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A Masterpiece of Indo-Portuguese Art: the Mounted Rhinoceros Cup of Maria of Portugal, Princess of Parma

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An extraordinarily mounted rhinoceros cup, formerly belonging to the Farnese collections in Parma, housed today in the Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, in Naples, has been paid little attention by scholars (Figs. 1 & 2). This unique Indo-Portuguese object was recently recognised as a piece which may have originated from the collection of the Portuguese princess, Maria of Portugal (1538-77), who married Alexander Farnese in 1565.¹ Linda Martino, curator of the



Fig. 1. (Front view) Indo-Portuguese rhinoceros cup. Goa or Cochin, 1558-65. Rhinoceros horn and gilt silver. Ht: 21cm. Museo e Gallerie di Capodimonte, Naples, inv. no. 10350 1870. Photograph by Luciano Pedicini.



Fig. 2. Rear view of Fig. 1.

Capodimonte collections, was the first to pinpoint the Asian provenance of this rare *kunstkammer* object, suggesting it may have formed part of Maria's dowry, a wedding present given the princess before her departure from Lisbon.² The author concurs with Martino and proposes the donor of this regal gift was perhaps Maria's uncle, Constantino of Braganza (1528-75), who served as the seventh Viceroy in India, from 1558 to 1561, appointed to this post by the Portuguese queen, Catherine of Austria, on 3 March 1558 (Fig. 3).

Maria's uncle, Constantino resided in Goa for three years with a short period spent in Ceylon, where he is said to have gathered together a princely collection of Indo-Portuguese jewels, gems and curiosities, some of which he later gave away to members of his family in Portugal, after his return.³ I posit that during his residency as Viceroy, Constantino commissioned the Naples rhinoceros cup, either in Goa, the political capital of Portugal's Estado da India after 1530, or in Cochin, the commercial capital of the Estado until 1663. Its style magnificently echoes carved or engraved Chinese jade vessels or nautilus shells exported in great quantities from Southern China to Portuguese Asia from the mid-16th century onward, with naturalistic representations of Asian and European flora and fauna (cf. Fig. 4).

The ornate, high-quality mount of the Naples cup, executed in gilded silver, displays a refined High Renaissance style, with great attention paid to detail, suggesting these were added in Europe, probably in Portugal, by an expert craftsman. The application of chiselled ornamental motifs and scrolls, the enamel medallions, the



Fig. 3. Lisuarte de Abreu. Portrait of Constantino of Braganza, Viceroy of India, with the Braganza coat-of-arms. Cochin (?), 1558. Drawing, coloured ink on paper. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Ms. 525, fol. 13v.



Fig. 5. Indo-Portuguese rhinoceros cup. Goa or Cochin, 1558-65. Rhinoceros horn and gilt silver. Ht: 21 cm. View of Grostesque. Museo e Gallerie di Capodimonte, Naples, inv. no. 10350 1870. Photograph by Luciano Pedicini.

head of a grotesque monster at one end of the cup (Fig. 5), with a spout at the other, from which a snake emerges, and a base resting upon stylised lion-paw's feet, is typical of mid-16th century Renaissance designs applied by goldsmiths in Italy, the Netherlands, Southern Germany and the Iberian peninsula.

There is little doubt this horn was intended as an expensive, extravagant showpiece for a princely *guardaroba* (wardrobe) or *credenza*, meant for display at royal banquets and state occasions. Exotica, such as rhinoceros horn, bezoar stones and oversized coconuts from the Seychelles, were frequently transformed into *objets de vertu*, or works of artistic virtuosity, valued and cherished as collector's items for royal *studioli* and *kunstkammern*, like this magnificent mounted coconut shell in Vienna, decorated with an antelope horn, probably once thought to be a rhinoceros horn, that formerly belonged to the famous Habsburg collector, Rudolf II (1552-1612) (Fig. 6).

It was thought in Renaissance Europe that rhinoceros horns possessed supernatural or magical powers.⁴ In Ming China, rhinoc-

eros horns were shaped into vessels and cups for drinking wine, and believed to possess aphrodisiac properties, as well as, the ability to detect or deflect the effects of poison in drinks. During the 16th century, rhinoceros cups, imported from China to Portuguese Asia, contained smaller bezoar stones for double protection, since bezoar, a hardened substance found in the stomachs of the Persian bezoar goat, was imagined to have a counter-effect against poison. Thus rhinoceros horn vessels (with or without bezoar stones) were avidly collected by European collectors to serve both an amuletic and a ceremonial function at royal and princely tables. It is highly unlikely that these expensive works of art were ever actually used as vessels; however, their mere presence in a collection heightened the prestige and reputation of a collector, while their reputed prophylactic properties such as antidotes against poison were considered an added advantage.

At the Iberian courts during the 16th century, small pieces of ground bezoar were added to wine to counter epilepsy, pest, melancholy and poison.⁵ In 1570, for instance, the Portuguese queen,



Fig. 4. Nautilus cup engraved with Chinese dragons. China and France, mid-16th century. Mount by François Crevecœur (1555-67). Mother-of-pearl and gilt silver. Ht: 17.5 cm. Museo degli Argenti, Florence, inv. Bg. V, n. 21.



Fig. 6. Seychelles coconut vessel. Lisbon (?), last quarter of the 16th century. Half of a coconut shell, antelope horn and gilt silver. Ht: 38 cm. Schatzkammer des Deutschen Ordens, Vienna, inv. no. 74.



Fig. 7. Rhinoceros horn. Goa, 1581-83. Rhinoceros horn with Sinhalese or Indo-Portuguese filigree bands mounted with cabochon rubies and pearls. Ht: 81 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstammer, inv. KK 3702. Formerly in the Collection of Rudolf II.

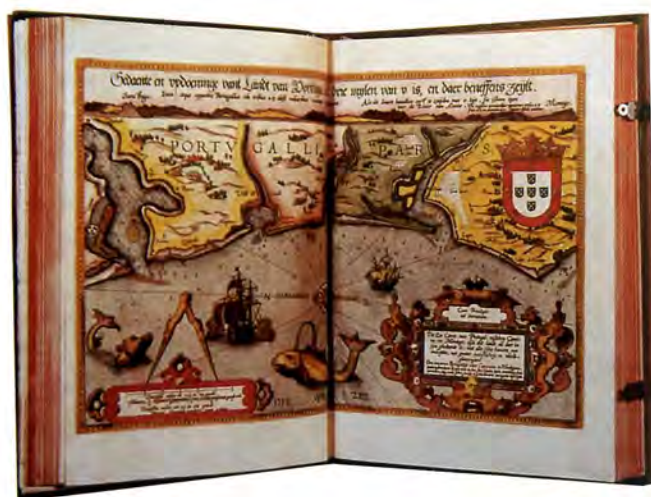


Fig. 8. Lucas Jansz. Waghenauer, *Speculum nauticum super navigatione maris Occidentalis confectum...*, Leyden, 1586, The Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Catherine of Austria (1507-78), owned a bezoar stone equipped with a chain which could be worn from her wrist. During the Renaissance, horns of the legendary unicorn provided similar remedies and protection against poison. When Catherine of Austria suffered a bout of illness in 1528, her brother, the Habsburg emperor, Charles V, sent her a piece of unicorn horn (probably narwhal whale's tusk), which was ground into a powder for medicinal purposes. Unicorn horns, like those of the rhinoceros, were cherished in Renaissance Europe for their curative, healing and beneficial properties. It was precisely for this reason that Catherine of Austria purchased an entire "unicorn horn" for her *kunstammer* in 1550.⁶

This unusually large, African white rhinoceros horn, 81 cms in length, obtained by Rudolf II in Lisbon, in 1580, with the assistance of his mother, Maria of Austria (1528-1603), who frequently acted as an agent and intermediary for her son's acquisitions of exotica, is a perfect example of a magnificent display piece Rudolf exhibited in his outstanding collection in Prague (Fig. 7).⁷ The latter horn served both a protective function, besides a decorative one, and, for this reason was ornamented with gold filigree bands set with pearls and cabochon rubies of Sinhalese or Indo-Portuguese provenance. This horn was greatly appreciated by Rudolf, enough so for him to include an illustration of this curiosity in his illuminated bestiary, the *Museum Kaiser Rudolfs II*. (Codex min. 129), today in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.

For centuries, fabulous and monstrous beasts populated the imagination of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, where a mysterious world full of objects and phenomena were not quite fully understood. Pagan creatures survived in the Christian era, kept alive by medieval scribes and illuminators for their ornamental appeal, or their attraction as vehicles for moral instruction. Dragons and basilisks were presented in medieval manuscripts and displayed on architecture as symbols of evil. Thus real and imaginary animals were often used to illustrate the mysteries of religious dogma. In the Middle Ages, bestiaries, allegorical fables about the traits and habits of various animals, were extremely popular. Based on the *Physiologus*, a collection of nature stories by early Christian writers, real and fanciful animals were juxtaposed with one another. Firsthand travel descriptions of zoological marvels provided medieval scribes with additional creatures. However, accounts were often garbled and images of real animals from distant lands were often transformed

into fabulous beings. A bewildering array of imagined monsters can be found in a book attributed to Sir John Mandeville, written some time during the 14th century. Early cartographers were quick to appreciate the graphic potential of mythical beasts. In the Renaissance, Portuguese mapmakers and cartographers made liberal use of monsters to emphasise the hazards of travel beyond uncharted territories and waters (Fig. 8).

The investigative and secular climate of the Renaissance raised serious questions about previously accepted beliefs and beasts, and the portrayal and description of monsters became the domain of the natural historian. Between 1551 and 1558, the Swiss scholar and scientist, Konrad Gesner, published the earliest substantial illustrated treatise on animals, in Zurich. With the publication of his *Historia Animalium*, he provided for the first time in the history of printing an opportunity to study pictures of a large number of creatures inhabiting the real and imaginary world. Gesner presents an assortment of mermaids, seas monsters and manticore: fierce, man-eating creatures from India with a trumpet-



Fig. 9. Adrien II Collaert (after Martin de Vos), *Allegory of Africa*, Antwerp, ca. 1595. Engraving on copper. 21.2 x 26 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, inv. no. Est Td mat la.



Fig. 10. Adrien II Collaert (after Martin de Vos), *Allegory of Asia*, Antwerp, ca. 1595. Engraving on copper. 21.6 x 25.8 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, inv. no. Est Td mat la.

like voice, the head of a man with three rows of teeth, the body of a lion and the tail of a dragon or scorpion. Although Gesner makes clear in his text that he did not believe in the existence of fantastical beasts, the lustre of his name gave them a measure of credibility, especially among a public not versed in Latin and who accepted his images as solemn truth. Books, like Gesner's, were intended to be serious contributions to natural history, and with the publication of such learned works, monsters acquired a new popularity. Pictures of them proliferated for many years afterward.⁸

The maritime explorations undertaken by Portuguese fleets, fostered at the Lisbon court an enormous interest and scientific curiosity in the flora and fauna of the Portuguese overseas empire. The importation of an array of wild animals and plants helped Portuguese scientists and humanists revise their vision of fabled beasts and improve scientific knowledge. There was great interest in Portugal for the genuine objects, and quantities of animals were brought from newly discovered lands and recently established trading posts. These later engravings of Africa (Fig. 9) and Asia (Fig. 10), belonging to a series of the *Four Continents*, executed by Adrien II Collaert in Antwerp, around 1595, after drawings by Martin de Vos, reflect the European imagination and insatiable desire to chart, record and study the flora and fauna found during the Age of Discovery and Exploration. These prints reveal that towards the close of the 16th century, the exotic animals brought to Europe by Portuguese carracks on the India run were better understood by European artists and, as a result, were rendered more life-like. The *Allegory of Africa* (Fig. 9) depicts this continent showing a nude African woman, riding a crocodile. In the background, the vegetation and animals: lions, elephants, ostrich, camels, hippopotamus and chameleon reflect the savage grandeur of Africa. The winged basilisk or griffon to the left is a vivid reminder that the fantastic medieval beast had not yet completely disappeared from the Renaissance imagination. The *Allegory of Asia* (Fig. 10) depicts a woman, riding a camel, dressed in sumptuous clothes, lavishly displaying jewellery; the riches of India that prompted the Portuguese to seek a sea-route to Asia. The incense burner she holds recalls traditional Oriental products and the Bactrian camel she rides represents the ancient Silk Route. Elephants, camels and a rhinoceros cavort in the background to the right.

The collecting of exotic animals became a passionate hobby



Fig. 11. Konrad Gesner, Bird of Paradise, *Historia Animalium*, Book III, *De Natura Avium*, Zurich, 1555. Coloured woodcut. 40.5 x 55 cm. Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, Paris, inv. no. S fol. 167 inv. 329 rés, fol. 612.

for royal collectors, and botanical gardens and menageries were founded at the Portuguese court to supplement royal collecting. For instance, Catherine of Austria purchased numerous parrots, monkeys and wild civet cats during the course of her reign, which were housed either in her quarters or elsewhere in the Lisbon palace, exhibited for her court to admire. The acquisition of strange and foreign animals symbolically represented the majesty of the Portuguese monarchs; the notion that as powerful rulers of a global overseas empire, they could domesticate the untamable forces of nature.⁹ In the Renaissance, theorists believed that the wildness of animals civilised by monarchs was a demonstration of royal power and magnificence. The assimilation of strange and wild animals at the Lisbon court made them a familiar and integral part of daily life and ceremony in Portugal, as it did at other contemporary courts. At the Habsburg court of Catherine of Austria's aunt, Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands, exotic animals such as elephants, lions and monkeys were kept in a zoo in Brussels, open for famous visitors, like the painter, Albrecht Dürer. Other animals, for instance, a stuffed bird of paradise, similar to this example illustrated in Gesner's *Historia Animalium* (Fig. 11), was kept by Margaret stored in a box in her library at the palace of Malines, as a prestigious symbol of her position as co-ruler of Charles V's European territories and overseas empire.

Manuel I of Portugal (ruled 1498-1521) was the first European monarch to set the trend, collecting elephants of state and rhinoceros (the first seen in Europe since antiquity). In imitation of Oriental potentates, he paraded with his pachyderms through the streets of Lisbon. For royal and state ceremonies, no fewer than five elephants were led by Asian drivers from the Lisbon royal palace, the Paço da Ribeira, to the cathedral. Oftentimes, this procession began with a rhinoceros, followed by a horse with Persian trappings ridden by a Persian, carrying a live ocelot, which had been sent to the Portuguese king by the king of Ormuz. The first Indian, single-horned rhinoceros to arrive in Europe in May of 1515, was the *ganda*, as it is called in India, presented by Sultan Muzefan II, ruler of Gujarat, to the Portuguese Viceroy, Afonso de Albuquerque, who in turn shipped it to Manuel in Lisbon. A combat between an elephant and this rhinoceros was staged on 3 June 1515 in a courtyard between the Ribeira palace and the Casa da India (Fig. 12), but no fight ensued and the elephant fled in fright. The rhinoceros was



Fig. 12. Anonymous, Combat between a Rhinoceros and an Elephant. 16th century. Engraving. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.

declared victorious by default. During the Renaissance, the rhinoceros came to symbolise force, vigilance and invincibility.

The 1515 rhinoceros became one of Manuel's prized possessions and he made sure it was illuminated in his *Book of Hours* of 1517, kept today in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon.¹⁰ That same year, Manuel sent Pope Leo X this same rhinoceros with a formal embassy led by his ambassador, Tristão de Cunha, in return for papal gifts awarded by the Vatican. Rome was overwhelmed by the lavish gifts from Portugal, stupefied by the luxurious opulence and exoticism of the Portuguese entourage. The rhinoceros, however, did not survive the journey, perishing in a shipwreck off the coast of Genoa, but was sent to Rome, just the same, stuffed with straw. The woodcut Albrecht Dürer executed of this famous rhinoceros from Cambay, was based upon a drawing sent to Germany by Valentine Ferdinand, a Moravian printer residing in Lisbon. Dürer chose to depict his beast with armoured plates, which echoed Renaissance armour (Fig. 13). Since he had never seen a rhinoceros before, Dürer embellished a little, giving the rhinoceros an extra fictive dorsal spiral horn. His ill-conceived representation, nevertheless, set the standard for the depiction of the rhinoceros for over two centuries, right to up the 18th century, invariably copied by artists, engravers and craftsmen.¹¹

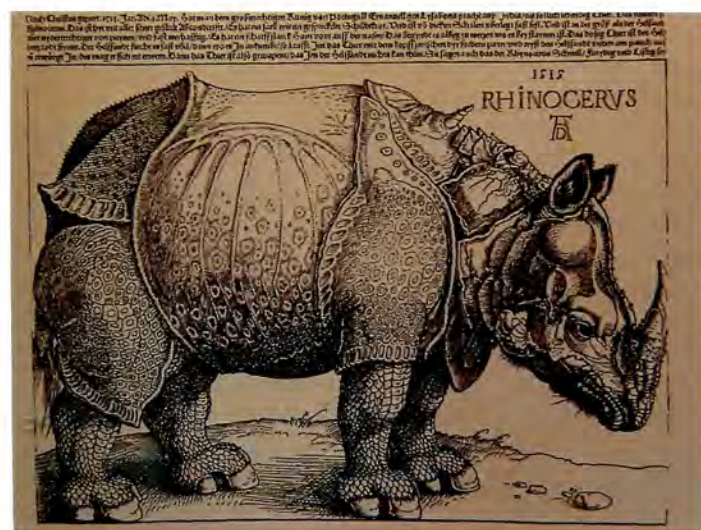


Fig. 13. Albrecht Dürer, The 1515 Rhinoceros of Cambay, Nuremberg, 1515. Woodcut. 25.5 x 30 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, inv. no. Est Ca 4 b rés fol, p 143 bis.

The visual iconography of Maria of Portugal's rhinoceros cup in Naples appears to support the notion it was a personal gift from her uncle, Constantino of Braganza, presented to mark the occasion of her marriage to Alexander Farnese in 1565. Many of the exotic motifs and imagery carved on both sides of the cup imply a nuptial theme. At the same time, subtle allusions are made to the patron's appreciation of Renaissance jewellery and evident pleasure in exotic animals. The prominence of several nude figures, probably mythological, lends the cup an almost erotic overtone, that was first noted by Linda Martino. The quasi-antique aura of the cup is achieved through a combination of pagan and Far Eastern images, which emphasise concepts of fertility, abundance and fruitful conjugal bliss.

Constantino's service in India gave him direct access to rarities and curiosities for sale in Portuguese Asia, where he certainly had both the occasion and the opportunity either to commission uncarved horns or acquire imported rhinoceros carvings for sale in Goa. Constantino's acquisition of and passion for Asian goods and jewellery was first noted by the military engineer and courtier, Francesco de Marchi, who visited the Lisbon court in 1565 during the wedding festivities of Maria of Portugal. He witnessed a dinner Constantino held in honour of the Flemish gentlemen sent from Flanders to escort the Portuguese princess to Brussels, where silver plates, porcelain, tablecloths and napkins of the finest damask were used. One *credenza* was "valued more than gold or silver", because of the priceless pieces of blue-and-white Ming porcelain on display; commodities Constantino obviously brought back from Asia.¹² From de Marchi's description, it can be deduced that Constantino was both a collector and connoisseur of Asian products. Judging from the dates he spent in service in India, Maria's rhinoceros wedding cup could date approximately between 1558, the year Constantino arrived in India, and 1565, the year Maria was wed and left for Italy via the Netherlands.

As seen above, the mount of the Naples cup is an extraordinary example of Renaissance design, while the carving attempts to imitate traditional Chinese rhinoceros horns, with realistic and mythical animals meant to appeal to a foreign customer or patron. We are confronted here with what may be called a "hybrid" cup, perhaps carved in Goa, or possibly even in Cochin, by an Indo-Portuguese craftsman relying not only upon the techniques of actual Ming rhinoceros horns, but also European engravings, prints or pattern books. The artisan perhaps was a Chinese residing and working in Portuguese Asia,¹³ but this seems unlikely since the quality of craftsmanship and execution is not as refined as the carving seen on contemporary Ming jade vessels and horns. Even though Oriental motifs are applied, the craftsmanship is not as sophisticated, as, for instance, the engravings of animals on Chinese turbo and nautilus shells exported to Renaissance Europe (cf. Fig. 4).¹⁴ This conspicuous lack of high-quality execution and definition in the relief work denotes a craftsman who may not have been Chinese. The rendition of the nudes, for example, suggest an artisan unfamiliar with such motifs. If a European, residing in Portuguese Asia, had been commissioned to undertake the work, better understanding of human anatomy would have been shown, with figures executed with more flair and finesse. What needs to be defined in future studies, is what constitutes Indo-Portuguese decorative arts, and how does one label precisely an Indo-Portuguese artisan, when it is well-known that commercial centres, such as Goa and Cochin, were veritable melting pots? Goa was a bustling cultural centre for the arts, where artisans from various backgrounds and nationalities: European, Portuguese, Persian, Sinhalese, East Asian and Chinese, were based, and where gemstones were traded, jewellery manufactured and secular and religious ivories, wood and



Fig. 14. Indo-Portuguese rhinoceros cup, Goa or Cochin (?), late 16th century. Rhinoceros horn and gilt silver. Mount: Nuremberg, 1550-1650. Ht: 17.1 cm. Thyssen Bornemisza Collection, Lugano, Switzerland, inv. no. K/161B.



Fig. 15. Indo-Portuguese rhinoceros cup, Goa or Cochin (?), late 16th century. Rhinoceros horn. Ht: 16.44 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstkammer, inv. no. KK 3742.

furniture were carved.

Are we, in reality, confronted with a horn executed by a Chinese artisan in Portuguese Asia, working in a European style at the behest of a foreign customer, as Jan Chapman has recently proposed in relation to a comparable cup in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection in Lugano (Fig. 14)?¹⁵ The latter cup, and yet another in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Fig. 15),¹⁶ are closely related to the Naples cup both in style and in execution, and, like the Naples cup, they betray an Indo-Portuguese, rather than a Chinese, provenance. All three horns may have stemmed from the same geographic area and workshop, although, the carving on the Naples cup is superior to the others. Jan Chapman has recently concluded the carving on the Vienna cup to be Chinese, raising the question of whether Chinese and Asian craftsmen could not have laboured side-by-side in Portuguese Asian workshops, working for European clients. Both the Lugano and Vienna horns exhibit real and imaginary animals and flora, showing an analogous melding of European and Asian pictorial sources, as in the Naples cup, and as on the latter, the coat-of-arms of the original owner was carved on the Vienna horn. Hannelore Müller argues the Lugano cup depicts a paradisaical garden with Tree of Life motifs, reflecting ideas of eternity and immortality.¹⁷ On the narrow side, a Portuguese soldier in a wooded landscape, wearing a loin-cloth and helmet (*morian*), carrying a pennant, is portrayed (Fig. 16). Was the inclusion of this European figure meant to please a foreign customer? Or is the soldier a metaphor for man's ability to tame and master the wild forces of nature? There are divergent views regarding the artistic origin of the latter cup; however, Chapman considers the carving to be Chinese, of the late Ming period, suggesting an East Asian craftsman, as with the Naples cup, familiar with European engravings.¹⁸

The Lugano cup comes closest in style and iconography to the Naples cup: ox, deer, rabbit, ibex, butterflies and birds are juxtaposed with a fabulous bird, the roc, seen on the upper right side, carrying an elephant in its claws. As Rudolf Wittkower has shown, the roc, a giant, mythical bird, deriving from the Indian solar bird, Garuda, was thought to have originated from the Chinese Seas. In the Sanskrit epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the roc, or Garuda, is described toting an elephant or snake in its talons.¹⁹ Wittkower argues that Oriental images, more specifically Persian miniatures, of the roc and other fantastical beasts first circulated in the Arab world during the Middle Ages and later in Renaissance Europe, where such marvels were copied by European artists.

However, did this cross-cultural exchange simply move one way from East to West? What of the circulation and transmission of exotic Oriental imagery in Portuguese Asia and the Far East, for instance, from Persia to Goa and Macao? Or from Lisbon to Portuguese India? What about the dissemination of European engravings and drawings in Portuguese Asia and the impact of these images upon artisans and workshops located throughout the empire?²⁰ Stylistic influences transgressed borders, as must have Asian and Far Eastern craftsmen. The intense trade in luxury goods between Portuguese India, the Far East and the Mughal court cultivated cross-cultural influences and a melding of pictorial sources. The impact of the decorative arts traded between these cultures was significant: Chinese and Japanese lacquer and porcelain were shipped in great quantities to the Portuguese ports of Malacca, Macao and Goa, while the Portuguese traded countless Indo-Portuguese and European products in the Far East.²¹

The animals portrayed on the Naples cup were those found throughout the Portuguese overseas empire, many of which were



Fig. 16. Detail showing Portuguese soldier wearing a helmet (*morian*). Indo-Portuguese rhinoceros cup. Goa or Cochin (?), late 16th century, rhinoceros horn and gilt silver. Ht: 17.1 cm. Thyssen Bornemisza Collection, Lugano, Switzerland, inv. no. K/161B.



Fig. 17. Chinese robe with five-clawed Chinese dragon and pearl of immortality. Embroidered silk. Spink & Son, Ltd., London.

transported either to Lisbon or Goa for sale. The craftsman who executed this cup would have been familiar with nearly all of these animals. The fantastic, imaginary beasts, an integral part of Renaissance visual culture as it was in the Orient, were modelled by the Asian artisan not only after Far Eastern, but also European pictorial sources. It is as if the entire gamut of the "marvels of the East" is consolidated here on one cup, with diverse animals shown in an almost encyclopaedic fashion. This idea is reinforced by the medium itself, the rhinoceros horn highly regarded and valued both in Europe and in Asia as a wondrous marvel of nature. It is as if a macrocosmic view of Asian and European beasts and fauna, both real and fantastic, has been synthesised into a single, microcosmic work of art. More significantly, this cup embodies the cross-cultural influences which transpired between East and West under Portuguese rule, exemplifying here the perfect marriage of Oriental and European pictorial sources. The patron apparently dictated the iconography, carefully selecting the animals and jewellery "vignettes", as closer analysis will reveal. The complex iconography of Maria of Portugal's cup suggests this commission was closely supervised by its patron, since certain pictorial elements and details betray a personal knowledge of and acquaintance with Renaissance jewellery, Asian animals and the mythical animals which so vividly populated European and Asian imaginations.

On the right side of the cup (Fig. 1), a nude couple, possibly representing the mythological figures of Neptune and Galatea (or Neptune and Amphitrite), are locked in an amorous embrace. They sit astride a stylised Chinese dragon, supported by two dogs below. Across the centre of the dragon, a heraldic escutcheon carved in the form of a pendant gem or brooch, appears to represent the stylised coat-of-arms of the Braganza and Farnese families (cf. Fig. 3). The dragon is modelled after Chinese dragons, the symbol of the emperor's might and sovereignty, and was the principal motif seen on the imperial robes worn by Chinese rulers (Fig. 17). Imperial dragons are always shown with five claws, like the dragon on the Naples cup. The appearance here of the dragon with long teeth, whiskers, a mane and a long scaly body, recalls that of the *long* dragon, the traditional dragon in Chinese art. The mystic



Fig. 18. Jan Gossart (active 1503-32), Portrait of a Little Girl. ca. 1520-25, oil on panel. 36.1 x 28.5 cm. National Gallery, London, inv. no. 2211.

pearl seen here just above the dragon's paws, represents a symbol of immortality. The Chinese dragon symbolised not only the emperor, but also male fertility and energy, who watched over the East and personified the rising sun, spring and rain. More than any other animal or figure represented here, this dragon reveals that both the Indo-Portuguese artisan and the European patron were familiar with Chinese export products: textiles, lacquer, jade, nautilus shells and rhinoceros horns, where the dragon motif abounded.

The most unusual feature, on both sides of the cup, is the realistic depiction of contemporary Indo-Portuguese or European jewelry. The Chinese dragon is attached to a link chain, from which a gem with a pendant pearl hangs, very similar to this necklace with a pendant depicted in this Renaissance portrait (Fig. 18). Is this unusual display of Renaissance gems and jewellery a personal reference to Maria of Portugal, who probably owned many examples of Indo-Portuguese jewellery? Are these depictions of jewellery visual references to or actual depictions of pieces Maria brought in her dowry to Parma?²² Is the jewellery so prominently displayed on both sides of the cup meant to reflect Maria's documented predilection for jewellery? Or is an even more subtle message implied? In Renaissance iconography, jewels were the attribute of Profane Love, or the earthly Venus, who represented the beauty found in this world; Venus/Aphrodite also symbolising the procreative principle.

On either side of the chain "holding" the dragon, are depictions of African and Asian animals, as if the patron wanted to recall a menagerie, or an allegory of the Garden of Eden, filled with identical animals. To the right, just above the dragon, is an Indian rhinoceros, exactly modelled after Dürer's print, the Asian artisan even imitating Dürer's inventive design of ornamental armoured plates and the fictive dorsal spine (cf. Fig. 13), even though he would have been familiar with the Asian or African rhinoceros transported to various points of the Portuguese empire. The inclusion of Dürer's interpretation, rather than a realistic portrayal, reflects the specific wish of the patron.

Above the *ganda*, are an array of four birds, including a swan, and a fantastical marine creature or sea horse, known as a hippocamp, a beloved motif for jewellery pendants and whistles in Renaissance Europe, as this drawing executed by Albrecht Dürer illustrates (Fig. 19). Hippocamps, half horse and half fish, were seaworthy horses, who drew the chariots of Neptune, Amphitrite and Galatea across the water. They became a favourite theme for Renaissance votive pendants, worn as protection against dangers at sea. Is a deliberate reference to the maritime feats and navigational achievements of the



Fig. 19. Albrecht Dürer (after Mantegna), Seahorses, from a hunter's hanging whistle design. No date. Pen and ink with gouache. Kunsthalle, Bremen.

Portuguese intended here? In the era of maritime exploration, mythical sea creatures as motifs for Renaissance designs and jewellery were extremely popular, as the contemporary inventions and engravings by Hans Collaert the Elder, published in Antwerp in 1582, attest (Fig. 20).

On the opposite side of the chain, African animals are portrayed: a crocodile, an ostrich and an elephant (symbol of sovereignty, royal wisdom and spiritual strength in Asia), along with a snail, a butterfly (a Chinese symbol of longevity)²³ and a fox, the latter three often seen in Chinese carvings and nautilus shells. The artisan has divided the field into three areas, approximating a triangular composition, with Asia to the left, Africa to the right and the Far East, represented by the dragon, just below.

The reverse of the Naples cup (Fig. 2), shows the same division of space, with a smaller, more elaborate pendant jewel and chain in the middle. A female nude figure, perhaps personifying the earthly or marine Venus born of the sea, shown with two solitary pearls, reclines upon a pendant. Just above to the left, a mermaid



Fig. 20. Hans Collaert the Elder, Title page and example from second sequence of designs for pendants. Engraving on copper by Hans Collaert the Younger, published by Philip Galle, Antwerp, 1582.



Fig. 21. Renaissance pendant of a sea-monster with an Indian rider. Spain, second half of the 16th century. Gold, enamel and precious stones. Ht: 8 cm. Width: 4.5 cm. Abegg Stiftung, Riggisberg, Switzerland, inv. no. 8.82.63.

(half woman, half fish), or a sea-nymph (Nereid), both symbols of fertility, forms part of this pendant, embracing Venus with her left arm. Mermaids, as representations of the sea, decorated the prows of ships and were popular motifs in the ephemeral decorations of Renaissance festivals. Jewelled pendants of mermaids and mermen appear in Spanish inventories as early as 1560, perhaps due to the reported sightings and supposed capture of seven mermen and mermaids in Goa that same year.²⁴ The beast beneath Venus is a sea-monster, or stylised dolphin, shown encrusted with table-cut gems with large pendant pearls at either end, and a small jewelled brooch set with a lozenge-shaped gem above. A solitary fish signified Christ, Pisces, temperance and fertility, while fish, or fabled sea monsters, surmounted by men, or "Indian" riders, became fashionable designs for Renaissance gems after the mid-16th century, as this contemporary example demonstrates (Fig. 21). The function of man-on-fish pendants with dolphins or sea monsters was probably emblematic.

Fabled marine creatures deriving from medieval bestiaries, the handbooks of naturalists, such as Konrad Gesner, or mariner's maps and portolan charts (cf. Fig. 8), stimulated the imagination of consumers and collectors at the Iberian courts, fuelling the desire for pendants with fabulous marine creatures.²⁵ In Christian iconography, the dolphin was seen as the carrier of souls across the water, and was an animal specifically related to Neptune, the marine Venus, and water as one of the four elements. The warrior-like riders astride sea creatures in Renaissance pendants were believed to represent the mythological god of the sea, Palaemon, who had jurisdiction over ports and shores. Palaemon's power was often invoked by sailors fearing shipwreck, and doubtless these pendants, like those with hippocamps, were either worn as talismen against adversities at sea or memorialised loss suffered in a marine disaster.²⁶ In Goa or Ceylon, such European pendants were copied in a local style, as this rare rock crystal whistle in the shape of a sea-monster demonstrates (Fig. 22).²⁷ It is evident that allusions to Portugal's maritime heritage,



Fig. 22. Indo-Portuguese or Sinhalese rock crystal whistle of a sea-monster. Goa (?), last quarter of the 16th century. Rock crystal set with rubies and sapphires in gold. Length: 10.5 cm. The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RBK 17524.

overseas exploration and sovereignty over an extensive empire are intentionally underscored on the Naples cup.

Above the marine pendant, to either side of the chain are an eagle and peacock, a bird native to Ceylon, and the respective attributes of Jupiter and Juno, rulers of the universe. In Renaissance allegories, the eagle paired with a peacock became an attribute of Pride; but, here the latter may refer to the global and joint rule of the Portuguese crown and monarchs. To the left, behind the eagle, an antique symbol of power and victory, are a turtle, bear, cat and hare. In the East, the tortoise was associated with water-gods, and, as a symbol of the universe, denoted long life, endurance and strength. To the right, behind the peacock is a rabbit, a bird and a rearing unicorn.

The inclusion of this legendary beast believed to possess the power to purify water, on a rhinoceros horn, reinforces the primary function of this cup, which was to protect its owner from the effects of poison. In the West, unicorns were regarded as symbols of Christ, immortality, purity and virginity, exemplifying femininity, while in China, one-horned beasts, known as *qilin* or *ch'i-lin*, symbolised eternity and benevolence. In ancient China, the appearance of a *qilin* portended some auspicious event, such as the birth of a wise ruler, symbolising longevity, happiness and the prospect of a large family. It was sometimes regarded as a harbinger of prosperity and happiness. Were Eastern and Western concepts and iconography deliberately intermingled here for Maria of Portugal?

The unicorn represented here is based upon a European rather than a Chinese model, and the artisan must have been shown prints or drawings which were produced at the Lisbon court, and, doubtless, later circulated in Portuguese Asia, as this illumination of a unicorn purifying water from a Portuguese Breviary, dating between 1515 and 1530, corroborates (Fig. 23). A rhinoceros, not modelled after Dürer, has been added just behind the unicorn. Unicorns not only populated medieval bestiaries, but also authoritative travel accounts, which reported the sightings of unicorns in the Holy Land. In medieval travelogues, unicorns were often confused with the African or Indian rhinoceros, however, when the Portuguese brought the rhinoceros back to Europe, this belief was quickly dispelled. The inclusion of a unicorn on the Naples cup appears to have been quite intentional on the part of the patron, serving a



Fig. 23. Breviary of the Countess of Bertandos. Portugal, ca. 1515-30. Manuscript on vellum. Detail with unicorn purifying water and a rhinoceros. Academy of Sciences, Lisbon.

symbolic, allegorical purpose.

The Asian artisan's exuberance and pleasure in the naturalistic portrayals of the animals carved on the Naples horn, is carried over by the European goldsmith in the gilded mounts. An enamelled lizard appears on the rear support of the cup, crawling in *trompe l'oeuil* fashion, intended to both please and amuse, tricking viewers into believing it is real (Fig. 24). The inclusion of this reptile reflects the virtuosity and ingenuity of the Portuguese goldsmith, who appears to have been well-acquainted with the works by the French potter, Bernard Palissy, and the Nuremberg goldsmith, Wenzel Jamnitzer (1508-85), both of whom executed casts in clay and in metal of plants, animals, reptiles and insects. Can knowledge of Palissy's works and of South German goldsmith techniques imply that the goldsmith in question was possibly a Northern European, perhaps from Flanders, working in Lisbon? This question remains to be further clarified.

The enormous interest in imitating flora and fauna was part and parcel of the Renaissance taste for naturalism, and Palissy popularised a tradition and style, dubbed by Ernst Kris as, *style rustique*. Jamnitzer executed commissions in which casts of small animals and reptiles decorated caskets, such as a small writing box commissioned by Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol for his *kunstkammer* at Schloss Ambras, in which the exterior and lid are filled with naturalistic lizards, mice, seashells and assorted insects.²⁸ The acquisition of *naturalia*, such as stuffed birds of paradise (cf. Fig. 11), and the fashioning of natural objects: rhinoceros horns, nautilus shells and ostrich eggs, into functional works of art and *objets de vertu* was firmly grounded in the tradition of collecting during the Renaissance (Fig. 25). The Naples cup, therefore, reflects this tradition, as well as, the cultivated interests of both the patron, Constantino, and its intended owner, Maria of Portugal, in the natural sciences and botany. This is reinforced by the fact that Catherine of Austria and other members of the Lisbon royal court collected many of the species depicted on the Naples cup. Tribute from foreign rulers in Asia to the Portuguese court included exotic animals: each year alone Catherine of Austria received ten elephants from the ruler of Jaffna. The tradition of sending exotic animals as diplomatic gifts to cement international relations between princely courts was cultivated by Catherine and John III, who, for instance, sent Emperor Maximilian II of Austria an elephant of state in 1551.²⁹

Maria's cup represents a melding of art and nature, a rare commodity embodying the Orient and Occident in one object. The natural shape of the horn itself determined the shape of the piece,



Fig. 24. Indo-Portuguese rhinoceros cup, Goa or Cochin, 1558-65. Rhinoceros horn and gilt silver. Rear view with enamel lizard. Ht: 21cm. Museo e Gallerie di Capodimonte, Naples, inv. no. 10350 1870. Photograph by Luciano Pedicini.



Fig. 25. Hans I Clauss, Ostrich Egg Ewer. ca. 1630, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut.

afterwards encased and framed by a Renaissance mount, whose high quality and refined execution underscore a European craftsman active at the Lisbon court. The commission appears to have been a specific one in which the overall pattern was conceived of first, and then an appropriate, suitable horn found to fit the design. The animal imagery and the depictions of the Renaissance jewellery are most unusual and uncommon, and must reflect the patron's personal wishes and conception. Rhinoceros horns were always exceptionally expensive and this fact alone supports the notion that the commission of the Naples cup was carefully thought out. The fact that this horn is a cut horn, taking advantage of the wide, flaring end at the base, proves it is from an Asiatic species available in Ming China and Portuguese Asia.³⁰ In Asiatic horns, a fold along the long curve of the base, shows itself as a groove on the exterior surface and a pronounced bulge on the interior, as in Maria's cup; but, which has been completely covered by the mount. Great care was taken with the design, first outlined or incised on the cup, afterwards carved in high relief. Obviously, this master carver, perhaps a Chinese residing in Portuguese Asia, was resourceful and knowledgeable about rhinoceros horn carvings. The precise carving and fine execution of the jewellery motifs indicates an artisan, who may even have been an Indo-Portuguese goldsmith.

The enigmatic rhinoceros cups in Naples, Lugano and Vienna call for more study to be undertaken on the migration of Chinese artisans to strategic trading points within the Portuguese eastern empire. Investigation of local artisans and craftsmen of other nationalities in Goa and in Cochin may yield more information about the structure and organisation of workshops, methods of production and common sources of pictorial images. Very little study has been made on artisans who migrated within Portuguese Asia and where centres of production, within and outside of Goa, may have been located along the commercial network in Asia. For example, did Macao simply serve as an international *entrepôt* or were workshops with specialised craftsmen also located there? Equally, little attention has been paid to the decisive role that Portuguese Viceroys played in the Asian trade, and also, that of European merchants in Portuguese India who commissioned luxury goods for elite and royal customers in Europe. European merchants stationed at specific trading posts such as Cochin, Cannanore, Calicut and

Quilon exercised positions of power and control about which we still know so little about.

Few documents or Portuguese royal inventories before 1580 specifically describe rhinoceros cups of this nature; there is no record of similar cups or rhinoceros related objects in Catherine of Austria's collection, further emphasising the preciousness and rarity of such Asian objects at the Portuguese court.³¹ As such, the Naples cup, prized because of its magical and protective powers, must have been procured as a highly charged, representative object appreciated by the

Portuguese and Farnese courts. It was plausibly commissioned for the specific occasion of Maria of Portugal's wedding, given as a luxury, state gift to a princess of the Avis royal house, a notion which is reinforced by the heraldic arms on the Chinese dragon. This cup may not only reflect Maria's personal tastes for Renaissance jewellery, but also, as a presentation piece, it accentuates, through the iconography, her prestigious heritage and background. Portuguese rule over a world empire and its maritime supremacy is visually emphasised here, and the diverse European and Asian flora and fauna prominently displayed in a microcosmic conception stress Portugal's symbolic mastery over sea and nature. This concept relates closely to the aspirations of late Renaissance and Baroque collectors for universal, encyclopaedic knowledge, who avidly collected illustrated natural histories, scientific engravings, maps, portolan charts, natural specimens and exotica for their princely and scientific *Wunderkammern*.³² These curiosity cabinets, or repositories for extraordinary objects, were created as showcases where the inner world (the microcosm) would reflect the outer world (macrocosm), and the accumulation of representative objects represented symbolic possession of the outside world, as well as, exemplifying an owner's knowledge, power and status. Constantino of Baraganza presented his niece with a masterpiece of Portuguese goldsmith work and Indo-Portuguese ingenuity, of the highest quality and rarity available in Asia, more valuable than the jewels she brought to Italy in her dowry. In this light, this regal object can be seen as an exemplary Asian rarity which greatly enhanced the Farnese collections in the late 16th century.

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NOTES

This essay differs from my original paper: "Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors. Portuguese Asia and the Far East at the Habsburg, Farnese, Medici and Bavarian Courts," presented on 24 November 1999 at the "Legacy of Macao" Symposium in Lisbon. I have opted to center my discussion on this little studied object, in order to illustrate the type of high-quality, Asian luxury goods the Lisbon court collected throughout the Renaissance. Earlier findings regarding this Naples cup were published in *Il "Guardaroba" di una principessa del Rinascimento. L'inventario di Maria di Portogallo, sposa di Alessandro Farnese*, eds. Giuseppe Bertini and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, Rimini 1999, pp. 57-66. I should like to thank Giuseppe Bertini, Linda Martino and the photographic studio of Luciano Pedicini in Naples for their generous assistance with this article.

1. Inv. no. 10350 1870 AM. Rhinoceros horn, gilt silver and enamel. Ht: 21 cm. Provenance: Parma, Ducale Galleria (before 1708).
2. Linda Martino, "Dalla 'Galleria delle cose rare' di Parma al Museo di Capodimonte. Gli oggetti d'arte di Casa Farnese", *La Collezione Farnese. Le Arte Decorative*, Naples 1996, pp. 204-205, cat. 6.141.
3. Giuseppe Bertini, *Le Nozze di Alessandro Farnese. Feste alle corti di Lisbona e Bruxelles*, Parma 1997, p. 33. During his short rule, Constantino is documented as having passed a provision on 8 July 1560 in which native goldsmiths in Goa, under penalty of perpetual galley duty and loss of properties, were required to register all their revenues and income. The latter law underscores Constantino's apparent involvement in, and the desire of the Portuguese crown to better regulate, the jewellery trade in Portuguese India. See Historical Archives, Goa (Panaji), *Provisões a favor da Christandade*, livro 9529 (1513-1840), fol. 84v. It should be noted here that Constantino's nephew, Duarte, Duke of Guimarães (1541-76) was also a collector of Asian rarities. His 1576 testament lists one Chinese scroll painting, four Japanese *samurai* shields and four colourful paintings from China. See Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, "O Fascínio de Cipango. Artes Decorativas e Lacas da Ásia Oriental em Portugal, Espanha e Áustria (1511-98)", *Os Construtores do Oriente Português*, Porto 1998, p. 213.
4. Jan Chapman, *The Art of Rhinoceros Horn Carving in China*, London 1999.
5. Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, "The Marvels of the East: Renaissance Curiosity Collections in Portugal", *The Heritage of Rauluchantim*, Lisbon 1996, p. 92.
6. Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais, Torre do Tombo, Lisbon (hereafter IAN/TT), N. A. 794, fol. 67r: "Iten hun corno de elicornyo que dizem que he de elicornjo que tem de comprido dous palmos e dous dedos esta enteyro, sen lhe falecer nada o qual Recebeo de sy mesma como as outras cousas".
7. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstkammer, inv. no. KK 3702. The anterior horn of an African white rhinoceros reaches the average length of around 60 cms. For more information on different rhinoceros species see Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-48.
8. William B. Ashworth, Jr., "Remarkable Humans and Singular Beasts", *The Age of the Marvelous*, ed. Joy Kenseth, Hanover NH, 1990, pp. 113-144.
9. Claudia Lazarro, "Animals as Cultural Signs: A Medici Menagerie in the Grotto at Castello", *Reframing the Renaissance. Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. Claire Farago, New Haven 1995, p. 203. See as well Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, "Os produtos exóticos da carreira da Índia e o papel da corte portuguesa na sua difusão", *Nossa Senhora dos Martires. A última Viagem*, Portuguese Pavilion: Expo 98, Lisbon 1998, pp. 123-141.
10. Donald Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Volume 2: *A Century of Wonder*. Book One: *The Visual Arts*, Chicago 1970, p. 162.
11. Lach, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-159; Colin Eisler, *Dürer's Animals*, Washington DC, 1991, pp. 269-275. See also T. H. Clarke, *The Rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs, 1515-1799*, London 1986.
12. Bertini, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
13. By 1550 a number of Chinese lived and traded in Goa. Consult Anthony D'Costa, "Administrative, Social and Religious Conditions in the Goa Islands, 1510-1550", *Índica*, vol. 1, March 1964, p. 20 and K. J. John, "International Trade in Cochín in the 16th century", *A Carreira da Índia e as Rotas dos Estreitos. Actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, eds. A. Teodoro de Matos and L. F. F. Reis Thomaz, Angra do Heroísmo 1998, pp. 295-308.
14. See also Hanns-Ulrich Mette, *Der Nautilus Pokal. Wie Kunst und Natur mit einander spielen*, Munich 1995.
15. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-236, fig. 339; pp. 267-269, figs. 338-389. Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Lugano, inv. no. K/161B. Ht: 17.1 cm.
16. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 269, fig. 389. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstkammer, inv. no. KK 3742. Ht: 16.44 cm, Width: 16.2 cm. Recently exhibited in *Exotica. Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance*, Vienna 2000, pp. 199-200, cat. 109, plate illustrated on p.202. Nuno Vassallo e Silva identifies the rhinoceros species as Javan, dating the carving to the early 17th century. He localises its provenance as southern Indian (possibly Cochín), and the coat-of-arms were identified as belonging to Antão Vaz Freire, the chief Portuguese administrator responsible for trade in Ceylon in 1616. The iconography, according to Vassallo, comprises, on the exterior, of a mountainous landscape filled with plants, trees and animals (elephants, tiger and a lion), and in the interior, motifs related to ships, water and fish. Vassallo posits that the depiction of the dragon-tree (*dracaena draco*) on the Vienna cup, a palm-like tree of the agave family, common in the Gulf of Manar, may pinpoint even further the centre of manufacture.
17. Hannelore Müller, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection. European Silver*, translated by P. S. Falla and Anna Somers Cock, London 1986, pp. 184-187, cat. 54.
18. *loc. cit.*, p. 184.
19. Rudolf Wittkower, *Allegory and the Migration of Symbols*, New York 1977, pp. 94-96. For more on mythical animals in Mughal manuscript painting deriving from Hindu epics, Persian and Islamic texts see Philippa Vaughan, "Mythical Animals in Mughal Art: Images, Symbols and Allusions", *Flora and Fauna in Mughal Art*, edited by Som Prakash Verma, Mumbai 1999, pp. 55-68. Vaughan discusses at length the depiction of real and mythical animals (i.e. dragons) which were popular themes for imperial Mughal carpets and miniatures. In her view, allegories portraying the animal kingdom represented a cosmic order which underscored the imperial mastery of Mughal emperors over wild animals. In Mughal art, the dragon and a legendary bird, the *simurgh*, alluded to imperial power.
20. Gauvin Bailey has recently addressed this question in regards to the artistic exchange between the Jesuits and the Mughal court. See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul: Renaissance Art at the Imperial Court of India, 1580-1630, Occasional Papers*, 1998, vol. 2, Washington DC, 1998.
21. John S. Guy, *Oriental Trade Ceramics in South-East Asia. Ninth to Sixteenth Centuries*, Oxford 1990, p. 41. For more on trade relations between Portugal, Europe and India in the Renaissance see K. S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, New Delhi 1983 and K. S. Mathew, *Indo-Portuguese Trade and the Fuggers of Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, New Delhi 1997.
22. For more on Maria of Portugal's jewellery see Bertini and Jordan Gschwend, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-56.
23. In Chinese art, two butterflies together symbolise a happy marriage.
24. Priscilla Muller, *Jewels in Spain, 1500-1800*, New York 1979, pp. 79-81.
25. *loc. cit.*, p. 81.
26. *loc. cit.*, p. 88.
27. The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RBK 17524. Length: 10.5 cm.
28. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Kunstkammer, inv. no. KK 1155-1164. Length: 22.7cm, Ht: 6 cm, Width: 10.2 cm.
29. Lach, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-146.
30. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.
31. Catherine's sister, Mary of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, owned in 1558, a Chinese or Indo-Portuguese lidded cup made of rhinoceros, or possibly buffalo horn, which may have been a gift from the Lisbon court. This is one of the earliest documented references to a rhinoceros cup in a Renaissance collection. See AGS, CMC, 1a epoca, leg. 1017, fol. 46v: "Cargasele mas un cuerno negro que diz es de las yndias guarnecido de plata con su tapador de cuerno con tres guarniciones de plata sobre que esta...". As well as Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, "Queen of the Seas and Overseas. Dining at the Table of Catherine of Austria, Queen of Portugal", *Royal and Princely Tables of Europe. Commissions and Gifts. European Royal Tables - International Symposium Acts*. Lisbon 1999, pp. 14-43.
32. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "From Mastery of the World to Mastery of Nature. The Kunstkammer, Politics and Science", *The Mastery of Nature. Aspects of Art, Science and Humanism in the Renaissance*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1993, Ch. 7, pp. 174-194. See also Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, "In the Tradition of Princely Collections: Curiosities and Exotica in the Kunstkammer of Catherine of Austria", *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies*, vol. XIII, no. 1, October 1995, pp. 1-9.