

2 Locating the rhinoceros and the Indian

Strangers, trade, and the East India Company in Thomas Heywood's
Porta Pietatis

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At first glance Thomas Heywood's *Porta Pietatis, or The Port or Harbour of Piety* (1638) seems like most other civic entertainments of its time, prominently displaying exotic as well as domestic commodities and subjects. Maurice Abbot, the new Lord Mayor, was greeted by various marine gods including Proteus as part of the water show; and on land there were speeches by a shepherd surrounded by his flock as well as an Indian riding a rhinoceros. Since the annual Lord Mayor's Shows put forward their own idealised versions of the city of London, in ways that were usually directly aligned with the commercial interests of the newly appointed civic leader, it was common practice for pageants to reference the material goods (local and foreign) or trades associated with the new mayor and his livery company. Not surprisingly then, the 1638 Show for the Drapers' Company featured a flock of sheep (and, metonymically, wool). However, as scholars have recently noted, by the early seventeenth century London's mayors were also prominent members of a new generation of mercantile ventures such as the Levant Company, the Virginia Company, and the East India Company, and Abbot was no exception.¹ The brief, and seemingly generic, inclusion of an Indian on a rhinoceros in a Show for a mayor who was also a director and former governor of the East India Company might therefore be seen as part of these larger economic transitions affecting early modern England.

Unlike most other Shows, however, *Porta Pietatis* makes explicit the link between the East India Company and the Indian figure. This open acknowledgement is significant because, as Tracey Hill demonstrates in the previous chapter, despite substantial financial investments by various prominent members of the civic council the Shows rarely directly referenced the trading companies. Moreover, even when Indians or Moors did appear in pageants – either by themselves or more commonly with exotic

animals – their connections with the East India Company or the Virginia Company were not always certain.² Heywood's 1638 Show not only includes an Indian but also leaves us in no doubt as to the economic mechanisms behind his inclusion in the pageant. For instance, in the very first water show, Proteus, who appears as a champion for mercantile exchange, declares: 'May that Fleete / Which makes th' East Indies with our England meete, / Prosper' (ibid. sig. B2r). Thus, as we shall see, in ways that the other Shows do not, *Porta Pietatis* allows us to better understand the growing role of the East Indies trade on London's civic imagination, and its material and social life.

This chapter explores what this meeting of 'th'East Indies' and England – their peoples and commodities – might have meant in terms of creating a new type of civic space in early seventeenth-century London. Heywood's *Porta Pietatis*, in many ways, seems to respond to a moment of an uneasy transition to a more globalised economy that made its effects felt both in terms of changing markets and the arrival of new demographic groups in London. While scholars have mostly noted the religious subtext of the 1638 Show,³ I would like to return here to its materiality – particularly to the local and foreign commodities featured in the Show – in an attempt to better trace this impact of the East Indies on London's civic performance, and by extension, on the city's social space. All commodities, as Arjun Appadurai (1986, p. 1) reminds us, 'like persons, have social lives'. And instead of relying solely on the 'functions of [economic] exchange' he urges us to also examine the actual 'things' and thus recognise their individual 'biographies' (ibid. 1996, pp. 1, 13). What can be unearthed by this process, Appadurai (2006, p. 15) argues, is 'the longer social trajectory' that makes the thing desirable, and gives it both economic and social value; in other words, transforms it into a commodity. Turning to *Porta Pietatis*, it is through the 'social lives' of the principal commodities of the Show – wool and exotic curiosities represented by the sheep and the rhinoceros – that we might recover the shifting dynamics between global and local market forces and their impact on London's imagined civic space.

This juxtaposition and initial clash of (animate) domestic and foreign material objects in the Show in fact mirrored the changing inventory of London's own marketplaces. The early seventeenth century witnessed an important shift in England's relationship with global trade. As Samuel Purchas ([1625] 1905, p. 122), clergyman and compiler of *Purchas His Pilgrimes* phrased it, London had finally arrived on the stage of global commerce: 'And now we see London an Indian Mart, and Turkie it selfe from hence served with Pepper, and other Indian Commodities'. It is worth remembering that Purchas himself had stakes in the Virginia

Company and had received £100 from the East India Company for his efforts in gathering together and publishing papers related to its early voyages. Nonetheless, Purchas' optimistic and slightly exaggerated description of London as an Indian mart is suggestive of a new way in which a section of the city had begun to imagine itself. This is not to claim, of course, that England's involvement in eastern trade suddenly began in the seventeenth century.⁴ During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, however, England's relationship with this long-standing foreign trade altered drastically. Political and economic conditions fuelled by upheavals in Europe led English merchants to search for alternative routes to secure eastern commodities. While this resulted in the discovery of new sea routes and markets, it also prompted the establishment of the Levant Company (1581) and the East India Company (1600). What was so significant about these new trading ventures was that England had *direct access* to the eastern markets, bypassing Portuguese control over the Indian Ocean region. England's new-found success in reaching the eastern ports was thus part of a larger economic transition, what Daniel Vitkus (2008, p. 22) sums up as a 'systemic shift that was driven by a global system of supply and demand'.

The reactions to these economic transitions were neither uniform nor painless. The new trading corporations such as the East India Company often bore the brunt of these criticisms since they functioned in ways that seemed to be at odds with conventional English trading practices, relying for example on bullion or incorporating the joint-stock structure.⁵ The Lord Mayor's Shows, celebrating men who 'emerged from an elite cadre of investors' (Barbour 2003, p. 89), often renegotiated these new socio-economic developments; and thus the absence as well as the fragmentary presence of these trading companies in individual Shows speak to this transitional moment of an early modern globalised economy. Heywood's 1638 Show, with its inclusion of the shepherd and his sheep (symbolising domestic wares) in the first land pageant and the Indian on a rhinoceros (symbolic of exotic 'rarities') in the second, belongs to this period that re-imagined the English economy and its civic space. By turning to this complex relationship between the two sets of animals and their social lives this chapter will explore how Heywood's *Porta Pietatis* staged for its audience an idealised civic space, one based on a new global commerce with its fantasy of endless exchange, transformation, and urban cosmopolitanism.

Sheep, cloth, and transnational trade

One of the ways in which we can access the social lives of the commodities showcased in the civic pageants is by turning to the accompanying

speeches and the allegorical representations of the objects therein. By the time of composing *Porta Pietatis*, Heywood already had some experience of the Shows – this was his sixth Show – which helps to explain his familiarity with the debates surrounding stock local and exotic animal motifs. At the same time, Heywood, more than any other pageant writer, brought his vast classical erudition into play, mixing mythology with moral lessons for the new mayor (Bergeron 2003, pp. 215–218). *Porta Pietatis* was Heywood’s penultimate Show, and retains some of his usual practices, prominently featuring for instance the figure of Proteus from classical mythology. There is also Piety, who gives the Show its name, in a highly emblematic device surrounded by various other religious virtues. It is between these twin figures drawn from classical and Christian sources that we find the pageants showcasing the shepherd and the Indian with their accompanying animals. The animals, as mentioned before, play a crucial role by advertising in an organic way the commodities that the livery and the new trading companies would have prized – wool and luxury objects.

A study of the ‘social life’ of sheep, however, puts it at the crosshairs of the economic transitions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As Roze Hentschell (2008, pp. 5–8) documents, the cloth industry had traditionally played a vital role in shaping English nationhood both in economic and symbolic terms. Wool cloth, of course, came from sheep, thus making the animal a vital component in Shows for Drapers and Clothworkers. From the late sixteenth century onwards, however, the English cloth industry had taken a downturn prompted by a loss of its traditional markets in the Low Countries and the failure to find demand for its products in the east (*ibid.*, pp. 5–7). Disastrous projects such as that by William Cockayne further added to its woes.⁶ This crisis is reflected in Anthony Munday’s *Himatia-Poleos* (1614) and *Metropolis Coronata* (1615) that were written for the Drapers during the height of the depressed cloth exports. The Shows thus served as conduits for voicing topical concerns. Munday, who himself happened to be a member of the Drapers, imbues his two consecutive Shows with a deep sense of history, and attempts to remind the audience of the Company’s glorious past. In particular, *Himatia-Poleos* claims that Henry Fitz-Alwine, London’s first mayor, was in fact a Draper. In contrast to this illustrious history of the Company, and by extension, the wool trade, the present-day Cotswold shepherd in the Show appears as a battered individual, almost a stranger in his own land:

Why gaze yee so vpon me! am I not a man flesh, bloud, and bone, as you are? Or in these silken sattin Townes, are poore plaine meaning Shepheards woondred at, like Comets or blazing Starres.

(Munday 1614, p. 10)

The surprise that he apparently evokes as a rural migrant is comparable to that voiced by the King of the Moors in Thomas Middleton's *The Triumphs of Truth*: 'I see amazement set vpon the faces / Of these white people, wondrings, and strange gazes, / Is it at mee' (1613, sig. B4v)? The shepherd thus seems as much an outsider as the foreign king. His sense of alienation and disenfranchisement are only compounded when he goes on to critique imported textiles such as silk, which affected the domestic wool market, further aggravating the beleaguered industry. Thus, by the time of Heywood's 1638 Show, the shepherd and his sheep had already become symbols in civic pageantry of a once thriving domestic trade that was ailing from changing global consumer trends.

Not surprisingly, Heywood's shepherd seems conscious of his embattled position. Resorting to older Stoic opposition between necessities and luxuries, the shepherd challenges the ability of 'rare frame' or 'curious verse' to compete with the full profits of the wool trade (Heywood 1638, sig. B2r, emphasis added). He then goes on to evoke what can best be described as an idealised pastoral environment. The ovine flock are surrounded by flower- and fruit-bearing trees and the shepherd praises his docile animals:

Of the wide Universe, the Earth, and Skie,
Nor Beast nor Bird can with the Sheepe comply:
No Creature under Heaven, bee't small or great,
But some way usefull, one affords us meate,
Another Ornament: Shee more than this,
Of Patience, and of Profit th'embleme is
(Heywood 1638, sigs. B2r-B2v)

Heywood's praise would have been familiar to his audience since the sheep was seen as a particularly *useful* animal, its every part in some way amenable for consumption. Sixteenth-century travelogues and animal husbandry manuals had already popularised this association of sheep with usefulness.⁷ Unlike Munday, however, Heywood's shepherd does not remind his audiences of a specific geographical location (Cotswold) or historical context (Fitz-Alwine or Cockayne). He does, however, remind them of the economic stakes – it is upon the profits derived from wool that 'all States, all Common Weales subsist' (Heywood 1638, sig. B2v). Nonetheless, such a reminder in no way directly evokes the threats facing the wool trade, and in fact comes across as a fairly optimistic paean to the shepherd and his flock (unlike Munday's Shows). While such an estimation of the sheep seems to valorise domestic industry, what complicates this is the arrival of the Indian and the rhinoceros in the very next pageant.

The rhinoceros and East Indies trade

The face-off in *Porta Pietatis* between the sheep and the rhinoceros in many ways symbolises the opposition between the local and the global. The ‘social life’ of Heywood’s rhinoceros that emerges is, perforce, very different from that of the sheep. While the use of exotic animals was not uncommon in the Shows, the rhinoceros as we shall see had already become associated with a new era of selective European access to the East Indies and civic splendour. As in most Shows, Heywood’s rhinoceros also has a moral to impart, urging for the protection of the weak from vicious predators. The choice of the emblem, however, owes more to the global traffic in curiosities:

What curious Statue· what strange bird, or beast
That Clime did yeeld (if rare above the rest)
Was there expos’d: Entring your civill state,
Whom better may we strive to imitate?
This huge Rinoceros (not ’mongst us scene,
Yet frequent whersome Factors oft have beene)
(Heywood 1638, sig. B3v)

If the sheep is the most useful animal, then the rhinoceros is the rarest. Its presence in the Show, moreover, owes less to the livery companies than to the newer East India Company to which the Indian alludes here. Unlike other distinctly eastern animals showcased in the pageants such as the camel, for instance, which already appeared in the crests of the Grocers and Merchant Taylors as reminders of long-standing overland spice routes, the rhinoceros was not directly related to any of the livery companies. Nor could its inclusion be attributed to religious significance despite the title of Heywood’s Show.⁸ Unlike the use of the pelican in Munday’s *Chryfanaleia* (1616), the rhinoceros could not function as a ready-made symbol of religious self-sacrifice for the sake of public good. Instead, the principal appeal of the rhinoceros lies in its strangeness, its status as an eastern curiosity. Its reconstructed presence in London was meant above all to symbolise England’s direct access to the Indies. As its rider points out, the rhinoceros though ‘not ’mongst us scene, / [was] yet frequent where some Factors oft have beene’.

This reliance on exotic animals for establishing the authenticity of exploration and direct access was not restricted to the Lord Mayor’s Shows. The publishers of *Thomas Coriate, Traveller for the English Wits* (1616) included two woodcuts of Coryate riding an elephant in keeping with the author’s wish: ‘I have rid upon an elephant since I came to this court,

determining one day (by Gods leave) to have my picture expressed in my next booke sitting upon an elephant' (Coryate 1616, p. 26).

Although Thomas Coryate himself did not live to see it, the title page of his new pamphlet advertised his successful overland journey to the court of the Mughal emperor Jahangir through animal imagery. The spectacle of an English man riding an elephant sealed his claim that he had in fact succeeded in reaching India. Of course, even before he arrived there, the strange Indian beasts had become a way for Coryate to quantify Jahangir's immense wealth. He describes how at the borders of Persia and India he caught his first glimpse of the elephants and antelopes being transported by Sir Robert Sherley as gifts for the Safavid ruler Shah Abbas. Although he is initially awed by the 'rarities' he informs his readers that 'afterwards, when I came to the Moguls court, I saw great store of them' (Coryate 1616, p. 15). Heywood's pageants – *Londini Artium & Scientiarum Scaturigo* (1632) and *Porta Pietatis* – displaying an elephant and a rhinoceros, respectively, similarly rely on the ability of these exotic animals to convey both the riches of the east and the hardships involved in their acquisition. There is nonetheless an element of irony in these stagings: although the Lord Mayor's Shows could on occasion display actual exotic animals (Hill 2010, p. 164), in both these instances they were unable to do so, possibly because the animals in question *were* such prized rarities. The first rhinoceros would arrive in London only in 1684, on board the East India Company ship, the *Herbert* (Rookmaaker 1998, p. 82).

Although the Show failed to produce a live specimen, by the time *Porta Pietatis* was staged, a rhinoceros had already made its way to Europe and become quite famous. In 1515 Sultan Muzafar II, the ruler of Gujarat, gifted the animal to the Portuguese governor Alfonso d'Albuquerque. The rhinoceros arrived in Lisbon on board the *Nostra Senora da Ajuda* as the governor's present to King Manuel I, becoming the first of its kind to reach Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire (Rookmaaker 1998, p. 80). It soon became well known with Hans Burgkmair making a woodcut of it in Portugal. The best-known representation of King Manuel's rhinoceros is, of course, Albrecht Dürer's woodcut, although he had never seen the animal himself and was working from hearsay. Later that year Dom Manuel decided to gift the rhinoceros to the Medici Pope Leo X, after securing a favourable bull from Rome (Subrahmanyam 1997, p. 269). In 1514 the Portuguese king had already sent the Pope an embassy designed to 'show off his oriental riches' by including an Indian elephant. The procession had

made its way via Alicante and Majorca, arriving at the outskirts of Rome by mid-February 1514. Somewhat slowed down by the stately

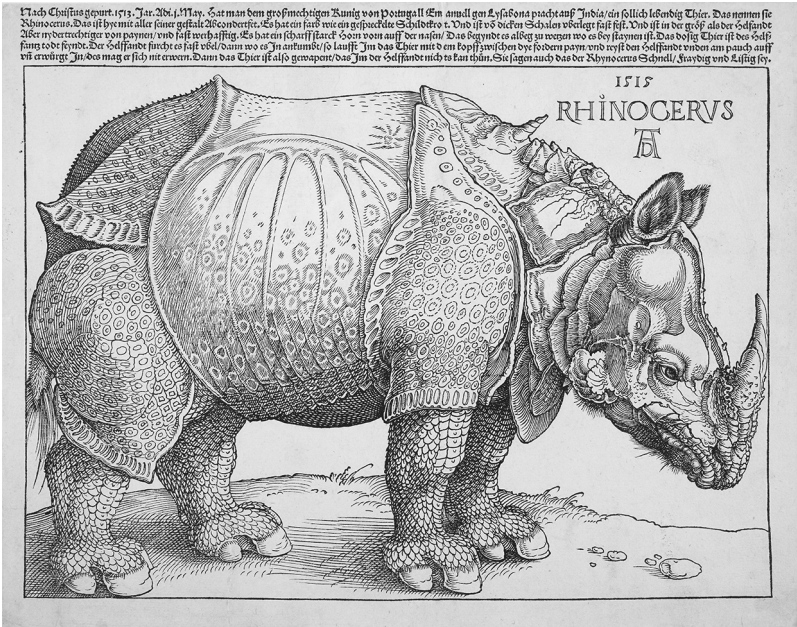


Figure 2.1 Albrecht Dürer's woodcut of the rhinoceros
First edition of a broadside, 1515. The British Museum.

progress of the *piece-de-resistance* of the embassy, an elephant, [Tristao da] Cunha and his companions were able to enter Rome only on 12 March 1514, many of them in fancy dress, in an 'Indian' style. Besides the elephant, which obviously made a great impression, the embassy comprised forty-two other beasts (including a cheetah from Hormuz). (Ibid.)

Da Cunha's elaborate performance was aimed at reminding the Pope, and indeed the ordinary Italians witnessing the procession, of Portugal's colonial might. He sought to further the legitimacy of his imperial claims by the use of make-believe Indians and real animals. As Sanjay Subrahmanyam explains, such a ploy seems to have worked. Not surprisingly, upon receiving reassurances, Dom Manuel again attempted to impress the Pope. This time he sent him spices, and a ship carrying the rhinoceros. Again, the exotic Indian animal drew a lot of attention with King Francis I visiting it at the Port of Marseilles (Rookmaaker 1998, p. 80). Unfortunately, the rhinoceros never made it to Rome alive since the ship later sank in a storm off the coast of Genoa (ibid.; Subrahmanyam 1997, p. 269).

All was not lost, however; after its corpse washed ashore it was carefully stuffed and sent to the Pope (Lach 1970, p. 162).

Taxidermy aside, King Manuel's rhinoceros was to have a long and significant cultural afterlife. Dürer's highly influential woodcut was reproduced many times over the next three centuries, and was even included by Edward Topsell in *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (1607).⁹ Topsell's book, of course, was a textual counterpart to the curiosity cabinets and similarly emphasised the strangeness of its content. When Heywood's *Show* describes the rhinoceros as a 'rarity' it is to this emerging marketplace for the strange that it also alludes. While the East India Company had failed to produce a live rhinoceros, it had already started importing other more accessible 'rarities'. Antelopes, monkeys, and other types of fauna and flora arrived on board company ships, including various animal parts meant for the wealthy London collectors (Farrington 2002, p. 119). Together with indigo and chintz, they thus formed part of a new and growing inventory of the East India Company. Their value as luxuries lay in their being what Appadurai (1986, p. 38, emphasis in the original) describes as 'goods whose principal use is *rhetorical* and *social*, goods that are simply *incarnated signs*. The necessity to which *they* respond is fundamentally political'. Whether exchanged as gifts or displayed in private collections or as civic spectacles, these exotic animals therefore symbolised economic and political power in a new world system.

While we cannot be sure what Heywood's rhinoceros would have looked like, it is fair to assume that it would most likely have been modelled on Dürer's engraving. Well into the eighteenth century it was this image based on King Manuel's ill-fated rhinoceros that served as the authoritative version even for scientific treatises (Lach 1970, p. 171). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries texts such as Topsell's made it easier for people to catch a glimpse of this rarest of the Indian animals. Topsell, of course, was unable to detect the errors made by Dürer such as the double horn as well as the medieval armour-like scales, and presented the woodcut as an authentic version.¹⁰ He turned to both Christian theology and classical sources including Pliny to fully explain the animal, before recounting specific anecdotes related to King Manuel's rhinoceros. The most famous of these, alluded to in Dürer's own inscription, and later by Heywood, had to do with a contest that took place on Sunday, 3 June 1515 between the rhinoceros and an elephant (Rookmaaker 1998, p. 80). As Topsell explains: 'when the *Rhinocerot* [*sic*] which was at *Lisborne* [*sic*] was brought into the presence of an Elephant, the elephant ran away from him' (Topsell 1607, p. 597, emphasis in the original). What had inspired the contest was Pliny's comments on the natural enmity between the two animals; and Dürer, Topsell, and Heywood in their own

way repeat the myth of the supposed invulnerability of the rhinoceros based on the strength and location of its horn:

Hee hath a short horne growing from his nose, and being in continuall enmity with the Elephant, before hee encounter him, he sharpeneth it against a stone, and in the sight aimeth to wound him in the belly, being the softest place about him, and the soonest pierc'd.

(Heywood 1638, sig. B3r)

This verbal and visual repetition is further suggestive of the shared repository of myths and contemporary anecdotes about the rhinoceros in early modern Europe. In *Porta Pietatis* this unique ferocity adds to the animal's 'rareness' making it 'more fit to beautify a Triumph' (ibid., sig. B2v). It is this quality that again clinches the emblem, the rhinoceros' strength becoming something that the new Lord Mayor as the city's defender should learn to embrace.

By the time the Show was staged, the rhinoceros was thus already a familiar category in the marketplace of the strange. While King Manuel's public processions involving a live elephant and a rhinoceros had a practical use in legitimising Portugal's colonial claims in the east, in the London Shows the animals came to symbolise a new era of mercantile access. Thus, it was not only the sheep that had its own iconographical significance prior to the 1638 Show, the rhinoceros as one of the rarest of eastern rarities, was also well known, made popular, as we have seen, in woodcuts, and later bestiaries. Like the sheep, the rhinoceros in the Show, therefore, stands in for distinct commodities and geographies. At the same time, the pageants showcasing different demographic groups – the home-bred shepherd praising his flock, and the newly arrived Indian valorising foreign trade – are suggestive of a new era of globalised civic space, one that saw the arrival not only of trade goods but also of eastern migrants.

Locating the Indian

To talk of the social life of the rhinoceros without acknowledging the Indian would be to leave incomplete the story of globalisation that the Show attempts to tell. The impact of the trading companies such as the East India Company was felt not only through the actual material objects that the ships brought back but also through the Indian sailors, and sometimes even slaves, who arrived on board these vessels. While medieval nativity celebrations would have included the customary Asian magi, the later depictions of Indians and other coloured personages were the result of exploration and conquest that brought Western Europe into contact with peoples from Asia,

Africa, and the New World. Voluntary and involuntary migrants from these large geographic areas would have fallen under the all-encompassing category of 'black'. Furthermore, during the early modern period several of these ethnographic terms showed an overlap, and labels such as 'blackamoor', 'moor', or 'Indian' were often used interchangeably. For instance, Munday's *Chrysanaleia: The Golden Fishing* (1616) effortlessly shifts from the King of the Moors riding a golden leopard to his 'Indian treasure,' that is to say, the gold and silver, which was 'liberally ... throwne' as part of the pageant (sigs. B1v, C2v). As Bach (2000, p. 141) argues, seventeenth-century court and civic entertainments were populated with 'undifferentiated Indians', drawn from both the old and new worlds. But the 'undifferentiated Indian' would also in fact denote a wider demographic group, with the 'Indian', 'blackamoor', and 'moor' linked together in emergent racialised hierarchies built upon perceived somatic and religious differences.¹¹

The pageant texts from London that survive from 1585 onwards belong to this period of direct access, with approximately one-third of them portraying exotic strangers in some capacity. It is even possible that some of the Shows might have employed actual black personages instead of Englishmen in blackface (Hill 2010, pp. 144–145). Off-stage, audiences for civic performances were also quite diverse and might similarly have included people of colour. Thus, the Shows, while utilising foreign kings and exotic animals in a highly emblematic manner, were also responding to a historical moment when new demographic groups had in fact begun to arrive in England. Although the first recorded Indians arrived at the end of the sixteenth century, as Imtiaz Habib (2008, pp. 21–23) documents, some of the earliest black migrants to England came as early as 1501 with the entourage of Katherine of Aragon. During the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the number of black personages in England, particularly in London, grew, prompted largely by English overseas exploration and trade. As Habib explains:

The single most important context for the history of black people in the Elizabethan period is the rise of merchant seafaring and what might be described as opportunistic overseas venture capital trading through the emergence of joint stock companies. As has been well studied, this is the product of the collapse of English wool and cloth export to Europe around the middle of the sixteenth century. An accelerated adventurous sea trading, north to Russia, west to the Spanish colonies in Western Atlantic, east to the Levant and to south and east Asia, and south to the African coast, became one of mid and late Tudor hopes of economic recovery.

(2008, pp. 65–66)

Thus, ironically, it was the declining fortunes of the shepherd and his sheep (namely the wool trade) that made possible the arrival of a new group of strangers, including Indians. As we now know, many of these strangers were also turned into commodities and sold as slaves or exhibited as curiosities.¹² In other words, it was the rising fortunes of the trade in exotic commodities and their complex social lives that resulted in the journeys that brought these new strangers to England.

While we do not know for sure what Heywood's Indian would have looked like, but given that he was accompanied by a rhinoceros, it seems likely that nominally he was meant to be from the East Indies. Similarly to his earlier Show featuring the Indian on an elephant, the 1638 pageant also praised a member of the East India Company.¹³ The Company, of course, put up its own spectacles, the most well known of these being the public baptism of 'Petrus Papa' or Peter Pope, an Indian youth from 'the bay of Bengala' in 1616 (Bach 2000, pp. 140–143; Habib 2008, pp. 241–242). This rare display of Protestant conversion might have been planned to alleviate criticism that the Company faced for bringing in non-Christian migrants. As Company records show, these allegations were partly true, with several East Indians entering its payrolls and marrying English women during their stay in England (ibid., pp. 243–245). Significantly, Pope was described by his English benefactors as 'first fruits', a language that was remarkably similar to the way in which the Lord Mayor's Shows portrayed Moorish and Indian monarchs. In *The Triumphs of Truth* for instance, the King of the Moors describes his arrival as well as his conversion as the combined effects of *first* interactions with English merchants:

My Queene and People all, at one time wun,
By the Religious Conuersation
Of English Merchants, Factors, Trauailers,
Whofe Truth did with our Spirits hold Commerfe
(Middleton 1613, sig. Cr)

This first encounter is, of course, understood in religious terms. The commerce that is emphasised is a spiritual one, the exchange of non-Christian error for Christian truth; any material gain is secondary. The wonder and amazement at London and its civic body that Middleton's Moor feels thus do not derive from material splendour (which might seem hard to justify to a Moorish king) but from a perceived moral superiority of English merchants.

While Heywood's Indian continues this tradition of presenting exotic persons to praise the new Lord Mayor and his Company, he also differs from his predecessors in fundamental ways. The Indian in *Porta Pietatis* unlike the King of the Moors in Middleton's *The Triumphs of Truth* or the Black Queen

in *The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue* does not bring up the premise of Christian conversion. Neither does he praise London and its hinterland like the Moor on the Luzarne in *The Device of the Pageant borne before Woolfstone Dixi* (1585). Instead, the unnamed Indian valorises trade for the sake of trade:

The dignity of Merchants who can tell?
Or how much they all Traders ante-cell?

His Ship like to the feather'd Fowle he wings,
And from all Coasts hee rich materialls brings,
For ornament or profit; those by which
Inferiour Arts subsist, and become rich;
By Land he makes discovery of all Nations,
Their Manners, and their Countries scituations
(Heywood 1638, Sig. B3r)

His speech repeats the familiar trope of 'discovery', thereby claiming for the English merchants a 'privileged epistemological position' over the 'new' lands and people encountered on voyages (Singh 1996, p. 2). However, this discovery or first contact does not yield any converted souls, only profit. Similarly to Heywood's other Shows, 'there is nothing here about good deeds – in this instance trade is paramount' (Hill 2010, p. 91). Moreover, unlike Middleton's *King of the Moors* or the *Black Queen*, Heywood's speaker does not belong to the Asian monarchy. Instead, he seems closer to the ordinary Indians with whom the East India Company factors would have traded, or the sailors who would have helped to man the ships on their return voyages. What Heywood's Indian praises, furthermore, is the ceaseless quest for new commodities. The Indian singles out the ships, such as those that might belong to the East India Company, which sailed from coast to coast in search of 'rich materials' for 'ornament or profit'. As we have seen, during this period the East India Company had indeed expanded its inventory beyond the traditional spices, and the Indian boldly claims: 'That there's no rarity from thence can rise / But he [the merchant] makes frequent with us' (Heywood 1638, sig. B3r). More importantly, in a challenge to the shepherd's assertion that commonwealth depends upon wool, the Indian proposes that it is now these rarities that make it possible for nations to 'become rich'.

Trade, transformation, and civic space

What Heywood's Indian in *Porta Pietatis* champions is thus a new global commercial system, one that in turn transforms the Show's portrayal of

London's civic space. As we have seen, in stark contrast to other strangers in seventeenth-century Lord Mayor's Shows the Indian does not bring up the question of conversion in his speech. Instead, what he espouses is a commercial ethic – a fantasy of endless material exchange. Similarly, the Show's rhinoceros owes its presence not to religious symbolism or its association with traditional London companies but to its stature as a highly prized curiosity in European markets. Such a depiction of strangers and luxury imports would have struck a chord with pamphleteers who criticised the East India Company's well-known stance on trade and religion. Robert Kayll, for instance, in *The Trades Increase* (1615, p. 20), mourned that 'whereas they [the ships] were carried forth with Christians, they are brought home with Heathen'. It was the arrival of this labouring class from the East Indies that drew the ire of some critics of the East Indies trade. As mentioned previously, Heywood's Indian does not belong to an imagined Asian aristocracy; he, like his predecessor in *Londini Artium*, tends to an exotic animal (although unlike his elephant-riding counterpart he is more explicit in his praise for the East Indies trade). Like the speechless Indians in Middleton's *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* who tend to spice plants, Heywood's Indian thus seems closer to the working-class sailors (lascars) of the East India Company who played a vital role in the movement of global commodities. By not staging religious conversion, *Porta Pietatis* aligns its Indian with this demographic. There is, however, something remarkable in allowing a non-Christian stranger to speak as part of the festivities that celebrated London's civic organisation and its metropolitan identity. Unlike most previous Shows, *Porta Pietatis* thus comes closest to embracing a type of urban cosmopolitanism. As recent scholars have pointed out, 'cosmopolitan hospitality' especially in urban contexts is not only a question of 'the right to the city', but also 'the right to difference' (Sandercock 2006, p. 48).¹⁴ It is this difference that Heywood's Show seems to uphold, permitting the imagined Indian to remain a non-Christian. Heywood's cosmopolitanism is, of course, mediated by concerns of trade; however, it allows for the creation of a new type of globalised civic space that accommodates both citizen and stranger – the shepherd and the Indian.

Porta Pietatis ultimately attempts to present this moment of contact in a highly idealised manner. This is evident not only in the way that the non-Christianised Indian is showcased as a central speaking character, but also in the way that the pageants and the social lives of the animals are arranged. Although the sheep and the rhinoceros might be opposed to one another, their specific commercial trajectories are alluded to in the individual speeches, which give to each its own market value. Heywood's Show thus comes across as a paradox: if there is a face-off between domestic and

foreign animals and commodities, then it simultaneously attempts to provide a space for both within the civic community. As we have seen in the case of the Indian in the Show, so too are both the sheep and the rhinoceros accorded equal weightage, and allowed ‘the right to difference’. Ironically, such harmony could not be sustained within the new globalised economy. What prompts this fantastical depiction of mercantile and civic collaboration is, of course, the Show’s dual commitment to upholding the glories of the Drapers as well as the new East India Company. As Hill (2010, p. 290) comments, ‘Heywood’s Shows can therefore be seen – willingly or unwillingly – to represent the decline of the livery companies and the new hegemony of the merchants’. It is this need to reconcile these two competing business models that in fact generates the Show’s idealised cosmopolitan space, one that tries to find equal representation for both the local and the global, and attempts to reconcile the tensions brought about by the arrival of both new commodities and peoples.

Notes

- 1 For a detailed discussion on the rise of the trading companies and their impact on London and its civic pageantry see Bach (2000, p. 141), Barbour (2003, p. 89), and Hill (2010, pp. 288–294). Abbot was one of the founding members of the East India Company. He became a member of the board of directors in 1607 and governor of the East India Company in 1624.
- 2 See, for instance, Chapter 1 in this volume by Hill.
- 3 For instance, Richard Rowland (2010, p. 342) states that in *Porta Pietatis* ‘it is with Abbot’s religious identity that Heywood is primarily concerned’. See also Bergeron (1986, p. 166).
- 4 From the Middle Ages at least English merchants had been trading in Asian commodities, particularly spices which were prized for their preservative and medical properties. The old Gilda de Pipariorum (Pepperers) bought and sold spices as did the later Grocers’ Company. For more on the history of the spice trade in England and the origins of the Grocers’ Company see Ditchfield (1926, p. 81), Heath (1854, p. 39), and Unwin (1964, p. 48).
- 5 For a detailed study of mercantilist debates and criticisms against the export of bullion by the trading companies see Harris (2004).
- 6 The Cockayne project was aimed at improving England’s cloth industry and did the reverse. England exported primarily unfinished cloth to the Low Countries where it was dyed. Cockayne’s plan was to prohibit the trade in this unfinished cloth and to establish a dyeing industry in England, and thereby increase the value of English cloth by weeding out the middleman. In 1614 James I, overriding the strenuous objections of the Merchant Adventurers, went ahead with the project, going so far as to transfer its privileges to a new company. The results were disastrous with the Netherlands boycotting English cloth.
- 7 See Hentschell (2008, p. 22) for more including Leonard Mascall’s popular husbandry manual *The First Book of Cattell* (1587) and its celebration of sheep.

- 8 Medieval hymns do make a few very rare references to the rhinoceros but their use was not consistent. In one instance the rhinoceros was in fact seen to be in the same league as the dragon and thus represented the opposite of goodness. Heywood's *Porta Pietatis* obviously was not drawing on this tradition. For more on the depictions of the rhinoceros in classical and more rarely in early Christian texts see Lach (1970, pp. 158–161).
- 9 In 1579 a second rhinoceros arrived in Lisbon and was later moved to Madrid by King Phillip II of Spain. In 1586 the Flemish artisan Philip Galle made an engraving of the animal although in no way did it match the popularity of Dürer's. For more see Rookmaaker (1998, pp. 80–82).
- 10 Dürer includes two horns, the second located near its shoulder-blade in what was presumably a mistaken attempt at depicting the animal's natural 'armour'. For more see Kalof (2007, p. 72).
- 11 For more on early modern racialised rhetoric in source texts, including the conflations of Indians and moors, see Loomba and Burton (2007, pp. 3–10; 55, 119). This indeterminacy is evident not only in the surviving pageant texts, but also in eye-witness accounts. Orazio Busino, chaplain to the Venetian ambassador Pietro Contarini, watching Thomas Middleton's *The Triumphs of Honour and Industry* (1617), described what was meant to be an eastern spice island as being populated by dancers wearing plumes and bird feathers that were more reminiscent of Native Americans (Busino [1617] 2007, p. 1266).
- 12 Perhaps the most well-known reference to these displays of humans as curiosities is in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* where Trinculo mentions seeing such shows in England (II.ii.18–39).
- 13 Although intended for Nicholas Rainton who was the Lord Mayor that year, *Londini Artium* includes an epistle to the two sheriffs Hugh Perry and Henry Andrews. Both Perry and Andrews were directors of the East India Company. See Brenner (2003, p. 90n). In his speech the Indian on the elephant valorises his animal as an emblem of fortitude and justice and unlike the Indian in *Porta Pietatis* does not openly celebrate the trade in curiosities.
- 14 Immanuel Kant remains one of the most important formulators of 'cosmopolitan hospitality'. While in recent scholarship early modern cosmopolitanism has been explored, especially as it relates to elite circles (see Subrahmanyam 1997) what I am interested in with regard to the Shows is the 'ethics towards strangers' in a specifically urban space, a concept now described as 'cosmopolitan urbanism'. For more see Kurt Iveson (2006, p. 73).

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