Africa, Asia and Brazil*

The tradition of collecting animals and expanding the royal menageries continued at the court of Manuel's son, John III (reigned 1521–1557). John's spouse, Catherine of Austria (1507–1578), the youngest sister of the Habsburg emperor, Charles V (1500–1558), assumed a leading role in the procurement of exotic and rare animals for herself and her extended Habsburg family in Spain, Central Europe and the Netherlands. Exotic animals, and slaves, from strategic, geographic points of the Portuguese empire, became an integral part of the spectacle and imagery at her court, as it would at the courts of her relatives. Members of her family vied with one another to obtain the best exotica (animals and luxury wares) available in Lisbon and Catherine proved to be an essential link in acquiring such goods. A great deal of time and expense was invested in the acquisition of curious and extraordinary species – a monopoly Catherine controlled with help of her global network and connections.

A system to obtain these rarities was organized from the onset of Catherine's reign: factors, merchants, agents, Portuguese viceroys and household officials stationed in Goa, Cochin and Malacca were recruited

¹⁴ Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant* 161.

¹⁵ In 1520 Manuel purchased 20 falcons in Antwerp, which originated from Norway. Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo (IAN/TT), Lisbon, Corpo Chronológico (CC) 1, maço 26, doc. 28 (June 13, 1520) and CC 1, maço 26, doc. 64 (September 18, 1520). Also Goris J.-A., *Étude sur les Colonies Marchandes Méridionales (Portugais, Espagnols, Italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567* (Louvain: 1925) 224. Cf. Paravicini W., "Tiere aus dem Norden", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 59 (2003) 559–591, especially 564–72 for the discussion of Norwegian falcons at medieval courts.

¹⁶ Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant* 28.

¹⁷ Bochrer B.T., *Parrot Culture. Our 2500-Year-Long Fascination with the World's Most Talkative Bird* (Philadelphia: 2004) 73.

to aid the queen in her search for exclusive items. As early as 1531, ships sailed in the Far East for three years on behalf of the queen, and, later in 1537, Catherine relocated a valet of her bedchamber, Antonio Correa, to Goa, where he was paid a salary to serve the queen in India.¹⁸ As the queen's agent, Correa was to buy from direct sources in Asia, at cheaper prices, and keep her regularly informed of goods and animals for sale in these markets. Catherine evolved into a merchant queen with a great deal of business acumen, even undertaking overseas ventures to finance her shopping sprees. The assimilation of strange and wild animals at the Lisbon court became an essential part of her surroundings.

She adored parrots and since early childhood owned birds and small lap dogs, during the years she lived in Tordesillas (Spain). Manuel I's parrot culture was taken up by this queen, who obtained many.¹⁹ She turned to resources in West Africa, to buy monkeys, parakeets and civet cats, the latter bred there for her by Simão Roiz, the factor in São Jorge da Mina. In April 1557 he sent a cage with parakeets (*passaros de rabo*) and two civet cats.²⁰ Another official Afonso Gonçalves Botafogo, sent, with another fleet, six civet cats, two monkeys called *bugios* and one parrot.²¹ In a second shipment, Botafogo gave the queen two bearded monkeys.²² Parrots were especially prized by Catherine and her family for their ability to talk and amuse. She frequently sent them as gifts to Spain. In one diplomatic letter, she promised her grandson, Carlos (1545–1568), a parrot that could speak just as well as the one she had recently sent her niece, Juana of Austria. There was one problem: she had to comb the city of Lisbon to find a suitable parrot that met her expectations, could speak well, and was in a reasonable state of health to be transported to Spain.²³ Beside exotic birds, the queen kept an aviary in the Lisbon palace complex stocked with pheasants,²⁴ some

¹⁸ IAN/TT, Lisbon, Núcleo Antigo (NA) 792, fol. 109.

¹⁹ Cf. Jordan Gschwend – Pérez de Tudela, "Exotica Habsburgica" 31, n. 46.

²⁰ IAN/TT, Lisbon, CC I, maço 101, doc. 18 (April 12, 1557). Cited by Barclay Lloyd, *African Animals* 54.

²¹ IAN/TT, Lisbon, CC I, maço 101, doc. 24 (April 18, 1557).

²² IAN/TT, Lisbon, CC I, maço 101, doc. 25 (April 18, 1557). In the latter, Botafogo refers to the queen's simians as *bugios com barba*, which perhaps were apes or baboons often sold to the Portuguese at the mouth of the River Gambia. Cf. Barclay Lloyd, *African Animals* 27.

²³ IAN/TT, Lisbon, Ms. de S. Vicente, vol. 10, fol. 327.

²⁴ IAN/TT, Lisbon, CC I, maço 84 doc. 49, CC I, maço 93, doc. 109 and CC I, maço 98, doc. 30.

destined for the royal table. There are indications she hunted, as her 1557 inventory records bells for hawks,²⁵ and in 1550 she obtained twenty-two young falcons from the Netherlands.²⁶

Some animals acquired by Catherine during her reign, were stabled in the queen's garden of the Lisbon palace;²⁷ a menagerie which symbolically represented her majesty and rule over flora and fauna in Africa, Asia and Brazil. In the Renaissance, theorists believed wild animals tamed by monarchs revealed their royal power and magnificence.²⁸ As a counterpoint to the menagerie, was the botanical garden of the palace, where exotic plants, seeds and bulbs, like tobacco and chili grew, which Carolus Clusius (1526–1609), Maximilian II's court botanist and gardener, visited in 1564–65, during an extended journey of Iberian gardens in the company of two Fugger brothers.²⁹ Strange animals and plants became part of Catherine's self-imaging; the notion that as a powerful ruler she could domesticate the untamable forces of nature. As queen of a maritime empire, few could compete with Catherine's singular position and global network. For reasons of image, prestige and representation, the queen went to great trouble and expense to procure animals few rulers had access to.

She developed a passion for civet cats. This species secretes an oily, odorous musk (known then as *algalea*), used for perfumes and medicines in the queen's kitchen and apothecary. Civet cats and their musk were extremely rare and costly in Renaissance Europe. An adult male can produce up to twenty grams a week. Between 1550 and 1554, Catherine owned ten stabled in separate quarters in Lisbon, under the charge of the Spaniard, Cristovão Carmones, apparently a specialist in the care of such cats.³⁰ They were housed in Carmones's house, who was paid 800 *reis* for the upkeep of each cat over a six month period. These animals were also acquired as an investment, since the queen sold nine, with immense profit, in 1552, for 100,000 *reis*.

²⁵ Jordan A., *The Development of Catherine of Austria's Collection in the Queen's Household: Its Character and Cost* (Ph.D. Thesis, Brown University, Providence, R. I.: 1994) 222.

²⁶ IAN/TT, Lisbon, CC I, maço 87, doc. 34.

²⁷ Senos N., *O Paço da Ribeira: 1501–1581* (Lisbon: 2002) 154–159.

²⁸ Lazarro C., "Animals as Cultural Signs: A Medici Menagerie in the Grotto at Castello", in Farago C. (ed.), *Reframing the Renaissance. Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450–1650* in (New Haven: 1995) 197–227.

²⁹ Carolus Clusius, *Rariorum aliquot stirpium per Hispanias* [...] (Antwerp: 1576) 299.

³⁰ IAN/TT, Lisbon CC I, maço 84, doc. 78 (June 28, 1550); CC I, maço 88, doc. 71 (July 26, 1552); CC I, maço 87, doc. 107 (February 17, 1552). Cf. Jordan Gschwend – Pérez de Tudela, "Exotica Habsburgica" 37, n. 50.

Catherine emulated her father-in-law, Manuel I, giving away rare, expensive animals as diplomatic gifts to impress other courts and consolidate alliances. In order to cement relations with a North African potentate, a pair of civet cats was presented by the queen to the King of Belez, after his visit to Lisbon, whose representative, Ali Açelahui, took home in specially built cages paid for by the queen.³¹ She often surprised courtiers and members of her family with rare animals: one civet cat was presented to the Spanish aristocrat, the Duchess of Frías, in 1552. The queen's sister-in-law, Empress Isabella of Portugal, received three civet cats in Spain.³² To distract Charles V, during his retirement at Yuste in 1557, Catherine made sure he was entertained with a very talkative parrot (*un muy buen papagayo*) and two Indian cats he kept amused with live mice. Her niece, Juana of Austria, was offered four lap dogs in 1566, which Catherine sent with a list of their names and explicit instructions on how to maintain and feed, revealing her knowledge of canines and their dietary needs.³³ This portrait shows the princess with one of these dogs Catherine gave her, *Asicomovós* [Fig. 1], painted not long after its arrival at the Spanish court.

In the same shipment to Spain, an assortment of exotic birds and animals, not all from Portuguese colonies, were included for her nephew, Philip II and her grandson, Carlos: 2 large birds, perhaps waterfowl (the queen called *gangas*, and which ate wheat and corn), a pair of civet cats (male and female), 2 *macaos* (macaws from Brazil), and a small songbird (*pintisilejo*) from Santo Domingo now Dominican Republic, whose feathers changed colors every time it moved.³⁴ The fact Catherine went to such lengths and expense to obtain rarities for loved ones is telling in itself, even going so far as to buy a songbird from a Caribbean island under the dominion of her nephew, the king of Spain. The queen must have monitored the market on a daily basis, well-informed of shipments of foreign animals and birds to Lisbon.

³¹ IAN/TT, Lisbon, CC I, maço 93, doc. 14 (July 18, 1554).

³² Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Casa y Sitios Reales (CSR), leg. 67.

³³ Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, Porto, Ms. 85, fols. 903r–903v. Cf. Bouza F., *Palabra e Imagen en la Corte. Cultura oral y visual de la nobleza en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: 2003) 23–24, who cites an incorrect folio number. The queen advised the princess to feed two of the dogs, which were pregnant, roasted chestnuts cooked with meat.

³⁴ Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, Porto, Ms. 85, fols. 903r–903v. The songbird must have not lived long, as its “portrait” was recorded in the inventory of the prince’s estate after his early death in 1568. Its uniqueness, probably a species unknown in Europe, must have prompted the prince to commission its portrayal. AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas (CMC), 1^a época, leg. 1051, fol. 28.



Fig. 1 [COL. PL. XXI]. Alonso Sánchez Coello, Portrait of Juana of Austria with her lap dog *Asicomovós*. Oil on canvas, 98 × 83 cm. Monastery of the Descalzas Reales, Madrid (Copyright Patrimonio Nacional).

A portrait of Philip's daughters, Isabella Clara Eugenia and Catalina Michaela, painted by Alonso Sánchez Coello between 1568–1569, depicts songbirds beloved by royal children [Fig. 2]. Unfortunately, some of the exotic birds Catherine sent in 1566 died en route, but were brought regardless to the Escorial palace, where Philip ordered drawings, watercolor studies and oil paintings made of them.³⁵ The latter were framed and displayed in his private quarters, alongside others of overseas animals the king had commissioned, such as this study of a monkey, formerly in his collection [Fig. 3]. Few of these bird portraits have survived, however, a sketch of the wing of a green South American parrot (genus *Amazona*) by an anonymous artist, may be one of the birds Catherine sent from Lisbon [Fig. 4].³⁶ The artist, highly skilled and schooled in Flemish and German traditions, rendered a scientific image in the manner of Albrecht Dürer.

The Portuguese queen adored her grandson, Carlos, and could not resist surprising him with a zebra in 1555, the first African zebra imported to Europe since Antiquity. A year later she delighted him with a prize *açor* (gyrfalcon) for hunting.³⁷ She continued over the years to regale the Spanish court with gifts of animals, as in 1571, when she again sent her niece Juana parrots,³⁸ and in 1575, Philip, some small deer, perhaps African antelopes; the king delighted with their strangeness.³⁹

Catherine took pleasure in giving her relatives unique gifts, none more so than when she presented her nephew, Maximilian II and her niece, Maria of Austria, with a thirteen-year old Indian elephant named Suleyman.⁴⁰ This pachyderm traveled from Lisbon to Valladolid, then to

³⁵ *Cartas de Felipe II a sus hijas*, ed. F. Bouza (Madrid: 1998) 89, note 191.

³⁶ Sáenz de Miera J., in *Felipe II. Un monarca y su época. Un príncipe del Renacimiento* (Madrid: 1999) 664, cats. 282–283.

³⁷ Gyrfalcons (*Falco rusticolus*), especially the white variants, are the most expensive hunting falcons. While goshawks, common birds of prey used for falconry, were used mostly by the lower aristocracy. We should like to thank Paul Smith for this information. Jordan Gschwend – Pérez de Tudela, “Exotica Habsburgica” 31, n. 45; IAN/TT, Lisbon, CC I, maço 92, doc. 35 (March 14, 1554) for this bird brought to Spain by John III's huntsman, Antonio Barroso.

³⁸ Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, Ms. 49-X-1, fol. 19.

³⁹ AGS, Estado 392, fol. 204 (El Pardo, September 19, 1575), letter from Philip to Catherine. In Vienna in 1569, Maximilian II also acquired bizarre sheep, each with four horns, through Juana de Cardona. Haus, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Vienna, Spanien, Diplomatiscche Korrespondenz, Karton 8, konv. 3, fol. 4.

⁴⁰ Saurer K. – Hinshaw-Fischli E.M., “They Called Him Suleyman. The Adventurous Journey of an Elephant from the Forests of Kerala to the Capital of Vienna in



Fig. 2 [COL. PL. XXII]. Alonso Sánchez Coello, Portrait of the Infantas Isabella Clara Eugenia and Catalina Michaela. Oil on canvas, 103 × 118 cm. Monastery of the Descalzas Reales, Madrid (Copyright Patrimonio Nacional).

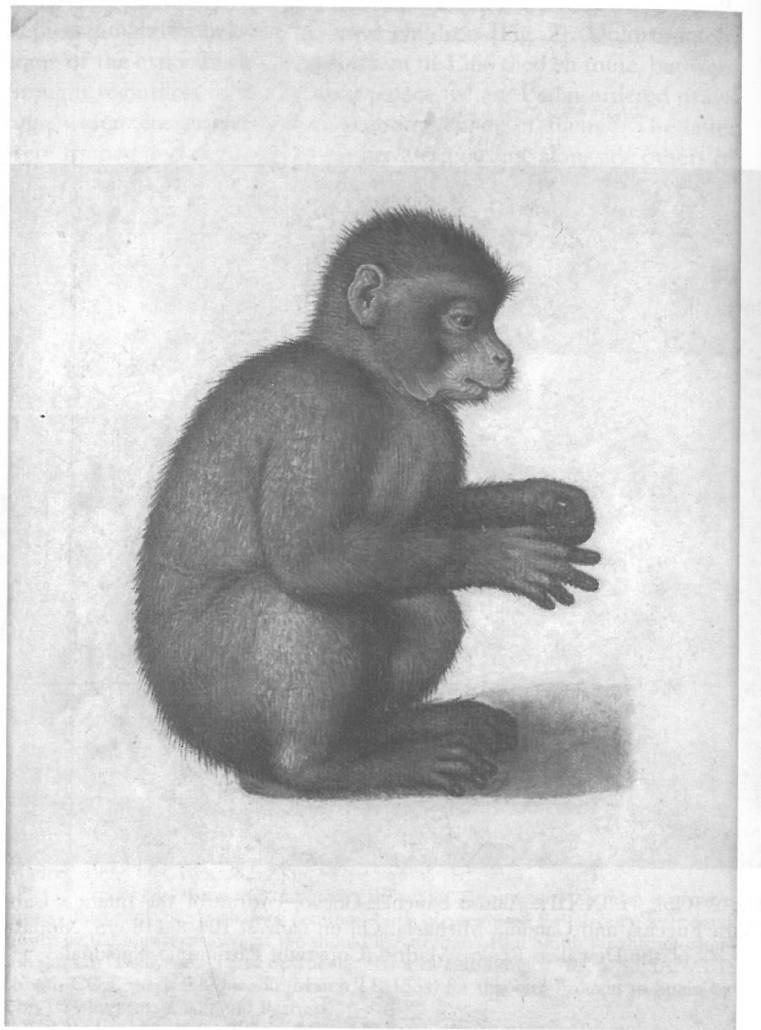


Fig. 3 [COL. PL. XXIII]. Anonymous (Flemish Painter?), Monkey. Oil on paper, 22 × 16 cm. Philip II's Quarters, Palace of the Austrias, Real Monasterio, S. Lorenzo de El Escorial (Copyright Patrimonio Nacional).



Fig. 4 [COL. PL. XXIV]. Anonymous (Flemish Painter?), Wing of a Green Amazon Parrot. Oil on paper, 18.6 × 15.7 cm. Philip II's Quarters, Palace of the Austrias, Real Monasterio, S. Lorenzo de El Escorial (Copyright Patrimonio Nacional).

Barcelona with the imperial party, who sailed to Genoa and traversed the Alps by way of Tyrol (Brixen), triumphantly entering Vienna on May 7, 1552.⁴¹ It was the first elephant ever seen in Austria and shortly after was installed in Maximilian's recently established menagerie at Schloss Kaiser Ebersdorf, just outside of Vienna.⁴² Suleyman, died one year later in December 1553 and a commemorative medal by the court sculptor, Michael Fuchs, was commissioned by the emperor in 1554 [Fig. 5]. A part of his bones were fashioned into a stool bearing the imperial coat of arms of Maria and Maximilian.⁴³ Although lost, a letter from the Portuguese monarchs was said to have accompanied this impressive gift, detailing why Suleyman had been named after the Turkish arch enemy of the Habsburgs.⁴⁴ Thus, through family ties with Portugal, the Viennese court benefited from the prestige of an allied kingdom, whose power, rule and hegemony extended over half the world.⁴⁵

Menageries in Renaissance Spain

During the second half of the sixteenth century, the Spanish royal family also benefited enormously from family ties with Portugal to acquire domestic and exotic animals. When Maximilian II (then king of Bohemia) and his wife, Maria, resided in Valladolid as regents of Spain, from 1548 to 1551, he partook in hunts, and appreciated the falcons sent from Portugal.⁴⁶ When Philip II was traveling in the Netherlands in 1549, Maximilian took advantage of his stay there to request falcons

the middle of the Sixteenth Century" in Mathew K.S. (ed.), *Maritime Malabar and the Europeans* (Guragon: 2003) 153–164.

⁴¹ Lach, *Asia* 144–146.

⁴² Giese U., *Wiener Menagerien. Ebersdorf, Neugebäude, Belvedere, Schönbrunn* (Vienna: 1962) 9–18.

⁴³ Jordan Gschwend, "Animals" 43, fig. 3.13.

⁴⁴ Lietzmann H., *Das Neugebäude in Wien. Sultan Süleymans Zelt – Kaiser Maximilians II. Lustschloss* (Vienna: 1987) 33–34, n. 70.

⁴⁵ In September 1563 another young Indian elephant (eight years of age) was sent to Maximilian II, transported by sea to Zealand and driven to Antwerp, where he was displayed. Lach, *Asia* 150–151; Scheichl, *Cammerhundt* 150–152.

⁴⁶ Minute of a letter from Maximilian to Lope Hurtado de Mendoza (Spanish ambassador in Portugal). AGS, Estado, libro 72, fol. 5v (Valladolid, March 12, 1549), in which he writes Pedro Sarmiento, a gentleman of his household, has brought a falcon from the king of Portugal. A second bird was on its way, and Maximilian requested John III be thanked on his behalf.



Fig. 5. Michael Fuchs, Commemorative Medal of Suleyman the Elephant, 1554. Lead, present whereabouts unknown. Inscription: DISER HELFANT IST KUMEN GIEN WIEN IN DIE STAT DA MAN IN BEI SEINEM LEBEN ABKONTERFET HAT (Photo from Franz Dworschak, "Die Renaissance-medaille in Österreich", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* N.F. 1 (1926) pl. XXV, Fig. 6).

from the North.⁴⁷ He also hunted in other locations, such as El Bosque (near Segovia),⁴⁸ sending the prize venison home to his wife, and he is documented chasing wolves.⁴⁹ Bullfights were staged in Valladolid in these years, where a prize bull was sent as a gift.⁵⁰ Other courts, even

⁴⁷ Minute of letter from Philip II to his ambassador in France. AGS, Estado 504, fol. 63 and fols. 64–65 (Brussels, January 1550) in which Philip sent Diego Pacheco to Spain with eight falcons (4 *jerifaltes* and 4 *neblts*, a white gyrfalcon).

⁴⁸ AGS, Estado, libro 72, fol. 5v. In July 1549, Maximilian sent venison to Valladolid and fol. 2v for the bloodhound he received through Pedro Sarmiento, a gift from the Commander of Piedrabuena.

⁴⁹ AGS, Estado 81, fol. 252 (Valladolid, May 12, 1550), letter from Antonio Sendín, huntsman (*sotamontero*), to Philip II about these wolf hunts and that Maximilian needed waxed cloths for hunting in the mountains, which Philip should buy either in Florence or France.

⁵⁰ AGS, Estado, libro 72, fol. 2 (Valladolid, February 27, 1549), minute of a letter from Maximilian to the Commander of Piedrabuena and AGS, Estado 78, fol. 117

rival enemies, were aware what passionate hunters the Habsburgs (both male and female) were. In 1550, the king of Tunis traveled expressly to Genoa, with the intention of bringing Charles V horses, lions and falcons, in exchange for political favors.⁵¹ With the intention of strengthening family ties, Philip II sent his Portuguese cousin, Prince John, hunting birds, originating from Northern Europe.⁵²

Besides horses and dogs reserved for the hunt,⁵³ the Habsburg courts in Spain and Central Europe also collected in quantity exotic hunting birds from overseas, which differentiated their courts from others. Collecting these New World birds became synonymous with a level of luxury and majesty not seen elsewhere. One monopoly reserved for Habsburg princes were *Aplomado* falcons found in Central and South America. The importation of these rare birds began in the 1570s and soon after portraits of Habsburg princes with their new pets were commissioned, as in the portrayal of Archduke Wenceslaus with his American bird by Alonso Sánchez Coello painted at the Spanish court.⁵⁴

Shipping live animals from their indigenous habitats overseas to the Iberian peninsula was no easy undertaking. Even more difficult, and often riddled with logistical problems, was their transportation from Lisbon, Seville or Madrid to final destinations in Vienna or Prague.

(Piedrabuena, March 10, 1549) for Piedrabuena's response. In this, the Commander writes of the bloodhound and bull he sent, and is to have accompanied the animals himself and served Maximilian as his huntsman (*montero*).

⁵¹ Letter from Gómez Suárez de Figueroa to Maximilian II, AGS, Estado 1381, fol. 3 (Genoa, January 7, 1550). A second visit took place in 1554. AGS, Estado 1472, fol. 67 for the summary of letters from Juan de Vega to Philip II, especially those dated February 18 and the end of March 1554, which relate the visit of the ambassador of the king of Tunis, who brought Charles V 30 horses and some falcons.

⁵² Letter from Lope Hurtado de Mendoza to Philip, AGS, Estado 375, fol. 50 (Almerim, September 23, 1551). The ambassador writes prince John adores hunting with falcons, and he suggests Philip send him a *vuelo de milano*. Also a letter from Mendoza to Philip regarding the latter in AGS, Estado 375, fol. 59 (November 4, 1551). Philip's response to Mendoza from Madrid on fol. 61, states he will send this bird as soon as he receives one. Years later, in 1568 prince John's son, Sebastian, would request from Philip II falcons from Spain (AGS, Estado 385, fol. 147).

⁵³ For more on horses, consult AGS, Cámara de Castilla, libro 121, fol. 22v (Augsburg, May 13, 1551), for 30 Spanish horses sent to Maximilian II's stables. AGS, Estado 505, fol. 74, 1553, for horses sent to the king of England. AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas 124, fol. 46 (Madrid, May 27, 1553), for Spanish horses sent to the king of Portugal. For the quality and quantity of jennets (small Spanish saddle horses) in John III's stables in Lisbon, see the comments Jorge Díaz made to Philip II ca. 1549–1550 in IAN/TT, Lisbon, Núcleo Antigo 871, doc. 105.

⁵⁴ Today located at Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck. Pérez de Tudela – Jordan Gschwend, "Luxury Goods" 17, figs. 8–9.

When the Spanish court could not, or was unable to, fulfill continual requests from the Austrian court,⁵⁵ the imperial ambassador in Spain, Hans Khevenhüller,⁵⁶ took over, helping his royal patrons in their endless search for foreign animals and Spanish horses. He scouted markets in Iberia and overseas, and before definitive purchases were made, sent couriers to Vienna with portraits and drawings of animals for sale.

Animals never ceased to play a role in the exotic imaging of princes and rulers at Habsburg courts, but problems often arose with their upkeep and maintenance. When Philip II, informed his Portuguese uncle, John III, of his desire to own an elephant, a pachyderm was duly dispatched to Spain in 1549, the year Philip took his extended trip through the Netherlands. During his absence, the beast was sent to live with his son, Carlos, residing in Aranda del Duero (Burgos).⁵⁷ The young prince delighted in his new pet, however, it soon became an inconvenience, and its upkeep, with that of his Indian mahout, a financial burden. The expense and cold weather, coupled with difficulties in finding proper food, made the elephant's maintenance quite unbearable. Luis Sarmiento de Mendoza wrote Philip, proposing to house the pachyderm at the hunting palaces of either El Pardo or Aranjuez, outside of Madrid, locations which had more moderate temperatures. Aranjuez would become, by the end of the sixteenth century, famous for its spectacular gardens and menagerie [Fig. 6]. The lion pen at the Alcázar palace in Madrid was just as renowned for the four lions Philip II received from Suleyman II, as was the *Casa del jardín* which housed an Indian goat (African antelope?), whose twisted horns were cherished and recorded years later in the king's collection.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Maximilian II also acquired exotic animals through Marco Antonio Spinola in Genoa, receiving in Prague, in 1567, an ostrich, 3 lions and a tiger. HHStA, Familienakten 88, fol. 88v.

⁵⁶ Jordan Gschwend A. – Pérez de Tudela A., "Hans Khevenhüller, Imperial Ambassador at the Spanish Habsburg Court. Statesman, Art Agent and Connoisseur" in Neuwirth M. (ed.), *Theatrum Mundi. Die Kunstkammer als Spiegel der spanischen und portugiesischen Expansion* (Innsbruck: forthcoming 2007); Jordan A., "Diplomata e dealer de arte", *L + Arte* 20 (2005) 58–60.

⁵⁷ Letter from Sarmiento de Mendoza to Charles V, AGS, Estado 78, fol. 171 (Aranda, November 6, 1549) and Estado 77, fol. 112; Letter from Juan Vázquez de Molina to Philip complaining of the elephant's expense, AGS, Estado 85, fol. 218 (Valladolid, March 16, 1551).

⁵⁸ The exact date of arrival is unknown, but the lions came equipped with gold leashes and collars engraved with the Spanish king's coat of arms. In 1562 one lioness escaped and was hunted down by the queen Isabel of Valois and her court. Amezcua y Mayo, A.G. de, *Isabel de Valois. Reina de España (1546–1568)* (Madrid: 1949) 285–286;

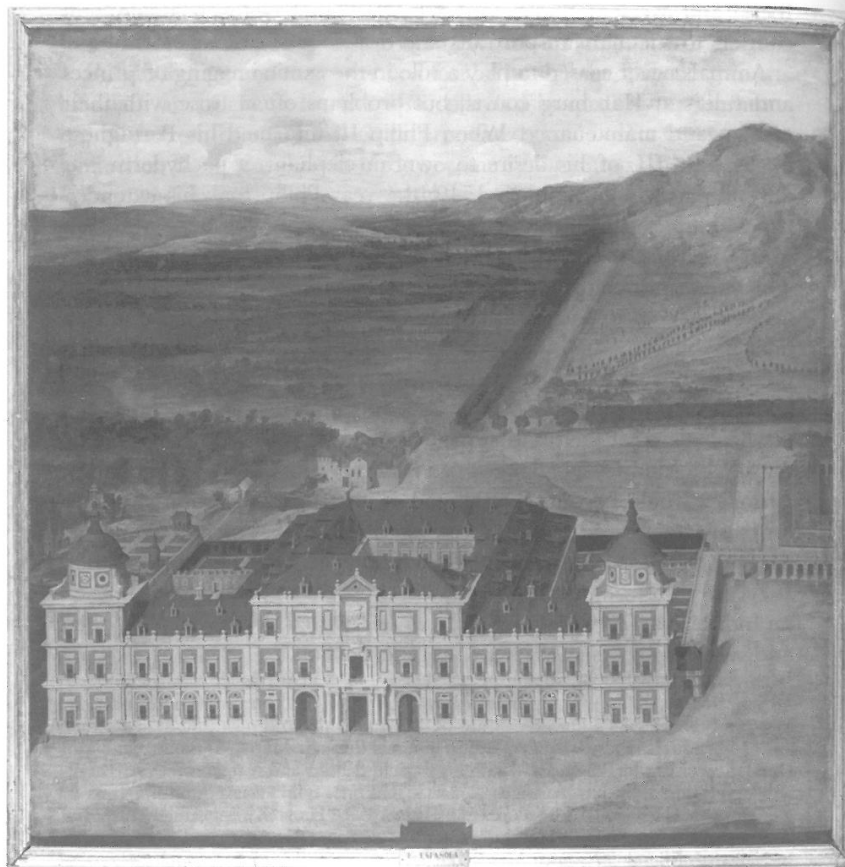


Fig. 6 [COL. PL. XXV]. Anonymous (Spanish Artist?), View of Aranjuez. Oil on canvas, 186 × 188 cm. King's Antechamber, Palace of the Austrias, Real Monasterio, S. Lorenzo de El Escorial (Copyright Patrimonio Nacional).

The impact of the 1549 elephant upon the king's sister, Juana of Austria, prompted her, shortly after her arrival in Portugal in 1552, to ask the Portuguese queen Catherine for a crystal elephant salt cellar from her collection, today in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁵⁹ After her return to Spain in 1554, Juana inspired by the opulence of the Lisbon court, aimed to transform her quarters in the Descalzas Reales convent, she founded in Madrid, into an exotic *kunstkammer* replete with Indian textiles, Asian and Far Eastern luxury goods and exotic animals.⁶⁰ Later documents make no further reference to the 1549 elephant and what became of its fate is unknown. Perhaps, Philip found the upkeep too costly, ceding him to Maximilian II, who took him to Vienna in 1551. Whether this 1549 pachyderm could be the elephant Suleyman is not yet clear.

The 1549 elephant was by no means the only one Carlos received from Lisbon. Later in Alcalá de Henares, where he was studying in 1561, his cousin, king Sebastian, sent him a small young elephant, which the prince kept in his room.⁶¹ If the 1549 elephant created a commotion at the Spanish court, so too did the arrival of a Central American jaguar brought to Seville, from Panama, in December 1550 by the Bishop of Palencia, Pedro de la Gasca (1485–1567), author of a botanical book of the plants of Peru.⁶²

Once Philip II became king, and definitively returned to Spain in 1559, he dedicated himself to renovating his palaces and gardens, modeling them after those seen in Flanders, stocking lakes with fish (carp from France) and swans.⁶³ He acquired numerous pheasants, which were

Sánchez Cánton F.J., *Inventarios Reales. Bienes muebles que pertenecieron a Felipe II 2* (Madrid: 1949) 150.

⁵⁹ Jordan A., "A Crystal Elephant from the *Kunstkammer* of Catherine of Austria", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 87 (1991) 121–126.

⁶⁰ Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, Porto, Ms. 85, fol. 903v. Also Jordan Gschwend A. – Pérez de Tudela A., *Juana de Austria. Corpus Documental* (forthcoming Madrid: 2008).

⁶¹ Carlos had suffered a fall and operation, and was seen recuperating and playing with his new elephant in his quarters. The latter event related in a letter from the ambassador Paolo Tiepolo to the Venetian Senate on December 1, 1561. Gachard L. P., *Don Carlos y Felipe II* (Real Sitio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial: 1994) 76; 86.

⁶² Letter from Francisco Osorio (*limosnero*) to Philip II, AGS, Estado 81, fol. 322 (Valladolid, December 13, 1550). Cf. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero J.L., "La bibliofilia regia en la España del siglo XVI (1504–1558)", in *Regia Bibliotheca. El Libro en la Corte Española de Carlos V 1* (Mérida: 2005) 307–309.

⁶³ British Library (BL), Add. 28350.

sent by the regent of Milan, Giulio Claro, via Genoa,⁶⁴ and Alicante.⁶⁵ To stock his aviaries, Philip bought pheasant and other cage-birds from Bernardino de Mendoza, who owned a garden next to the Puerta de Balnadú in Madrid.⁶⁶ In January 1574 animals and eight pheasants from Genoa were transported to Madrid and Aranjuez.⁶⁷ Other European rulers regularly sent falcons to Spain as diplomatic gifts, as did the Duke of Brandenburg annually,⁶⁸ and Catherine de Medici in 1560.⁶⁹ When more were needed, the king gave orders for falcons to be found elsewhere in Crete and Flanders.⁷⁰ Animals, in turn, were acquired by Philip as royal gifts for the imperial court, and animal handlers were sent along, to accompany them on their journeys from Madrid to Central

⁶⁴ Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Madrid, Consejos, libro 2385, fols. 108v–109 (Madrid, July 3, 1567).

⁶⁵ Letter from Pedro de Hoyo to Philip, August 1567, BL, Add. 28350, fol. 257r, describing 52 male and female pheasants from Italy. Also British Library, Add. 28262, fol. 346, for letters from Antonio Pérez, regarding the same.

⁶⁶ Archivo General de Palacio (AGP), Madrid, Administraciones Patrimoniales, El Pardo, caja 9380, expediente 12.

⁶⁷ AHN, Consejos, libro 2334, fol. LXXV (S. Lorenzo, January 4, 1574).

⁶⁸ AGS, Estado 650, fol. 176 (1561), letter from Joachim II, Duke of Brandenburg to Philip; Estado 653, fol. 2 (October 2, 1565), 12 falcons; Estado 655, fol. 70 (1566) and Estado 656, fol. 14 (1567), 12 falcons. On fol. 60 (Madrid, March 8, 1567) Philip sends a letter of thanks. Estado 661, fol. 22, 10 falcons, and Estado 664, fol. 39 (1570), for a response dated April 25, 1571. Estado 666, fol. 16 (March 4, 1577), 8 falcons. Estado 680, fol. 102, Philip thanks him in Latin for 8 falcons, and Estado 684 (Madrid, January 27, 1578), minute of letter of thanks for other falcons.

⁶⁹ Ferrière H. de la (ed.), *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis* (Paris: 1885) I 158. The king of France had various birds from Northern Europe taken to Spain by his ambassador. Cf. Idem (Paris: 1891) IV 2, for six horses the French queen sent Philip in September 1570.

⁷⁰ AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro de Cédulas 119, fols. 600v–601 (Madrid, May 10, 1552), for a payment made to the Greek, Miguel, from Crete for falcons brought for Charles V's aviary, which the Count of Castaneda bought instead for Philip II. For other references to falcons consult Libro de Cédulas 113, fols. 210v–211 (1546) and Libro de Cédulas 122, fol. 153v (Monzón, October 19, 1552), in which the Count of Coruña in Seville was ordered to deliver gyrfalcons (*neblís*) to the Count of Castaneda for the royal aviary. Equally AHN, Consejos, leg. 4408, fol. 121 (Madrid, October 11, 1578): Dimitrio Cosma, Philip's falconer, solicits his salary for four years, complaining of the vicissitudes suffered during his travels, when he lost many falcons. Also AGP, Cédulas Reales, IV, fol. 258 (1573), concerning falcons from Crete. AHN, Consejos, libro 2392, fol. 28 (Madrid, January 20, 1589), letter from Philip to the deputies of Valencia about his cases arriving in Alicante from Genoa. AGP, Cédulas Reales, VIII, 1591, fols. 247v–248, for bells and accessories for hunting birds, and fol. 535 (1594–1595), regarding falcons Miguel Vinanz brought from Flanders. Cédulas Reales, X, fol. 203v, for Juan Colombo, a Venetian falconer at Philip's court.

Europe, making sure they acclimatized to their new environments.⁷¹ This special care underscores how much these animals were valued and appreciated by the Habsburgs: just as the Portuguese monarchs guaranteed Indian mahouts from Goa with their pachyderms, in order to train staff later responsible in Europe.

The most prestigious animals at the Viennese court were the Andalusian horses from Spain. Philip II owned stables in Córdoba and Naples, receiving innumerable requests (*licencias de sacas*) for breeding and show horses. There are abundant documents concerning the sale and gifts of horses from Spain; some sent as far away as Poland⁷² and Japan⁷³ as diplomatic presents. It was often for political necessity that Philip consented to frequent petitions from Prague for horses, as advised by the Spanish ambassador, Khevenhüller, in order to resolve conflicts with the imperial court. Horses were the only way Philip could attract Rudolf II's attention to state matters.⁷⁴

Philip's children lived in the Alcázar palace in Madrid surrounded by exotic animals as companions, such as parrots and monkeys, which they dressed in court clothes, and for which stands on wheels were supplied.⁷⁵ His daughters were portrayed with pets, as in this 1573 portrait by Sofonisba Anguissola of Catalina Michaela, holding her Brazilian marmoset [Fig. 7]. Thrushes, starlings, finches and exotic birds were not only housed in palace aviaries, but also traveled in cages between residences,⁷⁶ as did the tame squirrels, monkeys and parrots.⁷⁷ Beloved

⁷¹ Rodrigo Morales took falcons to the imperial court and remained there a certain period to serve the emperor. AHN, Consejos, Cámara de Castilla, leg. 4407, fol. 143.

⁷² AHN, Consejos, leg. 4408, fols. 106–107 (Madrid, September 5, 1578): 24 Spanish and 12 Neapolitan horses,

⁷³ AGS, Secretarías Provinciales, libro 1550, fol. 11 (January 11, 1586), letter from Archduke Albert of Austria, Viceroy of Portugal, to Philip requesting 4 horses for the Japanese embassy.

⁷⁴ Letter from Guillén de San Clemente to Juan de Idiáquez, AGS, Estado 703 (July 2, 1596): Rudolf is described as a glutton (*golosisimo*) for horses, owning races of many kinds. He wanted Neapolitan horses for breeding, complaining Philip used to send his father, Maximilian II, six horses each year.

⁷⁵ AGP, Administrativa, Cuentas Particulares, leg. 5220 and leg. 660 (Madrid, October 26, 1582).

⁷⁶ AHN, Consejos, libro 2266 (Aragón), fol. 9 (November 5, 1585), pass for Felipe de Vanomsem, aide of the treasury (*guardajoyas*) to take from Madrid 2 cases containing monkeys and parrots which were to accompany Isabel Clara Eugenia on her trip to Monzón, Cataluña and Valencia.

⁷⁷ AGP, Admin., CP, leg. 5220 (1), Cuentas de carpinteros (after 1583), for parrot and monkey cages made in 1585.



Fig. 7 [COL. PL. XXVI]. Sofonisba Anguissola, Portrait of Catalina Michaela with a Marmoset. Oil on canvas, 56 × 47 cm. Private Collection (Photo courtesy of Rafael Valls, London).



Fig. 8. Circle of Anthonis Mor, Study of a Hound with an ornate collar. Pencil on paper. Sotheby's New York, Sale no. 27760, January 25, 2002, lot22, present whereabouts unknown.

dogs were given special names and collars decorated with the arms of their royal owners. Many came from Europe,⁷⁸ while others disembarked from more exotic destinations, like the hairless Chinese dog Rudolf II received from Lisbon in 1583.⁷⁹ Painters, such as Anthonis Mor and Sánchez Coello, were commissioned to memorialize pets in paintings and drawings [cf. Fig. 8]. Giuseppe Arcimboldo incorporated exotic specimens, witnessed first-hand in the imperial menageries in Vienna and Prague, in his composite portrait heads, such as *The Allegory of Earth*. Juan of Austria, the victor of Lepanto, had himself portrayed with his lion, *Austria*, which he caught in Tunis and took with him to Naples [Fig. 9]. This lion was so tame, it lived and slept in his master's quarters.⁸⁰

Other animals in Philip's menageries included lions,⁸¹ bears, rhinoceroses, elephants, and civet cats. These were housed in royal parks, in particular, the famed gardens of Aranjuez, praised by contemporaries as

⁷⁸ Ferrière H. de la (ed.), *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis* vol. IV 2 for six small dogs from Lyon sent by Catherine de Medici to her granddaughters in Spain in 1570. In 1561 she gave Philip II 10 hunting dogs from Brittany. Amezúa y Mayo, *Isabel* 281.

⁷⁹ Jordan Gschwend – Pérez de Tudela, "Exotica Habsburgica" 31.

⁸⁰ Amezúa y Mayo, *Isabel* 284.

⁸¹ AHN, Consejos, libro 2389, fol. 40 (December 22, 1583), letter from Philip to the Viceroy of Valencia, regarding a lion.



Fig. 9 [COL. PL. XXVII]. Anonymous, Copy after Scipione Pulzone, Portrait of Juan of Austria with his lion Austria. Oil on canvas, 220 × 115 cm. Deposit of the Museo del Prado, Madrid, Real Monasterio, S. Lorenzo de El Escorial (Copyright Patrimonio Nacional).

a terrestrial Paradise, and where the royal family often resided. Camels were kept and bred there,⁸² and Philip constructed a house for ostriches and other birds.⁸³ Aranjuez was designated a botanical center, where specialists could study plants and animals. Certain species were placed there according to scientific criteria, and for this reason, Pedro de Venegas de Córdoba, was sent to Tanger to procure pregnant camels, ostriches and West African sheep.⁸⁴ Jean Lhermite mentions forty camels, 6 ostriches, 1,400 peacocks, an aviary and 222,695 distinct trees and plants in his account of this palace.⁸⁵ The magnitude of Philip's menageries influenced artistic commissions, as in the conception of tapestry cartoons drawn by Michael Coxcie for the *History of Noah* [Fig. 10], in which animals in the main panels and borders resemble those housed in his royal parks. The king, as seen above, commissioned portraits of his favorite animals set into frames, which hung in his private quarters of the Escorial monastery.⁸⁶ Many no longer survive, with the exception of Figs. 3 and 4, discussed above.

In the expectation of showcasing exotic animals in his capital, Philip bought houses near the Alcázar royal palace, in 1583, to stable an elephant sent to Portugal in 1582. When damages were incurred, the king had to cover these expenses.⁸⁷ The crown jewel of his menagerie, however, was the famous rhinoceros, the Marvel of Lisbon, he brought to Madrid,⁸⁸ even though the beast was blind and hornless.

⁸² British Library, Add. 28345, fols. 17–18 (February 2, 1584), letter from Luis Ossorio to Mateo Vázquez about 2 camels recently born in Aranjuez. Also AGP, Cédulas Reales, V, fol. 186, for food (*pastos*) for these same camels.

⁸³ Instituto Valencia de D. Juan (IVDJ), Madrid, Envío 7 (II), fol. 373 (December 13, 1584), letter from Ossorio to Vázquez detailing the construction of this aviary. Fol. 374v for Philip's decision to build it, and fol. 375v (December 20, 1584). An aviary was also built at the Pardo palace (AGP, Admin., El Pardo, caja 9381, 10, 1583).

⁸⁴ AGS, Estado 426 (Lisbon, November 19, 1581), letter from Philip to his officials (*corregidores*) at Cádiz and Gibraltar about Venegas's purchases.

⁸⁵ Morán M. – Checa F., *El Coleccionismo en España. De la Cámara de Maravillas a la Galería de Pinturas* (Madrid: 1985) 148.

⁸⁶ The list includes portrayals of lions, dogs, exotic birds, parrots, wolves, chameleons, eagles and rhinoceros. Cf. Zarco Cuevas J. (ed.), *Inventario de las alhajas, relicarios, estatuas, pinturas, tapices y otros objetos de valor y curiosidad donados por el rey don Felipe II al Monasterio de El Escorial. Años de 1571 a 1598* (Madrid: 1930) 188.

⁸⁷ AGP, Admin., El Pardo, caja 9381, 9 (August 1, 1583): payment made to Catalina Santaclara for damages done by the elephant to her house next to the Alcázar.

⁸⁸ AGP, Admin., El Pardo, caja 9381, 10, 1583, for the house built to stable the rhinoceros and monies paid to the locksmith, Benito Hernández.

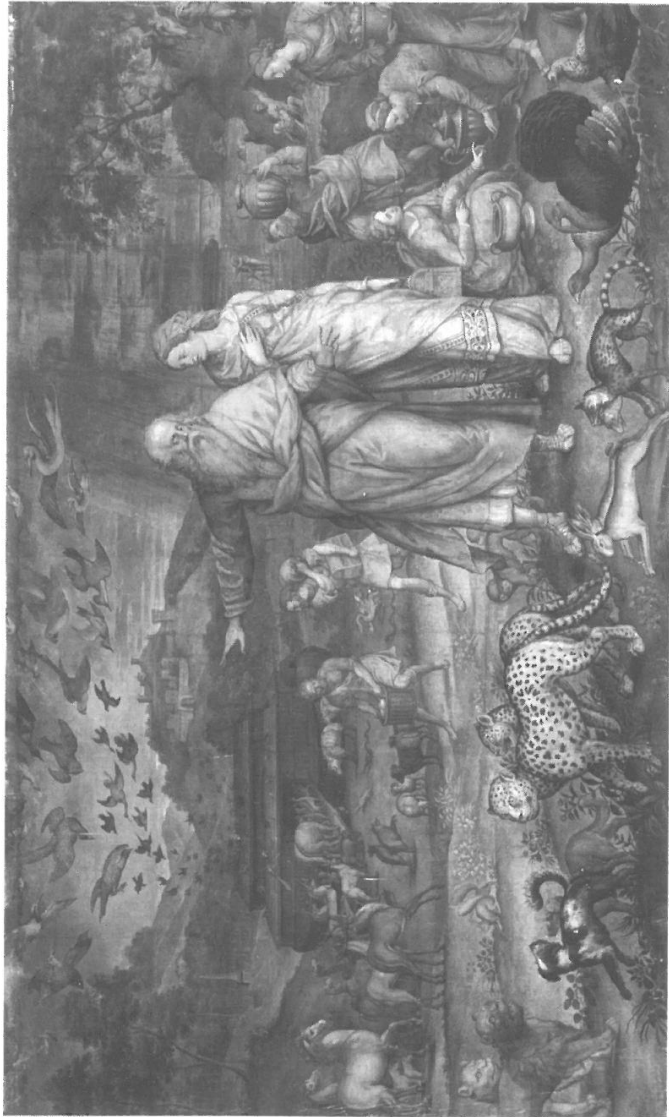


Fig. 10 [Col. pl. XXVIII]. Attributed to Michael Coxié, Embarcation of Noah. Tempera and watercolour on canvas, 290 x 484 cm. Palacio Real de Madrid (Copyright Patrimonio Nacional).

Not long after its arrival at the Lisbon court in 1577,⁸⁹ a diplomatic impasse ensued as Habsburg rulers vied to buy it. Hans Khevenhüller was desperate to send it to Prague, and, in late 1578, it was even promised to Pope Gregory XIII.⁹⁰ The conquest of Portugal in 1580 and Philip's incorporation of the Portuguese crown resolved the issue; both the rhinoceros and elephant were brought to Spain as trophy.⁹¹ As symbols of his new Asian empire, Philip had them put on public display for all to see.

Encounters with new worlds in Asia and in the Americas offered Habsburg courts in Portugal, Spain, Central Europe and the Netherlands unique opportunities to acquire new plants and strange animals. Commerce and trade brought these novelties to Europe,⁹² opening up global markets which royal collectors tapped into with the assistance of merchants, agents and diplomats. The Habsburgs relied upon family networks to procure exclusive pets, animals and birds. The more exotic the animal, the more highly it was prized. Menageries and aviaries became a fundamental part of the imaging of Renaissance courts; however, the empires under their rule gave Habsburg collectors a greater advantage in their acquisitions. Exotic pets colored daily life, fêtes and entertainments, playing a fundamental role in the creation of Habsburg collections and *kunstkammern* after the mid-sixteenth century.

⁸⁹ Morán M. – Checa F, *El Coleccionismo* 107, n. 1. AGS, Estado 396, fol. 61, Juan de Silva to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, June 5, 1578.

⁹⁰ AGS, Estado 402, fol. 14, Cristóbal de Moura to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, October 18, 1578; Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid, Ms. 80, fol. 121, letter from Zayas to Moura, Madrid, October 28, 1578; AGS, Estado 402, fol. 27 (Lisbon, November 10, 1578), Moura to Zayas.

⁹¹ Staudinger – Irblich E., „Naturstudien Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1576–1612). Zur Kunst-kammer auf der Prager Burg“; Irblich E. (ed.), *Thesaurus Austriacus. Europas Glanz im Spiegel der Buchkunst, Handschriften und Kunstalben von 800–1600* (Vienna: 1996) 261–268.

⁹² Smith P. – Findlen P., *Merchants and Marvels. Commerce, Science and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: 2002).