

1. Hawa'i the Elephant and Abada the Rhinoceros

Abstract

Chapter 1 provides a biogeography of Hawa'i the elephant and Abada the rhinoceros, beginning with their births in India. When Philip II came into the possession of both animals, he took advantage of the financial and structural relationship between hospitals and theaters and placed each animal in a hospital in Madrid, where the public was charged a fee to see them. The spectacle of Abada and Hawa'i functioned like a proto-zoo, reflecting the emerging public sphere and Philip II's desire to enhance the image of the capital city. Chapter 1 also examines a silver-gilt ewer (1583) designed by Juan de Arfe that uses an image of Abada and Hawa'i to show off Philip II's planetary power.

Keywords: zoo history, public sphere, Philip II of Spain (1527–98), Hawa'i the elephant (ca. 1580–ca. 1593), Abada the rhinoceros (1573–91), Juan de Arfe y Villafañe (1535–1603)

The zoo is a microcosm of the Anthropocene because it is a space where humans determine animal reproduction and choose who belongs. Madrid constructed a zoo in the Casa de Campo in 1972 and, before that, in the eighteenth century, the public went to see lions in cages in the Buen Retiro Park. Even before the creation of the Casa de Campo zoo and Buen Retiro Park, people had already visited a proto-zoo, where they paid a fee to see an elephant and a rhinoceros in Madrid.¹

The following chapter follows the material conditions of the lives of the elephant Hawa'i and the rhinoceros Abada, especially focusing on their

1 For more on zoo history, see McDonald and Vandersommers 2019; Bruce 2017; Rothfels 2002; Malamud 1998 and 2017; Miller 2013; Anderson 1998; and Grigson 2016. For early modern Habsburg menagerie collections, see Jordan Gschwend 2010 and 2016, and Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend 2001 and 2007.

use as public spectacle in two hospitals in Madrid from 1583 to 1591. The chapter explains the nature of spectatorship for the sixteenth-century viewing public. People that saw Hawa'i and Abada saw different things. Like seeing a play, experiencing Hawa'i and Abada constituted complex social thinking and affective reactions based on the audience's sense of collectivity and individuality.²

In general, the display of Hawa'i and Abada set destructive precedents for the lives of animals more generally because it perpetuated the elite gifting of live animals in a global economy, fomented an emerging orientalism, made the rhino body a symbol of a panacea, and used animals to create a sense of the world in which they were captive enemies of a universal monarchy. The chapter ends by focusing on the ewer designed by Juan de Arfe that transformed Philip II's pachyderm spectacle into a spectacle of imperial triumph that is one of the most troubling features of the modern zoo—showing off one's power with captive animals from a distant land.

Humans need to develop deeper compassion for animal sentience with regard to space, especially because we do not fully understand the cognitive spatial sense in animals. The human language system shares characteristics with animal mapping systems in evolutionary terms because animals developed a sense of mapping in the same place in the brain where humans developed language (Hauser, Chomsky, and Fitch 2002). The chapter concludes with two images that show how Hawa'i and Abada can offer new ways to creatively reimagine ways of mapping that include the animal.

Philip II's use of Hawa'i and Abada overlooks animal space sentience: He strengthens a sense of worldliness, transforming Hawa'i and Abada's bodies into an image of his planetary control that converges within the contours of Madrid. Despite providing safety for animals from the peril of a besieged wilderness, zoos as institutions ultimately promote the anthropocentric and anti-ecological fantasy that we are entitled to see everything and, as Randy Malamud writes, are "somehow above the ecosystems in which we live" (2017, 399). The goal, then, of the chapter is to show destructive mappings onto the bodies of each animal; in doing so, the chapter will clear the ground for looking at new ecosystems that heighten empathy toward animals and their sense of place.

2 For the Habermasian notion of the public in early modern theater, see Mullaney 2013. For the role of the activation of the human senses in the making of the public sphere, see Eberhart 2013. For the public sphere in the context of early modern Spanish theater, see Greer 2013. Also see Amelang 2018.

Hawa'i (ca. 1580–ca. 1593)

Only twenty or so elephants arrived alive to Europe during the course of the sixteenth century. All were from India. The nameless elephant that Philip II put in the hospital in Madrid in 1583 was most likely born in captivity in the menagerie of Akbar, the great ruler of the Mughal Empire. I am adopting the name of Akbar's most famous elephant—"Hawa'i"—for Philip II's elephant to signal that Hawa'i was most likely born in captivity in Mughal Agra under the supervision of Akbar.

The number of live elephants held in captivity was a sign of power among the Ottoman Turks and the Mughals. Akbar's father, for instance, impressed the Ottoman admiral Seydi Ali Reis (1498–1563), by showing off some 400 imperial elephants at his palace court (Groom 2019, 7). At his court in Agra, Akbar had 101 stables for elephants. Five men tended each elephant, feeding them rice, sugar, milk, and ghee. A superintendent reported the condition of each elephant to Akbar (Grewal 2007, 60).

In the 1570s, geopolitical tensions between two world superpowers—the Ottoman Turks and Mughal India—radically transformed the lives of Hawa'i and Abada. On unhealthy terms with the Ottomans, Akbar sought out an alliance with Iberia. In early 1582, Akbar established direct contact by sending an envoy with a letter and gifts to Philip II. The letter ostensibly describes his interest in Iberia's Christianizing mission and asks Philip for missionaries and religious books in Persian so that he could learn about Christian doctrine. Akbar, however, primarily sought out an alliance with Philip—a powerful European counterpart to the west of the Ottoman Empire—to secure his own territory to the east (Thomas and Chesworth 2017).

Akbar planned to send the envoy of ambassadors, along with the letter and gifts, to Goa and then on to Lisbon. The envoy consisted of the Mughal emissaries Sayyid Muzaffar and Abdullah Khan, as well as the Jesuit missionary António Monserrate (1536–1600). I suspect that Hawa'i was the primary gift that Akbar sent with the envoy to the Portuguese. Historical data is incomplete because the ambassadorial mission fell apart. Muzaffar abandoned the mission—he opposed Akbar's religious heterodoxy and fled. Khan did not abandon the mission and only arrived to Goa with Akbar's letter and Hawa'i. Khan, however, did not continue on to Lisbon because, as Monserrate writes, "the project of the embassy was entirely abandoned" (qtd. in Thomas and Chesworth 2017, 105).

A letter written by Philip II to his children in 1582 provides one key reason why the ambassadorial mission to Goa fell apart: The viceroy in Goa had

died. In the letter, Philip II writes that the viceroy that he appointed to Goa, Fernão Teles de Menezes (1530–1605), had just replaced the previous one who had died in March 1581. Philip states to his daughters that Fernão Teles de Menezes arrived just in time to be able to secure him an elephant gift that may have cheered the spirits of their brother:

I only know that the ship carried an elephant, which has been sent to your brother by the viceroy whom I sent to the Indies [...] who has already arrived there, and he arrived at a good time too because the one who was there already—I mean the viceroy who was there already—was dead. Tell your brother about the elephant [...] God keep you as I desire: your loving father. (qtd. in Woodward 2013, 99)³

Philip II was living in Lisbon at this time (from 1581 to 1583) and away from his family. Philip shows no concern for the rest of the cargo that arrived to port except for the elephant because he hoped that a new elephant would improve the health of his son Diego, who he calls in the letter “convalescent and weak.”

Philip’s enthusiasm over Hawai’i’s arrival is bittersweet. Over thirty years earlier, Philip II had hoped that elephants would please his deceased son Don Carlos (1545–68), the sole hope at that time for the continuation of the dynasty. When Carlos was five years old, he received a nine-year-old elephant bull from his father and Catherine of Austria (1507–78). Catherine was mother to Maria Manuela of Portugal (1527–45), Philip II’s first wife, who was deceased by the time of this gifting. Catherine wanted to indulge Carlos, Philip’s son and her grandson, now growing up motherless in the Spanish court.⁴ Deeming the elephant’s custody to be too costly, Philip regifted the elephant two years later. Despite having given away this first elephant, nine years later, in 1562, Philip II chose to give the gift of another elephant to his sixteen-year-old son Prince Carlos. The Venetian ambassador in Spain describes Carlos’s reaction to the second elephant from his teen years, writing that Carlos “cherishes it so and frequently

3 “solo he sabido que viene esta nao un elefante que envía a vuestro hermano el virrey que envié a la India [...] que era ya allá y llegó a buen tiempo porque era muerto el que alla estaba, digo el virrey que allá estaba. Decid a vuestro hermano esto del elefante [...] Y dios os guarde como deseo, vuestro buen padre” (qtd. in Bouza 1998, 191).

4 Prince Carlos’s elephant was originally a gift from Bhuvaneku Bahu, King of Kōtṭe (r. 1521–51) to the Portuguese Queen Catherine of Austria (1507–78). Popularly known as Suleyman, this elephant was raised in Ceylon in Bahu’s royal stables and, at two years old, was taken to Queen Catherine in Lisbon (Jordan Gschwend 2010).

orders it to be brought to his room where he delights in seeing such a novel and strange animal” (qtd. in Jordan Gschwend 2010, 35). When Philip saw Hawa'i arrive in Lisbon in July of 1582, the experience of the previous two elephants as gifts for a sickly son pervaded his sentiment in the letter to his daughters.

Hawa'i, nonetheless, never saw the new heir alive—Prince Diego, Philip's fourth son, died at seven years old from smallpox a few months after Hawa'i arrived on the Portuguese galleon. Not long after the death of his son, Philip II decided to move court from Lisbon. The following year, Philip left for Madrid, mourning the loss of his son but with Portugal and its territories under his monarchic wing. When he returned to Madrid, he transported Hawa'i and Abada as part of the royal move (Staudinger and Irbllich 1996, 265; Jordan Gschwend 2017, 333).

Philip first placed Hawa'i in a stable near the Alcázar Palace in Madrid. Indicating that Hawa'i was unhappy with the living situation and lacked space, a royal payment was made to Catalina Santaclara on August 1, 1583 for damages done by Hawa'i to her house next to the Alcázar (Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend 2007, 443 n.87). Shortly after damaging the dwelling near the Madrid palace, Philip ordered Hawa'i to be brought to the Escorial. Philip II's historian describes:

On October 9, 1583, the king ordered that an elephant be brought from Madrid so that the monks could observe it. The elephant arrived to the gardens at 2 p.m. A noble black man [*caballero*] rode on its neck and guided it. Before His Majesty, the elephant showed off to all its ability to pay tribute and bow, lie on the ground, and take fruit with its trunk. Later they put it in the cloister of the monastery and it entered in the monk's quarters, and from there they brought it to the college through the cloister. It was quite tame. The same elephant also came a few days later and walked up the main staircase to the cloister on the upper level some 30 feet above ground. It entered in the cell of the Vicar and there it did all that the black man commanded.⁵

5 “En 9 días del mes de octubre de 1583 años por mandado de S.M. trajeron de Madrid un elefante para que le viesen los padres desta casa. Entró en el jardín a las dos horas después de mediodía. Venía un negro caballero en el pescuezo que le guiaba. Hizo delante de S.M. todas sus habilidades de hacer reverencia, y echarse en el suelo y tomar frutas con la trompa. Y luego le metieron por los claustros de la casa, y entró en la celda de nuestros padres, y de allí le llevaron al colegio por los claustros, muy doméstico. Y otro día después le tornaron a traer y subió por la escalera principal a los claustros altos de los treinta pies, y entró en la celda del padre vicario, y hizo allí lo que el negro mandaba” (Salvá y Sainz de Baranda 1845, 368–9).

As all the sources that make reference to Hawa'i, the Escorial chronicler does not provide a proper name for the elephant.

It should be noted, though, that some elephants did receive proper names in early modern Spain. Often, they were given the title of “don,” like Don Quixote. Louise Rice (2017) has studied Don Diego, the elephant who served as model for the painter Nicholas Poussin (1594–1665). Don Diego was sent from Portugal to Spain and Philip IV placed him in the Casa de Campo in 1621, the year he ascended the throne. I suspect that Philip IV’s elephant may have been christened Diego after his grandfather Philip II’s son Diego, who died a few months before Hawa'i arrived in Madrid. As I note below, another Spanish elephant was christened Don Pedro. Philip II sent Don Pedro as a gift to the Japanese. Could Don Pedro’s name also derive from the name of one of King Philip II’s sons, that is, his illegitimate son Pedro from his relationship with Isabel de Osorio?

Aside from providing no name for the elephant, the Escorial chronicler also does not provide a proper name for the mahout. He simply calls him “a noble black man.” More study is also needed on the history of mahouts in sixteenth-century Europe. In 1517, one of the two mahouts that traveled with Hanno the white elephant from Asia to Portugal, and then to Rome, was Mahmet (Jordan Gschwend 2010, 6). A mahout named Oçem accompanied the first rhinoceros to arrive in Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Another document from the same period in Lisbon lists Dharma and Drama as mahouts for elephants (Jordan Gschwend 2010, 6). The mahout Gaspar came from Goa to Lisbon and served the elephants and the Portuguese King John III, who granted Gaspar freedom in 1559 (Jordan Gschwend 2017, 332).

The mahout that accompanied Hawa'i had most likely bonded with Hawa'i when he was born at Akbar’s court. Upon arriving in Europe with their elephant or rhino, Philip II would have provided Hawa'i’s mahout with lavish European clothing, following the previous treatment of mahouts by Iberian kings. In 1517, King Manuel supplied Dharma and Drama, “servants of the elephants,” a wardrobe of clothing (Jordan Gschwend 2010). For Philip’s 1562 elephant, the tailor Gabriel Várez completed an order that describes the unnamed mahout as the “elephant’s Indian” (*yndio del elefante*) (Jordan Gschwend 2010, 35). Várez’s clothing order includes: yellow pants and a top, along with a red tabard cloak (Jordan Gschwend 2010, 35).

One Antwerp artist, Jans Mollihns I, created a colorful broadsheet that represents Philip’s 1562 elephant (see fig. 2). The mahout in Mollihns’s broadsheet wears yellow leggings and a yellow shirt with a red tabard cloak, demonstrating that he was still wearing the clothes that he received from



Fig. 2. Philip II's 1562 elephant (1563) by Jan Mollins I (British Museum, London).

Philip II when he was traveling in northern Europe. The mahout in Mollihn's image carries a long baton, riding on the shoulders of an elephant that wears a yellow and red checkered cover over its back (Jordan Gschwend 2010, 38). Aside from the image of the unnamed mahout, Mollihn's broadsheet shows some men that pull the elephant's tail, another appears to push and prod the elephant, another measures its head, and another appears to bow as the animal passes by. Two elderly women watch from a window; one of them points at the animal.

The description in the Escorial of the mahout who took care of Hawa'i describes the man as a "noble *caballero*." The association between the mahout and aristocracy was a commonplace, just as the association between the elephant and aristocracy. The practice of giving an elephant the noble moniker of "don" was the object of humor in one seventeenth-century novel. In *El diablo cojuelo* (*The Limping Devil*, 1641) by Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579–1644), a character sits atop a tower and watches the goings-on in Madrid. He offers a scathing critique of everyday life in Madrid. The narrator points out a mahout bringing an elephant to the Puerta del Sol and lambasts the relative ease in which people christen themselves into the nobility by appropriating the label "Don":

Other elephants are usually called don Pedros, don Juanes and don Alonsos. I just don't know how the mahout, or *nair* as they call them in India, can make such a mistake. Such an animal is nothing more than a commoner and the label "don" is falsely put upon it. By god, I will get rid of that label because a "don" on an elephant for me takes away the sacredness and privilege of the title.⁶

The Spanish and Portuguese typically referred to mahouts as "nairs" in the early modern period, a word that, in the Indian context, refers to the Nair (or Nayar) people, a group of Hindu castes that lived and live in the Indian state today known as Kerala. In the sixteenth century, the Nair peoples lived in various kingdoms, most notably, from the point of view of the Iberians, Calicut and Cochin, the kingdoms known for pepper production.⁷

After the Escorial, Philip decided to make Hawa'i a spectacle for the public for nine years in the Antón Martín Hospital in Madrid. Afterwards, in 1591, Philip II dispatched Hawa'i as a gift to the new Bourbon King of France, Henry IV (1553–1610, r. 1589–1610). After a year, Henry IV grew tired of Hawa'i's upkeep and unloaded him as a gift to Queen Elizabeth of England (1533–1603, r. 1558–1603) in 1592 (Rice 2017; Lach 1970, II: 155). One study of Asian elephants found that males continue to gain weight throughout their lives (Chapman and Mumby 2015). Elizabeth was not happy with Hawa'i and complained that he kept growing. As English historian Anne Somerset

6 "Los más suelen llamarse [...] don Pedros, don Juanes y don Alonsos. No sé cómo ha tenido tanto descuido su ayo o naire, como lo llaman los de la India Oriental; plebeyo debía de ser este animal, pues ha llegado tan tarde al don. Vive Dios que me le he de quitar yo, porque me desbautizan y desdonan los que veo" (Vélez de Guevara 2019, 23).

7 The role of non-European keepers, and their status within society more widely, merits further attention. For nineteenth-century African lion-tamers in Britain, see Cowie 2014.

writes: "Her Majesty was not content with the sending of the elephant" (qtd. Somerset 2010, 486). Elizabeth, no doubt, like Henry IV in England and Philip II in Spain, did not wish to concern herself with the welfare of the animal. Captive elephants usually die by forty years of age and it seems that Hawa'i, who survived journeys from Mughal India to Spain to France, probably died in England of neglect at around thirteen years old.

Abada (1573–ca. 1591)

Abada arrived in Lisbon five years before Hawa'i. About nine Indian rhinos arrived in Europe before 1800. Only two, possibly three, rhinos survived transport to Europe in the sixteenth century. All the rhinos, like Hawa'i and the other nineteen or so elephants, were from India. Many scholars have studied Ganda, the first rhino to arrive alive to Europe in the early modern period, but none has examined Abada, the only rhinoceros to have lived long term in captivity in Europe in the sixteenth century.⁸

Abada was a single-horned Indian rhino, the largest of the five rhino species and the most difficult to train. As opposed to the popularity of the broadsheet *Rhinoceros*, by Dürer, that shows Ganda's altered image, only one printed image of Abada was made in the sixteenth century. Philip Galle (1537–1612), a printer and publisher in Antwerp, took a now-lost sketch of Abada and, like Dürer, made *Abada*, a copper engraving, and printed a broadsheet (fig. 3).⁹ Galle did not alter the rhino's body with armor like

8 For a history of captive rhinos, see Rookmaaker 1973, and Rookmaaker, et al. 1998. One of the best sources for the history of the rhinoceros in Spain is an unpublished manuscript by Martín Sarmiento (1695–1771). Sarmiento begins "Noticias de un cuerno del rinoceronte" ("News about a Rhinoceros Horn", ca. 1762) by stating that he was inspired by a horn bought from a dealer in Madrid—"the horn I have now on my desk" ("el cuerno que tengo sobre la mesa" [357]). He then writes nearly 350 pages devoted to sources that describe the rhinoceros from antiquity to the present. He provides invaluable sources on Abada, especially in the section titled "Testigos oculares de Rhinozeronte" ("Rhino Eyewitnesses," 383 ff.).

9 One of Galle's printed broadsheets of Abada is found in Museo de Historia de Madrid. A list of other extant Galle broadsheets is found in Faust 2003, 5. Lazarus Roeting (or Rotingus) (1549–1614) engraved and copied Galle's print. Roeting's nephew Michael Rotenbeck (1568–1623) included Roeting's copy in *Theatrum Naturae* (*The Theater of Nature*, 1615). The inscription or legend of Roeting's copy of the Galle rhinoceros is a four-line handwritten textual abbreviation of the text found in Galle's block print inscription. Another copy Galle's *Rhinoceros* was made by Galle's nephew, Collaert. One collection of Collaert's prints includes nineteen hand-colored plate engravings with a title page that depicts Orpheus charming and taming the birds and beasts of the forest. The colored plate with Galle's rhino (now in a private collection) includes two elephants at its side.

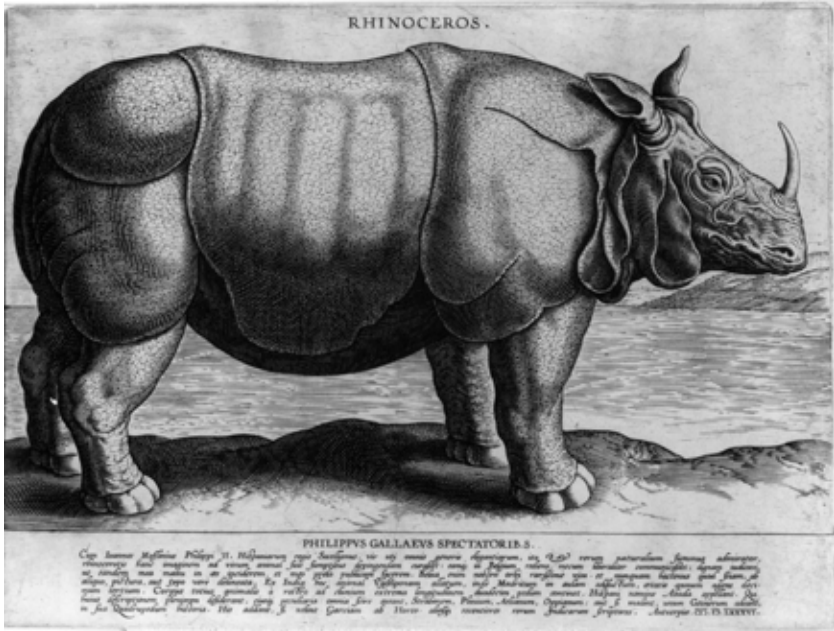


Fig. 3. *Abada* (1586) by Philip Galle (private collection).

Dürer, who added rivets and an extra horn. Galle did, however, alter one feature from the original sketch. As other painted images and sketches of *Abada* from the period indicate, she had been dehorned. Galle, who received an image of the rhinoceros without a horn, felt obliged to add a horn. “Rhinoceros,” after all, means “nose horn” and even basic, standard references like *Officinae epitome* (or *Officina*) by the French humanist Jean Tixier de Ravisi (ca. 1480–1524) note, under the section “Diverse Animals,” that “The rhinoceros has a horn on its nose.”¹⁰ Because he felt the need to include its most basic feature, Galle added a horn. The thin version of the horn in *Abada*, however, does not at all resemble the much thicker horn of the Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*).

The Flemish engraver Galle included seven lines of block print to *Abada* and, thanks to that, I have been able to determine that *Abada* was born in 1573. The text on the Galle broadsheet depiction states that she was thirteen years old in 1586. *Abada*, like Hawa’i, has no recorded name in the historical record. I am calling her *Abada* because that was the popular word for rhinoceros in late sixteenth-century Europe. The word *abada* (and its variation, *bada*) arrived into Portuguese, Spanish, and other European

10 “Rhinoceros unum habet in nare cornu” (Tixier de Ravisi 1559, 201).

languages derived from the Malay “badak” or “badoh,” pronounced “bada” in certain dialects of Malay (Boxer 1953, 77–78). In Malaysia, *badak* referred to a different and, today, much rarer species, the Javan or lesser one-horned rhino (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*). After the Portuguese established an important trading post in Malaysia after the conquest of the Malacca Sultanate in 1511, Portuguese descriptions of the region used *abada* and *bada* to describe rhinos. When the same sailors travelled back to Portugal from Malacca, they stopped in the port of Goa and also used *abada* or *bada*. Even though *badak* referred to the rhinoceros from Java, at the time, sixteenth-century Europeans used the word to describe rhinos in general and, most especially, Abada, who was a *Rhinoceros unicornis* from India not Java, and who they observed in Lisbon in 1578 and then in Madrid from 1583 to 1591.

While I suspect that Hawa'i was born in captivity in Akbar's menagerie, Abada was not. Even though Akbar might have had some captive rhinos, it is most likely that Abada was taken by Akbar from her mother after she was killed in a hunt, probably near the Yamuna river. Abada had depended on her mother for suckling in the wild for two years. When she was orphaned around three, Akbar took her and assigned her a mahout. Abada imprinted herself on the mahout, her new mother, especially in her early years because rhinos have a prolonged dependency on their mothers.

One miniature from a page from a manuscript from the late sixteenth century provides a visual scenario for the hunt in which Abada was captured (fig. 4). The miniature is from a lavish, fully illustrated edition of the *Baburnama* (the Book of Babur, 1589) that Akbar commissioned to honor his grandfather, Babur (1483–1530).¹¹ The miniature shows how Babur's retinue hunted (using fire); which animals were used in the hunt (horses, a falcon, and dogs); how the animal was processed on the spot (its head is saved and various men butcher the rest of the animal); and how some rhinos escaped. Two rhinos leave the scene in the foreground and six rhinos huddle in the background behind the flames set by Babur's retinue.

In the sixteenth century, rhinos were still hunted in northwestern India. The artist drew Babur hunting rhinos from his imagination, some seven decades after Babur entered India and founded the Mughal dynasty at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, Indian rhinos were still

11 The miniature is taken from folio 21v from *Baburnama* by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. *Baburnama* was a Farsi translation of Babur's memoirs, originally written in Chagati Turki, and Akbar's courtier Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan assembled *Baburnama*. The original *Baburnama* does not survive—the pages have been dispersed. For a list of museums where *Baburnama*'s pages can be found and where later copies exist, as well as more Mughal rhino illustrations, see Divyabhanusinh, Das, and Bose 2018, and Ettinghausen 1950.



Fig. 4. Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur hunting rhinos in Swati (1589) (Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland).

hunted in the sixteenth century. The *Baburnama* notes live rhino sightings when Babur entered Hindustan near the Swat river, the image depicted in the illustration. The *Baburnama* also records hunts for live rhinos near Bigam, Peshawar, Hashnagar, the Siyahab river, the Indus river, Bhera in Punjab, and the Sangu river in the Kumaun region (Divyabhanusinh, Das, and Bose 2018). The westernmost limit of the sixteenth-century rhino habitat was the eastern bank of the Yamuna, the place where Abada was likely born.

Prince Salim or Akbar's son Jahangir (r. 1605–27), the 4th Mughal emperor, boasts in his memoir about having killed sixty-five rhinos (Divyabhanusinh, Das, and Bose 2018, 78). A watercolor drawing, *Prince Salim at a Hunt* (1600–4) shows an alternative scenario in which Abada could have been taken captive (fig. 5). The image shows the Mughal prince Jahangir killing a rhino with a musket, while another young rhino's life is spared. The image depicts an expressive interchange between Jahangir, who shows the palm of his hand—possibly wishing to kill the rhino—and the men on the ground, one of whom guides the rhino with a stick, and who appear to point and plead Jahangir to spare the young rhino's life.

After her mother was killed, Abada would have been taken to Agra and then sent off as a diplomatic gift in 1578. Hawa'i the elephant was a diplomatic gift and part of a failed diplomatic mission between Akbar and Philip II in 1582. In contrast, in 1578, Akbar also sent a diplomatic mission to the Jesuits that was successful. As part of the 1578 ambassadorial mission, Akbar sent Abada as a gift to the Portuguese viceroy Diogo de Menezes in Goa (r. 1576–8) along with other gifts and an accompanying letter by the Portuguese Jesuit Pero Tavares. The letter that Akbar sent with Tavares shows off his power by describing his control over a large number of massive animals. The letter states:

Akbar is so powerful that there are 70 tributaries under him, with 300,000 horsemen and 20,000 elephants, besides 16,000 horses in the stable. He has 14,000 deer out of which 4000 are brought up in the house and 700 domesticated panthers and 10,000 oxen to draw carts, and 500,000 birds. Each day 1500 birds are slaughtered for food for the others. He has a postal system, 20,000 men on horse to guard him, and 500 brave elephants to guard the palace at night. (qtd. in Malekandathi 2013, 19)

Akbar's letter requested a meeting with the Viceroy Menezes at the Mughal court in Agra. Even though Akbar was vastly more economically and politically powerful than the Portuguese (he conquered Gujarat in 1575), he—just as in the later 1582 envoy to Philip II—wished to establish contact

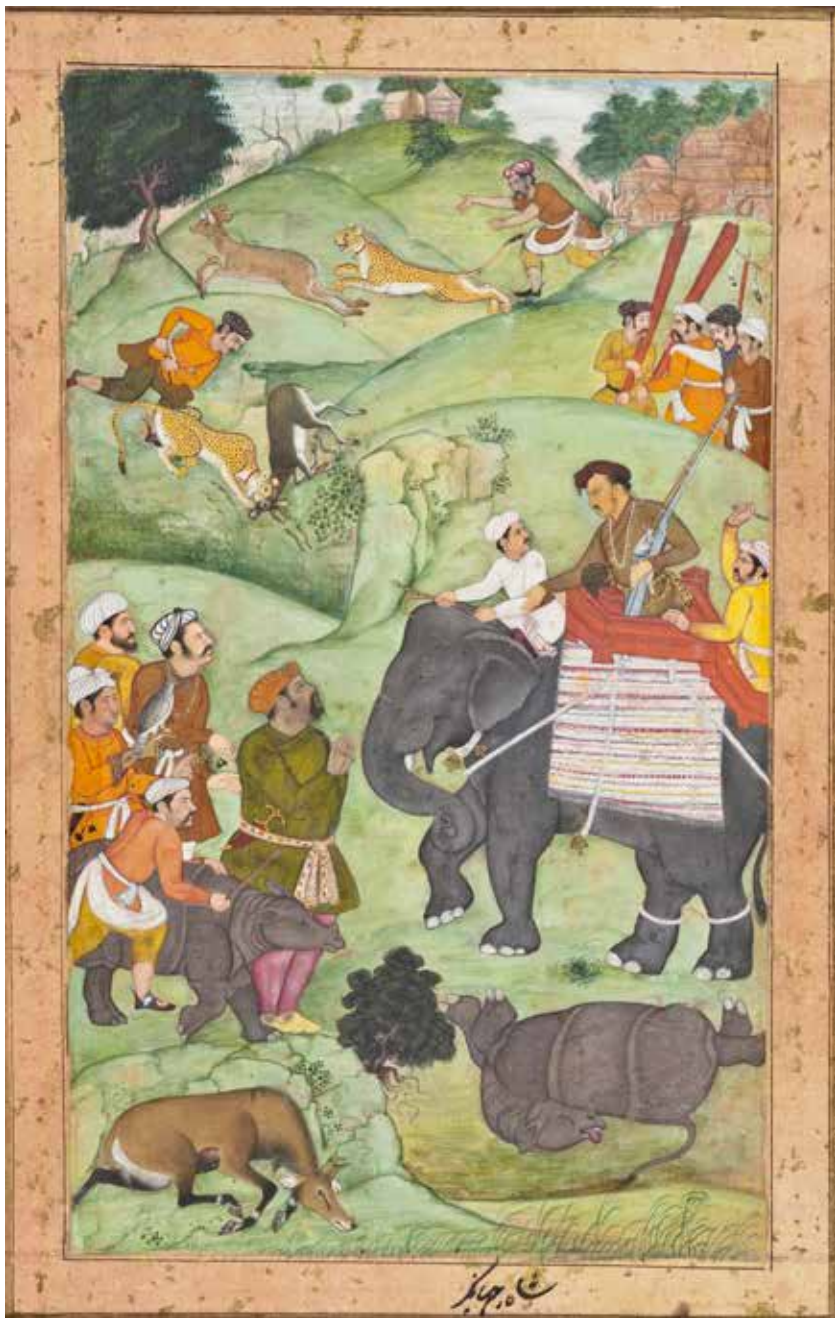


Fig. 5. Prince Salim at a hunt (1600–4) (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles).

with the Portuguese in the hopes of an alliance against the Ottoman Turks (Malekandathi 2013).

Akbar followed a significant precedent from earlier in the century when he gifted the young, newly weaned Abada and her mahout. Muzaffar Shah II (r. 1511–26) from Cambay in the Gujarat Sultanate in Northwest India sent two sets of envoys of ambassadors to Afonso de Albuquerque (1453–1515), first governor and founder of the Portuguese empire in India, under King Manuel I (1469–1521; r. 1495–1521) (Yule and Burnell 1886, 363–4). In 1514, Muzaffar's envoy included Hanno the white elephant and, in 1517, a rhino, the only other one to have survived the trip to sixteenth-century Europe and who was also nameless, but affectionately called Ganda by many scholars. "Ganda," from the Sanskrit for rhinoceros, was used by many Portuguese historians to describe the first rhinoceros brought to Portugal in the early sixteenth century.

Akbar followed Muzaffar's earlier model of gift-giving. He sent Abada to Goa. The Portuguese exported rhino body parts for medicine in Europe, but the appearance of a living rhino in Goa was a rarity. Garcia d'Orta (1501?–68) writes, for instance, that he never saw one alive in Goa: "I have not seen any rhinoceros."¹² Orta, Diogo de Menezes, and the other Jesuit humanists living in Goa knew of the immense fame that Muzaffar's earlier rhino gift of Ganda had after she arrived in Europe such as having inspired Dürer's *Rhinoceros*. Well aware of the uniqueness of new rhino in Europe to follow on Ganda's fame, they recognized the immense potential value of Abada. Menezes loaded Abada, along with her mahout, onto a ship and sent them to King Sebastian in Portugal.

Hawa'i and Abada's overseas journey must have been harrowing. They most likely travelled on a large three-mast vessel of 400 tons or more developed by the Portuguese for transporting large cargoes across great oceanic distances. The same type of boat was used by Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus. Although the door may have had to have been expanded, Hawa'i may have been led up a gangplank like horses were. A model ship from the Naval Museum in Madrid shows how horses were led up a plank into the hull of a ship.

Because she was more difficult to control than Hawa'i, the four-year-old Abada may have been hoisted up and down from the vessel with ropes and a pulley. One image from a sixteenth-century Tournai tapestry, the *Arrival of Vasco da Gama to Calicut or Cochín*, on first glance, looks entirely fanciful. It shows ornamental flowers where water should be and also a unicorn. Stylized

12 "eu não vi algum rinoceronte" (qtd. in Wicki 1970, 330 n.41).

tapestries from the late fifteenth century like *The Lady of the Unicorn* and *Unicorn Tapestries* feature unicorns and thousands of small flowers. But the Portuguese Tournai tapestry illuminates how animals were loaded in vessels that traveled great distances along Portuguese trade routes, from Europe, along the coast of Africa, to Goa, Malaysia, and then back again.

As sailors from Portugal made their way south along the west coast of Africa around the Cape of Good Hope and into Asia, they often stopped along the way and acquired live animals, such as birds, camels, and lions, from markets in one port to sell in markets in another. One ship, the *Bom Jesus*, left Lisbon for India in 1533 and sank near Oránjemund in Namibia in southern Africa (it was found in 2008). It contained two tons of copper ingots and 2,000 gold coins destined for the spice trade in Asia. A large number of ivory tusks were on board, destined for markets in Goa, Cochin, and Gujarat, probably collected en route along the West African coast (Jordan Gschwend and Lowe 2015). It probably contained live animals, which also would have been collected from the West African coast.

Many early European descriptions—notably, Marco Polo's—referred to the greater one-horned Indian rhino as a “unicorn.” The image of the unicorn in *Arrival of Vasco da Gama to Calicut or Cochin* may provide insight on how the weighty calf Abada was lifted into the ship when the Portuguese vessel left from Goa toward Lisbon. Horses and smaller caged live animals traveled below deck. Because of their size, Hawa'i and Abada traveled on deck between the masts. Both animals would also have to be hobbled. *Trachtenbuch (The Book of Garments, 1530/1540)* by Christoph Weiditz (1498–1559) includes images of clothing and dress in sixteenth-century Europe and as well as other images demonstrating, for example, how horses were typically hobbled aboard ships. Even though they were below deck, Weiditz's image shows all four legs of the horse hobbled.

With respect to transporting elephants by ship, Bedini notes that even the best behaved of elephants were hobbled. Some early images also show Abada's predecessor, Ganda, hobbled. Burgkmair's woodcut image shows ropes around the rhino's front legs (fig. 6) and Penni's woodcut of a rhino shows metal shackles in the same place (fig. 7). I have circled each artist's rendition of how Ganda was hobbled.

Ganda's death at sea in a storm was a well-known event in the sixteenth century. Writers of popular books of emblems, such as Guillaume Rovillé (ca. 1518–89) and Paulo Giovio (1483–1552) wrote that, after her ship sank near Portovenere, Ganda was unable to swim because her legs were hobbled. Both emblem books also note that the Pope ordered Ganda's portrait and gathered her remains, which were sent to Rome (Rovillé 1561, 48).

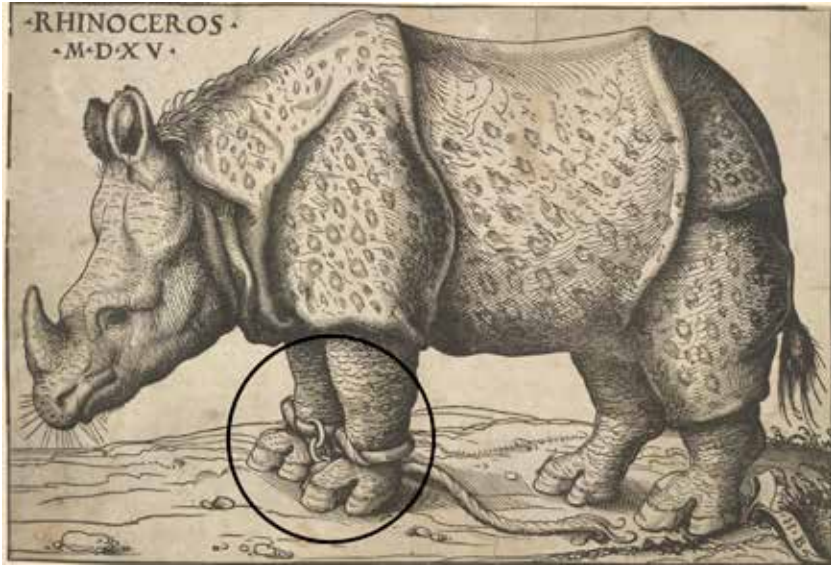


Fig. 6. Hobbled Ganda. *Rhinoceros* (1515) by Hans Burgkmair the Elder (Albertina Museum, Vienna). Circle added by author.

The images and descriptions of Ganda provide evidence that Abada was also probably hobbled to be kept at bay while on board the ship. Hawai'i and Abada were given room on the vessel. In transporting horses, traders allowed a prize horse some eight times more room than that given to a slave (Ridley 2004, 8). Other domestic animals traveled with them to supply the sailors with food. The log of one ship with the rhino for Versailles notes the rhino had become tolerant of the presence of a goat, which it would allow to eat hay from between its legs (Ridley 2004, 9). A canvas canopy would have been rigged over the cage to keep the sun off Hawai'i and Abada. A cage would have also been necessary for Abada. With Hawai'i and Abada on board, the ship's ballast became uneven, with the weight in the ship shifting from the bottom to the top and making sea travel more precarious. The secured iron cage on the foredeck provided Abada a safe berth if the ship pitched violently in waters, such as off the Cape of Good Hope or in storms.

Many animals died during transportation on the transoceanic journey. They experienced delays in ports and a confined space. Five degrees north and south of the equator, ships experienced the doldrums in which winds stagnate. Sailors often called the region "horse latitudes" because the sailors threw horses overboard to get rid of ballast. Portuguese ships from Goa took about 120 days with layovers in Mozambique, St. Helena, and on the Azores. From 1500 to 1634, an estimated 28% of all Portuguese ships that sailed the

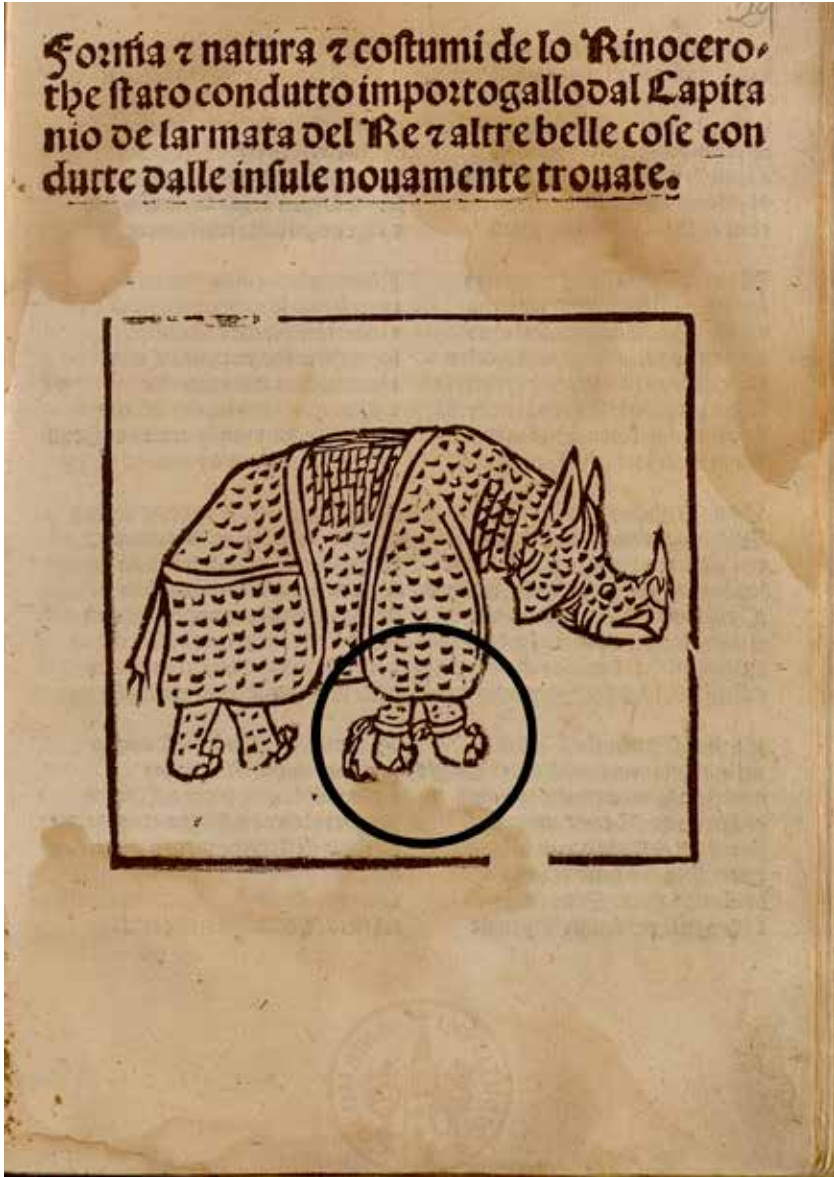


Fig. 7. Hobbled Ganda. Frontispiece for "Forma e natura e costume de lo Rinocerote" (1515) by Giovanni Giacomo Penni (Biblioteca Capitulare Colombina, Seville, sign.: 6-3-29[29]) (Copyright Cabildo Catedral de Sevilla). Circle added by author.

Indian Ocean trade routes were lost at sea (Strobel 2015). An Indian rhino died en route to London in 1737. Another Indian rhino died aboard a ship to Amsterdam in 1677 and, when James Douglas visited Leiden in 1739, he saw the stuffed body of that rhino (Clarke 1986, 42).

The hull of the ship that Hawa'i and Abada travelled in would have been filled with spices. Giovanni Giacomo Penni's poem "Forma e natura e costume de lo Rinocerote" ("The Shape, the Nature, and the Way of the Rhinoceros," 1515) purports to describe Ganda the rhinoceros. Instead, the poem focuses on the humming commerce of consumer goods, especially animals and plant products arriving from Asia. The poet begins by mentioning the origin of the energetic activity in Lisbon: "I hear that from Kolkata" three boats have arrived.¹³ It mentions that the rhino arrived with other creatures, including monkeys and baboons. It also mentions rare gems and pearls. But the poem is principally dedicated to plant products on the laden three-boat fleet. The poem describes pepper, ginger, myrrh, and sandalwood, used as scents for courtesans, for food preparation, and for medicine.

Ganda had lived in Lisbon for the less than a year when Manuel I sent her to the Pope as a gift. As part of the Pope's gift package, Manuel I filled the ship with spices from the Asian spice trade to offset the weight of the ship carrying the 3,000-pound animal. As Silvio Bedini notes, the ship carrying Ganda that sank in the Mediterranean also carried well over 3000 pounds of pepper, cloves and cinnamon, ginger, aromatic nutmeg, ordinary nutmeg, kevel pepper, and benzoin, the substance used in early modern medicine, as well as to make incense (Bedini 1998, 126).

Portuguese sailors became experienced in animal care along the routes. Abada and Hawa'i's primary caregivers, however, were not the sailors, but their mahouts. Abada and Hawa'i would not have survived without the bonds of a human companion. Cristóbal Acosta (1515–1594) provides an example of their physical and emotional bond: "elephants fear the night and, after falling asleep, suddenly wake up with a fright and are afraid. Because of this, their mahouts [who are called Nairs] sleep on top of them and speak to them to calm their sleep."¹⁴ Two students, Caleb Lightfoot and Yinting Fin, and I created an image, *Abada and Her Mahout on the High Seas*, in which Abada's mahout sleeps in a covered cage on the ship's deck (fig. 8). We have overlaid the hand drawn image with a painted image of vessels from the period.¹⁵

Hawa'i and Abada's mahouts were in charge of feeding on board. Bedini notes that the famed white elephant Hanno was around two years old and

13 "Sento di Calicute" (Penni 2006, 160).

14 "son los elefantes muy temerosos de noche: y quando duermen, despiertan con ímpetu y temor despertándose. Por lo cual, sus maestros [que se llaman Nayres] duermen sobre ellos y estánles hablando, impidiendo el sueño" (Acosta 1578, 436).

15 Compare with other visual renderings of rhinos on early modern ships such as Clara on a Dutch vessel (Winters 2017, 151) and Walton Ford's *Loss of the Lisbon Rhinoceros* (2008), which shows Ganda about to drown on a Portuguese vessel.



Fig. 8. *Abada and Her Mahout on the High Seas* (2018) by Caleb Lightfoot and Yinting Fin.

accompanied by two mahouts who took care of his every basic need when he was transported. The Portuguese viceroy Albuquerque specified that his two mahouts on the ship should feed him hay and twenty liters of cooked rice a day and that butter or oil was to be used to anoint his skin. The mahouts anointed the animal to keep the skin soft and pliable in preparation for its long exposure to salt air during the voyage (Bedini 1998, 31–32).

The first sixteenth-century image of Abada upon her arrival to Europe is from an anonymous artist in a manuscript about the history of Portuguese kings, attributed to Pedro de Andrade Caminha (1520–89) (found in a private collection). The image in the manuscript shows, standing in a field with a palace in the background, a lifelike Indian rhinoceros, especially in the details of the folds on its skin, its large ears, and three-toed feet. A mahout holds a long hook—a version of the *ankusha*—upright in his left hand, standing beside the animal. The man is dark-skinned and is dressed with a hat and an orange cloak. The text that accompanies this image provides

the inspiration for the image of Abada that my students and I made, since it states that the mahout “slept by her side.”¹⁶

The text about Abada from the manuscript also gives details about her demeanor and how she was fed: “she is very tame” and “eats everything you feed her, even little stones, as well as hay, oats, wheat, and other legumes.”¹⁷ Abada most likely survived by eating great quantities of the foods supplied to domestic animals. Glynis Ridley provides the life history of another Indian rhinoceros in Europe in *Clara's Grand Tour: Travels with a Rhinoceros in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (2004). Like Abada, Clara (ca. 1738–58) was born in India. Unlike Abada, Clara, who arrived in Rotterdam in 1741, traveled on tour throughout Europe. She traveled from Denmark to Italy and later died in London. Clara, like Abada, weighed about three tons and needed prodigious quantities of food and drink—around 150 pounds a day.

Hawa'i and his mahout arrived in Lisbon from Goa in 1582. In turn, Abada and her mahout arrived in Lisbon in 1578. Abada lived in Lisbon for five years, where one visitor from Italy called her the “Marvel of Lisbon” (Jordan Gschwend and Lowe 2015). In Lisbon, Abada had the benefit of a water habitat. Indian rhinos favor wetlands and spend plenty of time in cool water, grazing on grasses near wet areas, especially succulent and juicy aquatic plants. Abada frequently bathed in the Tagus River. An account from two Venetian visitors to the city state that she “would raise herself, plunge into and wade through the water; it was stupefying to watch this great beast” (qtd. in Jordan Gschwend and Lowe 2015, 157n.4). When Philip was living in Lisbon, Philip delighted in observing Abada. One manuscript notes that, in 1582, he asked for the animal to be sent to him: “as soon as he arrives to Abrantes, his Majesty wants them to send the rhinoceros that he had enjoyed seeing previously.”¹⁸

When he moved back to Madrid in 1583, Philip transported Abada, like Hawa'i, to stables near his palace Alcázar. One royal document denotes that the locksmith Benito Hernández was contracted in 1583 for the “house for the rhinoceros” (Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend 2007, 443 n.87 and n.88). I suspect that Abada's stable was also near the Alcázar, like Hawa'i's, and that it was located on the present-day Abada Street. Hawa'i and Abada had been transported from Lisbon to Madrid, and then were transported

16 “por dormir a par dele” (qtd. in Fontes da Costa 2009, 79).

17 “E muito mansa e vagorosa. Come quanto lhe dao. Silicet. Palha cevada trigo e os mais legumes” (qtd. in Fontes da Costa 2009, 79).

18 “sua Magestade quer que tanto que embora for em Abrantes [...] lhe mande aly a bada que fogara de a ver” (qtd. in Bouza 1998, 191).

from Madrid to the Escorial. After briefly housing Hawa'i and Abada in 1583 near his palace in Madrid, Philip brought both animals to the Escorial about thirty miles away. Moving both animals, especially Abada, across even this relatively short stretch of land would have been filled with technical difficulties. She was probably caged and pulled in a specially made cart by oxen or strong horses. In her narration of Clara's life, Glynis Ridley recreates the specific cart that had to be created when the Dutch rhino was transported for public viewing across Europe.

After they moved from Lisbon, the quality of Hawa'i and Abada's caretaking diminished. The historical sources do not mention Hawa'i's mahout after the Escorial visit and Abada most likely killed the mahout who arrived with her in Lisbon. Abada arrived to the Escorial a few days after Hawa'i. Philip's historian at the Escorial writes: "On October 16, 1583, they placed the rhinoceros in the patio by order of his Majesty and, since the animal arrived overheated, they put a number of buckets of water on its body and head. It then rolled on the ground and gave happy-sounding moans."¹⁹ Abada was difficult to feed: "It is an ugly and melancholy animal. It appears armored. It is ungrateful and unfriendly and it does not recognize those who want to do it well, so it must be fed by putting the feed behind it."²⁰

Things turned for the worse for Abada at the Escorial. The Portuguese, with more direct experience in India, seemed to have provided an environment for Abada that more directly fit her behaviors. Although rhinos have good hearing and an excellent sense of smell, blinding a rhino is of little consequence since the animal's eyesight is already quite poor. Nonetheless, Vincent Leblanc (1554–1640), a French traveler and trader who visited El Escorial, describes her blinding and the removal of her horn:

The difficulty was in the execution [of cutting off the horn] for they were constrained to put him [*sic*] in a close place to bind him [*sic*] which was done with so much trouble and danger that nothing more; for he [*sic*] wounded and maimed divers: there was one *Casabuena*, a bold resolute man who to prevent danger, put an armor of proof under his cassock, the beaste came upon him with such force, that he threw him against the

19 "En 16 de octubre de 83 metieron por mandado de Su Majestad el rinoceronte en el jardín para verle desde allí, y como venía caluroso le echaron en el cuerpo y cabeza muchos cubos de agua con que se refresco, y de contento se revolcó en el suelo y gimió" (Salvá y Sainz de Baranda 1845, 368).

20 "Es animal feo, melancólico y triste, esta como armado, es animal ingrato y desconocido que no conoce a los que le hacen bien, porque para darle de comer, se lo echan por detrás del" (Salvá y Sainz de Baranda 1845, 368).

wall with such violence he was carried forth for dead, bleeding both at mouth and nose. The Duke of Medina advised the king to kill him [*sic*] with a musket because he had maimed a gentleman. (LeBlanc 1660, 160)²¹

The Duke of Medina recommended that Philip execute the rhino because of its bad behavior. Philip ordered that her eyes be cut out and horn cut off, but ignored the Duke's advice to execute the animal.

Images and accounts from those who later visited Abada at the General Hospital later confirm the Escorial incident. Diego de Funes y Mendoza (1560–1625), a translator of Aristotle's treatise on animals, mentions: "there was another rhinoceros in Madrid in 1585. When I went to see it, they had removed its eyes to prevent it from causing injury."²² The lexicographer Sebastián de Covarrubias (1539–1613) also writes: "in our days they brought

21 Although some of the seventeenth-century account of LeBlanc's world travels was made up, his story of the rhino in the Escorial is an authentic account from his personal diary as collected by Pierre Bergeron, who knew Vincent le Blanc when he was alive and published LeBlanc's notes and memoir (Atkinson 1922). I am convinced of the veracity of the rhino account at the Escorial since LeBlanc provides details of the event that coincide with the events as described in other contemporary sources. He also references a man from the obscure, but existent, Casabuena noble line, a detail that only an eyewitness could muster, and the chronology of his travels suggested that he would have been in Spain at this time. The passage in French reads: "La difficulté fut à executer cela; car on fut contraint de se mettre en un lieu renfermé pour le lier, ce qui se fit avec tant de peine & de danger que rien plus, il en bleffa & estroupia plusieurs. Il y eut un homme braue & resolu, nommé Casabuena, qui s'arma d'une cuirasse à l'espreuue sous fa casaque, pour euitier tout inconvenient: la beste l'atteignit de telle forte, qu'elle le ietta contre la muraille si rudement qu'il sut remporté comme mort, iettant le fang par la bouche & par la nez. Le Duc de Medine conseilloit au Roy de le faire tuer à coups de mousquet, pource qu'il auoit estropié un de ses Gentils-homme, nommé le Cavalier Mortel; mais le Roy ne le voulut permettre, & enfin apres beaucoup de peine on en vint à bout, & eut les yeux creuez, & le corne coupée" (LeBlanc 1648, 242). In *Diálogos de contención entre la Milicia y la Ciencia* (*Contentious Dialogues between the Military and Science*, 1614), Francisco Núñez de Velasco also states that "it was necessary to remove" Abada's eyes. Núñez de Velasco's account of the incident, however, differs from LeBlanc's: "Destá especie vimos uno en la corte de su magestad, al qual fue necesario sacar los ojos por la persecución que hacía a los caballos onde quiera que los veía y yendo en seguimiento de un caballo en la ciudad de Lisboa donde a la razón estaba el Rey don Felipe Segundo de gloriosa memoria nuestro señor iba el rinoceronte con tanta velocidad en la corrida tras el caballo que dio de encuentro con la testera y el cuerno en la copa y edificio de una famosa fuente que por ser obra de uno de los reyes de Portugal es muy costosa y de notable curiosidad y del encuentro la debarató y deshizo" (Núñez de Velasco 1614, 16). I suspect that Núñez de Velasco's account about Abada was a popular legend because it was written over twenty years after the eyewitness account in the Escorial.

22 "En Madrid hubo otro rinoceronte el año de mil y quinientos y ochenta y cinco, que fue cuando le vi, al cual le habían sacado los ojos porque no hiciese mal" (Funes y Mendoza 1621, 180).

King Philip II, may he rest in peace, a rhinoceros that was in Madrid for a long time. Its horn was cut off and it was blind to not cause injury.”²³

A gem engraver working in Philip II's court observed Abada firsthand and depicted Abada without her horn. Jacopo da Trezzo (ca. 1514–89) created a lifelike image of Abada on a gem cameo, crafted on sardonyx—an agate with straight and parallel banding (Jordan Gschwend 2017, 209). Trezzo had served Philip II in the Netherlands and England and, in the 1580s, he worked on a variety of royal projects, including the Escorial. His cameo suggests that Abada's horn had been removed, but a stump in its place indicates that one may have been growing again.²⁴

Female rhinos are solitary creatures and, when protecting their territory against intrusion, they, like their male counterparts, can be tough and aggressive, particularly during the estrus cycle every four months or so. Covarrubias writes that Abada may have killed one or two people: “Her caretakers act with great uneasiness because she had already killed one or two of them.”²⁵ Aside from her original mahout, Abada most likely killed the nobleman at the Escorial. Moreover, Hans Khevenhüller (1538–1606), the ambassador for the Holy Roman Emperor in the Spanish court, confirms that she killed a member of Philip's court: “Even though its horn has been cut down off its snout, it does not cease to kick and maltreat people around it. Recently, it killed a man in front of the Palace.”²⁶ Another source suggests Abada's aversion to horses. An English–Spanish lexicon (1599) by John Minsheu (1560–1627) has an entry for *abada* that indicates familiarity with Abada in Madrid: “It is an enemy to the horse, so that when he [*sic*] seeth him, he [*sic*] maketh al haste, and with swift runing overtaketh and killeth him” (Nieto Jiménez 2007, 1, 6).

Following classical descriptions of the rhino such as those of Pliny (23–79 CE), writers from the period, like playwright Lope de Vega (1562–1635),

23 “En nuestros días trajeron al rey Felipe II, que santa gloria haya, una bada, que por mucho tiempo estuvo en Madrid; tenía aserrado el cuerno y estaba ciega, porque no hiciese daño” (Covarrubias 1998, 499).

24 Trezzo may have had two freed black slaves who helped create the gem cameo of Abada. In addition to two elephants, Catherine of Portugal gifted Philip II two black slaves, Diego and Juan. When the heir Prince Carlos died, Philip II set Diego and Juan free. Diego and Juan could have been involved in helping Trezzo create the gem cameo of Abada because they began to work for Jacopo Trezzo when they were set free (Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend 2001, 16 n.115).

25 “y curaban de ella con mucho recato por el peligro de los que la tenían a su cargo; de los cuales mató uno o dos” (Covarrubias 1998, 499).

26 “Aunque le cortan el cuerno que trae sobre el hocico, no deja de atropellar y tratar mal las gentes. Y mató el otro día uno delante del palacio” (qtd. in Staudinger and Irblich 1996, 265).

describe all rhinos as prone to attack, most especially as having a supposed natural animosity toward the elephant. Pliny's comments that the rhino was ferocious and often killed the elephant through impaling it through the soft underbelly, a fable echoed throughout the sixteenth century, are untrue. In general, the two animals are not mutual predators (they avoid each other) and no evidence exists that a rhino has ever killed an elephant.

Despite their obstinacy and periodic aggression, the single-horned Indian rhino is, most of the time, calm and passive, even in captivity. Eyewitness accounts of Abada note that she was generally docile. Francisco Vélez de Arciniega, a Spanish pharmacist who had rhino horn in his pharmaceutical cabinet as a remedy, describes Abada when she first arrived to Madrid: "she did not dare eat or drink."²⁷ But, he concludes, "as time passed, she did not only eat hay and oats that was put in her trough but, if someone took a handful of that hay, she opened her mouth so one could put it inside."²⁸ The animal taxonomist Buffon's firsthand experience with an Indian rhino is instructive. An Indian rhino was held in the private menagerie at the Palace of Versailles and, after the Revolution, it became part of Paris's first public zoo (Pequignot 2013; Rookmaaker 1983). Buffon regularly visited the rhinoceros and mentioned that he fed and caressed the animal.

Most of the sketches of Hawa'i and Abada are now lost. But two anonymous and nearly identical oil paintings that depict Abada exist in Vienna. Both images show Abada without a horn, with no added background features (Jordan Gschwend 2015). A 1584 image of Abada appears in Adam Hochreiter's diary in Innsbruck. Adam Hochreiter was a chamberlain and agent for collecting animals for Archduke Ferdinand II. Hochreiter compiled his travel records in the form of a diary and he wrote observations about animals such as those in Philip's menagerie in Aranjuez. Philip constructed an aviary for exotic birds and ostriches in Aranjuez in 1584. Hochreiter described the hedges in Aranjuez as cut in the shape of animals; he also noted its large aviary and camel breeding station—with seventeen specimens. At Aranjuez, Hochreiter saw two ostriches, five flamingos, as well as white peacocks, Indian ducks, pigeons, guinea pigs, Indian swallows with red beaks, and a "very small parrot, the size of a Eurasian bullfinch" (qtd. in Haag 2015, 123).

Aside from Aranjuez, Hochreiter went to Madrid in 1584 and saw Hawa'i and Abada. He painted or purchased a watercolor painting of Abada

27 "aun no osaban darle de comer, ni beber" (Vélez de Arciniega 1613, 49).

28 "curóle el tiempo de manera que no solamente comía la paja y cebada que le echaban en los pesebres mas si alguno cogía un puñado de la dicha paja, abría la boca para que se la echasen dentro" (Vélez de Arciniega 1613, 49).

dehorned on a sort of elevated island. He notes in his diary that Abada was accustomed to seeing people but was skittish around other animals: “in Madrid I saw a young elephant as well as another monstrous animal called a rhinoceros [...] This animal doesn’t do anything to people, but it is not at all nice to the horses, donkeys and other animals” (qtd. Haag 2015, 123; also see Jordan Gschwend and Lowe 2015).²⁹

La Casa del Campo, a forest-rich park that would be used for the Madrid Zoo and Philip II’s garden and choice hunting grounds in the northwestern vicinity of Madrid not far from the Alcázar palace, also held Abada after she died in 1591. Abada’s remains were considered highly valuable. In order to preserve the animal, first her flesh would have to be processed, most likely butchered and eaten, like bull meat. Then, her skin would have to be preserved in an improvised taxidermy method. Jakob Cuelvis (known as Diego de Cuelvis in Spain, 1574–?), a German student, visited Madrid in May of 1599 and saw Abada’s preserved body not far from where she was displayed while alive. In his travel account, *Thesoro Chorographico de las Espannas* (*Chorographic Treasure of the Spanish Kingdoms*), Cuelvis describes the Casa del Campo: “There are many fish and swans swimming in the ponds. There is a rhinoceros and elephant dead for more than eight years.”³⁰

Philip put Abada’s body on display, next to another unidentified desiccated elephant. Taxidermy techniques were crude and undeveloped, but monarchs and elites in Europe in the sixteenth century had their prized animals stuffed and made them appear lifelike. Pope Leo X had Hanno the elephant stuffed, and he also received a stuffed European bison as a gift.³¹ The second elephant that Philip gifted to his son died in Vienna in the menagerie of Maximilian II (1527–76). After the elephant, affectionately called Süleyman by Anne Marie Jordan Gschwend, died in 1553, Maximilian II ordered the hide dried out and stuffed with straw. Two years later, a visitor saw Süleyman on display in the King’s garden mounted by a mannequin of an Indian mahout (Jordan Gschwend 2010, 33). In the Medici Boboli Gardens in Florence, a chamber was filled with lifelike taxidermized displays of the most prized animals from the menagerie (Groom 2019, 105). While Hansken

29 “zu Madrid ein iungen Elefanten, gleichfals ain ander groß ungeheüer Their genant Rinocero, aufSpänisch La Abada gesehen, [...] Dises Their thuet dem menschen nichts, Aber dem pferden Eseln un anndren thieren ist es gar gram” (qtd. Haag 2015, 132–3).

30 “Hay una grande cantidad de pescados y muchos cisnes nadando por los estanques. Hay un rinoceronte y elefante muertos antes de ocho años” (qtd. in Checa Cremades 1992, 39–40). For Diego de Cuelvis, see Domínguez Ortiz 1969.

31 For Hanno the elephant as taxidermy specimen, see Bedini 1998. For the stuffed bison, see Booth 2019.

the elephant toured Europe, he died in Florence. The Medici Grand Duke Ferdinando II (1610–70) ordered the skeleton and skin of Hansken be put on display at the Uffizi Gallery (Groom 2019, 25n.1).³²

After Philip II died in 1598, Abada's remains were moved from the Casa de Campo to the royal collections and kept in the Royal Treasury. Five years later, Antonio Voto, the Royal Treasurer to King Philip III (1578–1621, r. 1598–1621) negotiated with Hans Khevenhüller, the ambassador to Rudolf II, the Holy Roman Emperor (1552–1612, r. 1576–1612) who desperately wanted Abada's remains. In a letter dated December 6, 1603, Voto states that, the day before, the King went to the Royal Treasury to see what remained of the rhinoceros, Abada, and the elephant (the unknown specimen from the Casa de Campo) in the Royal Treasury. Voto makes no mention of any elephant remains but states that he “sent the partial horn” from Abada to Khevenhüller.³³ Rhino horns can grow back after removal (if the skull is not damaged), so, in 1603, Khevenhüller would have sent Rudolf Abada's newly grown horn that she had when she died.

After searching the Royal Treasury, Antonio Voto found more of Abada's bones. Hans Khevenhüller reported to Rudolf the success of the negotiation in obtaining the rest of Abada's remains. On December 20, 1603, Khevenhüller wrote the following to Antonio Voto:

today upon your instructions they handed over to me the rhino's partial horn [...] I am quite sad that her skin has not been found—I have no doubt your account of its deterioration is correct. I am thus asking you to hand over to me the rest of the rhino's bones so that I can include them with the others that you gave me today so I can send them all to my king the emperor. That would greatly please me.³⁴

32 Other early modern taxidermy animals include numerous rhinos and a hippo. The collection of Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa (1607–81) in Spain and the Gresham College London Museum in England contained a number of stuffed rhinos. For a hippopotamus as taxidermy specimen in the Medici collection, see Groom 2019, 248. For improvised taxidermy practice across time and place, see Poliquin 2012. Also see Parker-Starbuck 2015 and Chapter 2.

33 “un cuerno chato de la Bada” (qtd. in Staudinger and Irblich 1996, 266). Also see Belozerskaya 2006, and Haupt, et al. 1990, 245 n. 21. For Khevenhüller and the Spanish, see Jordan Gschwend 2020.

34 “Hoy me han entregado por parte de Vuestra Merced el cuerno chato de La Bada [...] y pésame mucho que no ha aparecido el cuero de la Bada. Sin duda habrá pasado con lo que vuestra merced dice. Así mismo suplico a Vuestra Merced me la haga de mandar me entregar también los demás huesos de la Bada que quedan para que los pueda enviar juntos con los otros que vuestra merced me envió hoy al emperador mi señor y será muy grande para mí” (qtd. in Staudinger and Irblich 1996, 267).

Antonio Voto responded: "I already sent you the rest of Abada's bones. There are over 130 pieces."³⁵

Khevenhüller sent Abada's remains to the Holy Roman Emperor in Vienna. Rudolf II would have added Abada's body parts to his already large collection of rhino horns and body parts. One of Rudolf's most prized possessions in his massive collection was a large rhinoceros horn, mounted with filigree gold bands set with precious stones (still extant in Vienna). Rudolf II was extremely pleased to receive what he calls a "beautiful piece" as a gift from Empress Maria of Portugal, who had, in turn, received the previous horn as a gift from a Portuguese relative in Braganzas in 1582 (Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend 2001, 15). As evidence of Rudolf's great esteem for rhino body parts, he had one of his artists paint a rhino horn, as well as a tooth and piece of rhino skin, that he included in the manuscript that contains the list of objects in his collections. This manuscript can now be found in the Austrian National Library in Vienna.

Rudolf II never realized his lifelong desire to obtain Philip II's pachyderms alive. Rudolf chose two colored images of Philip's rhino and elephant, based on lost sketches of Hawa'i and Abada, for the first two pages of the inventory of his massive collection. Khevenhüller sent Rudolf II at least one image of Abada with a shipment of other rare collectables. Rudolf, however, never obtained the live rhino, nor Abada's supposed armor-like skin.

If Philip II had still been alive, he probably would not have given Abada's rotting remains to Rudolf. Philip II had kept two small rhino horns, inherited from Charles V, in his private wardrobe. When Maria of Austria, who Philip held in highest esteem, asked him to send her a piece, he only conceded a piece of the horn the size of a small coin (Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend 2001, 15). His son Philip III, nonetheless, sent what remained of Abada to Rudolf. Antonio Voto reports that Abada had rotted away: "we have not been able to locate the hide of the rhinoceros. His Excellency the Duke of Lerma gave me permission to inquire about the hide and I have discovered that, since it was not properly preserved, it became swollen with worms and has wasted away."³⁶ Abada's skin decomposed by 1603. The skin from the only living rhino on public display in the sixteenth century had decomposed, in radically bitter contrast to the continued survival of the image of armor as skin on Dürer's *Rhinoceros*.

35 "Mir hat der Antonio Voto des Königs guarda joyas alberait die gepain von der Bada angehendigt. Der sien über 130 stück" (qtd. in Staudinger and Irblich 1996, 266).

36 "no se ha podido hallar cuero de la Bada. El Señor Duque de Lerma me envió a mandar hiciese diligencia en saber del y lo que he podido averiguar es que, como no se aderezó. Se hinchó de gusanos y se perdió" (qtd. in Staudinger and Irblich 1996, 265).

Two Hospitals in Madrid

Louis XIV's private Versailles menagerie was converted into the Jardin des Plantes in 1793 after the French Revolution—effectively turning a menagerie for aristocratic elites into Europe's first modern zoo for the at-large public.³⁷ The design of Europe's first modern zoo, the Jardin des Plantes near Paris, shares an important connection with a nearby hospital. Both the original layout of the Jardin des Plantes and its neighboring General Hospital were designed by the same architect, Louise Le Vau (1612–70). Le Vau designed Louis's menagerie at Versailles (1662) and, at the same time, began plans for the consolidation of five hospitals into a single General Hospital (Salpêtrière 1656; Senior 2019). The consolidation of a group of older hospitals into a single General Hospital in the same place as an area for observing animals was not the first time that the architecture of a hospital combined with animal spectacle. Philip II chose two hospitals as the place where people could observe Hawa'i and Abada.

In the medieval and early modern contexts, hospitals provided “hospitality.” They provided lodging; they were a place for the impoverished sick to be healed; and they provided food for the poor. In the early modern Spanish empire, hospitals also served the needs of the burgeoning public interested in theater. As in seventeenth-century France, sixteenth-century Spain consolidated Madrid's hospitals into a single General Hospital and also used the space to display animals.

Philip II could have put Abada and Hawa'i in one of his royal menageries: with the swans in the Casa de Campo, or the camels in Aranjuez that he bred not far from the fields he used to breed sixteenth-century Spain's most famous wild bulls. He could have sent them off to tour major cities like the Dutch did with Clara the rhinoceros and Hansken the elephant in the seventeenth century. Indeed, Hans Khevenhüller remarks to Rudolf II that Philip II considered a tour as a possible spectacle. Khevenhüller explains that Philip first ordered Hawa'i and Abada “be taken to Seville and other parts of Spain so that he could profit from them.”³⁸ But Philip II decided against that idea because of the great difficulty of a travelling with the animals, especially the rhino.

Philip II first put the rhino and elephant near the Alcazar in the center of Madrid, where he had lions and other exotic animals, including birds and at

37 See, for instance, Robbins 2002, 206–30.

38 “dio la licencia para llevarlos a Sevilla y otras partes de España, para ganar con ellos, no es poca merced si él lo sabe encaminar, por como la Bada es bestia tan fiera, no sé cómo se podrá avenir con ella” (qtd. in Staudinger and Irblich 1996, 265).

least one llama.³⁹ He then moved them briefly to the Escorial. Having just experienced Abada's rage at the Escorial, Khevenhüller writes, with regard to the possibility of moving her across the country: "as the rhinoceros is so savage, I do not see how they will be able to manage her."⁴⁰

Philip II's choice of commercializing the spectacle in a hospital was a natural fit in the context of Madrid's burgeoning theater culture. From the monarchy's perspective, one way to show imperial beneficence in the new design of urban space in Madrid was through the creation of hospitals for the poor. The most important hospital that linked to the formation of commercial theater in Spain was Philip's General Hospital. One of the city's principal planners, Alonso Francisco de Sotomayor (1523–91), writes in 1565 that he discussed with the King many times the need to reform the city hospitals (Escobar 2004, 366). As part of the urban design project, Philip II combined three older hospitals and founded Madrid's General Hospital (in 1566), which took in hundreds of patients annually.

The location of Madrid's first consolidated General Hospital under Philip II was at the end of the *Carrera de San Jerónimo* ("Saint Geronimo Street") and the end of Prado Street on the east side of Madrid, directly on the opposite side of the city from the Alcázar. In an early seventeenth-century history of Madrid, Jerónimo de Quintana writes that the General Hospital was formed by consolidating three houses near the Saint Geronimo monastery: They used "some houses near the meadow [*prado*] by the Royal Saint Geronimo Monastery [...] and they founded [the General Hospital] in that place."⁴¹ When Philip II reorganized Madrid's hospitals, his act of beneficence was not only an altruistic act for the city's poor and sick. He linked the function of the imperial Spanish hospital to theater, a newly created way for filling royal coffers.

Theater in Madrid was more active than in any other city in sixteenth-century Europe. Under Philip II, commercial theater became a thriving business and part of the daily culture of Madrid. As opposed to the extramural playhouses of London, the public theaters in Madrid (as well as in other cities across the Spanish-speaking imperial world) were centrally located, close to the city's commercial center. In the case of Madrid, the Corral de

39 For the exotic birds and the 1562 description of a llama as an animal from Peru that resembles "both a camel and a sheep" in Philip II's Alcázar in Madrid, see Martínez Arranz 2011, 10–11 n.25.

40 "como la Bada es bestia tan fiera, no sé cómo se podrá avenir con ella" (qtd. in Staudinger and Irblich 1996, 265).

41 "unas casas cerca del prado de San Geronimo el Real [...] y en ella se fundó este hospital" (Quintana 1629, 449). For further study of Madrid's sixteenth-century hospitals and the location of the General Hospital in 1584, see Huguet-Termes 2009.

la Cruz and Príncipe were close to the Plaza Mayor and the Puerta del Sol, bustling centers of commerce and public activity.

Philip II forged a financial, structural, and symbolic connection between Spanish theater and hospitals. Financially, like Madrid, in Valencia and Lisbon (where Spanish plays were also popular), hospitals received funding from proceeds from theatrical productions. Structurally, following Madrid's example, the patio or innyard within hospitals across Spain also served as theater spaces. Today, the reconstructed early modern theaters in Alcalá de Henares and Almagro reveal that each also served as a hospital. The hospital patio in Guadalajara, Spain served as a theater for the production of plays (Ruano de la Haza and Allen 1994, 198; Muñoz Jiménez 1984). In Zamora, one source notes that a separate theater needed to be built because the staff, including a doctor and a surgeon, put play-watching above medical attention and allowed some patients to die (Shergold 1967, 194 n.6). Innyards of hospitals also served as theatrical spaces in Málaga at the Casa de Comedias del Hospital, Murcia at the Hospital de Nuestra Señora de Gracia, Salamanca at the Hospital de la Santísima Trinidad, Tudela at the Hospital de Señora de Gracia, Trujillo at the Hospital de la Caridad, and Toro at the Hospital Nuestra Señora del Pecador (Amelang 2019). Spain also exported the hospital-as-theater model to the New World. In early seventeenth-century Mexico City, the innyard of the Royal Indian Hospital in New Spain served as the city's theater. Indeed, members of the Mexico City council were assigned designated boxes within the Royal Indian Hospital to view performances (Ball 2016, 74–75).

Spain's first commercial theaters were based on the architectural space of the *corral*. The primary characteristic of the *corral* was its singular entrance, an essential architectural feature for allowing only those who had paid an entrance fee to watch the play. The so-called *corral de vecinos* was a living space common in Arabic urban architecture in which a door could close to bar entrance to the living quarters on the inside. Mozarabic documents describe the *curral* (*qurraleat*, in the plural), a type of living arrangement in Jewish quarters in many Spanish cities, as a patio with a singular entrance and surrounding living quarters (Morales Padrón 1974, 12). The *corral* living arrangement helped keep inhabitants safe and isolated from other neighbors. The *corral* also kept a community's domestic animals, providing a place where they could breed and be safe.

When converted into theaters, *corrales*—already surrounded by walls with windows—could be covered and converted into a viewing space for the public. Because the theatrical area was enclosed within the innyard of the urban structure, the audience had to go through the main doors

of the structure. As opposed to the open area of a public square in which anyone might find a place to see for free, the interior courtyard provided an enclosed space in which only a paying audience could see the dramatic production. In hospitals, rooms were occupied by the sick or the poor and, typically, the residents were free to leave the infirmary rooms at will. As a theatrical space, and as commercial theaters grew, the rooms bordering the theatrical space converted from rooms for the sick into theater seats.

By 1583, when Philip II returned from Portugal with Hawa'i and Abada, commercial theater had so grown in popularity in Madrid that it no longer took place on makeshift stages in the patios of the city's hospitals and other structures. Madrid finished two newly constructed theaters, the *corrales* of Cruz and Príncipe, stand-alone playhouses with new structural alterations added in 1583 and 1584, such as a special gallery for women spectators, a permanent stage with a place for costume changes, platforms for seating, and windows for viewing. The creation of these stand-alone playhouses, Cruz and Príncipe, did not eliminate the bond between hospitals and theaters in Madrid. In fact, with the creation of two permanent playhouses, Philip solidified the role of theater as a financial provider for Madrid's hospitals. A royal decree from 1616 notes that Madrid hospitals still controlled the administration of theaters a quarter of a century later: "the property of theaters for plays in the Court city of Madrid is controlled by and belongs to its hospitals."⁴²

Proceeds from theatrical spectacles went to help the downtrodden and other patients at the hospitals. Davis and Varey provide archival evidence stating that, in 1583, administrators ordered a quarter of theatrical proceedings go to the care of patients in the General Hospital. One source notes that "because of the great need to financially help the General Hospital they ordered that four *maravedis* be targeted to the hospital from the ticket cost to a play from every person regardless of their status and rank."⁴³ The majority of money went to the General Hospital (rather than the other three in Madrid). One document from April 24, 1584 notes: The money is "destined to remedy the great and extreme need of poor people suffering in the General Hospital."⁴⁴ In the "Memorial from the City of Madrid to

42 "la propiedad de los teatros de la comedia de la Corte toca y pertenece a los Hospitales" (qtd. in Pellicer 1804, I: 110).

43 "y para alguna ayuda de lo mucho que es menester mandaban que de cada persona de cualquier estado y condición que sea que quiere entrar a ver las dichas comedias cobren las personas que para ello se han deputado cuatro maravedís de entrada por cada comedia para el dicho Hospital General" (qtd. in Davis and Varey 1997, 123–4).

44 "la grande y extrema necesidad que padecen los pobres de el Hospital General y lo mucho en que aquella casa esta enpeñada" (qtd. in Davis and Varey 1997, 123–4).

Philip II" (1598), theater revenues should be donated to hospitals: "Plays are extremely important for maintaining hospitals in this court-city, including the General Hospital [...] and Antón Martín Hospital."⁴⁵

The names of the vast majority of plays and performances in hospitals and other *corrals* are not preserved in the historical record. Sometimes, works of fiction allude to early modern spaces for theater, such as when Berganza, the talking dog in Cervantes's *El coloquio de los perros* (*The Colloquy of the Dogs*), states that he often acted in theatrical performances, many of which took place in hospitals. The historical record indicates the cost of a play. In the 1580s, people were charged half a *real* (sixteen *maravedis* or five *cuartos*) to see a play.⁴⁶ In 1584, the price of admission was raised from twelve to sixteen *maravedis* (Davis and Varey 1997, 18). Sometimes, people paid more. A document from 1585 indicates that women spectators paid a full *real* for admission and a seat (and the majority of the theater attendees were women) (Shergold 1967, 187). Generally, a quarter of the admission ticket, around four *maravedis*, went to the hospitals. An administrative council of theologians in 1589 refers to Cruz and Príncipe, noting: "The General Hospital in Madrid has two theaters [*corrales*] where plays are represented and every person that enters to see those plays pays four *cuartos* for a seat to sit down. Of this entrance fee, besides that which goes directly to the theater troupe, another *cuarto* is given [to the General Hospital]."⁴⁷

People in Madrid were accustomed to seeing live horses, donkeys, sheep, and cows in the streets. They were also used to seeing live animals like chickens in the markets. Some animals like dogs and pigs not only populated the streets of Madrid, but were used in popular spectacles. Sancho Panza in *Don Quixote* mentions having seen a dog thrown up and down on a blanket as part of carnival festivities. There was also a pig race in Madrid, and the winning pig was crowned and rode through the streets on a donkey (Montoliú Camps 2002, 120). As opposed to the domestic animals that people observed on a daily basis across the urban landscape, the arrival of an elephant and rhino was something new. People clamored to see the new animals and paid a fee to see them.

45 "Nace de las comedias otra muy gran utilidad [...] que es [...] sustentarse en esta corte [...] hospitales, como el General [...] y el de Antón Martín" ("Memorial dirigido a Felipe II por la Villa de Madrid," as qtd. Sanz Ayán and García García 2000, 66).

46 For the buying power of *maravedies* in the period, such as the cost of eggs in Madrid in 1583, see Alvar Ezquerro 1989.

47 "El Hospital General de Madrid tiene dos corrales donde se representan comedias y cada una de las personas que entran a ver las dichas comedias dan por el asiento en que se asientan cuatro cuartos, y a la entrada, además de lo que se da los comediantes se da otro cuarto" ("Consulta de los administradores de las obras pías a los teólogos," as qtd. in Pellicer 1804, 2: 191).

Philip II supplemented the funding of his hospitals from the newly built permanent playhouses Cruz and Príncipe by putting Abada in the General Hospital and Hawa'i in Antón Martín Hospital. Since permanent playhouses were newly completed in Madrid, Philip II had hospital space available for Hawa'i and Abada. Hans Khevenhüller writes, in a letter from July 10, 1583: "The King put the rhinoceros in the General Hospital and the elephant in Antón Martín Hospital."⁴⁸ The cost to see the pachyderms was a half *real*, the same price that it cost for a play ticket in 1583. Khevenhüller corroborates: "Whoever wishes to see them [Hawa'i and Abada] should pay a half *real* which is then given as a donation to the poor."⁴⁹ Hawa'i and Abada would have provided the hospitals with better revenue than plays since they were owned by the King and the entire proceeds went directly to the hospitals, as opposed to only the quarter of the proceeds from theater companies.

Like Spain's first commercial theaters, the two hospital patios provided an ideal enclosed space for seeing animals in exclusivity. After Abada and Hawa'i, the Crown put on other types of animal spectacles in the innyards of hospitals, such as staged animal combats, to raise money. Hospital Administrators of the General Hospital in 1614 note that, when alms did not suffice to meet expenses, the hospital made extra money by holding staged animal combats: When "alms were not sufficient [...] [the General Hospital held] fights between tigers and lions."⁵⁰ Holding Hawa'i and Abada in the *corral* of the hospital meant that they were placed behind the front entrance of the building and were reached in the same way that one reached a patio or *corral* from the street. In general, because the sun hit the patio, a roof, or some sort of cover, was built to provide shade. This protected the people in the patio from the sun and it protected Hawa'i's and Abada's skin, which needed to retain moisture and stay cool. Documents do not mention the animals' original mahouts, but each animal needed continual caretakers for feeding and cleaning urine and feces off the dirt floor of the patio. The animals were not in cages, but it is likely that each animal's legs were shackled.

Hawa'i' and Abada's audiences were the same as theatergoers. The theater public in Madrid included the imperial family, bureaucrats, and noble members of the royal court. Spectators could also be visitors from other

48 "La Bada puso el rey en el Hospital General y el elefante en el de Antón Martín" (qtd. in Staudinger and Irblich 1996, 266).

49 "Yeder ders sechen Will, muess ain haben real zallen daher, den Armen ain starckhes unnd guetts almusen volgt" (qtd. in Staudinger and Irblich 1996, 266).

50 "no podía allegar limosna [...] teniendo luchas de tigres y leones" (*Informes, o relaciones originales, que dieron los contadores de los hospitales el año de 1614*, as qtd. in Pellicer 1804, 1:158).

parts of Spain and from abroad, clergy, artisans, young people, and women of means. One play, *Diálogo de las comedias* (*Dialogue of Plays*, 1620), jokingly states that just about everyone went to see plays, including “working people, people with nothing to do, and women.”⁵¹ The theatergoing moneyed classes would most probably have gone to see Hawa'i and Abada on Sundays and feast days because these were the same days that people went to see theatrical performances in the 1580s (Albrecht 2001, 56).

Some authors make direct mention of the pachyderm spectacle in their fiction. One such manuscript, the anonymously written *Diálogos de la montería* (*Dialogues about Hunting*), circulated in Philip's court in 1587. Ostensibly a fictional dialogue, Boscán, one of the two interlocutors, states: “I also saw [a rhinoceros] in Madrid where the King our Majesty ordered it brought from Lisbon together with an elephant. The Indians call her *ganda* and people here in Spain commonly call her *bada*.”⁵² Another poet from the period evokes the pachyderm spectacle in his critique of Madrid's growth and the culture of popular spectacle. A sonnet (1588) by Luis de Góngora (1561–1627) references Hawa'i and Abada in order to poke fun at the new residents on the streets, flocking to the court city. The poem jokingly calls all the new residents flocking to Madrid more “like elephants and rhinos” than people.⁵³ Góngora makes every Madrid resident out be another Hawa'i and Abada, stating that they, like the elephant and rhino, were all arrogant and overblown.

The public also fed Hawa'i and Abada. As in theaters, it is likely that the public bought refreshments, not only for their consumption, but for feeding. The humanist Alonso López (or López Pinciano, 1547–1627) describes the scene inside the patio of the Corral de la Cruz. He describes a scene of “seeing so many people together [...] and seeing them sell fruits or sweets.”⁵⁴ Pinciano also writes that a fruit seller tossed up fruit into the gallery and sometimes accidentally hit spectators in the face with it. Sebastián Covarrubias suggests that Hawa'i had readily available fruit:

A few years ago, in honor of our King Don Philip II they brought another elephant with a rhinoceros, both of which we all saw in Madrid. The elephant was so tame that it put its hand or trunk in the pockets of

51 “gente ocupada; gente ociosa and mujeres” (qtd. in Albrecht 2001, 72).

52 “También vide el animal en Madrid, adonde el Rey nuestro Señor lo mandó traer de Lisboa, juntamente con un elefante. [...] Los indios lo llaman ganda y la gente vulgar le ha puesto por nombre en España la Bada” (*Diálogos* 1935, 32).

53 “más que elefantes y que abadas” (Góngora y Argote 2010).

54 “con ver tanta gente unida; [...] y el ver al frutero o confitero” (qtd. in Albrecht 2001, 76).

those that entered to see it. It would take out money or fruit from inside them. I use the phrase “put its hand in” because classical authors use that expression for the trunk that it has on its snout which it uses as if it were a hand.⁵⁵

Quite likely, the fruit that Covarrubias mentions was sold on-site. People would have been interested in looking at Hawa'i's ivory tusks, a product heavily used in crafting everyday objects and furniture for the houses of European elites and as diplomatic gifts (Biedermann 2018). To sum up, after surviving a journey from India to Madrid, Abada and Hawa'i spent about eight years of their lives as public spectacle. Abada died in Madrid. At this point, Hawa'i's novelty as spectacle wore off and he was removed from Antón Martín Hospital. Philip II chose to get new value from Hawa'i and he gave him as a gift to the King of France, who, in turn, sent Hawa'i as a gift to England, where he died.

Abada and Hawa'i at the Service of Philip II's Planetary Control

By making Abada and Hawa'i a spectacle for eight years in Madrid, Philip II firmly established himself as a player in the global economy of gift giving. Monarchs and elites established global connections in sixteenth-century Eurasia through using gifts for diplomacy (Biedermann, Gerritsen, and Riello 2018). Although a few elephants were gifted in the fifteenth century and in the centuries before, the transport of Indian gift elephants to Europe began in vigor at the beginning of the sixteenth with the reign of Manuel I, King of Portugal and grandfather to Philip II of Spain (Bedini 1998). Philip II's grandfather Manuel gifted Hanno and a rhino to the Pope. The economy of the pachyderm gift existed across the planet in the sixteenth century and, of all diplomatic gifts, animals were the most valuable, and, among all gift animals, live elephants and rhinos were the most valued.

Philip II used the bodies of Abada and Hawa'i to flex geopolitical muscle in front of other men of power. When Abada arrived in Europe in 1578, the Portuguese King Sebastian (1554–78; r.1557–8) promised to gift her to Pope

55 “Pocos años ha que a la buena memoria del rey nuestro señor don Felipe Segundo, le truxeron otro con una bada o rinocerote, que todos vimos en Madrid, tan doméstico que metía la mano o trompa en la faltriqueras de los que le entraba a ver, y les sacaba los dineros o fruta que apostaba en ellas; dije que metía la mano, porque así llaman todos los autores antiguos a la trompa que tiene en el hocico, por usar della como si fuera mano” (Covarrubias 1998, 499).

Gregory XIII for the Belvedere Park. The Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529–95) also tried to purchase Abada for his menagerie at Ambras Castle in Innsbruck (Jordan Gschwend 2017, 333). Most significantly, Philip II's cousin, Rudolf II the Holy Roman Emperor, yearned to acquire Abada and Hawa'i from Philip II for decades—from the moment they arrived in Iberia. In *not* gifting Abada and Hawa'i, Philip asserted a show of power over European contemporaries, all the while enhancing the value of both animals in the economy of pachyderm gift-giving exchange. Philip II showed that he did not have to cement diplomatic bonds with anyone and, by keeping Abada and Hawa'i in his possession, he flaunted Madrid's status and circulated his own image as the world's premier monarch, who kept the planet's most valuable gifts for himself.

Philip II, for instance, used the bodies of Abada and Hawa'i as symbols of international power by impressing a Japanese envoy.⁵⁶ In an eventual effort to exert geopolitical influence over China, Philip II first seeded relations with Japan in 1584, when the Tenshō embassy, sent by the Christian Japanese Lord Ōtomo Sōrin (1530–87), arrived in Europe. The four young Japanese men bore Philip diplomatic gifts, including two sets of Japanese armor that Philip so highly prized that he kept them with his beloved armor collection. After seeing the Escorial, Philip impressed his visitors by showing them the Alcázar palace in Madrid. He showed off his armor and prized horses. The Macau-based Jesuit Duarte de Sande (1547–99) published a book in Goa in which he speaks on behalf of the Tenshō embassy:

After taking our leave of the religious of that most celebrated monastery and of the prior we did indeed go back to Madrid, where there were many things which we had yet to see. After our return, then, we saw first a royal stable and then a royal armory, both of them in the same building, with the horses in the lower part, and the upper story given over to arms. (Sande 2012, 248)

The Japanese visitors marveled at Philip's horses:

This royal stable had [...] seventy specially selected horses, some trained in the art of jumping, others for racing, some outstanding for their fighting power, others for their bodily form and singular beauty in walking; all of them standing out for their size, some of them especially so; all of them,

56 The Portuguese missionary Luís Fróis (1532–1597) wrote a description of the trip of the Japanese envoy, which includes a portrait of each of the young men. See Fróis 1942.

finally brought from various provinces and chosen from the flower and breeding of the noblest of horses. (Sande 2012, 248–9)

Philip kept the armor, including bards, in the upper story above the live horses: “there were besides, placed all over the armory, fifteen cabinets containing different kinds of arms for the protection of the body [...] at the far end of this armory there were six wooden horses with sheets of copper found them in the form of armor” (Sande 2012, 249).

After the visit to the Alcázar, Philip showed Abada and Hawa’i to the Japanese emissaries. The emissaries concluded:

we saw two animals of, as it were, a prodigious nature, namely an elephant and a rhinoceros, which have been brought from India to Portugal and then to Madrid, and which are kept there because of their enormous bulk of body and extraordinary shape, so that all can view them as sort of prodigies of nature. (Sande 2012, 250)

Sande’s account was published in Macao, and the Japanese emissaries traveled back to Japan from Europe, spreading news of Philip’s spectacle.

Thirteen years after the Japanese emissaries visited Madrid, Philip gifted an elephant to Japan in 1597, a result of the establishment of diplomatic relations, after having whetted Japan’s appetite by showing off Abada and Hawa’i. While, ostensibly, the intent of animal gift giving in European courts was an offer of friendship and influence, in Asia, Philip’s diplomatic gifts were established protocol that aligned with a stringent hierarchical system of tributes. Japan, desirous for a position of geopolitical dominance, modeled itself in the image of China, and interpreted the acceptance of gifts as reinforcing its position of superiority over the gift giver (Pérez Riobó 2015). Philip II’s gift to Japan included the elephant, Don Pedro, and two mahouts, who left the port of Manila in 1597.⁵⁷

Japan’s second great unifier, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–98) favored Don Pedro the elephant above Philip’s other gifts. Upon the elephant’s arrival, Hideyoshi invited the Spanish ambassador Luis de Navarrete to his court: “when don Luis de Navarrete arrived to Nagasaki, Hideyoshi summoned

57 When Toyotomi Hideyoshi received Don Pedro the elephant, it was probably not the first time that Don Pedro was given as a gift. Don Pedro might have previously been a part of a gift package sent to the governor Luis Pérez Dasmariñas of Manila (r.1593–6). Antonios de Morga (1559–1636) notes that “two elephants [...] and quantities of benzoin, ivory and other saleable goods” (Morga 1971, 81) were sent as gifts to Luis Pérez Dasmariñas in 1594.

him and his gift from Luzón to his court because he wanted to see them, especially the elephant, of which he took great delight.”⁵⁸ The elephant caused great public uproar. Hideyoshi organized a procession in Nagasaki for the animal, and one Spanish merchant wrote that there was such a rush to see the animal that a number of people died in the tumult to see the spectacle.

In Europe, animal gifts confirmed status, solidified friendships, maintained peace, and joined the person and animal in a more intimate way with the family group (Zemon Davis 2000; Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend 2001, 5). In the case of Japan, Hideyoshi interpreted European gifts as tributes from a less potent regime that celebrated *his* growing hegemony in the region. Hideyoshi aspired to outdo China and convert Japan into a new Asian power. One source states the gift of Don Pedro the elephant “was proudly valued and publicized” and that “the Spanish had sent the elephant because of their fear of Hideyoshi, as tribute of respect for his power, and so that he would not destroy them.”⁵⁹

In turn, from Philip II's perspective, the gift of the elephant with two mahouts was diplomatic in nature in the sense that he attempted to leverage influence. The elephant was designed to appease potential Japanese aggression against Manila and its fleets in the region. With the elephant gift, the Spanish requested Hideyoshi to return the valuable cargo of the galleon *San Felipe*, which Japan had looted the year before. Hideyoshi ignored the request. The Spanish also used the elephant to request the return of the bodies of the Christians martyred in Nagasaki in 1597. Hideyoshi agreed to the second request and returned the bodies (Pérez Riobó 2015, 133).

Closer to home, other European powers considered Philip II's spectacle of animals as a display of imperial power. The spectacle, for instance, caught the eye of an important imperial actor for the Dutch empire, Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1563–1611). In Lisbon in 1582, Philip II appointed Linschoten to serve João Vicente da Fonseca (1530–87), the archbishop of the East Indies (Thomas and Chesworth 2017, 73). Linschoten, considered a spy working for the Dutch, later published descriptions of strategically important Portuguese trade routes and maps in *Voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oos ofte Portugales Indien* (*The Voyage of Jan Huygen van Linschoten*

58 “llegado a Nangasaqui don Luis de Navarrete, Taicosama envió desde la carta, con mucho gusto, por el embajador y presente que se le enviaba de Luzón, que lo deseaba ver, especialmente el elefante, de que holgó mucho” (qtd. in Pérez Riobó 2015, 132–3).

59 “arrogantemente se preciaba y publicaba”; “se lo habían mandado los españoles por miedo que le tenían y por reconocimiento de tributo y señorío, porque no los destuyese” (qtd. in Pérez Riobó 2015, 133).

to the East Indies, 1596). The information about navigation routes supplied by Linscholten that served Dutch maritime expansion also included notes on Abada and Hawa'i: "In the year 1581, as King Phillip was at Lisbone, there was a rhinoceros and an Elephant brought him out of India for a present and he caused them both to be let with him unto Madrid, where the Spanish Court is holden" (Linscholten 1598, 88).⁶⁰

Emerging European Orientalism

Linscholten was not the only author that described Philip II's rhino and elephant in the context of a book about the distant East. Philip II's display of Abada and Hawa'i played a role in shaping how China was exoticized by Juan González de Mendoza (1545–1618). Even though he gathered most of his information from the travel notes from Miguel de Luarca (1540–1591), González de Mendoza was the most important author since Marco Polo to spread ideas about China in Europe. Mendoza's *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de la China* (*History of the Most Notable Things, Rituals, and Customs of the Great Kingdom of China*, 1586, reprinted in 1596, and published in English in 1588) was the first book to contain Chinese characters for Western readers and, with multiple editions and translations, had an enormous impact on early modern European perceptions of China.

Aside from his book, Juan González de Mendoza perpetrated an image about China in Europe through material objects. Philip II had sent a letter to emperor Wanli (1563–1620) of the Ming dynasty in 1581, accompanied by lavish gifts, including fine textiles dyed in crimson with American cochineal, engraved harnesses and silk saddles, two portraits of Charles V on horseback by Alonso Sánchez Coello (1531–88), live American elk, and horses (Hsu 2010, 337; Hsu 2004). After the ship with the gifts sank, Juan González de Mendoza traveled to Lisbon in 1582 to report to Philip about the unfortunate mishap and told Philip that the envoy of gifts to China were lost at sea. González de Mendoza, however, brought Philip gifts from China that had arrived to Mexico from the Philippines. The gifts caught Philip's eye. Among the gifts, Philip was most impressed with a pair of Ming square-backed *huanghuali* folding chairs, probably because they appealed to his austere practicality (Sola 2018, 215). Philip placed the chairs in the

60 For the Dutch description, see Linscholten 1596, 70.

Escorial along with his collection of porcelain and books in Chinese that he kept in the “desk of the emperors” (Pérez de Tudela 2012, 29).

Even as he had an enormous impact on Europe's perception of China, González de Mendoza never set foot there. Mendoza's only firsthand experience in the Far East was having seen Abada in Lisbon. While writing the *History of the Most Notable Things, Rituals, and Customs of the Great Kingdom of China* in 1584, Mendoza states proof of having seen a rhino: “I saw one in Lisbon” and it was the same as the one that “is now in Madrid.”⁶¹ Mendoza's book about China also served as an advertisement for the spectacle in Madrid as a novelty for all of Europe: “many go to see the animal because of its strangeness and since it has never been seen in our Europe.”⁶² Mendoza's experience of having seen Abada provided the public a sense of an authentic experience of the East.

For Philip II, the pairing up of Abada with Hawa'i was important for communicating a more complete sense of an oriental experience. In his account of China, Mendoza generally mentions rhinos and elephants together. Moreover, the pairing of both animals as an iconic pair from the East Indies could be found in the work of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) and Marco Polo (1254–1324). Marco Polo's descriptions of places frequently contained elephants and rhinos. In his copy of a Latin Marco Polo incunabulum (published in Ambers in 1485), Columbus jotted down the words “elephants and rhinos” on a number of occasions in the marginalia. For instance, when Marco Polo mentions that elephant, rhinos, and other unnamed wild creatures abounded in the Mien Province, Columbus noted two words in the margin: “elephants” and “rhinos” (Gil 1987, 109). At another point, alongside the names of the two animals, he annotated geo-nautical information of a specific area and then wrote that, in this place, there was an abundance of all sorts of spices that had never been seen before in Europe (Gil 1987, 109). Columbus's annotations of Marco Polo, thereby, helped make the elephant and rhino pair an icon of a yet-to-be discovered world of spices in the Indies.

Sixteenth-century artists and illustrators paired the rhinoceros and the elephant, most commonly depicting them in a fight. Replacing classical motifs of human forms, *Nouveaux pourtraits et figures de termes pour user en l'architecture* (*A Terminology of New Portraits and Figures for Use in*

61 “vi uno en Lisboa” “está ahora en Madrid” (González de Mendoza 1596, 357). Although published later, as the prologue indicates, Mendoza wrote the manuscript of *History of the Most Notable Things, Rituals, and Customs of the Great Kingdom of China* in 1584 while in Rome.

62 “lo van a ver muchos por cosa extraña y nunca vista en nuestra Europa” (González de Mendoza 1596, 357).

Architecture, 1586) by Josephe Boillot (1546–1605), one of the first books of early modern architecture, imagined a rhino atop the figure of an elephant as part of new spatial design. Sometimes, the image of an elephant and rhino was literally part of buildings, such as in a fresco by Rafael titled *The Creation of the Animals* in the official residence of the Pope. The Villa di Castello gardens of the country residence of Cosimo I de Medici include an elephant and a rhino in the grottos. Beyond the Pope's residence, images of rhinos and elephants are part of other powerful people's houses, even those built on the outskirts of Europe's newly controlled territory in America, such as one in the New Kingdom of Granada.

The elephant-rhino pair was also included within cities in the form of ephemeral architectural structures that celebrated a royal entrance or military victory. One image from the period depicts an arch displayed at the Rossmarkt in Vienna (Jordan Gschwend 2010, 46). The arch was the highlight of a 1563 Habsburg celebration of the transfer of power granted from Emperor Ferdinand I to his son Maximilian II. It depicts live horses passing in between a rhino and elephant that face each other. The pachyderms signify the geographical reach of Habsburg power into Asia, now contained on ephemeral architecture in an urban space that celebrates a new monarch.

As symbol of the Orient, the spectacle of Abada and Hawa'i in the 1580s later impacted the creation of allegorical displays of the continents of the world in Spain. An artificial elephant and a rhino were part of one of the most ornate public spectacles on the streets of Madrid in the seventeenth century, as described by Fernando Monforte y Herrera in *Relación de las fiestas que ha hecho el Colegio Imperial de la Compañía de Jesús de Madrid en la canonización de San Ignacio de Loyola y S. Francisco Xavier* (*News about the Parade That Imperial College of the Company of Jesus Held in Madrid for the Canonization of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and Saint Francis Xavier*, 1622). As part of the celebration in honor of the Jesuit saints, four allegorical floats, representing the parts of the world, were included. Each float consisted of three or four carriages, and each elaborately ornamented carriage was pulled by six horses. Floats representing America were followed by Asia, then Africa, and then Europe.

Monforte y Herrera wrote that the elephant in the parade represented Africa. The people in the African float wore long black gloves and black face masks; the person who sat on top of the float wore emeralds and diamonds and carried a shield with three silver elephants. The Asia section of the parade ended with a woman dressed up as Asia, who sat in a throne riding on top of a float made in the image of Abada. Asia's riches were allegorized with Abada's body: "The last float in the Asia procession was flat with railings

of jasper and gold. Its five-leveled terraces were of a thousand colors upon which sat a throne. On top of the throne was a rhinoceros [*abada*], the iconic animal from that land.”⁶³

Men were most likely hidden inside the artificial automaton of the hollowed life-size *Abada*. It was not unusual to create animal floats for parades. One elephant in a 1579 Medici pageant was made with papier-mâché (rags soaked in plaster) applied over an internal support of wire mesh, wood, and other materials, with men inside (Groom 2019, 147). The baroque fanfare of the massive procession in Madrid underscored that the iconographic program of the seventeenth century was impacted from three decades earlier, when Philip II wished to put the world on display in Madrid with the live pachyderm spectacle.

Tenochtitlan's Zoo

When Philip II renovated the urban space of Madrid, he wanted an imperial capital to rival ancient Rome. He, also, however, wanted to rival great cities from the Indies, like Tenochtitlan. At the time of Madrid's renovation as capital, Philip II was familiar with detailed maps of Tenochtitlan. Indeed, Charles V and Philip II promoted themselves as emperors of universal peace and as just conquerors of the Amerindian continent through disseminating printed maps of Tenochtitlan.

Maps of Tenochtitlan circulated across Europe in the sixteenth century. The maps included a depiction of the gardens and zoos in the city center of Tenochtitlan. Hernando Cortés had sent off a map of conquered Tenochtitlan in 1520 (which arrived to Seville in 1522), where it was promptly copied and appeared in published form across Europe. The German translation of Hernando Cortés's second letter to Charles in Nuremberg (1524) included a map of Tenochtitlan, which was republished in Lyon (1564), Cologne (1576), and Venice, with multiple editions throughout the course of the sixteenth century (1524; 1556; 1565) (Mundy 1998).

The printed maps of Tenochtitlan depicted the House of Animals alongside the religious temples in the center of the city. The House of Animals is a square space divided into smaller squares, displaying birds, a feline, and humans—Moctezuma collected humans, including albinos, dwarves,

63 “Daba fin Asia en un airoso carro, que, desde un plano coronado de verjas de jaspe y oro, daba paso por cinco gradas bordadas de mil colores a un trono sobre que estaba echada una *abada*, animal propio de aquella tierra” (Monforte y Herrera 1622, 43).

hunchbacks, and those with deformed limbs. Just as Moctezuma had displayed power through a royal menagerie, so Cortés brought back exotic animals and people to Europe, which had formerly been occupants of cages in the House of Animals in Tenochtitlan.

Tenochtitlan's House of Animals may have partially impacted Philip II when he constructed places to symbolize imperial power. For instance, the construction of the aviary in Aranjuez may have been inspired by Montezuma's magnificent House of Birds, the Totocalli, a space found in sixteenth-century depictions of Tenochtitlan. Europe had a long tradition of menageries, but none was in the center of a newly built capital city for public display. Tenochtitlan's House of Animals may have also inspired Philip II to take two live animals—prized captives from the East Indies—and put them in Madrid's center. In that sense, Philip II took the model from the West Indies, the House of Animals, now destroyed, and refounded it within Madrid's urban landscape.

With regard to the public perception of the pachyderm spectacle, many would have seen the animals as symbols of the Indies. In the case of a nineteenth-century zoo in a European capital city, the public would have perceived the geopolitical distinction between India and America in quite a different way than in the sixteenth century. Abada and Hawa'i would have been considered captive prisoners of war from the far-off "Indies," the lands that supposedly belonged to Philip II.

Abada as Emblem of Philip II as Christian Warrior

Books of emblems were one of the most popular early modern literary genres. In *Gobierno general moral y politico hallado en las fieras y animales silvestres* (*The General Governing Morals and Politics Found in Beasts and Wild Animals*, 1658), Andrés Ferrer de Valdecebro (1620–80) used the emblem book genre to connect the rhinoceros with all sorts of moral advice. After pages of sermonizing about the rhino as Christian emblem, Valdecebro mentions Abada's captivity under Philip II, who he calls "Seneca," as one of three historical moments in which Europeans observed a living rhino: "The Romans saw one in their Coliseum; the Portuguese saw one in Portugal in the time of King Manuel; and the Spanish [during the time] of our Seneca of Spain."⁶⁴

64 "En su teatro le vieron los romanos, en Portugal los lusitanos en tiempo del rey Don Manuel; y de nuestro Seneca de Espana los españoles" (Valdecebro 1658, 56). Valdecebro calls Philip II

Books of emblems, particularly those that included a copy of Dürer's *Rhinoceros*, would have served as a visual guide for interpreting Abada when she lived in Madrid. The circulation of books of emblems, like the Spanish language itself, formed part of an evangelization process in establishing the sixteenth-century global Habsburg political order. In the context of Spanish-language publications of emblem books and attesting to the growth of Spanish as the new imperial language under Philip II, the most significant book of emblems to include the Dürer's *Rhinoceros* is the *Diálogo de las empresas militares y amorosas* (*Dialogue of Military and Love Emblems*, 1561) by Guillaume Rovillé (ca. 1518–89).

Guillaume Rovillé, a humanist working in sixteenth-century Lyon, was a pioneer of emblem books in France, having translated and published Andrea Alciato's emblem book into French. Rovillé received permission to publish *Dialogue of Military and Love Emblems* in Lyon under the auspices of the French King Henry II (1519–59). *Dialogue of Military and Love Emblems*, written in Spanish, although published in France, combined two different emblem books and included Rovillé's introduction. Rovillé explains that he published the book to celebrate Philip II of Spain.

Dialogue of Military and Love Emblems follows the formulaic genre of the emblem book. It first includes an image with an accompanying motto. It then includes an explanation of the allegorical image-motto. *Dialogue of Military and Love Emblems* also followed the enormously popular sixteenth-century genre of the dialogue—two interlocutors comment on the book's emblems. As opposed to his French translation of Alciato, Rovillé published *Dialogue of Military and Love Emblems* with the help of Alonso de Ulloa (?–1580), a Spanish-speaking fellow resident of Lyon. The combined emblem books that formed the single volume were a Spanish translation of two Italian books. The first book was Rovillé's translation of *Dialogi dell'imprese militare et amoris* (*Dialogue of Military and Love Emblems*, 1557) by Paulo Giovio (1483–1552). The second was Rovillé's translation of *Imprese morali et heroiche* (*Moral and Heroic Emblems*, 1559) by Gabriele Simeoni (1509–70), which he had published in Lyon two years earlier.

Rovillé states in the introduction that he published the book in Spanish to “be in some way a service to the Spanish nation.”⁶⁵ Saving the most

“Seneca” based on a reference originally found in *Felipe Segundo, Rey de España* (*Philip II King of Spain*, 1619) by historian Luis Cabrera de Córdoba (1559–1623). Philip as Spain's second “Seneca” was a seventeenth-century commonplace, repeated by authors like Juan Pérez de Montalbán (1602–38).

65 “servir en algo a la nación española” (Rovillé 1561, n.p.).

important for last, the final emblem is not found in the original Italian books. Rovillé adds a new emblem into the *Dialogue of Military and Love Emblems*. It is a description of an emblem of Philip II: “I have decided to finish the book with the greatest prince and king of the Christian faith of our time.”⁶⁶ The emblem for Philip II is a horse: the “swiftest horse, running in the middle of the Roman Circus.”⁶⁷ The motto that accompanies the image of the horse is “the world is not enough,” or *non sufficit orbis* (Rovillé 1561, 217). Eschewing *plus ultra*, the well-known Spanish motto from the beginning of the sixteenth century, Rovillé adopted a more geographically expansive motto to celebrate Philip II’s imperial reach. In the explanation of the image-motto, he explains that, since his father Charles V went beyond Europe and conquered America, his son Philip II justly merits *non sufficit orbis* to demonstrate that a single kingdom is not enough for a Habsburg, because “our King continues to prosper with every day discovering and naming new kingdoms.”⁶⁸

The image of Philip II as horse is the last emblem in Rovillé’s book. To complement that image, one of the first emblems of Rovillé’s *Dialogue of Military and Love Emblems* is Dürer’s *Rhinoceros*—copied from Paolo Giovio’s Italian version. Dürer’s *Rhinoceros* is amplified. It has more armor and an enlarged second horn. Rovillé’s prose description of the rhino in *Dialogue of Military and Love Emblems* notes that Giovio designed the emblem in celebration of the marriage between Alessandro de Medici (1510–37) and Margarita de Parma (1522–86), the daughter of Charles V (47). The rhino symbolizes Alessandro de Medici’s loyalty to the Spanish Habsburgs. Alexander is Charles V’s armored beast, ready and willing to die for the Spanish imperial cause. The emblem “demonstrates valor and greatness in war” on behalf of Charles V, “for having achieved fame by having valiantly faced every sort of hardship, ready to conquer or willing to die [*vencer o morir*].”⁶⁹

I have translated *vencer o morir* as “ready to conquer or willing to die.” The use of the verb *vencer* (conquer, win a battle) in the context of fighting

66 “determinado de acabarlo con el mayor príncipe y rey de cristianos de nuestro tiempo” (Rovillé 1561, 216).

67 “velocísimo caballo que puesto en carrera sale y pasa de la mitad del circo romano” (Rovillé 1561, 216).

68 “no le basta un reino solo. Por lo cual prosperando nuestro señor sus cosas, le va cada día descubriendo y dan nuevos reinos” (Rovillé 1561, 217).

69 “deseaba mostrar su valor y bondad en la Guerra [...] que por alcanzar gloria, y defender la parte imperial habria entrado valorosamente en cualquiera dificultosa empresa, determinando vencer o morir” (Rovillé 1561, 48–49).

for Charles V directly inspired the motto for the rhino emblem: *no vuelvo sin vencer* (I do not return without winning). Rovillé mentions Giovio's classical inspiration, stating that the motto was derived from the verse "The rhinoceros never returns from the enemy defeated."⁷⁰ The modified Dürer *Rhinoceros* became a battle emblem for fighting on behalf of the Habsburg monarchy. For this reason, Rovillé underscores that Giovio originally wrote the motto in "the Spanish language"—as opposed to Italian—in a show of his allegiance to the Spanish monarchy.⁷¹

The conclusion of the description of the rhino emblem states that it was engraved on the breastplate of the Duke of Medici's favorite running horse.⁷² By adding the last emblem about Philip II as racehorse, Rovillé linked the Dürer *Rhinoceros* that was engraved on horse armor with the final emblem—a noble racehorse that represented Philip II. Linking *Rhinoceros* with horse armor and the Habsburgs, the Duke of Medici's racing horse is the final allegorical emblem that celebrates Philip as planetary monarch for whom "the world is not enough."

Although the vast majority of public that saw Abada had not read Rovillé's emblem book, they would have nonetheless connected Abada with King Philip II, seeing her as a former enemy and now as his captive. Moreover, they would have visualized Abada in the context of the heightened turn to religious orthodoxy in Counter-Reformation Spain. Another emblem book published in Spain approximates a description of the version of Catholicism as practiced in the Spanish Habsburg context. *Empresas espirituales y morales* (*Spiritual and Moral Emblems*, 1613) by Juan Francisco de Villalva (1545?–1619?) redeployed Dürer's rhinoceros image as emblem. As with Rovillé, Villalva used a rhinoceros image to convey an allegory of a didactic and religious message with an accompanying motto, as well as prose and poetry to describe the image-motto.

The publisher of *Spiritual and Moral Emblems* also included a crude rhinoceros woodcut inspired by Dürer. As with Rovillé's rhinoceros, Villalva's rhino image further accentuates the armor garniture originally found in Dürer's *Rhinoceros*. Villalva's image shows a rhino with multiple plates of armor, four clear rivets, a horn that looks like a drill, and, in the place where Dürer had added a second horn to the single-horned Indian rhino, Villalva adds three additional small horns. The image in *Spiritual and Moral*

70 'Rhinoceros nonquam victurs ab hoste redit' (Rovillé 1561, 49).

71 "lengua castellana" (Rovillé 1561, 48).

72 "la hizo entallar de labor grabada en el pecto de su arnés" (Rovillé 1561, 49).

Emblems depicts the rhino sharpening its largest horn, getting ready for battle, borrowing from the description found on Dürer's *Rhinoceros*.

The rhino image in Villalva's *Spiritual and Moral Emblems* is accompanied by the Latin motto *Fortius ut pugnem* ("I am strong so that I can fight," Villalva 1613, 45). As in many emblem books, *Spiritual and Moral Emblems* includes a poem and further description to explain the meaning of the image-motto. The gloss poem reads:

The noble rhinoceros
 Never fights with the
 Wise, belligerent elephant
 Without first sharpening its horn [...]
 He who decides to fight
 A savage enemy
 Must sharpen his steel
 On the divine stone
 Which is Christ,
 The affirmed weapon of faith.⁷³

The rhinoceros was no longer an exotic beast, but a man who went into battle armored and armed with faith sharpened by the whetstone that is Christ. *Spiritual and Moral Emblems*, then, provides one religious interpretation of how people might have interpreted their visual experience with Abada. The living rhino was perceived through a Dürer-inspired allegorical lens that made her an emblem of a Christian in the context of Counter-Reformation Spain—a soldier of Christ made captive by their armored monarch King Philip II.

Abada as Panacea

One characteristic of Counter-Reformation Spain was a heightened interest in relics of saints. Philip II had over 7,000 human relics, including ten whole bodies, 144 heads, 306 arms and legs, and thousands of bones in his vast collection (Kamen 1997, 189). Following Philip II's belief in the healing

73 "Con el sagaz belígero elefante / competidor eterno, / nunca lucha el gentil rinoceronte / sin que en piedra bastante / primero aguce el cuerno / [...] Quien mostrar quiere al enemigo fiero / bien agudo el acero / que en la piedra divina / que es Cristo / la arma de la fe se afirma" (Villalva 1613, 45).

power of holy relics, people believed that touching a saint's body part was a panacea. Relics—body parts of holy people—had the power to cure, and, if the holy flesh-and-blood person was still alive, then their power to cure was even more extraordinary. Contact with a living saint was more powerful than touching a relic. If the sacred object was living, people desired to touch the saint's body or blood. They desired to come close enough to the sacred person so that he or she might breathe upon them.

Products from the Indies, such as coconuts or bezoar stones extracted from the animal's stomach, circulated in the sixteenth century were believed to have curative powers like holy relics.⁷⁴ Simple physical contact, or the consumption of a liquid that touched the object from the Indies was like touching a relic—it offered, for instance, an antidote against poison. One example of a cup composed of a coconut, bezoar stone, and rhino horn is found in Rudolf II's collection. In order to get a maximum effect of all three different objects' curative powers, the cup is half coconut, it has a bezoar stone that sits at the bottom of the cup attached with a golden chain, and the cup's handle is made out of a rhinoceros horn. One who drank out of the cup got a triple curative effect because the liquid touched the coconut and came into contact with the bezoar stone. Moreover, the hand of the person who drinks has also touched the rhino horn handle (Fricke 2018, 358).

Products from the Indies were not only purchased by elites. Influenced by practices common in Chinese workshops, apothecaries across Europe took advantage of marketing an influx of panacea cures related to rhino products. Iberians living in Goa helped not only to establish popular medical practices of coconuts and bezoar stones, but they also touted the curative power of the rhinoceros horn, teeth, blood, hide, and three-toed hooves. Garcia d'Orta, for instance, the author of *Colóquios dos simples e drogas da India* (*Colloquies of the Remedies and Drugs from India*, 1563), wrote that, although he had not seen a live rhinoceros, the curative properties of rhino body parts were well known. An inventory from a ship sailing from Goa in 1578, the same year that Abada was sent to Lisbon, included a box for the Jesuit Father António Cordeses (1518–1601) in Toledo. It was filled with coconuts, bezoar stones, and rhino parts: “Three rhino teeth; a rhino hoof; a rhino horn; two small bezoar stones; rhino blood; three pieces of coconut from the islands [one big one and two small ones]; a large piece of rhino

74 Bezoar stones were extracted from the stomachs of a variety of animals, including monkeys, porcupines, hogs, goats (Borshberg 2010). When the stones came from the Indies, such as a rhinoceros from the East Indies or a vicuña from the West Indies, they were considered more powerful.

hide; [...] two rings made from a rhino hoof which they put on the index finger in order to cure the disease of melancholy.”⁷⁵

The panacea lore of the rhino is a great myth. Its curative power, for instance, is still believed in parts of the world, even though rhino horn is nothing more than compacted hair, composed of keratin, not much different from a human finger nail. Pharmacies in early modern Spain nonetheless processed animal body parts, like rhino hooves or horns, and sold them to the public. Apothecaries, for instance, would grind up the hooves of the rhino on a mortar and make it into a powder, or mix the results with a liquid such as extract of primrose flowers. The essence or concentrated liquid was then sold as an antidote for poison, a cure for epilepsy, or a general cure-all.

Cristóbal Acosta translated and annotated Orta's *Colóquios dos simples e drogas da India* as *Tractado de las drogas y medicinas de las indias orientales* (*Treatise of the Drugs and Medicines of the East Indies*, 1578). By including descriptions of rhinos in a treatise on elephants in a book about medicine from the East Indies, Cristóbal Acosta contributed to the legend of the curative power of the rhino. Acosta also wrote *Remedios específicos de la India Oriental y de la América* (*Specific Remedies from East India and the Americas*) and worked in a pharmacy in Burgos. He describes the rhinoceros or *abada* as a cure for all sorts of ailments: “its blood, like its hide, bones, and other body parts have infinite virtues.”⁷⁶ *Specific Remedies from East India and the Americas* concludes that “A speck or two [of the powder from the rhino's hoof] in an infusion is most highly recommended” as a “cure for mental disorders and the worst heart problems: [...] [it is] a universal medicine.”⁷⁷

Dürer's creation of the armored beast from the Indies influenced early modern medical practice, like that of Acosta. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Monardes wrote a book about the medicinal quality of plants from the Indies and, influenced by Dürer, he included an image of an armadillo, the armored beast from the West Indies, in his book. Animals with impenetrable skin became legendary for their miraculous power to cure, fueling a global market for animal body parts such as hooves. The Dutch, for instance,

75 “Tres dientes de bada, una uña de bada, un cuerno de bada; dos pequeñas piedras del bazar; sangre de bada; tres pedazos de coco de las Islas, un grande y dos pequeños; un grande pedazo de cuero de bada; [...] dos anillos de uña de bada puestos en el dedo del corazón aprovechan para la melancolía” (Wicki 1970, 330).

76 “sus virtudes son infinitas en su sangre, como en el cuero, huesos y otras partes de su cuerpo” (qtd. in Chinchilla 1841, 59).

77 “Un grano, o dos en infusiones será más eficaz [...] remedio contra afectos hipocondriacos, y cardiologías más rigurosas [...] le tiene por medicamento universal” (Acosta n.d., n.p). The pagination would be folio 31.

followed the Spanish example, naming one animal reputed to have armored skin, the elk, the “Great Beast,” and mass marketing its hooves for European pharmacies (Podgorny 2018).⁷⁸

If an animal was naturally endowed with impenetrable skin, then its body parts offered a cure. Hooves, horns, and other rhino body parts were also said to have an intrinsic therapeutic value in curing epilepsy (“the falling sickness”), characterized by the sudden onset of convulsions and seizures. Some writers, such as Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–81), criticized the use of rhino body parts as a cure for epilepsy. In a Calderón play from the mid-seventeenth century, “Mojiganga del Parnaso” (Parnassus Interlude), two cheeky women, María and Bernarda, scam men passing by them on the street. María pretends to faint and go into an epileptic attack (*gota coral*). A man passing by shows concern and wants to help María. He asks Bernarda where María lives and Bernarda tells him: on “Calle del Abada” (Calderón de la Barca 1989, 256).⁷⁹ The man responds: “I’m off to that street to find out what I can do to fix this.”⁸⁰ The women are mountebanks in two senses: They try to scam men out of their money, and they purport the fanciful curative properties of the rhino.

In the sixteenth century, rhino body parts were believed to offer miracle cures like holy relics. The arrival of Abada to the General Hospital was like the arrival of a living saint. The very first description of Abada when she arrived to Lisbon highlighted her special power to cure:

They say that she has the ability to cure sickness. There is a black man that takes care of her who was cured by her breath because he sleeps by her side. They also say her blood cures many sicknesses. The king [King Sebastian of Portugal, 1554–78] holds her in great esteem and he shows her off because she is a novelty for us and very strange.⁸¹

78 Hooves from the African oryx and American tapir and moose were also marketed for medicinal purposes in the seventeenth century.

79 Abada’s first stable in Madrid was located on the present-day Abada Street in Madrid near Philip II’s Alcázar. Aside from referencing popular belief of the rhino as panacea, Calderón’s play confirms M. Molina Campuzano’s study on early Madrid cartography, which shows that the popular name for Abada’s street had already become a standard name in the seventeenth century. Abada Street is where King Philip II first put Abada upon arriving from Lisbon. Molina (1960, 520) notes that the street was mostly called “Abada” or rhinoceros (eleven times), but also “Bada” or rhinoceros (six times), and Abad or abbot (three times). He also cites *Concerning the Names and Streets of Madrid* (1626–32), which refers to Bada Street (*Calle de la Bada*).

80 “Yo iré por allí a saber en que el accidente para” (“Mojiganga del Parnaso, Segunda parte de la rabia,” Calderón de la Barca 1989, 256). Also see Casey 2019.

81 “Dizem que tem muita virtude para sarar gafos e que um negro que tinha cuidado dela que com o seu bafo por dormir a par dele que sarao e que o sangue aproveita muitas enfermidades [...]”

Touching Abada and feeling her breath was a much more powerful curative experience than simply touching or consuming a rhino body part. Spectators who came to see Abada in the General Hospital would have associated her with the unicorn and its horn, a legendary panacea. They would have tried to touch the place of her missing horn or the horn that was starting to grow back. In seeking to come in contact with her, many probably touched Abada compassionately, like they did their small companion animals.⁸² Their touch may have even benefitted Abada's well-being, a moment radically at odds with the suffering she experienced most of her life.

Conquered Enemies

At the end of the eighteenth century, in order to raise hospital income, the Bedlam Asylum in London charged the public a fee of a penny to stare at caged patients. People did not pay to see patients in Philip II's hospitals, but, nevertheless, he not only consolidated Madrid's hospitals in an act of charity, but also as a way to control and observe vagrants, prostitutes, criminals, and the mentally ill. In places such as Bedlam and the General Hospital in Paris, crowds treated the ill and insane with cruelty (Senior 2004, 222). People also observed and mistreated the deranged and mentally ill in early modern Spain, and they were increasingly the object of spectacle. The character Don Quixote, at the end of the spurious sequel to Part I of Cervantes's novel, was sent to a hospital for the insane. Quixote was not only a character in fictional novels, but he was also the protagonist in short comic plays and in parades, spectacles that exaggerated his character as ridiculous and loony.

One historical patient in Spain may also have been the object of spectacle. Juan de Dios was forcibly detained in the Hospital of Antón Martín in the 1580s, and evidence exists that one woman went to see Juan de Dios at the same time she may have also seen Hawa'i. Hawa'i was lodged in the Hospital of Antón Martín, located near the present-day plaza of Antón Martín. The Hospital of Antón Martín was dedicated to skin diseases, primarily sexually transmitted diseases like syphilis. Lucretia de León (1567-?), the daughter of

Tem-la El Rei em grande estima qui la aquí desenhar por ser cousa nova a nos e muito estranha e dar fim a este libro pois neste tempo veio" (qtd. in Fontes da Costa 2009, 79). Also see Cruz de Almeida and Lino Rodrigo 1992.

82 Some small dogs were kept near the breast or on the lap and touched intimately (Martín 2020). Accounts exist of elites that cherished the act of touching their small companion animals. Isabella d'Este Marchesa de Mantua acquired a small cat with soft fur from India that she kept in the sleeves of her clothing (Cockram 2017).

a merchant who lived in Madrid in the 1580s, visited the Hospital of Antón Martín in 1588—ostensibly, not to see Hawa'i, but Juan de Dios. Richard Kagan has studied inquisitional documents that record the Lucretia's dreams. In one record from 1588, Lucretia describes a dream in which she recounted a visit to the hospital of Antón Martín and in which she saw a monstrous elephant-like creature (Kagan 1990, 71–72).

For Kagan, Lucretia's dream description suggests a real experience she might have had with the quack prophet Juan de Dios in the hospital. Lucretia states that, when she was in the hospital, Juan de Dios told her that King Philip II would cause the destruction of Spain because he did not expel the *moriscos*. Lucretia's description of an elephant monster follows popular accounts of a prophesy about *moriscos* connected to elephants. The Carmelite friar and historian, Marcos de Guadalajara (1560–1631), for instance, wrote about the popular elephant connection in *Memorable Expulsión y justísimo destierro de los Moriscos de España (Commemoration of the Expulsion and the Most Just Exile of the Moriscos of Spain, 1613)*. Marcos de Guadalajara writes that the Spanish (whom he refers to as the Sagittarians) “are stronger than the elephants.”⁸³

Lucretia's experience suggests that not all the public who came to the hospitals to see the pachyderms came seeking a cure. They did not all touch Abada and Hawa'i with compassion. Some of the public would have also looked at both pachyderms as Spanish enemies and great prisoners of war. They touched them with awe and disgust. Overawed by their immense size, some poked and prodded their thick hides and attempted to injure the animals.

The poem in Villalva's *Spiritual and Moral Emblems* describes the Christ-rhino as fighting a “belligerent” elephant. Many would have associated the elephant with Islam, Spain's outcast religion. For instance, when Philip arrived to Lisbon in 1580, the city celebrated a royal entrance procession, and the silversmiths of the city created a float. They represented Philip as a lion and the Turk as an elephant. A description describes the float: “The right-hand panel showed a globe of the world split in two halves. One of them was clutched in the claws of a lion and the other half had an elephant with its trunk accompanied by ferocious wild animals with claws.”⁸⁴ The interpretation of the iconographic program continues: “the image was an allegory of the world

83 “son más fuertes los Sagitarios que los Elefantes” (qtd. in Lee 2020, 181).

84 “O painel da mano direyta se mostraba o globo do Mundo partido em duas ametades. Huna das quaes tinha aferrada com as unhas hun leão & a otra hum elefante com a trova juntamente como outros animais feroces con as unhas” (qtd. in Pizarro Gómez 1999, 140–1).

divided in two parts. The first was King Philip II as a strong and powerful lion that possessed half the world and the other half was controlled by the Great Turk, accompanied by the Muslims and other pagans.”⁸⁵

Many visitors who saw Hawa'i would have thought of him as a Turkish captive. Early modern Europe in general often equated elephants with Turks. In 1531, Charles V's envoys, Joseph von Lamberg and Niklas Jurischitz, reported that, on their way to the audience chamber in the first court of the Ottoman palace, they saw two elephants (Reindl-Kiel 2010, 279–80). The Turk-elephant connection appears in European accounts such as Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522–92), who served as ambassador in the Sultan's court (1554–62). Ghislain de Busbecq, like Covarrubias, calls attention to elephant's "hand":

I also saw a quite young elephant which greatly amused me, because it could dance and play ball [...] When the elephant was ordered to dance it advanced on alternate feet, swaying back and forth with its whole body, so that it obviously meant to dance a jig. It played with a ball by cleverly catching it, when it was thrown, with its trunk and hurling it back, as we do with the hand. (qtd. Jordan Gschwend 2010, 28)

The connection between Turks and elephants can also be found in published images from the period, such as the Danish engraving (1559) by Melchior Lorck (1527–64), which shows Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1494–1566) in front of the mosque that he built in 1557 with two men riding on the back of an elephant.

When King Philip II placed Abada and Hawa'i in Madrid, he not only followed the example of the House of Animals in Tenochtitlan, he also adapted the Turkish practice of keeping captive animals for imperial propaganda. In the sixteenth-century Ottoman court, live elephants provided the necessary splendor for a properly magnificent Islamic court (Reindl-Kiel 2010, 279). The Ottoman Empire's two capitals, Cairo and Istanbul, held animals— such as lions, cheetahs, panthers, giraffes, and most especially elephants—in enclosures, as living symbols of empire (Mikhail 2014). In sixteenth-century Istanbul, over 200 animals were on display and Süleyman strategically expanded the power of the Ottomans in the East, facilitating Istanbul's steady supply of animals (Groom 2019, 11).

85 “A qual historia significaba o Mundo dividido em duas partes, das quaes el Rey Phillippe como forte & poderoso leão possui ametade: & a outra o grão Turco, juntamente com elle os Mouros & mais paganos” (qtd. in Pizarro Gómez 1999, 140–1).

In a short comic play, *La gran sultana Doña Catalina de Oviedo* (1615) (*The Great Sultana*, 2010a and 2010b), Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616) jokes about the common popular connection between the elephant and the Turks. The comic *gracioso* human character, Madrigal, a Spanish captive in Istanbul, pretends that he is a mahout and can teach the sultan's elephant to speak. The elephant in the play is a symbol of the Great Sultan of Turkey, Murad III (1546–95), and Madrigal (rather than the elephant) is the captive. Cervantes cleverly inverts cultural references: The live Turkish captive is not Hawa'i in Madrid, but the human Spanish captive Madrigal in Istanbul.

For many spectators, Hawa'i and Abada were the embodiment of Philip II's conquered enemies like the Great Turk. Much of the public would have perceived both animals as animals of war under Philip II's control. With regard to elephants, sixteenth-century artists depicted images of elephants, with soldiers riding them into bloody battle, alongside Hannibal (247–183BCE) attacking Rome. Monarchs staged live mock battles that included battle elephants. One tapestry (ca. 1576) shows Catherine de' Medici watching a magnificent mock battle—complete with fireworks—with soldiers in a two-story box on top of an elephant, alluding to Hannibal's crossing of the Alps. Moreover, disseminating the image of the war pachyderm in *Treatise of the Drugs and Medicines of the East Indies*, the book on plants from the East Indies, Cristóbal Acosta included a supplement titled “Tractado del elephante y sus calidades” (“Treatise on the Elephant and its Qualities”). The treatise contains a woodcut of an image of an armored elephant (fig. 9), and Acosta states that elephants “go to war with armor garniture on the forehead, and on their breasts, like armored horses.”⁸⁶

Some members of the public, perhaps soldiers or those interested in the military, would have been interested in Hawa'i as prisoner of war and his potential as new European war technology. In turn, with regard to Abada, members of the public would have imagined that the greatest armored beast from the Indies was under Philip's dominion. Dürer's depiction of the rhino as a war machine was known from emblem books and popular legends that described rhinos as tools used in battle.⁸⁷ Francisco Hernández, who

86 “Van a la guerra armados en la frente, y en el pecho, como caballos encubertados” (C. Acosta 1578, 438).

87 No evidence exists to suggest that rhinos were actually used in battle. Nonetheless, early sixteenth-century Portuguese historians described epic battles in the Orient that included armored elephants and rhinos. A 1645 Spanish translation of the experience in the Portuguese East Indies of Fernão Mendez Pinto (1509–83) refers to *abadas* and notes that “80,000 rhinos carried the military equipment” in a battle waged on Peking (“ochenta mil abadas en que traían el bagaje”) (Pinto 1645, 236). In *Lendas da India* (*Legends from India*, 1534), Gaspar Correa (1492–1563)

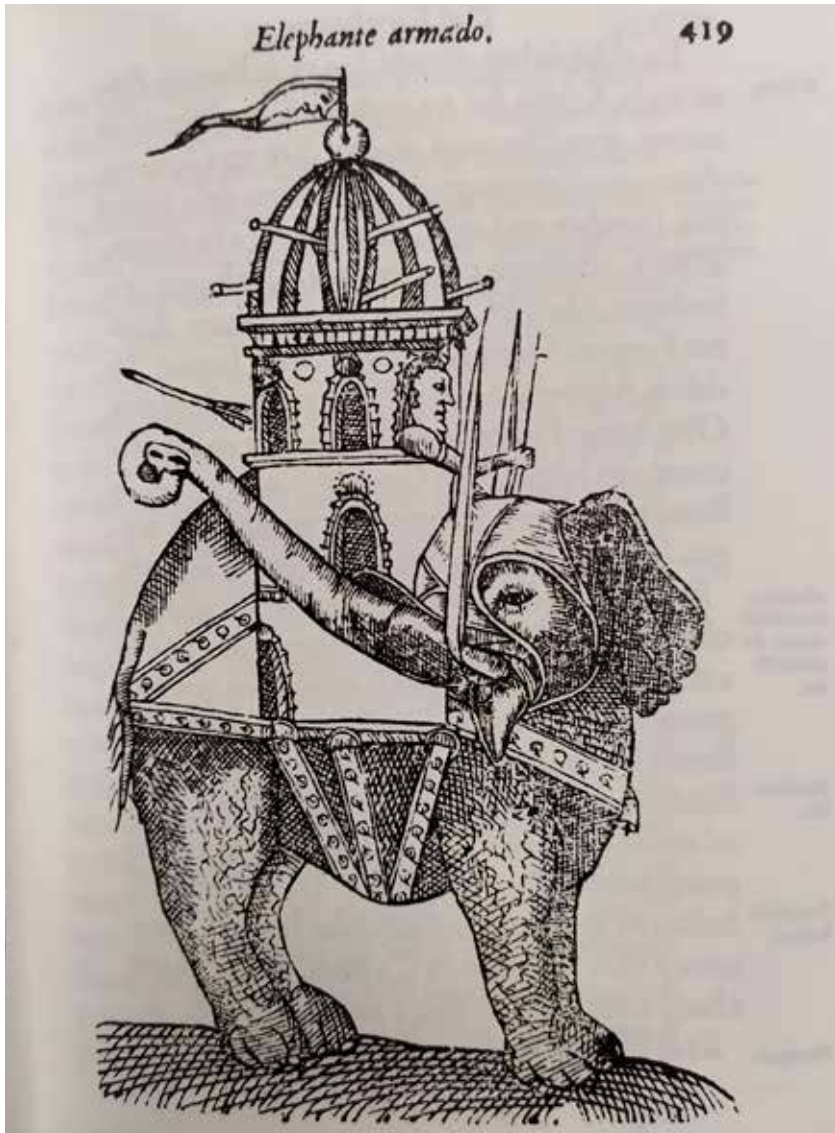


Fig. 9. Elephant with armor. "Tractado del elephante y sus calidades" (1578) by Cristóbal Acosta (Biblioteca de la Universidad de Sevilla).

describes a fantastic battle with elephants and epic rhinos with the grandeur of the weaponized war rhinos from the film *Blank Panther*. Referring to Ganda and also calling rhinos *ganda* or "beast" in the feminine (*bicha*), Correa states that the Tartar king: "divided his army into five well-arrayed battalions, consisting of 140,000 on horseback and 280,000 on foot, and in front of them a battalion of 800 elephants, which fought with swords upon their tusks, and castles with archers and musketeers on their backs. And, in front of the elephants, 80 rhinoceroses, like the one

wrote a Spanish translation of Pliny in the 1570s, referred to the popularity of Dürer's *Rhinoceros*: "no better description can be made of the rhinoceros than its icon and image which, as I have said is well depicted and authentically represented in books by contemporary authors who discuss the animal."⁸⁸ One Dominican author, Luis de Urreta (1570–1636), mentioned Abada in Madrid and referred to the image of the rhino in "portraits and books." Like Mendoza, who described China with contemporary accounts without having been there, so too Urreta described Ethiopia largely through the lens of contemporary fantasy accounts of Prester Juan. The live presence of Abada, however, just as she was an observable fact for Mendoza, was also important for Urreta:

The rhino is now quite well known since people saw it in Madrid for a long time and there are many portraits and prints in books. The entire animal is armed with scales, a cuirass so durable that no lance, or arrow, or any weapon can cause a dent to it. There is no shotgun nor musket that can penetrate its hide.⁸⁹

Urreta's description suggests that people not only sought a cure when they saw her, they may have also tried to test the durability of her hide with weapons.

Plays from the period highlighted the popular desire to see new animals with natural armor. In the play *Lo fingido verdadero* (*Acting is Believing*, 1607–8) by Lope de Vega, a character marvels at a group of animals. One of the animals is a fantastical elk that has lames on an armor-type hide of

that which went to Portugal, and which they called 'beast' fought strongly, carrying three-pronged iron weapons on the horn of their snout [...] the Mogors took the advantage by shooting arrows, wounding many of the rhinos and elephants, which, as the arrows pierced them, turned and fled" ("fez repartição de sua gente em cinco batalhas bem ordenadas, em que leuaua cento e corenta mil de caualllo e duzentos e oitenta mil de pé, e diante huma batalha de oitocentos alifantes, que pelejauão com espadas nos dentes e em cima castellos com frecheiros e espingardeiros. E diante dos alifantes oitenta gandas, como huma que foy a Portugal, a que chamarão bicha, que no corno que tem sobre o focinho tinhão ferros de três pontas com que pelejauão muy fortemente [...] os mogores com frechas fizeram grande entrada, ferindo muy fortemente nas gandas e alifantes, os quaes, sentindo as frechas, voltarão fogindó") (Correia 1862, 3: 573–4).

88 "Y esto baste de la forma del rinocerote porque le describen muchos autores antiguos y modernos y no hay mejor descripción que su icón y figura, la cual está, como tengo dicho, muy bien retractada y sacada al natural en algunos libros de modernos que ventilan esta materia" (Hernández 1976, 2: 377).

89 "su figura ya es cosa muy conocida, porque le vieron en Madrid mucho tiempo, y ay muchos retratos y estampas en los libros: todo el esta armado de unas costras, y como corazas tan fuertes, que ni lança, ni saeta, ni arma ninguna le puede hacer mella, ni ay escopeta, ni mosquete que le pueda falsar el pellejo" (Urreta 1610, 245).

which are made shields through which “no iron can penetrate.”⁹⁰ Urreta’s description of the rhinoceros suggests that people who went to see Abada wanted to test how tough her supposedly armor-like skin was. González de Mendoza wrote that her “hide is so tough that no man, no matter how strong, can pass a stake through it.”⁹¹ Another eyewitness in Madrid in 1585, Diego de Funes y Mendoza, notes that she had “very hard shells around the head and the hide was so strong as to withstand a bullet.”⁹²

Juan de Arfe Depicts Captives of Scipio Africanus

In 1583, the master goldsmith and engraver Juan de Arfe y Villafañe (fig. 10) rented his house in Seville and went to Madrid, where he observed Abada and Hawai. Arfe, in turn, chose a scene from classical antiquity to represent each. In the scene that he crafted on an elaborate ewer, which is now owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 11), an elephant and rhino march as part of a victory parade of Scipio Africanus (236–183 BCE).⁹³ Arfe ignored each animal’s place of origin.⁹⁴ His primary concern was to measure their

90 “ningún hierro los penetra” (Vega 1986, 85–86).

91 “cuyo cuero es tan duro que ningún hombre por de grandes fuerzas que sea lo podrá pasar de una estocada” (González de Mendoza, 1596, 357).

92 “En Madrid hubo otro rinoceronte el año de mil y quinientos y ochenta y cinco, que fue quando le vi, al qual le habían sacado los ojos porque no hiciese mal. Tenía este unas como conchas muy duras cerca de la cabeza, y el cuero tan fuerte que casi pudiera resistir una bala” (Funes y Mendoza 1621, 270–1).

93 An ewer is essentially a glorified water pitcher, often crafted with an accompanying basin. Finely crafted ewers and their accompanying basins formed part of the silverware of elite homes across Renaissance Europe. Luxurious sixteenth-century ewers and basins were produced in Portugal, France, Italy, and Germany and can be found in collections across Europe, including Venice (Conte Cine Collection); Florence (Museo degli Argenti); London (Victoria and Albert Museum, Wallace Collection); and Munich (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Schatzkammer of the Residenz). Today, it is difficult to see a Spanish ewer from the period because almost all of the ewers were melted down to take advantage of their base metal. One surviving ewer and basin is on display at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam; it was taken as booty by the Dutch from a captured Spanish ship from the period. Paintings also give an idea of the lost elaborate master craftsmanship of ewers from this period. One painting depicts an ostentatious ewer with a dragon-head-shaped spout. The ewer on its basin is in the front and center of *La última cena* (*The Last Supper*, 1588) by Alonso Vázquez (ca. 1565–ca. 1608) in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Seville.

94 Arfe was not the first artist to use an Indian rhinoceros in an African setting. For instance, based on Ganda, Francesco Granacci depicted an Indian rhino and his mahout in a scene that depicts Egypt in *Joseph Introduces his Father and Brothers to the Pharaoh* (1517) (Bedini 1998, 134).



Fig. 10. Juan de Arfe's self-portrait. Frontispiece from *De varia commensuración para la esculpura y arquitectura* (1585) (Biblioteca de la Universidad de Sevilla).



Fig. 11. Gilded silver ewer (1583) by Juan de Arfe (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City).

proper proportions. They served as captive African animals in a scene that celebrated Philip II as emperor of universal peace and just conqueror of Portugal and Portuguese Asia.

No scholar has identified Juan de Arfe as the creator of the ewer, a detail of which I have chosen for the cover of this book.⁹⁵ Juan de Arfe was sixteenth-century Europe's most important humanist-goldsmith. His craftsmanship of metal objects for the Catholic church is well known. Aside from reliquaries, chalices and patens, altar crosses, incense boats, and candlesticks, he most notably designed a massive monstrance for the cathedrals in Avila, Valladolid, and Burgos. His monstrance for the Seville cathedral weighs over a thousand pounds and stands at ten feet tall.

Aside from the vast number of material objects made in gold and silver, Arfe also published *De varia commensuración para la Esculptura y Arquitectura* (*Varying Proportion for Sculpture and Architecture*, 1585), which was

⁹⁵ The Scipio Africanus ewer and accompanying basin by Arfe survive in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. J. F. Hayward was the first to put forward the possible attribution of the ewer and basin to Arfe: "This ewer and basin are of the quality one would expect from [Juan de Arfe's] workshop" (1976, 194). The Roman mark on the ewer does not correctly indicate its origin. Hayward notes that the mark appeared well after the ewer's creation: "Both ewer and basin are struck with a later Rome mark, apparently dating from the 18th century" (1976, 369).

reedited and published several times over the next three centuries.⁹⁶ In *Varying Proportion for Sculpture and Architecture*, Arfe explains that there are many ways to make a ewer, but that he, in a show of pride, created ewers of the most felicitous proportions and that he was the most accomplished ewer artist. Arfe's description of the ewer's ideal proportions—the special height of the handle as well as the different parts, including the spout, body, and basin—corresponds to the Scipio Africanus ewer that survives in the Met.

Varying Proportion for Sculpture and Architecture was Arfe's argument on behalf of metalsmiths as distinguished artists, rather than craftsman. Charles V had not officially recognized the artistry of the goldsmith until 1552, and Arfe used *Varying Proportion for Sculpture and Architecture* to dispel the notion that those who practiced metal crafting were commonplace and unexceptional (Hayward 1976, 92).⁹⁷ He begins *Varying Proportion for Sculpture and Architecture* with "To His Readers," in which he explains that his purpose was to show the ideal proportions of the human body in the art of sculpture and architecture and, after showing diagrams of how to imitate nature's design of the human body, he concludes: "Truly sculpture and architecture are the epitome of all the arts because they are born from crafting material with your hands and using one's reason and judgment to inform the creation of that artifice."⁹⁸

Even though many know Arfe as having created opulent objects for the Church, Arfe also made many objects influenced by iconography from the classical tradition. Arfe wrote that the objective of *Varying Proportion for Sculpture and Architecture* was to establish rules of proportion for crafting precious metals: "In my book I only wish to gather all the authors that

96 Other publications include *Quilatador de oro, plata y piedras (Assayer of Gold, Silver, and Precious Stones)*, Valladolid, 1579) and *Descripción de la traça y ornato de la custodia de plata de la Santa Yglesia de Sevilla (Description of the Form and Decoration of the Silver Monstrance in the Holy Church of Seville)*, Seville, 1587). See Sanz 2006.

97 Arfe influenced how Diego de Velázquez conceived of his role as artist. Jonathan Brown has argued that the desire to raise the status of painters was fundamental for understanding Diego de Velázquez's art (Brown 1986, 2). Arfe's *Varying Proportion for Sculpture and Architecture* influenced *Arte de la pintura (The Art of Painting)* by Francisco Pacheco (1564–1644), which appeared in Seville twenty years later and would have been obligatory reading for Diego Velázquez (1599–1660). Arfe's desire to raise the status and prestige of the metal crafter above that of manual laborers influenced Pacheco who, in turn, impressed the desire to raise the status of painters upon Diego de Velázquez.

98 "Verdaderamente la escultura y arquitectura son una perfección de todas las artes: las cuales nacen de la fábrica que labra la materia con las manos, y de la razón y juicio que dan las cosas fabricadas" (Arfe 1585, 5r).

correctly interpret these arts to establish the necessary rules to craft gold and silver and other metals.”⁹⁹ He writes that, of all the arts practiced by the Greeks and Romans that were later taught to “barbarous” nations, the most important were sculpture and architecture, the subjects of his treatise.¹⁰⁰ Arfe’s primary sources were Greek and Roman authors, and he described the craftsmanship of precious metal as the height of all the arts.

As *Varying Proportion for Sculpture and Architecture* was republished over the next centuries, architects and scientists appreciated the detailed attention to the proportions of machines and the human body. Early modern zoologists also appreciated Arfe’s dispassionate treatment of animals. Arfe described the proper proportions of animals by stating the height and length of each and by including an image in which its height and length is marked. One of the silver plates of the massive monstrance in the Seville cathedral shows a lion, bull, eagle, and man pulling a crowned figure on a Roman-style chariot. The prophet Ezekiel received a divinely inspired vision in which God was pulled by the four beings. Arfe borrows the common motif of the Christian renaissance in which each one represented the four evangelists—Matthew, the man; Mark, the lion; Luke, the ox; and John, the eagle.

One of the lions on the Scipio Africanus ewer is remarkably similar to the lion on the 1580 Seville monstrance. Aside from the Scipio Africanus ewer designed for Philip II, Arfe designed another ewer, now lost, for Philip III upon Philip II’s death in 1598. The Philip III ewer also depicted animals. Even though the object is lost, the description of the Philip III ewer survives. The Philip III ewer contained an image of Orpheus charming the animals (Martín 1980). Arfe’s interest in Orpheus connects to one of the great visual motifs—and human fantasies—of the Renaissance: a man who uses music to control the animal world.¹⁰¹

99 “Pues lo que yo en mi obra pretendo es solamente juntar de todos los autores que mejor acertaron estas artes, solas las reglas necesarias para labrar artificiosamente la plata y oro, y otros metales” (Arfe 1585, 5v).

100 “De todas las artes que antiguamente florecieron entre los griegos y romanos, de los cuales después fueron enseñadas otras naciones bárbaras, las que más llegaron a su punto fueron la escultura y arquitectura” (Arfe 1585, 5r).

101 Because it is lost, it is impossible to know how Arfe depicted Orpheus on the Philip III ewer. Nonetheless, the Orpheus motif was common in printed books and even on elite household furniture. Following models of table cabinets produced in the Grand Ducal Medici court (one example is found in the Detroit Institute of Arts), elites in Europe passionately collected table cabinets made of multicolored, intricately cut hard semiprecious stones. A common iconographic program for the cabinets was to show Orpheus mollifying the wild animals of the world with his music. Wolfram Koeppel and Anna Maria Giusti (2008) note at least eighteen of the hardstone or *pietre dure* with the Orpheus animal plaquettes in cabinets in existence today. Demonstrating

Arfe devotes an entire section of his master opus *Varying Proportion for Sculpture and Architecture* to animals, and states that he represents the animals that he observed firsthand. Under the entry for “Rhinceros,” he explains “other animals have horns, but not having seen them alive, I do not discuss them.”¹⁰² In an effort to create an authentic image, Arfe describes animals as living machines and provides details on how the metal crafter can reproduce the movement of live animals.¹⁰³

Varying Proportion for Sculpture and Architecture contains woodcut images of the animals that Arfe observed. Aside from the measurements of each animal, he includes its phenotypical description, such as the number of toes or the length of the animal’s thumb. The lion description, for instance, describes its appearance and how it moves: “a graphic description of movement is as follows: it sets the back foot down before it lifts up its front foot from the other side, it takes big steps when it walks and the back foot does not pass the front foot.”¹⁰⁴

With respect to the elephant and rhinceros on the Scipio African ewer, Arfe radically displaced their Indian origins and depicted them through the lens of firsthand observation experience by making them captive African animals. Scipio Africanus is a victorious prince leading the animals: He returns to Rome from the victory in Africa, leading the procession of soldiers and animals. Scipio Africanus reclines in his chariot, with the detail of his elbow on the side of the chariot and a palm frond in the shape of a rope flowing alongside.¹⁰⁵ Scipio is followed by a procession: two men on bucking

orientalism as fashion for home design, Tomás Hiepes (ca. 1595–1674) in Spain (*Grapes, peaches and a snail in a Chinese porcelain bowl atop a gilt and inlaid cabinet*, Valencia, 1646) depicted a still life of a Chinese porcelain bowl sitting atop a cabinet that shows Orpheus playing his lyre among the animals, including a rhinceros facing off against an elephant.

102 “otros animales de cuernos ay, pero por no los haber visto vivos no tratamos dellos” (Arfe 1773, 205)

103 Arfe also published a version of Aesop’s fables. When Arfe returned to Seville, his brother Antonio died. Arfe wrote that he had saved a series of poems that his brother had written in Aesop’s style and, in honor of his brother’s memory, he published the animal poems. He writes in the prologue: “After the death of Antonio my brother, I was going through his papers and found these Aesop fables among them [...] for the love of my brother and not letting them die with him, I decided to bring them to light for the eyes of the world” (“Después de la muerte de Antonio de Arsemi hermano, revolviendo un día sus papeles, entre otros, a caso, hallé estas fabulas de Esopo [...] por el amor de hermano, en no dejarla morir juntamente con el, y así determiné sacarla a luz y ponerla ante los ojos del mundo”) (A. Arfe 1642, 2–3).

104 “Su movimiento a diámetro, que es asentar el pie antes que alce la mano de su lado, alza mucho los pies manos cuando camina y no pasa del pie a la mano” (Arfe 1773, 194).

105 In his creation of the triumphal procession on the ewer, Arfe borrowed themes and images drawn by Giulio Romano (1499–1546), which were used for a number of tapestries that

horses, a bull in between a female and male lion, a camel, an elephant, a rhinoceros, and, finally, another bull. The Barbary male lion looks back menacingly at the rhinoceros (fig. 12).

The Scipio Africanus iconographic program had formerly been represented in some of the most famous tapestries produced in the period. Arfe added a rhinoceros to the procession of animals, an image not found in the source images of animals such as the Scipio Africanus iconography on the tapestry cycle. With respect to his zoological description of the rhinoceros, Juan de Arfe writes a short prose description stating that the rhinoceros is “of great size—about two meters high. It has enormous strength and it is light on its feet. It is covered with hard shells.”¹⁰⁶ Arfe also repeats much of the same information found in the text from Dürer’s *Rhinoceros*. After the prose description, Arfe includes a short poem about the rhino. He writes that

depicted scenes of the triumphal return of the Roman general Scipio Africanus. Renaissance artists considered Scipio Africanus one of the greatest Roman generals and emblematic of Roman imperial triumph. The most prominent visual representation of the triumph of Scipio Africanus from the sixteenth century was realized in a magnificent tapestry cycle woven in Brussels, commissioned by Charles V—but which ultimately fell into the hands of King Francis I of France (1494–1547) due to lack of money from the Spanish Crown. Gaining back much of what his father lost, Philip II acquired seven of the tapestries when they were bequeathed to him by Mary of Austria (1505–58) (De Armas 1998, 74). Ten out of the twelve of the Scipio tapestry cycle show Scipio’s triumphal return to Rome. One of the tapestries, “The Triumph of Scipio” (in the Maryland State Art Collection) depicts Scipio outside the gates of Rome. Scipio sits in a chariot and holds a palm frond, the Roman symbol of victory, in his hand. The tapestry shows soldiers on foot and horses lined up around him in preparation for the victory procession to celebrate Scipio’s victory against Hannibal at the Battle of Zama. It also depicts a Roman soldier riding a bucking horse. Arfe uses the image of the bucking horse and adds the detail of a Roman soldier riding the horse carrying a shield with the letters SPQR, an anagram for “Senate and People of Rome” (*senatus populous-que romanus*). In the Roman era, SPQR was on coins, documents, and flags, and, in the Renaissance, Arfe and other metal engravers used the letters SPQR to evoke an image of Roman glory. One example of a Renaissance casting of the Roman motif of SPQR is found on a medal cast for Pope Julius, which shows a bucking horse with Roman soldier holding a shield embossed with SPQR (Hersey 1993, 46). Like the tapestry “The Triumph of Scipio,” Arfe’s ewer depicts Scipio seated in his chariot with Roman soldiers around him. Scipio is not only holding a palm, but woven ropes of palms on the ewer fill the ewer. A palm frond extends down from Scipio’s elbow across the chariot and another palm frond hangs down from the first bull’s horn, which is flanked by a male and female lion on its right and left, respectively. One of Giulio Romano’s sketches (found in the Walker Gallery, Liverpool) used as model for the tapestry cycle is also called “The Triumph of Scipio” and shows a haphazard procession of Romans and animals. The animals include four bulls, leading two elephants—one with a lion on its back—and a camel. In his depiction of the procession on the ewer, Arfe also depicted the same animals: two bulls, two lions, a camel, and an elephant.

106 “El rinoceronte es animal de mucho cuerpo y su alto dos varas, tiene mucha fuerza y es muy ligero, todo su cuerpo tiene cubierto de recias conchas” (Arfe 1979, 8).



Fig. 12. A lion looks back at a rhinoceros. Detail from section of gilded silver ewer (1583) by Juan de Arfe (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City).

this animal—“born in the Orient”—is fierce and covered in plates that are so thick and tough that steel weapons could not penetrate or injure it.¹⁰⁷

Arfe depicts Abada as a peaceful animal. She is not fighting the elephant. Images and stock descriptions of the rhino throughout the sixteenth century show rhinos and elephants at war with each other. Arfe also does not depict Hawa'i as a war animal. Arfe depicts the elephant with the mounted box, suggesting its previous role as a war animal, now converted it into a peaceful captive.¹⁰⁸ Arfe's elephant and rhino walk side by side peacefully, and lions and bulls celebrate Philip II as Scipio Africanus who supposedly has fully realized the Roman notion of *pax universalis*.

Arfe did not borrow the image of the elephant as war machine, nor did he associate it with the Turk. Instead, he turned to its image as halcyon of peace under the wings of Philip II. In this sense, Arfe borrowed from the iconographic tradition that associated the elephant with peace, such as one city's elephant that welcomed Philip II. In contrast with Lisbon,

107 “Es el rinoceronte, animal fiero / Cuerpo grande y de conchas guarnecido / Tan recias que resisten al acero / De fuerte que no puede ser herido / Un cuerno en la nariz ancho y somero / Con que ofende y también es defendido / Nada y corre veloz y sueltamente / Y nace este animal en el oriente” (Arfe 1773, 205)

108 In the tapestry cycle, the elephant is a battle animal fighting alongside Scipio and his Roman forces, which attack Hannibal's (247–183 BCE) army, fighting from the box-like perches atop elephants.

which used the elephant icon to symbolize the Grand Turk, the Puerta de Guadalajara at the entrance of Alcalá de Henares built a structure that celebrated Philip II's entrance into the city with an image of an elephant among sheep, symbolizing the peace that King Philip II supposedly brought to the empire (Pizarro Gómez 1999, 140).

The icon of the war elephant turned peaceful was a borrowed motif from Alciato's emblem book. Under the entry *pax* in his book of emblems, Alciato depicted an elephant leading a triumphal carriage. Alciato describes the elephant as follows: "even the beast recognizes the nations reconciled on every side, and rejecting the weapons of war, it performs the duties of peace."¹⁰⁹ Spanish scholar Sebastián de Covarrubias, who included six emblems dedicated to the elephant in his book on emblems and one of the longest entries in his dictionary to the word "elephant," also copied Alciato's emblem, writing: "Alciato himself made an elephant the symbol of peace."¹¹⁰

Arfe, then, used the icon of the elephant as a symbol of peace on his ewer, a material object that connected the elephant to Philip II's imperial glory. The rhino on the ewer, like the elephant, was also a symbol of peace. In contrast to Dürer, who added fanciful armor embellishment, Arfe's rhinoceros on the Scipio Africanus ewer is an image with measured proportions, an authentic and astonishingly lifelike representation of an Indian rhinoceros. T.H. Clarke notes that no rhino image from the sixteenth or seventeenth century matches the authenticity of Arfe's image. According to Clarke, it took more than a century and a half for any artist to accurately represent an Indian rhino—that is, when the French artist Jean-Batiste Oudry painted a portrait of Clara the rhinoceros in 1749 (1986, 34).

The depiction of the animals, especially the rhinoceros, on Arfe's ewer are, in their proportion and accuracy, one of the great goldsmith achievements of the sixteenth-century. J. F. Hayward, a specialist who has examined hundreds of ewers from this period, describes Arfe's ewer and basin as the "the most richly decorated" and "superbly wrought" (Hayward 1976, 369). Hayward writes that they are "the finest of all the sixteenth-century ewers and basins, irrespective of country of origin" (Hayward 1976, 193).

Despite the artistic accomplishment, the humanist logic that Arfe employs in the representation of animals is troubling. Arfe conceives of animal individuals as moving machines that serve a Habsburg imperial propaganda message of supposed planetary peace. Arfe did not represent the material

109 "Vel fera cognoscit concordēs undique gentes, / Proiectisque armis munia pacis obit" (Alciato 1556, 133).

110 "El mismo Alciato puso por símbolo de paz un elefante" (Covarrubias 1998, 499).

conditions of the elephant and rhino in Madrid, but carefully measured their size through rational calculation—their physical form made them imperfect beasts that contrasted to the perfection of the human male. He discards their Indian origins and makes them African.

The animal procession on Arfe's ewer is a slogan of universal peace for a monarch who falsely claimed dominion over the planet and contributed to the formation of institutions like zoos. In short, the depiction of animals on Arfe's ewer aligns with the logic that Philip used when he put the elephant and rhino as spectacle in Madrid. Philip's proto-zoo, as Randy Malamud describes the modern zoo, could not "facilitate better understanding of or care for animals," but instead dangerously promoted a belief "that we are entitled to see everything and have the power to control everything" (2017, 398–9).

Conclusion

Ever since the Assyrians, potentates collected captive animals in menageries as a symbol of how a city could capture the four corners of the world within its walls. This chapter has pointed out that animal spectacles in early modern Spain are fundamental for the history of collecting captive animals because King Philip II transformed the classic menagerie into a proto-zoo. In keeping Hawa'i and Abada for himself (and *not* gifting them away), he invented the novel idea of an animal display for a public at large in hospitals that intimately tied the animal spectacle to the growth of commercial theater.

Tracing the stories of the spectacle of Spain's two transoceanic pachyderms has shown how Spain shaped a fleeting imperial moment into a legend of the past, present, and future that constituted one aspect of daily life experience of the public in Madrid, a city for which the King fashioned a self-image of planetary control. The animal spectacle in Madrid led to more zoos that enhanced ecological disaster and an ethically bankrupt treatment of animals. The aesthetic of the elephant and rhino spectacle sought a totalizing imperial aim that would be exploited more fully centuries later in Europe, most especially, in the English Victorian Age.¹¹¹

By way of conclusion, I would like to underscore that historicizing the zoo, a microcosm of the Anthropocene, can inspire compassion for animal

111 With regard to the zoo in the English Victorian Age, Harriet Ritvo (1987) explains how it reflected imperial networks. Kurt Koenigsberger (2007) likewise shows how the zoo communicated imperial totality.

sentience, especially for an animal's sense of territory. For instance, a better understanding of the imperial logic of the proto-zoo stimulates new ways of thinking about animal and human communities. In 1587, medical philosopher Oliva Sabuco (1562–1622) published a dialogue, the *Nueva filosofia de la naturaleza del hombre* (*New Philosophy of Human Nature*). I suspect that, aside from the classical and contemporary sources that she mentions, Sabuco's dialogue was influenced by having seen Hawa'i or having talked to someone that had seen him firsthand. Although she does not mention Hawa'i, Sabuco discusses how elephants respond to complex verbal commands in *New Philosophy of Human Nature* (Alves 2011, 45–54).¹¹²

The experience of seeing live animals can enhance an understanding of how animals communicate. As opposed to the official propaganda found in Arfe's representation, Sabuco is one example from early modern Spain that heightens sensitivity to animal communication. Scholars are increasingly looking to creativity across disciplines to enhance awareness on how diverse species are entangled in specific cultural systems.¹¹³ Two students at Texas Tech University, Yinting Fin from the School of Art and Caleb Lightfoot from the School of Architecture, and I created two images to show Abada's story, which can heighten sensitivity to an animal's sense of communication as it relates to territory.

The first image we produced, *Abada as Madrid* (fig. 13), considers the human sense of territory. Sixteenth-century European world maps that include India used the space to serve the need of the imperial center. In the Portuguese Miller Atlas (1519), for instance, two elephants and a rhino were depicted in the region where they lived in the wild, providing a cartographic guide to each animal's origins and destruction. The image of an animal was placed on a map where it could be found, so that it could be seen, hunted, or brought into captivity.

Abada as Madrid follows the model of taking the medium of a historical document—a map of Madrid by Frederic de Witt (1630–1706)—and overlapping it onto an image of Abada. We preserved the sense of the early map of Madrid that shows its streets, appearing almost as tattooed on her body. The image entices the viewer through the words and partial words at the top of the map: “DE MADRID CORTE DE LOS REYES CATOLICOS D[E ESPANNA]” (“of Madrid, court of the Catholic Monarchs o[f Spain]”).

112 For elephants and language in the Renaissance, also see Cummings 2004.

113 For a model of interdisciplinarity, see the “Multispecies Salon,” an art exhibit from 2008–10 that involved collaboration between artists and anthropologists interested in multispecies ethnography as described in Kirksey 2014.

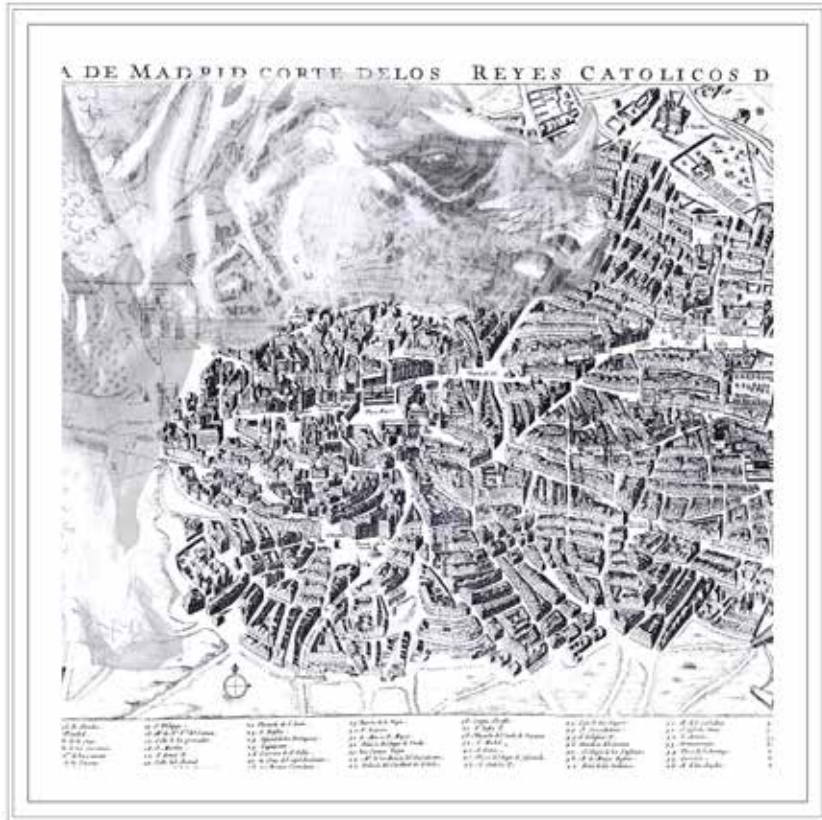


Fig. 13. *Abada as Madrid* (2018) by Yinting Fin and Caleb Lightfoot.

The second image we produced, *Abada and Her Mother with India as Teat*, emphasizes Abada's sense of space. Rejecting Philip's model for the proto-zoo, Abada is not subsumed within cartographic space, but subsumes cartographic space, making visually manifest the internal cognitive process of mapping. *Abada and Her Mother with India as Teat* envisions Abada before her capture, as an infant in 1573 in India. It joins the spirit of twenty-first century efforts that recuperate the habitat for elephants and rhinos, such as Kaziranga National Park in the state of Assam, India, encouraging the visualization of the animal in a nurturing environment. She feeds on the plants that coevolved with her.⁵ Grazing with her mother, the image shows an outline of the Indian subcontinent that forms part of Abada's mother's body and evokes her teat.

The second image is both humorous and a sign of nurture, shifting the epistemology of mapping away from the human toward the animal, offering a visual alternative to oppressive forms of cartography that have existed since



Fig. 14. *Abada and Her Mother with India as Teat* (2018) by Yinting Fin and Caleb Lightfoot.

the period when Abada was first captured and brought to Iberia. As opposed to the space of the proto-zoo as depicted in *Abada as Madrid*, the mapped space within the body of the animal in *Abada and Her Mother with India as Teat* emphasizes the cognitive sense of territory that all animals share.

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