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ABSTRACT

alive in a travelling menagerie owned by Hippolyte-Louis-François, comte Huguet de Massillia in the middle of the 19th century is investigated. Huguet claimed that his rhino came from Sumatra and was 35 years when it arrived around 1845. Records regarding his menagerie reveal travels through Holland, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Italy and France. A biography of Huguet was written during a longer stay of his Zoological Gallery in Paris in 1851 for publicity. When Huguet died in 1855, the rhinoceros was sold to the Zoological Garden of Marseille opened in 1854. The animal lived until 15 August 1862, when remains were transferred to the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Marseille. Examination of the skull and skeleton shows that the animal was an Indian rhinoceros (Rhinoceros unicornis), not a Javan rhinoceros (Rhinoceros sondaicus) as indicated by its assumed provenance. The analysis shows that there were four specimens of Rhinoceros unicornis in continental Europe between 1800 and 1860: Tourniaire's rhinoceros 1814-1839, Schrever's rhinoceros 1840-1843, Huguet's rhinoceros 1845-1862 and the Jardin des Plantes rhinoceros 1850-1854. The latter is depicted in watercolours by animal painter Antoine-Louis Barye.

The history of a rhinoceros exhibited

KEY WORDS

Menagerie, A.-L. Barye, Gent fair, Zoo history, rhinoceros.

RÉSUMÉ

Histoire et identité d'un rhinocéros exhibé à travers l'Europe par Huguet de Massilia puis vendu au Jardin zoologique de Marseille. L'histoire d'un rhinocéros exhibé vivant dans la ménagerie ambulante d'Hyppolite-Louis-François, comte Huguet de Massillia, au milieu du 19 me siècle, est retracée et comparée avec celle d'autres rhinocéros vus à la même époque. Huguet affirmait que ce rhinocéros provenait de Sumatra et avait 35 ans à son arrivée, vers 1845. Des documents retracent le voyage de sa ménagerie à travers la Hollande, la Belgique, l'Allemagne, la Suisse, l'Espagne, l'Italie et la France. Pour plus de publicité, une biographie de Huguet a été écrite lors d'un séjour plus long, en 1851, dans sa « Galerie zoologique », à Paris. A la mort de Huguet, en 1855, le rhinocéros est vendu au Jardin zoologique de Marseille ouvert en 1854. L'animal y vit jusqu'au 15 août 1862, date confirmée par le don de sa dépouille (peau et squelette) au Muséum d'histoire naturelle de Marseille, L'examen du crâne et du squelette conservés montre qu'il s'agissait d'un rhinocéros indien (Rhinoceros unicornis), et non d'un rhinocéros de Java (Rhinoceros sondaicus) comme indiqué par l'origine Sumatra. Un rhinocéros en captivité au Jardin des plantes de Paris de 1850 à 1854 est représenté sur les aquarelles du célèbre peintre animalier parisien Antoine-Louis Barye. Il est donc certain qu'il y a eu quatre différents spécimens de rhinocéros indien en Europe continentale entre 1800 et 1860 : celui de Tourniaire (1814-1839), celui de Schreyer (1840-1843), celui de Huguet (1845- 1862) et celui du Jardin des plantes (1850-1854).

Mots clés

Ménagerie, A.-L. Barye, foire, histoire, Zoo, rhinoceros.

The history and identity of a rhinoceros exhibited through Europe by Huguet of Massillia and sold to the Zoological Garden of Marseille, 1845-1862.

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Introduction

Only a small number of rhinoceros specimens were exhibited alive in continental Europe during the 19th century. In my comprehensive historical list (**Rookmaaker**, 1998), I included a total of 36 animals: 17 Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*), 1 Javan rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*), 9 Sumatran rhinoceros (*Dicerorhinus sumatrensis*) and 9 Black rhinoceros (*Diceros bicornis*). Of these, no more than nine were present before 1870, at which time availability and demand seems to have changed.

Despite this rarity of rhinos on show, there are still many questions regarding their origin, arrival, places and lengths of stay. In my book, I struggled with the data relating to five of the earliest animals, which were all listed as Indian rhinos, with the following details: (1) Tourniaire's rhinoceros, travelling around Europe, 1814-1839; (2) Schreyer's rhinoceros, travelling around Europe, 1840-1843; (3) Huguet's rhinoceros, travelling around Europe, 1841-1848; (4) Paris, *Jardin des Plantes*, 1850-1854; and (5) Marseille, *Jardin Zoologique*, from around 1861. As the early dates of Schreyer's rhinoceros and Huguet's rhinoceros overlap, the records are difficult to keep apart (Rookmaaker & Reynolds, 1985: 132). Rieke-Müller & Dittrich (1999) have suggested that Huguet's rhinoceros was the same as the animal in Marseille, and that this was in fact an example of the Javan rhinoceros (because Huguet's animal was described as such during a visit to Stuttgart). As Huguet's animal was also said to be destined for the zoo in Paris, this has caused some uncertainty. It is therefore unclear if the list above actually refers to 5, or 4, or 3 different specimens.



Tourniaire's rhinoceros was named after his principal owner Jacques Tourniaire (1772-1829), who was assisted by his wife, "Madame Tourniaire" born Rödiger (1780-1850), and children (Rieke-Müller & Dittrich, 1999). The animal was held in the Exeter Change in London from 1810 to about 1814, before it was taken to the continent. Our knowledge of the itinerary of this male Indian rhinoceros remains very patchy, even though new localities continue to be discovered (Rookmaaker, 1998: 66). The animal died in Königsberg (Kaliningrad, Russia) in the winter of 1839 and was mounted for the local museum, apparently with the addition of a second horn (Fitzinger, 1836; Motschoulski, 1850).

The female Indian rhinoceros touring with the Austrian menagerie-owner Heinrich Schreyer (1793-1843) was purchased in London, in 1840 according to Fitzinger (1860: 52). However, there are earlier reports from Holland for the previous year, regarding shows in The Hague on the Buitenhof above the school (Dagblad van's Gravenhage, 5 June 1839) and in Amsterdam on the Botermarkt (Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant, 10 September 1839). Although the animal was said to be on the way to the Imperial Collection in Vienna, Schreyer continued to exhibit it in many European cities until she died in Stettin (Szczecin, Poland) in April 1843. Skin and skeleton were sold to the Natural History Museum in Vienna two years later, where the taxidermist styled the hide as one of an African species, without adding a second horn to the exhibit (Rookmaaker, 1998: 68, fig. 35).

It is the purpose of this paper to unravel the intricate history of these rhinoceroses exhibited in Europe in the first part of the 19th century in continental Europe. The data will be presented in three section with details on Huguet's rhinoceros from 1845 to 1854, the rhinoceros in the Jardin des Plantes from 1850 to 1855, and the one in the zoological garden of Marseille from 1855 to 1867. With the help of both written and pictorial records, it will also be investigated if the rhinoceros in Marseille could have been a Javan rhinoceros, at that time almost as rare in zoos as today.

Huguet's Rhinoceros, 1845-1854

Hippolyte-Louis-François, comte Huguet de Massillia [or Massilia] was an animal trainer and menagerie owner from the 1830s to 1850s. The most extensive biography of this flamboyant character was written by Menissier (1851, 1853), probably largely based on interviews with his subject. It will be seen that very few of the dates and events mentioned in this pamphlet can be independently verified, and there is always a possibility that they were invented or embellished to impress visitors of the menagerie. Taking Menissier as our guide, Huguet was born in 1796 on board the ship Amphitrite to Captain Huguet of Nantes and his wife Françoise Mouret. Father and son travelled the seas for some ten years, and in 1814 young Huguet joined Napoleon's army. At the Battle of Quatre Bras on 16 June 1815 he was taken prisoner of war and despatched to England. Despite lucrative offers to head an expedition for the British Museum, he went back to sea until 1829. At that time, he had assembled a large collection of animals, including a giant elephant, later known as "Miss Djeack". In Paris in the 1830s, the elephant could be seen daily in the Cirque Olympique in a drama entitled "L'éléphant du Roi de Siam". The show even went to England, and while in Liverpool, performing with a lion trainer called Martin, Huguet was attacked by a lion but saved by Miss Djeack. She continued performing until her death in Geneva in 1837. Huguet then went on an expedition to Egypt and Abyssinia, capturing two giraffes, before returning home hoping to settle down with his wife and son in the Department of Seine and Marne. However, when his wife died, Huguet went to Holland, where he obtained letters of introduction to the Governor General of the Dutch Indies, Count Rochussen. He embarked on a ship to Batavia in order to explore Sumatra and to return with a rhinoceros. Having completed his objectives, he exhibited animals in Berlin, later in Madrid in 1850, and of course in Paris in 1851, where Menissier wrote this account.

A second biography by Bidel (1888) frustratingly contradicts several elements in the account by Menissier. He stated that Huguet was born in Marseille in 1804 (not 1796) and died in April 1855 in Parme (on the



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outskirts of Biarritz), where he was buried in the Église Saint-Martin. His associate, called Charles Bihin (d. 1864), took over the superb menagerie.

I have been unable to verify any of the family history or the reality of his reported travels around the world. It is also unknown what exactly his connection was with the town of Marseille (Massillia) beyond possibly being his native town, or how he came to be called a 'count' (comte), unless he had ennobled himself as suggested by Oettinger (1859).

One of the elements of this biography, relating to the showing of the elephant called Miss Djeack or Djeck, is supported by external evidence (Reade, 1884). The attack by Martin's lion and the heroic action of the elephant to rescue her trainer was widely reported in the contemporary press. The play "Elephant of Siam" entertained audiences in London's Adelphi Theatre in 1829. Huguet's journey to the East Indies, presumably after the death of Huguet's wife in about 1843-1845, interests us most in the present context. Menissier correctly referred to Jan Jacob Rochussen (1797-1871), who was governor in Batavia from 1845-1851. Unfortunately Menissier relegated the entire expedition to a succinct footnote, stating that after about a year, Huguet was back in Berlin. Here he exhibited to the scientists of the empire a splendid menagerie, including the most magnificent rhinoceros ever admired in Europe: "Nous croyons devoir nous abstenir de narrer ici les émouvantes péripéties de cette dernière expedition du comte Huguet de Massillia, non moins hardie et non moins heureuse que les précédentes. Constatons seulement qu'après une absence qui se ne prolongea pas fort au-delà d'une année, notre voyageur naturaliste était à Berlin, exposant aux regards des savants et de la cour une splendide ménagerie, où figurait en première ligne le plus magnifique rhinocéros que l'Europe ait jamais admiré" (Menissier, 1853: 16).

Evidence about animals exhibited in travelling menageries is generally scanty and inconclusive, partly because these shows were meant for the masses and continuously moved from one town to the next. I have here listed all available records of rhinos in Europe, which could relate to the animal owned by Huguet (Table 1, p. 48).

Berlin (date unspecified)

Menissier (1851, 1853) mentioned that on return from the East Indies, ca. 1845, the rhinoceros was first shown to the public in Berlin. He did not specify a date, or explain the rather curious choice of locality for an animal which would probably have been imported through one of the more western harbours.

Gent (1845 or 1846)

A small pamphlet of 24 pages with notes about a rhinoceros and a giraffe, undated and unillustrated, was published in Gent, Belgium. The author's name is given only as "van Bl", who has been identified by Haeghen (1865, no. 10643) as C.-H. van Boekel, the French spelling of Kaspar Hendrik van Boekel (1811-1876), a teacher and author in Gent. He wrote a poem about the rhinoceros, and gave a summary of the life of the animal based on original documents ("oorspronkelijke bescheiden" in the title). The rhino was born in Java, where it was known as "de reus Jottete" (the giant Jottete) after the name of the native king of the islands of Vaytau, the most powerful ruler of those wild lands. It measured 6 feet in height, 12 feet in length and over 16 feet in circumference, and carried a horn of 2 feet in length. The animal was 35 years old and weighed 5500 pounds. A print showing a rhinoceros fighting a group of elephants was sold by the owners, identified on the pamphlet's title-page as Esperou and Ouvrier.

The likelihood that Van Boekel wrote his pamphlet on the occasion of the exhibition of a rhinoceros in Gent appears to be confirmed by the existence of a handbill or poster published there by "De Busscher



Table I
Life of Huguet's
rhinoceros,
arranged
chronologically,
stating the animal's
origin, owner,
name and age
according to
contemporary
sources.

Reference	Place	Date	Origin	Owner	Name of animal	Age
Menissier 1853	Berlin	1845				
Handbill Gent	Gent	Undated [1845]	Java	E. Edouard et Ouvrier frères	Géant Jotété	35 yrs
Van Boekel 1845	Gent	1845	Java	Esperou & Ouvrier	Jottete	35 yrs
Martens 1850	Brussels	Undated [1845-47]		[same animal as 1847 Stuttgart]		
Journal de la Haye	The Hague	1846 (May)				
Algemeen Handelsblad	Delft Dordrecht	1846 (June)		Esperou & Ouvrier		
Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant	Rotterdam	1846 (Aug)	Java		Jotete	35 yrs
Keyser 1976	Amsterdam	1846				
Mayer 1847	Germany (Bonn?)	1847				
Martens 1850	Stuttgart	1847 (Dec)	Sumatra	Huguet (keeper Carrière)	Jotete	
Naturf.Ges. 1851	Zurich	[1848]				
Intelligenzblatt	Bern	1848 (Aug)		Huguet		
Gazette de Lausanne	Lausanne Vevey	1848 (Oct) 1848 (Oct)		Huguet		
Journal de Genève	Geneva	1848 (Oct-Nov)		Huguet		
Krauss 1847	Stuttgart	1847				
Peuple Souverain	Lyon	1848 (Dec)		Huguet		
Menissier 1853	Madrid	1850		Huguet		
Illustration	Paris	1851 (Feb)	Sumatra	Huguet de Massillia		
Rotterdam Courant	Paris	1851 (Feb)	Sumatra	Huguet		
Journal de Vienne	Paris	1851 (Feb)		Huguet		
Menissier 1851	Paris	1851	Sumatra	Huguet		
Galerie1851	Paris	1851	Sumatra	Huguet	Bobée	37 yrs
Galerie 1852	Paris	1852	Sumatra	Huguet		37 yrs
Menissier 1853	Paris / Besançon?	1853	Sumatra	Huguet de Massillia		40 yrs
Algemeen Handelsblad	Brussels	1851 (Oct)		Huguet		
Guerrin 1865	Besançon		Sumatra			
Journal de Genève	Genève	1853 (July, Aug)	Sumatra	Huguet		40 yrs
Courrier des Alpes	Chambéry	1853 (Sep)		Huguet		
Journal de Genève	Modane	1853 (Oct)		Huguet		
Journal de Genève	Turin	1853		Huguet		
II Foglio	Milan	1853				
II Foglio	Verona	1853 (Nov)		Huguet		40 yrs
Boucher 1859	Marseille	1855				
Protecteur des Animaux	Marseille	1855				
Eversmann 1858	Marseille	185-58	Java		ļ	
Sacc 1861	Marseille	1861				
Pagenstecher 1862	Marseille	1862				<u> </u>
Marseille Museum	Marseille	1862-August 15 animal died				



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frères" (i.e. Desiré and Edmond de Busscher, sons of Guillaume, 1774-1852), also undated (Planche III*). The poster states that the animals were to be viewed daily between 10am and 10pm at the Plaine de St. Pierre (Sint Pietersplein). It was signed by the owners, "E. Edouard et Ouvrier frères." The difference in the names of the persons showing the rhinoceros and giraffe, Esperou or E. Edouard together with Ouvrier or the Ouvrier brothers is strange. I have been unable to identify any of these people, except that the "Ouvrier frères" were active in the late 1840s in Holland and France showing a set of moveable pictures, the "Théâtre Pittoresque" (Keyser, 1976: 63).

Neither the pamphlet nor the handbill are dated. The first was listed in the Bibliographie Gantoise (Haeghen, 1865) among works published by Ivon Tytgat in Gent, with the date 1846, which has been followed by all subsequent authorities. However, in another book written by Van Boekel (1847), he listed his own publications, including the one on the rhinoceros, with the date 1845. The date of publication of the pamphlet is significant, because it obviously coincided with the exhibition of the rhinoceros in Gent. I conclude therefore that the animal was shown on the Pietersplein in Gent in 1845.

The illustration of the rhinoceros on the handbill is unfortunately not unique (Planche III). It is clearly a copy of the plate included in Jardine (1836, pl. 8) stated to show the specimen in the Liverpool Zoological Gardens (Planche IV, Figure 1). The animal on Jardine's plate is known to have been exhibited by Thomas Atkins in Liverpool and some other British cities from June 1834 to about 1841 (Rookmaaker, 1993).

It may be mentioned here that according to an unidentified Dutch newspaper report mentioned by Keyser (1976: 146), a rhinoceros was shown in Amsterdam as early as 1841 by Esperou and the Ouvrier brothers. It was named Joyeté, 35 years old, and "sold to Paris, shown here at the fair only for a few days." This could refer Schreyer's rhinoceros, where Vienna was substituted with Paris as the final destination, and the date would coroborate that suggestion. However, the animal's name, age and owners are the same as those recorded for the rhino in Gent. One wonders if a careful and conscientious researcher like Keyser (1976) could have mixed up her notes on the early rhinos, which were not the main focus of her book.

The Netherlands (May to August 1846)

A rhinoceros was shown in The Hague on 18 May 1846 (Journal de la Haye, 19 May 1846), where it was seen together with a giraffe by two imaginary devils invented by Van Bevervoorde (1846). In June 1846 it was in Delft and then transported to Dordrecht, where the giraffe of Esperou and Ouvrier died on 20 June (Algemeen Handelsblad, 25 June 1846). Early August 1846, people in Rotterdam were invited to view a large living rhinoceros, named Jotete, 16 feet in circumference, 12 feet long, 6 feet high, 5500 pounds and 35 years old, from Java; the animal was exhibited in an iron cage, and posed no danger to the public (Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant, 10 August 1846). It was also shown in Amsterdam that year (Keyser 1976: 140).

Germany (1847)

On an unspecified date in 1847, Mayer (1847: 60) examined a male rhino, 12 feet long, 6 feet high, 5500 pounds, 35 years old, earlier shown in Liverpool: "welches aus dem zoological garden von Liverpool herrührte." The horn had been rubbed down to a mere stub. Mayer mentioned the animal's penis, confirming his male gender. As August Franz Joseph Karl Mayer (1787-1865) was Professor of Anatomy at the Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Bonn from 1819 to 1856, it could be suggested that he saw the rhino in the vicinity of his hometown. There is no explanation of the reference to the Liverpool Zoo, although Mayer might have deduced this from a picture, if a handbill similar to the one used in Gent in 1845 was available to him.



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Ges ROOKMAAKER

Later that year, a lawyer and amateur naturalist, Georg Matthias von Martens (1788-1872) saw a rhinoceros in his hometown Stuttgart, exhibited from 15 December 1847 by a Frenchman called Huguet. He spoke to the keeper named Carrière, who related having been in the service of the Governor-General in Sumatra. When the governor died after 18 months, he was able to buy a rhinoceros, which had previously been kept in stables for 31 years. The animal, named 'Riese Jotete', was taken to Europe, had his horn removed, and was destined for the Jardin des Plantes in Paris. Carrière was, however, allowed to show the animal for a few months, during which period they went to Brussels and presumably to Stuttgart afterwards (Martens, 1850: 107). The story included elements which were essentially the same as those found on the handbill distributed in Gent in 1845 and in the newspaper reports of 1846, especially the name and age (Table 1). Von Martens added a short description of the animal, saying that it was an extraordinarily heavy animal (6000 pounds) with immense folds in the neck and throat region and three prominent shields for the shoulder, side and thigh regions (Kourist, 1973: 149; Rookmaaker & Reynolds, 1985: 131). The name Carrière was mentioned in another newspaper report (*La Presse*, 15 June 1851), where he was identified as a domestic assistant of Huguet ("domestique du directeur").

Krauss (1851, pl. 26) published a plate, by an unknown artist, said to show a rhinoceros exhibited in Stuttgart in 1847 (Planche IV, Figure 2). It is likely that this animal was the one examined by von Martens.

Switzerland (1848)

There are a few snippets of information on a rhinoceros exhibited in Swiss towns in 1848. The Intelligenzblatt of Bern (16 August 1848) announced that the animal would only remain in town for few more days, and even included an illustration of the animal - facing right, and exactly the same as that found on the handbill of Gent. A visit to Zurich, most likely before reaching Bern, is indicated by a plate in an annual publication published by the Naturforschende Gesellschaft (1851), which for the year 1851 included a plate of rhinoceros and elephant, unfortunately without any text (Planche V, Figure 1).

The Gazette de Lausanne (3 October 1848) mentioned that the rhinoceros was only to be seen in Lausanne for two more days, after which it would leave for Vevey. Soon after the great and magnificent rhinoceros was exhibited on the Place du Port in Geneva, from 10 am to 9 pm Journal de Genève, 17 October 1848), and would leave in the middle of November (Journal de Genève, 7 and 10 November 1848).

France (1848)

The tour continued, but there are just occasional glimpses of the exhibition of the rhinoceros. Le Peuple Souverain of 31 December 1848 recorded it in Lyon as part of Huguet's menagerie. On an unspecified date, possibly years later, it was seen by Guerrin (1865: 290) in Besançon, who recalled that the magnificent beast was said to be native to Sumatra.

Madrid (1850)

Menissier (1853) implied that Huguet showed the rhinoceros in Madrid in 1850.

Paris (February 1851)

In February 1851, Huguet was stationed in Paris on the Rue des Filles du Calvaire, near the Boulevard du Temple, where the public could see his Grande Galerie Zoologique. The show included a rhinoceros from Sumatra, 2 metres high and weighing over 3,000 kg (*Illustration*, Feb. 1851: 86). Afterwards the Galerie was moved to the Champs Elysées (Menissier, 1853). Huguet was anxious to engage the public and



publicised widely that he intended to ride from the *Bastille* to the *Madeleine* in a carriage in the company of a lion, leopard, jaguar and hyena, all drawn by his famous rhinoceros (eg. *Rotterdamsche Courant*, 19 Feb 1851). The reports all refer to Huguet's intention, none seem to know if this caravan ever proceeded through the street of Paris.

One of the provincial newspapers (*Journal de Vienne*, 22 February 1851) elaborated on the story and provided details of the history of the rhinoceros. It would have been caught in Sumatra when it was three years old and kept in a compound of the governor together with a group of elephants. A few years later, the governor gave it to a sailor, who is identified as the uncle of Charles Bihin, the lion trainer travelling with Huguet. The animal was transported on the frigate the *Iphygénie*, and had his horn sawn off to make him less dangerous.

When Huguet was in Paris, he commissioned several pamphlets as a guide to his menagerie, now all very rare and only known from very few examples. First, there was a little booklet of 12 pages with the title "Galerie Zoologique" printed by Dechaume, existing in two editions dated 1851 and 1852 (**Huguet**, 1851, 1852). Then there was a larger pamphlet of 32 pages called the "Notice historique et biographique" published by the same Paris publisher in 1851 and reprinted in Besançon in 1853 (**Menissier**, 1851, 1853). The *Bibliographie de la France* (5 March 1851) listed a "Livret du Musée de Zoologie" published by de Moquet, Paris (12mo.), which is not recorded in current library catalogues, and possibly was similar to the other booklets.

The two editions of the larger *Notice* are signed by Menissier and contain biographical details of Huguet, as well as a list of animals in the menagerie. Similar lists are found in the *Galerie Zoologique* and there are just minor differences between them. The complete text in the *Galerie Zoologique* of 1851 is as follows: "No. 14. Le Rhinocéros de Sumatra (herbivore, de 37 ans) Bobée. Ce phenomène de la nature, si difficile à transporter en Europe, a été pris dans les immenses marais de l'île de Sumatra; avec son air apathique il passe pour très entêté. Sa peau, ou plutôt sa cuirasse, est à l'épreuve de la balle; c'est l'ennemi naturel de l'éléphant, dont il est presque toujours vainqueur; il absorbe par jour plus de cent cinquante kilos de nourriture. Il est herbivore comme l'éléphant. Nous en avons parlé avec de grands détails dans la notice. [=Menissier 1851?]" (**Huguet, 1851**).

Note the new name of the animal. In the second edition of Huguet's *Galerie Zoologique* of 1852, the sequential number is absent, the age is still 37 years, but the name of the animal is removed. In the larger *Notice* of 1853 the rhinoceros is listed as the second species, without sequential number, with age 40 years, and without name.

Huguet also commissioned the production of a poster size print (69,5 x 53,7 cm) with the printed title "Le Cap^{ne} Huguet De Massillia. Directeur De La Galerie Zoologique." It is signed by Vivant Beaucé (1818-1876), known as a book illustrator of the period. Huguet is shown surrounded by his most prominent animals including an elephant, rhinoceros, tiger and a pair of lions. The same plate was used as the frontispiece to Menissier's *Notice* of 1851 and 1853, and is identical except for dimensions and the reversed direction (Planche V).

The *Galerie Zoologique* of 1851 and 1852 also includes an illustration of the rhinoceros. It is the only plate in this little pamphlet, showing the relative significance of the animal (Planche V, Figure 2). Just like in the handbill of Gent, it is an obvious copy of **Jardine (1836)**.



Belgium (1851)

Huguet was in Brussels later in 1851, when the papers reported that the cornac of the rhinoceros had his finger bitten off by the lion (*Algemeen Handelsblad*, 8 and 22 October 1851).

Switzerland and France (1853)

The philosopher Henri Frédéric Amiel (1821-1881) went to visit the menagerie of Massilia and Bihin in the district of *Plainpalais* of Geneva on 5 July 1853, but does not mention which animals he saw (**Amiel, 1978**). The *Journal de Genève* (15 July 1853) mentioned the presence of a rhinoceros from Sumatra, about 40 years old, 12 feet long, 6 feet high and 3000 kg weight. At the end of August, Huguet was about to leave in the direction of Turin (*Courrier des Alpes, 27 August 1853*), but was still in town early next month (*Journal de Genève, 8 Sep. 1853*). On 22 September 1853, the *Courrier des Alpes* reported the arrival of the entourage in Chambéry, about halfway between the two cities. Exhibiting on the *Place St.-Dominique*, the menagerie consisted of ten lions, a tiger, a puma from Paraguay, a giraffe, a collection of monkeys and a magnificent rhinoceros.

Italy (1854)

Huguet's arrival in Turin after passing through Modane (on the French border) was reported in the *Journal de Genève* of 11 October 1853. Apparently part of the group had left earlier, because *Il Foglio*, the newspaper of Verona, advertised on 9 September 1854 the imminent arrival of the "Grande Galleria Zoologica". On 19 September it could be seen in the *Piazza Cittadella* from 8am to 7pm, but newspaper advertisement and an editorial on that date, also on 23 September, 2, 3 and 30 October do not include the rhinoceros. However, on the last date, it was announced that the menagerie would be joined by a rhinoceros and giraffe ("si ammirano un colossale rinoceronte ed una bellissima giraffa..."), after their exhibition at the *Piazza Castello* in Milano (Giarola 2011). Only once these two animals were included in the advert for the Galleria Zoologica, on 11 November 1854. A broadsheet, without date or locality, advertised the "Galleria Zoologica del Capitano Conte di Massillia" which included a giraffe as well as a rhinoceros from Sumatra, 40 years old, with an estimated value of 140,000 francs (Planche VII, Figure 1). It is unknown how long the rhinoceros remained in northern Italy.

RHINOCEROS IN JARDIN DES PLANTES, 1850-1855

Rookmaaker & Reynolds (1985) suggested that Huguet's rhinoceros went to the *Jardin des Plantes* in Paris around 1850, as that was stated in some newspaper reports. However, an engraving of the rhinoceros in the Paris gardens drawn by William Henry Freeman (fl. 1839-1875) for the *Magasin Pittoresque* of 1851 (Planche VII, Figure 2) shows a young animal with a short horn, which could not possibly have been over thirty years old (Anon, 1851; Rookmaaker, 1998: 97). According to the zoo ledgers, the Indian rhinoceros arrived on 22 March 1850 (Rookmaaker, 1998), which date corresponds with a news report (*Journal de Haras*) of February 1850 that the "zoo director" (actually aide-naturaliste attached to the zoo and museum) Florent Prévost (1794-1870) was about to leave for London to buy a rhinoceros of 3 years old.

The rhinoceros of the *Jardin des Plantes* died at the end of 1854. **Chenu & Desmarest (1858)** stated that this was on 27 December 1854, which is likely to be accurate because the daily press mentioned the event just a few weeks later (*Leidsche Courant* 7 Feb 1855, *Paris Illustré* 1855: 560), i.e. the earlier January 1854 date in **Rookmaaker (1998: 96)** must be a clerical error.

The artist Antoine Louis Barve (1795-1875) worked in Paris all his life, and is especially famous for his

large bronzes of domestic and exotic animals (Anon, 1904). From 1854, he was Professor of Drawings at the Museum of Natural History, but he must have had good connections with the institution even before that. Barye is known to have executed two signed watercolours showing a rhinoceros, both undated. Zieseniss (1954) catalogued them as K1 and K2 and suggested that they represented the animal then in the Jardin des Plantes, which is likely to be correct, even though Barye could also have seen Huguet's rhinoceros in Paris in 1851. The first of these paintings (K1) of a single rhinoceros in a rocky landscape is now in a private collection on loan to the Denver Art Museum (Planche VIII, Figure 1), and the other (K2) showing two resting rhinos is in the Baltimore Museum of Art (Planche VIII, Figure 2). It needs to be mentioned that the small bronzes of a rhinoceros as well as a sketch in lead pencil signed "Barye" preserved in Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, were made by the artist's son, Alfred Barye (1839-1882) and are likely to be much later in date.

RHINOCEROS IN MARSEILLE, 1855-1862

A new zoological garden was created in Marseille in 1854 (Latil, 2003). Unexpectedly, Loisel (1912, III: 113) combined this zoo with a private garden started in 1830 by Noël Suguet in the same town, but the evidence clearly shows that these were two different institutions. Barthélemy-Lapommeraye (1855) advocated the opening of the zoo, and a little later in the year, Marcotte (1855) discussed the details, adding that some animals had already been received, including two lions (one from Algeria!), a leopard, some antelopes and wild sheep, ostriches and many others - but no rhinoceros is mentioned at the time.

When Frédéric Sacc (1819-1890) wrote about his visit of 1861 to the Marseille Zoo, he mentioned a large rhinoceros, which had previously been in a travelling menagerie, exhibited around Europe for eleven years in a very small cage (Sacc 1861). When it arrived in the zoo, the poor animal could hardly move, and it took several weeks before it walked properly, and several months before it went into a pond. It spent most of the day in the water, only moving its head every 40 seconds to breathe (Rieke-Müller & Dittrich, 1999: 47, Rookmaaker 1998: 92).

The records so far do not reveal an exact date of the rhino's arrival. There are a few early sources. The Dutch newspapers of April 1855 picked up a rumour that a rhino was donated to the zoo in Marseille by the Zoo in London, bought in Buenos-Aires for 29,350 frs. and to be transported along the Rhone to Valence and onwards by rail (Algemeen Handelsblad, 16 April 1855, Leidsche Courant 20 April 1855). Some elements in this report appear spurious, and the connection with Buenos-Aires or even London is hard to explain.

The rhinoceros was reported in the new zoological garden in Marseille for the first time in 1855 (no exact date) by Boucher de Perthes (1859), who said that the animal's horn (of 60 cm) was removed after arrival. A news report (Anon, 1859, after Sémaphore of Marseille) about the purchase of an elephant for the gardens stated that it would there join a one-horned rhino "le doyen, le Nestor des rhinocéros vivants, et par la taille et par les années." Eversmann (1861) saw a rhinoceros from Java in late 1857 or early 1858. Having been noticed by Sacc in 1861, the animal was still included in two general guides to the attractions in Marseille, by Joanne & Ferrand (1866) and Teissier (1867). However, it did not live that long. Pagenstecher (1862) had already observed that the animal suffered from a diseased rectum leading to a swollen and bloody anal region. Noll (1873: 51) was wondering what happened to the animal when the zoo was closed at the end of the 1860s, but there is no record that the institution was in fact liquidated.

As the Zoo of Marseille was very close to the Natural History Museum in the Palais Longchamp founded in 1819, the rhinoceros might have been preserved there after its death. In fact, the museum ledgers show that the animal died on 15 August 1862 and that both skin and skeleton were kept. The skin was mounted



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and remained on display until around the 1960s when it was in such poor state that it was destroyed (Figure 1). It was exhibited with a very large frontal horn, which must have been added from another source. The skull and skeleton were also mounted and are still present in the museum (Stéphane Jouve, in litt; Figures 2, 3, 4 et 5).

DISCUSSION

The records discussed above of rhinos present in continental Europe in the first part 19th century have previously been thought to relate to five different specimens (**Rookmaaker, 1998**). It appears clear that Tourniaire's and Schreyer's rhinos were animals unconnected with Huguet's rhinoceros. A closer examination helped by new discoveries show that Tourniaire's died before 1840 and Schreyer's rhinoceros was present in Europe in the years 1840 (or 1839?) to 1843. I now suggest that Huguet's rhinoceros only arrived a few years later, probably in 1845, that he was never destined for the zoo in Paris and that he was exhibited in Marseille from 1855 to 1862. The rhinoceros of the *Jardin des Plantes* was the fourth animal exhibited in that century. All uncertainties have hitherto been centred around the animal of Huguet and need to be further discussed, to be sure that this new reconstruction of events is correct.

A review of the travels of Huguet and the rhinoceros is hindered by the scarcity of information as well as conflicts between the sources (Table 1). One is reminded of a game of 'chinese whispers' where a statement gets altered when passed through a line of people. Most reports of the rhinoceros appear to have some element of truth, but rarely align with other contemporary accounts. Whenever a pattern emerges, it is seemingly contradicted by the next reference. I cannot explain why the ownership changed from Esperou (or Edouard) and Ouvrier to Huguet in 1847, why the name of the animal is recorded at Joteté as well as Bobée, why the origin changes from Java to Sumatra, why the keeper in Stuttgart in 1847 said that the animal had been in Europe for seven years, why a lot of other small details continuously vary. Some elements of the story must be incorrect, like the animal being 35 years old on arrival in 1845. If it were true, and if it lived another 17 years in the menagerie and zoo, it would with 52 years greatly surpass the maximum known age of a rhinoceros in captivity (just over 40 years, cf. Rookmaaker, 1998: 22).

Taking all literary records together, sometimes reading between the lines, here is a suggested history of Huguet's rhinoceros. He (as it was a male) was obtained by Huguet – or possibly by another dealer or adventurer – from the Dutch authorities in Java, or maybe in Sumatra, or maybe from a completely different source (see below). The animal arrived in Europe in 1845, where he was first exhibited by Esperou and Ouvrier on various fairs in Belgium and Holland. He then changed ownership and travelled with Huguet to Germany and other European countries, before he was shown as part of the *Galerie Zoologique* in Paris, possibly from 1851 to 1853. It is interesting to note that the public could have seen two rhinoceroses in Paris in 1851, one in the *Jardin des Plantes*, the other in the *Galerie Zoologique* – a circumstance which strangely remained unnoticed in the contemporary press. He then travelled southwards through France, Switzerland and Italy until 1854.

Huguet died in 1855, and no record of a rhinoceros associated with his name or the menagerie of his successor (Charles Bihin) after 1854 has come to light. However, it is logical to assume that around 1855 he was sold to the *Jardin Zoologique* in Marseille. The connection of the rhinoceros in the zoo with an animal in a travelling menagerie was established by **Sacc (1861)**, who stated that it had lived in a small cage for 11 years, i.e. presumably from 1844 or 1845 until 1855. As the rhinoceros shown by Huguet is the only known rhinoceros which fits this description, I would concur with **Rieke-Müller & Dittrich (1999)** and **Reichenbach (2000)** in assuming that this was the animal living in Marseille from 1855. The date of death is authoritatively known as 15 August 1862.

Figure 1.

Rhinoceros mounted in the Museum of Natural History of Marseille (MHNM.16075.0). Photo probably taken in the 1960s before the specimen was destroyed. The horn must have belonged to a different animal. The plaque reads: "Rhinocéros unicorne, mâle, *Rhinoceros indicus* Cuv. Inde.

Mort au Zoo en 1862." (Photo in the Muséum d'histoire naturelle, Marseille.).



Figure 2.

Mounted skeleton of Rhinoceros unicornis in the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Marseille (MHNM.16075.0). It belonged to the male specimen which died in the Marseille Zoo in August 1862 and was subsequently added to the museum collection. (Photo by Dr Stéphane Jouve, Marseille, December 2012)...



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Figure 3.

Skull of *Rhinoceros unicornis* in the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Marseille (MHNM.16075.0). (Photo by Dr Stéphane Jouve, Marseille, December 2012).



Figure 4.

Occipital region of the skull of *Rhinoceros unicornis* in the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Marseille (MHNM.16075.0). (Photo by Dr Stéphane Jouve, Marseille, December 2012).



Figure 5.

Mandibular view of the *Rhinoceros unicornis* skull in the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Marseille (MHNM.16075.0). (Photo by Dr Stéphane Jouve, Marseille, December 2012).





The question of the specific identity of Huguet's rhinoceros remains. As the animal was Asian and single-horned, the choice is between the Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*) and the Javan rhinoceros (*R. sondaicus*). Of these, unquestionably the Indian rhino was the more familiar species in the 18th and early 19th centuries (**Rookmaaker, 2005**). Although the Javan rhinoceros was first morphologically differentiated from its congener by Petrus Camper in the 1780's, it was scientifically described as late as 1822 by Anselme-Gaëtan Desmarest in Paris (**Rookmaaker & Visser, 1982**). Therefore, if a rhinoceros of the Javan species was in Europe in the mid-19th century, it would have been unusual, rare, different, maybe something that should have been noticed by scientists or popular authors on natural history. As it wasn't singled out anywhere in the formal literature, it might reflect on the animal's true identity or merely on the marginalisation of wandering menageries and circuses in the scientific world of the day, on a divide between popular entertainment and serious zoological studies. One would have thought that the stated origin of this single-horned animal as Sumatra would have alerted the taxonomists of the day, because the occurrence of *R. sondaicus* on the island was still very much debated (**Hooijer, 1946**; **Sody, 1959**). Maybe few had the courage to belief the statements of owners of wandering menageries.

Groves and Leslie (2011) summarized the external morphological differences, stating that R. sondaicus resembles R. unicornis, but is generally smaller; the skin folds are shallower on R. sondaicus; the subcaudal folds fall short of the pelvis; the posterior cervical folds follow a rounded, postero-dorsal direction to meet behind the withers; and epidermal polygons are close and flattened, giving the skin a reticulated appearance. The form of the posterior cervical fold (lateral shoulder fold) in R. sondaicus, continuing up over the nape of the neck forming an independent shield shaped like a saddle, is diagnostic. This latter characteristic fold is what should be seen in representations of a Javan rhino.

The written sources only provide two elements which help to establish the identity of Huguet's rhinoceros: provenance and size. There is no agreement in the sources where the animal was obtained, either in Java or in Sumatra, but perhaps that is only relevant combined with the suggestion that it might have come from an entirely different locality. If the animal came from Indonesia and if it was single-horned, then it was a specimen of *Rhinoceros sondaicus*. Certainly, von Martens (1850) believed this and called it a "*Rhinoceros javanus* Cuvier", but Sacc (1861) never committed himself. The sizes given are more equivocal and as there is always a possibility that these may have been exaggerated, this will not help us further. Nobody during the life of the animal highlighted any of the more obvious characteristics in skinfolds or skin structure which differentiate the two species of Rhinoceros. The length of the horn cannot help to decide the specific identity, but while a horn size of 60 cm is found in the records, it is most likely that the horn was a mere stub for most of the animal's captive life.

The pictorial record should give us further clues. The paucity of pictures of these rhinos is in many ways surprising, having been seen by thousands of people, certainly including artists and naturalists. Maybe it did not cause as much sensation as one would expect from an animal of a species which possibly had never before been seen in continental Europe and which would have provided a worthy addition to the animal encyclopaedias of that age. The figures on the handbill produced in Gent in 1845 and the plate in Huguet's *Galerie Zoologique* (1851) were both unadulterated copies of the plate in **Jardine (1836)** (Planche III; Planche IV, Figure 1; Planche V, Figure 2). The plate published by **Krauss** (1851) of an animal exhibited in Stuttgart in 1847 is clearly a representation of *R. unicornis* with a decent horn (Planche IV, Figure 2). The plates made in Paris attributed to Vivant Beaucé (Planche VII, Figure 2; Planche VIII, Figure 1) also show a *R. unicornis*, because the characteristic shoulderfold is not clearly indicated. In my view, none of the available illustrations give reason to suggest that Huguet's rhinoceros was in fact a Javan rhinoceros.

With the discovery of the skeleton and skull of the rhinoceros in the natural history museum of Marseille the disputed determination can be finally settled. A series of photographs showing the characteristic criteria taken by Dr S. Jouve were shown to Dr C.P. Groves (in litt. 28.11.2012), who found that "this



und sold to the Zoological Garden c kees ROOKMAAKER. Assogée Volume 69l²⁰¹³ is certainly R. *unicornis* identifiable by the shape of the occiput, the positioning of the orbit and the infraorbital foramen, the shape of the mesopterygoid fossa, the characters of the cheekteeth, etc.; a very aged individual, probably male looking at the extreme rugosity of the zygomatic arch and the jaw angles." It may be mentioned that **Guérin (1980)**, in his study of postcranial bones, included a rhinoceros skeleton in Marseille among his set of R. *unicornis*.

In view of this newly established identity of the rhinoceros which toured with Huguet and then was shown in the Marseille zoo, the provenance advertised during its life as Sumatra or Java must have been incorrect. We can only conclude that the stories connected with the animal's provenance must have been invented, even though it is hard to find a particular reason in justification, as any rhinoceros in Europe at the time was a great novelty. In conclusion, therefore, Hippolyte-Louis-François Huguet, count of Massillia, showed a male Indian rhino (*Rhinoceros unicornis*) in his travelling menagerie in the middle of the 19th century. It was imported by unknown means and arrived in Holland in 1845. The rhinoceros was shown around Europe and was well-documented during his visit to Paris in 1851. The animal was transferred to the Zoological Garden in Marseille in 1855, where he lived until 15 August 1862.

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Investigations like the present, on the history of older travelling menageries, can now for the first time make unprecedented progress by using internet projects aimed at digitising runs of magazines and newspapers. Hitherto it was never feasible or economically viable to search series of such essentially local publications from diverse regions or countries. This is now changing, and it is changing fast. Large-scale projects like Google Books, the Internet Archive, Gallica and the Biodiversity Heritage Library are opening up the less formal literature as never before. Besides, there are numerous initiatives concentrating on national or regional newspapers and weekly magazines. My research has benefitted immensely from these sources, which still hold untold treasures for similar endeavours. All newspaper sources given in the references can be easily accessed by typing their titles in an internet search engine. I can only acknowledge my general indebtedness to all institutions, libraries and individuals who use time and funding to provide these electronic resources. From personal experience I know that these websites are rarely properly acknowledged, but I for one am grateful.



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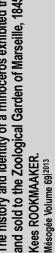
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orothers,

Handbill for the exhibition of a rhinoceros and giraffe by E. Edouard and the Ouvrier brothers, printed in Gent by Du Busscher Frères, undated, 282 x 187 mm.

At the top is an illustration of the rhinoceros and this French text (in translation): 'New at the fair, a great and magnificent rhinoceros alive, 16 feet in circumference, 13 feet long, 6 feet in height. First to be seen in Europe, aged 35 years, weighing 5500 pounds. He eats 500 pounds per day. He is a native of Java, where he was first named "Le Géant Jotété" (the giant Jotété), which is the name of the ruler of the islands of Vaytau, the most powerful potentate of the region. His skin is said to withstand bullets, so it is the most curious animal offered for show to the public, because no royal menagerie ever exhibited one, and it is a miracle to be able to view this animal, placed in an iron cage, without danger to the public." In the middle is an illustration of two giraffes guided by an African man. These animals were to be seen from 10am to 10pm on the "Plaine de St. Pierre" where they are fed at noon and 6pm. Entry is charged in three rates, 1 franc, 50 centimes or 20 centimes. (British Library, London, 1862, 1011.516).

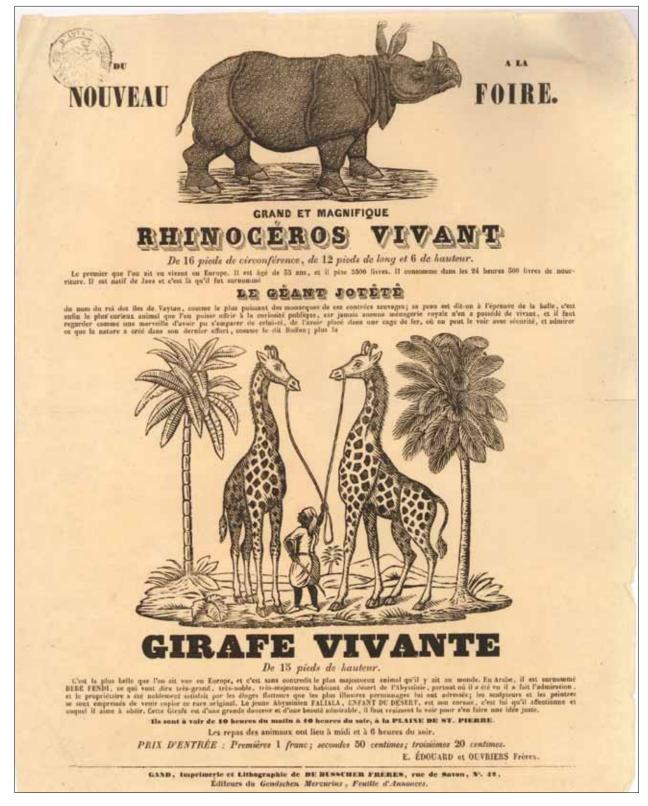




Figure 1.

Planche W

Indian rhinoceros in the Liverpool Zoological Gardens, showing the male Indian rhinoceros exhibited by Thomas Atkins from 1834 to 1841 or 1843. Drawn by James Stewart (1791-1863) and engraved by William Home Lizars (1759-1859). From Jardine, Naturalist's Library, 1836, plate 8.



Figure 2. Krauss (1851, pl. 26, fig. 2) published a plate, by an unknown artist, said to be "nach einem in Jahr 1847 zu Stuttgart vorgezeigten lebenden Thier." In want of another candidate, the animal shown must have been the animal seen by von Martens in 1847.

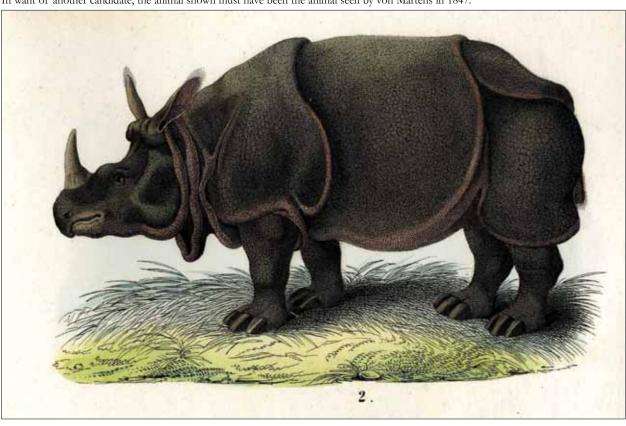






Planche V

Figure 1.

Plate of a rhinoceros published (without further information) by the *Naturforsche Gesellschaft* of Zurich in an annual volume dedicated to young naturalists in 1851.

Huguet's rhinoceros might have been in Zurich in 1848.



Figure 2.

Plate of the rhinoceros included in the pamphlet with title "Galerie zoologique" organized by Huguet in Paris in 1851.

Printed by Dechaume, Paris, in 1851 and again in 1852.

The rhinoceros is similar to the animal in Jardine's Naturalist's Library of fig. 2.



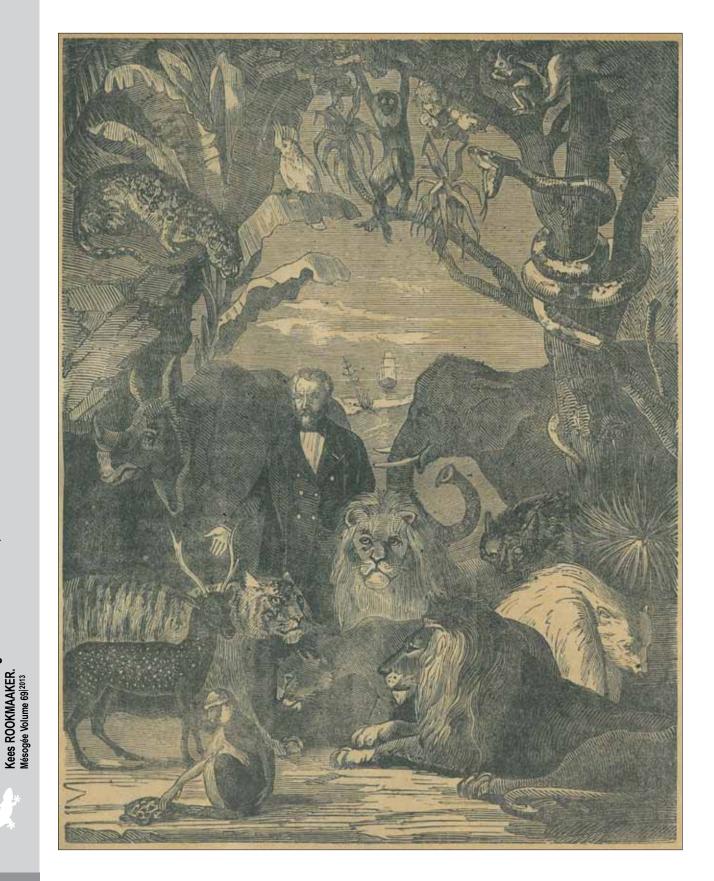


Planche VI

Figure 6.

Frontispiece published in Menissier's biography of Huguet, published in 1851 and reprinted in 1853. It was most likely based on the larger poster by Vivant Beaucé.

(Photo from copy in the Centro Educativo di Documentazione delle Arti Circenzi (CEDAC), Verona).





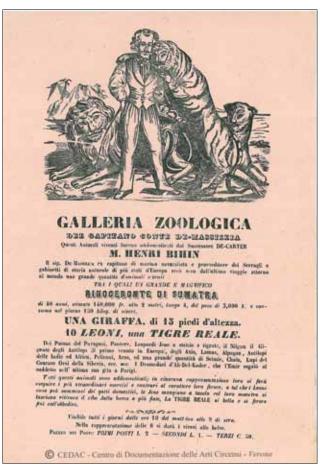
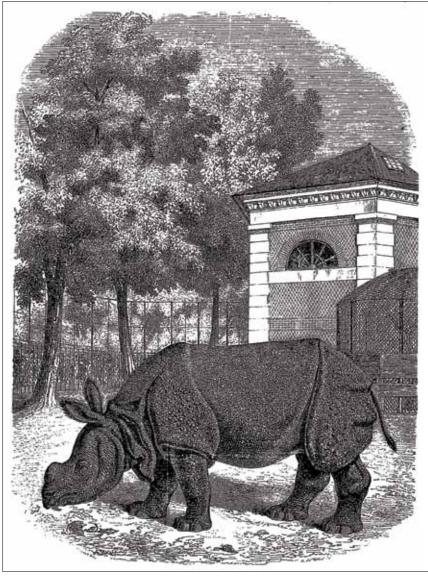


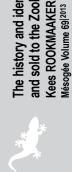
Planche VII Figure 7.

Broadsheet advertizing the menagerie of Huguet in Italy, no date, no place. It includes "Un grande e magnifico Rinoceronte di Sumatra, di 40 anni, stimato 140,000 fr. Alto 2 metri, lungo 4, del peso di 3,000 k. e consuma nel giorno 150 kilog. di viveri." (Copy in Centro Educativo di Documentazione delle Arti Circenzi (CEDAC), Verona).



Rhinoceros in *Jardin des Plantes* in Paris, drawn by William Henry Freeman (fl. 1839-1875) for the *Magasin Pittoresque* of 1851.





In the firstory and identity of a minoceros exhibited unough En and sold to the Zoological Garden of Marseille, 1845-1862. Kees ROOKMAAKER. Mésogée Volume 69/2013

Planche VIII Figure 1.

Indian rhinoceros by Antoine-Louis Barye (1796-1875), watercolour and gouache (K1), with some scraping (on the animal's back, shoulder, and head), on ivory laid paper; mounted to artist board (212 x 189 mm). Signed at lower right in brown watercolor, BARYE. As Barye had connection with the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, it most likely depicted the animal exhibited there from 1850 to 1854. Private collection, on loan to Denver Museum of Art (see Stuart 2013).

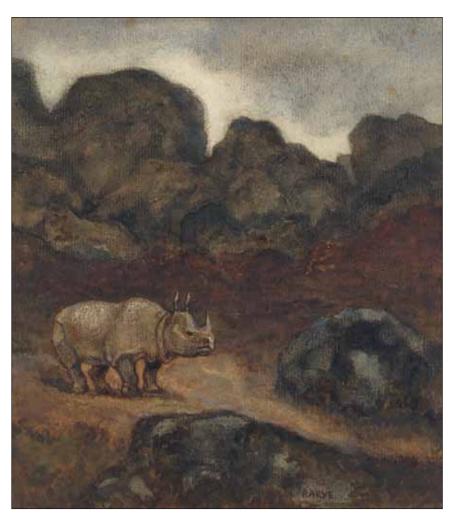


Figure 2.Pair of Indian rhinoceros by Antoine-Louis Barye, watercolour (K2) showing two resting rhinos, 123 x 199 mm, signed BARYE. Same animal as in figure 8. Baltimore Museum of Art: The George A. Lucas Collection, inv. no. BMA 1996.48.18809.







Par/By

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E

13

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