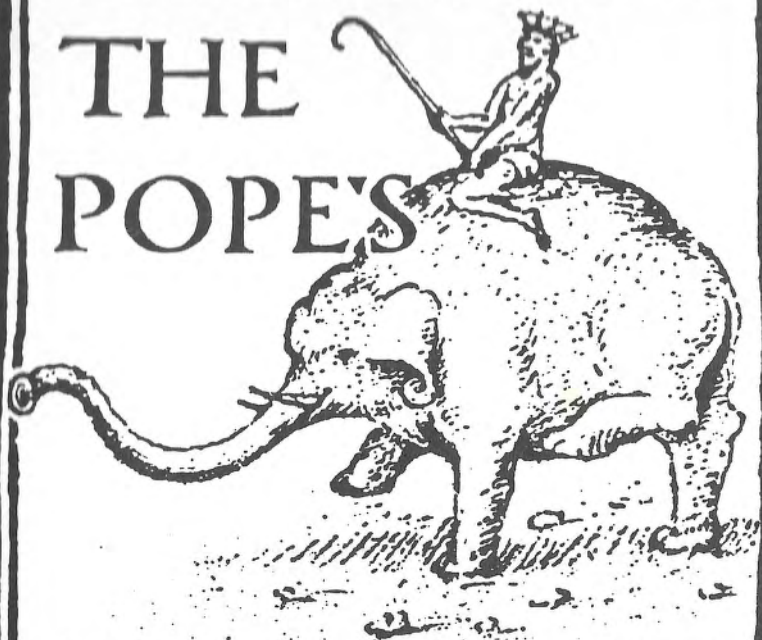


THE
POPE'S



ELEPHANT

SILVIO A. BEDINI

CARCANET

in association with

THE CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN FOUNDATION
AND THE DISCOVERIES COMMISSION, LISBON

CHAPTER FIVE

The Ill-Fated Rhinoceros

*...the sly Rhinocerot,
Who (never with blinde furie led) doth venter
Upon his Foe, but (yer the Lists he enter)
Against a Rock he whetteth round about
The dangerous pike upon his armed snout;
Then buckling close, doth not (at random) hack
On the hard Cuirass on his Enemies back;
But under's belly (cunning) findes a skin,
Where (and but there) his sharpned blade will in.*

Revd Alexander B. Grosart, ed : *The Complete Works of Joshua
Sylvester* (1876)

WHILE THE ELEPHANT HANNO WAS PLAYFULLY DISPORTING itself before the public in Rome, to the amusement of the papal court and the people, events taking place in the Portuguese colonial empire were setting the scene for the delivery of another papal pachyderm to the Eternal City. Although the successful conquests in the East had made it possible for Portugal to assume control of the world spice trade, there was concern over its ability to maintain this valuable commerce exclusively for Portugal. It was Afonso Albuquerque, the founder of the Portuguese empire in the East who had been appointed governor of the Portuguese Indies by King Manuel I, who conceived a grand scheme by means of which he thought this could be accomplished. A critical factor was, of course, the protection of Portuguese shipping lanes and trading posts. As part of this necessity, Albuquerque determined to establish a fortress on the island of Diu.

This important site lay in the territory of the kingdom of Gujarat, ruled by Sultan Muzafar II. In the sixteenth century Cambay, the name given to Gujarat by Muslim and Portuguese writers, was considered

to be one of the major kingdoms of India. Bounded on the north by Dival and Sind, and confined in the interior by Malwa and Sanga, its coastal territory extended from Magalor on the south-east coast of Kathiawar as far as Chaul, with the seat of Muzafar's court at Champanel, also known as Ahmadabad. In 1512 King Manuel authorized Albuquerque to seek Muzafar's permission to construct a fortress at Diu and to obtain assurance that in future the Gujarat traders would be permitted to engage in commerce only with the Portuguese at Goa, and no longer with Egyptian and Turkish traders as before.¹

Albuquerque determined first to test the sultan's response before planning his next move. His proposal for a meeting having met with encouragement, he proceeded to select the members of the mission with great care. They included Diogo Fernandes de Beja and Jaime Teixeira as ambassadors, Francisco Pais as secretary; as interpreters he included Duarte Vaz, Pero Queimado, and a native named Gamapatin, all of whom were familiar with the language.

Albuquerque personally chose the gifts to be presented to Muzafar. Featured among them were a fine dagger with a handle set with rubies, Persian and Chinese brocades of great richness, silver and gilt toilet articles including a wash basin, ewer, blanching cup, vases, a small chandelier, and a gold and enamel chain, all items designed to appeal to Muslim tastes.

The Portuguese mission departed from Goa in February 1514 and arrived at Champanel early in April. From there they made their way to Mondoval, where the sultan was staying, arriving two weeks later. The visit proved to be much shorter than anticipated. The sultan received the visitors graciously and admired the gifts they had brought. He then gave them gifts to take back to King Manuel, including a balustered chair encrusted with ivory. As a gift for Viceroy Albuquerque, he sent a live rhinoceros of monstrous size that was being kept in the sultan's park at Champanel. After the preliminary exchange of amenities, the Portuguese emissaries proceeded with their negotiations – which soon came to an abrupt halt. The sultan was unwilling to permit a fortress to be erected on Diu for the obvious reason that it might be used as a base from which his mainland could be attacked. Instead he offered other sites, none of which suited the Portuguese. Failing to change the sultan's decision, the mission departed on 26 April and made their way to Surat once more.

At the same time the sultan arranged to have the rhinoceros conducted from Champanel to Surate, where members of the mission were to take possession of it. They reached Surate on 16 May and the animal arrived two days later. For the convenience of the new owner,

one foot of the beast had been fitted with an iron shackle and chain. The onset of severe weather forced the mission to remain at Surat for the balance of the summer, despite Albuquerque's order that there should be no delay in their return. The mission was finally able to leave for Goa by sea in three *zamboucs*, arriving at Goa in mid-September. Although the ambassadors had had no choice in the matter, upon their arrival at Goa the viceroy took them seriously to task for the delay in schedule. They remained in port while Albuquerque held a council of war to determine whether or not he should attack the sultan and take Diu by force. The final decision was in the negative.²

After viewing the sultan's gifts, Albuquerque concluded that it would be impractical for him to attempt to maintain a live rhinoceros in Goa. Finally he reached a satisfactory solution – he would send it to his monarch as a gift for his menagerie. It happened that the flotilla of Captain Cristovão de Brito which had sailed from Lisbon arrived in port at just that time. Albuquerque commandeered one of the five ships scheduled for the return voyage for shipping his rhinoceros, probably the *Nossa Senhora da Ajuda* under the command of Francisco Pereira Coutinho.³

The rhinoceros accompanied by its keeper, an Indian named Ocem, was brought on board and Albuquerque assigned Jaime Teixeira to be the beast's custodian for the voyage. He then ordered Francisco Corvinel, agent of the port and secretary of the trading post, to provide Ocem with a coat and cloth costume from the clothing in stock 'which I am having given to him in the name of the King'. Teixeira was also made responsible for bearing communications from Albuquerque to King Manuel as well as gifts for the Portuguese queen, the Princess Isabella and the young prince Dom João.⁴

The flotilla, burdened with its ponderous live cargo, left Cochin for Lisbon at the beginning of January 1515, sailing between Madagascar, then called the island of St Lawrence, and the African mainland, touching upon the coast of Mozambique and then doubling around the Cape of Good Hope to St Helena. From St Helena the ships proceeded to the Azores and entered the mouth of the Tagus River, having touched upon only three ports of call during the long and hazardous journey lasting 120 days.

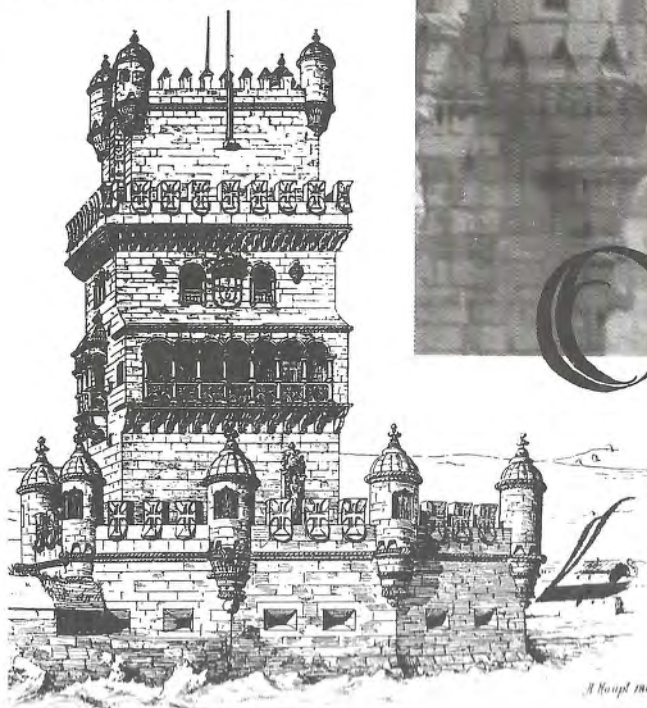
It was an extremely dangerous route because of sudden tempests at sea, uncharted reefs and rocks, and islands still unlisted on the nautical charts of the period. Furthermore, the Portuguese vessels were relatively small for such a long voyage, weighing not more than 100 tons. The ship's food provisions were easily perishable, their supply of water not always drinkable and the holds, as always, overloaded with

merchandise, the weight of which added to the danger.

During the long dreary days at sea the rhinoceros was deprived of its customary nourishment of grass, although it was amply provided with hay, straw and cooked rice. Despite this limited diet, the beast maintained a relatively even temper. It was still in fairly good health when it was disembarked at Lisbon on 20 May 1515, making landfall off the Tower of Belem, on which its image was later to be featured. [23, 24]

[23] The Tower of Belem constructed in the reign of King Manuel I, with gargoyles in the form of rhinoceroses. From *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Portugal* by Albrecht Haupt (Frankfurt, 1890).

[24] Enlarged detail of a gargoyle representing a rhinoceros, now greatly worn by the elements, at the base of a turret of the Tower of Belem.



As the large beast was being brought off the ship, the unexpected sight caused considerable commotion, and great crowds flocked to the waterfront from all parts of the city and the surrounding countryside, avid for a glimpse of the remarkable animal, which they greeted with great clamour and confusion. This was the first live rhinoceros to appear on the European continent since the third century.⁵

The presence of the rhinoceros excited considerable interest not only with the Lisbon populace but also among the naturalists of the time. All that was then known about the species was what had been written on the subject by chroniclers of the ancient world. Pliny the Younger had copied his information from Agathachides, who had written about the African, not the Indian, rhinoceros; consequently the known information did not apply to the Indian variety. For example, the Indian rhinoceros does not use its somewhat short horn as a weapon of attack or defence, as does the African. Instead, it uses the triangular razor-sharp tushes in its lower jaw, which can inflict painful and serious if not mortal wounds on another large opponent.

Rhinoceroses had formed part of the menageries of several Roman emperors. Domitian had two-horned rhinoceroses among his wild beasts and Commodus also had several. In the third century AD Caracalla and Heliogabalus each owned a rhinoceros and there was another in Rome in the first century.⁶

The king was pleased with the surprise gift and the rhinoceros was added to his menagerie and maintained in the royal park of his palace at Ribeira. [25] There the king had installed numerous cages with iron grillework, each designed to accommodate the needs and nature of the beast it contained.

Menageries had been a pastime of the Portuguese kings for several centuries. The first is traditionally attributed to Dom Diniz who had captured a great bear while hunting near the city of Beja in 1294. He kept the animal on his estate at Fuellas, and later added a live wolf. In the mid-fifteenth century King Afonso V imported a large number of unusual beasts which he kept at his castle at Pena near Sintra, high in the mountains several leagues outside of Lisbon, in a region that featured castles and summer villas. It was at Sintra that Afonso had been born and there he spent the major part of his life. Eventually he established a menagerie at Sintra, staging exhibitions there, and from time to time he selected some of the wild animals to present as gifts to friends, courtiers and heads of state. In 1475, for example, he sent a number of wild beasts he had imported from Guinea to King Louis XI of France, and two years later he presented René d'Anjou with a collection of assorted marmots and monkeys as well as an elephant.



[25] The royal palace at Ribeira, Lisbon; the rhinoceros was first lodged in its menagerie. Eighteenth-century view from *Le Roiaume de Portugal* by Van der AA. Pierre (Leyden, N.D.).

Profiting from the Portuguese commerce with western Africa, Afonso's successor, João II, imported large numbers of rare birds and beasts from that region for his palace preserves.⁷

Portugal's active commerce not only with Africa but also with Asia enabled King Manuel I to import a great variety of exotic birds and beasts for his several royal parks. He stabled elephants and other large beasts at his palace at Estãos, and built another menagerie for smaller species in the palace park at Ribeira. Among the first of the creatures to be accommodated there were gazelles, antelopes, lions and a large collection of African birds, in addition to the trained cheetah.

The king decided to house the rhinoceros at Ribeira to keep it separated from the elephants at Estãos. Accommodation of a four-ton wild animal required special new construction which was promptly undertaken. In the interim the rhinoceros was stabled in one of the outbuildings near the Casa da India. With the great beast so close at hand, the king could not resist adding it to his royal entourage as he did the elephants when he rode through the city or out into the countryside. He now featured the rhinoceros, led by its keeper Ocem by

means of a long chain, well in advance of the five elephants with their mahouts and the king's mounted party.⁸

The ancient royal palace at Ribeira was surrounded by great terraces and gardens, covering that part of modern day Lisbon occupied by the Ministry of the Interior at the intersection of the Street of Gold and the Street of the Arsenal. Nearby, on a slight plateau, was the Casa da Mina, built long before the palace, which King Manuel later had enlarged by adding to it the Casa da India. A courtyard which opened in front of these buildings was enclosed with a high crenelated wall pierced at intervals with grilled windows. A passageway from the courtyard which provided a means of communication with the apartments of the king and queen was decorated along both sides with ornamental tapestries.

The arrival of a rhinoceros reminded the king of the claims made in the classical writings by Roman historians that the elephant and rhinoceros were natural enemies and would fight each other to the death. Now at last he had an opportunity to test the legend and resolve the question for all time, in what would be an encounter between humanistic scholarship and the reality of the animal world. The event would provide an unusual diversion for the court, and would serve as a distraction for the queen; who had been ailing and morose for some time since the death of her last infant.

After careful review, it was determined that the most suitable arena for the encounter was the long courtyard extending between the royal apartments and the Casa da Mina. The king selected 3 June, Holy Trinity Sunday, for the event, and ordered wooden fencing to be erected at one end of the courtyard to block off one of the promenades into the city. It was through this passage that the contesting beasts were to be conducted to the site of encounter being prepared for them.

Holy Trinity Sunday dawned with clear skies and pleasant weather. As the hour for the great contest approached, the makeshift theatre area of the courtyard was thronged with courtiers, ladies of the queen's entourage, and invited guests, while many others clustered at the windows and on the terrace. The king and queen and their favoured guests assembled on platforms in the courtyard constructed for the occasion. The days of the Colosseum and the Roman Empire seemed to have returned. The spectators chattered somewhat nervously amongst themselves as they waited expectantly for the bloodshed they had been promised, aware of possible danger to themselves and uncertain of what would occur.

The first contestant to arrive was the rhinoceros accompanied by

Ocem, who led his charge by the chain attached to its foot. The beast appeared calm and docile as it was conducted behind a makeshift screen of rugs draped to extend between the royal boxes. It was considered desirable to conceal the rhinoceros from the elephant until all preparations had been completed.

The youngest of several elephants maintained in the state stables of the palace at Estãos had been selected to be the second contestant. As the designated hour approached, its Indian mahout conducted it through the city to the palace. The streets along the route were filled with townspeople, clamouring and shouting in the holiday atmosphere of the day. Unaccustomed to noise and fearful of so many people approaching it from all sides, the terrified young beast finally arrived at the entrance to the courtyard in a state of considerable nervousness.

All was at last in readiness, and the king gave the command to raise the barrier of rugs at the end of the passage. As the screen was removed, the rhinoceros turned and began to move forward at a deliberate pace towards the elephant. Ocem relaxed the chain but kept the end of it tightly in his hand. The great beast lowered its snout towards the ground and began to breathe heavily, the wind from its nostrils making the dust and bits of straw on the ground fly about him as if he were in the centre of a whirlwind. A sense of great power and danger emanated from its slow, deliberate movement.

Meanwhile, as the rhinoceros began to move, the elephant was turned from the opposite direction by the mahout riding on its back, and for the first time it saw the great brute advancing slowly and deliberately in its direction. The young beast instantly panicked. Turning confusedly around and around, it sought to escape the path of the rhinoceros, trumpeting hysterically and flaying its trunk from side to side.

As the rhinoceros continued to approach menacingly with measured tread, the elephant lost its courage and its head completely. In addition to its lack of experience, its youth and much smaller size were undoubtedly factors contributing to its reaction, for it was no more than eight palms (some five feet) in height.

Now totally out of control, the elephant turned abruptly, and raced towards one of the grilled openings in the wall near the door of the courtyard at the corner that overlooked the palace buildings. Without pausing an instant, it thrust its great head against the iron grill with such force that the iron bars snapped and twisted, two at a single stroke. This was no mean feat, for the bars were made of wrought iron each eight inches thick.

The bewildered and terrified mahout mounted on the elephant's

back acted with an instinctive sense of self-preservation. He threw himself to the ground behind the beast, otherwise he would have been crushed in the elephant's thundering charge. As soon as the poor young animal, crazed with fright, had created an opening in the wall, it charged through the falling rubble and made its escape amidst thick clouds of dust and the sound of the crumbling barrier.

Emerging violently from the courtyard, the elephant took a disordered course along the streets, instinctively directing itself towards the royal stables at Estãos. Startled horsemen and pedestrians scrambled out of its way, but the beast took no notice of them as it rushed along with great leaps and bounds. Its occasional distressed trumpetings brought curiosity seekers in numbers to witness its escape through the barrage of street dust it stirred up and which rose behind it.

Meanwhile in the courtyard the rhinoceros roved the enclosure with an air of assurance, Ocem trailing watchfully behind it. From time to time the beast looked up to gaze curiously at the spectators, who were laughing uproariously and applauding the lone victor in a battle won by default, without striking a single blow.⁹

It was a richly symbolic moment; the reality of animals which had been described centuries ago brought into a face-to-face encounter. The event, arising from morbid curiosity, illustrates the casual cruelty of the times. That, however, was to be frustrated: the unhappy elephant managed to escape, to the disappointment of those who had come to witness its bloody death.

The excitement in Lisbon caused by the advent of the rhinoceros and the discussion on all sides of the inconclusive tournament of the pachyderms brought news of the great beast to other parts of Portugal and filtered to other countries by word of visitors to the court and through the commercial sector from traders in the city. At this time a number of German merchants and other businessmen formed a sizeable foreign colony in the Portuguese capital. Not long before it had included the German navigator and cosmographer Martin Behaim. There was a regular flow of commercial communication between Lisbon-based German or Portuguese traders and commercial centres abroad, such as Nuremberg and Antwerp and other cities of the Low Countries.

A notable member of the German community in Lisbon was Valentim Fernandes, a native of Moravia who had performed a number of important services for Portugal. In a letter written between 3 June and 1 July 1515, less than six weeks after the arrival of the rhinoceros, Fernandes furnished an account of it in German to an unidentified merchant in Nuremberg whom he addressed as 'my

dearest brother'. He described the disembarkation of the rhinoceros, and then went on to include descriptions of India and the kingdom of Cambay from which the beast had been brought, as well a number of other cities in India, and of the Portuguese achievements in that land. The original letter does not survive, but a copy translated into Italian was preserved and later published. This letter provides the exact date of the rhinoceros's arrival and an account of the combat with the elephant:

On the 20th of this month of May 1515 there arrived here in Lisbon, the most noble city of all Portugal, an animal called Rhynoceros by the Greeks and Ganda by the Indians sent by a powerful king of India of the City of Cambay as a gift to this most serene king of Portugal, which animal at the time of the Romans as Pliny has said, Pompey the Great in his games, demonstrated in the circus with other diverse animals; this Rhynoceros which is said to have a horn on its nose and to be the enemy of the elephant, and having to fight it is said to sharpen its horn on a rock and in battle attempts to wound its enemy in the stomach since that is the most weak and tender spot, and it is said to be as long as an elephant but having shorter legs and to be of the same colour as boxwood.

*And this is what Strabo says which is in accordance with what we have seen and mostly about its enmity for the elephant. On the feast day of the Holy Trinity an elephant was confined in a certain area near the King's palace and the above mentioned Rhynoceros being led to the same place; I observed immediately that when the said elephant first saw the Rhynoceros it began in a great furor to escape, and running towards a window barred with great iron rods as thick as a man's arm it took them between its teeth and shattered them...*¹⁰

At about the same time, a second letter was sent from Lisbon to the merchant community in Nuremberg describing the rhinoceros and enclosing a sketch of it. Although the writer and recipient are unidentified, it is probable that the writer was a Portuguese writing in German:

On the first of May 151- [year unreadable] there was sent to our King of Portugal coming from the East Indies to Lisbon, a live animal, called a rhinoceros. In order to give you an idea of the strangeness of this beast, I am sending you a sketch. It has the colour of a toad, it is extremely massive and covered with scales. It has the shape of an elephant, but lower in some parts, and is its mortal enemy. On the anterior part of the muzzle it bears a horn which is strong and sharp, and when it approaches an elephant to fight with it, it sharpens its horn on the stones and in running towards it, puts its head down in front of its paws where the elephant has the skin least protected and where it can rend it. The elephant greatly fears the rhinoceros because it can always wound it, and it is on the other hand well protected, and is very agile and malicious. The

animal is called *Rhinoceros* in Greek and Latin and *Ganda* in India.¹¹

Although there are pronounced similarities in both letters, they were none the less independent communications. The sketch enclosed with the second letter was the work of an unidentified competent artist of Lisbon. Both the second letter and sketch came into the hands of the noted Nuremberg artist Albrecht Dürer, who at this time had reached the peak of his career. It is not known whether the letter was addressed directly to him; it is more than likely that it was passed along to him with the sketch by an acquaintance. In any case, Dürer made a pen-and-ink copy of the original drawing and copied the relevant descriptive passage in German on the border of his copy:

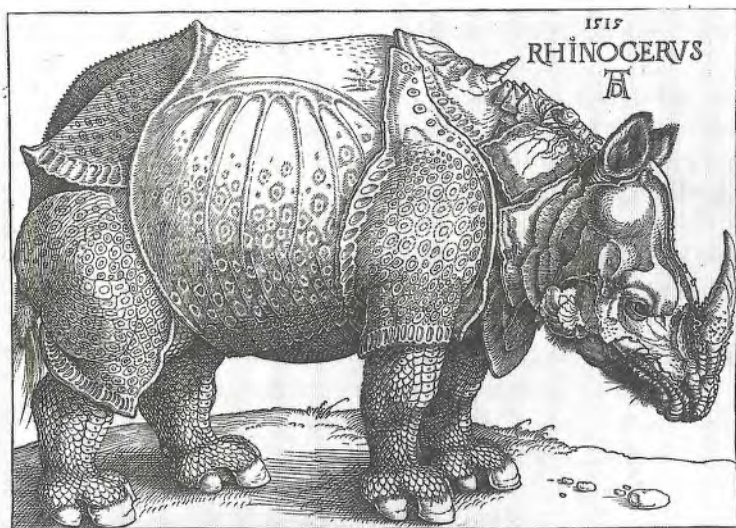
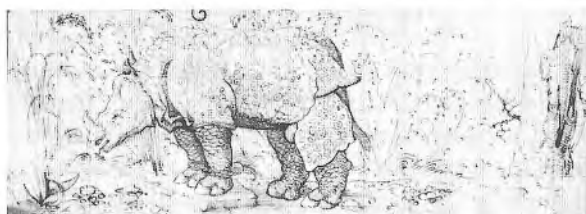
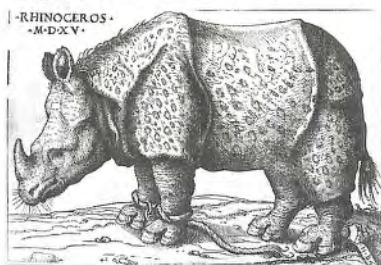
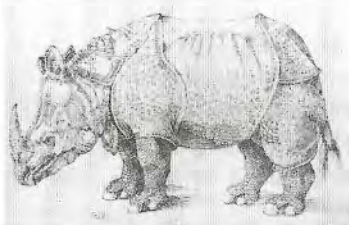
*In the year 1513 [sic] upon the 1 day of May there was brought to our King at Lisbon such a living Beast from the East-Indies that is called a Rhinoceronte. Therefore on account of its Wonderfulness I thought myself obliged to send you the Representation of it. It hath the colour of a Toad, and is close covered over with thick Scales. It is in size like an Elephant but lower and is an Elephant's deadly enemy...*¹²

The error in date which occurred in the original letter was perpetuated in the text copied on the sketch. Dürer proceeded to make another drawing from the original, inscribing it 'Rhinoceron 1515'. He subsequently produced a woodcut in which he reversed the position of the beast and changed the inscription to '1515 / Rhinoceros'. This woodcut was to become the classic representation of the rhinoceros for the next several centuries and was widely reproduced and copied by other artists. [26a and 26d]

At approximately the same time, another woodcut of King Manuel's rhinoceros appeared. It was the work of the contemporary Augsburg painter and engraver, Hans Burgkmair. His representation is considered more realistic than Dürer's because the detail included (such as the rope and chain with which the beast's forefeet were tied) lends plausibility. [26b]

Whether Burgkmair received a sketch of the beast from a correspondent in Lisbon as had Dürer, or whether he personally viewed the rhinoceros, cannot be determined. Fernandes had communicated with the humanist Konrad Peutinger as well as merchants in Nuremberg. Burgkmair was in frequent communication with Portuguese traders and voyagers to the Indies, as demonstrated by the series of woodcuts he had produced in 1508 depicting the peoples and domesticated animals of Africa and Asia. Burgkmair's woodcut of the rhinoceros apparently received little circulation, however, for only a single copy has survived.¹³

A third contemporary and equally interesting drawing of the



[26] Representations of the rhinoceros based upon contemporary reports and drawings received from Lisbon: [a] drawing by Albrecht Dürer, Nuremberg, 1515. Pen and ink on paper. In the British Museum. [b] Woodcut by Hans Burgkmair, Augsburg 1515. In the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna. [c] Sketch, probably by Albrecht Altdorfer, appearing at the bottom of a page of the prayer book of Emperor Maximilian I. Red ink on paper. In the Bibliothèque Municipale de Besançon. [d] Woodcut by Albrecht Dürer, 1515. In the British Museum.

Lisbon rhinoceros is known, an original sketch executed in red ink at the bottom of one of the marginal illustrations in the prayerbook of Emperor Maximilian I. The beast is standing on a flat rock, its forefeet apparently shackled with chains, shown against a background of plants and an old tree stump.¹⁴ [26c]

In an inscription obviously of later date, is the monogram of Albrecht Altdorfer of Regensburg, one of the 'little masters'. Although Altdorfer's style generally resembled that of Dürer with whom he had studied, the prayerbook drawing of the rhinoceros has much more in common with the woodcut by Burgkmair.¹⁵

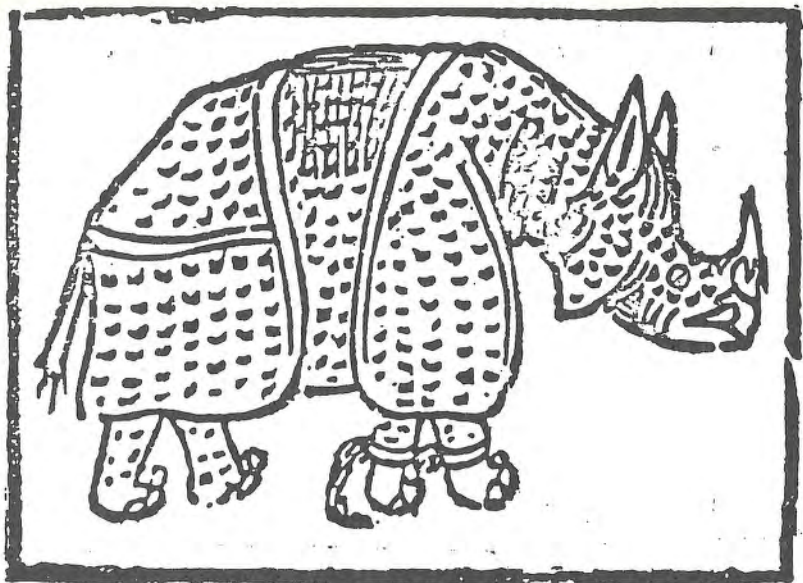
It was not long after its arrival in Lisbon that the presence of the rhinoceros became known in Italy. Less than two months after its disembarkation, a four-page pamphlet in verse was published in Rome on *The Form, Nature and Habits of the Rhinoceros which was brought to Portugal by the Captain of the King's Fleet and other beautiful items brought from the islands newly discovered*. It was the work of Giovanni Giacomo Penni, a Florentine physician and poet of indifferent talents who had come to Rome at the time of Leo's election. The pamphlet reflected the considerable interest in the exploration and exploitation of the new worlds and the treasures they contained which flourished throughout Europe and particularly in Italy.¹⁶

Penni's rhymes first described 'the victory of the most serene and invincible Manuel, King of Portugal, against the Moors, and the capture of Azamor and of Almedina and other lands in the kingdom of Morocco', apparently based on Pacheco's oration and using the same title. Penni seemed to be well-informed of details concerning the Portuguese fleet that arrived at Lisbon at the end of May 1515 with its three shiploads of spices. He noted that Albuquerque had sent gifts not only to the Portuguese queen but also to the prince and princess, and he described them, as well as gifts for certain courtiers.

Penni had not personally observed the rhinoceros, however, nor was he familiar with the woodcut by Dürer, although the woodcut drawing appearing in the pamphlet bore a certain resemblance to it. His poetry left much to be desired, but apparently he had no illusions about his talent, for he wrote:

*Some may say that these verses in hand
Have been fashioned without ingenuity
And that I vituperate the Muse and Pegasus
Showing my talents to be vile and inept.
Perhaps someone may be persuaded
That I with my verses do something worthy...*¹⁷

The pamphlet has a remarkable resemblance to the eight-page publi-



[27] Woodcut of the Lisbon rhinoceros on the title-page of the pamphlet entitled *Forma e natura e costumi de lo Rinoceronte*, artist not known (Rome, 1515). In the Biblioteca Colombina, the Cathedral of Seville.

cation in verse on *The Form, Nature and Habits of the Elephant* which had appeared in Rome at the same time or shortly before, even to the same format and type style and the inclusion of a woodcut of the beast being described on the title-page. [27] A most unusual feature of the pamphlet is that it was published so quickly after the arrival of the rhinoceros in Lisbon in May, appearing on 13 July 1515, less than two months later. It did not include an account of the contest between the rhinoceros and the elephant, however, which had taken place on 3 June. Apparently it was produced in an extremely limited edition, because like the pamphlet about the elephant, only a single copy is known to survive. This copy was originally purchased by the distinguished scholar and bibliophile, Fernando Colón, the natural son of the explorer Christopher Columbus. As was his wont, Colón carefully noted on the pamphlet the place and date of purchase, Rome 1515. It is now part of the Biblioteca Colombina, the library which he bequeathed to the Cathedral of Seville.¹⁸

The increasing number of successes in Portuguese discovery and conquest in the East required that more declarations of exclusive right to the new found lands be obtained from the Holy See. Accordingly, King Manuel sought new ways to ensure the pope's goodwill and to

obtain papal acknowledgement of Portuguese accomplishments, in order to maintain the seagoing ascendancy over Spain which Portugal had achieved in past decades. As the king contemplated the selection of new gifts for the pope, he reflected on his own good judgement in having sent an elephant with the Portuguese mission the previous year. Because of its rarity and unusual size, the beast had proven an extremely attractive gift, and its talented performance made it an ambassador extraordinary, a constant reminder to the pope and his court of the identity of its donor. There could be no doubt that the presence of the elephant at the Vatican was an important factor in maintaining the continued excellent political and diplomatic relations between Portugal and the Holy See.

Now the Portuguese king felt that there was need for another mission, or its equivalent. It was perhaps as much a matter of vanity as of diplomacy. Born in obscurity as the ninth son of Dom Ferdinand, Duke of Beja, fate had cast Manuel upon the Portuguese throne as successor to King João III. Good fortune continued to smile upon him and enabled him to extract the greatest benefits possible from the combination of internal, foreign, and colonial politics of his time. His ships in great numbers continued to travel to and from his Asian colonies laden with riches and commodities of every description, making the court at Lisbon the most ostentatious and glittering of all Europe. Only the papal court of Leo X in Rome surpassed it for pomp and pageantry, and then only in the arts and letters and humanities, not in riches and exoticism.

It is also possible that by now there may have been some concern at the Portuguese court about the costly maintenance of the rhinoceros, which further inclined the king to send it to Rome as his second 'ambassador extraordinary'. At just about this time, when King Manuel was contemplating the sending of other gifts to Rome, the historian Paolo Giovio suggested that the king might provide the pope with an opportunity to match the rhinoceros against Hanno in a tournament.

Having reached a decision, with or without Giovio's suggestion, Manuel then made a selection of other gifts to symbolize the opulence of the East. His choice was a selection of rare spices combined with objects of gold and silver. Accordingly, on 9 October he ordered his royal treasurer Rui Leite to provide João da Pina, 'a nobleman of our House,' with fourteen silver items from the royal treasury. He specified two casks, two small jugs, two shallow basins, two ewers and six cups, all of silver. These were ordered to be gilded and prepared for shipment with cloth wrappings, packed into individual containers. The

whole was then to be placed in an *arche*, a container made of wood which in turn was to be wrapped with packing cloth to protect the contents from the sea air.

The six cups were decorated with images of animals in relief adorned with enamel and finished in silver gilt. One weighed seven *marcos* seven *onças* and four and a half *oitavas*; another four *marcos* and six *oitavas*, and the remaining four were of various lesser weights. The two silver ewers were decorated with *bastiaes* or embossing and together they weighed fifty-four *marcos* seven *onças* and four and a half *oitavas*. A large embossed and enamelled urn with silver gilt chains weighed half as much. Another large embossed vase was studded with enamel medallions, and a hollow basin was embossed and inset with an enamel medallion. The other pieces were of comparable design and quality. A detailed list of the papal gifts forms part of a volume of the king's receipts and expenses for the period 1514 to 1517. Regrettably missing are folios 8 through 17, which reported the expenses of the Portuguese mission to Rome.

Entries noted on five folios occurring later in the volume, however, provide considerable detail about the other gifts to accompany the rhinoceros. Notable among these was a silver cup purchased from Admiral Vasco da Gama and two other cups purchased from Barão [Baron] de Alvito. The inclusion of objects purchased from private owners instead of those produced by the royal silversmiths, suggests that they were of exceptional quality, possibly antiquities, admired by the king. Each of these objects was to be provided with its own fine leather-covered case lined on the interior with velvet.¹⁹

A postscript added to the royal order in the king's name by Barão de Alvito directed Leite to include 'the chain of gilded iron and the green velvet collar with roses and gilded eyelets which we ordered you to have made for the aforesaid rhinoceros [*ganda*], to be decorated with a fringe'. A fringed collar of green velvet was certainly a frivolous accoutrement for such a large savage animal, but the king may have thought that the contrast would emphasize its great size and strength.²⁰ [28]

Another part of the king's gifts stored in the ship's hold consisted of 5,000 hundredweight (*quintal*) of pepper, more than 1,000 each of cloves and cinnamon, almost 16 hundredweight of ginger, and another 6 hundredweight of aromatic nutmeg, almost 700 of ordinary nutmeg, more than 1,000 hundredweight of kevel pepper, and almost 500 of benzoin. This collection of spices represented at least as great a value as the silver gilt items. Although the total worth of this shipment was modest when compared with that brought to Rome by the

$$\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$$


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per voce qui si per una parte di una ...

The first part of the journey was uneventful. The ship entered the bay of Marseilles in January, at the moment King Francis I and Queen Claude arrived there. They were on their return journey to Paris from Sainte Baume in Provence where the monarch had travelled 'to render graces to God' for the victory he had achieved over the Swiss at

Marignano and the conquest of the duchy of Milan. The entire city of Marseilles turned out to greet the sovereigns with great manifestations of joy and festivity. On the morning following their arrival, the king and queen attended religious services in the cathedral. Later the king boarded the galleys that had been prepared for him and observed a great mock battle, in which oranges were used as missiles, that had been staged for him by the captain-general.²³

Learning that a Portuguese ship had arrived in the bay with a rhinoceros on board, the king expressed a desire to see the beast. Captain Pina was informed and he sailed his vessel to one of the several islands in the bay two leagues seaward, either Pomeges (now Cagastacia) or Rataneau (now Lila), and there he off-loaded the animal so that the king could observe it more conveniently. The next day Francis I boarded a galley and led a large entourage of other galleys and brigantines to the island. The visit was eminently successful and Pina reportedly presented the French king with an extremely beautiful horse which he had on board. Grateful for the gift, the king rewarded Pina with 5,000 gold *écus*.²⁴

Shortly after his return to Paris, King Francis dispatched Antoine de Conflans to Lisbon for the express purpose of purchasing elephants and other exotic beasts for his court. He had written in advance to King Manuel requesting his assistance in facilitating the purchase *iusto pretio* of a male and a female elephant and certain oriental products 'which exist in great abundance in Lisbon, habitually being provided from India'.²⁵

The French king had a serious interest in wild beasts, now reinforced by the recent sight of the rhinoceros. Pierre Belon noted 'in the same manner that we keep some small dog for company which we have sleep at the foot of our bed for pleasure, Francis I has had from time to time, a lion, panther, or other such fierce beast which he had made endeared to him as some tamed animal in the homes of peasants'.²⁶

After a brief anchorage in the bay, Pina again set sail at the end of January or early February. Passing through the straits of Porto Venere, they were suddenly surprised by a violent storm that arose a little north of the port at the entrance to La Spezia. The small Portuguese vessel was helpless in the turbulent seas, and was tossed again and again against the rocks of the perilous steep coast. It was totally wrecked and sank with all hands on board. Although the rhinoceros would normally have been able to swim to safety, it was restrained by the shackles and chains that bound it to the deck, and it too was drowned. Later writers speculated on the cause of the wreck. One claim was that the chained

rhinoceros had become frightened and enraged during the storm and had caused the capsizing of the vessel by shifting its weight.²⁷

According to several contemporary writers, during the next several weeks the wreckage of the vessel and remains of the cargo were washed ashore, as well as the carcass of the rhinoceros, which was recovered on the shore near Villefranche on the French coast. 'It was not possible that such a beast could save itself, being chained,' Bishop Giovio wrote, 'albeit it swam miraculously among the sharp rocks which are along the coast...' The recovery of the dead rhinoceros was reported to King Manuel and he ordered the beast to be mounted.

Whether this was undertaken at Genoa or whether the carcass was skinned and the hide returned to Lisbon was not recorded, but the latter is the more likely. The art of taxidermy was still in its infancy in the sixteenth century. The procedure then used consisted merely of removing the animal's skin intact by slitting it along the stomach to the hind legs first, lifting it off carefully and then proceeding in the same manner up the animal's back. The skin was cured and preserved, probably by means of an arsenic compound, then dampened and shaped into the animal's form. The skeleton was not used. The hide was stuffed with straw until it was tightly filled and had assumed the appearance of the living animal. The filled hide was then carefully sewn together and the mounted beast was ready for display. In the Italian language of the period, the name for this type of mounting was *impagliato*, literally meaning 'filled with straw'. The mounted rhinoceros was placed on board another ship and sent off to Rome a second time, much as if the shipwreck had not occurred.²⁸

The earliest published account of the fatal voyage formed part of the first unillustrated edition of Bishop Giovio's posthumous work on decorative emblems and mottoes, published in Florence in 1551. Following an account of the elephant Hanno, the writer noted that the rhinoceros 'arrived at Rome in its true form and size, and this was in the month of February 1515 [*sic*] with the information about its nature according to Pliny the Second, and as narrated by the Portuguese...' This was accompanied by a poem of twelve lines in Latin by the Franciscan Antonio Sanfelice, which Giovio quoted in full:

*I am the rhinoceros, brought hither from dusky India,
From the vestibule of light and the gateway of the day.
I boarded the fleet bound for the west, its bold sails undaunted,
Daring new lands, to see a different sun.
Once my city watched the battles within the walls of the circus
There I was pitted in the arena against*

My enemy the elephant.

He brought to bear his ancestral rage, the eternal

Battles with my kind, trusting in the bulk of his huge body

*But we are armoured with a threefold skin and in our weapons
Mightier than the sword, and with a horn unconquered by the
tooth.*

*The elephant [Barrus], himself falls when he is pierced in the
belly with my weapon.*

Skilful prudence fights brute force.²⁹

The poem, recounting as it does the journey of the rhinoceros from India to the Western world, its contest with the elephant in the royal park of Ribeira, and its 'conquest' of the elephant, might well have served as the descriptive label to accompany the mounted beast when it was sent to the Pope. The Portuguese historian Damião de Goes wrote that as Pope Leo X received the mounted rhinoceros, 'it was with great surprise, and sadness for the loss of the crew that went down with the ship, and of the gifts that the King Dom Manuel had sent to him...'³⁰

The arrival of the mounted beast in Rome was noted also in Angelo Fabronio's biography of Pope Leo X. He implied that the public reaction to the arrival of the huge gift would have merited more attention had it been a living rhinoceros. He reported 'the spectacle would have been even greater, if the rhinoceros, an animal not seen in Italy for many centuries now, which the King had also ordered to be brought to Rome, had not suffered shipwreck (since, hindered by chains, it could not swim) on the reefs of the Ligurian coast.'³¹

The first words concerning the loss of the vessel and its crew and cargo that were exchanged between Lisbon and Rome appears to have been a letter of 11 August 1516 from the Portuguese king to his ambassador at Rome, Dom Miguel da Silva, who had succeeded João da Faria to that position. The king wrote:

We are extremely sorry about the total loss of the vessel we sent to Rome, which was carrying on board an Indian rhinoceros as well as other gifts for our Holy Father, and which has caused us great displeasure. You are to tell His Holiness that it was only a few days ago that we received this news, and of the great unhappiness which we feel, because the animal at the time it was brought to us was so novel, never before seen in these parts, and hardly to be found in books, and because of the manner in which it was sent to us, we appraised it, and the estimated value was more than one hundred thousand doubloons... We thought that His Holiness would accept with pleasure what we were sending with such good will and love and that such had never before been presented to any pontiff, nor seen in those parts. But by reason that fortune had ordered things in this

manner, we hope that His Holiness believes that the presents were intended for him. They were so novel and from such distant countries that His Holiness would have been amused to see them. It is not customary, and in fact not imagined, that we request an indulgence of His Holiness, but now we humbly ask the Holy Father to accept at least our love and the greatest pleasure we had in sending him these things, and that we are always and in every way at his service. Knowing that His Holiness will receive you as we have asked Him, we hope he will understand our sorrow over the fact that he was unable to see such great novelties.³²

This letter raises several questions and answers as many others. As noted by Giovio, the mounted beast did not arrive at the Vatican until February 1516, during the time when the pope was absent from the Eternal City. Following his meeting with King Francis I at Bologna, the pontiff had travelled back to Florence and did not return to Rome until the end of February, after the arrival of the rhinoceros. The confusion attending his absence and return, and the complicated nature of political and diplomatic developments at that time, may well have been responsible for the pope's failure to acknowledge promptly the gift from the Portuguese king. Presumably King Manuel postponed writing about the matter because he had been awaiting some acknowledgement from Rome concerning his unusual gift and, receiving none, was finally compelled to approach the Pope through his ambassador.

The question that remains unresolved is the king's request that the pontiff be told that Manuel had been informed of the loss of his ship, crew and cargo 'only a few days ago', when in actuality six months had passed since the disaster. It is possible that the king's letter was deliberately intended to counteract rumours then current that he had not in fact sent the rhinoceros and other gifts to Rome after all, despite his claim to have done so.

These rumours were perpetuated even to the end of the century. In 1582 Filippe de Caverel, secretary of the embassy to the Portuguese court from the states of Artois, wrote that a rhinoceros was being shown in Lisbon which appeared to be one and the same that King Manuel had brought into combat with an elephant in 1517 [*sic*]. He believed that it was the same beast because the rhinoceros was known to live to a considerable age.³³

Rumours that the rhinoceros had never been sent as claimed were circulated also in Rome at the time of the shipwreck. Three centuries later, speculation on the cause of the shipwreck was revived by the eminent French naturalist Baron Georges Cuvier in his published writings on the species of living and fossil pachyderms. He described

the arrival of the rhinoceros in Lisbon in 1515, and its subsequent shipment to Rome, noting that the beast 'having an excess of fury, caused the loss of the ship which was transporting it'. Cuvier provided no source for this interesting supposition, and his comment was presumably based upon one of the earlier accounts of the shipwreck.³⁴

Despite the scanty contemporary references, the arrival of the rhinoceros in Rome in February 1516 should have merited comment from members of the papal court and others in the city because of its size and rarity. It is true that it was a time of great confusion in Rome. The pope's late return was followed almost immediately by news sent from Florence of the death of his favourite brother, Giuliano de' Medici. The pope grieved deeply for his brother; at the same time he was experiencing considerable physical incapacity due to his fistula, in addition to a malarial attack. These distractions were further compounded by the Holy See's political and diplomatic difficulties, and all were soon to be eclipsed by the turmoil caused by the arrival in Rome of Fra Bonaventura (to which we shall later return).

Although for all these reasons the pope apparently failed to send an acknowledgement to King Manuel, the rhinoceros was not totally overlooked by artists working at the Vatican. Giovanni da Udine was to assign it equal importance with the elephant Hanno in a ceiling decoration at the Palazzo Baldassini, and Raphael incorporated its image in a painting in his Loggia at the Vatican.

The saga of the rhinoceros seemed to have terminated with its arrival in Rome, and art historians have sought in vain for some trace of its disposition thereafter. The missing rhinoceros continues to intrigue many merely because of its sudden disappearance. A search of the collections of the Vatican and all the museums of Rome proved to be unproductive, nor did sixteenth- and seventeenth-century inventories of their collections provide any clues. It was presumed to have been destroyed in the sacking of Rome in 1527, if not earlier. Still, another possibility offers itself: Pope Leo X, or perhaps his cousin Giulio de' Medici after he was elected Pope Clement VII, may have sent the mounted beast to Florence to become part of the natural history collection maintained by the Medici family. Or it may have been acquired for his museum of natural history by the leading Italian naturalist of the succeeding period, Ulisse Aldrovandi of Bologna.

What appears to be a reference to one of these possibilities came to light in an obscure footnote in a scholarly article on scientific taxonomy for museums, published as part of the annual report of the United States National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1892. The reference stated that George Brown Goode, then

director of the National Museum, having travelled widely in Europe, informed the writer of the article that 'probably the oldest museum specimen in existence is a rhinoceros still preserved in the Royal Museum of Vertebrates in Florence. This was for a long time a feature of the Medicean Museum in Florence, and was originally mounted for the museum of Ulisse Aldrovandi in Bologna. It dates from the sixteenth century.'³⁵

There can be no doubt that the reference relates to the rhinoceros sent to Pope Leo X, for no other example of the rhinoceros appeared in Italy in the sixteenth century. The notice of the survival of the mounted animal written 370 years after it was sent to Rome was a most promising lead. However, a search of the records and of the present collections of the five natural history collections in Florence failed to bring anything more to light.

La Specola, the museum of the University of Florence, still proudly displays the mounted hippopotamus acquired by the Medici family in the mid-eighteenth century, but not a rhinoceros. The journal of the Medici natural history collections published in 1775, *Saggio del Reale Gabinetto*, described the arrangement of the collections of natural and physical sciences, 'for the larger animals, such as the Elephant and the Hippopotamus, there are large stations on the first floor for displaying and maintaining them', without mention of the rhinoceros. Nor is any mention of the beast to be found in the correspondence on natural history topics between Aldrovandi and the Medici princes of his time.³⁶

It was reported by one source that the rhinoceros did in fact appear in inventories of 1589 and of 1737, but a recent review of those records failed to find such listings. Nor does it appear in the inventory made in 1782 of the museum's surviving specimens. The search was continued in the museum collections in Bologna assembled by Aldrovandi, again without result. His numerous publications on natural history likewise yielded no clues. A survey of more than 300 of Aldrovandi's surviving unpublished manuscripts revealed a handwritten description of the rhinoceros in the first volume of *Degli animali*, without mention of the Lisbon specimen. In the same volume, however, is included a previously overlooked wash drawing of a rhinoceros which seems to bear a substantial resemblance to the Dürer woodcut.³⁷

Despite the apparent absence of any written evidence of the presence of the rhinoceros in Florence, it is depicted in a painting executed for the Borgherini palace by Francesco Granacci in 1517 – just at the time of the great beast's arrival in Rome. As a youth Granacci had been



[29] 'Joseph Introduces His Father and Brothers to the Pharaoh'. Painting by Francesco Granacci, which includes the Lisbon rhinoceros – see detail, [30]. Commissioned in 1517 for the Borgherini palace in Florence. Oils on a wood panel. In the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence.

a fellow student with Michelangelo Buonarroti in the studio of Domenico Ghirlandajo, and the young men became fast friends as they continued their art studies together. When Michelangelo was summoned to Rome in 1508 by Pope Julius II to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, he invited Granacci to come to Rome to work with him. Granacci accepted and worked with Michelangelo in the chapel for a time. Becoming dissatisfied with the quality of the work of his assistants, however, Michelangelo kept them away from the project, and finally they returned to Florence in great disappointment, Granacci among them. Thereafter Granacci was employed at various times by Lorenzo de' Medici, who commissioned him in late 1515 to make preparations for the visit of Pope Leo X to Florence, for which Granacci executed a triumphal arch.³⁸

Also, in 1515 Silvio Borgherini, a wealthy gentleman of Florence, commissioned a series of paintings to decorate the master bedroom of his palace, now the Roselli del Turco in Borgo Ognissanti, in preparation for the marriage of his son Francesco to Margherita Acciaiuoli, daughter of the prominent statesman. The paintings consisted of wooden panels (*spalliere*) painted in oils which were then fitted to the walls at eye-level. The connecting theme of the eight panels was the biblical account of Joseph in Egypt. Four of them were executed by Jacopo da Pontormo, two by Andrea del Sarto, and the remaining two by Granacci.

For one of his panels, Granacci chose the subject 'Joseph introduces his father and brother to the Pharaoh', which is sometimes entitled 'Joseph and his brother in Egypt'. The artist transmuted Cairo into a north Italian Renaissance town. In front of the steps to a large public



[30] Detail, greatly enlarged, from [29], showing the rhinoceros and its custodian. In the Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence.

building in the background, there appears a one-horned Indian rhinoceros with its two front feet shackled and joined by a short chain, held by an attendant walking behind it. Although executed on a small scale, the beast is depicted in considerable detail.

In view of the date of the painting, 1517, this animal can have been none other than the Lisbon rhinoceros, which, in all likelihood, Granacci had seen. This probability is reinforced by the fact that his drawing is clearly based neither on the Dürer woodcut nor the engraving by Burgkmair, although it has a slight resemblance to the latter. If not painted from personal observation, it appears to have been copied from another source which had been executed from 'life', if the term can be applied to a mounted beast. [29 and 30]

The question that arises is why the rhinoceros should have been included in a scene depicting Egypt, since it had no relationship to either the subject of the panel or the region. It can only be assumed that, knowing of the Medici association with the beast, Granacci added it as an amusing item, as it would have been if indeed Pope Leo X had sent the mounted rhinoceros on from Rome to Florence at about that time. The rhinoceros painted by Granacci has a marked resemblance to the crude woodcut appearing on the title-page of Penni's publication. Although this work was published in Rome, Penni was a Florentine and there may be a link between the two depictions of the beast, leading one to wonder whether Granacci may have been the artist who produced Penni's woodcut.

With a scene shift to Florence, an exhaustive survey of the inventories of the Medici collections was undertaken but with inconclusive results. If the rhinoceros had in fact been sent to Florence by 1581 to become part of the Medici collections, it would probably have formed

part of the display in the Arsenale of the Palazzo Vecchio when Grand Duke Francesco began to make a systematic organization of the collections. It would have remained there at least until some time between 1772 and 1775, when the collections of the Arsenale were dismantled and dispersed.

In conflict with the apparent lack of evidence of the presence of the rhinoceros in Florence is the statement by George Brown Goode reported in 1892 that the rhinoceros was the oldest mounted specimen from the sixteenth century existing in European collections. Had Goode observed the mounted beast on his travels, or was he reporting it from earlier documentary sources? The question remains unanswered and the ultimate fate of the rhinoceros unresolved.³⁹



CHAPTER SIX

'The Wheele of Change'

What wonder that men of the time, carried away by the impression made on them by the capital of the world, spent their whole lives there? However great the evil which may have lurked in the society of those days, still they contained not a little of what was good, which, by the very nature of things, was less spoken of than what was bad...

It is a characteristic of the Eternal City that it possesses the power of attracting all that is prominent in the way of intellect, knowledge, and art. But never before or since have her walls contained within them a more brilliant society.

Ludwig von Pastor : *The History of the Popes From the Close of the Middle Ages* (1891)

AS THE SAD SAGA OF THE RHINOCEROS WAS UNFOLDING TO A mournful conclusion, the elephant Hanno continued to enjoy the unabated love and enthusiasm of the papal court and the people of Rome. Throngs clustered constantly about its enclosure, with papal permission, observing its antics in the new quarters constructed for it. They were occasionally favoured also with glimpses of the great beast as it was being paraded through the streets on state occasions and during festivals.

All went well until May 1516, when heresy fell upon Rome, enveloping it like a heavy dark cloud and threatening not only the pope but Hanno as well, and adding a particularly distasteful element to life at the court. This was a period when astrology and the occult sciences were achieving great popularity, particularly in European courts. Horoscopes were drawn up to govern political and military actions as well as public events, which were permitted to take place only on auspicious days. Prophecies were greatly respected and Pope Leo even encouraged the impression that he shared the current enthusiasm for astrology.

41. Luzio (1), pp. 571, 576; Reumont, Band III, p. 131; Passavant (1), pp. 163–4; Graf, pp. 187–95; Cesareo (1), pp. 134–5; Cesareo (5), pp. 190–95; Truc, pp. 116–17.
42. Giovio (2), p. 102; Pastor (1), vol. VIII, p. 155; Rivera, pp. 252–5.
43. Maes, Parte I, pp. 94–5; Cian, pp. 279–80; Pastor (1), vol. VIII, p. 155; Roscoe (3), vol. II, p. 181.
44. Cesareo (5), pp. 190–95; Cesareo (2), p. 201; Gnoli (3), pp. 181–2, 193–4.
45. Aretino, vol. II, p. 11; Avery, pp. 62–4. Donatus was a 4th-century writer of textbooks that continued so long in use that the word '*donat*' was used in the Middle Ages to mean 'textbook'. The author of these lines appears to be comparing Baraballo to a mere textbook writer who parodies or distorts from lack of real understanding, the ancient wisdom that he purveys.
46. Macchiavelli, vol. II, Chap. 6, 'The Golden Ass', p. 766; Avery, pp. 577–9.
47. Domenichi, p. 221; Rossi, pp. 22, 152, 155, 159; Giovio (2), pp. 51–2.
48. Passavant (2), vol. I, pp. 167–8; Vasari (1), vol. IV, p. 363, vol. V, p. 524, vol. VI, pp. 554–6; Odelscalchi, pp. 218–24; Avery, p. 89.
49. Domenichi, p. 201; Giovio (2), pp. 51–2; Rossi, pp. 152–5.
50. Gnoli (3), pp. 164–287; Gnoli (2), p. 41.
51. Cesareo (5), pp. 193–6; Gnoli (3), pp. 166–7.
52. Gnoli (3), p. 182.
53. Gnoli (3), 176–80.
54. Ferrajoli, vol. XXXIX, fasc. I–II, pp. 569–73; Gnoli (3), p. 181.
55. Gnoli (3), pp. 181–2.
56. Gnoli (3), p. 182; Avery, p. 508.
57. Philomathes, unpaginated; Matos, pp. 44–7; BAV, *Mss. Chigiana G. II–37*, Tiziano, 'Historiarum Senenentium', fol. 285'.
58. Luzio and Renier, p. 76; Campori, pp. 7–9; Luzio (1), pp. 571–2; Avery, pp. 360–65, 880.
59. Luzio (1), pp. 571–2; Luzio and Renier, p. 137.
60. Luzio and Renier, pp. 76–7.
61. Luzio and Renier, p. 76 n. 3; Campori, pp. 7–9.
62. Luzio (2), p. 163.
63. Oberhuber, pp. 353–4; Franchini, p. 94; Bini, p. 34–6.
64. Ferino, pp. 262–5; Passavant (1839–58) p. 577; Shearman (1987), p. 215; Franchini, p. 94; Archivio di Stato di Mantova, *Fondo Gonzaga*, Busta n. 2923, copialettera 243, c. 18, Busta n. 863.
65. Roscoe (3), vol. II, pp. 5–12; Avery, pp. 623–4.
66. Sanuto, vol. XVIII, p. 59; Rodocanachi (2), p. 97; Pecchiai, pp. 356–9.
67. Sanuto, vol. XX, pp. 99–100; Popham, p. 184.
68. Rodocanachi (2), pp. 96–7.
69. ANTT, *Gavetaas 10*, Maço 4, No. 41; Robinson, p. 294, Item 146; Passavant (1), vol. II, p. 593.
70. BAV, *Ms. Urb. lat. 1641*, 'Giustizie Sixtus IV al Leo X', fols. 497'–499'.
71. BAV, *Ms. Urb. lat. 1641*, fol. 499'; Shearman, pp. 152–55; Hibbert, pp. 219–22; Ciseri, pp. 11–44, 182–4; Marquand, pp. 37–8.

CHAPTER FIVE : The Ill-fated Rhinoceros

1. Albuquerque (1), vol. V, parte I, p. 420, vol. II, p. 132; Barros, Liv. 4, cap. I–III; Fontoura da Costa, pp. 9–10; Lach (1), Book I, pp. 169, 394–406; Avery, pp. 18, 92.
2. Fontoura da Costa, pp. 11–13; Albuquerque (1), vol. II, pp. 32–48; Castanheda, Liv. III, cap. C, CXXXIII–CXXXIV; Goes, parte III, cap. LXIV, pp. 406–9; Barros, Liv. 10, pp. 421–3; Correa, vol. II, pp. 373–4; Lach (2), pp. 394–406.
3. Albuquerque (2), vol. IV, p. 104, vol. VI, p. 196; Correa, vol. II, cap. XLVI, pp. 373–4; Albuquerque (1), vol. II, pp. 32–48, vol. III, pp. 99–101; Costa, pp. 15–18.
4. Albuquerque (1), vol. I, pp. 356, 359, 367, vol. IV, pp. 16–18; Correa, vol. II, cap. XLVI, pp. 373–4.
5. Correa, vol. II, cap. XLVI, pp. 373–6; Albuquerque (1), vol. I, pp. 356–9; Valeriano (3), Liber II, p. 27; Dodgson (2), vol. I, pp. 307–8.
6. Pliny, vol. III, Lib. VIII, p. 53.
7. Loisel, pp. 217–20; Gowers, pp. 288–9; Hahn, p. 45.
8. Castilho, Livro II, pp. 168–84, Livro III, pp. 270–74; Vilhena Barbosa, pp. vi–vii; Loisel, pp. 218–19; Dos Passos, pp. 259–66; Hahn, p. 45; ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Manuel*, Maço 1498, Livro 32, fol. 30, ‘Pagamentos para mantimento’; Casa forte, ‘Livro dos Plantas e Montees de todas os Fabricas das Inquisições deste Reino e India ordenado por mandado do Ill^{mo} e Rev^{mo} Senhor Dom Francisco de Castro Bispo Inquisidor Geral e do Conselho Geral e do Conselho de Estado de Sua Magestade, Anno Domini 1634’, pp. 33, 48.
9. Fontoura da Costa, pp. 19–26; Castilho, pp. 270–74; Goes, parte IV, cap. XVIII, fols. 23r–26r, 477–91; Loisel, pp. 218–19; Münster (1), p. 1086; Münster (2), pp. 1339–41; Schotius, vol. I, pp. i–xi, 1172–3; Brito, pp. 79–86; Vilhena Barbosa, pp. vi–vii; Clarke (1), pp. 2–3; Gesner, fol. cxxxi; Lach (3), pp. 158–72; ‘Le rhinoceros’, pp. 202–3.
10. BNC, *Cod. Stroziano 20, CI–XIII 80*, ‘Lettera scripta da Valentino Moravia germano a li mercanti di Nuremberg’; Gubernatis, pp. 289–92.
11. Dodgson (2), pp. 307–8; Fontoura da Costa, pp. 5–7; Panofsky, p. 192.
12. Dodgson (1), pp. 10–12; Dodgson (3), pp. 45–6; Gowers, pp. 288–9; Rookmaaker (2), pp. 20–22; Clarke (3), p. 7; Dembeck, p. 279.
13. Giehlw, pp. 60, 71; Huber, pp. 310–20; Massing, pp. 47–8.
14. Giehlw, pp. 59–61; Dodgson (1), p. 11.
15. Killerman, p. 86.
16. Penni, *La Victoria*, unpaginated; Matos, pp. 387–98; Gnoli (3), p. 72n.
17. Penni, unpaginated.
18. Philomathes, [See Chapter III, note 61]; [BC; Sander, fig. 800. (?)]
19. Fontoura da Costa, pp. 28, 42; Alcaçova Carneiro, pp. 198–9; ATNN, Nucleo Antigo, fols. 256^r, 259^r, 260^r, 261^r, ‘Receita e despesa das obras que el Rey D. Manuel mandou fazer para sua casa, Anno de 1514’.
20. Fontoura da Costa, p. 28; Matos, p. 43; Alcaçova Carneiro, pp. 196–9.

21. Alcaçova Carneiro, pp. 198–9; Dodgson (3), pp. 50–51.
22. Carlos de Melho, pp. 320–21; Costa, p. 23.
23. Barillion, vol. I, p. 193; Goes, parte IV, cap. XVIII; Dodgson (3), pp. 50–51; Giovio (3), p. 50; Fontoura da Costa, p. 29; Avery, pp. 409–10.
24. Goes, parte IIIa, capit. XXXIX, fols. 73v, 74r–v, capit. LV–LVII, fols. 99v–104r, capit. LXIV, fols. 23r–26r; Giovio (3), pp. 31, 55; Ruffi, pp. 198–9; Delaunay, p. 146.
25. BA, Ms. 51.5.1., fol. 164r, copy of a letter from King Francis I to King Manuel I written from Saint-Germain-en-Laye, undated. Cited by Matos, p. 46. Conflans is identified in the Académie's *Collection*, vol. I, p. 220, n. 1214, vol. II, p. 354, n. 5546, vol. V, p. 632, n. 17904, p. 675, n. 18140.
26. Belon, quoted in Sainen (1), pp. 222–3.
27. Giovio (3), p. 55; Giovio (4), p. Dii^v; Goes, parte IV, capit. XVIII, p. 491; Castilho, vol. II, pp. 172–3; Vilhena Barbosa, pp. vii–viii; Brito, pp. 85–6; Fontoura da Costa, pp. 54–5; 'Le Rhinoceros,' pp. 202–3.
28. Brito, p. 85.
29. Giovio (4), p. Dii^v; Giovio (1), Liber quartus, p. 207, Poem of 12 lines about the rhinoceros by Antonio Sanfelici; Goes, parte IV, capit. XVIII, p. 491; 'Le Rhinoceros', p. 203.
30. Goes, parte III^a, capit. LXXVIII, parte II, capit. XLII, fols. 75–7, parte IV, capit. XVIII, fols. 23r–26r; 'Chronique,' pp. 198–9.
31. Fabronio, p. 74.
32. ANTT, *Corpo diplomatico*, parte I, Maço 20, Doc. 84; Rebello da Silva, Tom. I, pp. 384–6; Gowers, pp. 288–9.
33. Giovio (3), p. 31; Castilho, p. 274.
34. Lacépède, 'Le Rhinoceros', p. 2.
35. Shufeldt, p. 371 n.
36. Fontana, pp. 29–30; BU, Ms. *Aldrov.* 97, 'Degli Animali', cc. 585^v, 586^r, 'Tavole degli Animali', vol. I, c. 91^r; Ms. 6, vol. I, 'Corrispondenza tra U. Aldrovandi e Francesco I^o', passim; *Catalogo dei manoscritti*, passim.
37. Olmi (2), p. 125, fig. 1; Avery, pp. 19–20.
38. Vasari (4), vol. 3, pp. 52–3; Champlin, vol. II, p. 106; Bryan, pp. 293–4; Benezit, vol. IV, pp. 385–6; Thieme and Willis, Band 24, pp. 500–2; Berenson, pp. 143–6; Holst, *passim*.
39. In a search for records relating to the disposition of the Lisbon rhinoceros, a comprehensive examination was undertaken of libraries and archives in Florence on behalf of the writer by Dott.ssa Letizia Stocchi of the Kunsthistorisches Institut di Firenze, with negative results. Among the repositories and records searched are the Archivio delle Gallerie di Firenze (*Mss.* 70, 71, 76, 79, 82 and 98); Archivio di Stato di Firenze (*Guardaroba Mediceo 1553 and 1561*, filze 28 and 36); bibliographical records of the Kunsthistorisches Institut, records of the Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza, Museo Zoologico della Specola, Commissione scientifica per la futura mostre Mediceo, and the Archivio della Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici.

* Chapter title taken from Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, Book VII Canto 6, Stanza 1, 'The ever-whirling wheele of Change, the which all mortall things doth sway.'

1. Burckhardt, pp. 280–97; Pastor (1), vol. VII, pp. 4–6, 291–7; vol. VIII, pp. 445–52; Roscoe (3), vol. I, pp. 267–8; ASF, *Fondo Mediceo avanti Principato*, filza 107, Letter from Turini de Pescia to Lorenzo de' Medici, 8 Giugno 1514; Pastor (1), vol. VIII, p. 449 n.; Sanuto, vol. XVIII, p. 86.

2. Pastor (2), vol. V, pp. 224–5; Pastor (1), vol. VIII, pp. 449–50; Höfler, Band IV, Abt. 3, pp. 36–7, 56–7; Sanuto, vol. XVIII, p. 139, vol. XXI, pp. 338 et seq.; Wadding, vol. XIV, p. 323, marginal note; Reeves, pp. 438, 448; AG, letter of C. Agnello in Rome, 2 August 1516; ASV, Grassi, *Diariorum*, vol. XII, fol. 23.

3. Sanuto, vol. XII, pp. 474–5; Rossi, p. 227 n. 1.

4. Dorland's, p. 594; 'Fistula'; Sanuto, vol. XXII, pp. 412, 443–4, vol. XXX, p. 466; Gualino, Anno VI, No. 3, pp. 25–9, No. 4, pp. 157–68; ASV, Grassi, *Diariorum*, vol. IV, fols. 139, 154; Rodocanachi (2), p. 101 fn.

5. Pastor (2), vol. V, pp. 224–5; Pastor (1), vol. VIII, p. 449–50; Rodocanachi (1), p. 125.

6. Sanuto, vol. XII, pp. 474–5. The interrogation of the clairvoyant friar was not recorded in the chronological indices of the Archivio di Sant'Angelo, the *Instrumenta Miscellanea*, nor in the *Schedario Garampi* of the Archivio Segreto. Communication from Monsignor Charles Burns, ASV, 28 October 1978; Pastor (2), vol. V, pp. 224–5; Pastor (1), vol. VIII, pp. 449–50.

7. Höfler, Band IV, Abt. 3, pp. 56–57; UB, Biblioteca Frisingensis, [Stephan Rosin], 'Exemplum literarum Domini Stephanus Rosin Caesaræ Majestatis apud S. Sedem Sollicitatoris ad Reverendum principem D. Carolus Gurgensem 12 mai 1516'.

8. Muratori, p. 364; Sanuto, vol. XXII, pp. 315–16, 474–75; BAV, *Cod. Ottob. lat.* 2602, parte II, fol. 262, 'Diario di Branca Tedallini'; *Cod. Barb. lat.* 3552, fol. 27, [Anonymous], 'Diario', entry for 'Lunedì, XVI giugno 1516' quoted by Lefevre (2); Madelin, pp. 277–8; Hutten (2), pp. 245–7; Hutten (1), vol. VI, p. 246; Reumont, Band III, pp. 2, 81, 147, 857. At the time of the elephant's death, the pope's personal surgeon was Giacomo da Brescia, and his physicians were Maystro Francesco Dandini and Maystro Bartholomeo di Pisis.

9. BNM, *Manoscritti, Lettere particolare*, 'Come era morte il liofante del re di Portogallo mando a donar al Papa'; Sanuto, vol. XXII, p. 316; Gnoli (1), p. 583; Pastor (1), vol. VII, p. 76; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, pp. 355–7; Rossi, p. 227 n. 1; Winner, pp. 71–109; Hartt (1), pp. 67–94.

10. Reumont, vol. III, pp. 81, 147; Cancellieri (2) p. 62 n. 1; Suida, pp. 13–17; Lanciani (1), p. 272.

11. Cancellieri (2), p. 62; Reumont, vol. III, p. 857; BAV, *Cod. Ottob. lat.* 2967, fol. 94r, 'Epigrafo del elefante'. Neither the identity of the author of the manuscript nor of the epigram is known.