Several Zoological Comments to Depictions of Jaguar and Rhinoceros in the Art of Roelandt Savery

painting

Roelandt Savery (1576–1639) was a famous artist of the early 17th century who was working as a painter in the services of Emperors Rudolf II and Matthias. Interpretation of his work in respect to natural objects (e.g. accuracy of depictions) can be also placed in a zoological perspective. Considering a recent exhibition and associated catalogue of his works, we modify a species determination of one depicted felid (an engraving of a leopard is actually a jaguar), and we discuss depictions of two rhinoceroses in oils dated 1618. The accuracy of some of the depictions of mammals in work of Savery is specified, based on external characters of some depicted specimens.

oelandt Savery (1576-1639) was an artist employed in Prague in the services of Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612) and Matthias (1557-1619), probably between 1603 and 1613.1 He is famous as a painter of landscapes in the Flemish tradition which often depict many meticulously painted animals and plants, regularly with a mythological or biblical theme as like the Garden of Eden or Orpheus.² He is known for several depictions of the extinct dodo Raphus cucullatus.3 Details of the life and work of Roelandt Savery were brought to public attention during the Prague exhibition of his art in 2010 (organized by the National Gallery in Prague and the Broelmuseum in Kortrijk). This exhibition and an associated catalogue⁴ have represented an excellent compilation of his work that incorporated many interesting facts about painted plants and animals as well. We would like to make several additional comments about two of the animal species shown

1 KOTKOVÁ, Olga (ed.). *Roelandt Savery*. A painter in the services of Emperor Rudolf II. Praha: Národní galerie, 2010. ISBN 978-80-7035-460-5.

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in the paintings, rather from a zoological point of view for future potential evaluations.

Jaguar and leopard: There are two depictions⁵ of a leopard according to.⁶ These actually represent a leopard (*Panthera pardus*, upper engraving) and a jaguar (*Panthera onca*, lower engraving). The jaguar is a powerful, stocky cat with an unusually large rounded head and short sturdy limbs and its coat is patterned with rosettes that enclose one or more smaller black spots, while there are no spots inside the black rosettes in the leopard.⁷ All these characters are present in the animal on the lower engraving. The depictions during that period incorporated animals from all parts of the world including North and South America (see below). Hence it is no great surprise to see a jaguar included in this painting.

Rhinoceros: Two rhinoceroses are incorporated in the middle of Savery's famous oil painting "The Garden of Eden". * Their size

³ HUME, Julian Pender. The history of the Dodo *Raphus cucullatus* and the penguin of Mauritius. *Historical Biology*. London: Taylor & Francis, 2006, **18**(2), 69–93. ISBN 0891-2963; MLÍKOVSKÝ, Jiří. Zoological note: The dodo of Emperor Rudolf II. In: KOTKOVÁ, O. (ed.). *Roelandt Savery*, op. cit., 325–333.

⁴ KOTKOVÁ, O. (ed.). Roelandt Savery, op. cit.

⁵ SAVERY, Roelandt, before 1636. Two leopards [engraving]. 443 mm × 283 mm. At: The National Gallery, Prague. Inv. No. R 170071. In: KOTKOVÁ, O. (ed.). *Roelandt Savery*, op. cit., fig. 35e.

⁶ KUBÍKOVÁ, Blanka. Two leopards. In: KOTKOVÁ, O. (ed.). Roelandt Savery, op. cit., 320–321.

⁷ SUNQUIST, Mel E., SUNQUIST, Fiona C. Family Felidae (cats). In: WILSON, Don E., MITTERMEIER, Russell, A. (edd.). Handbook of the mammals of the World. Vol. 1. Carnivores. Barcelona: Lynx Edicions, 2009, 132–139. ISBN 978-84-96553-49-1.

⁸ SAVERY, Roelandt, 1618. The Garden of Eden [oil on oakwood]. 55 cm × 107 cm. At: The National Gallery, Prague. Inv. No. DO 4245. In: KOTKOVÁ, O. (ed.). *Roelandt Savery*, op. cit., fig. 1.



Detail from "The Garden of Eden", with rhinos between elephants and camels. Reproduction from the catalogue of National Gallery in Prague.

From KOTKOVÁ, Olga (ed.). Roelandt Savery. A painter in the services of Emperor Rudolf II. Praha: Národní galerie, 2010, fig. 22. ISBN 978-80-7035-460-5.



in this painting is very small (JR pers. observ.), for which reason all interpretations must necessarily be limited. We are able to say that the rhinoceros in the front, better visible than the one to the rear, exhibits the body posture and traces of body armour of the Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*) in Albrecht Dürer's well-known woodcut dated 1515. On first impression, it might look as if the rhinos are depicted with two horns on the nose, but their small size in the painting makes it impossible to be certain about this feature.

There are at least two other depictions of rhinoceroses created by Roelandt Savery: First, Pinto-Correia⁹ noted the heavily armoured but watchful rhino in the painting "Orpheus", ¹⁰ and she considered that Savery had no personal acquaintance with the rhinoceros, live or stuffed. She associated his depiction with contemporary works, like a plate published by Konrad von Gesner, who only adopted Albrecht Dürer's woodcut of 1515 (see above). This painting is reproduced by Müllenmeister, ¹¹ which shows that this rhinoceros is virtually the same as Dürer's rhinoceros.

Secondly, a small image of a rhinoceros is present in the middle of the painting "The Garden of Eden". This painting is reproduced by Müllenmeister as well. Is small size again places limits on any interpretations and species determination. This one rhinoceros seems to lack the armour of the Dürer rhinoceros and has somewhat different body proportions (slender legs, different leg positions and lower head), but possibly this is due to size. On the other hand,

this rhinoceros is quite similar to rhinos of the "The Garden of Eden" (see above).¹⁴

These three depictions of rhinoceroses by Roelandt Savery have been not mentioned in available and very exhaustive bibliographies or review books. ¹⁵ When we consider all these rhinos painted by Savery chronologically, combined with uncertainties about some of the details due to their very small size, we conclude that these small depictions of rhinoceroses were probably inspired by Dürer's Indian rhinoceros, which had strongly influenced the popular perception of the rhinoceros in Europe during 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. ¹⁶ Inspiration by Dürer is recognisable in case of his depictions of the wisent (Bos bonasus) as well. ¹⁷

As the presence of two horns in a rhinoceros would be unusual in the iconographic tradition of Savery's period, we suggest that in fact both animals in the middle of oil painting "The Garden of Eden", 18 only show one horn. A similar situation is found in a rhinoceros figured in a Dutch edition of Ambroise Paré's treatise 19 where a number of small protuberances are shown between the horn and the ear (fig. 2). But a rhinoceros figured in the original French

⁹ PINTO-CORREIA, Clara. Return of the crazy bird. The sad strange tale of the dodo. New York: Copernicus Books – Springer-Verlag, 2003, 75 and 77. ISBN 978-0387988764.

¹⁰ SAVERY, Roelandt, 1617. Orpheus [oil on wood]. 62 cm × 131,5 cm. At: Mauritshuis, Hague. Inv. No. 157. In: MÜLLENMEISTER, Kurt J. Roelant Savery: Kortrijk 1573–1639 Utrecht, Hofmaler von Kaiser Rudolf II. in Prag. Die Gemälde mit kritischen Œuvrekatalog. Freren: Luca Verlag, 1988, fig. 39. ISBN 978-3923641109.

¹¹ MÜLLENMEISTER, K. J. Roelant Savery, op. cit., fig. 39.

¹² SAVERY, Roelandt, 1625. The Garden of Eden [oil on wood]. 59,3 cm × 122,4 cm. At: Stedelijik Museum, Amsterdam. In: MÜLLENMEISTER, K. J. Roelant Savery, op. cit., fig. 47.

¹³ MÜLLENMEISTER, K. J. Roelant Savery, op. cit., fig. 47.

¹⁴ SAVERY, Roelandt, 1618. The Garden of Eden [oil on oakwood]. 55 cm × 107 cm. At: The National Gallery, Prague. Inv. No. DO 4245. In: KOTKOVÁ, O. (ed.). *Roelandt Savery*, op. cit., fig. 22.

¹⁵ e.g. ROOKMAAKER, Kees. *Bibliography of the rhinoceros*. An analysis of the literature on the recent rhinoceroses in culture, history and biology. Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema, 1983. ISBN 978-9061912613. ROOKMAAKER, Kees. *The rhinoceros in captivity*. Hague: SPB Academic Publishing by, 1998. ISBN 978-9051031348.

¹⁶ CLARKE, Timorthy H. The rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs 1515–1799. London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986. ISBN 978-0856673221. ROOK-MAAKER, Kees. A story of horns: early views on rhinoceros classification. Zoonooz. San Diego: Zoological Society of San Diego, 1982, 55(4), 4–10. ISSN 0044-5282.

¹⁷ ANTONIUS, Otto. Zwei alte Wisent- und Urbilder aus der Wiener Staatsgalerie. Berichte Internationalen Gesellschaft zur Erhaltung des Wisents. Berlin: W. Stichel, 1929, 3(2), 87, plates 1–2. MOHR, Erna. Noch eine alte Wisent-Darstellung von Roeland Savary. Berichte Internationalen Gesellschaft zur Erhaltung des Wisents. Berlin: W. Stichel, 1943, 3(5), 312–313, plate 31.

¹⁸ SAVERY, Roelandt, 1618. The Garden of Eden [oil on oakwood]. 55 cm \times 107 cm. At: The National Gallery, Prague. Inv. No. DO 4245. In: KOTKOVÁ, O. (ed.). *Roelandt Savery*, op. cit., fig. 22.

¹⁹ PARÉ, Ambrosius. De Chirurgie, ende alle de Opera, ofte Wercken van Mr. Ambrosius Pare. Leyden: Jan Bouwensz, Voor Jasper Troyens, 1604, 625.



Plate in the Dutch edition of A. Paré, De Chirurgie, ende alle de Opera, ofte Wercken van Mr. Ambrosius Pare, Leyden, 1604, p. 625 (available e.g. HYPER-LINK "http://www.rhinoresourcecenter.com/images/Pare-1604_i1189090033.php").

edition of Paré is without these protuberances. Fashown at the scale of Savery's depiction, it would be impossible to tell if these were meant to be horns or another type of morphological feature.

The rhinoceros appeared with some regularity in paintings of the Garden of Eden or similar biblical scenes during the 16th and 17th centuries, but to find them as a pair is quite rare, unless they are entering into Noah's Ark. However, a pair of rhinos was inserted in an anonymous painting of the Creation by an artist of the Flemish School (Château de Rohans, Strasbourg),²¹ although the position of the pair is too different from that in Savery's paintings to speculate on any direct relationship.

20 PARÉ, Ambrosius. *Deux livres de chirurgie*. I: De la generation de l'homme, & maniere d'extraire les enfans hors du ventre de la mere, ensemble ce qu'il faut faire pour la faire mieux, & plus tost accoucher, avec la cure de plusieurs maladies qui luy peuvent survenir. Paris: Andre Wechel, 1573, 578, xxii + 619 pp.

21 See CLARKE, T. H. The rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs 1515–1799, op. cit., 31.

Other contemporaneous artists in the services of Emperor Rudolf II were equally influenced by Dürer's Indian rhinoceros, ²² or by another specimen of the Indian rhinoceros in Europe (Cod. min. 42, f. 2 within Rudolf II's Bestiaire²³), or even by remains of them. ²⁴ Body parts of the rhinoceros, especially horns, were of course regularly imported during this period and often incorporated in museums or private collections. ²⁵ These belonged to

22 See MASELIS, Marie-Christiane, BALIS, Arnout, MARIJNISSEN, Roger H. *De albums van Anselmus Boodt* (1550–1632). Geschilderde natuurobservatie aan het Hof van Rudolf II te Praag. Tielt: Uitgeverij Lannoo, 1989, fig. 63. ISBN-13: 978-9020917376.

23 See STAUDINGER, Manfred. Etudes descriptives de zoologie historique. In: HAUPT, Herbert, VIGNAU-WILLBERG, Thea, IRBLICH, Eva, STAUDINGER, Manfred (edd.). *Le Bestiaire de Rodolphe II*. Cod. min. 129 et 130 de la Bibliothèque nationale d'Autriche. Paris: Citadelles, 1990. ISBN 978-2850880360. Also CLARKE, T. H. *The rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs* 1515–1799, op. cit.

24 BAUER, Rotraud, HAUPT, Herbert. Das Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II., 1607–1611. *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*. Wien: Anton Schroll & Co, 1976, **72**, 4–6. ISSN 0075-2312.

25 ROOKMAAKER, Kees. Specimens of rhinoceros in European collections before 1778. Svenska Linnésällskapets årsskrift. Uppsala: Svenska Linnésällskapet, 1999, 1998–1999, 59–80. ISSN 0375-2038.

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any of the six species of rhinoceros, although Asian ones appeared to be most common. There is, for example, a detailed painting showing rhinoceros skin, horn and tooth in Rudolf II's Bestiaire. 26 CPG proposes that these parts belong to a Sumatran rhinoceros Dicerorhinus sumatrensis, for the following reasons: The base of the horn is certainly "Asian", and there seems to be no longitudinal groove up the front as there would be in an Indian or Javan rhino; this suggests Sumatran, despite the large size,27 but I have seen a few, very few, which are comparably large. The molar also looks Sumatran: the very sinuous ectoloph suggests this, and the presence of a very strong protocone fold is "very Sumatran". There is no trace of a medifosette (formed by fusion of the crochet with the crista: there is no crista in this tooth), which one almost always finds in an Indian rhinoceros with wear, yet the tooth is fairly worn, and there are the beginnings of fusion between the protoloph and the metaloph at their lingual ends.²⁸

The double-horned rhinoceroses of the African continent only became known in Europe (in post-Roman times) after the Dutch settled at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652.²⁹ The first depiction in European art and literature date from 1656 in a work by Etienne de Flacourt.³⁰ In this point of view it is interesting that several horns depicted in the Bestiaire belong to African rhinoceroses, as stated by Staudinger³¹ and De Tudela and Gschwend.³² We concur with

 $26~{\sf See}~{\sf STAUDINGER},$ M. Etudes descriptives de zoologie historique, op. cit., $114{\text -}115.$

27 GROVES, Colin Peter. Species characters in rhinoceros horns. Zeitschrift für Säugetierkunde. Hamburg und Berlin: Paul Parey, 1971, **36**(4), 238–252. ISSN 0044-3468.

28 HOOIJER, Dirk A. Prehistoric and fossil rhinoceroses from the Malay Archipelago and India. *Zoologische Mededeelingen Leiden*. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie, 1946, **26**(1), 1–138, plates 1–10. ISSN 0024-0672.

29 ROOKMAAKER, Kees. *The zoological exploration of southern Africa* 1650–1790. Rotterdam and Brookfield: A. A. Balkema, 1989, 284–285. ISBN 9061919677. ROOKMAAKER, Kees. Review of the European perception of the African rhinoceros. *Journal of Zoology*. London: Zoological Society of London, 2005, **265**(4), 365–376. ISSN 1469-7998.

30 FLACOURT, Etienne de. *Histoire de la grande isle Madagascar*. Paris: Alexandre Lesselin, 1658, 394–395.

31 STAUDINGER, M. Etudes descriptives de zoologie historique, op. cit., pl. 11.

32 DE TUDELA, Almudena Pérez, GSCHWEND, Annemarie Jordan. Luxury goods for royal collectors: exotica, princely gifts and rare animals

this determination based on horn morphology and their lengths specified by them. ³³ The rhinoceros material accumulated in the Kunstkammer of Emperor Rudolf II was specified as rhinoceros from India "asino indico" or rhinoceros only. ³⁴ Because some of these specifications were associated with horns of African rhinoceros material and also Sumatran rhinoceros (see above), this specification "asino indico" implies "rhinoceros" rather than Indian rhinoceros or rhinoceros from Asia (a similar indication seems to be valid for "tiger", see below).

In general, some animals depicted in the work of Savery could be from living animals or from specimens in collections of curiosities (see below), and some could be simply reproduced from earlier drawings.³⁵ We could not be sure whether realistic depictions were associated with his own observation or prepared specimens.³⁶ In any case, depictions of mammals are often relatively realistic in body proportions, body/behaviour expressions and detailed features, e.g. in coat patterns (our observations). For example, his sense for detail is demonstrated by a depiction of deer with well developed antlers, but with a rudimentary juvenile spotting on the back.37 On contrary, his depictions of wisents38 are unusual in some character combinations, like too light colouration or tail position not corresponding to the age and posture

exchanged between the Iberian courts and Central Europe in the Renaissaince (1560–1612). *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*. Wien: Schroll, 2009, **2**, 1–128. ISSN 1605-2773.

33 For detail see GROVES, C. P. Species characters in rhinoceros horns, op. cit., 238–252.

34 BAUER, R., HAUPT, H. Das Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II., op. cit., 1–191.

35 KOTKOVÁ, O. (ed.). Roelandt Savery, op. cit., 70-71.

36 For this long controversy see BIAŁOSTOCKI, Jan. Roelant Savery, jego ludzie i zwierzęta na marginesie nowonabytego obrazu w Muzeum narodowym w Warszawie. *Biuletyn historii sztuki*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Sztuki, 1959, **21**, 135–150. ISSN 0006-3967. ŠÍP, Jaromír. Roelandt Savery in Prague. *Umění*. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie věd, 1970, **18**(3), 276–283. ISSN 0049-5123.

37 Fig. 24 in MÜLLENMEISTER, K. J. Roelant Savery, op. cit.

38 Commented by ANTONIUS, O. Zwei alte Wisent- und Urbilder aus der Wiener Staatsgalerie, op. cit., 87, plates 1–2. MOHR, E. Noch eine alte Wisent-Darstellung von Roeland Savary, op. cit., 313, plate 31.

of depicted individuals.³⁹ As pointed out Kotková⁴⁰ and Mlíkovský,⁴¹ Savery's priority seems to have been an artistic expression rather than scientific accuracy and faithfulness to the animal model (for another inspiring assessment of the contemporaneous Flemish painter Frans Snyders see also Koslow and Liedtke⁴²).

Considering closely related species or different subspecies with marked coat or other exterior differences, we were not able to determine actual leopard or jaguar subspecies. On the contrary, some of his lions 44 seem to possess some characters of the Barbary lion (Panthera leo leo), based on the morphology of lion subspecies specified by Lupták. 45 The lower

- 39 MOHR, E. Noch eine alte Wisent-Darstellung von Roeland Savary, op. cit., 313, plate 31.
- 40 KOTKOVÁ, Olga. Roelandt Savery at the Imperial Court in Prague. In: KOTKOVÁ, O. (ed.). Roelandt Savery, op. cit., 62–73.
- 41 MLIKOVSKÝ, J. Zoological note: The dodo of Emperor Rudolf II., op. cit., 330–331.
- 42 KOSLOW, Susan, LIEDTKE, Walter A. Frans Snyders: peintre aimalier et de natures mortes 1579–1657. Anvers: Fonds Mercator Paribas, 1995. ISBN 978-9061533450.
- 43 According to POCOCK, Reginald Innes. The panthers and ounces of Asia. Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society. Bombay: Bombay Natural History Society, 1930, 34(1), 65-80. ISSN 0006-6982. POCOCK, Reginald Innes. The panthers and ounces of Asia. Part II. The panthers of Kashmir, India and Ceylon. Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society. Bombay: Bombay Natural History Society, 1930, 34(1), 307-336. ISSN 0006-6982. POCOCK, Reginald Innes. The leopards of Africa. Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London. London: Zoological Society of London, 1932, 102(2), 543-591, plate 1-4. ISSN 2397-5504. DOBRORUKA, Luděk Jindřich. Ein Beitrag zur Systematik und Verbreitung von Panthera pardus chui (Heller, 1913). Zeitschrift für Säugetierkunde. Hamburg und Berlin: Paul Parey, 1962, 27(4), 204-211. ISSN 0044-3468. ZUKOWSKY, Ludwig. Weitere Mitteilungen über Persische Panther. Der Zoologische Garten (N. F.). Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Geest & Portig, 1964, 28(4), 151-182. ISSN 0044-5169. DOBRORUKA, Luděk Jindřich. Zur Verbreitung des "Sansibar-Leoparden", Panthera pardus adersi Pocock, 1932. Zeitschrift für Säugetierkunde. Hamburg und Berlin: Paul Parey, 1965, 30(3), 144-146. ISSN 0044-3468. MASSETI, Marco. Wild cats (Mammalia, Carnivora) of Anatolia. With some observations on the former and present occurrence of leopards in south-eastern Turkey and on the Greek island of Samos. Biogeographia. University of California, 2000, 21, 607-618. ISSN 1594-7629. SUNQUIST, M. E., SUNQU-IST, F. C. Family Felidae (cats), op. cit., 126-139.
- 44 SAVERY, Roelandt, 1606–1610. Sleeping lion [drawing].
 276 mm × 381 mm. At: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.
 Inv. No. C 924. In: DOBALOVÁ, Sylva. Zahrady Rudolfa II. Jejich vznik a vývoj
 [Gardens of Emperor Rudolf II. Their origin and coursel. Praha: Artefactum, 2009, fig. 139. ISBN 978-80-86890-25-8. SAVERY, Roelandt, 1628–1636.
 Two lions [engraving]. 443 mm × 283 mm. At: The National Gallery, Prague.
 Inv. No. R 170064. In: KOTKOVÁ, O. (ed.). Roelandt Savery, op. cit., fig. 35a.
- 45 LUPTÁK, Peter. The external variability and taxonomy of recent and extinct subspecies of lion (*Panthera leo*). *Gazella*. Praha: Zoologická zahrada hl. m. Prahy, 2009, **36**, 33–149. ISSN 0231-8865.

picture in Savery (1628–1636) could be rather any sub-Saharan lion, again on the basis of the same review. ⁴⁶ Barbary lions were kept in European menageries that time – they were confirmed for the Royal Menagerie of England at the Tower based on cranio-morphometric and ancient DNA analyses. ⁴⁷

Comparing the mammals and birds depicted by R. Savery, ⁴⁸ exotic birds are remarkably numerous. Nearly all depicted exotic mammals ⁴⁹ are from the Old World, the only exceptions which we have detected being a possible squirel monkey ⁵⁰ and a domestic guinea pig, ⁵¹ which have an American origin. North and South American mammals are more common in the work of contemporary artists in the services of Emperor Rudolf II; ⁵² whether they were not available to Savery or not preferred by him remains unknown, of course.

Transport of living or stuffed animals was common and exotic animals had a great influence on the perception in Europe. Exotic mammals from all around the world were present

- 46 Ibidem.
- 47 BARNETT, Ross, YAMAGUCHI, Nobuyuki, SHAPIRO, Beth, SABIN, Richard. Ancient DNA analysis indicates the first English lions originated from North Africa. *Contributions to Zoology*. Leiden: Brill publishers, 2008, **77**(1), 7–16. ISSN 1383-4517.
- 48 MÜLLENMEISTER, K. J. Roelant Savery, op. cit. KOTKOVÁ, O. (ed.). Roelandt Savery, op. cit.
- 49 Domestic buffalo, dromedary, Indian elephant, lion, leopard, reindeer, possible giraffe, jaguar, sperm whale, porcupine (p. 182 and 243 in Müllenmeister, 1988), civet (Viverra) or genet (fig. 221 in Müllenmeister, 1988), several species of monkey.
- 50 Saimiri fig. 182 in Müllenmeister, 1988.
- 51 KOTKOVÁ, O. (ed.). Roelandt Savery, op. cit., 218.
- 52 MÜLLENMEISTER, K. J. Roelant Savery, op. cit. MASELIS, Marie-Ch., BALIS, A., MARIJNISSEN, R. H. De albums van Anselmus de Boodt (1550–1632), op. cit.

in collections of curiosities or menageries.⁵³ It is interesting that the Prague menagerie of Rudolf II held several exotic birds and mammals, including lions,⁵⁴ several leopards from the Russian czar Theodore,55 and two large?civets6 and tigers, 57 but the description of the tiger noted by Dobalová⁵⁸ is not congruent with tiger external characters; the tiger was probably unknown to R. Savery, because he did not depict one.59 The word "tiger/tigris/tigre" was probably used for all larger cats that time - for lynx,60 for cheetah or leopard⁶¹ and for the real tiger.⁶² Jaguar, leopard, snow leopard or clouded leopard (Neofelis diardi) are sometimes named as "tiger/el tigre" nowadays and also other names for tiger (e.g. kaplan in Turkey) are sometimes used also for leopard.

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53 See BAUER, R., HAUPT, H. Das Kunstkammerinventar Kaiser Rudolfs II., op. cit., 1–191. MASELIS, Marie-Ch., BALIS, A., MARIJ-NISSEN, R. H. De albums van Anselmus de Boodt (1550–1632), op. cit. HAUPT, H., VIGNAU-WILLBERG, T., IRBLICH, E., STAUDINGER, M. (edd.). Le Bestiaire de Rodolphe II., op. cit. CHEKE, Anthony. The identify of a flying-fox in Emperor Rudolf II's Bestiaire. Journal of National Museum (Prague). Natural History Series. Praha: National Museum, 2007, 176(2), 13–14. ISSN 1802-6842; EDENKEL, Karl A. E., SMITH, Paul J. Early modern zoology. The construction of animals in science, literature and the visual arts. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007. xxvii + 648 pp. ISBN 978-9004131880. KONEČNÝ, Lubomír. Spranger's elephant. Studia Rudolphina (Bulletin of the Research center for visual arts and culture in the age of Rudolf II). Praha: Artefactum, 2008, 8, 68–72. ISSN 1213-5372. DOBALOVÁ, S. Zahrady Rudolfa II., op. cit., 142–149, 159–163, 260–261.

54 VOLF, Jiří. Zvířetnice, Jelení příkop a hradní bažantnice Rudolfa II. [Menageries and pheasantry of Emperor Rudolf II.]. Res Musei Pragensis. Praha: Muzeum hl. m. Prahy, 1997, **7**(5), 1–5. ISSN 0862-4984. DOBALO-VÁ, Sylva. Theatrum morum: a tiger, a lion and a theatre in Prague Castle. In: BUKOVINSKÁ, Beket, SLAVÍČEK, Lubomír (edd.). Pictura Verba Cupit – Essays for Lubomír Konečný. Praha: Artefactum, 2006, 207–220. ISBN 80-86890-05-8. DOBALOVÁ, S. Zahrady Rudolfa II., op. cit.

- 55 DOBALOVÁ, S. Zahrady Rudolfa II., op. cit., 146.
- 56 Ibidem.
- 57 VOLF, J. Zvířetnice, Jelení příkop a hradní bažantnice Rudolfa II., op. cit., 2.
- 58 DOBALOVÁ, S. Zahrady Rudolfa II., op. cit., 146.
- 59 MÜLLENMEISTER, K. J. Roelant Savery, op. cit.
- 60 MASELIS, Marie-Ch., BALIS, A., MARIJNISSEN, R. H. De albums van Anselmus de Boodt (1550–1632), op. cit.
- 61 DOBALOVÁ, S. Theatrum morum: a tiger, a lion and a theatre in Prague Castle, op. cit., 218.
- 62 STAUDINGER, M. Etudes descriptives de zoologie historique, op. cit., pl. 3.