

**FOLDING SCREENS, CARTOGRAPHY, AND THE JESUIT MISSION IN  
JAPAN, 1580-1614**

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## Table of Contents

<b>List of Illustrations</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Declaration</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Copyright Statement</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>16</b>
A Brief Note on the Historical Context	28
<b>1. Things Worth Describing</b>	<b>34</b>
Composite objects and fluid interiors	34
Valignano, cultural adaptation and Japanese etiquette	42
Folding screens as diplomatic gifts	48
The fortress of Azuchi, the Azuchi screens and the <i>rakuchū rakugai-zu</i> theme	52
Nobunaga and the Missionaries	57
The Donation of the Azuchi Screens to Valignano	60
Conclusion to Chapter One	64
<b>2. Ambassadors in effect</b>	<b>66</b>
The organization of the Tenshō embassy	66
Folding screens in the instructions of Valignano to Nuno Rodrigues S.J.	73
The passage of the Tenshō embassy in Portugal and Spain	76
The passage of the Tenshō embassy in Italy	84
The return of the Tenshō envoys to Japan and the embassy to Toyotomi Hideyoshi	98
Conclusion to Chapter Two	102
<b>3. The Visual Arts on the Jesuit Mission in Japan and <i>Namban</i> Screens</b>	<b>106</b>
The visual arts and the Jesuit mission in Japan (1549-1590)	106
Giovanni Niccolò, a Jesuit painter in Japan	115

The Jesuit Seminary of Painters: Paintings, Prints, and Books (1590-1614)	118
<i>Namban</i> Screens	126
Conclusion to Chapter Three	130
<b>4. The <i>Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities</i> and the <i>Battle of Lepanto and World Map</i> screens: a religious interpretation</b>	<b>133</b>
The World Maps on Our Japanese Screens and Their European Cartographic Sources	136
Decorative Insets I: Contextualising the Terrestrial World	140
Decorative Insets II: Setting the Terrestrial World in the Heavens	143
Decorative Insets III: On the Earth's Globe East Meets West	146
Decorative borders: contextualising the world's peoples, cities and rulers	148
Battles Old and New: the Universal Significance of Christian Victories Over Pagan Foes	157
Conclusion to Chapter Four	162
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>164</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>167</b>
Primary Sources	167
Secondary Sources	171
<b>Appendix A</b>	<b>197</b>
<b>Appendix B</b>	<b>199</b>
<b>Glossary</b>	<b>206</b>
<b>Illustrations</b>	<b>208</b>

Word count: 65,094

# List of Illustrations

Figure 1 - Portrait of Alessandro Valignano, engraving, ca. 1600. Source: Wikimedia Commons.	208
Figure 2 – Jōdan section of the ohiroma hall in Hommaru Compound of Edo castle, according to the reconstruction of 1860. Source: from HIRAI 1973. ....	209
Figure 3 – Unknown artist, Great Audience Hall, Nijō Castle, Kyōto, 1626. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	209
Figure 4 – Reconstruction of the <i>tenshu</i> of Azuchi Castle by NAITŌ 1976. Source: MURASE 2004. ....	210
Figure 5 – Kanō Eitoku, <i>Landscape with Flowers and Birds</i> , 1566, Daitoku-ji temple, Kyōto. Source: ARTstor Collection.....	210
Figure 6 – Kano school, <i>Birds and Flowers of the Four Seasons</i> , pair of six-fold screens, colour on gold leafed paper, each screen (106.7 x 349.9 cm), Momoyama period (1573-1615), early 17 <sup>th</sup> century. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	211
Figure 7 – Unknown artist, detail from a pair of six-fold <i>namban</i> screens, colour and gold on paper, 147.6 x 355.8 cm each, early 17 <sup>th</sup> century, private collection. Source: SAKAMOTO 2008: no. 20. ....	212
Figure 8 - <i>Salvator Mundi</i> , detail of figure 10. ....	212
Figure 9 – <i>Salvator Mundi</i> , detail of figure 10. ....	213
Figure 10 – Kanō Naizen, pair of six-fold <i>namban</i> screens, colour on gold-leaf paper, 155.5 x 364.5 cm each, Kober City Museum, after 1593 and before 1614. Source: SAKAMOTO 2008: no. 3.....	214
Figure 11 – Furuyama Moromasa, <i>Shin Yoshiwara</i> , woodprint, 1740's. Source: ARTstor Collection. ....	215
Figure 12 – Kanō Eitoku, <i>Rakuchu Rakugai zu</i> , Useugi version, pair of six-fold screens, ink, colour, and gold-leaf on paper, 160.5 x 364.5cm (each), ca. 1565. Yonezawa, Yonezawa City Useugi Museum. Source: Wikimedia Commons.....	216



Figure 13 – Unknown artist, <i>Nagashino Kassenzu Byōbu</i> (screen showing the Battle of Nagashino), ink and colour on paper, 1575. Nagoya, Tokugawa Art Museum. Source: Wikimedia Commons.	217
Figure 14 – Detail of fig. 13. ....	217
Figure 15 – The first Japanese embassy to Europe, woodblock print by Michael Manger, Augsburg, 1586. Top, from left to right: Julião Nakaura, Father Mesquita, Mancio Ito. Bottom, from left to right: Martinão Hara, Miguel Chijiwa. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	218
Figure 16 – Unknown artist(s), <i>Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities</i> , pair of eight-fold screens, colour and gold-leaf on paper, 179 x 490 cm (each), left-hand screen at the top, right-hand screen at the bottom. Imperial Household Collection, Tokyo. Source: ODA 1975. ....	219
Figure 17 – Detail of fig. 16. ....	220
Figure 18 – Detail of fig. 16. ....	221
Figure 19 – Detail of fig. 16, decorative inset with North Pole. ....	221
Figure 20 – Detail of fig. 16, decorative inset with South Pole. ....	222
Figure 21 – Detail of fig. 16, circular inset showing the earth's sphere with zodiac belt. ....	222
Figure 22 – Detail of fig. 16, equestrian portraits of Philip II of Spain and Henry IV of France. ....	223
Figure 23 – Detail of fig. 16, equestrian portraits of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II and the Ottoman Sultan (possibly Selim II). ....	223
Figure 24 – Detail of fig. 16, equestrian portraits of the Grand Duke of Muscovy and Kings of the Tartars. ....	224
Figure 25 – Detail of fig. 16, equestrian portrait of the King of the Abyssinians and the King of Persia. ....	224
Figure 26 – Detail of fig. 16, decorative border with African and American couples. ....	225
Figure 27 – Detail of fig. 16, decorative border with Asian and European couples. ....	226
Figure 28 – <i>Portugalliae</i> , map of Portugal by Fernando Álvaro Seco (1560) included in Abraham Ortelius's <i>Theatrum Orbis Terrarum</i> , Antwerp, 1570. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	227
Figure 29 – Detail of fig. 16, map of Portugal after fig. 28. ....	228
Figure 30 – Detail of fig. 16. ....	229

Figure 31 – Detail of fig. 16. ....	229
Figure 32 – Detail of fig. 16, circular insets describing a solar eclipse (top) and the division of the hours of the day and night over the earth’s East and West hemispheres (bottom). ....	230
Figure 33 – Detail of fig. 16, circular inset describing the orbit of the moon around the earth. ...	231
Figure 34 – Detail of fig. 16, circular inset describing a lunar eclipse. ....	232
Figure 35 – Willem Janszoon Blaeu, <i>Nova Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica ac Hÿdrogr. Tabula, Ex optimis in hoc opere auctorib<sup>s</sup> desumpta auct. Gul. Ianssonio</i> , 84 x 111 cm (map alone), 143 x 204 cm (including decorative borders). Amsterdam, 1606-7. Photograph of the lost complete map. Source: SCHILDER 1981. ....	233
Figure 36 - Willem Janszoon Blaeu, <i>Nova Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica ac Hÿdrogr. Tabula, Ex optimis in hoc opere auctorib<sup>s</sup> desumpta auct. Gul. Ianssonio</i> , copy of the wallmap in four sheets without decorative borders kept at the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Bern. Source: SCHILDER 1981. ....	234
Figure 37 – Pieter van den Keere, <i>Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica Ac Hydrographica Tabula, Ex Optimis in Hoc Opera Auctorib<sup>s</sup> Desumpta. Auctore Petro Kaerio</i> , 83 x 108 cm. Amsterdam, 1609. Source: SHIRLEY 1988: plate 209. ....	235
Figure 38 – Pieter van den Keere, detail of fig. 37, <i>Distantiae locorum mensurande modus</i> . Source: SCHILDER 2007: fig. 26.7. ....	236
Figure 39 – Pieter van den Keere, detail of fig. 37. ....	237
Figure 40 – Willem Janszoon Blaeu, detail of fig. 36. ....	238
Figure 41 – Gerard Mercator, <i>Nova Et Aucta Orbis Terrae Descriptio Ad Usum Navigantium emendate accomodata</i> , 134 x 212 cm. Duisburg, 1569. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	239
Figure 42 – Matteo Ricci, <i>Kun yu wan guo quan tu</i> (A Map of the Myriad Countries of the World), 1602. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	240
Figure 43 – Luis Jorge de Barbuda, <i>Chinae, Olim Simnarum Regionis, Nova Descriptio, Auctore Ludovico Georgio</i> , in A. Ortelius's <i>Theatrum Orbis Terrarum</i> , 1584. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	241

Figure 44 – F. Vaz Dourado, <i>Asia Or.</i> , color on parchment, 385 x 277mm, ca. 1576, BNP Cota II.-171. ....	242
Figure 45 – Benedetto Bordone, “Ciampagu”. Source: BORDONE 1528.....	243
Figure 46 – South-orientated map of Japan in the Ninna temple, Kyoto (MS 1305/06). 34.5 x 121.5 cm. The part showing western Japan is damaged. Source: UNNO 1994b: fig. 3.....	243
Figure 47 – Unknown Japanese artist, <i>European King and Members of His Court</i> , six-panel folding screen, ink, color, and gold on paper, 170.2 x 391.2 cm, 1601-1614. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Fenollosa-Weld Collection. Source: ARTstor Collection. ....	244
Figure 48 – Interiors of the Royal Library at the Escorial. Source: ARTstor Collection.....	245
Figure 49 – El Greco, <i>Adoration of the Name of Jesus (The Dream of Philip II)</i> , oil on canvas, 140 x 110 cm, c. 1577-1579. Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Madrid. Source: ARTstor Collection. ....	246
Figure 50 – Detail of fig. 49. ....	247
Figure 51 – Sala delle Carte Geografiche (or Guardaroba Nouvo), Dionigi di Matteo Nigetti (cupboards), Egnazio Danti and Stefano Bonsignori (paintings), Palazzo Vecchio, Firenze, 1564-1586. Source: Wikimedia commons. ....	248
Figure 52 – Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese, Sala delle Carte Geografiche, 1573-1575, Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola. Source: Wikimedia Commons.....	248
Figure 53 – Egnazio Danti, Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, 1580-1585, Città del Vaticano. Source: ARTstor Collection.....	249
Figure 54 – Unknown, Gyōki-type map of Japan, ASF Misc. Med., 97, ins. 91, ink on paper, ca. 1585. ....	250
Figure 55 – Luís Teixeira S.J., <i>Iaponiae Insulae Descriptio</i> , in A. Ortelius’s <i>Theatrum Orbis Terrarum</i> , 1585. Source: Wikimedia Commons.....	251
Figure 56 – Unknown Japanese artist, <i>Nansembushū Dainihon Shōtō-zu</i> (Authorized Map of Great Japan and the World), hanging scroll, ink on paper, 169.8 x 85.5 cm, 1558. Source: CORTAZZI 1983. ....	252

Figure 57 – Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese, Sala delle Carte Geografiche, world map and personifications of the four continents, clockwise from upper right: Europe, Africa, Asia, and America. Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	253
Figure 58 – Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese, Sala delle Carte Geografiche, map of Italy. Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola. Source: PARTRIDGE 1995: 439.....	254
Figure 59 – Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese, Sala delle Carte Geografiche, map of Palestine. Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola. Source: PARTRIDGE 1995: 438.....	255
Figure 60 – Book cover of Daniello Bartoli's <i>Historia della Compagnia di Gesù</i> , 1559. Source: Wikimedia Commons.....	256
Figure 61 – View of the interiors of the Sala Regia, Vatican. Source: ARTstor Collection.....	256
Figure 62 – Giorgio Vasari, <i>The Battle of Lepanto</i> , fresco, 1572-1573, Sala Regia, Vatican. Source: Wikimedia Commons.....	257
Figure 63 – Unknown Japanese artist(s), <i>Battle of Lepanto and World Map</i> , pair of six-fold screens, ink, colour and gold-leaf on paper, 153.5 x 379.0 cm (each), ca. 1610-1614, Kobe, Kosetsu Museum of Art. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	258
Figure 64 – Paolo Veronese, <i>Votive Portrait of Doge Sebastiano Venier</i> , oil on canvas, 285 x 565 cm, 1580-1582, Palazzo Ducale, Venezia. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	259
Figure 65 – Giovanni Niccolò, <i>Madonna and Child</i> , oil on wood panel, 1583-1614. Source: BAILEY 2002: fig. 8. ....	259
Figure 66 – Iacobus Sacam, <i>Salvator Mundi</i> , oil on copper, 23.1 x 17 cm, 1597. General Library, University of Tokyo Library System, A100: 1649. Source: BAILEY 2005: 319. ....	260
Figure 67 – <i>Salvator Mundi</i> . Engraving, 1586, 24.4x 18.2 cm. Engraved by Hieronymus Wierix. Signed at margins at left: <i>M. de Vos inuen. / Hieroni: Wierix / fecit</i> . Address at right: <i>H. Liefrinck / excudit</i> . Source: SCHUCKMAN and DE HOOP SCHEFFER 1996: plate 696. ....	260
Figure 68 – <i>Christ Blessing</i> . Engraving 1578, 33.7 x 22.1 cm. Between the bases of the two columns, left: <i>Mertin de Vos inuen.</i> ; centre: <i>cu[m] preuil</i> ; right: <i>Petrus Baltens excude</i> . Bottom centre: <i>Johannes Ditmer fecit</i> . Source: SCHUCKMAN and DE HOOP SCHEFFER 1996: plate 845. .	261

Figure 69 – Frontispiece of the <i>Doctrina Christan</i> (' <i>Christian Doctrine</i> '), probably by Giovanni Niccolò, Amakusa, 1592. Source: OKAMOTO 1972: fig. 29. ....	262
Figure 70 – Detail of fig. 71. ....	263
Figure 71 – Unknown Japanese painter, detail of <i>The Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary</i> , colours on paper, 75 x 63 cm, early 17 <sup>th</sup> century. National Historical Study Center, Kyoto. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	264
Figure 72 – Giovanni Niccolò's signature, Goa, April 1582. Source: VLAM 1976: 400. ....	265
Figure 73 - Cover page and opening pages of <i>Salvator Mundi</i> , Nagasaki 1598.....	265
Figure 74 – Detail of a Jesuit residence with a depiction of Ptolemaic planetary system on the residence's outside wall. Pair of six-fold screens, colour and gold-leaf on paper, 163.2 x 361.2 cm (each), end of the 16 <sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 17 <sup>th</sup> century. Osaka, Namban Bunkakan. Source: SAKAMOTO 2008: No. 6.....	266
Figure 75 – Unknown Japanese artist(s), pair of six-fold screens, color and gold-leaf on paper, Edo period, c. 1600. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, AK-RAK-1968-1 A/B. Source: SAKAMOTO 2008: no. 62. ....	267
Figure 76 – Unknown Japanese artist, <i>Portuguese in Japan</i> , pair of six-fold screens, colour and gold-leaf on paper, early seventeenth century. Source: Wikimedia Commons.....	268
Figure 77 – Detail of fig. 10. ....	269
Figure 78 – Unknown Japanese artist, <i>Western Kings on Horseback</i> , four-fold screen, color on paper, 166.2 x 460.4 cm. Koby City Museum. Source: Wikimedia Commons.....	269
Figure 79 – Unknown Japanese artist, <i>Western Kings Screens</i> , color on paper, one screen of a pair of six-fold screens, 123,8 x 51,4 cm each panel. Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture, Nagasaki. Source: Wikimedia Commons. ....	270
Figure 80 – Unknown Japanese artist, <i>Yojin Sogakuzu Byōbu</i> (Europeans Playing Music), ink and colours on paper, 93 x 302 cm (each), early 17 <sup>th</sup> century. Shizuoka Museum of Art. Source: HIOKI 2011: figs. 1a, 1b. ....	271

Figure 81 – Unknown Japanese artist(s), <i>Four Capitas and World Map</i> , pair of eight-fold screens, ink and colour on paper, each 159.0 x 478.0, early 17 <sup>th</sup> century. Kobe City Museum. Source: LITTLE 2008: fig. 3. ....	272
Figure 82 – Detail of fig. 63. ....	273
Figure 83 - Maarten de Vos, <i>Europa</i> , drawing dated ca. 1588. Etching by Adriaen Collaert, 21.4 x 25.9 cm. Source: SCHUCKMAN and SCHEFFER 1995/1996: plate 1396-II. ....	273
Figure 84 – Maarten de Vos, <i>America</i> , drawing dated 1589. Etching by Adriaen Collaert, 21.4 x 25.9 cm. Source: SCHUCKMAN and SCHEFFER 1995/1996: plate 1399. ....	274
Figure 85 – Maarten de Vos, <i>Asia</i> , drawing dated 1588, etching by Adriaen Collaert, 21.2 x 26 cm. Source: SCHUCKMAN and SCHEFFER 1995/1996: plate 1397-II.....	274
Figure 86 – Maarten de Vos, <i>Africa</i> , drawing dated ca. 1588, etching by Adriaen Collaert, 21.3 x 26 cm. Source: SCHUCKMAN and SCHEFFER 1995/1996: plate 1398. ....	275
Figure 87 – Detail of fig. 63. ....	275
Figure 88 –Detail of fig. 63.....	276
Figure 89 – Philip II, detail from fig. 35. ....	277
Figure 90 – Egnazio Danti, <i>Battle of Lepanto</i> , fresco decorating the walls of the south entrance of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican (see fig. 53 above). ....	278
Figure 91 – Detail of fig. 63. ....	279
Figure 92 – Detail of fig. 63. ....	280
Figure 93 – Detail of fig. 63. ....	281
Figure 94 – Cornelis Cort (after Giulio Romano), <i>The Battle of Scipio vs. Hannibal at Zama</i> , engraving, 41.7 x 54.2 cm. Source: SELLINK 2000: 196 II/IV.....	282
Figure 95 – Adriaen Collaert, <i>The Triumph of Caesar</i> , engraving, 32.7 x 22 cm, before 1612. Source: The British Museum Collection Online. ....	283
Figure 96 – Adriaen Collaert, <i>The Twelve Emperors, Nero</i> , engraving, 32.1 x 21.7 cm, ca. 1587-1589. Source: The British Museum Collection Online. ....	284

Figure 97 – Adriaen Collaert, <i>The Twelve Emperors, Otho</i> , engraving, 32.3 x 21.9 cm, ca. 1587-1589. Source: The British Museum Collection Online. ....	285
Figure 98 – Adriaen Collaert, <i>The Twelve Emperors, Domitian</i> , engraving, 32.3 x 21.8 cm, ca. 1587-1589. Source: The British Museum Collection Online. ....	286
Figure 99 – Giulio Romano (after designs by Raphael), <i>Battle of the Milvian Bridge</i> , fresco, Sala di Costantino, Vatican, 1520-1524. Source: ARTstor Collection.....	287

# Abbreviations

<b>AGI</b>	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
<b>ARSI</b>	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome
<b>ASF</b>	Archivio di Stato di Firenze
<b>BAV</b>	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano
<b>BNP</b>	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon
<b>FR</b>	<i>Fonti Ricciane</i> , see RICCI 1942-1949 in bibliography
<b>HJ</b>	<i>História de Japam</i> , see FRÓIS 1976-1984 in bibliography
<b>MX</b>	<i>Monumenta Xaveriana</i> , see FRANCESCO SAVERIO S.J. 1912 in bibliography



# Abstract

This is a study of Japanese folding screens decorated with a variety of cartographic imagery of European origin. The central argument of this work is that Japanese cartographic *namban* screens made during the period considered in this dissertation can assist us to further understand the marked Christian eschatological character of the pictorial programmes decorating these screens, reflecting European contemporary hopes about the messianic coming of a universal Christian King, and about the Christian future of Japan at the onset of Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada's ban against Christianity (1614). By taking into account the use of folding screens as diplomatic gifts, this research seeks to argue that the hybridity of *namban* cartographic screens reveals as much about the expectation of Jesuit missionaries towards the evangelization of the Japanese archipelago as they did about how Japanese artists and observers understood European cartographic knowledge within a pre-existing local ritual use of maps and cartography.

This dissertation is composed of four chapters. In chapter one I describe the material qualities of folding screens, the architectural environments in which they were displayed, and how the practice of donating folding screens as diplomatic gifts was eventually co-opted by the Jesuit missionaries operating in Japan. Chapter two is a discussion on the organization and the passage of the first Japanese diplomatic mission in Europe and the role that European cartography and geographical allegories played in this event. In chapter three I will examine the dissemination of Christian sacred images in Japan and the establishment of a Jesuit school to train Japanese artists in western-style painting. Chapter four unpacks the discussion developed in the preceding chapters and focuses on two specific pairs of *namban* cartographic screens – the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* (today at the Imperial Household Agency in Tokyo) and the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* (today at the Kosetsu Museum in Kobe) – for which I propose a new interpretation.

## Declaration

The author of this dissertation hereby states that no portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

This study has been made possible thanks to a scholarship granted by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, and by the Fundação Oriente of Lisbon, Portugal.

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# Introduction

In these past years, as expected, I have found myself in the position of explaining what I have been working on and why I was devoting so much attention to Japanese folding screens. To my surprise, many of those friends and colleagues who happened to ask me about my research were only slightly aware of what a folding screen is. To help them visualize folding screens I had to define them simply as “room dividers”. After this, the following question would usually be: “Really? Why are you spending so much time on such things?”, or, “They are sure beautiful objects, but are they so important for someone to write a PhD thesis about them?” But when I began explaining how some of these objects can be seen as valuable testimonies of early modern cultural, religious, and artistic exchanges between Europe and Japan, they could not help but realize how interesting “such things” are and begin to understand why I could spend so much time working on them. They realized that I was looking at folding screens, and particularly at Japanese cartographic screens as historical documents. Eventually someone would ask, “But what are you trying to say by studying these screens?” This is what I will explain in this introduction.

This is a dissertation on Japanese folding screens decorated with a variety of European cartographic imagery made by Japanese artists trained in the various schools of painting established in Japan by Jesuit missionaries between 1590 and 1614. In this study I will seek to argue that, contrary to general assumptions on cartographic screens produced during this period, the themes painted on these objects were not always secular ones but that in some cases they were used to convey a precise religious message of a marked Christian eschatological character, reflecting the contemporary hopes about the messianic coming of a universal Christian King, and about the Christian future of Japan at the onset of Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada’s ban against Christianity (1614). To support my argument, I look at two important pairs of screens made around 1614 by unknown Japanese artists trained in Jesuit workshops, the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens (**fig. 16**, today part of the collections of the Imperial Household

Agency in Tokyo), and the *Battle of Lepanto and Map of the World* (fig. 63, today in the Kosetsu Museum of Art in Kobe) screens. For the first time, both pairs are interpreted as testimonies to the spread in Japan of European medieval beliefs in the coming of a universal Christian monarch who would assist the evangelization and protect the Christian community of that country against the threats of religious persecutions. Folding screens were used as privileged sites for cross-cultural exchange, cultural negotiation, identity formation, and ideal diplomatic gifts. We will see how this eschatological and almost propagandistic message was first conveyed in the screens donated to the King of Spain Philip II and to Pope Gregory XIII in 1585, on the occasion of the first Japanese diplomatic mission in Europe (Tenshō embassy 1582-1590).

The two pairs of folding screens mentioned above are included in that broad category known as *namban* art. Although this term has been at times over-comprehensive and, from the 1960s onwards, often abused by art historians who extended it to objects made between the late sixteenth and part of the nineteenth century,<sup>1</sup> it essentially refers to works of art produced as a result of the encounter of Japanese and southern Europeans – mainly Portuguese and Spaniards – who arrived in Japan in the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> *Namban* art includes a variety of art objects and artistic means ranging from paintings to lacquerware, ceramics and pottery, jewellery, armoury, and furniture.<sup>3</sup> However, in this dissertation I will focus only on screen paintings. A surprising number of early modern Japanese *namban* folding screens have survived, but it should be clear that this thesis does not propose to offer a catalogue raisonné of them, and for which I refer the reader to the work of Japanese art historian Mitsuru Sakamoto.<sup>4</sup>

Folding screens were one and many things at the same time. Their ubiquitous presence in Japanese traditional architecture made these objects more than complementary to the social practices that took place around them; for this reason I will begin by describing the physical and

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<sup>1</sup> LITTLE 2008.

<sup>2</sup> OKAMOTO 1972: 9.

<sup>3</sup> OKAMOTO 1972; BAILEY 2005; CURVELO 2007, 2010; LISSENDEN 2002; LITTLE 2008; MUSÉE CERNUSCHI 1980; NISHIMURA 1958; SAKAMOTO 2008; LOH 2013; TAKAHASHI 1988; TAKAMIZAWA 1981; WELSH & VINHAIS 2003, 2008; YAMAFUNE 2012; VLAM 1976, 1977, 1981; SHIRAHARA 2007; DOI 1977; JOHNSON 2005; McCALL 1947; LIPPIT 2007; IMPEY and JÖRG 2005.

<sup>4</sup> SAKAMOTO 2008.

material qualities of sixteenth-century Japanese screens, without forgetting to illustrate the kind of architectural spaces in which they used to be displayed. In fact, differently from what museum visitors of today are allowed to imagine when looking at these objects locked behind cold showcases, folding screens were architectural objects, conversation pieces, and social practices embodied. Most importantly for the topics discussed in this dissertation, folding screens were used as diplomatic gifts. The Jesuit missionaries active in the Japanese archipelago in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries co-opted this use of screens to their own advantage in important diplomatic occasions. As I mentioned above, cartographic screens were in fact chosen as diplomatic gifts to be presented to the King of Spain and to the Pope on the occasion of the first Japanese diplomatic mission in Europe (the so-called Tenshō mission, 1582-1590), and later commissioned other cartographic screens from Japanese artists trained in their workshops to be given as gift to high ranking Japanese lords (as in the case of the two screens discussed in chapter four below).

Several researchers have worked on cartographic *namban* screens and *namban* screens in general, and I am greatly indebted to their studies. As a matter of fact this interesting topic of research has been on the rise in the past fifteen years, with several MA and doctoral researches unveiling an increasing number of aspects on these objects relegated for a long time to the dimension of decorative arts. I could but not take into account these studies, particularly the early research of Grace Vlam in the late 1970s,<sup>5</sup> and the more recent investigations by Alexandra Curvelo,<sup>6</sup> Joseph Loh,<sup>7</sup> Kotaro Yamafune,<sup>8</sup> Tomoko Goto,<sup>9</sup> and Olivia Meehan.<sup>10</sup> These studies have been mostly concerned with two seams of art historical investigation: on the one hand, the study of cross-cultural relations between early modern Japan and Europe (as filtered through the cultural eyes and the political interests of contemporary Spain and Portugal), and, on the other

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<sup>5</sup> VLAM 1976.

<sup>6</sup> CURVELO 2007, 2008, 2010.

<sup>7</sup> LOH 2013.

<sup>8</sup> YAMAFUNE 2012.

<sup>9</sup> GOTO 2000.

<sup>10</sup> MEEHAN 2011.

hand, the study and identification of the European visual sources used in the decoration of Japanese screens. I think it is important to summarize the conclusions emerging from these investigations and the underlying differences with my research.

Grace Vlam's research of 1976 was among the first attempts to consider *namban* screens as works of art in their own right, to be considered separately from the vast production of *namban* decorative arts.<sup>11</sup> In her dissertation Vlam focuses on the identification and interpretation of the European source motifs used in the making of cartographic *namban* screens and she groups the hitherto extant western-style paintings into the following six subjects: Europeans in Landscape; Kings and Heroes; Equestrians; The Battle of Lepanto; World and City Maps; Portraits. In the discussion dedicated to the subject of the "Battle of Lepanto" and the "World and City Maps" screens she examines the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* and the *Battle of Lepanto and World Maps* screens which I too discuss in chapter four of this dissertation. In her analysis, she acknowledges that these works might have served to convey a message combining theological meaning and scientific knowledge. Having said that, she limits her investigation to detect and classify the visual models used in the making of these screens. She does not make any attempt to further explore, for instance, the possibility that these map screens might have been used to convey a deeper and esoteric message already present in these European sources to their Japanese beholders. As a matter of fact, the European cartographic sources copied on the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* and the *Battle of Lepanto and World Maps* screens (Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, and Willem Janszoon Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum*) were more than a physical description of the hitherto known world, but served as objects of contemplation to disengage from everyday experiences and rise above the ephemeral miseries and fortunes of this world. In the same way, I will argue, the idea of the map as emblem was duly translated into *namban* cartographic screens. In addition to that, concerning the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens I will enrich Vlam's

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<sup>11</sup> In this she followed the footsteps of GRILLI 1970, but giving more evidence to *namban* screens.

iconographic investigation with one additional source motif, the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, which Vlam did not consider in her discussion.

Alexandra Curvelo has also devoted much attention to the *namban* phenomenon. In her 2007 doctoral dissertation Curvelo discusses *namban* artworks as a “specific case-study in the universe of Portuguese colonial art”.<sup>12</sup> She considers *namban* art, the various artistic influences coming together to create this peculiar hybrid style, and its circulation between Japan, China, and the central American viceroyalty of New Spain via the trading route connecting Nagasaki to Macao and Mexico City via Manila. Curvelo focuses on the relation between the institution and the civic consortia defining Portuguese settlements and cities overseas and the emergence of *namban* style. I think her view of this artistic form is slightly too Luso-centric, framing *namban* art (and folding screens) in the context of consolidation of a strictly Luso-Iberian global cultural and economic system. Nevertheless we owe to Curvelo the unveiling of a number of previously unpublished Jesuit archival sources which I often referred to in the present study.

Joseph Loh’s study on Japanese *namban* world map screens challenges the fact that “in grouping *namban* world map screens together, scholars may have fostered a distorted understanding by highlighting the assimilation of Western cartographic techniques and concepts into Japanese map and mapmaking history and by emphasizing forma and technical achievements in certain works”.<sup>13</sup> In his dissertation Loh once more points to the fact that there “has been little scholarly interest in the socio-political or ideological ramifications of the adapted imagery, especially with regard to how these works of art required sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japanese viewers to reconsider their place in a new geographical reality”.<sup>14</sup> This is accurate; however, he does not mention Curvelo’s doctoral dissertation where these problems are discussed at length. Loh also dedicates a short section of his work to the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens and to the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map Screens* of which I give a new interpretation here. I agree with him on the fact that these two screens were made for the purpose of serving as diplomatic

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<sup>12</sup> CURVELO 2007: 498 (translation from Portuguese mine).

<sup>13</sup> LOH 2013: 3.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.



gifts to high ranking Japanese lords by the Jesuit missionaries. Nevertheless, Loh focuses on the unintelligibility of the pictorial program on these two pairs of screens on the part of the Japanese recipients.<sup>15</sup> According to him in the case of *namban* map screens, and particularly the two in the Imperial Household Agency and Kosetsu Museum collections, “the images of the world map and their accompanying pictorial programs were severed from Jesuit or European discourses, if they were ever intended to be placed within them at all”.<sup>16</sup> In my dissertation I will demonstrate how, contrary to Loh’s assumption, Jesuit missionaries were well aware of which discourses could be effectively translated into the Japanese context by means of cartographic screens and the extent to which these Japanese receivers could make sense of them.

Another research taking into account the two pairs of screens kept in the Imperial Household Agency (**fig. 16**) and Kosetsu Museum (**fig. 63**) collections is Tomoko Goto’s MA dissertation.<sup>17</sup> Goto’s investigation mostly focuses on the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens (**fig. 16**) which, according to him, were meant to perform a two-fold function: on the one hand, they marked the propagation of Christianity in Japan, and, on the other hand, fostered the emergence of a Japanese sense of collective self of Japanese as Asians in relation to the Europeans. In this respect, cartographic *namban* screens are seen as expressions of European cultural hegemony in Japan; I will reject this position, as this particular screen was used as an atlas of the world, where Japanese were represented in close relation to the other “civilized” people of Europe and China.

Another MA research conducted on *namban* screens is the one by Kotaro Yamafune,<sup>18</sup> who focuses on the *namban* screens types depicting the arrival of the Portuguese in Japan on the iconic *kurofune*, the ‘Black Ship’ arriving annually from Macao to Nagasaki and other ports in Kyūshū (**fig. 10, 75, 76**).<sup>19</sup> Yamafune suggests that the artists commissioned to paint the earliest *namban* screens depicting the ‘arrival of the Portuguese’ might have used some prints brought to Japan in 1590 upon the return to the archipelago of the first Japanese mission to Europe, the

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<sup>15</sup> LOH 2013: 123-124.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.: 124.

<sup>17</sup> GOTO 2000.

<sup>18</sup> YAMAFUNE 2012.

<sup>19</sup> See more in the note describing the historical context below in this introduction.

so-called Tenshō embassy (1582-1590), which I will discuss in detail in chapter 2 of this dissertation. However, Yamafune does not provide any indication or substantial information to identify the sources used for the representation of the *kurofune*.

Finally, a very good and revealing investigation on the visual sources used to represent the Portuguese ships depicted on *namban* screens is that of Olivia Meehan.<sup>20</sup> In her dissertation and in a following article summarizing her argument, she challenges the “much circulated notion that Japanese painters of the *namban byōbu* showing the ‘Arrival of the Portuguese’ witnessed these events and painted or sketched these scenes from life”.<sup>21</sup> Instead, these painters found their source materials from various European prints and the engravings available to them thanks to the presence of the Jesuits and the establishment of a school of western-style painting run by the missionaries. Moreover, while interrogating the role of ‘copying’ [*usutsu*] in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Japanese painting “and the impact of first encounters with European source material”,<sup>22</sup> Meehan presents several engravings as models that might have been used as “pro-forma or type for the many screens produced in the early seventeenth century”.<sup>23</sup> In this dissertation I will show how this was also the case for European maps and atlases used as source motifs in the making of *namban* world map screens.

This dissertation is composed of four chapters, and it is structured as follows. In the first chapter I will discuss the material qualities of folding screens and the etiquette related to their uses and display. I think it is important to begin by describing the material qualities of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Japanese folding screens and instruct the reader on how screens were made and how their structural features were interrelated to traditional Japanese architecture. Particularly, I will discuss about the architectural style in fashion among Japanese elites of this period, the *shoin-zukuri*, which was later adopted by Jesuit missionaries for their residences. The activities performed in these architectural spaces called for a rigid etiquette, which was duly

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<sup>20</sup> MEEHAN 2011, 2014

<sup>21</sup> MEEHAN 2014:2.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

reflected in the ways folding screens used to be displayed. Japanese etiquette was deemed so important for the fruitful development of the Jesuit mission in Japan that it was eventually adopted by the missionaries themselves. In this first chapter I will introduce the mind behind the so-called 'method of adaptation', the Abruzzese Jesuit Alessandro Valignano, who favoured the use of Japanese etiquette among the missionaries in Japan so to win the respect and support of local elites.<sup>24</sup> In this effort to integrate into Japanese culture and adopt its custom, the missionaries co-opted the practice of exchanging folding screens as diplomatic gifts. I will discuss this aspect and I will relate it to one seminal event in the history of the Jesuit mission in Japan and early modern Euro-Japanese relations at large, the donation of the Azuchi screens by the hitherto de facto ruler of Japan, Oda Nobunaga, to Alessandro Valignano. This event was the spark that lit the idea of organizing a diplomatic mission to Europe, the above mentioned Tenshō embassy, aimed at gaining financial and further political support by the King of Spain Philip II and Pope Gregory XIII.

Chapter two is a discussion on the passage of Tenshō emissaries in Portugal, Spain, and Italy. I will focus particularly on the attention given to cartography, mural map cycles, and paintings and frescoes depicting the Battle of Lepanto and the Battle of Milvian Bridge. The impressions of this travel to Europe were later summarized in a book published in Macao in 1590 under the supervision of Alessandro Valignano.<sup>25</sup> We will see how Valignano played with medieval and sixteenth-century messianic beliefs in the coming of a universal Christian monarch which many of his contemporaries identified with the Kind of Spain Philip II. Such hopes, as I will discuss below in a brief section meant to explain the historical context within which the events considered in this dissertation took place, were made even more concrete by the ascension to the throne of Portugal of Philip II following the end of the Portuguese lineage of the Avis with the death of King Dom Sebastião in Morocco in 1578. Having received the news of Philip's ascension to the throne

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<sup>24</sup> VALIGNANO 1944, 1946; ABRANCHES PINTO and BERNARD 1943; COSTA 1994b; MORAN 1993; SCHÜTTE 1958; TAMBURELLO, ÜÇERLER, DI RUSSO 2008; VOLPI 2013; AUGUSTO 2005; O'MALLEY 1999; ÜÇERLER 2003, 2004.

<sup>25</sup> MASSARELLA 2013b.

of Lisbon while in Macao, Valignano commissioned a folding screen decorated with a map of China to be donated to the Hapsburg ruler. It was believed in fact that the Christian ruler who could conquer and convert China would eventually subject the world to the yoke of a Christian *monarchia universalis*.<sup>26</sup> Much in the same fashion the Azuchi screens were donated to Pope Gregory XIII to signify the Japanese elites' political support for the evangelical cause of the missionaries in Japan. The political use of cartography and mural map cycles was much stressed throughout the visit of the Tenshō emissaries in southern Europe, and particularly in Italy, when visiting the maps in Cosimo I Medici's Guardaroba Vecchio in Florence, the mural map cycles decorating the rooms of Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola, or the hitherto recently finished Galleria delle Mappe Geografiche in the Vatican palace. Cartographic folding screens were then easily translated into contemporary European politico-religious uses of maps and map-making.<sup>27</sup> Chapter two closes with the return of the Tenshō embassy in Japan (1591) and the organization of a subsequent embassy which saw Alessandro Valignano acting as ambassador of the Portuguese Viceroy in Goa to the court of Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1591). This was the last act of Valignano's long and successful experience in Japan. Following the embassy of 1591, Japan witnessed a short period of great interest in things Portuguese which lasted until 1614, a period which was basically the 'golden age' of *namban* arts, with the commission of several folding screens representing the southern European visitors to the archipelago of the rising sun. In this chapter I will also discuss the traditional Japanese cartography, with the so-called Gyōky-type maps (**fig. 46, 54**). These maps were not only intended for administrative purposes, but they were also employed in religious ceremonies. Gyōki-type maps served as ceremonial objects and for this reason they were meant to offer a religious/ritualistic reading of the world rather than a descriptive/scientific one. All of these aspects were reconciled for the first time on cartographic *namban* screens.

Chapter three, as its title states, is a discussion on the visual arts on the Jesuit mission in Japan from the earliest examples of western-style painting in the archipelago in the late 1540s until the

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<sup>26</sup> LESAFFER 2003; BOSBACH 1988; PAGDEN 1995, 1998; FERNÁNDEZ-GONZÁLEZ 2012.

<sup>27</sup> DELANO-SMITH 1991; FIORANI 2005, 2007; KARROW 1993; PARTRIDGE 1995; ROSEN 2014.

establishment of the first Jesuit school of painting under Giovanni Niccolò in 1590, and then on the following production of Japanese with European imagery. This chapter is meant to educate the reader on the history of the early examples of western-style painting in early modern Japan and its didactic use for evangelical purposes. At the same time, I take the occasion to discuss about Jesuit knowledge on Chinese and Japanese painting. In fact Jesuit missionaries acknowledged the variety of local styles of painting, but in their opinion only western-style painting was considered truly effective for evangelical purposes thanks to its power to marvel thanks to more elaborated games of light and perspective,<sup>28</sup> and of course for its novelty to Chinese and Japanese beholders. In this chapter I look at three phases of the dissemination of western-style painting in Japan. A first phase characterized by the scarcity of Christian images, by the spirit of improvisation of the missionaries in producing rudimentary prints, and by the fortunate arrival of a limited number of paintings from Macao or Portugal. A second phase characterized by the arrival in Japan of the Italian painter Giovanni Niccolò in 1583 and his work until 1590. And a third phase coinciding with the formation of a first school of painting run by Niccolò in 1590 and with the commission of several *namban* screens, this prolific period for western- and *namban*-style painting lasted until 1614, when Niccolò and many of his pupils and skilled Japanese followers were forced to leave Japan due to the beginning of the Christian persecution. They repaired in Macao where they continued their work.<sup>29</sup>

Finally, chapter four deals with two cartographic *namban* screens in particular, the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens and the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens made around 1614. I will examine the different parts composing these two pairs of screens, and, building on the topics examined in the previous chapter, come to the following conclusions. The first conclusion is that the two pairs of screens discussed in this chapter conveyed the same eschatological auspices on the coming of a Christian *monarchia universalis* stressed by Valignano thirty years earlier, in 1582, when choosing to donate the screens with a map of China to Philip II

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<sup>28</sup> CORSI 2004.

<sup>29</sup> BAILEY 1999.

and the Azuchi screens to Pope Gregory XIII (which they received in 1585). The second conclusion I come to in this chapter is that Martin Hara, one of the four Japanese emissaries joining the Tenshō mission of 1582-1590 (which we will get to know better in chapter two), might have assisted the painters in devising the pictorial composition of the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens by reporting on the frescoes and paintings he saw during his European itinerary, paying particular attention to the paintings and frescoes depicting the Battle of Lepanto and the Battle of the Milvian Bridge he had the chance to see in Spain and Italy. The fusion of the two iconographies referring to these two important battles in the history of Christianity is the third deduction resulting from a close analysis of the source motifs used for the pictorial composition of the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens. Finally, in this chapter I will discuss the possibility that the Italian Jesuit and mathematician Carlo Spinola, assisted the painters involved in the making of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens, where mathematics, astronomy, and geography were merged together into an eschatological reading of Japan's eventual inclusion into the Christian commonwealth. The use of scientific knowledge in cartographic *namban* screens was much in line with the precepts of what came to be known as the Jesuits' scientific apostolate in Asia. In this respect there was much in common between the work of Matteo Ricci in China and that of Spinola in Japan.<sup>30</sup>

This study has been made possible thanks to great variety of original documents, some of which unpublished, which I was able to find in several European archives including the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the Archivium Romanum Societatis Iesu in Rome, the Archivio di Stato in Florence, and the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal. In addition to that, I have been able to take advantage of the publication of an increasing variety of primary historical texts having to do above all with the scope and activities of the Jesuit mission in Japan and its complex relations with the

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<sup>30</sup> BERNARD 1973; HSIA 2010; WALLIS 1965; O'MALLEY 1999; FRISON 2009, 2010; BALDINI 1984, 1995; SARAIVA 2008; LAVEN 2011; ZHANG 2015.

order's high officials in Europe, especially Rome.<sup>31</sup> Notwithstanding the number of contemporary documents in Latin, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese that I have been able to consult, few truly relevant Japanese documents exist concerning the activities of Jesuits in Japan. Although my access to Japanese sources has been limited by my inability to read Japanese, I made extensive use of translations of contemporary Japanese letters and chronicles such as Ōta Gyūchi's *The Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga*, recently translated into English by historians of the calibre of Elisonas and Lamers,<sup>32</sup> as well as other translated texts included in secondary sources and dissertations discussed above. Particularly important for the discussion on the Azuchi screens and Japanese sources relating to them was Matthew McKelway's impressive study on Japanese landscapes and cityscapes on screens, which I will refer to in chapter two.<sup>33</sup> A similar strategy with regards to Japanese sources was applied for the discussion on Japanese history of cartography and astronomy by relying on the works of Nakayama, Unno, Nakamura, and Jacobs,<sup>34</sup> and on *namban* screens with the foundational works of Nishimura, Okamoto, and Takahashi.<sup>35</sup> However, as Bailey remarked in his extensive work on the varied artistic production in the Jesuit missions in Asia (including Persia and India) and Latin America, the 'most compelling non-European voice can be found in the art itself'.<sup>36</sup> Accordingly, by dealing directly with the object themselves, one of the aims of the present study is to give voice to the message preserved in the materiality, the uses, and images depicted on the folding screens considered here.

As stated in the beginning of this introduction I approach *namban* cartographic folding screens not from the perspective of rereading the history of Japanese cartography prior to, during, or after the encounter with European cartographic sources in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Rather, this research seeks to be an analysis of how on the one hand, the Japanese

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<sup>31</sup> ACOSTA 1571; ADAMS 1916; BARTOLI 1660; COCKS 1883; DRACONI 1585; MEIETTO 1585; OSAMARINO 1585; RICCI 1942-1949; BENACCI 1585; FRANCESCO SAVERIO 1912; FRÓIS 1942, 1976-1984; GUALTIERI 1585; HESSELS 1887; MASSARELLA 2013b.

<sup>32</sup> ŌTA 2011.

<sup>33</sup> McKelway 2006.

<sup>34</sup> NAKAYAMA 1969; UNNO 1994, 1994b; JACOBS 1983; NAKAMURA 1964.

<sup>35</sup> NISHIMURA 1956; TAKAHASHI 1988; OKAMOTO 1970, 1972.

<sup>36</sup> BAILEY 1999: 13.

tradition of using folding screens as diplomatic gifts facilitated the accommodation of European cartography in Japan, and, on the other hand, how the hybridity of *namban* cartographic screens revealed as much about the expectations of Jesuit missionaries towards the inclusion of Japan in the Christian *oecumene* as it did about how Japanese understood European cartographic knowledge and its marked eschatological character within a pre-existing ritual use of maps which was already deeply encoded in local systems of belief and visual representation.

## A Brief Note on the Historical Context

I would like to give the reader a brief summary of the main historical events occurred during the period considered in this dissertation. The Society of Jesus was instituted in Paris by the Basque Ignatius de Loyola, the Navarre-born Francis Xavier and others in 1537; the order was later approved by Pope Paul III in 1540. The year 1549 saw the beginning of the Jesuit mission in Japan with the arrival of the Navarre born Francis Xavier. The Apostle of the Indies, as he would be remembered, landed in the Japanese island of Kagoshima, Satsuma domain, only six years after the first Portuguese merchants António da Mota, Francisco Zeimoto, and António Peixoto accidentally arrived in sight of the Japanese island of Tanegashima, Kyūshū (1543).<sup>37</sup> The fact that Francis Xavier followed the arrival of these first Portuguese traders should not surprise. Francis Xavier answered the call of the Portuguese king Dom João III of the House of Avis who strongly supported Catholic evangelization overseas.<sup>38</sup> This special bond linking the Society of Jesus to the

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<sup>37</sup> The three Portuguese left from Siam in 1542. Eventually, their ship was caught in a violent storm which drove it off the South-Western coasts of Japan, see COUTO 1612: ff. 183-186. Portuguese private merchants were involved in short range maritime trade in the Indian Ocean and South China Sea, often making use of local types of ships such as Chinese junks (*lunco* in the text) and locally recruited crews. See also BOYAJIAN 1993; SUBRAHMANYAM 1993.

<sup>38</sup> Dom João III reigned from 1521 to 1557. On the King's call for the evangelization of the Indies see Bernardino GINNARO S.J., *SAVERIO ORIENTALE/ ò vero/ ISTORIE DE' CRISTIANI/ ILLVSTRI DELL'ORIENTE/ Li quali nelle parti oriental sono stati chiari per virtù e pieta cri-/ -stiana, dall'Anno 1542 fino al 1600./ Raccolte dalle Lettere scritte in Europa da' Religiosi della Compagnia/ di Giesù, e da altri Autori./... / TOMO I/ Del Giappone, e de' Cristiani illustri di quei Regni./ Parte Seconda./* In Napoli per Francesco Savio, M.DC.XII (1612), pp. 2-3.



Portuguese crown was eventually finalized in 1559 under the rule of Portuguese king Dom Sebastião, with the foundation of the Colégio do Espírito Santo in the city of Évora, where all the Jesuits destined to the Asian missions made their last preparatory stop-over before leaving Europe. Francis Xavier himself travelled as extensively as he could across Japan. Beyond the South-Western Japanese province of Satsuma, he visited the imperial city of Kyoto, Yamaguchi, Osaka, and Hirado. He left Japan in 1551, but not without contributing to introduction of the first example of western-style paintings in the archipelago. These were a *Virgin and Child*, and an *Annunciation*;<sup>39</sup> unfortunately these pictures did not survive the passage of time, but in chapter three I will have the occasion to discuss the impact that these first examples had throughout the over sixty years of Jesuit activities in Japan.

Until 1563, the number of Jesuit missionaries in Japan was never more than nine.<sup>40</sup> In spite of their small number, within less than twenty years from the arrival of Francis Xavier in Kagoshima this handful of men were able to establish several *case* (missionary houses) across the archipelago, and, at the same time, to influence Japanese trading relations with Portuguese merchants who were usually more motivated to trade in those harbours hosting a Jesuit mission. The presence of the missionaries granted traders political protection for their commerce and also valuable interpreters thus reducing the risk of any sort of accident which could ultimately jeopardize their profits in Japan. Indeed, the Portuguese became privileged trading intermediaries between China and Japan, particularly concerning the exchange of Chinese raw silk and Japanese silver. After 1554, as a result of a formal agreement subscribed by the Portuguese merchant Lionel de Sousa with the Chinese authorities in Canton, Lusitanian trade in South-West China was eventually formalized under payment of fixed Chinese customs dues.<sup>41</sup> After that, Portuguese trade in Japan became increasingly regular. This historical agreement soon led to the settlement of Lusitanian traders in the South-West Chinese village of Macao between 1555 and 1557. From there a Portuguese carrack known as *kurofune* in Japanese, or 'Black Ship', arrived in the South-

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<sup>39</sup> ACOSTA 1571: ff. 68v-69r; McCALL 1947: 121-137; BAILEY 1999: 52-81.

<sup>40</sup> O'MALLEY 1995: 77.

<sup>41</sup> WILLIS 1998: 341-345.

Western Japanese ports of the Japanese island of Kyūshū in April-May mostly transporting Chinese raw silk, silk fabrics, gold, velvet, gunpowder, and porcelain. Before the concession of the village of Nagasaki to the Jesuit in 1580, this huge ship of 800 to 1200 tons changed its landing places every one or two years in the attempt to find better trading conditions and a favourable political context granting the necessary protection for trade.<sup>42</sup> The Jesuit missionaries played a crucial role, facilitating Portuguese trade in the archipelago, and using traders as a decoy to attract the attention and the support of Japanese daimyos.

The success of the Jesuit enterprise in Japan during the period going from 1580 to 1614 owed much to the so-called *metodo d'adattamento*, 'method of adaptation', which was inaugurated following the arrival of the Father Visitor of the Jesuit missions in Asia Alessandro Valignano in 1579. As it can be easily inferred, the application of this method encouraged the missionaries to assimilated Japanese customs and manners so to become active participants in Japanese society so to make their evangelical efforts more effective. I will discuss more in detail this method with its practical and theological underpinnings in chapter one; however, it is important to notice that Valignano and his fellow Jesuits were not the only ones believing in the necessity of a low-impact missiological approach. For instance, from a letter written on 23 April 1573 by the Neapolitan cosmographer Giovanni Battista Gesio to his king, Philip II of Spain, we learn that a low-impact strategy of conversion of the Japanese archipelago was something accepted and advised also outside the Society of Jesus.<sup>43</sup> Gesio believed that among the many Catholic religious orders the most appropriate to convert Japan were those ones which 'cared for a certain grandeur and solemnity, and which tended to perform religious ceremonies with majesty and pomp'.<sup>44</sup> The

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<sup>42</sup> PACHECO 1970.

<sup>43</sup> Archivo General de Indias, Seville (AGI), PATRONATO, N. 1, R. 26. On Giovanni Battista Gesio see ANDRÉS 1967.

<sup>44</sup> AGI, PATRONATO, N. 1, R. 26, ff. 2r: 'Quando considereremo le qualità, et conditioni de Japoni, secondo se ne è data relazione, troveremo che loro giudicano le cose per l'esteriore & appaete [*sic*, apparente], & niente per l'interiore e che tra i Rè Principi e altri geti [*sic*, genti] comune, sono stimate le persone, hora séa de i nobili, hora séan de i popolari, secondo appaiono & si trattano, in vestimenti, ornamenti, & altri ricchezze, & che quelli ministri de ~~loro~~ loro Relligione son piu stimati e honorati che piu pomposamente et richamente van vestiti e appareno ornati, e che con maggior pompa et magestà trattano le cerimonie de loro Relligione: tengono in sômo bene e felicità gli honori, e altri apparencie de la gloria mundana, e il principal loro fine consiste essere et voler appareri honorati [...].'

Neapolitan cosmographer referred to almost all of Catholic orders (Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Benedictines, and so forth) with the exclusion of barefoot Carmelites and the Jesuits because, according to him, these two orders were renowned for avoiding pomposity and flamboyant paraments when performing sacred ceremonies.<sup>45</sup> This statement was probably based on what he believed to be the costumes and habits of the Japanese, described as people who loved to publicly show off their power and wealth on every occasion. But things were more complex than Gesio could possibly believe. In the first place, as I will discuss in chapter three, the lack of European trained craftsmen and the great distance separating Japan from European workshops could not but result in a chronic lack of decorative and visual aids for Jesuit missionaries in Japan to indulge in ceremonial pomposity. In the second place, Gesio, seemingly more interested in echoing common early modern European biases against Japanese habits and culture, did not take in consideration two other important aspects characterizing early modern Japanese society: the first was the strict hierarchy and etiquette characterizing personal relations at any level or class; the second was the fact that, at the time the Neapolitan cosmographer wrote his advices to Philp II and Valignano S.J. set foot in Japan, the Japanese archipelago was finally seeing the end of a century-long period of ruthless internal wars, opposing several daimyos against each other (*segoku jidai*, or 'epoch of the country at war', 1477-1590).

As a matter of fact, the Jesuit missionaries visiting Japan in the second half of the sixteenth century set foot in a country in a constant warfare. It all started during the second half of the fifteenth century, when disputes over the succession of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa ended with the outbreak of the Ōnin war (1467-1477). This resulted in harsh civil war pitting several feudal warlords against each other to gain political and military autonomy regardless of their kinship

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<sup>45</sup> AGI, PATRONATO, N. 1, R. 26, ff. 2v: 'Et per cio mi pare che gli Istrumenti atti e convenienti à predicar la parola di Dio à q[ue]lle genti, e introdurvi la legge del evangelio, son i nostri Relligiosi, di queglii ordini e Regole che loro ammette.<sup>no</sup> andarno ben trattati, e che tengon una certa grandezza e ~~maiestà~~ gravità, et che con multa [*sic*, molta] maiestà pompe e ornamenti trattano le cerimonie de n[ost]ra religione, con musiche de canto et instrumenti, ornamenti d'oro et di argeto e altri cerimonie pompose. Questi sono i frati bendetti [*sic*, Benedettini], Bernardi, geronimi, Canoci [*sic*, canonici] regolari, perche tengono apparenze similitudine con i Religiosi del paese, e i frati Dominici, Agustini, e franciscani forse sarebboro piu atti a questo proposito, non dico de i discalzi, ne de la compagnia nè de li altri che senza cerimonia alcuna ~~tra~~ de apparenze maiestà trattano le cerimonie sacre [...].'

affiliation to the Shogun. Things began to change only in the 1560s with the emergence on the Japanese political and military scene of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (discussed in chapter two and three respectively) who set the country under a more stable rule. The two men prepared the field for the establishment of a new regime of national unity, the Tokugawa shogunate (also called Edō period, 1602/3-1868), founded by a third major figure in Japanese early modern history, Tokugawa Ieyasu (see chapter four). The three men kept different and increasingly restrictive relations with Southern European traders and missionaries: at first keeping open arms to Luso/Iberian trade and Catholic missions (with Nobunaga); then banning Catholic missions but keeping trade alive (with Hideyoshi); and, eventually, banning Christianity in Japan (with Tokugawa Hidetada, Ieyasu's son in 1614) and expelling Iberian visitors and settlers from the archipelago (with Tokugawa Iemitsu, Ieyasu's nephew, in 1636).<sup>46</sup> After that, the only westerners allowed to trade with Japan were the Dutch, confined in the artificial island of Deshima in the bay of Nagasaki. The unravelling of these crucial events in Japanese history overlapped with equally determinant occurrences in Europe, such as the unification of the thrones of Portugal and Spain under Philip II.

In 1580, early modern geo-political balances in Europe changed following one crucial event: the union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns and territories under the rule of the Spanish Hapsburgs. The events leading to this important shift are well known to anyone interested in the history of early modern Europe. Two years after the death of the last Portuguese king of the house of Avis, Dom Sebastião, in the disastrous 1578 Moroccan campaign of Alcácer Quibir, Philip II of Spain obtained the throne of Portugal.<sup>47</sup> Consequently, as described by a well-known formula among early modernists, Philip II of Spain, and then I of Portugal, became the ruler of an 'empire where the sun never sets'. Philip's possessions, which stretched far beyond the Iberian Peninsula, included annexed territories in the Northern European Flemish and soon-to be Dutch provinces;

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<sup>46</sup> HALL, NAGAHARA, and YAMAMURA 1981; LAMERS 1992; OSAMU 1982; ELISON 1981; HALL and McCLEIN 1991; ELISONAS 1991; LORIMER 2008.

<sup>47</sup> Philip II was the son of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V of Hapsburg (r. 1516-1556) and Isabel of Portugal (1503-1539; daughter of Dom Manuel I of Avis, r. 1501-1521).

the Duchy of Milan and the southern Italian Kingdom of Naples; a large part of the American continent from today's U.S. southwest to the Chilean coasts on the Pacific Ocean, and, on the Atlantic Ocean, from today's American State of Florida to Argentina, including Portuguese Brazil. In Africa, the hands of the Spanish Hapsburgs had already held several areas of Africa since the beginning of the sixteenth century, and, from 1580 on, these included the Portuguese possessions of Guinea Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, and others. In Asia, the Iberian union subjected all Portuguese trading entrêpôts to the Spanish crown (although they allegedly kept their trading autonomy).<sup>48</sup> These were scattered all the way from Hormuz in the Persian Gulf to the cities of Goa and Diu in India, to the South-East Asian harbours of Malacca, Aceh, Banda, Timor and the archipelago of the Moluccas, to the city of Macao in south-western China, and to the bay of Nagasaki in Japan. The final knot to these world-encompassing possessions was the archipelago of the Philippines, which was occupied in 1565 in the name of Philip II by Miguel López de Legazpi, who sailed from Mexico to the island of Cebu. The union of the Iberian crowns lasted until 1640 when, following the outbreak of the Portuguese *guerra de restauração* ('war of restoration'), Dom João IV of the Portuguese House of Bragança took back the throne of Lisbon from Philip II's grandson, Philip IV.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> BOYAJAN 1993.

<sup>49</sup> The Portuguese war of restoration lasted from December 1640 until February 1668. Dom João IV reigned from 1640 until 1656, and the process of independence from Spain was completed under the rule of Dom Afonso VI (r. 1656-1683).

# 1. Things Worth Describing

## Composite objects and fluid interiors

In 1585, in a brief treatise on the differences between Europe and Japan, the Portuguese Jesuit Luís Fróis mentioned folding screens as the most important decorative object in Japanese interiors: “Our houses [in Europe] are decorated with tapestries, embossed leather pieces hung on walls [*godomeci*], and fabrics from Flanders;<sup>50</sup> Japanese houses [are decorated] with folding screens of paper [decorated with] gold-leaf or black ink.”<sup>51</sup> Indeed, besides their decorative uses, folding screens in early modern Japan were considered essential components to accentuate private, public, political, and even ritual aspects of people’s lives. But what kind of objects was Fróis referring to? What were the general features of sixteenth-century Japanese *byōbu*, how were they made and how did they look? How were screens displayed in Japanese interiors? And which architectural styles do Jesuit sources most often refer to? Answering these questions is essential to the topics discussed in this dissertation. Folding screens in sixteenth-century Japan were true living objects, much different from the fixed examples, almost formaldehyde treated, showcased in today’s museums. They were objects valued not only as decorative but also as architectural objects, they served different purposes on different occasions, each of which was always very carefully regulated by a strict etiquette.

Let us see first why I write of *byōbu* as architectural objects, to what extent folding screens were complementary to traditional Japanese architecture and interiors, and what architectural style was most common among the Japanese elites’ households and Jesuit residences where they were displayed. Sixteenth-century Japanese buildings and folding screens were built using the same materials: paper and wood. For this reason one can easily say that screens were not just complementary to the architecture of the house, but were an intimate part of it; indeed, semi-

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<sup>50</sup> For a discussion on European tapestries in Japan, see VLAM 1977, 1981.

<sup>51</sup> FRÓIS 1955: 222: ‘As nossas [casas?] se ornão com tapeçaria e godomecis e panos de Frandes; | as de Japão com *beobus* de papel dourados ou de tinta preta.’

mobile and mobile partitions such as sliding doors and folding screens were practically ubiquitous in early modern Japanese housing. Folding screens of different qualities and sizes were owned by all classes of people in the archipelago. Leaving the description of single panel screens (*tsuitate*) to one side,<sup>52</sup> the making of screens composed of two or more panels followed a standard procedure. Each panel was composed of a wooden frame and lattice which was then covered by several layers of paper. Japanese cypress (*hinoki*) was usually employed to make an extremely light wooden lattice,<sup>53</sup> which was then covered by overlapping layers of very strong paper – mostly *gampishi*.<sup>54</sup> Overlapping layers of paper of different thicknesses and qualities offered support to the structure of the screen,<sup>55</sup> and, at the same time, served the essential purpose of limiting the effects of humidity by expanding or contracting as this changed.<sup>56</sup> Each panel was thus ‘interlocked’<sup>57</sup> to the others by overlapping layers of paper and paper hinges. Hinges were not made of *gampi* but of *kōzo*, a paper of an extremely strong fibre made from the inner bark of mulberry trees; still widely produced today, *kōzo* is a coarse and porous paper which, as opposed to *gampi*, does not shrink or expand under the effects of humidity. The use of strong *kōzo* paper hinges allowed the screen to fold back and forth, or to fold completely together for more expedient storage when not in use. Two final overlapping layers of thick paper, one stretched horizontally and the other vertically, covered the hinges.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Free-standing single panel screens mounted in a hard-wearing wooden frame – *tsuitate* – were mostly used at the entrance of the house, but they could also be found in tea-rooms, where the tea-ceremony (*cha-no-yu*) was performed. When used at the entrance of the house, *tsuitate* kept the house safe from prying eyes, and, at the same time, performed an apotropaic function because spirits, it was commonly thought, could not avoid obstacles or turn left or right.

<sup>53</sup> JACOBSEN 1984: 9 mentions *cryptomeria japonica* as a second kind of wood usually employed to make screens’ wooden lattices.

<sup>54</sup> According to HUGHES 1982: 79, there are several species of *gampi*. This kind of paper is still produced today. Among these eight or nine species, *diplomorpha sikoniana* is traditionally considered to be the best for paper making. Interestingly enough, this plant contains a natural chemical repugnant to paper-eating insects, and the paper made with *gampi* is non-absorbent and damp-resistant (*ibid.*). See also WARDA, BRÜCKLE, BEZÚR and KUSHEL 2007: 272.

<sup>55</sup> It was not unusual to employ old used paper to fill the inner layers of folding screens.

<sup>56</sup> Following JACOBSEN 1984: 9, the inner paper layers in fifteenth-century *byōbu* were usually seven: ‘the third, or “breathing layer”, for example, is made of horizontal strips overlapping like the shingles of a roof. As the humidity changes, this layer swells and stretches, acting as a flexible cushion which supports the painting with a regular overall tension’.

<sup>57</sup> GRILLI 1970: 137.

<sup>58</sup> JACOBSEN 1984: 9.

The surface layer to be painted could be of *gampi* or silk. However, paper was usually a preferable painting support for the water-soluble pigments used in Japanese painting. Painters usually laid the sheet of paper or cloth being painted on the floor, and, in most cases, a preparatory sketch (*shita-e*) was transferred and traced on it. Once the painting was completed on the floor, it was possible to stretch it and paste it on the screen.<sup>59</sup> At this point, the painted surface was secured by silk borders pasted along the edges of the screen and final layers of paper were glued on the back of it.<sup>60</sup> Finally, the outer perimeter was reinforced with thin wooden lacquered rails and metal ornaments attached to the corners and the lateral rails. Once completed and properly mounted a six-panel folding screen could be 1.80 metres high by 3.60 metres wide on average. Foot weights helped them to stand firmly. When folded, screens were kept in wooden cases suitable for the purpose.

Folding screens and the semi-mobile partitions of the house shared a common painting tradition, a fact once more revealing the complementarity of folding screens with traditional Japanese architecture. Screen painting on sliding doors and folding screens is called *shōhekiga* in Japanese.<sup>61</sup> *Shōhekiga* could be said to find its origins in the custom of mounting and publicly displaying paintings on screens, a practice common to China, Korea, and Japan.<sup>62</sup> In fact, among the various painting formats commonly used in early modern Japan (fans, albums, hand-scrolls, and hanging scrolls), hanging scrolls were the ones usually stretched over the panels of folding screens. Of course, it was possible to reverse this process by dismantling paintings from old screens or sliding doors and remounting them as an individual or a set of hanging scrolls.<sup>63</sup> It is not the case, however, that the arrival of hand-scrolls and hanging scroll painting formats from China in Japan corresponded with the earliest examples of free-standing or folding screen

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<sup>59</sup> In contrast, Zen monochrome ink painting (*sumi-e*) was painted directly on to the screen.

<sup>60</sup> According to GRILLI 1960: 8, it was also common to use painted hanging scrolls (*kakemono*) and stretch them over folding screens' panels or sliding doors. Paintings on panels could also be dismantled from old screens or sliding doors and remounted as individual hanging scrolls.

<sup>61</sup> Also said *shōji-e*. See DOI 1977.

<sup>62</sup> SULLIVAN 1965; GRILLI 1970. On Korean screens see MUSÉE GUIMET 2008.

<sup>63</sup> Of course, it was possible to dismantle paintings from old screens or sliding doors and remount them, for instance as individual hanging scrolls. See GRILLI 1960: 8.



paintings (Nara period 710-794).<sup>64</sup> Hanging scrolls were also traditionally made using paper and/or silk, with wooden rods attached to both ends of the mounting, and they still are. According to the themes depicted, hanging scrolls were painted and hung in sets. Therefore, besides the single hanging *kakemono* (*doppuku*), hanging scrolls could come in sets of two (*soufuku*), three (*sanpukutsu*), four (*yonpukutsui*, for themes such as the four seasons), six (*roppukutsui*), eight (*happukutsui*, for views of renowned landscapes) or twelve (*jūnifukutsui*, for the twelve months). Sets of six or twelve hanging scrolls were often stretched over and pasted on panels, forming one six-panel folding screen or a pair. Japanese screens were, therefore, composite objects, by virtue of the multiplicity of their parts and the fact that more than one workshop was involved in making them (painters, carpenters, paper manufacturers, silk makers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and lacquerers).

The cartographic screens which will be discussed in this dissertation were not common objects in early modern Japan. Given the specificity of their painted subjects, these particular kinds of screens were reserved for the view of a restricted number of wealthy and influential patrons, which in most cases corresponded to the military elites represented by the *sengoku daimyō*. In Momoyama/early Tokugawa Japan, the prevailing architectural style among Japanese warrior classes and élites was the *shoin zukuri*. The development of the *shoin zukuri* went together with the ascendance of military elites over a long established aristocracy.<sup>65</sup> The *shoin* style (*shoin* literally meaning “study room”), was particularly appreciated among military elites and Zen Buddhist circles of the period.<sup>66</sup> The most distinguishing characteristic of a *shoin*-style building was a marked division between the private and public areas of the house as a consequence of the

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<sup>64</sup> The earliest painted sliding doors in Japanese architecture, instead, are usually dated back to the immediately following Heian period (794-1185). See DOI 1977: 14.

<sup>65</sup> FUMIO 1981: 43. In this respect, *shoin*-style architecture was a direct development of the *shinden zukuri*, a style which reached its maturity during the Heian period (782-1184) when it was used for the palaces of the aristocracy as well as for Buddhist temples (see KITAO 1956; FUMIO 1981; ITŌ and NOVOGRAD 1977; on *shinden*-style residences see STIPE 1988, KAWAMOTO 2005). By the late Muromachi period (1333-1573) and throughout the Momoyama period (1573-1615), due to the financial drain caused by the Ōnin war (1467-77) and the state of warfare that characterized much of sixteenth-century Japan, large *shinden*-style residences became almost unaffordable to Japanese aristocratic and military elites (see HIRAI 1973: 96).

<sup>66</sup> In China a *shoin* (pronounced *shūyuǎn* in Chinese) was a building the Chinese emperor provided for scholars at court; in Japan, from the late 12<sup>th</sup> to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the term was frequently used to refer to a reading room. See HIRAI 1973: 68; HASHIMOTO 1981.

development of an area dedicated to the reception and entertainment of guests or to other kinds of social rituals. The reception hall of a *shoin* house where public activities took place was the *omote*. This area of the house was pivotal to the distribution of living spaces in *shoin* interiors. In their more formal examples, *shoin*-style reception halls included an entry porch (*genkan*) while their interior space was composed of three levels, reminding guests and hosts of the strict hierarchical and social boundaries they were compelled to respect (**figs. 2, 3**). The higher level (*jodan*) separated the host, or the person with the higher social status in the room, from the lower level (*gedan*), where guests or subordinates were received. A middle ground (*chudan*), dividing the higher from the lower level of the hall, contributed to make the formality of the architecture and the social relations performed in it even more tangible. In most cases, however, reception halls included *jodan* and *gedan* only. Reception halls, like any other areas of the house could be divided into separate rooms at will by means of sliding partitions. The principal reasons for the existence of semi-mobile partitions devoid of any supporting function in traditional Japanese architecture lay in the efficiency of a post-and-lintel system, which threw the structure's weight upon the pillars rather than upon any of the walls.<sup>67</sup> Semi-mobile and mobile partitions helped to make good use of *shoin*-style's limited space. In fact, these have always played a crucial role in the definition and conceptualization of Japanese architectural environments through a rich interplay of 'transitory units'<sup>68</sup> (*shoji*, *fusuma*, and folding screens) which defined and re-defined Japanese fluid interiors in multiple ways.<sup>69</sup>

Monumental buildings such as Japanese Momoyama castles also enjoyed interiors in *shoin* style. Given that the primary purpose of these buildings remained a military one they were designed to resist violent attacks and long-lasting sieges. In addition, these elegant fortresses were designed to mislead any possible besieger so that it was common to build castles with three to five apparent floors while their interior structure was designed to disguise from five to seven stories

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<sup>67</sup> See HARADA 1954: 46.

<sup>68</sup> NAKAGAWA 2005:1.

<sup>69</sup> *Shoji* is a wooden lattice sliding or hanging panel covered on one side with translucent paper (usually *kozō* paper) to filter natural light from the outside. *Fusuma* are sliding doors covered with opaque paper on both sides and framed with wooden borders which are usually lacquered.

(fig. 4). For this reason, and because their predominantly military rather than residential purpose excluded the use of wide windows, the interiors of Japanese Momoyama castles were quite dark. The application of golden foil on sliding doors and folding screens helped to reflect the dim light filtering in from outside. Thin rectangular or square-shaped gold-leaves were applied onto the painting supports; artists then painted on or around them before stretching the completed painting over the panels as described above. We will see later how familiar Jesuit missionaries were with Japanese castles and their interiors.

Another important and thorough description of Japanese interiors and the use of folding screens and movable partitions is the one left to us by another Portuguese missionary, João Rodrigues, who was called Tçuzzu, or the “interpreter”, for his good knowledge of Japanese.<sup>70</sup> He wrote his *Historia da Igreja do Japão* (‘History of the Japanese Church’) between 1630 and 1633, during the last years of his life. Rodrigues’ work is divided in two ‘books’: book one, composed of thirty-five chapters, deals with the topographic description the Japanese archipelago (such as its geographical position, its cities or buildings) as well as with Japanese customs and manners; book two, composed of only seven chapters, describes Japanese crafts according to the sixteenth-century European division of the mechanical and liberal arts. Rodrigues’s views on Japanese interiors are gathered together in chapter twelve of book one, entitled “The Japanese method of building”, and in chapter twenty-five of book one, entitled “The manner of receiving a guest in the house, and the hospitality and banquet given him before he departs”. In these two chapters architectural partitions are held responsible for the fluidity of Japanese interiors. Differently from the above-mentioned view of Luís Fróis, who considered Japanese houses ‘more a delight for the eyes than actual habitable spaces’,<sup>71</sup> Rodrigues thought that Japanese interiors were not just pleasant to eye, but also comfortable spaces to live in. Most importantly, Rodrigues saw and appreciated a sense of architectural fluidity where Fróis saw only elegant empty rooms. In

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<sup>70</sup> On João Rodrigues (1561-1634) see COOPER 1994 and RODRIGUES 2001.

<sup>71</sup> *HJ*: V, 313: ‘E como elles não uzão nem de cadeiras nem de mezas, nem de caixões nem de catres, porque sempre se assentão e tudo o que fazem, hé sobre aquelles tatamis, estão todas estas cazas despejadas de tal maneira, que parece serem feitas mais para recreações da vista que para habitação’.

Rodrigues's view, the fluidity of Japanese architectural spaces resulted from the use of mobile and semi-mobile partitions, which allowed for the creation of a variety of interior layouts in aristocratic and gentlemen's households (**fig. 11**). For this reason he introduced folding screens and sliding doors as 'things worth describing'<sup>72</sup> about Japanese dwellings. By virtue of sliding, hanging, and free-standing partitions it was possible to set, divide, and re-arrange a single hall-room such as one in the pure *shoin* style with the simplest touch of hands:

'[...] the Japanese take great pain over such things in the interior of their houses [...] they have various divisions of rooms and chambers. These have sliding doors [*fusuma*] made of panels lined with thick paper on lathes painted [...] like the walls of the house [...]. Thus there are many different rooms, but they can turn them into only one when they wish by putting the doors together or pulling them apart.'

Then, turning to the decorative aspect of folding screens, Rodrigues continued:

'rooms which are not gilded or painted by a famous artist, as is their custom, are adorned for greater decoration with sets of *byōbu*, which either run along the walls or else take the place of walls; each one of these contains six or eight panels, gilded or painted by an artist of note'.<sup>73</sup>

The most remarkable folding screens were often commissioned from renowned artists to be exchanged as diplomatic gifts. This was the case, for instance, of painter Kanō Eitoku, who as I will discuss below was commissioned in 1580 to paint a folding screen representing a landscape view of the fortress of daimyo Oda Nobunaga at Azuchi. This screen is important because it was later donated to Alessandro Valignano, the Father Visitor of the Jesuit missions in the East Indies (who I am about to introduce in the following paragraph), and eventually brought to Pope Gregory XIII in 1585. Therefore, the practice of using folding screens as diplomatic gifts did not go unnoticed by the Jesuit missionaries active in Japan, who soon co-opted it in the attempt to establish solid and fruitful relations with the most influential daimyos as well as European elites.

The residences of the Jesuit missionaries too *had* to be built in *shoin* style. This rule was established by a brief but extremely important treatise: the *Advertimentos e avisos acerca de costumes e de catangues de Jappão* ('Admonitions concerning the customs and the *katagi* of

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<sup>72</sup> RODRIGUES 2001: book 1, chapter 12.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.: book 1, chapter 25.

Japan', where *katagi* means 'Japanese etiquette'),<sup>74</sup> drafted in 1581 by the Father Visitor of the Jesuit Missions in the East Indies (henceforth "Father Visitor") Alessandro Valignano.<sup>75</sup> I saved space to discuss the figure of Valignano and his *Advertimentos* in the following section, but for now it would suffice to say that this rule of building Jesuit residences in *shoin* style was made clear in a number of statements such as: 'the house should be divided in such a way that the waiting rooms [*zashiki*] for visitors are separated from private ones for the missionaries';<sup>76</sup> or 'waiting rooms for visitors should be made using sliding doors according to the Japanese custom'.<sup>77</sup> Interestingly enough, an expanded version of the *Advertimentos* also regulated the kind of screens which could be displayed in Jesuit residences (which had to differ from the ones seen in Churches) and the way they could be displayed. The occasion was the Jesuit *consulta* (council) held in Katsusa in August 1590 where the topics discussed in the *Advertimentos* were updated and expanded.<sup>78</sup> What kind of folding screens – the missionaries debated – was it appropriate to display in Jesuit residences and churches? It was established that gold-leafed folding screens were appropriate only for churches, while the screens displayed in Jesuit residences, where *byōbu* were used to create settings in which to receive guests in accordance with Japanese customs, needed to be sober in theme.<sup>79</sup> In chapter two we will see how Valignano even planned to commission painted folding screens with from Roman artists and import them from Italy to decorate the Jesuit residences in Japan.

Yet, in sixteenth-century Japan folding screens were also more than architectural objects. Their importance in Japanese interiors also came from the fact that their display responded to a clear and well defined etiquette. Valignano was opened-minded enough to understand this crucial aspect with regards to folding screens and their relation to Japanese courtesy, on both day-to-day

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<sup>74</sup> The details are discussed in the eight chapter of the *Advertimentos*: "Do Modo que de há de ter em fabricar nossas casas e igras em Japão". See Valignano 1946: 271-281.

<sup>75</sup> On Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606) see MORAN 1993; SCHÜTTE 1958; TAMBURELLO, ÜÇERLER, and DI RUSSO 2008; COSTA 1994b; VALIGNANO 1944, 1946.

<sup>76</sup> VALIGNANO 1946: 272: '[...] que a casa este repartida de tal maneira que, alem dos *zaxiquis* que servem para os foresteiros, aya outros mais recolhidos que sirvão para os nossos de casa [...].'

<sup>77</sup> VALIGNANO 1946: 274: '[...]os *zaxiquis*, ou todos ou ao menos aquelles que servem pera foresteiros, se han de fazer com suas portas levadiças à chara jappão [...].'

<sup>78</sup> VALIGNANO 1946: 55-74.

<sup>79</sup> VALIGNANO 1946: 65, n. 2 and 3.

and diplomatic occasions. Different kinds of screens were suitable for different events, and the same went for the paintings decorating them. The attention Jesuit missionaries paid to this fact and to Japanese etiquette in general, following the arrival of Valignano in 1579, was to a large extent bound to make the fortune of their mission in the archipelago of the rising sun. In other words, context mattered when it came down to display folding screens, and Jesuit missionaries knew it all too well. One of them in particular: the Father Visitor Alessandro Valignano.

## **Valignano, cultural adaptation and Japanese etiquette**

Who was Alessandro Valignano? Where did his interest in matters of Japanese etiquette originate? How did he get in contact with painted folding screens, and which of their many uses did he privilege? Maybe, the best way to avoid averting our attention from Japanese *byōbu* and their use as diplomatic gifts, while properly introducing the complex figure of Valignano, is to let this man's story unfold bit by bit. The Father Visitor descended from a noble family from the city of Chieti, in the Southern Italian and Spanish ruled Kingdom of Naples. His noble upbringing allowed him to benefit from the acquaintance of important individuals that really shaped European history and culture (also in relation to the social action of the Church) such as Gian Pietro Carafa (later Pope Paul IV),<sup>80</sup> or the Milanese Cardinal Carlo Borromeo,<sup>81</sup> among others.

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<sup>80</sup> On Gian Pietro Carafa (1476-1559), then Pope Paul IV (r. 1555-1559), see VANNI 2010; QUINN 1981; SANTARELLI 2008. From 1506 until 1536 Carafa was the archbishop of Brindisi and Chieti, although in 1527, following the sack of Rome, he left for Venice. That same year, Alessandro's father, Giovan Battista Valignano, was appointed archdeacon of the Episcopal See of Chieti with a declaration issued by the Emperor Charles V himself. The good relations between Giovan Battista Valignano, Alessandro's father, and Gian Pietro Carafa while still Bishop of Chieti is mentioned also in *FR*: I, p. 144, note a. Interestingly enough, in 1524, three years before repairing to the canals of the Serenissima, Carafa and Gaetano of Thiene founded the Order of the Theatines. According to some authors (VANNI 2010), the Theatines were an expression of Carafa's reform views on the organization, the liturgy, and the apostolic role of the Church, all aspects which later characterised the lines of action of the Society of Jesus, founded in 1534 and approved by Pope Paul III Farnese in 1540. In 1536, Carafa was made cardinal by Paul III, and that year he met the founder of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius de Loyola, in Venice (QUINN 1981).

<sup>81</sup> On Carlo Borromeo (1514-1580), see POSSEVINO 1591; HEADLEY and TOMARO 1988. Borromeo, an extremely important figure in the definition of a new path for the Church following the Council of Trent (1545-1563), entered in contact with Valignano in a peculiar moment of his early life. Alessandro Valignano was completing his studies in jurisprudence in Padua, where he graduated in 1557. He then moved back to Rome where, thanks to his father's friendship with Pope Paul IV, he hoped to be secured a good job in the Vatican See (*FR*: I, p. 144, note a). But Paul IV died in 1559 and, in 1561, Valignano served as *uditore* of Cardinal Mark Sittich von Hohenems Altemps, nephew of Pope Pius IV. In this period of his life, the future Father Visitor did not seem to have either an innate or an overt vocation for priesthood; certainly he was

Because of his high-ranking background Valignano was probably familiar with sixteenth-century European manuals on etiquette and ceremonies,<sup>82</sup> and could not be unaware of the importance of etiquette and its relation with authority. On the 20 of July 1579 he arrived to Japan on his first visit to the archipelago,<sup>83</sup> and it took him little time to understand that the need to improve the integration and the authority of the missionaries in Japan was as urgent as the need of increasing their number.<sup>84</sup>

In his view, the solution to this problem was ‘a total change of attitude concerning the missionaries’ habits in the attempt to come closer to Japanese customs and way of living’.<sup>85</sup> This very open-minded approach, which is known as Valignano’s famous *metodo d’adattamento* (method of adaptation) contrasted with, and useless to say was opposed, by the more conservative Portuguese Jesuits who were already active in Japan since the late 1540s. The Portuguese Francisco Cabral,<sup>86</sup> who was acting as Father Visitor of the Japanese Mission at the time of Valignano’s first visit to the archipelago, was particularly opposed to Valignano’s inclusive attitude towards Japanese novices and to speed up the cultural integration of European Jesuit missionaries within Japanese customs and society. In particular, Cabral was afraid that the admission of Japanese novices into the Society could eventually lead to Christian and Buddhist doctrinal syncretism, and (unsuccessfully) opposed Valignano’s decision to found three seminaries

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not indifferent to the charm of worldly pleasures. Back in Padua to continue his studies (ibid.), he was involved in ‘an unpleasant adventure worthy of a literary romance’ (ibid.): he was arrested in November 1562 with the scandalous accusation of having slashed the face of a certain Franceschina Trona (MORAN 1993:22). According to some sources (TOPPI 1678:9; MORAN 1993: 22; ALDEN 1996: 55), Alessandro was released from prison in 1564 thanks to the intercession of the Milanese Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, whose help was requested by Alessandro’s brother, Ascanio. Borromeo subsequently played a crucial role in launching Alessandro’s ecclesiastical career (TAMBURELLO, ÜÇERLER, and DI RUSSO 2008), which began with his novitiate in the Society of Jesus in 1566 and his ordination in 1570 (MORAN 1993: 23).

<sup>82</sup> Valignano was probably familiar with Giovanni Della Casa’s *Galateo* (1558). Giovanni della Casa had been Secretary of State for Pope Paul IV Carafa, who we have seen was also a close acquaintance of Valignano. Other manuals on etiquette published in Italy in the sixteenth century were Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano* (1528). See also PROSPERI 1980.

<sup>83</sup> Valignano visited Japan three times: in 1579-1582, 1590-1592, and 1598-1603.

<sup>84</sup> From 1549, when the Jesuit mission in Japan was founded by Francis Xavier S.J., until 1563, there were only nine Jesuits in the whole of Japan (ELISONAS 1991: 322), and by 1576 their number rose to only thirty (MORAN 1993: 2).

<sup>85</sup> *HJ*: III, c. 18, p. 130: ‘Entendeo mais o P[adr]e Vizitador como era necessario em os nossos huma total transmutação da natureza quanto ao comer e costumes e modo de viver, por ser tudo oppozito e mui diferente de como se procede em Europa.’

<sup>86</sup> For a short biography of Franciscan Cabral S.J. (c.1533-1609) see RUIZ de MEDINA 1995: 47-48.

(in Arima, Azuchi, and Usuki) where young Japanese could be educated in European humanities and 'sciences' (intended as 'crafts') and then be later admitted as novices into the Society of Jesus.<sup>87</sup> Eventually, Valignano determined to send Cabral back to Macao and was substituted him as Father Superior in Japan by another fellow Portuguese, Gaspar Coelho,<sup>88</sup> who was more receptive to Valignano's missiological approach.

To put it simply, Valignano's *metodo*, differed from Cabral's in that it was more open and receptive to cultural difference as long as the fundamental Ignatian teachings were not compromised. Therefore, while on a strictly practical level, Valignano's method was strategically directed at understanding and mastering the complexities of Japanese etiquette, as this was deemed essential for the fruitful integration of the Society of Jesus in Japan, on the theological level, a method of adaptation like his could easily be traced back to the Gospels<sup>89</sup> and to St Paul's letters on the renunciation of one's self, customs, and language to favour the spread of Christianity to all people in the *oecumene*. St Paul, the 'apostle of the gentiles',<sup>90</sup> emphasised the act of renunciation for the sake of evangelization in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, stating 'I have become all things to all men, so that I may by all means save some'.<sup>91</sup> This point is extremely important if we want to look at visual arts as a very effective device used by the Jesuits: seen in this light it was just natural for the missionaries to elect folding screens – the ever present, multifunctional object in Japanese interiors that happened to be an optimal painting support – as the privileged site for the visual communication of Christian values and concepts in Japan.

This message on the universality of Christianity will be, for instance, at the center of the iconographic program of the *Map of the World and Twenty Eight Cities* screens and in the *Battle of Lepanto and Map of the World* screens (**figs. 16, 63**), which were probably presented to the Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada around 1614. As I shall argue in chapter four below, that year Christianity was banned from Japan. It is possible that the Jesuits commissioned these two pairs

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<sup>87</sup> BOXER 1951: 86-87; ALLEN 1996: 62-63; REIS CORREIA 2007; VALIGNANO 1946: 23.

<sup>88</sup> *HJ*: III, c. 23, p. 177. See also HOEY 2010.

<sup>89</sup> Matthew 16: 24; Mark 8: 34; Luke 9: 23, 14: 33.

<sup>90</sup> Epistle to the Romans 11: 13.

<sup>91</sup> First Epistle to the Corinthians 9: 22.



of screens to donate them to the Shogun in the attempt to soften his hand and stop the violent persecution of the local Christian population and the missionaries alike. Interestingly enough, the Jesuits commissioning these screens from Japanese artists trained in the Jesuit schools of painting established in Japan after 1590 (see chapter three), chose the subjects to be painted to make an implicit statement about current events (the ban and persecution of Christianity in Japan). In this respect pairing a map of the world and a mixed representation of the Battle of Lepanto and the battle of the Milvian Bridge, which were both decisive importance for the defense and spread of Christianity in the Mediterranean world, acquired a precise eschatological significance also in Japan, where the oppressing Shogun was likened to the Muslim infidel. But there will be space to discuss this thoroughly later in chapter four. For now, returning to the history of the Church in Japan, the continuity between St Paul's efforts in the Mediterranean world and that of the Jesuits in Asia would later be made explicit in the designation given to Francis Xavier, the founder of the Jesuit mission in Japan (1549-1551) as the 'apostle of the Indies'.

Naturally, Valignano did not lay this path towards cultural adaptation and (as much as late sixteenth-century cultural boundaries allowed) assimilation on his own, but it came as the fruit of several discussions between and among the Father Visitor and the missionaries who were already present on the Japanese territory (some of these since the late 1540s following the visit of Francis Xavier in 1549-1551). Indeed, Valignano was extremely humble with regards to the situation in which Jesuit missionaries in Japan were living until his arrival. He did not speak Japanese and was not ashamed to declare that during the first year of his first visit to the archipelago of the rising sun (1579-1582) he could not get a full picture of the Jesuit mission in Japan and its relevance in Japanese society.<sup>92</sup> It was only in October 1580, that a *consulta* (council) was called in the Jesuit residence in Usuki, Bungo domain, to discuss what new lines of action should be followed.<sup>93</sup> This was the first of three *consultas* organized during the time of Valignano's first visit in Japan. The

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<sup>92</sup> Alessandro Valignano to the Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, Bungo, 7 October 1581, a letter mentioned in VALIGNANO 1946: 19-20.

<sup>93</sup> *HJ*: III, p. 163. For the details of the two original manuscripts, one in Spanish and one in Portuguese see VALIGNANO 1946: 3, n. 1. I will partly refer here to SOUSA 1710: 533-554.

other two were held in Azuchi (July 1581) and in Nagasaki (December 1581).<sup>94</sup> The council of Usuki discussed twenty-one points,<sup>95</sup> touching in various ways upon the benefits and the risks of adapting to Japanese customs, the need to have a bishop in Japan, the possibility of creating a Japanese clergy and what should be taught to Japanese novices, the urgency for the missionaries to learn Japanese and to translate European texts into the local language, and the need to adjust the organization of the missionaries to that of Zen Buddhist monks. These and Zen aesthetics, the Jesuits knew, were kept in high esteem by Japanese daimyos and population at large, so that following their example became strategic for the missionaries to earn the recognition they sought among the upper strata of Japanese society.<sup>96</sup>

Learning how to act and behave according to Japanese etiquette was something which the Japanese upper classes explicitly demanded from the missionaries.<sup>97</sup> The Father Visitor, who was a true political animal, a worldly-wise man who knew how to play his cards very well, understood immediately how crucial this point was for the success of the Jesuit mission in Japan. As expected, Valignano naturally directed his attention to gather the favour of Japanese daimyos to protect and support the advancement of the Jesuit missionaries in the archipelago. Strong relations were immediately established with three influent Christian daimyos, who as we will see later in this dissertation were crucial for the organization of the first Japanese embassy to Europe (1582-1590) where folding screens were presented as diplomatic gifts to Pope Gregory XIII and Philip II of Spain. The three daimyos in question were Ōmura Sumitada (Dom Bartolomeu), Ōtomo Sōrin (Dom Francisco), and Arima Harunobu (Dom Protasius).<sup>98</sup> It was thanks to their recommendations, and especially with the help of Ōtomo Sōrin and other members of the Society

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<sup>94</sup> SOUSA 1710: 533; VALIGNANO 1946.

<sup>95</sup> SOUSA 1710 names only eight.

<sup>96</sup> See VALIGNANO 1946: 124: 'Pera isto parece que aos Padres e Irmãos, que são os bomzos da religião christãa, polo menos convem pôr-se na mesma altura em que estão os bomzos da seyta dos *Genxus* [Zenshū].'

<sup>97</sup> *HJ*: III, p. 177: 'couza muito desejada dos mesmos japões.'

<sup>98</sup> VALIGNANO 1946: 23. On Ōmura Sumitada (1533-1587), daimyo of Ōmura also known by his Christian name of Bartolomeu, see COSTA 1994. On Ōtomo Sōrin (1530-1587), daimyo of Bungo baptised with the name of Francisco, see TOYAMA 1975. On Arima Harunobu (1567-1612), daimyo of Arima later known by his Christian name of Protasius, FRÉDÉRIC 2002: 44

of Jesus in Japan,<sup>99</sup> if in 1581 Valignano was able to draft his *Advertimentos*, which I mentioned above, ‘in one day and one night’.<sup>100</sup> In this process, Ōtomo Sōrin’s help was anything but casual and once again reminds us of the importance of Zen aesthetics for the Jesuits. Instructed by the Zen master Rikiū, Sōrin was in fact finely versed in the Japanese tea ceremony, *cha-no-yu*, where the most refined aspects of Zen aesthetics found expression.<sup>101</sup> Valignano himself recognized the importance of the tea ceremony<sup>102</sup> up to the point of making sure that Jesuit residences in Japan had a room devoted to this practice alone.<sup>103</sup> In his *Advertimentos*, Valignano discussed the kind of behaviour the padres were asked to observe and what etiquette to follow on any occasion, whether formal or informal. Folding screens, of course, were included in this grand design to take Japan by force of painted beauty and refined manners.

To a certain extent, the *Advertimentos* constituted a manual of cultural adaptation intended to promote and, at the same time, to safeguard the reputation of the missionaries – paraphrasing the words of historian of literature Jon Snyder – behind localized displays of etiquette.<sup>104</sup> For the same reason, following the third Jesuit *consulta*, held in Nagasaki in December 1581, Valignano’s mention of Japanese manners ‘regulated in specific books’ should be understood in the context of his high-ranking social, cultural, and religious background. The recommendations collected in the *Advertimentos*, therefore, touched upon a variety of subjects: these included, how to behave in public and private spaces; the correct way to receive a guest according to his social status; how to wrap and give a present and what the gifts should be according to the person and the occasion; the ways in which missionaries were to build their residences according to the rules of Japanese carpentry; and, of course, the use and display of folding screens and sliding doors in churches and

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<sup>99</sup> VALIGNANO 1946: 5, n. 2, 84-85. See also HIOKI 2009: 136 for further secondary sources.

<sup>100</sup> VALIGNANO 1946: 43.

<sup>101</sup> Sen no Rikiū (1522-1591) was considered one of the most important figures in the practice of *cha-no-yu* in Momoyama Japan. On Rikiū and Ōtomo Sōrin see LUDWIG 1989: 88.

<sup>102</sup> VALIGNANO 1943:147: ‘[...] chanoyù, que es la cosa más estimada y venerada qu hay en Japón, tanto que los principales señores se enseñan muy de propósito a hazer este brebaje.’

<sup>103</sup> VALIGNANO 1946: 160: ‘Devem logo ter em todas as casas seu *chanoyu* (lugar em que se tem agoa quente) limpo e bem concertado e hum *Dogico* [*Dojūku*] o outra pessoa que estê continuamente residindo nelle, que saiba do *cha*.’ On Valignano’s admission that because of his European background he could not fully appreciate the tea ceremony and its aesthetics see COOPER 1989: 115.

<sup>104</sup> SNYDER 2009.

in Jesuit residences (**figs. 7, 9**).<sup>105</sup> Eventually, folding screens became the topic of a particular debate concerning the missionaries' profession of poverty.

The occasion for such debate was offered by the *consulta* held in Katsusa in August 1590 where the topics discussed in the *Advertimentos* were updated and expanded.<sup>106</sup> What kind of folding screens – the missionaries debated among other things – was it appropriate to display in Jesuit residences and churches? It was established that gold-leafed folding screens were appropriate only for churches, while the screens displayed in Jesuit residences, where *byōbu* were used to create settings in which to receive guests in accordance with Japanese customs, needed to be sober in theme.<sup>107</sup> Different kinds of screens were suitable for different events, and the same went for the paintings decorating them. In the next section there will be space to take a closer look at the use of folding screens as diplomatic gifts in early modern Japan, China, and Korea. This brief excursion into the history of this practice, prior to the arrival of Europeans in Japan, will provide me some solid support to discuss how this custom was co-opted by Jesuit missionaries, how they exported it to Europe, and to what extent it was later used in their diplomatic relations with Japanese elites. In this case I am referring to the two cartographic pair of screens, the *Map of the of World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens, and the *Battle of Lepanto* screens (**figs. 16, 63**), which I will later discuss in chapter four below.

## Folding screens as diplomatic gifts

We now see that in sixteenth-century Japan folding screens were more than mere decorative objects: they were architectural objects since they contributed to define the interiors of the house and were even made using the same materials, and, at the same time, their display responded to a clear and well defined etiquette. Alessandro Valignano, as we have seen, was opened-minded enough to understand this crucial aspect with regards to folding screens and their relation to Japanese courtesy, on both day-to-day and diplomatic occasions. Eventually, this

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<sup>105</sup> VALIGNANO 1946, and particularly p. 28.

<sup>106</sup> VALIGNANO 1946: 55-74.

<sup>107</sup> VALIGNANO 1946: 65, n. 2 and 3.

strategy would have paid very well and cartographic folding screens were to become an essential part of it. Let us then look at how screens were used in diplomatic relations between Japanese and foreign rulers, between Japanese daimyos, and in meetings between beneficiaries and subordinates.

Japanese *byōbu* were in fact commonly exchanged among wealthy and influential individuals, or given as diplomatic gifts within and outside Japan. The custom of presenting folding screens as diplomatic gifts was with all probability introduced to Japan from China and Korea in the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> century of our era;<sup>108</sup> accordingly, precious screens were usually included among the gifts sent from Japan to the Chinese or Korean courts.<sup>109</sup> For instance, in 1401 the shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, who during the formative years of the Muromachi period (1333-1573) was responsible for the unification of the country following the so-called 'southern and northern courts period' (*nanboku-chō jidai*, 1334-1392), appointed a successful mission to Ming China to gain political recognition from the Celestial Empire. Of course, folding screens were among the gifts presented to the Chinese emperor, along with gold, paper, folding fans, suits of armour, swords, and ink-stone cases.<sup>110</sup> The screens Yoshimitsu sent to China were three *kinbyōbu* (gold-leafed screens).<sup>111</sup> Similar screens (**fig. 6**) were sent to Korea starting from the 1440s onwards.<sup>112</sup> However, the practice of sending folding screens as diplomatic gifts to China and Korea (the only two countries Japan had official relations with before the arrival of the Europeans) was not a privilege of the Ashikaga shoguns alone. A few powerful daimyos also appointed diplomatic missions to China and Korea. During the Muromachi period, this was the case of two warlords from the Ōuchi clan: Ōuchi Masahiro, and Ōuchi Yoshitaka.<sup>113</sup> Masahiro sent a pair of gold-leafed screens decorated with cranes and pines (symbols of high status and longevity respectively) to

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<sup>108</sup> A possibility which seems confirmed by the Chinese screens recorded in the documentation of the Shōso-in imperial repository in Nara. See SOPER 1942: 353, note 3; HARADA 1932.

<sup>109</sup> McKELWAY 2006: 20, 27; TOBY 1986: 436, note 39.

<sup>110</sup> TANAKA 1977: 164.

<sup>111</sup> KLEIN and WHEELWRIGHT 1984: 8.

<sup>112</sup> KLEIN and WHEELWRIGHT 1984: 8.

<sup>113</sup> KLEIN and WHEELWRIGHT 1984: 8. On Ōuchi Masahiro (1446-1495) and Ōuchi Yoshitaka (1507-1551) see HALL and McCLAIN 1991.

Korea in 1487. In the sixteenth century, Yoshitaka, lord of Suō and one of the first daimyo to receive Francis Xavier during the latter's visit in Japan in 1550,<sup>114</sup> commissioned three pairs of *kinbyōbu* from the Kyōto-based workshop of painter Kanō Motonobu.<sup>115</sup> These screens were meant to be included in the list of gifts sent to the Chinese Ming emperor Jiajing (r. 1521-1567) on occasion of the Zen priest Sakugen Shūryō's second embassy to the Chinese imperial court in 1547-1549. The three pairs of screens took Motonobu one year and eight months to complete. The themes depicted conformed to the rank of the recipient and included, on first pair of screens, symbols of longevity and fidelity (cranes, turtles, pine tree, bamboos, mandarin ducks, wild ducks, and small birds), on the second symbols of beauty and nobility (the sun and the moon, paulownias, peacocks, and phoenixes), and on the third symbols of strength and vitality (small birds with trees of pine, maple, willow, and cherry).<sup>116</sup>

The Kanō workshop will play an important role also for the topic discussed in this dissertation. As a matter of fact the above mentioned Kanō Motonobu was the grandfather of Kanō Eitoku, the painter responsible for the so-called Azuchi screens, a now lost pair of six-fold screens depicting the fortress of Oda Nobunaga, de facto ruler of Japan between 1567 and 1582. (Eitoku, it should be mentioned, was also responsible for the decoration of the interiors of the Azuchi castle, which was destroyed in 1582 following the death of Nobubaga.) These screens were given to Valignano in 1581 and later presented to Pope Gregory XIII in 1585 on occasion of the first Japanese embassy in Europe. But I will get back to this point below.

Coming back to the general use of folding screens as diplomatic gifts, inside Japan, they were commonly exchanged among neighbouring Japanese retainers as congratulatory gifts or to gain favour with each other. An example of this custom is recounted in one of Luís Fróis's letters, dated 2 September 1584 and addressed to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus in Rome,

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<sup>114</sup> On Ōuchi and Francis Xavier see ELISONAS 1991: 312-318; TURSELINO 1620: ff. 151-168; LUCENA 1600: 552-578; FRANCESCO SAVERIO 1716: Lib. IV, ep. VII.

<sup>115</sup> McKELWAY 2006: 20; KLEIN and WHEELWRIGHT 1984: 8.

<sup>116</sup> KLEIN and WHEELWRIGHT 1984: 8.

Claudio Aquaviva.<sup>117</sup> In this letter, which is the annual report of the missionary activities for the year 1583, Fróis writes about a pair of folding screens received by a Christian daimyo, Dom Pantaleão (Ōtomo Chikamori, the third son of Ōtomo Sōrin lord of Bungo), on or around Easter day 1583 (10 April).<sup>118</sup> Unfortunately, Fróis says nothing about the identity of the donor of these screens. He laconically mentions him as ‘a heathen nobleman who was [Dom Pantaleão’s] neighbour’.<sup>119</sup> At that time Dom Pantaleão lived in a fortress situated in the city of Myōken, four days walking from Usuki, Bungo domain.<sup>120</sup> Unfortunately, Fróis says nothing specific about the painter who made these screens nor about the themes painted on them: the only information is that the screens ‘were decorated with some of those immodest images [Japanese] heathens enjoy so much’ (probably alluding to lascivious themes?).<sup>121</sup> As Fróis noted, the unknown donor intended ‘to gain the favour of Dom Pantaleão by sending him a pair of golden folding screens which’ – Fróis continues – ‘are a kind of folded papers [supported by] a wooden lattice and used by the Japanese as tapestries for their rooms’.<sup>122</sup> However, in spite of all the good intentions of the mysterious donor in the story, because of their ‘immodest images’ these screens were anything but well received by Dom Pantaleão. The Christian daimyo in fact peremptorily ordered his attendants to set the ‘rich and costly’ screens on fire right in front of his eyes, scolding the (most likely) bewildered emissary that ‘Christians [did] not [enjoy] look[ing] at such despicable things’.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> *CARTAS II*: ff. 89v-95. This passage is also included in *HJ*: IV, 18-19.

<sup>118</sup> According to RIBEIRO 2006: 52, Ōtomo Chikamori Pantaleão was baptised by Francisco Cabral SJ on an unspecified day in September 1582. Also ÜÇERLER 2004: 842 gives the same information but provides no reference. WICKI 1962: 67 wants Chikamori Pantaleão baptised in 1581 or 1582 in Myōken. Both these opinions are in apparent contradiction with what is stated in Fróis’s letter, where Dom Pantaleão is said to have converted to Christianity at least four years earlier than January 1584.

<sup>119</sup> *CARTAS II*: f. 98: ‘Quando chegou áquella fortaleza em que reside hum fidalgo nobre seu vezinho gentio [...]’.

<sup>120</sup> The city of Myōken (‘Meoquen’ in the original Portuguese text) is mentioned in *HJ*: IV, 18, but not in *CARTAS II*: f. 98.

<sup>121</sup> *CARTAS II*: f. 98: ‘[...] nelles hião alguãs figures desonestas, de q[ue] os gentios se agradão [...]’.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid*: ‘[...] parecendolhe que com isto o teria mas propicio lhe mandou de presente huns beobus dourados, que são huma certa maneira de papeis dobrados com sua armação de pao por dentro, que são pera os lapões como tapeçaria de suas camaras [...]’.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*: ‘[...] mostrou cõ[m] muita severidade no rosto o pouco caso que fazia do presente, posto q[ue] por outra via eraõ [sic] ricos, & de preço, & logo allí diante de si os mandou queimar, respondendo ao embaixador, que não punhaõ [sic] os Christãos [sic] os olhos em cousas taõ [sic] dinas de despreço’.

Fortunately, burning precious folding screens down to ashes was not a common practice. In formal circumstances, such as meetings between beneficiaries and subordinates, a folding screen was commonly displayed behind the person higher in rank. Such cases could be, for instance, the emperor's enthronement or any assembly involving the presence of the emperor down to the shogun or any daimyo with their subordinates and attendants. Of course, the themes depicted on folding screens were also chosen in order to convey precise messages about their owners or, more simply, about the spaces in which they were displayed. The same went for paintings on sliding doors (*fusuma*) which characterized Japanese interiors as much as *byōbu* did (**fig. 5**). In fact, as we have seen above in the section dedicated to the materials used in the making of folding screens and traditional Japanese architecture in general, sliding doors were an integral part of the structure of the house, and the subjects painted on them were usually chosen in accordance with the intended use of given rooms. Any painted theme on *fusuma* was chosen carefully, reminding occasional viewers about various aspects of the personality, the ambitions, and the social status of the house owner, unlike folding screens which were given as diplomatic gifts and reflected something about their recipients.

### **The fortress of Azuchi, the Azuchi screens and the *rakuchū rakugai-zu* theme**

Oda Nobunaga's castle at Azuchi (**fig. 4**), briefly mentioned above, set the standard for early modern Japanese castles and offered a good example of this plan for the decoration of sixteenth-century *shoin* interiors. Built between 1576 and 1579, the fortress of Azuchi was unfortunately destroyed in 1582, not long after the death of its owner had occurred on 21 June of the same year. The decoration of the interiors of the castle was commissioned from Kanō Eitoku, who resided at Azuchi throughout almost the entire period in which the castle was being built.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> WHEELWRIGHT 1981: 88. On Kanō Eitoku (1543-1590, active from the 1560s to the year of his death) see TAKEDA 1977; YAMANE 1973; KYOTO NATIONAL MUSEUM 2007; KLEIN 1993.



Although Eitoku's paintings at Azuchi were destroyed with the castle that hosted them, we know about the castle's architectural structure, appearance, and decorative programme from several extant sources.<sup>125</sup> The *shinchō koki*, a chronicle of Nobunaga's life and deeds from 1568 to 1582 written by one of his closest attendants, Ōta Gyūichi, is probably one of the most interesting.<sup>126</sup> Gyūichi's chronicle provided the basis for a very useful study by the historian of Japanese art Caroline Wheelwright, offering a 'visualization' of Eitoku's work at Azuchi.<sup>127</sup> Wheelwright's visual reconstruction of Azuchi castle pays specific attention to sliding doors; however, there is reason to believe that folding screens also played a critical role in the decoration of Nobunaga's residence. In fact, in the first section of this chapter we have seen how, in the words of João Rodrigues S.J., folding screens decorated the stately residences of the Japanese elites by 'run[ning] along the walls or else tak[ing] the place of walls'.

The decorative programs of the palaces of sixteenth-century Japanese elites has also been touched upon in a revealing research dedicated to folding screens representing cityscapes of Kyōto by the art historian Matthew McKelway.<sup>128</sup> He discusses how the Azuchi-Momoyama era (1573-1615) 'witnessed dazzling innovations in the visual arts, most notably in paintings of *fusuma* and folding screens that decorated new palatial sites of power.'<sup>129</sup> During this brief epoch, painting on sliding doors and folding screens achieved new vigour by virtue of its polychrome style and monumental size. Themes concentrating on flowers and birds were preferred because these could fill the large surfaces that characterized the interiors of Japanese castles. Monumental landscapes were among the favourite subjects to be commissioned by sixteenth-century Japanese

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<sup>125</sup> A particular effort in this direction has been undertaken by the architectural historian Naitō Akira (NAITŌ 1976), who based his research on his archival discovery of the architectural plans of the castle's keep, the *Tenshu sashizu*, and the construction plan of the *Tenshu*, the castle's keep. This work was used for the reconstruction of the castle at the 1992 World Exposition in Seville. See also the review of Naitō's publication in TAKAYANAGI 1977. The architectural plans used were copied directly from the originals by the architect Ikegami Uhei in 1670, as Naitō substantiates by comparing these documents with the archaeological remains of the castle. See also ELISON 1981: 62-66. For the interiors of Azuchi castle see WHEELWRIGHT 1981.

<sup>126</sup> Ōta Gyūichi was one of Nobunaga's followers; his text includes an account of the stages and plan of construction of Azuchi castle. See ŌTA 2011.

<sup>127</sup> WHEELWRIGHT 1981.

<sup>128</sup> MCKELWAY 2006.

<sup>129</sup> MCKELWAY 2006: 164.

elites and daimyos. During the preceding Muromachi epoch (1336-1573), painted folding screens representing views of the imperial capital Kyōto (a theme commonly known as *rakuchū rakugai-zu*, ‘scenes in and around Kyōto’) were produced for provincial daimyos as ‘visual statements of cultural status attained through association with the capital’ (**fig. 12**).<sup>130</sup> The first documentary mention of screens representing scenes in and around Kyoto dates back to 1506 in an entry in the *Sanetaka Koki*, the diary of the courtier Sanjonishi Sanetaka (1455-1537).<sup>131</sup> The oldest existing pair of screens of this kind, however, is the Machida family version (or Sanjō screens) kept at the National Museum of Japanese History in the city of Sakura, Chiba prefecture, depicting a view of Kyoto in the 1530s.<sup>132</sup> Even though these views of Kyōto were mostly commissioned for display in the residence of provincial daimyo – McKelway continues – they charted ‘socio-political networks and physical changes within the capital that spoke more to the interests of those within the city than of those outside’.<sup>133</sup> In addition, ‘the choices artists made regarding what places to depict, and how to depict them, are informed less by a relationship with *sengoku* daimyō than by an understanding of Kyoto’s internal politics in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.’<sup>134</sup> This view runs counter to what McKelway defines as the ‘daimyō-as-patron paradigm’<sup>135</sup> in favor of the artist’s contribution to the understanding and the consequent development of political changes in the capital, therefore, conferring ‘legitimacy to particular political interests’.<sup>136</sup>

On formal occasion these screens were displayed behind their owners, they served to reflect the central authority (i.e., the emperor residing in Kyōto) ultimately legitimizing their social status and political role. There were cases, however, when contrary to this reading, *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens were used to communicate to others the control over the capital. For instance, in the early 1570s, Nobunaga presented a pair of *rakuchū rakugai zu* painted by Kanō Eitoku (**fig. 12**) to

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<sup>130</sup> McKELWAY 2006: 2.

<sup>131</sup> Twenty-second day of the twelfth month of Eisho 3: ‘Lord Asakura of Echizen Province recently commissioned a pair of screens of Kyoto. They are a very rare set of new paintings by the official court painter Tosa Mitsunobu. It was quite exciting to see.’ Kano Hiroyuki in <http://www.kyohaku.go.jp/eng/dictio/data/kaiga/46rakuchu.htm> (last visited 1 November 2013). See also MURASE 1975: 154.

<sup>132</sup> MURASE 1975: 154; McKELWAY 2006: 2.

<sup>133</sup> McKELWAY 2006: 3.

<sup>134</sup> McKELWAY 2006: 3.

<sup>135</sup> McKELWAY 2006: 2.

<sup>136</sup> McKELWAY 2006: 4.

one of his fiercest opponents, Uesugi Kenshin, as a symbolic gesture to communicate his control of the capital and by extension his growing hegemony over Japan.<sup>137</sup> But Nobunaga wanted to take this political reading of *rakuchū rakugai zu* screens to a whole different level. In fact, differently from his contemporaries commissioning screens with views of Kyōto to be displayed in their residences in the province, Nobunaga commissioned a folding screen with a landscape view of his own fortress at Azuchi. In other words, Azuchi, and not Kyōto, was the real political centre of Japan.

All the existing *rakuchū rakugai* screens were painted by masters of the Kanō school.<sup>138</sup> Kanō Eitoku was with all probability the author of the now lost Azuchi screens, a pair of six-fold screens representing the Nobunaga's fortress dominating the castle town of Azuchi from a hilltop and the Lake Biwa (now Lake Ōmi) in the background. This pair of screens was completed between 1579 and 1580. This possibility is suggested by Jesuit and Japanese sources. According to the Jesuit ones the Azuchi screens were commissioned from 'the most renowned artisan of all of Japan', probably alluding to Eitoku.<sup>139</sup> On the other hand, Japanese sources, namely the *Oyudono no ue no nikki* (a collection of diaries of the life at the imperial court), report that the painter commissioned to execute the Azuchi screens was Kanō Genshichirō, Eitoku's younger brother. However, as the art historian Matthew McKelway discusses, it has been made clear that the diarist writing about this event in the *Oyudono no ue no nikki* mistook Genshirō, which was the name used by Eitoku, for Genshichirō.<sup>140</sup> That Eitoku might have been the painter of the Azuchi screens is more than likely, especially considering the fact that he was the one from whom Nobunaga commissioned the decoration of his residence in Azuchi. The commission of the screens in question might be seen as a self-celebratory act which Nobunaga carried out right after the completion of his castle at Azuchi, at the apex of his political and military career. Indeed, it

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<sup>137</sup> McKELWAY 2006: 99.

<sup>138</sup> McKELWAY: 2. The other three *rakuchū rakugai-zu* screens surviving from the 16th century are the Tokyo National Museum screens, the Uesugi screens painted in the 1560s, and the Takahashi screens painted in the 1560s or 1570s.

<sup>139</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>140</sup> McKELWAY 2006: 165, n. 4.

could be easily argued that the Azuchi screens provided an effective ephemeral synopsis of Nobunaga's political/military ascent and personal merits, the very qualities which had allowed him to emerge from being an obscure daimyo of Owari province to become the most influential man of his times in Japan.

For Nobunaga, having a screen with a landscape view of Azuchi and his castle painted by one of the most influential painters of his times, Kano Eitokū, was indeed a statement of the influence he could exert in the contemporary political arena, and as one would expect Nobunaga had a true fixation with the realistic rendering of his castle in painting. This is well portrayed in a letter dated 15 February 1582 by the Vice-Provincial of the Japanese mission, Gaspar Coelho. Coelho informs us that whenever Nobunaga thought some painted detail was not faithful to the actual fortress, the town around the castle, and the landscape surrounding the castle town, he ordered his painter to erase the work and start all over again.<sup>141</sup> Eventually, this screen became famous for its excellence among high-ranking Japanese feudal lords and aristocracy. According to Fróis's *História de Japam*, Emperor Ōgimachi asked Nobunaga to have Eitoku's screens displayed in his palace in Kyōto as he would not have had the chance to visit the castle in person.<sup>142</sup> This information is also confirmed in the *Oyudono no ue no nikki* (on 13 August 1580): "having had Kanō Genshichirō paint *byōbu* of the palace at Azuchi, Nobunaga came to show them, and had Shunchōken bring them [here]. This evening they will be placed here."<sup>143</sup> After seeing the screens, Emperor Ōgimachi asked if he could keep them for himself, but his request was denied.<sup>144</sup> The episode of Ōgimachi wanting to have the Azuchi screens displayed in his residence is even more interesting if one takes into consideration the above-mentioned custom of many provincial daimyos having gold-leafed screens with views of the imperial city of Kyōto. In the case of the Azuchi screens this relation would have been inverted. This time the Emperor would have been in the position of looking up

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<sup>141</sup> See Appendix A. On Gaspar Coelho S.J. (ca. 1531-1590), his role in Jesuit politics in Japan, and his controversies with Toyotomi Hideyoshi see BOXER 1951: 140, 168, 229, 258; ELISONAS 1991: 347-353.

<sup>142</sup> *HJ*: III, p. 260.

<sup>143</sup> McKELWAY 2006: 163.

<sup>144</sup> See Appendix A.

at Nobunaga and not the other way round.<sup>145</sup> Certainly the fame of the Azuchi screens was heightened by Nobunaga's habit of showing them only on very rare occasions and – as it can be deduced – to only a very 'few [individuals] favoured by [him], or by some of [his] important guests'.<sup>146</sup> Among these few 'favoured' ones was Valignano, who not only was shown Eitoku's screens but was also given them from Nobunaga in person, as a very special present indeed.

## **Nobunaga and the Missionaries**

What made Nobunaga chose to give the Azuchi screens to Valignano, a foreigner, after he denied lending them for one day to Emperor Ōgimachi? What was the Father Visitor's understanding of this gift, and what did he do with it? One cannot answer these two questions without tackling a more immediate question: what was the relation between Oda Nobunaga and the Jesuits? This is what I am going to discuss in this section.

It has been argued that the influence which Jesuit missionaries exerted on late sixteenth-century Japanese history and politics was relatively small. With their activities circumscribed within small areas of the archipelago, the missionaries' weight was certainly less significant than what many scholars have argued.<sup>147</sup> However, Nobunaga's political and military ascension owed something to the arrival of Portuguese merchants and firearms,<sup>148</sup> and it is known that the Jesuit missionaries often served as middlemen for Portuguese traders.<sup>149</sup>

The arrival of Valignano in Japan in July 1579 offers an illuminating example of the relations between the Jesuits and Portuguese traders in Japan. Embarked on the annual trading ship connecting Macao with south-western Japanese harbours, Valignano pushed the Portuguese

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<sup>145</sup> Ōgimachi was a political protégé of Nobunaga, see LAMERS 1998.

<sup>146</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>147</sup> ELISONAS 1991.

<sup>148</sup> BROWN 1948. According to KUROIITA 1937: II, p. 237, firearms in Japan were not used for military purposes until the end of the Tembun era (1532-54).

<sup>149</sup> Francis Xavier S.J., who arrived in Japan in 1549, was the first to establish a close association between Portuguese trading harbours in Japan and Jesuit missions (see ELISONAS 1991: 310, 332 and 321-326). BOXER 1959, 1986.

*capitão-mor* (captain)<sup>150</sup> Leonel de Brito to make sail towards the port of Kuchinotsu, Arima domain. Valignano's intent was to persuade the local lord, Arima Harunobu, to favour and support the missionaries in his territories.<sup>151</sup> In exchange for this, Harunobu was promised the benefits deriving from direct trade with Macao.<sup>152</sup> Not only did Harunobu accept the deal, but, probably following his own commercial and military interests, he also converted to Christianity taking the name of Protasius. He later became one of the principal patrons of the Jesuits in Japan and helped Valignano in the organization of the Teshō embassy, which I will discuss in the following section. Being the political animal that he was, Valignano was not so ingenuous as to misunderstand the interests leading many daimyos to the Cross.

Another interesting example refers to the meeting on 29 September 1549 of Francis Xavier, the founder of the Jesuit mission in Japan, with Shimazu Takahisa, lord of Satsuma. This encounter is interesting because for the first time western painting makes its appearance in Japan and it is used as a tool of evangelization. Francis Xavier brought with him two paintings, a *Virgin and Child* and an *Annunciation*,<sup>153</sup> and these were shown to Shimazu and his mother by Paul Anjiro, a Japanese convert who had met Francis Xavier in Malacca in 1547 and helped him to reach Japan two years later.<sup>154</sup>

'When Paul met the Duke [lord Shimazu] [...], he took with him an image of Our Lady, which we carried with us; the Duke marvelled at the sight of it and knelt in front of the image of Christ our Lord and Our Lady; [he then] prayed with great devotion and ordered to all the people there [with

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<sup>150</sup> The *capitão-mor* was a pivotal figure in the organization of the Portuguese trade in Asia. Appointed yearly by the Portuguese king in Lisbon or his Viceroy in Goa, the *capitão-mor* was also governor *ad interim* of the trading post of Macao. See *Regimento dos Capitães Mores, & mais Capitães, & Officiaes das companhias da gente de pè, & de cavallo: & da ordem que terão em se exercitarem*, Lisboa: 1598.

<sup>151</sup> *HJ*: III, c. 18; ELISONAS 1991: 33; BOXER 1959: 40; CHANG 1933.

<sup>152</sup> Portuguese traders settled in the village of A'men, later renamed Macao, between 1555 and 1557, at the end of a long period of illegal trade off the south-western coasts of China. The Portuguese had been in fact banned from trading in Chinese harbours from 1522 until 1552 as a reaction to the misdeeds of Simão Pires de Andrade. In 1519 Simão had fortified an area of Tuen Mun (part of today Hong Kong) on the east coast of Zhuzhuang River Estuary without permission from Chinese authorities. From Tuen Mun it seems he was involved in kidnapping and selling local children into slavery (BOXER 1951: 16). Eventually, Simão's misdeeds jeopardised the contemporary diplomatic mission of the Portuguese royal apothecary Tomé Pires who, accompanied by Simão's elder brother Fernão Pires de Andrade, was travelling in mainland China as the first Portuguese ambassador to the Chinese imperial court. On the agreements stipulated between the Portuguese captain Leonel de Sousa and the Chinese authorities see BRAGA 1939. On the annual trade between Macao and south-western Japan see BOXER 1951, 1963, 1986; SOUZA 2005.

<sup>153</sup> ACOSTA 1571: ff. 68v-69; McCALL 1947: 23.

<sup>154</sup> *MX*: I, epist. 71, Cochín, 12 January 1549, p. 475. See also LUCENA 1600: 346.

him] to do the same; then the image was shown to the Duke's mother who marveled at the sight of it and [, at the same time,] showed great pleasure in looking at it.<sup>155</sup>

Following the meeting, Francis Xavier was given permission to preach in Shimazu's domains.<sup>156</sup>

Years later, Valignano would comment on Shimazu's magnanimity as more an expression of the latter's interest in the Macao trade than a sign of his genuine interest in the Christian faith: 'they [the Japanese daimyos] knew the credit and the authority that the Padres had among the Portuguese and greatly desired that, through the [padres'] mediation, [the Portuguese] would come to their harbours with their ships.'<sup>157</sup>

A third and final example concerns the role Jesuits played in facilitating Japanese daimyos in purchasing firearms. The case in question is well represented by the daimyo of Bungo, the above-mentioned Ōtomo Sōrin (Dom Francisco), who in 1568 wrote to the bishop of Macao Belchior Carneiro S.J. about his interest in receiving a cannon from the Portuguese, as the one he was expecting went lost at sea off the coast of Malacca.<sup>158</sup> In this letter, as the historian Delmer Brown pointed out, Sōrin concluded that the Jesuit missionaries and Portuguese merchants trading in his territories would be better off if he could effectively defend his domains from his enemies.<sup>159</sup> Indeed, during the final years of the *sengoku-jidai*, at a time when Japan was devastated by a cruel civil war among independent daimyos, the use of the Portuguese *teppo* (arquebus) became strategic to achieve military supremacy. The deployment of trained arquebusiers on the battlefield drastically transformed Japanese warfare. Probably the most famous example of this was at the battle of Nagashino (1575), where the troops of Oda Nobunaga and Tokugawa Ieyasu

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<sup>155</sup> MX: I, epist. 90, p. 618: 'Quando Paulo foy falar com o Duque (o qual estava cymquo legoas de Cangoxima), leuou comsigo huma imagem de nosa Senhora muy devota, que traziamos com nos outros, e folgou a maravilha ho Duque quando a vio, he se pos de giolhos diante da imagem de X<sup>o</sup> noso Senhor e de nosa Senhora, e adorou com muyto atacamento e reverengia, e mandou todos os que com elle estauao que fizessem o mesmo; e depois amostran-a há may do Duque, ha qual se espantou en vel-a, mostrando muyto prazer.'

<sup>156</sup> LÓPEZ-GAY 2003: 102.

<sup>157</sup> ELISONAS 1991: 310, quoting VALIGNANO 1944: 165.

<sup>158</sup> BROWN 1948: 242, n. 31; ELISONAS 1991: 317. For the English translations of the original letter dated 13 September 1568 see BOXER 1959: 317-19.

<sup>159</sup> BROWN 1948: 242, n. 31.

(later the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1602) opposed those of Takeda Shingen (**figs. 13, 14**).<sup>160</sup> Nobunaga's troops numbered 70,000 men, 3000 of whom were arquebusiers.<sup>161</sup> It is clear, then, that Nobunaga's relations with the Jesuits were quite ambivalent, and the same could be said the other way round. For the Japanese lord, Jesuit missionaries provided excellent channels through which to secure a privileged position with Portuguese traders and access to their valuable goods, such as firearms, Chinese raw silk, gold, and silver.<sup>162</sup> On the other hand, he never converted to Christianity despite the great favours granted to the Society of Jesus in his territories. Much like the Christian daimyos in Kyūshū, the lord of Azuchi supported Jesuit missionaries and protected their activities in his domains. The Jesuit missionaries acted towards Nobunaga as pilot fish do with a shark. For them the Japanese lord was a powerful and respected patron, so much so that the important insights contained in their writings enable us to reconstruct and decipher Nobunaga's historical figure and deeds.<sup>163</sup> This is why, Jesuit sources commonly described Nobunaga as the man of destiny.<sup>164</sup>

## The Donation of the Azuchi Screens to Valignano

The completion of Nobunaga's fortress in 1579 shifted the centre of Japanese politics from Kyoto to this Azuchi. Accordingly, in 1580, the missionaries thought it would be fruitful to establish a mission in the city in order to win as many converts as possible among the noblemen and influential figures revolving around Nobunaga's residence.<sup>165</sup> This was done on Valignano's suggestion by the Italian Jesuit Organtino Gneccchi-Soldo, one of the most prominent figures of the

<sup>160</sup> TURNBULL 2012a and 2012b; FRIDAY 2001; SADLER 2010.

<sup>161</sup> BROWN 1948: 239.

<sup>162</sup> BROWN 1947, 1948; ELISONAS 1991: 310, 332 and 321-326.

<sup>163</sup> LAMERS 1998: 22.

<sup>164</sup> *CARTAS*: I, "Carta do padre Luis Fróis, do Miaco [Kyoto] pera o padre Belchior de Figueiredo", 1 June 1569, f. 256v: '[...] segundo a comum voz dos Christãos, & gentios nunca em lapão ovve principe gentio que com tanto affecto e entranhas de amor ate [sic, até] agora ajudasse, & favorecesse alei [sic, a lei] de Deos, & os padres, & fizesse tanto por suas cousas como este: & realme[n]te pode vossa Reverencia crer que he muito mais do que nesta posso declarar.'

<sup>165</sup> *HJ*: III, 193: 'huma caza mui comprida e capaz que servisse de seminario, por ter entendida a vontade do Padre Vizitador, que era ordenar que houvesse lá outro em que da mesma maneira se procedesse como elle tinha ordenado em Arima, por ser Anzuchiyama [...] a mais nobre e principal cidade, corte e fortaleza que então havia em Japão.'



Japanese mission, and the missionary who, together with Portuguese Luís Fróis, was most in contact with Nobunaga.<sup>166</sup> In fact, besides Gneccchi-Soldo and Fróis, Nobunaga met twice (in 1571 and 1574) with the above-mentioned Francisco Cabral when the latter was still Superior of the Jesuit mission in Japan. Nobunaga and Valignano met in 1581.<sup>167</sup>

Jesuit sources tell us that Valignano and Nobunaga met only three times in this year: on 26 March, on 2 April, and on 14 May. The first meeting occurred in Kyoto at the Honnō-ji, a Buddhist temple where Nobunaga lodged at that time,<sup>168</sup> in the evening of Easter day 1581 (26 March).<sup>169</sup> That day, Valignano had returned to Kyoto from the town of Takatsuki, where he celebrated mass just before dawn.<sup>170</sup> From an unpublished letter written in Kyoto on 2 September 1581 by Francesco Stefanone S.J.,<sup>171</sup> we know that on that occasion Nobunaga, who wanted to meet the high-ranking Jesuit personally, sent one of his emissaries to the Jesuits in Kyoto to ask about Valignano.<sup>172</sup> Of course, considering the importance of the two figures – and especially Valignano's attention to Japanese etiquette – this meeting could not proceed without gifts. For the occasion the Father Visitor gave Nobunaga a gift which he had brought from China especially for the Japanese lord:<sup>173</sup> a gilded chair upholstered with crimson velvet.<sup>174</sup> In exchange, Oda Nobunaga gave the Italian Jesuit two rare wild geese from the Kantō region which he himself had received as a gift some days earlier.<sup>175</sup> Presenting a gift one had received as a gift to another was a significant gesture also in Europe.<sup>176</sup> It is interesting to note that, in contrast to what Fróis wrote about this gesture,

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<sup>166</sup> COSTA 1999: 120.

<sup>167</sup> COSTA 1999: 120.

<sup>168</sup> LAMERS 1998: 182. Nobunaga was later killed in this temple in June 1582.

<sup>169</sup> *HJ*: III, 254.

<sup>170</sup> *HJ*: III, 251: 'A festa da Resorreição se fez duas horas antes de amanhecer.'

<sup>171</sup> APPENDIX B.

<sup>172</sup> APPENDIX B: f. 16v: 'in questo accadde che venne il Nobunaga della sua fortallessa a questo meaco [Kyoto], e pare che sapendo nove del padre mando un suo molto prevato [*sic*, privato] a nostra casa com dire e che entendeva che era venuto um padre de statura molto alto che il vedessi per li dar nove.' This fact is not mentioned in *HJ*: III, 254.

<sup>173</sup> APPENDIX B: f. 16v: 'fu il p[adr]e a visitarlo com um presente che della cina haveva portato per il medesimo effetto.'

<sup>174</sup> *HJ*: III, 255: 'quando o Padre visitou a Nobunanga lhe tinha dado, conforme aos costumes de Japão, de prezente huma cadeira de estato de veludo carmezim guarnecida d'ouro, que um seo devoto portuguez na China lhe tinha dado para este effeito [...].'

<sup>175</sup> *HJ*: III, 254.

<sup>176</sup> BUTTERS 2007: 291-296.

Stefanone described Nobunaga's present as an act of compassion towards Valignano; the Japanese lord thought he who looked too thin and emaciated, and suggested that the Jesuit cook the two birds and take care of himself.<sup>177</sup>

The second meeting occurred on 2 April,<sup>178</sup> on the occasion of a public horse race, the *Umazoroe*, organized and performed by Nobunaga and his attendants in Kyoto; this prestigious event was attended not only by Valignano, but also by Emperor Ōgimachi.<sup>179</sup> Having arranged a privileged spot from which Valignano could watch the races, the Japanese lord had the gilded chair he had received just a few days earlier brought there by four of his men; no one of those attending the event would have failed to notice that Nobunaga, after dismounting from his horse, chose to sit on this exotic piece of furniture after dismounting from his horse.<sup>180</sup>

Following this second meeting Valignano spent a few days in Azuchi visiting the mission founded by Father Organtino,<sup>181</sup> only to return to Kyoto on Ascension Day to celebrate the mass.<sup>182</sup> This Feast Day is celebrated forty days after Easter. In 1581, according to the Julian calendar, Ascension Day fell on 14 May. According to Stefanone, once Valignano celebrated the mass in Kyoto he returned to Azuchi (which was only 45 kilometres away) where he met Nobunaga for the third time. On this occasion Nobunaga, thinking of Valignano as someone who was not in a

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<sup>177</sup> APPENDIX B, f. 16v: 'e stando il p[adr]e magro e pallido mostava [*sic*, mostrava] ter compassione di lui, e detteli di presente dui como oche molto grandi che li havevano venuto di presente di altri regni dicendo che se facessi cucinare un di quelli passari e si governassi molto bene.'

<sup>178</sup> See also a letter dated 8 October 1581 by Lourenço Meixa to Pedro da Fonseca in *CARTAS* 1598: II, ff. 16v. SCHÜTTE 1958: 165 says this event occurred on 1 April 1581.

<sup>179</sup> *HJ*: III, 255, n. 5; APPENDIX B, f.17: 'fu conselhato il p[adr]e visitatore che agraderebe al Nobunaga che fusse a veder la festa per che ƒ li pareva che faceva stima delle sue cose; e ~~perche~~ e per il frutto che desideriamo e tanto necessaria la gratia del Nobunaga fu il p[adr]e sforzato a andar a vedere de hum loco prehemimente[...]. We don't know if Valignano met the Emperor on this occasion; however, it is not relevant for the present discussion. This detail has been included to indicate the prestige of the race.

<sup>180</sup> APPENDIX B, f. 17: 'e il Nobunaga quasi apostata ~~quiva~~ qui apresso curreva col cavallo piu che li altri e una sedia di velluto carmesino che il p[adr]e li haveva dato de presente quivi nel mezo della festa ~~la fece~~ la fece portare per .4. homini aventi de si nella quale discavalcando si assise [...]. OTA 2011: 385 does not mention the chair, but mentions the black slave who was in the retinue of Valignano, which was then "given" to Nobunaga as a gift. See also a letter dated 8 Oct. 1581 by Lourenço Meixa to Pedro da Fonseca in *CARTAS* 1598: II, ff. 17: "agora [Nobunaga] o favorece tanto que o mandou por toda a cidade como hum homem seu muito privado pera que todos soubessem que elle o amava: dizem que o fara Tono".

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*: "[...] e il p.<sup>e</sup> visitatore con ó laxando in questo meaco piu che un p.<sup>e</sup> e fratelli [...] e arrivando a anzuchi se ralegro molto di una bella casa che quivi teneva fatta il p.<sup>e</sup> organtino [...]."

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*: "[...] depoi de questo si ocupo il p.<sup>e</sup> visitatore in ordinare le cose del seminario e finiti altri negotij se torno al meaco per visitare tutte le fortalezee loqui de cristiani e per le chiese sonno molto bone grandi e capaci in ognuna di quelle conforme alle feste che ocorrerono dipoi della Ascensione li celebrou una messa solenne [...]."

position to receive silver or gold as gifts,<sup>183</sup> decided to give away what he held most dear in the world: nothing less than the city of Azuchi and its castle, painted on a *byōbu*.<sup>184</sup> At the forefront of Nobunaga's mind was a wish to know if the Jesuit was happy with what he had received. And Valignano, being the far-sighted man that he was, understood immediately the political significance of the gesture, and the potential benefits that might flow from showing these screens in 'China, India, and Europe'.<sup>185</sup> He could not have been anything but extremely grateful.<sup>186</sup> In the next chapter we will see how he made a point of returning the favour to Nobunaga, ordering the commission from Italian artists of screens decorated with European-style oil paintings to be eventually donated (in line with the custom of using *byōbu* as diplomatic gifts) to the Japanese warlord.

Having received Eitoku's paintings, Valignano decided to display the screens in the church which the missionaries had built in Azuchi. The choice of displaying them in this setting was governed by his expectation that the church interior would be able to accommodate the large number of people that he expected would come from different cities with the sole purpose of seeing the precious screens.<sup>187</sup> It was probably on this occasion that Valignano thought about the possibility of using gold-leafed screens to decorate the churches in Japan, as it would later be stipulated at the Jesuit council of Katsusa (13-25 August 1590).<sup>188</sup> It was after receiving Nobunaga's screens that the Father Visitor thought more deeply about how best to show them, and set about organizing the Tenshō embassy that was to culminate in the presentation of these screens to Pope Gregory XIII in Rome. But this will be thoroughly discussed in the following chapter.

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<sup>183</sup> On this point see the example provided by Grand Duke Ferdinando I de' Medici and the Jesuit Francesco de Toledo in BUTTERS 2007: 280-291.

<sup>184</sup> APPENDIX B, f. 17: "[...] il p.<sup>e</sup> depoi visitati anche molti lochi di cristiani si torno al meaco e depoi a Anzuchi dove arrivando il Nobunaga li mando a dire che pensando che li haverebe ~~dire che li haverebe~~ didare tornadosi alla india nò potendo di ricevere argento ne oro nó teneva cosa che piu cara li fusse che la sua fortaleza e citta pintata in biobos.'

<sup>185</sup> *HJ*: III, 260.

<sup>186</sup> APPENDIX B, f. 17: "[...] se si ralegrava con quilli che celli mandarebe e dandoli il p.<sup>e</sup> molte gratie, e mandandocelli li mando a dire ~~e~~ che senò li contentassi che li tornassi a mandare; e dandoli il p.<sup>e</sup> che quello era cosa per molto contentar e darli infinite gratie se per il grande amor che in dar quello mostrava como per la cosa esser molto ritorno il Nobunaga a mandar altra ambasciata con dire che ia che si ralegrava com quelli che lui anche si ralegrava molto, [...]"

<sup>187</sup> *HJ*: III, 260-261.

<sup>188</sup> VALIGNANO 1946: 65, n. 3.

## Conclusion to Chapter One

In this chapter we have seen how sixteenth-century Japanese screens were made and how their materiality and their structural features were deeply interrelated with the material and structural features characterizing traditional Japanese architecture. We have also seen how folding screens were considered more than mere architectural objects. They were *living objects* in the sense that their mobility gave way to various uses and allowed for a variety of behaviours according to the level of formality of the occasion for which they were displayed. In addition to that, their use as diplomatic gifts or to make bold political statements (as in the case of Nobunaga's Azuchi screen) made folding screens a privileged site of diplomatic and cross-cultural encounter between Europe and Japan.

In the next chapter I will discuss the organization of the first Japanese embassy to Europe (1582-1590) and the donation of cartographic folding screens to the King of Spain and Portugal, Philip II, and to Pope Gregory XIII. In both cases the donation of cartographic screens were related to an explicit eschatological reading looking into the successful spread of Christianity in China and Japan and the coming of Christian universal king which many contemporaries identified with Philip II. In chapter two, we will also see how this prophetic reading of maps and historical events such as the battle of Lepanto was also heavily stressed throughout the itinerary of the Japanese envoys in Portugal, Spain, and Italy. Eventually, these topics will have a tremendous echo back in Japan and will find expression in the two pairs of screens discussed in chapter four of this dissertation.

The Tenshō embassy was the first diplomatic mission to Europe, taking its name from the period in Japanese history, Tenshō, during which it took place (1582-1590). In an important article dedicated to the Tenshō embassy, the historian George Elison (formerly Jurgis Elisonas) defined this diplomatic mission in Europe as a "publicity stunt".<sup>189</sup> However aptly expressed Elison's definition may be, his article as a whole fails to cover the weighty role that folding screens and

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<sup>189</sup> ELISONAS 2007: 27.

cartography played in this important diplomatic enterprise. Indeed, one of the legacies of the Tenshō embassy would be that, upon the return of the emissaries to Japan in 1590, folding screens became the format most favoured for displaying European maps (see chapter four). But before delving into how Jesuit missionaries came to point of commissioning cartographic screens in Japan, it is important to discuss how the Tenshō embassy was organized, what it entailed, and the ways in which maps and city views (as in the case of the Azuchi screens) were used to bring legitimacy to the Jesuit mission in Japan.

## 2. Ambassadors in effect

### The organization of the Tenshō embassy

Prior to the organization of the Tenshō embassy, Valignano had not hidden his intention to return to Europe in order to explain the state of affairs in which the Jesuit missionaries were operating in eastern Asia, and particularly in Japan. On 7 October 1581, not long after he had returned to Bungo from Azuchi, the Father Visitor wrote a letter to Acquaviva expressing his desire to return to Rome:

‘because this country is continuously changing and it is so far from Rome that it is hard to have a clear understanding of what happens here, as things are very different from what is going on in Europe; here [in Japan] each one is looking after his own gain and not everyone is [as] cautious [as you would expect], [so that] everyone writes [about Japan] according to what he understands and knows of it [...]; it is hard for you to determine what is going on in this country by only reading [the] letters [you receive].’<sup>190</sup>

Well he and Acquaviva knew that a letter written in Japan would take around two years to reach Europe, and a reply would have taken as much time to return to Japan. As he could not wait for an answer from the Society’s headquarters in Rome, Valignano decided to take action. Whether Acquaviva was going to approve or not, he was going to leave Japan on the first ship to Macao and Goa, and from there, sail to Europe. But he was not going to leave alone. The Father Visitor chose four young Japanese emissaries to accompany him as representatives of three Christian daimyo of Arima, Bungo, and Omura, who were the local rulers who had already granted the missionaries limited financial support and political protection. For the occasion, among the many diplomatic gifts which were going to be presented to European rulers, folding screens occupied a prominent role.

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<sup>190</sup> ARSJ *Jap. Sin.* 9.1.35-36v: ‘[...] y si V[uestra] P[aternalidad] quer el parecer desse su indigno hijo y de poco saber aunq[ue] deseoso del bie[n] de la Co[m]p[añi]a y de a[co]rtar dexãdome e nessa pr[o]v[inc]ia me parece q[ue] me desse dexar e libert[a]dad de ir a do me pareciere q[ue] sera mas serviço de N[uestro] S[eñor] y bie[n] de la Co[m]p[añi]a, [...] se me ma[n]dar, yr a Roma a daar informaçio[n] a V[uestra]P[aternalidad] porq[ue] como ê esta pr[o]v[inc]ia hai mil mudaças y esta[n] ta[n] lexis de Roma y las cosas della no se puede[n] bie[n] e[n]tender y como so[n] de mucho pezo y differentissimas de lo q[ue] pasa por alla y cada uno como se dize mira solo por su polero y la prudenciã no es e[n] todos y qual y cada un escreve co[n]forme a lo que entiende y q[ue] sabe [...] mal se puede [...] ni por Relaciones ni por cartas determinar desde su ropa a[co]rca de las cosas desta pr[o]v[inc]ia.’

It was only at the beginning of January 1582, following discussions with the lords of Bungo (Ōtomo Sōrin, or Dom Francisco), Ōmura (Ōmura Sumitada or Dom Bartolomeu), and Arima (Arima Harunobu or Dom Protasio), that Valignano began organizing the Tenshō mission.<sup>191</sup> As the Jesuit historian Daniello Bartoli summarized, the reasons for sending a Japanese embassy to Rome were basically three. The first one was to improve Japanese knowledge and appreciation of European countries and customs.<sup>192</sup> Japanese scorn for things European sounded terribly arrogant to Bartoli who, as a sixteenth-century European man, viewed the Japanese as the inhabitants of a remote outpost, at the ends of the earth ('messi colà, nell'ultimo fin del mondo') in an essentially Eurocentric world; a world the Japanese knew nothing about because their geographical knowledge was limited to 'Japan, China, and Siàm' (meaning India).<sup>193</sup> When the first Portuguese merchants and missionaries arrived in Japan, many Japanese thought that the reason these strange men had undertaken such a long and dangerous journey was the poverty of their homeland. In 1579, for instance, Nobunaga received Organtino Gnechi-Soldo and asked the Italian Jesuit to show him on a globe the ship route from Europe to Japan.<sup>194</sup> Nobunaga marvelled at the distance covered by the missionaries in order to preach in his country. Nevertheless, he could not hide his doubts. According to Jesuit sources, Nobunaga smiled and said:

'If you are ready to face so many dangers and such a long journey at sea, you either must be thieves who are looking for something here, or what you preach must be very important.'<sup>195</sup>

The second reason for the Jesuits sending a Japanese embassy to Rome was to gather additional financial support for the mission in Japan. The Japanese mission was not part of the territories financed by Portuguese or Spanish Royal patronage, nor did it receive financial support from the

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<sup>191</sup> FRÓIS 1942: 2; BARTOLI 1660: 166.

<sup>192</sup> BARTOLI 1660: 166: 'Le ragioni d'onde, a così volere, s'indussero, furono tre, degne di risapersi. E quella primieramente dello stimare i Giapponesi, d'essere soli huomini al mondo. Messi colà, nell'ultimo fin della terra [...].'

<sup>193</sup> BARTOLI 1660: 166-167: '[...] non credevano esservi al mondo altro che le lor isole, la Cina, e Siàm, e con queste sole tre parti, le loro mappe geografiche, descrivevano tutta la terra.'

<sup>194</sup> This globe was brought to Japan in 1554. See CURVELO 2007: 291.

<sup>195</sup> *HJ*: III, 203: 'E virando-se para o Padre e Irmão, lhes disse rindo: "Já que vos outros vos meteis a cometer tantos perigos e passar tão distantes mares, ou sois ladrões que pertendeis alguma cousa, ou o que pregaes deve ser couza de muito momento".'

Vatican.<sup>196</sup> As I discussed above, the financial situation of the missionaries in Japan was extremely dependent on the good will of the few daimyos who were Christians, on the donations of the Portuguese traders, and on the participation of Jesuit missionaries in their trade. Finally, Bartoli's third reason was that of paying homage to the Pope, and, particularly of offering this Bishop of Rome the obedience of the Tenshō envoys and the Christian daimyos of Arima, Bungo, and Omura. The very presence of Japanese envoys in Europe would have provided a '*carta viva*', a living testimony to Valignano's ambitious policies for the development of the Jesuit mission in Japan.<sup>197</sup>

Valignano handpicked the four young men, all belonging to the local aristocracy in Arima, Bungo, and Omura, destined to become the envoys of these Christian daimyos:<sup>198</sup> Mancio Itō, emissary of Ōtomo Sōrin (lord of Bungo); Miguel Chijiwa, envoy of daimyos Ōmura Sumitada (lord of Arima) and Arima Harunobu (lord of Ōmura); and Julião Nakaura and Martino Hara as escorts of the first two (**fig. 15**). The four boys, who were around thirteen or fourteen years old at the time they left Japan for Europe, had received a western education by the Jesuit missionaries in Japan.<sup>199</sup> On 20 February 1582, Valignano and his two secretaries (Lourenço Meixa S.J. and Oliviero Toscanelli S.J.), together with the four young envoys and their Jesuit tutor Diogo de Mesquita, left for Macao

<sup>196</sup> On this and for additional bibliographic references see SARAIVA and JAMI 2008; BOXER 1978.

<sup>197</sup> MASSARELLA 2013: 2. On the other hand, we should not forget that bringing "human samples" back from newly encountered lands was a common practice in Early modern Europe. They served as "*carta viva*" in the process of European expansion overseas. Think of Columbus, for instance, displaying "six Indians" in front of King Ferdinand, or Cortez, displaying the some Aztec "samples" in front of Charles V in 1529. The stereotype of the exotic Indian became firmly rooted in European soil after a spectacle was held in Rouen (the main French centre for trade in brazilwood) for the French king and his wife in 1550. Some fifty Brazilian Indians were supposed to give a display of life and battle in an Indian settlement, a task in which they were assisted by 250 French sailors dressed up as Indians. This idea continued well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, think of Buffalo Bill's circus. This reading should be kept in mind also when we think about the passage of the Tenshō envoys in Portugal, Spain, and Italy.

<sup>198</sup> ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 9.2.173 (Valignano in Cochín, 28 Oct. 1583): "[...] truxe conmigo de Japon quatro niños de edad de quinze años, muy nobles y los dos dellos hijos de grandes señores: e criados por el rey de Bungo: y los Señores de Arima y de Omura [...]."

<sup>199</sup> Their young age was, indeed, one of Valignano's requirements because of the hardships of such a two-year journey from Japan to Europe. On Jesuit education at the time see ROMANO 2002. In Japan, boys between twelve and eighteen years of age were given a general education in the humanities (Latin was considered extremely important) and crafts. The *curriculum studiorum* for Japan is discussed in the *Regimento que se ha de guardar nos seminarios feyto polo P. Vizitador no mes de Junio 1580*, ARSI *Jap.-Sin.*, 22, ff. 35r-39v; for a contemporary version in Spanish see ARSI, *Jap.-Sin.*, 22, ff. 41r-42v and 43r-44v.



from the port of Nagasaki on a ship captained by the Portuguese *Capitão-mor* Ignacio da Lima.<sup>200</sup>

Accompanying them were also two Japanese servants serving the four emissaries, and two Japanese Jesuit brothers, Costantino Dourado and Jorge de Loyola, who were to study printing techniques with the missionaries during the embassy's stopover in Goa.<sup>201</sup>

The company arrived in Macao on 9 March 1582, and we learn from some unpublished letters that two months later, on 31 May, the Spanish Jesuit Alonso Sanchez arrived in the Portuguese entrêpot from Manila, bringing with him the news that Philip II of Spain had ascended to the throne of Portugal on 16 April 1581.<sup>202</sup> This meant that all the Portuguese possessions and trading spots scattered across three continents were going to be governed by viceroys in the service of Philip II, and, after him, of the Spanish Hapsburgs until 1640. On hearing this important news Valignano had to change his strategy and the target of the embassy: in addition to paying homage to the religious authority of the Pope, the Tenshō envoys would now also be paying homage to Philip II of Spain and I of Portugal. But what gift could the unexpected party of ambassadors of three obscure Japanese daimyos give to the man who ruled over a kingdom “where the sun never set”?<sup>203</sup> The solution to this delicate question was a screen decorated with a map of China.

This choice went in parallel with the donation to Pope Gregory XIII of the Azuchi screens – in effect a view of the city of Azuchi dominated by the towering fortress of Nobunaga. As a matter of fact, in sixteenth-century Europe the donation of maps to rulers and popes was a well-established diplomatic practice. In chapter four we will see how, for instance, this was the case of a map of Portugal made in 1560 (**fig. 28**) by cartographer Álvaro Seco and donated to Pope Pius IV (elected

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<sup>200</sup> VALIGNANO 1946: xiii.

<sup>201</sup> MUSILLO 2012: 166. The printing press was introduced in Goa in 1556 by Juan de Bustamante. See also GUNN 2003: 87-98; BOSCARO 1984.

<sup>202</sup> AGI, FILIPINAS, 79, N. 10, “Relación del Viaje del Jesuita Alonso Sanchez a la China” (1582), f. 1: ‘El año de 1582 sabindo el gobernador de las Philipinas [Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa] y los demas que gobiernan aquellas yslas el suceso [*sic*, *successo*] de la guerra y las demas cosas que pasaron em [*sic*, *en*] portugal y como quedando aquel Reyno ~~ya~~ em posesion Pacifica de la mag[estad] Del rey Don phelipe la yndia y partes orientales [...] parecia a los señores governador y obispo [*sic*, *bispo*] y otros con quien se consulto que devia hacerse [...] de embiar alguna persona que combinese a la parte que a ellas mas le tocava en servicio de su mag[esta]d que pera al puerto de Macam [...]’ AGI, FILIPINAS, 84, N. 40 - “Carta del Jesuita Alonso Sanchez sobre su Viage a China” (17 June 1583), f. 1: ‘luego q[ue] llegue a Manila y di las cartas y despachos q[ue] traya de Macau al governador, de la union de aquella Ciudad con nosotros so [*sic*] el poder y amparo de V[uestra] M[ajesta]d [...]’

<sup>203</sup> See PARKER 2000a: 3 for the history of this figure of speech.

1559), which was later incorporated into an impressive pair of cartographic screens known as *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* (fig. 16), probably commissioned by the Jesuit missionaries in Japan around 1614. The presentation of the Azuchi screens to Pope Gregory XIII should be viewed in this tradition. And the same went for Philip II.

Moreover, the gift of a screen with a map of China to the King of Spain and Portugal corresponded to medieval and early modern eschatological beliefs in the coming of a Christian universal monarch (bringing the *pax universalis*)<sup>204</sup> which, in sixteenth-century Europe, found their best candidates in the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and in his son, Philip II.<sup>205</sup> In the case of Philip II, for instance, the triumphal arch built for his ceremonial entry in Lisbon in 1581 included an explicit reference to the Prudent King as a universal monarch, bearing the legend:

‘The world once divided between your great-grandfather King Ferdinand the Catholic and your grandfather King Manuel of Portugal, is now linked into one, since you are the Lord of everything East and West.’<sup>206</sup>

The possibility of conquering China and fulfilling the dream of a Christian *monarchia universalis* under Spanish rule almost became a reality in the eyes of many of Philip II’s and Valignano’s contemporaries.<sup>207</sup> Valignano was very aware of the auspicious message conveyed in a screen decorated with a map of China as a gift to Philip II, and used it for the Jesuits’ own benefit.

This screen with a map of China was probably made in the six months between 31 May, when the Spanish Jesuit Alonso Sanchez arrived in Macao from the Philippines announcing the union of the Iberian crowns, and 31 December 1582, when Valignano, the Tenshō envoys and the whole entourage of Jesuit tutors and Japanese servants left Macao for Goa. As the screens donated to Philip II went missing, we do not know if the map of China decorating them was made according to contemporary European cartographic standards. There is a slight chance that the map of China used for these screens was a copy of the one used by the Portuguese cartographer Luís Jorge de Barbuda (also known as Ludovico Georgio) in preparation for his map of China, later published in

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<sup>204</sup> WULF 1919.

<sup>205</sup> PARKER 1995: 247; PARKER 2000: 3-4; BOSBACH 1988 (with a list of works published during Philip II’s lifetime at pages 166-7); PAGDEN 1995 and 1998.

<sup>206</sup> PARKER 2001.

<sup>207</sup> PARKER 2000: 8; PAGDEN 1986: 19; OLLÉ RODRIGUEZ 2004: 29.

Abraham Ortelius's 1584 edition of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (fig. 43).<sup>208</sup> That of Barbuda's was the first map of China mentioning the Great Chinese Wall, and, following its publication, remained a standard representation of this country for around sixty years. This map also included a depiction of Japan. We do not know how a copy of that map arrived to Macao, but it is certain that copies of Barbuda's map of China circulated in Europe already since 1576. This is confirmed by a letter written in 1576 in Rome by the Spanish humanist Benito Arias Montano to his friend Abraham Ortelius.<sup>209</sup> In this letter, Arias Montano informs Ortelius that:

'A distinguished friend of mine, named J.B. Raimundus (a lecturer in Mathematics in this University, who also paints and writes remarkably, and makes the most elegant globes I have ever seen), has a beautiful map of China, by the Portuguese ambassador.'<sup>210</sup>

The mathematician mentioned in this passage was the Italian Giovanni Battista Raimondi, who at that time taught mathematics the University "La Sapienza" in Rome. The Portuguese ambassador, on the other hand, was João Gomes da Silva, ambassador of the Portuguese King Dom Sebastião in Rome. It is possible that a copy of this preparatory map arrived in Macao in the years between 1576 and 1582.

But who could reproduce a European-style map of China on a folding screen without distorting its geographic scale? Were there any skilled painters and cartographers among the Jesuits in Macao? In those days, the only experts Valignano could ask for help in devising a map of China based on Barbuda's chart were the Brother Giovanni Niccolò S.J., a twenty-five year old painter from the southern Italian city of Nola, and Father Matteo Ricci S.J., a skilled mathematician and cartographer. These two had arrived in Macao on 7 August 1582, travelling from Goa on the same ship (left 26 April 1582).<sup>211</sup> Niccolò, to whom I will return later in chapter three, was directed to

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<sup>208</sup> LACH 1994: 693, n. 220. Luís Jorge de Barbuda was a controversial figure. He was involved in the demarcation dispute over Spanish and Portuguese territorial claims in Asia as an informant to one of Philip II's cartographers, the Neapolitan Giovan Battista Gesio. On this GOODMAN 2002: 62; LAMB 1985: 54-55. On Gesio, cartographer at the service of Philip II see ANDRÉS 1967; PORTUONDO 2009: 183-193.

<sup>209</sup> Benito Arias Montano to Abraham Ortelio, Rome 28 February 1576, in HESSELS 1887: letter 62.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> For Niccolò (1558/60-1626), little is known about the life of this painter, both before and after his admission into the Society of Jesus in 1577. A very short biographical summary can be found in D'ELIA 1939: 23, 2, and reproduced in D'Elia's comments in *FR*: I, 231, n.3. In addition to that, see also VLAM 1976: 252-263. On Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and his education in mathematics see PO-CHIA HSIA 2010:2-5, 14-16,

Japan where he was to start a school of painting to train Japanese artists in western-style painting. Matteo Ricci, missionary in China from 1583 until his death in 1610, was a pupil of the famous Jesuit mathematician Christopher Clavius.<sup>212</sup> Ricci owed much of his success in China not only to his amazing ability to adapt to local customs and his mastery of Chinese, but also to his mathematical skills and contributions to Chinese calendrical science.<sup>213</sup> Calendrical science was equally important in Japan and, as we will see in chapter four, explicative representations of solar and lunar eclipses (their prediction was crucial for the correction of Chinese calendar as operated by Ricci) were to be found on the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens (**fig. 16**) discussed in chapter four.

Throughout his stay in China, Ricci produced four sinocentric world maps, in 1584, 1596, 1600, and 1602. The map of 1602 was the most important as it was commissioned from Ricci by the Chinese Emperor Wanli (**fig. 42**). This map was later brought to Japan by other members of the Society of Jesus. Unfortunately, it is not possible to say whether or not Niccolò and Ricci contributed to making the screens with a map of China presented to Philip II. However, we know for certain that Valignano commissioned from Niccolò the execution of a painting of the *Salvador Mundi* (Christ as Saviour) and a now lost map of Italy.<sup>214</sup> The latter is potentially of considerable interest here, though its appearance and ultimate fate is unknown. It was probably meant to help the Tenshō envoys get an idea of their Italian *passeggiata*.

Although it is not known whether or not this map of Italy had any technical value as an up-to-date work of European map-making, it is possible that a skilled mathematician versed in art of cartography, such as Matteo Ricci, assisted the Nolan painter in producing it. Neither it is known whether the Tenshō emissaries actually brought this map with them to Europe or whether it was left in Macao and from there taken back to Japan in 1590, eight years after Niccolò (possibly) had painted it. In fact, this may be the same map of Italy mentioned in one of Luís Fróis's letter to

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123. On Ricci as a cartographer see *FR*; BADDELEY 1917; WALLIS 1965. On the mathematical texts introduced in China by the Jesuits see JAMI 2004.

<sup>212</sup> BALDINI 1984.

<sup>213</sup> BERNARD 1973; HSIA 2010.

<sup>214</sup> OKAMOTO 1972: 100.

Superior General Acquaviva, later published in Rome in 1595.<sup>215</sup> Further, the same description of a map of Italy painted in China ('huma figura de Italia que se pintou na China') is reported in his *História de Japam* in the wake of the events following the return of Valignano and the four emissaries of the Tenshō embassy in winter 1590, when the emissaries showed a map of the Italian peninsula to the nobles of Muro, Harima domain, to explain their Italian itinerary.<sup>216</sup>

### **Folding screens in the instructions of Valignano to Nuno Rodrigues S.J.**

When everything was finally ready and all gifts carefully packed for a long voyage at sea (after all there was no need to wait for a bigger news than the ascension of Philip II to the throne of Portugal to finally set sail), the Tenshō envoys, accompanied by Valignano and their Jesuit tutors, left Macao for Goa on 31 December 1582. They brought with them the letters from the Christian daimyos of Bungo, Arima, and Ōmura and the screens for Philip II and Pope Gregory XIII, together with additional gifts for the personalities they were going to meet in Portugal, Spain, and Italy. Following a turbulent journey which saw the ship on which they travelled hit by a violent storm off the coast of the island of Hainan, and the ship going stranded on rocks in the strait of Singapore, they luckily made it to Goa in the beginning of November 1583.<sup>217</sup> But once the party arrived in the Goa, Valignano was informed that he could not travel any further; his role as Father Visitor compelled him to stay in Asia.<sup>218</sup> Faced with the restriction imposed by his appointment, Valignano had no other choice than finding a substitute with enough authority to replace him. He then had to instruct the Portuguese Nuno Rodrigues, who at that time was the rector of the Jesuit College in Goa to take his place, appointed him Father Provincial of the Indian Province, and

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<sup>215</sup> VLAM 1976: 255, n. 12, quoting FRÓIS 1595: 22.

<sup>216</sup> *HJ*: V, 28: 'mostrando-lhes por mappas e cartas de marear que trouxerão, e especialmente por huma figura di Italia que se pintou na China, com muita curiosidade em debuxo grande, o caminho e terras por onde tinham passado e as cidades que virão, especialmente Roma que estava mui bem traçada.' In the footnote commenting this passage, the editor of Fróis's *História*, Joseph Wicki S.J., suggests that this map may have been painted by Matteo Ricci. There is reason to believe this was not the case, as Ricci's first Chinese world map was made only in 1584, see *FR*: I, tav. VIII. See also KLEISER 1938: 80.

<sup>217</sup> See chronology in FRÓIS 1942.

<sup>218</sup> FRÓIS 1942.

provided him with all the necessary instructions (*Regimento*) to successfully lead the diplomatic mission.<sup>219</sup> This important document, touched upon all the aspects of the Tenshō mission, including how to handle and to present the screens for Philip II and Gregory XIII.

What did the *regimento* say with regards to the two sets of screens? In point 16 it was stated that Nuno Rodrigues or Diogo de Mesquita, the latter as tutor of the four Japanese envoys, were responsible to present the folding screens decorated with a map of China (“os beobos em q[ue] vay pintada a China”) to Philip II. This donation had to be made in the name of either the Provincial of the Indian Province or in the name of the Province of Japan.<sup>220</sup> Together with the screens – Valignano continued – Philip II was also to receive an historical account on the first steps of the Society of Jesus in China: three chapters of Francis Xavier’s biography and missionary deeds in Asia.<sup>221</sup> The King of Spain, however, never received these three chapters and in their place, on the day the embassy was received in Madrid (14 November 1584), the screens with the map of China were presented together with a bamboo desk with drawers (originally intended for Pope Gregory XIII),<sup>222</sup> two suits of Japanese armour, a varnished wooden basin decorated with a golden border, a lacquered basket with various trinkets, and a lacquered pipe.<sup>223</sup>

In point 17, Valignano instructed Rodrigues on what to do with the Azuchi screens destined to the Bishop of Rome.<sup>224</sup>

Finally, in point 51, Valignano requested Rodrigues to ask the Pope to solicit the commission from Roman artists of some folding screens decorated with European paintings.<sup>225</sup> Valignano did not suggest who the artists involved in this project should have been (and he probably had no idea), but he did not refrain from recommending Rodrigues to make sure these Roman screens were

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<sup>219</sup> *Regimento e instrução q[ue] ha di fazer o Padre Nuno Roiz q[ue] agora vay por procurador a Roma*, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), *Jap. Sin.* 22, ff. 51-57. See also MASSARELLA 2013. Here I will refer to the excerpts of the *regimento* discussed in ABRANCHES PINTO and BERNARD 1943.

<sup>220</sup> ABRANCHES PINTO and BERNARD 1943: 398.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*; FRÓIS 1942: 75, n. 271. Francis Xavier was canonized in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV, and the three chapter in question would later be part of the *Monumenta Xavieriana* (MX from now on), published in Madrid in two volumes in 1899-1900.

<sup>222</sup> ABRANCHES PINTO and BERNARD 1943: 399, n. 58.

<sup>223</sup> FRÓIS 1942: 87-88.

<sup>224</sup> ABRANCHES PINTO and BERNARD 1943: 399.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*: 402. Valignano wanted similar screens prepared for a possible papal embassy in China, which never happened. On this point see LAVEN 2011: 97-98.

decorated with “some remarkable and well painted pictures”.<sup>226</sup> Valignano’s intention was to repay the honour of receiving the Azuchi screens and to donate these Roman screens to Nobunaga upon the return of the Tenshō envoys in Japan. The Father Visitor also asked to commission some screens (he did not specify how many) which could be used to decorate the interiors of the residences of the Jesuit missionaries in Japan, as Japanese houses – Valignano continued – ‘could not do without them’ (não se escusam).<sup>227</sup> Above all, the pictures which were to decorate these Roman screens had to be easy to understand by Japanese beholders. Therefore, to avoid any mistakes, all the sketches of the paintings were to be first approved by the four Japanese envoys and by their Jesuit tutor, Diogo de Mesquita, before they could actually be realized and mounted on the screens.<sup>228</sup>

These instructions come to us as a true statement about the political significance of these two sets of screens. Valignano inscribed them into the visual language of late sixteenth-century European diplomacy, where maps were a common gift to give to rulers as sign of symbolic subjection and loyalty. With the Tenshō embassy folding screens began to be used as a privileged site for cross-cultural exchange, but, more specifically, cartographic screens began to be used as a site for diplomatic endeavour in early modern Euro-Japanese relations. The Japanese custom of exchanging folding screens as diplomatic gifts was co-opted by Valignano and translated into a European context. However, Valignano’s intention was not to explain Japan or China through folding screens to the two European rulers. Indeed, Valignano’s choice of using maps (of China) and chorographic representations (of Azuchi), seems to have been more appropriate to remind Philip II and Gregory XIII about specific dynamics and aspirations in sixteenth-century European politics and European expansion in Asia than to clarify the position of Japan on the diplomatic

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid.: “Folgara tambem que Sua Sanctidade mandase fazer hus beobos da manera q[ue] sam os que eu mando os quaes dourados e pintados en Roma co[m] algu[m]as pinturas lustruosas e meb feytas seram de m[uy]ta estima pera se dar a Nobunaga [...]”

<sup>227</sup> Ibid.: “[...] e outros quisera q[ue] se fizesse para uso das nossas casas porque em Japam nam se escusam, e seram de muyta estima vindo de Roma [...]”

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.: “[...] mas pera o que en ellos se ha de pintar seja a gosto dos Japoẽs sera que o P[adr]e Mesquita e os Japoẽs vejan pr[imeir]o o debuxo do que se ha de pintar por que desta maneyra parece que se acertara mejor.”

table league. The Society of Jesus, this was the message, played a key role for the fulfillment of these aspirations. In this respect, the cartographic screens presented in Madrid and Rome acted as ambassadors in their own right. Thinking of an easy comparison, the mind goes to Michel de Montaigne's *Essais* and, particularly, to the one chapter titled "Of Liars", where readers are reminded of that Milanese nobleman, Giovanni Alberto Meraviglia,<sup>229</sup> a secret agent at the service of the French King Francis I at the court of the Duke of Milan Francesco II Sforza: 'an ambassador in effect, but in outward appearance a private person who pretended to reside there upon his own particular affairs.'<sup>230</sup>

## The passage of the Tenshō embassy in Portugal and Spain

The Tenshō embassy and its passage in Europe is certainly one of the most studied historical events with regards to early modern Euro-Japanese relations. Several books and pamphlets were written and printed by different authors, sometimes even anonymous works, following the passage of the Japanese envoys and their Jesuit tutors in Portugal, Spain, and Italy.<sup>231</sup> And yet, the impact of European cartography on the Japanese emissaries has always been underestimated by today's scholars.

The company arrived in Lisbon on 11 August 1584, two and a half years after their departure from Nagasaki. At that point, the Father Provincial left the emissaries under the custody of their tutor, Diogo de Mesquita, as he had to leave for Madrid and Rome to precede and announce the arrival of the embassy so that they could be properly received in the eternal city. During their stay in

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<sup>229</sup> Or Marveille, as Montaigne spells his name.

<sup>230</sup> Michel de Montaigne, *Essays of Michel de Montaigne*, translated by Charles Cotton, edited by William Carew Hazlitt, London: Reeves and Turner, 1877, Book 1, chapter IX "Of Liars". In 1532, Meraviglia was sent to Milan, at the time ruled by the Duke Francesco II Sforza, by Francis I: allegedly, to trade French luxury goods in the ducal city, but in reality to stoke the expectations of that faction of Milanese nobility defending the French King's claims over the duchy of Milan. This double cross operation, however, was soon discovered, and Meraviglia was beheaded in on 7 July 1533 with the excuse of one of his servants having killed another Milanese nobleman, Giovanni Battista Castiglioni, Meraviglia's rival for the love of a certain Ippolita de Corsico. See ROSSETTI, Edoardo, "Meraviglia (Maraviglia, Mirabilia, de Mirabiliis), Giovanni Alberto", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 73, 2009; BENZONI, Gino, "Francesco II Sforza, Duca di Milano", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 50, 1998.

<sup>231</sup> BOSCARO 1973



Lisbon the Japanese envoys were received by Philip II's nephew, the Cardinal Albert Archduke of Austria, who at that time was Viceroy of Portugal and its overseas territories.<sup>232</sup> The Cardinal received a cup made of rhinoceros' horn with decorations in silver.<sup>233</sup> On 5 September the emissaries and their Jesuit tutors left Lisbon and headed south, to Evora, where they arrived three days later and were received by the Archbishop Teotónio de Bragança. On the day of the Feast of the Cross (14 September) the Archbishop invited the Japanese envoys to join him in his palace for a great banquet. After that, the emissaries visited the Archbishop's private chapel to see some of the sacred relics and religious paintings he had collected there. On that occasion the Archbishop gave them permission to take some of the paintings and relics back to Japan.<sup>234</sup>

Most importantly for us, however, is the fact that the Archbishop invited the Japanese emissaries to visit his library. There, they had the chance to look at various maps<sup>235</sup> including the famous illuminated atlas of the Portuguese cartographer Fernão Vaz Dourado of 1571.<sup>236</sup> A plate of this atlas included a depiction of China, Korea, and Japan (**fig. 44**). Here Japan is represented as composed of three main islands (Honshū, Kyūshū, and Shikoku) surrounded by a number of islets. Honshū is represented lying on an east-west axis with its western end turned southward, Kyūshū (the island the emissaries were from) is represented lying north-south, and Shikoku is shown also lying east-west. Following the description made of Japan in Jesuit sources (a selection of Jesuit letters from Asia had been published in Lisbon by the Italian Jesuit Pietro Maffei already in 1571),<sup>237</sup> this map was made after the type drawn by Lázaro Luís in 1563.<sup>238</sup> This was probably the first time the Japanese envoys saw a European atlas, and, for the times, such a broad and detailed representation of the world. During their training in Japan, prior to their departure to Europe, it is possible that they had a chance to study the same globe on which Nobunaga had been shown the

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<sup>232</sup> CAEIRO 1961; DUERLOO 2012: 24-30.

<sup>233</sup> GUALTIERI 1585: 54.

<sup>234</sup> GUALTIERI 1585: 56; FRÓIS 1942: 41-42.

<sup>235</sup> FRÓIS 1942: 42.

<sup>236</sup> The Teotónio de Bragança later donated this atlas to the Convento da Cartuxa, following the foundation of the Ordem Cartuxiana in 1587. On Fernão Vaz Dourado and his atlases see CORTESÃO 1935; CORTESÃO and MOTA 1987; COUTO 1928;

<sup>237</sup> MAFFEI 1571.

<sup>238</sup> CORTAZZI 1983.

sea route from Europe to Japan (see section above). However, that globe had been brought to Japan in 1554, and its author is not known. It is very likely that this globe's representation of the world was much poorer than the one drawn in Vaz Dourado's illuminated atlas. The first European cartographic representation of Japan that we know of was the one drawn by Benedetto Bordone and published in his *Isolario* in 1528 (fig. 45). Furthermore, it is also possible that Organtino's globe did not include Japan, thus leaving to the Jesuit missionaries the effort of painting the archipelago on it.

Of course, this does not mean that the Japanese had no idea of the geographical shape of Japan. In fact, much more detailed maps of Japan had already been painted in the archipelago from the eighth century of our era on; these were the so-called Gyōki-type maps. The oldest known Gyōki-type map is dated 1305 (fig. 46).<sup>239</sup> These maps depicted only three of the four Japanese main islands – Honshū, Kyūshū, and Shikoku – their provinces in oval (or balloon) shapes, and the routes crossing the country in different directions.<sup>240</sup> These kinds of maps were not only intended for administrative purposes, but they were also employed in religious ceremonies such as, for instance, the *Tsuina* ritual (an apotropaic rite meant to drive evil spirits away from the country's borders).<sup>241</sup> What is interesting for us is that one of these Gyōki-type maps was presented and donated to the Grand Duke of Tuscany Francis I de' Medici on occasion of the passage of the emissaries in Tuscany.

On their way to Madrid,<sup>242</sup> in Toledo (29 September-19 October), the Japanese emissaries had the chance to see the *Cristalino*, the astronomical clock built there by the Italian clock master and

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<sup>239</sup> Both Ramming (1937: 18) and Cortazzi (1983: 5) date this map to 1305. For a list of extant manuscripts of Gyōki-type maps of Japan see Unno 1994a: 458-459.

<sup>240</sup> The northernmost island, Hokkaido (also called Yezo, or Ezo), was first mapped by Girolamo de Angelis S.J. in 1621, and then surveyed by Takahashi Giemon in 1633. See UNNO 1994: 444; SHÜTTE 1952; KITAGAWA 1950; KUDO 1953; CORTAZZI 1983: 54-61.

<sup>241</sup> As discussed by UNNO 1994b, Gyōki-type maps were translated into religious/ritual contexts, and particularly within the Buddhist ritual of the *Tsuina*. This ritual, originally belonging to the Shinto tradition, was later assimilated into the Buddhist belief system from the eighth century of our era. It was performed during the last day of the year in any place charged with spiritual authority, from the emperor's court to temples and shrines. On the lack of Shinto maps see UNNO 1994: 371.

<sup>242</sup> Following their visit to Teotónio de Bragança, the group paid a visit to the Duke of Bragança, Dom Teodosio II and his wife Dona Caterina de Bragança in the city of Vila Viçosa, where they arrived on 15 September. Nothing particularly interesting happened during their stay in Vila Viçosa, with the exception of

mathematician Giannello Torriano.<sup>243</sup> Luís Fróis, in his treatise dedicated to the passage of the Tenshō embassy in Europe, writes:

‘And they saw other curiosities and great things that there are in that city [i.e. Toledo]; and among other things they saw the machine with which an old Italian man [...] brought water from the river [Tagus] to the top of the hill for the good of the city and its people [...]. And this man [Torriano] built a clock, which he started building during the time of Charles V, [...], like there is no other in the world; and this clock is made of silver, showing the movement of the Heavens, the course of the Sun, of the Moon, of the planets, and other stars, the eclipses, the count of the years, months, days, hours, and dominical letter; [Christian] holy days, golden number, epact [to determine Easter], [...] and all being very precise [...]. It was the most marvelous thing that the Fathers and the Japanese Lords saw in their lives.’<sup>244</sup>

If Torriano’s clock made an impact on the Jesuit missionaries accompanying the Japanese emissaries – regardless of their mathematical training – it is easy to believe that the four envoys and their Japanese entourage were to remember the sight of the *Cristalino* for the rest of their lives, and to report on this marvelous artifice back in Japan.<sup>245</sup> As reported in a letter written in

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the Duke’s request to the emissaries’ Jesuit tutor, Diogo de Mesquita, to ask them to wear their Japanese clothes for his and the Duchess’s delight. After wearing their Japanese clothes, the emissaries were even asked to sleep dressed like that so that people could see them. See FRÓIS 1942: 53-54: ‘A Senhora Dona Catharina, e o Duque, tendo noticias dos vestidos, comessarão a importunar os P[adr]es; especialmente o Duque, pela novidade da couza, e elle ser ainda de pouca idade, fez muita istancia ao Padre Domingos [sic, Diogo] de Mesquita, q[ue] fizesse com elles, q[ue] se quizessem vestir ao modo Japonico por que ninguem de fora o veria mais, que a Senhora Dona Catharina com suas damas, e as pessoas mais principaes, e o Duque e o seos irmãos [...]. E com palavras de grande affabilidade nos despedirão para que fossem repouzar, e nam secretamente, mas com muitas torchas acezas [...] p[ar]a que os podessem ver algũas pessoas, que fora da Camara estavam ardendo em desejos de os ver.’ After two days the company left Vila Viçosa and headed to Madrid.

<sup>243</sup> Torriano was called to Spain in 1530 by Charles V and was later nominated *matematico mayor* by Philip II. Following Charles V’s request, Torriano repaired the *Astrarium*, the astronomical clock built in 1381 by Giovanni de’ Dondi. Dondi’s clock had been constructed upon the request of the Milanese Duke Gian Galeazzo Visconti and it was later donated to Charles V by Francesco II Sforza on the occasion of Charles V’s imperial coronation in Bologna (1530) for having restored the state of Milan after the victory over the French in the Battle of Pavia. It is possible that Dondi’s clock inspired Torriano for the construction of his *Cristalino* (BEDINI and MADDISON 1966). On Giannello Torriano (c.1500-1585), also known with his Spanish name of Juanelo Torriano, and his works see GARCÍA-DIEGO 1982 and 1986; KELLER 1998; MORPURGO 1950.

<sup>244</sup> FRÓIS 1942: 68-69: ‘Forão ver outras couzas curiosas, e grandezas mui nobres, q[ue] ha naquella Cid[ad]e, e entre outras virão o engenho, e artificio co[m] q[ue] hu[m] homem velho Italiano de nação [...], levou a agua do rio a riba eo [sic, do] monte p[el]a nobreza, e utilidade da terra [...]. Este bom homem, q[ue] ja he velho, he de mui delicado e singular engenho, tem feito hu[m] relógio, q[ue] comessou no tempo do Imperador Carlos 5.<sup>o</sup>, de estranho, e estupendo artificio, e admiravel primor, e delicadeza, em tanto, q[ue] se diz delle não haver outro no mundo; o qual relógio he todo de prata, e demonstra claram[en]te os movimento pricipaes dos Ceos, o curso do Sol, da Lua, dos planetas, de outras estrellas, os eclipses, os annos, mezes, dias, horas, letra dominical; dias santos, aurenumero, epacta, tudo co[m] estranha sutileza, e tudo mui certissimo [...]. Foi couza mais rara, e admiravel, de q[uan]tas os P[adr]es, e S[en]hores Japões virão em sua vida.’

<sup>245</sup> On the interest in European clocks by Japanese lords during the Momoyama/early Tokugawa epochs see YAMAGUCHI 1950. See PAGANI 2006 for clockwork and the Jesuit mission in China.

1601 by the Italian Jesuit Francisco Pasio, the Jesuit painter Giovanni Niccolò (whose figure and contribution will be discussed more in detail below) was skilled enough to make clocks also showing “the cycles of the sun and the moon” which were then presented as gifts to various daimyos, including the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu.<sup>246</sup> One possible example of the clocks made by Niccolò can be still admired in a Japanese folding screen titled *European King and His Court*, today part of the collections of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (**fig. 47**). The visit to Torriano’s *Cristalino* has to be understood as part of the missionaries’ strategy to employ European cosmography as a tool of evangelization in Far Eastern Asia. This was in fact the case in Japan and in China (with Matteo Ricci and, after him, all the great mathematicians working on the Chinese calendar throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), and I will return to this point in the following section.

During their stay in Toledo they had the occasion to attend an important public celebration, that of the anniversary of the Battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571).<sup>247</sup> This historical event, as I will touch upon in several points of this dissertation and at length in Chapter 5 (with a discussion on the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens kept at the Kosetsu Museum of Art, Kobe) played an important role in early seventeenth-century Japan. The Christian victory against the “infidels” at Lepanto was later considered, together with the Battle of the Milvian Bridge (312 CE), inspiring model of resistance during the Christian persecution started in 1614 under the Tokugawa regime. As we will argue in chapter four, these two battles were combined into one scene in the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens. This new interpretation is supported by the presence in this screen of Roman iconography and the bridge represented in the foreground of the *Battle of Lepanto* screen (**fig. 63**) being suggestive of the battle of the Milvian Bridge (fought on 28 October 312) in which Constantine defeated Maxentius and obtained the title of Roman Emperor at the end of the civil war of the Tetrarchy. The Battle of Lepanto and the Battle of the Milvian Bridge were considered equally important for the spread of Christianity in the Mediterranean world and

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<sup>246</sup> VLAM 1977: 237.

<sup>247</sup> FRÓIS 1942: 69.

the victory of Christianity of paganism, and as we will see these themes gained relevance in Japan too following the ban and persecution of Christians of 1614.

During the period spent in Madrid (20 October-26 November), the emissaries got the chance to attend the instauration of Philip III as heir to the throne of Spain and Portugal (11 November),<sup>248</sup> and they were eventually received by the King Philip II on 14 November. They appeared at the presence of Philip II in Japanese clothes,<sup>249</sup> and following the ceremonies of the occasion, presented their gifts to the king. Fróis's account of the event tells us that the gifts of the Japanese envoys included:

"[...] a writing desk made of reeds with its drawers [...]; a [lacquered] wooden vase sprinkled with gold dust [which the King could use] to wash [his] hands; a basket with many [little] objects inside; a kind of lacquered smoking pipe; and a little lacquered letter box."<sup>250</sup>

In this passage Fróis does not mention the screens with the map of China which Valignano writes in the *regimento* were handed to Nuno Rodrigues. In fact, Philip II had received the screens one month and a half earlier, on 30 August 1584, and they had been given to him by the Father Provincial Nuno Rodrigues who, as I mentioned above, preceded the emissaries on their way to Madrid and Rome. Fróis writes:

"After they arrived from India, they [the emissaries] remained in Lisbon for twenty-six days, and since it was not possible for the Father Nuno Rodrigues [to remain] with them he proceeded together with another Brother and went to Madrid to speak with His Majesty [Philip II], and they gave him the screens which he liked very much [...]."<sup>251</sup>

Although, as I have mentioned above, the donation of the China screens conveyed the auspicious message of referring to Philip II as a universal monarch, the king's appreciation of these screens should also be understood considering his role as patron of science and engineering.<sup>252</sup> In 1566 he commissioned from the Spanish mathematician Pedro Esquivel a comprehensive survey of Spain – which remained unfinished due to Esquivel's early death in 1570. Between 1575 and

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<sup>248</sup> FRÓIS 1942: 80-83, "De Como Foi Jurado o Principe".

<sup>249</sup> FRÓIS 1942: 86.

<sup>250</sup> FRÓIS 1942: 88.

<sup>251</sup> FRÓIS 1942: 39: 'Detiverãose em Lixboa depoes q[ue] chegarão da India 26, dias, e como não era possivel hir em sua Comp[anhi]a o P[adr]e Nuno Rodrigues, por ser ja tarde, foise com hum Irmão diante, e forão á Madrid, e fallarão com S[ua] M[a]g[esta]de, e lhe offerecerão os beombos, com q[ue] muito folgou [...].'

<sup>252</sup> GOODMAN 1983, 2002: 65.

1578, the Prudent King ordered the distribution of questionnaires across the cities of Spain for the collection of first-hand geographical and historical information, the so-called *Relaciones Topográficas*.<sup>253</sup> Between 1576 and 1586 questionnaires consisting of fifty queries were sent to every town of New Spain for the compilation of the *Relaciones Geográficas de las Indias*, a detailed statistical study on the localities, demographics, ethnographic differences, and natural history of Philip II's possessions in Central America.<sup>254</sup> Beyond administrative reasons, Philip II had a deep personal interest in maps. Such interest had been transmitted to him by his father Charles V,<sup>255</sup> and it was greatly fostered during his sojourn in the Netherlands (1548-1551) where he had the chance to get acquainted with the works of cartographers of the calibre of Gerard Mercator or Jacob van Deventer.<sup>256</sup> In 1591, Philip's throne room at the Escorial was decorated with seventy wall maps from Abraham Ortelius's 1570 edition of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, while wooden models of various Spanish cities were kept in Madrid's Alcazár.<sup>257</sup> In addition, the king's taste for chorographic views led to the commission from the Flemish Anton van Wyngaerde (also known as Antonio de las Viñas) of the now-lost wall paintings of cityscapes for the El Pardo Palace and the Alcazár in Madrid.<sup>258</sup>

The Tenshō emissaries did not get to see the wall maps of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* that hung in the throne room (they will later receive a copy of Ortelius' work during their visit in Padua). But, during their visit to the Escorial (15 November 1584), they visited the royal library (**fig. 48**) and almost certainly had an opportunity to see the works of Ortelius and other geographers.<sup>259</sup> These

<sup>253</sup> PORTUONDO 2009: 212; GOODMAN 1983: 55; RUBIO 1918; EZGUERRA, GUERRA and RODRIGUEZ 1993; KAGAN 1989b.

<sup>254</sup> CLINE 1964; MUNDY 1996; PORTUONDO 2009: 212.

<sup>255</sup> In 1545 Philip II received from Charles V a world atlas by Battista Agnese; on this see BUISSET 2007: 1082.

<sup>256</sup> BUISSET 2007: 1082.

<sup>257</sup> These wooden models were probably lost in the fire of 1734. See KAGAN 1986: 121.

<sup>258</sup> BUISSET 2007: 1082. KAGAN 1989a: 11.

<sup>259</sup> See FRÓIS 1942: 97: '[...] e dizendolhe [to the King] o P[adr]e [Diogo de Mesquita] como particularmente dezejavão ver o Escorial, e Armaria, e alguãs joyas de seo thezouro, e riqueza [...].' Also FRÓIS 1942: 100-101: 'Dalli fomos a Livraria, aqual he hũa salla muy grande cheia de Livros de varias Linguas, e algũ[n]s delles ricamente guarneidos, e pelas paredes muitos almarios, e escritorios de grande preço [...]; dous globos g[ran]des de mapas ricos [...].' Also FRÓIS 1942: 100-101: 'Dalli fomos a Livraria, aqual he hũa salla muy grande cheia de Livros de varias Linguas, e algũ[n]s delles ricamente guarneidos, e pelas paredes muitos almarios, e escritorios de grande preço [...]; dous globos g[ran]des de mapas ricos [...].'

works as well as other scientific instruments had been collected and purchased on the king's behalf by the Escorial's librarian, the above-mentioned Benito Arias Montano, while in Antwerp overseeing the Plantin press's publication of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1568-1575).<sup>260</sup>

Most importantly for us, among the cartographic treasures of the royal library they had the chance to see the globes which Philip II had received from Pope Pius V following the victory of the Holy League against the Ottoman fleet at the battle of Lepanto.<sup>261</sup> This was the second time they had been confronted with this important historical event and were to see more works of art related to it. Besides the royal library, the Japanese envoys visited the Chapter House of the Monasterio de San Lorenzo at the Escorial, where they most probably saw El Greco's *Adoration of the Name of Jesus* (**fig. 49**). This is an allegory of the battle of Lepanto probably commissioned for the tomb of Don Juan de Austria (d. 1578), the illegitimate younger brother of King Philip II and commander-in-chief of the Christian fleet opposing the Ottomans in the famous naval battle (7 October 1571).<sup>262</sup> The painting, dominated by the Christogram used by the Jesuits as the symbol of their order, includes the kneeling portraits of (from the left) the Doge of Venice Alvise I Mocenigo, Pope Pius V, and Philip II (**fig. 50**). The three together are representative of the Holy League called by Pope Pius V to defeat the Ottoman fleet seven years before the painting was completed. In this painting, the apparition of the Christogram in the sky is a clear association with the vision of the Cross and the phrase *ἐν τούτῳ νικά* (in this sign you shall win) of Constantine the Great, whose story was later to play an important role in Japan as I will discuss below. Besides being a crucial historical event for the strengthening of the geo-political weight of Spain and Venice in the Mediterranean, the Battle of Lepanto was also and above all considered a Christian victory over Islam. The same prophetic tones were going to be echoed in the Japanese cartographic screens discussed in chapter four. Therefore, for what concerns the passage of the Tenshō envoys in Europe and the meaning which was later given to their embassy upon their

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<sup>260</sup> PORTUONDO 2010: 1109. On Arias Montano purchasing scientific instruments from Plantin see VAN CLEEMPOEL 2009. Philip II appointed Arias Montano to organize and manage the royal library at the Escorial in 1577.

<sup>261</sup> FRÓIS 1942: 101.

<sup>262</sup> BLUNT 1939; CAPPONI 2007.

return to Japan, it is important to bear in mind the public celebrations (such as the one they attended in Toledo as discussed above) and most importantly the works of art referring to the Battle of Lepanto that they saw and took an interest in. In fact, besides this work by El Greco, the Japanese envoys were to admire Giorgio Vasari's fresco of the *Battle of Lepanto* in the Sala Regia in the Vatican and Paolo Veronese's *Votive Portrait of Doge Sebastiano Venier* in the Sala del Collegio at Palazzo Ducale in Venice. As for cartography, the Tenshō emissaries' first-hand contact with European maps did not end at the Escorial's library. Much more awaited them in Florence, Caprarola, Rome, and Venice.

### The passage of the Tenshō embassy in Italy

In Italy the Tenshō emissaries were confronted with some of the highest expressions of sixteenth-century European cartography: mural map cycles. During their trip around the Italian peninsula they had a chance to see some of the most important mural map cycles of the times, works which have reached to us in their full beauty as testimony of both the political and decorative use of maps. I am referring in particular to the cycles decorating the Sala delle Carte Geografiche (or Guardaroba Nuovo) at Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (**fig. 51**), the Sala delle Mappe Geografiche at Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola (**fig. 52**), and the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican (**fig. 53**). Obviously other things of cartographic note marked the passage of the Japanese emissaries in several Italian cities, including the donation of a copy of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* and a copy of Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* on the occasion of their visit to Padua.<sup>263</sup> The Japanese emissaries reached Italy by sea from Alicante, arriving in Livorno on 1 March 1585 and in the city of Pisa on 2 March. There they were received by Pietro de' Medici, the younger brother of the Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici.<sup>264</sup> After visiting the cathedral, in the evening of that day the emissaries were escorted by Pietro de' Medici to the palace of the Grand Duke in Pisa, where they were received by both Francesco I and his second wife, the Grand Duchess

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<sup>263</sup> UNNO 1994: 377.

<sup>264</sup> MEIETTO 1585: f. 53v.



Bianca Capello. In the four days they spent in Pisa, the emissaries joined the Grand Duke and his wife in some recreational activities, including hunting<sup>265</sup> and an evening reception for Carnival [Tuesday 5 March] where they even danced with the Grand Duchess and her damsels, proving their scarce dancing skills, missing the correct steps, and giving to the musicians playing for them a hard time.<sup>266</sup> On 7 March, the day after Ash Wednesday when they accompanied the Grand Duke and the Grand Duchess to all the religious ceremonies, they took leave from Francesco I and gave him some presents including a lacquered inkpot, sheets of fine paper, a silk worm ‘big as a man’s head’ (‘grosso come la testa d’un’huomo’), and a Japanese garment.<sup>267</sup> Was this everything the Tenshō envoys gave to the Grand Duke? is possible that on the occasion of their visit at the Grand Duke’s residence in Pisa the emissaries donated a manuscript map of Japan to Francesco I which is now kept at the State Archive in Florence (**fig. 54**).<sup>268</sup>

This map was found by the Italian historian of cartography Sebastiano Crinò, who published an article on it in 1931.<sup>269</sup> Crinò suggests that the map in question might have been drawn in Tuscany on the occasion of the passage of the Tenshō emissaries. With all probability, this was the first map of Japan made by a Japanese cartographer to ever be seen in Europe. Crinò’s discovery openly contradicted the hitherto dependable work of Pál Teleki,<sup>270</sup> according to whom no first-hand map of Japan was known in Europe earlier than the one by Luís Teixeira S.J., published in the 1595 edition of Abraham Ortelius’s *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (**fig. 55**).<sup>271</sup> This map, with captions

<sup>265</sup> MEIETTO 1585: f. 54: ‘[...] nel qual tempo il gran Duca li menò a caccia di uccelli: & fece havere altre honeste ricreazioni [...].’

<sup>266</sup> FRÓIS 1942: 128-129: ‘[...] depoes de dansarem algũas Damas, a Duqueza se levantou, e tirou pelo braço a Dom Mancio para dansar com ella [...] em q[ue] se lovou a modestia, e bom ensino de Dom Mancio; porq[ue] sendo desta maneira por tal Duqueza convidado [...], elle no quiz fazer sem primeiro pedir licença ao P[adr]e [Mesquita] q[ue] os levava a cargo [...] e por ser couza tão peregrina, e alehia dos seus costumes, e do modo de dançar de Japão, estando elles tão poucos correntes, e exercitado na arte de dansar de Italia, a onde os muito aprimorados, pontuaes Cortezãos com sahirem muito attento, as vezes discrepão, e perdem o ar; elles sendo meninos, e estrangeiros o fizeram como souberão [...].’ On this episode see also BARTOLI 1660: 211 and SANDE 1590: 215-216.

<sup>267</sup> MEIETTO 1585: f. 54.

<sup>268</sup> ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, Filza 97, Ins. 91. See Crinò 1931. I would like to thank Emerita Professor Suzanne B. Butters for providing me with a digital image of this map following our first meeting in Florence in July 2008.

<sup>269</sup> CRINÒ 1931. See also ISHIDA 1938; LACH 1994: 705, n. 277; KISH 1949.

<sup>270</sup> TELEKI 1909.

<sup>271</sup> See also ISHIDA 1938.

in Portuguese, was in many ways a very detailed representation of the archipelago of the rising sun when compared to other maps made before 1600.<sup>272</sup> As a matter of fact, before the arrival of the first Portuguese merchants in 1543, European descriptions of Japan had been largely based on Marco Polo's *Milione* (13th century). Basing his knowledge on Chinese informants, Polo located the Japanese archipelago some 1500 sea miles east of China, but he never visited it.<sup>273</sup> With the coming of the Portuguese in south-east Asian ports in the early 1500s, Chinese sailors were still the best informants a Lusitanian could get to gather information about Japan. But Polo's brief description, or Chinese sailors' news about Japan, were still too vague to pinpoint this last portion of Asia on a map.<sup>274</sup> The shape of Japan was left to the imagination of readers and cartographers alike for a long time. Two hundred years after Polo, Tomé Pires, who wrote his *Suma Oriental* between 1512 and 1515 in the wake of Portuguese mercantile expansion in south-east Asia, was not able to provide new relevant information about the geographical position of Japan.<sup>275</sup> Pires was informed by Chinese sailors that Japan was bigger than the Ryūkyū Islands (today part of Japan); Ryukyu sailors, he was told, took from seven to eight days to reach Japan, where they traded a variety of goods for gold and copper.<sup>276</sup> Therefore, the earliest European cartographic representations of Japan were based on textual sources written by men who never actually visited the land they described.<sup>277</sup> Returning to the map the Tenshō emissaries presented to Francesco I

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<sup>272</sup> KISH 1949: 43.

<sup>273</sup> POLO 1928: CXXXVIII, "Dell'Isola di Zipangu". The Venetian merchant (ca. 1254-1324, in Asia between 1271 and 1295) reported that Japan was extremely rich in gold, silver, and copper. Polo's *Milione* was first published in German in Nuremberg in 1477. Manuscripts in Latin, French, Venetian, and Italian circulated widely, but the one kept in the BNF in Paris (MS. 1116), dating to the early fourteenth century, is considered the closest to the original version. This was dictated in Langue d'Oïl by Marco Polo to Rustichello da Pisa in 1298, both prisoners in Genoa following the Battle of Curzola (8<sup>th</sup> September 1298) between Genoa and Venice. The first Portuguese translation of Polo's *Milione* was published in Lisbon in 1502 by Valentim Fernandes. The first Portuguese version of Polo's work included the memories of Niccolò da Conti (Nicolão Veneto in Portuguese, 1385-1469), a Venetian merchant who had travelled to South Asia and Southern China between 1419 and 1439.

<sup>274</sup> WASHBURN 1952: 221-223.

<sup>275</sup> On Tomé Pires (c. 1465-1524 or 1540) see CORTESÃO 1978: 9-65.

<sup>276</sup> CORTESÃO 1978: 373-374: 'A Ilha de Jampom Segundo todos os chijs dizem que he mōor que a dos lequíos & o Rei mais poderoso & maior [...] os lequjos em sete oito dias vam a Jampom & levam das ditas mercadorias he Resgatam ouro & cobre [...]'. On the use of portolan maps in Far Eastern Asia, see NAKAMURA 1964, HSU 1988.

<sup>277</sup> The earliest European map representing Japan was Giovanni Matteo Contarini and Francesco Rosselli's world map of 1506 (the only copy is kept at the British Library; reproduced, among others, in SPRENT 1924, Shirley 1983), followed by Martin Waldseemüller's gores for a terrestrial globe dated 1507 (two copies kept

in 1585, Crinò argues that it was drawn during their visit in Tuscany. Several elements, however, do not substantiate Crinò's opinion.

Besides its similarity with Gyōki-type maps which I discussed above, the map in the State Archive in Florence has some other distinguishing characteristics: the use of the Portuguese language, the representation of a Jesuit *collegio* in each of the sixty-six provinces with the number of missionaries or novitiates in them, and the depiction of the mythical "island of women cannibals" (*rasetsukoku*) off the southern coasts of Japan.<sup>278</sup> As Japanese historian Nakamura has suggested,<sup>279</sup> it is also possible that this map had been copied from a Japanese original and then translated by Jesuit missionaries in Japan prior to the departure of the Japanese emissaries and their Jesuit mentors to Europe (February 1582). If, as suggested by Crinò, the map was actually drawn in Florence, the use of the Portuguese language instead of Italian would seem rather incongruous. Concerning the depiction of a Jesuit *collegio* in each and every Japanese province, it is known that Jesuit missionaries were mainly concentrated in the south-western part of the archipelago, and particularly in the ports of the island of Kyūshū.<sup>280</sup> The exaggerated Jesuit presence in Japan, as represented on this map (**fig. 54**), reads like pure Jesuit propaganda, and was probably not intended to be a gift to Francesco I de' Medici in the first place.<sup>281</sup> Finally, the depiction of the "island of women cannibals" can easily be associated with the use of Gyōki-type maps in the *Tsuina* ritual, which, as we have seen, was meant to drive evil spirits away from the Japanese archipelago. The legend referring to the "island of women cannibals" on the top of the

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at the University of Minnesota Libraries-Twin City and at Collection of H. P. Kraus in Ridgefield, Connecticut; reproduced, among others, in SHIRLEY 1983); and Francesco Roselli's oval world map dated 1508 (two copies kept at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England, and at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Italy; reproduced, among others, in SHIRLEY 1983, ALMAGIÀ 1952, NUNN 1928). Several other maps including a still imaginary Japan were produced in the years preceding the arrival of the first Portuguese in Japan. See, among others, SHIRLEY 1983; KARROW 1993; CORTAZZI 1983; WALTER 1994; STEVENSON 1921.

<sup>278</sup> On the island of women and Japanese Buddhist demonology see Moerman 2009. The Japanese term *rasetsu* derives from the Sanskrit *rākṣasī*, '[...] shape-shifting cannibals who seduce men and literally eat them alive' (MOERMAN 2009: 352).

<sup>279</sup> NAKAMURA 1939: 101-109.

<sup>280</sup> See KISH 1949.

<sup>281</sup> As a matter of fact, with the exception of the screens donated to Gregory XIII and Philip II, all the other gifts presented to European rulers by the Tenshō envoys were more or less decided on the spot. We have seen this with the bamboo desks which were given to Philip II instead of the books from Francis Xavier, a decision taken at the last moment.

map reads: ‘no man lives here, only women, and he who comes here shall be killed and never return’.<sup>282</sup> Interestingly enough, the “island of the women cannibals” is also represented on a Gyōki-type map dated ca. 1557 and kept at the Toshodai temple in Nara , the *Authorized Map of Great Japan and the World* (**fig. 56**). The *rasetsukoku* is represented on the lower left corner of the map, and the legend is very similar to the one we find on the Florentine map: ‘Rasetsukoku, [the land of] women, men who go there never return’.<sup>283</sup> Finally, the episode of a map of Japan being drawn for Francesco I during the visit of the Tenshō envoys in Tuscany is not reported in contemporary European sources, at least to my knowledge.<sup>284</sup>

Following their visit to Pisa the envoys proceeded towards Florence (7 March). During the week they spent in the Tuscan capital, the emissaries had the chance to visit Medicean palaces Palazzo Vecchio and Palazzo Pitti, the Laurentian Library, and the gardens at the Pratolino.<sup>285</sup> In Palazzo Vecchio they possibly visited the Sala delle Carte Geografiche, or Guardaroba Nuovo, which Cosimo I de’ Medici had initially commissioned from Giorgio Vasari (1561-1565), only to be completed later by the Dominican Egnazio Danti (1564-1575) and the Olivetan Stefano Bonsignori (1575-1586).<sup>286</sup> The Sala in question includes 53 cupboards, all decorated with panels reproducing maps (30 by Danti and 23 by Bonsignori) showing different parts of the world. Each cupboard contained objects coming from the land depicted on the panels. The Japanese emissaries possibly visited the Guardaroba when this was about to be completed by Bonsignori. At the centre of the room they could study the wooden globe built by the above-mentioned Danti between 1564 and 1571. At the time of their visit to the Palazzo Vecchio, they couldn’t have known that Danti himself would guide them through another important work of his, the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican, completed in 1585.

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<sup>282</sup> ‘A n[en]hũm home esta nesta somente molheres todas e quem vem nesta, não torna ja mais porque os matão’. See **fig. 54**.

<sup>283</sup> CORTAZZI 1983: 30.

<sup>284</sup> I am referring here to FRÓIS 1942, GUALTIERI 1586, and SANDE 1590.

<sup>285</sup> FRÓIS 1942:

<sup>286</sup> LEVI-DONATI 1995; FIORANI 2005; PACETTI 2007; BUCCI and LACHI 2006.

On their way to Rome, the emissaries had the chance to see other important mural map cycles in Caprarola (21 March) in the palace of the Cardinal Alessandro Farnese: the Sala delle Mappe Geografiche (also known as Sala del Mappamondo), completed between 1573 and 1575 (**fig. 52**). The room of maps at Caprarola stands out together with other sixteenth-century monumental painted map cycles decorating royal, noble, republican, and papal palaces across the Italian peninsula,<sup>287</sup> and, like other mural map cycles, it demonstrated a well-thought-out balance between the individual maps, the overall cartographic scheme, and other parts of the decoration.<sup>288</sup> Cardinal Farnese had commissioned the painter Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese and the mathematician Orazio Trigino de' Marii for the design and the realization of the seven large maps frescoed on the walls of the Sala del Mappamondo: on the south-east wall, there was (and is) a world map surrounded by personifications of the winds and the four personifications of America, Europe, Asia, and Africa at its four corners (**fig. 57**); on the south-west wall, maps of Europe and Africa; on the north-east wall maps of Asia and America; and on the north-west wall, maps of Italy and Judea (**fig. 58**, and **fig. 59**).<sup>289</sup> But the awe of the emissaries did not stop at the frescoes decorating the walls. All they had to do to be truly amazed was to look up at the ceiling to admire a complex map of the heavens with direct references to the personality and life of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese<sup>290</sup> and to the broader ideological implications of the room's pictorial programme based on the theological doctrines accepted and formalized at the Council of Trent (1545-1563), on biblical history, and on the idea of a Christian Commonwealth centred on the authority of the Pope. All these elements, the ideological ones (a Christian Commonwealth and the authority of the Pope in Rome) and pictorial ones (the representation of the world and the personification of the four continents), were also very dear to

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<sup>287</sup> FIORANI 2005, 2007.

<sup>288</sup> FIORANI 2007: 807.

<sup>289</sup> FROÍŠ 1942: 144-145: 'Tem o Cardeal Farnez nesta Villa hu[m]a fermoza caza, e quinta das melhores q[ue] dizem haver em toda Italia; [...] e alli mesmo estão os retratos de todos os mares, conquistas, e navegações athe dia de hoje descubertas no Vniverso [...].' On the authors of these maps see KISH 1953, and PARTRIDGE 1995: 416 n. 7, 437 n. 84.

<sup>290</sup> According to PARTRIDGE 1995, all the figures in the sky map and in other parts of the rooms were painted by, or under the direction of Giovanni de' Vecchi (ca. 1537-1615).

Jesuit iconography; so much so that all of these elements would be chosen to decorate one of the most representative works on the history of the Society of Jesus, Daniello Bartoli's *Historia della Compagnia di Giesu* (1659) (**fig. 60**). Much earlier, however, all of these ideological and pictorial elements would also be found on Japanese folding screens, such as the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* pair of screens (**fig. 16**), to which I will come back below.

How did the Japanese envoys experience these mural map cycles? This must have been an overwhelming sight for men used to the simplicity of Japanese interiors. After all we have seen that lavishly decorated walls were mostly isolated cases in Japanese fortresses, and so was the display of folding screens along the walls of the main reception room (as we have seen with Rodrigues' description of Japanese interiors). It might have been in occasions like this, in front of these powerful mural map cycles, at Caprarola, or as we will see in Rome in the *Galleria delle Carte Geografiche*, that the possibility of using folding screens as substitutes of mural map cycles in Japan might have been conceived. The most powerful characteristic of sixteenth-century Italian mural map cycles went much beyond their mere decorative purpose, they were true manifestos of their patron's ideas about politics, theology, cosmology, and, most importantly, they served to place the patron's figure within this framework of reference which was, in other words, his view of the world and his very own place in history. Not that the Japanese envoys were unaware of the political use of painting. We have seen after all how Oda Nobunaga used his Azuchi screens to declare to the world that Japan's political center was not Kyoto anymore, but moved to that very hilltop on which his fortress stood. But the sight of these Italian mural map cycles, the paintings celebrating the Battle of Lepanto and the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, the maps and the atlases, and the clocks with their reproduction of the movement of the planets in our solar system, might have provided the Jesuit missionaries and the Japanese envoys with enough visual material to bring back to Japan and to use to make their own statements about the place occupied by Christianity and the missionaries in sixteenth-century Japan. Let us keep this in mind while proceeding in this chapter, as most of these themes we will find again in chapter four when I will finally discuss the iconography of two beautiful and important pairs of cartographic screens, the

*Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens and the *Battle of Lepanto and Map of the World* screens (figs. 16, 63).

Caprarola was the emissaries' last stop-over before finally reaching Rome. They arrived at the gates of the Eternal City on the night of 22 March 1585, three years and one month after they had last seen the shores of Nagasaki. Their arrival had already been announced by Nuno Rodrigues who, as I have mentioned above, preceded the emissaries in all the cities in which they had been received until then. Probably for fear of the bandits who were infesting the countryside of Central Italy at the time, the emissaries and their Jesuit tutor met the Papal guards two days before formally entering Rome.<sup>291</sup> The emissaries, however, were expected to arrive in Rome on the night of 20 March.<sup>292</sup> As matter of fact, at the very time when the Tenshō emissaries were making their way to Rome, the countryside of Lazio, Umbria, and Campania (the regions surrounding Rome) were being ravaged by gangs of bandits, some of which counted up to six-hundred men.<sup>293</sup> It was also very common for bandits to attack Papal convoys carrying tax money

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<sup>291</sup> FRÓIS 1942: 145; MEIETTO 1585: ff.54v-55: 'Due giorni prima che arrivassero Sua Santità mandò gente, & cavalli leggieri ad incontrarli, e poi anche carrozze, & con molta buona compagnia entrarono in Roma il Venerdì sera al tramontar del sole, che fu alli xxij di Marzo [...]. See also GUALTIERI 1586: 79. On the Tenshō emissaries being escorted for fear of bandits see also BROWN 1994. Judith Brown's argument has been debated by MUSILLO 2012, according to whom these heavy escorts were part of the accepted diplomatic protocol in sixteenth-century Europe.

<sup>292</sup> BAV, Urb. Lat. 1053, Avvisi dell'Anno 1585, ff. 135-136 (20 March 1585): 'Deveno questa sera verso l'hora di notte occultam[en]te entrare in Roma i Principi del Giappone, et andare di lungo à baciare piedi al Papa, il quale havute, et considerate, che haverà le lor S[igno]r[i]e, che hanno da presentarle, et inteso se sono qua per curiosità, o per rendere obbedienza alla sede Apost[oli]ca, si risolverà di dargli il concistoro pubblico, ma in ogni caso saranno spesati da S.B.<sup>ne</sup> nell'inclaustr[o sic] de Jesuiti, oue hanno d'alloggiare.'

<sup>293</sup> BAV, Urb. Lat. 1053, Avvisi dell'Anno 1585, ff. 257-258v (8 June 1585): 'Li banditi al n.º di 600 passati dallo stato ecc[lesiasti]co, da Benevento, et di Calauria la maggior parte à cavallo verso Gravina, et Matera, s'intende, che habbiano saccheggiato Caserta, et Santa Maura, facendosi prouedere [sic] di tutte le cose necessarie à guisa d'esercito, et dando il guasto alle campagne di quelli, che non vogliano obedire per tutto doue passano.' BAV, Urb. Lat. 1053, Avvisi dell'Anno 1585, ff.83-84v (9 February 1585): 'Continua tutt[avi]a la custodia di sbirri alle Porte di Roma p[er] sospetto di Banditi, li quali di nuovo cominciano à tanagliare q[ue]sto stato, et la sett[ima]na passata conducendosi qua da Perugia un certo Grandonio da Safferato con doi altri Cap[itani] d[i] Banditi presi nel stato di Fionnala [sic, Firenze] con l'aiuto del Gran Duca s'erano messi insieme da 150 Banditi tra Narni, et Tricoli [sic, Otricoli] prelevan questi priggioni dalli mani de' sbirri, mà no li uenne fatta per il Bargello ch[e] li conduceva auertito di tal imboscata si fermò a Terni, et li Banditi mentre aspettan[d]o il suo passaggio sualligiorno [sic] quanti persone passau[an]o ritendendoli anco priggione tutto un giorno in certe sostani havendo robbato circa 60 cavalli oltre i denari, et altre robbe, et uedendo poi no gli riuscire il disegno partiti dell'imboscata uano unitamente p[er] la Campagna bench[è] quei Popoli vicini si mettano in ordine p[er] darli la caccia, et di qua sabbato notte si mandorno à q[ue]lla volta li Cav[al]li leggieri d[e]lla guardi di S[ua] S[anti]tà et q[ue]lli d[e]l Duca di Sora à perseguitarli, et p[er] assicurare la strada acìo li sbirri possino condurre qua li preggioni ch[e] s'aspettano ad ogni hora p[er] darli il debito castigo.'

from the various cities of the Papal States.<sup>294</sup> And neither was the city of Rome immune from common delinquency and bloodshed. During the Carnival of 1585 theatrical troops of comedians (in this case the famous Compagnia dei Gelosi) were called into the city to distract the people of Rome from committing petty and murderous crimes,<sup>295</sup> although right after that, during Lent, the number of homicides was particularly high.<sup>296</sup> Petty delinquency, of course, was a daily matter in the unsafe streets of late sixteenth-century Rome.<sup>297</sup> It is possible, however, that the four Japanese emissaries had not been informed about these gangs of bandits in the countryside or the delinquency infesting the streets of Rome. After all, one of the goals of this mission was that to bring back to Japan a description of Europe as a safe and wealthy place, mostly to contradict some daimyo's suspect according to which the missionaries could have been thieves escaping from a land of poverty and despair (we have seen Oda Nobunaga expressing this particular doubt to Father Organtino above in the discussion on the preparation of the Tenshō embassy).

On Saturday 23 March 1585, the Japanese emissaries were received in a public consistory by the Bishop of Rome, with full honours.<sup>298</sup> This was held at the Villa Giulia, located just outside the

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<sup>294</sup> BAV, Urb. Lat. 1053, Avvisi dell'Anno 1585, ff. 129v-130v: 'La condotta delli denari del Papa, che veniva della Marca ultimamente fu assalita presso lucera da Banditi; li quali doppo luga [*sic*, lunga] scaramuccia con li Corsi et Battaglie, che l'accòpagnavano [*sic*] furono costretti à ritirarsi senza preda; pilche [*sic*, per il ché] la camera ha donato 200 scudi ad'essi Corsi, et fatti curare li feriti.'

<sup>295</sup> BAV, Urb. Lat. 1053, Avvisi dell'Anno 1585, ff. 83-84v (9 February 1585): 'E venuta qua una compagnia di Comedianti chiamati li Selosi [*sic*, Gelosi], li quali s'intende ch[e] habbino ottenuto licenza dal Papa di fare publicam[ent]e le comedie in q[ue]sta Città, il ch[e] mai hà uoluto permettere in tutto il suo Pontificato, et dicono ch[e] s[ua]s[anti]tà sia hora [...] per esserli stato messo in considerazione ch[e] con tal trattenimento di comedie si levavano molte occasioni di questionì, et altri disordini ch[e] sogliono nascere p[er] Roma in questi giorni di Carnevale.'

<sup>296</sup> BAV, Urb. Lat. 1053, Avvisi dell'Anno 1585, ff. 122-123v (13 March 1585): 'Se gli huomini di q[ues]ta Città per, i, stretti bandi ristampati d'osservare la quaresima, non mangiano carne, non resta però per questo di farne divorare dalle lor armi, succedendo più homicidi in q[ues]ti giorni, che da Carnevale.'

<sup>297</sup> BAV, Urb. Lat. 1053, Avvisi dell'Anno 1585, ff. 138-139v (23 March 1585): 'Giovedì [21 March] Matina à Pasquino fu tirata un'archibugiata nelle natiche ad Alessandro Peruschi gentilhuomo Romano da un giovane da Bagnacavallo, uenuto di fresco à Roma, et poco dopo ne sparò un'altra ad un servitore del Govern[ato]re di questa Città, che lo seguitava, ma non colse, ne passò molto che fu preso in una chiauica [*sic*, chiavica], che uersa in fiume, oue s'era nascosto, dopo haver tentato di passare il Tevere à nodo così armato.'

<sup>298</sup> BAV, Urb. Lat. 1053, Avvisi dell'Anno 1585, ff. 138-139v (23 March 1585): 'Questi principi Indiani hanno q[ues]ta matina [*sic*] nella sala Regia hauuto il Concistoro publico leuati al popolo da tutta la corte, dalle guardie del Papa, et in q[u]el modo che si fa à gli altri Amb[asciato]ri di Re co'l [*sic*] saluto dell'artigl[ie]r[i]e solite condotto in medio à 6 delli principali Prelati, che sono qua, essendo essi tre, et il quarto rimasto nell'alloggiamento infermo, cioè due Nipoti del Re di Fuinga [*sic*], uno chiamato yto [*sic*] Don Mancio, et l'altro Chijiua [*sic*] Don Miguel Nipote del Re d'Arima, et del Re d'Omura, gli altri dui sono principal[issi]mi ss.<sup>ri</sup> del Giapon di quel Regno di Figta [*sic*], uno di nome Nocauro [*sic*] Don Julian, et l'altro Faradon [*sic*] Martin. Ha orato per loro un Prè Jesuita Portuguese, et essi sono comparsi in habiti Indiani, cioè con drappi



Aurelian walls between the Porta Flaminia and the Milvian Bridge (another reminder for the envoys of the famous battle between Constantine, the supporter of Christianity, and Maxentius the pagan?), which was used at the time to receive foreign ambassadors.<sup>299</sup> After this, they paraded to St. Peter escorted by the Papal guards and all the high-ranking personages attending the consistory;<sup>300</sup> for the occasion, gun salutes were fired from Castel Sant'Angelo when the procession reached St. Peter's Square.<sup>301</sup> Finally the emissaries were received by Pope Gregory XIII in the Sala Regia in the Vatican Palace (**fig. 61**), where they pledged obedience to the Vicar of Christ in the name of the daimyos of Bungo, Ōmura, and Arima.

In the Sala Regia they certainly had the chance to see Giorgio Vasari's and his assistant Lorenzino da Bologna's fresco of the Battle of Lepanto (**fig. 62**), with the three female personifications of the Papal States, Spain, and the Republic of Venice in the foreground. This fresco, together with the other sixteen decorating the Sala Regia, was part of a decorative programme adhering to the medieval doctrine of papal absolutism, according to which the Pope holds both spiritual and temporal power, limiting Christian rulers to the latter alone.<sup>302</sup> From here, the allegorical personification of the Papal States exhorting those of Spain (to her left) and of the Republic of Venice (to her right) to hold each other's arms in remembrance of the Holy League called by Pius

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doro [*sic*] [...] sopra vesti tessute di seta di varij colori à figure di diversi ucelli con scimitarre al fianco stravaganti, et in testa capelli [*sic*] di feltro mischio con piume bianche all'uso nostro, et sono andati à Palazzo à cavallo di tre chrinee [*sic*, chinee] bianche coperte di velluto, et guarnite doro [*sic*] di quelle del Papa. Sanno dire qualche cosa in Italiano, et in Portoghese, et notano le cose secondo loro meravigliose, essendosi stupiti della fabrica [*sic*] di Caprarola, oue Farnese gli ha regolati regalm[en]te, facendoli incontrare, et accompagnare de 50 soldati dello Stato di Castro fin'à Monteroso, ove trovaro [*sic*, trovarono] due compagnie de cavalli leg[gie]ri del Papa con carrozze, et lettiche per condurli. Hieri secretam[en]te baciato [*sic*, baciaron], i piedi à N[ost]ro S[igno]re, che nel ricevereli s'inteneri [*sic*], essendo giovani di 15, in 18 anni, sbarbati, et Olivastri, ma de visi assai rustici, et poi andaro [*sic*, andarono] al loro alloggiamento nel Jesù sperati dal Papa, et a Car[dina]li furono visitati per terza persona, Et il punto printe [*sic*] è che hanno resa obbedienza alla sede Apost[oli]ca, essendo stato intorno alla seggia del Papa nel atto di baciarle, i piedi p[rese]nti tutti i Car[dina]li amici del Re Cat[toli]co, il cui Amb[asciato]re ha loro prestati, i, suoi cocchi, et staffieri per uscire in pubblico. Beuero [*sic*] acque, et acque calde, Hanno q[ues]ta matina desinato co'l Car[dina]le sansisto [*sic*]. Il resto si scriverà con l'altre.' See also OSMARINO 1585.

<sup>299</sup> GUALTIERI 1586: 82: '[...] onde i Gran Signori, Cardinali, & Ambasciatori, quando vengon à Roma, soglion fare le loro solenni entrate.' Villa Giulia had been built in the early 1550s by Barozzi da Vignola for Pope Julius III. See COCCHIA, PALMINTERI, and PETRONI 1987; BAFILE 1948.

<sup>300</sup> GUALTIERI 1586: 83-84; FRÓIS 1942: 151-152.

<sup>301</sup> FRÓIS 1942: 154.

<sup>302</sup> HERZ 1986; CELLETTI 2013. These theories culminated in the Pius V's Papal bull *In Coena Domini* of 1568, stating the superiority of the Holy See in temporal matters. It was not a case, in fact, that Philip II and Rudolph II did not allow the publication of these documents in their kingdoms. The bull was not published in the Kingdom of Naples and in territories of the Serenissima. See GIANNINI 1997.

V to defeat the Ottoman fleet of Selim II at Lepanto, is a powerful visualization of such a doctrine. It is hard to believe that the Tenshō envoys were not instructed on the significance of the decorative programme of the Sala Regia and its many historical references and ideological significance, confronting this fresco by Vasari with the painting by El Greco they saw in Madrid four months earlier.

On 3 April the Pope agreed to receive the Tenshō envoys for a private hearing, when they eventually gave him the Azuchi screens and other gifts which included writing desks made of bamboo and some small exquisitely decorated tables.<sup>303</sup> The screens must have made a big impact on the Pope and the people who had the chance to see them. On the Vatican *Avvisi* of 30 March 1585 we read: ‘these were painted on “scorza d’arbore” [i.e. bark of a tree]’ considered ‘so thin and lustrous as to exceed in refinement our parchment’.<sup>304</sup> From here the emissaries were brought to visit the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche (fig. 53), which had recently been completed (1579-1581). The person who guided the Japanese visitors on this spontaneous private tour was the author of the mural map cycle himself, the Dominican mathematician and cartographer

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<sup>303</sup> BAV, Urb. Lat. 1053, *Avvisi dell’Anno 1585*, ff. 145-145v (30 March 1585): ‘Lunedì [25 March] matina il Papa cavalcò con tutta la corte in Ponteficale alla Minerva secondo il consueto degli altri anni nel giorno del Annunziata [...], et i Principi del Giappone in quelli habiti loro già descritti hebbero il primo luogo nella cavalcata, et in [... page torn and illegible ...] Marchese di Baden, et sopra il Duca di Sora, cioè li due primi per essere di sangue Regale, ma il terzo come Barone stette à sedere su li scalini del Tribunale del Papa et perche uscironno in istampa tutte le loro attioni con quanto si è fatto, et si è detto, et le proprie l[ette]re, che hanno portato al Papa con il sermone recitato in Concistoro, non si dirà con questo altro di loro, solo, ch’in tutti, i, gesti, riescono modesti, circonspecti [*sic*], ben creati, et anco accorti, Di maniera, che nelle uscite, che fanno à Car[dina]li, et ricevono da altri, lasciano tutti contenti, et si scusano, che s’havessero pensato di dover ricevere tanti honorj et favori da S[ua] B[eatitudi]ne, che sariano venuti ben provisti di gusto, et di grandezze precise, ma che la mente delli loro Re era, che privatam[en]te facessero que[s]to atto di humiltà et d’obedienza. **Hanno donato al Papa sopra una grand[issi]ma et sottiliss[im]a scorza d’arbore il ritratto della loro Città prin[cipa]le ornata de molti edificij Magnificij, scrittorij di Canna d’India, et tavolini ornati di uaghi [*sic*, vaghi] lavori [bold mine];** Bevono l’acqua tepida fin’all’età di 20 anni, et per il uino fin’alla morte, et dicono, che il loro paese è diuiso in 63 Regni, et il negotio prin[cipa]le, che hanno è dell’oro, et dell’argento, **la scorza sopra la [... page torn and illegible ...] è di tal bellezza, sottigliezza, et lustrezza, che supera di gran lunga la finezza delle nostre carte pecore,** et scrivono all’in giù per il lungo in caratteri, et ogni carattere significa una parola intiera. Andaranno dopo Pascqua [*sic*, Pascua] a Napoli; havendo così quel ViceRe, come questo Amb[asciato]re Cat[toli]co ordinato di fare loro et procurare che gli siano fatti quei magg.<sup>ri</sup> honori, che possibile siano da S[ua] M[ae]stà, et al ritorno pur di qua andàrano à Loreto, Venetia, Lombardia, et in Portugallo ad imbarcarsi per il Japon, essendo Stato notato, che di nissuna cosa si meravigliano per meravigliosa, che sia se non in secreto fra loro, che le notano diligentissimam[en]te.’ Bold mine. See also FRÓIS 1942: 184, with additional bibliographic note in FRÓIS 1942: 184, n. 639.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid.

Egnazio Danti,<sup>305</sup> whom we have met above as the author of part of the maps decorating the cupboards of Cosimo I Medici's Guardaroba Nuovo in Florence. The Galleria in the Vatican Palace is 120 metres long, its walls featuring thirty-two maps (each one of them measuring about 3.3 by 4.25 metres) of Italy and its provinces, and its vault dividing the Italian peninsula like the Apennines, as Danti himself wrote, with the provinces washed by the Tyrrhenian Sea depicted on one side of the room and those washed by the Adriatic Sea on the other.<sup>306</sup> However, as the historian of cartography Francesca Fiorani has pointed out, unlike other Renaissance corridors of the time the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican was not conceived and never used as place to display antiquities.<sup>307</sup> Much like the Sala del Mappamondo at Caprarola – which Pope Gregory XIII visited and appreciated on occasion of his visit to the villa in 1578 –<sup>308</sup> the murals in the Vatican gallery were a visual expression of post-Tridentine ideology: on the one hand, as an attempt 'to accommodate the Protestant use of cartography to the advantage of the Catholic Church',<sup>309</sup> and, on the other hand, 'to place Italy at the centre of the Christian world and the Eucharist at the centre of Christian belief.'<sup>310</sup> The decorative programme of the Galleria delle Mappe Geografiche also referred the temporal and spiritual power of the Pope. It seems more than likely that the visit to the Gallery of Maps in the Vatican was inspired by the donation of the Azuchi screens. As a matter of fact, thanks to the visit of the Japanese emissaries to Rome and their oath of obedience to the person of the Pope and the universal authority of the Roman Catholic Church, Japan could finally be considered a fully-fledged part of that very Christian geography which found in the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche one of its highest and most explicit expressions.

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<sup>305</sup> GAMBI 1994; ALMAGIÀ 1952; FIORANI 1996, 2005.

<sup>306</sup> HESSELS 1887: letter 100, Egnazio Danti to Abraham Ortelius, Rome, 24 December 1580: '[...] per comandamento del Papa, che mi ha poi condotto in Roma a fare una descrizione d'Italia in una Galleria che S. Santita ha fatta, ove havendo diuisa l'Italia per il mezzo nel monte Appennino o posta da una banda della Galleria quella parte che é bagnata dal mare Ligustico, et Tirreno, et dall'altra, quella che é cinta dall'Adreatico e dall'Alpi, diuidendola poi secondo gli stati, et le prefetture de' governi [...]'. See also GOFFARD 1998: 788.

<sup>307</sup> FIORANI 1996: 140.

<sup>308</sup> BAV, Urb. Lat. 818, p. II, ff. 210-241.

<sup>309</sup> FIORANI 1996: 124. See also DELANO SMITH and MORLEY INGRAM 1991; SHALEV 2012.

<sup>310</sup> FIORANI 1996: 140.

Unfortunately, we do not know where the screens were eventually displayed or even stored (let us remember that their whereabouts are currently unknown). It is certain that for a certain period of time they were displayed to be seen by a number of people exceeding the Pope and his entourage. This fact is proved by the existence of some sketches drawn between 1585 and 1592 by Flemish painter and antiquary Philip van Winghe. His drawings were later included by Lorenzo Pignoria (1571-1631) in his appendix to Vincenzo Cartari's (d.1569) 1615 and 1626 Paduan editions of *Le Vere e Nove Imagini delli Dei delli Antichi* <sup>311</sup>.

The sojourn of the Japanese emissaries in Rome witnessed the unexpected death of Pope Gregory XIII (10 April) and the successive election to the throne of St. Peter of Felice Peretti di Montalto (24 April), who chose the name of Sixtus V. The presence of the four young ambassadors is recorded in a fresco of the *Procession of Sixtus V to San Giovanni in Laterano* (the procession took place on 5 May), which the new Pope commissioned from Giovanni Guerra and Cesare Nebbia as part of the decoration of the Salone Sistino in the Vatican. <sup>312</sup> But their Roman holiday had come to an end. Sixtus V confirmed Gregory XIII's commitment to allocate financial support for the Jesuit mission in Japan, <sup>313</sup> and the emissaries and their entourage could finally leave the Eternal City to travel north towards Genoa from where they would sail to Barcelona, and then travel on horseback to Lisbon, their last European stopover before embarking for Japan. Having left Rome on 3 June 1585, the Tenshō envoys travelled through Umbria, <sup>314</sup> Rimini and Imola, <sup>315</sup> Bologna, <sup>316</sup> Ferrara, <sup>317</sup> Chioggia, and Venice (arrived 26 June), where they were received with the same grandiosity experienced in Rome. <sup>318</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> Van Winghe's drawings of Azuchi castle's *dojon* (the fortress) and gates have been reproduced in Lach 1994b. See also CURVELO 2007: 152.

<sup>312</sup> The fresco, completed in 1588, is also reproduced in FUJIKAWA 2012: 194. On the attendance of the Japanese ambassadors to the ceremony see FRÓIS 1942: 197.

<sup>313</sup> On Sixtus V's not respecting the Gregory XIII's commitment see MUSILLO 2012: 168. See also BORGES 1994: 120.

<sup>314</sup> Passing by Narni, Spoleto, Foligno, Assisi, and Perugia.

<sup>315</sup> The passage of the emissaries in these two cities is the subject of MUSILLO 2012.

<sup>316</sup> BENACCI 1585.

<sup>317</sup> IANNELLO 2012.

<sup>318</sup> DRACONI 1585. FRÓIS 1942: 223-231.

In Venice they visited the Palazzo Ducale with its lavishly decorated rooms. The ambassadors were received in the Sala del Collegio, dominated by Paolo Veronese's *Votive Portrait of Doge Sebastiano Venier* (**fig. 64**), another work celebrating Venice's victory at the battle of Lepanto (1571). This was the third work dedicated to the theme of the Battle of Lepanto they saw (after El Greco's in the Escorial and Vasari's in the Vatican Palaces), a subject later mentioned in the dialogues of *De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam*, which was to be printed in Macao in 1590 (the passage mentioning the Lepanto victory is reported below in chapter 4). Particularly interesting in this painting is the representation of Christ as Saviour of the World (*Salvator Mundi*) blessing Venier. This particular representation of Christ was to become extremely common in Japan with the arrival of the southern Italian painter Giovanni Niccolò whose figure and works I will properly introduce and discuss in the following chapter, together with a more comprehensive analysis of the representation of the *Salvator Mundi* and its significance in China and Japan (where Niccolò's works were seen and requested). For now, it might be sufficient to say that this representation is symbolic of the revelation and testimony of Christian "true" doctrine to the pagans. Therefore, in the context of the Battle of Lepanto, which was considered a holy war against Islam, the inclusion of the *Salvator Mundi* in the composition<sup>319</sup> was very appropriate considering the prophetic and eschatological significance of the Battle of Lepanto in the history of Christianity. This very reading will be later transferred onto the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens and the *Battle of Lepanto and Map of the World* screens (**figs. 16, 63**). I will argue that one of the four Japanese Tenshō envoys, Martino Hara, contributed to conceive the iconographic programs of these two pairs of screens, bringing in his experience and recollections of the frescoes and paintings celebrating the Battle of Lepanto and the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, and of course the mural map cycles he saw in Florence, Caprarola, and the Vatican.

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<sup>319</sup> In the original sketch of this painting there was a figure with a book – probably St. Mark – occupying the same position as Christ in the painting, see SINDING-LARSEN 1956: 299.

Another important moment of the passage of the Tenshō emissaries in Italy was when they were received in Padua (6 July) by the German botanist and traveller Melchior Guilandinus. Guilandinus gave them a copy of Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* and one of Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, two works which were later extensively used as visual sources for many cartographic screens made in Japan from 1590 onwards.<sup>320</sup>

## **The return of the Tenshō envoys to Japan and the embassy to Toyotomi Hideyoshi**

The emissaries finally left Italy from Genoa on 16 August 1585 and, after crossing Spain and Portugal, they eventually embarked for Japan on 13 April 1586, where in the meantime the political scenario had changed, radically. On their arrival in Goa on 29 May 1587 they were finally reunited with Alessandro Valignano. The Father Visitor was then appointed ambassador of the Viceroy in Goa, Duarte de Meneses, to the new hegemon of Japan, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, formerly a lieutenant of Oda Nobunaga (who was killed in June 1582) and now the man who issued the first anti-Christian edict (25 July 1587) ordering the missionaries to leave Japan.<sup>321</sup> Although the edict was not enforced, the Jesuit mission in Japan was in deep crisis. Despite the successful reception of the Tenshō mission in Europe, Valignano and the four Japanese emissaries were now seeking the revocation of Hideyoshi's edict in order to assure the continuation of Jesuit mission in Japan. Certainly, the cartographic works they brought with them from Europe played an extremely important role to impress the hegemon Hideyoshi and possibly win his support. At the same time,

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<sup>320</sup> These were probably the first editions of these works. Therefore, it was the 1570 edition of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, and the 1572 edition for the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. UNNO 1994: 377. Unfortunately it is not known how Guilandinus came into possession of copies of the two atlases, if they were a gift to him or if he purchased them. However, Guilandinus' work (GUILANDINUS 1572) is mentioned for the description of Egypt in the 1579 Latin edition of the *Theatrum*, in the 1580/1589 and in the 1602 German editions. On Melchior Guilandinus, also known by his German surname Wieland (c. 1520-1589) see DE TONI 1921; TOMASINI 1630: 43; PISANSKI 1785.

<sup>321</sup> *HJ*: IV, p. 397-407.

these cartographic sources, such as Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* and other printed maps served as source motifs<sup>322</sup> for a new chapter in Japanese screen painting.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi was an extremely important figure in the history of early modern Japan.<sup>323</sup>

With Oda Nobunaga before him, and Tokugawa Ieyasu after him, Hideyoshi was one of the three unifiers of Japan, closing a century-long period of civil war (*sengoku-jidai*).<sup>324</sup> A lieutenant of Nobunaga until the latter's death in June 1582, Hideyoshi's political ascent was, like that of Nobunaga, favoured by his political acumen, his strategic skills on the battlefield, and by an undeniable appetite for grandiosity.<sup>325</sup> Not long after the death of his commander Oda Nobunaga (21 June 1582), Hideyoshi defeated the troops led by the assassin of Nobunaga, Akechi Mitsuhide, at the battle of Yamasaki on 2 July 1582. In the aftermath of this victory, Hideyoshi took control over Nobunaga's possessions. Eventually, in 1585, Hideyoshi took the title of *Kampaku* (regent of the Emperor).<sup>326</sup> Like Nobunaga he ordered the construction of a magnificent multi-storeyed fortress at Fushimi on Momoyama hill in southern Kyoto (first completed in 1594), which together with the Nobunaga castle at Azuchi has provided the name for the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1573-1614);<sup>327</sup> furthermore, like Nobunaga at Azuchi, Hideyoshi commissioned the decoration of the interiors of Fushimi Castle from the Kanō workshop.<sup>328</sup> Hideyoshi was a supporter and patron of the arts,<sup>329</sup> and in his private life a man gifted with a caring attitude towards the people who were closest to him.<sup>330</sup> He was even the kind of man ready to dress like a melon peddler in an attempt to humour and raise the morale of his troops encamped in Nagoya.<sup>331</sup> These similarities with his predecessor might at first lead one to think that Hideyoshi's relations with the Jesuit missionaries and the Japanese Christians were as cooperative as Nobunaga's. But unfortunately for the European missionaries and the local Christian community this was not the case. As the

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<sup>322</sup> LOH 2013: 35.

<sup>323</sup> On Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598) see BERRY 1982; OZAWA and AKATSUKI 2013; TURNBULL 2010.

<sup>324</sup> OZAWA and AKATSUKI 2013; OSAMU 1982; PUDDINU 1970.

<sup>325</sup> TURNBULL 2010: 57.

<sup>326</sup> At that time the emperor was Go-Yōzei (r. 1586-1617).

<sup>327</sup> McKELWAY 2006: 179-183.

<sup>328</sup> SHIMIZU 1981: 40.

<sup>329</sup> McKELWAY 2006: 179-183; SAMONIDES 1996; MURASE 2003.

<sup>330</sup> BOSCARO 1972, 1975.

<sup>331</sup> McKELWAY 2006: 175.

historian of literature Derek Massarella commented, in his ascension to power and in his effort towards national re-unification Hideyoshi was resolute enough 'to check the political aspirations of the spiritual realm in Japan by incorporating his ritual and symbolic attributes to serve his political agenda.'<sup>332</sup> The missionaries were basically accused of fomenting the destruction of Shinto and Buddhist temples, and, interestingly, of making use of their knowledge in mathematics and cosmology to win converts, thus subverting local beliefs in these matters.<sup>333</sup> However, Hideyoshi's focus on his campaign to occupy and conquer Korea (1592-1598), as well as the important role of the Jesuit missionaries in Portuguese trade managed to slow down Hideyoshi's actions against the missionaries. Eventually, the return of Valignano in July 1590 and his subsequent diplomatic mission to the court of Hideyoshi as ambassador of the Portuguese Viceroy in Goa determined an improvement in Hideyoshi's relations with the missionaries. In the end, in 1595 Hideyoshi chose the Portuguese Jesuit João Rodrigues Tçuzzu – whom we met above as the author of the *Historia da Igreja do Japão* where he mentioned folding screens as 'things worth describing' – as his personal advisor for matters concerning European trade in Nagasaki.<sup>334</sup> He still saw the missionaries as viable aids to Japanese trade and, at the same time, to augmenting his personal wealth.

Valignano and the four envoys left Goa on 22 April 1588 and reached Macao on 28 July, bringing with them gifts for Hideyoshi and a Portuguese press with movable type to print books and pictures for the Jesuit mission in Japan.<sup>335</sup> In Macao, they waited twenty-three months for

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<sup>332</sup> MASSARELLA 2005: 347

<sup>333</sup> LU 1997: 196-197.

<sup>334</sup> COOPER 1994: 204-205, 245-253.

<sup>335</sup> KODA 1939; PACHECO 1971; LAURES 1957; *HJ*: IV, pp. 298-309. On Valignano asking permission to print books in Japan without sending them to Goa for the inquisitors' approval before they could be disseminated see Valignano letter to the Jesuit General Claudio Acquaviva (Macao, 23 September 1589) kept in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.*, 11.I.158: '[...] parece necessario que V. P. non inviese de s.s. un licença general para en Japon se poder hazer y imprimir libros por orden del Sup.<sup>or</sup> de la Comp.<sup>a</sup> agora sean de auctores s.<sup>ros</sup> y profanos que hasta gora son impreso cortando dellos lo q parece e conviene para el bien del iapon, [...] con tal que sean examinados y aprovados por tres quatro [...] letrados de la Comp.<sup>a</sup> sin que aya obligacion de los embiar a los inquisidores que estan en Goa .1°. porque se pierde mucho tiempo en esso aviendose de passar quatro o çinco años en ir y vir, 2°. prq muchos libros que se han de imprimir aunque sean scritos con caracteres latinos has de ser en lengua lapona para se comunicar al pueblo, los quales no se pueden en ninguna manera exminar ni iuzgar si no por los mismos padres q estan en lapon que saben la lengua. 3°. prq los libros q se hân en lapon de imprimir alo menos por muchos años, no ban de ser si no libros pios y faciles,



Hideyoshi to agree to receive them in Kyoto. On 3 March 1591, the embassy led by Valignano was received in the Jurakutei palace. The Father visitor gave many gifts to the powerful *Kampaku*: two Arabian horses<sup>336</sup> (although only one reached Japan alive); two gilded armour corselets made in Milan; two foils decorated with gold and silver; two automatic arquebuses with their decorated supports; four embossed leather pieces with figures painted in oil to be hung on walls (*godomecis*); and a lavishly decorated tent.<sup>337</sup> Accompanying Valignano and other Portuguese merchants to the court of Hideyoshi in Kyoto, there were the four Japanese envoys of the Tenshō embassy; they wore the black velvet European clothes given to them by Pope Gregory XIII and by the Viceroy of Portugal Albert VII of Austria and even played European instruments to delight the *Kampaku*.<sup>338</sup> It was a success. And the success of this embassy to Hideyoshi was so obvious that not only were the missionaries able to continue their work in Japan, but it also marked the beginning of a real fashion for so-called *namban* objects (identifiable by the presence of Christian iconography or the depiction of Europeans).<sup>339</sup> The four Tenshō envoys eventually entered the

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y de poca profundidad, [...], y por esso no avera peligro de se poder errar en las opiniones. 4°. porque los libros [...] que ya estan imprimidos [...] no se hara iniuria al auctor, [...] como si fuesen sus originales [...]. 5°. porque finalm.<sup>te</sup> todos los libros que se imprimierano se han de mandar a Roma a V.P. y con estas declaraciones q a V.P. y a s.s.<sup>d</sup> mejor pareciere, pareçe de todo neçessario tenermos en Iapon facultad de hazer y imprimir los libros assi en lengua Iapona, como en la latina q nos pareciere, porq realm.<sup>te</sup> nunca podran los Iapones ser perfectos xpianos sino huviera diversa manera de tratados y libros pios [...]. Para esto tambien mando venir de Portugal la imprensa y las matrises de letras, una mayor otra mediana y otra pequeña. Las quales todas podra V.P. ver en la impresion del tit.<sup>o</sup> del dialogo q agora se embia, y la letra com que el va imprido en la mediana, la qual prq las matrises eran ya muy viejas no nos salio tan buena, ni tan clara como deseamos. [...] especialmente deseamos algunas buena letra grifa, y otra redonda mediana, mas clara [...] que esta, y assi pido a V.P. ya que por una conta se me offeçe de nos imbiar imprensa si aqui la desseamos, que mande por algun padre q tenga desto buena inteligencia, y del algun buen impresor que entenda bien delas letras comprarnos a cuenta de Iapon las matrises para imprimir en letra grifa y otras para letra redonda mediana, y las mande embiar a Portugal para q a buen recado el procurador que esta ahi me las embie a Iapon, advirtiendose que las matrises sean bien iustificadas y perfectas de manera que tengamos aqui mas q hazer q fundir las letras, y imprimir [...]. [...] Tambien co las dichas matrises desseamos algunas imagenes y IESUS para se imprimir o los principios de las lineas, en lamina, o en madera, prq aqui no las saben hazer, con algunas otras figuras q se aocstumbran meter en el fim de los libros de los Cap.<sup>os</sup> para remate y ornamento dellos [...].

<sup>336</sup> ARSI, *Jap. Sin.*, 11.1.46, Lourenço Meixa to Claudio Acquaviva, Macao 8 January 1589: '[...] El p<sup>e</sup> Visitador llevo aqui a 28 de Julio pasado có 16 de la Comp.<sup>a</sup> y con los 4 Snrës Japones, todos sanos por la bondad del sōr, fueron reçevidos con mucho amor y alegria, por aver un año q los esperavamos. Traxeron dela India dos cavallos Arabios de mucho precio pa el sōr de Iapon, y muchas cosas de Italia y España de mucha estima.'

<sup>337</sup> HJ: IV, p. 299.

<sup>338</sup> HJ: IV, p. 300, 308.

<sup>339</sup> From *namban-jin*, meaning 'southern barbarians', which was how the Portuguese were commonly called in Japan. On the uses and abuses of the term *namban* see LITTLE 2008.

Society of Jesus, and on 25 July 1591 they were ordained priests by Alessandro Valignano. One of them, Miguel Chijiwa apostatised in 1601,<sup>340</sup> but three remained faithful to the Jesuit missionary cause and to the Christian faith: Julião Nakaura died a martyr in Japan in October 1633, Mancio Itō died of disease in 1612, and Martino Hara was forced to leave the archipelago in 1614 on the onset of the Tokugawa persecution of Christianity. Hara, as I will discuss below in Chapter Five, probably assisted a group of Japanese painters to make the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens.

## Conclusion to Chapter Two

In this chapter we have seen how Japanese cartographic screens were used as diplomatic gifts in Europe for the first time. The donation of the Azuchi screens to Pope Gregory XIII and a screen with a map of China to Philip II was a well calculated move to bring to the attention of the two Christian rulers the case of the Jesuit missions in China and Japan. These two regions were in fact out of the sphere of the Spanish and Portuguese church patronage, which meant that the missionaries active there did not receive any financial support unless it came from the donations and the good will of Portuguese traders operating between Macao and Nagasaki, or from the involvement of the missionaries in this trade. In the next chapter, we will see how this state of affairs was also reflected in the commission of works of art for the Jesuit mission in Japan.

The choice using cartographic screens as diplomatic gifts could not but make the Jesuits' point stronger. As I have discussed the use of maps as diplomatic gifts was a common practice in early modern Europe. As a way of example I pointed out to Álvaro Seco's map of Portugal (1560), which was first donated to Pope Pius IV following his papal election in 1559. Interestingly, this map found its way to Japan through Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (fig. 28). A copy of Ortelius's work was donated to the Tenshō envoys during their stop-over in Padua, and it served as one of the sources for the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens (discussed in chapter four)

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<sup>340</sup> ELISONAS 2007.

where Seco's map was eventually incorporated. The donation of a map as a diplomatic gift meant that the legitimate sovereign of the territory represented in it subjugated his land to the symbolic rule and protection of the recipient. The donation of cartographic screens to Philip II and Gregory XIII followed the same logic. Further, if on the one hand, the donation of the Azuchi screens to Gregory XIII signified the undergoing spiritual conquest of Japan and the support of Japanese elites for the Jesuits' cause, on the other hand, the donation of a screen with a map of China to Philip II was suggestive of early modern messianic beliefs in the coming of a Christian universal king following the conquest of China by a Christian prince. It was impossible for the Spanish King not to receive the message conveyed in this rare gift, especially considering the large number of pamphlets and publications identifying Charles V and Philip II as rulers of possessions across the entire globe, making them the best and only candidates to become and be acclaimed as the Christian universal king anticipated by the Prophet Daniel.

Another aspect discussed in this chapter has been the constant attention given to maps, mural map cycles, and also to paintings and frescoes representing the hitherto recent victory of the Holy League at the Battle of Lepanto (1571). With regards to the Battle of Lepanto, we have also seen how the Tenshō emissaries were also dragged into the celebrations for the anniversary of this victory in the streets of Toledo. The Battle of Lepanto is of great significance in the history of Christianity. It was more than just a confrontation between the fleet of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II and that of the Holy League. It was first and foremost the final word on the early modern geopolitical asset in the Mediterranean, but also a victory charged with prophetic and eschatological significance. Much like the cartographic screens donated to Philip II and Gregory XIII, the paintings, frescoes, and mural map cycles (like the Galleria delle Mappe Geografiche in the Vatican) representing the famous naval battle of 1571 were part of a precise historical narrative about Christianity overcoming paganism the world over; Japan, of course, did not escape this storyline. For this reason the Battle of Lepanto was inscribed in that long tradition of Christian victories against false religions and gods going back to Emperor Constantine's victory at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge (312 CE). Although there is no representation of the Emperor

Constantine in the Sala Regia (**fig. 61**), where the Tenshō envoys saw Vasari's fresco of the Battle of Lepanto (**fig. 62**), there is no doubt they visited the Sala di Costantino with the cycle of frescoes by Giulio Romano (**fig. 99**). References to the Battle of the Lepanto and the victory of Constantine over Maxentius are duly noted in the travelogue of the Tenshō emissaries (see chapter four). It is important to notice that the possible author of this travelogue which was published in Latin in Macao in 1590 could have been Alessandro Valignano, putting together the notes of the taken by the tutors of the emissaries during their European itinerary (we saw how his duties as Father Visitor did not allow him to go further than Goa, leaving the emissaries under the leadership of Nuno Rodrigues S.J.). Eventually, these two stories would be jointly represented on one important pair of Japanese screens, the *Battle of Lepanto and Map of the World*, which I will discuss below in chapter four.

The attention the Jesuit missionaries paid to the use of images to impress and educate the Japanese emissaries in Europe should not surprise. As a matter of fact, much like the initiator of the Jesuit mission in Japan Francis Xavier, who had visited the archipelago between 1549 and 1551, Alessandro Valignano considered the visual arts important tools to promote the evangelization of that country. As I will have the occasion to argue already in the following chapter the use of European paintings and prints in Japan turned out to be a successful evangelical strategy. Concerning the styles and techniques of painting, western-style pictures had the advantage of employing geometrical perspective and striking light and shade in their compositions, something sixteenth-century Japanese beholders were new to and to which they reacted with great curiosity. In the next chapter I will look at the problems faced by the missionaries in this field, and the solutions they found to adequately respond to the request for Christian sacred images in Japan. The arrival of the southern Italian painter Giovanni Niccolò in 1583 (who I briefly introduced in this chapter) and of a printing press in 1590 was of great avail to the missionaries. The establishment of a school of painting by Niccolò (1590) where Japanese artists were trained in western-style painting and printing techniques resulted in a florid but short

period of visual 'contamination' which, for what concerns this dissertation, lasted until 1614.<sup>341</sup>

The ultimate products of these encounters in the visual realm were the so-called *namban* screens, of which cartographic screens are one of the most remarkable examples.

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<sup>341</sup> On European and Japanese exchanges and influences in the visual arts after 1614 see VAN RAAIJ 1989; JOHNSON 2005; WELSH and VINHAIS 2008; STEVENSON 1909; SCREECH 1994, 2005; FRENCH 1974; SHIRAHARA 2007.

### 3. The Visual Arts on the Jesuit Mission in Japan and *Namban* Screens

#### The visual arts and the Jesuit mission in Japan (1549-1590)

There can be no doubt that the most interesting insights into how sixteenth-century Jesuit missionaries looked at eastern Asian visual arts can be found in the comments provided by two of the most attentive observers and important personalities in the Jesuit missions in Japan and China. I am referring to João Rodrigues “Tçuzzu” (in Japan), a familiar voice who we have met already above, and Matteo Ricci, the skilled mathematician who arrived in Macao in 1583 together with the painter Giovanni Niccolò. As concerns Japanese visual arts, as late as the 1620s João Rodrigues ‘Tçuzzu’ S.J. noted that:

‘[the Japanese] show very little knowledge and proportion when they come to paint the human body and its various parts, and they can hardly be compared with our painters [...] for they lack a true knowledge of shading figures [...], they do not paint with oil, but grind the ink with glue’.<sup>342</sup>

Rodrigues’s comment, written between 1620 and 1633, followed Matteo Ricci’s opinion on Chinese painting (from which Japanese painting derived most of its techniques, stylistic expressions, and iconographical motifs):

‘[Chinese painters] know neither how to paint in oil nor how to use shades, so that all of their paintings look lifeless.’<sup>343</sup>

We would have expected a less blunt opinion from someone of Ricci’s calibre, especially considering the respect he earned from Chinese Confucian scholars during his life in China, and yet Chinese painting was still hard to appreciate for him as for many of his fellow missionaries. The pictorial art the missionaries were confronted with in Japan was, as Vlam has observed, ‘essentially a linear art with colour applied in flat masses, avoiding the rendering of forms in

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<sup>342</sup> RODRIGUES 2001: 317.

<sup>343</sup> *FR*: I, 32: ‘Non sanno pingere con olio nè dar l’ombra alle cose che pingono, e così tutte le loro pitture sono smorte e senza nessuna vivezza.’ On Matteo Ricci and his comments on Chinese painting in relation to the introduction of Albertian perspective in China see also CORSI 2004: 31-32.

shadow or in three-dimensional depth'.<sup>344</sup> True, Jesuit missionaries were very aware of Japanese taste in painting and acknowledged the different styles and techniques of this art in Japan. This was proved by Rodrigues' discussion on the three categories in which Japanese painting could be divided: '*iroe, sumie, and dei*'.<sup>345</sup> The first kind of painting, *iro-e*, was that of polychrome (red, yellow, and green) enamels on porcelains and ceramics; the term literally means coloured picture and for Rodrigues denoted painting of 'cheerful things and is in colour and gilded'.<sup>346</sup> *Sumi-e* (water-ink painting) 'is – Rodrigues noted – executed with black ink or water-colour, and they [Japanese painters] are very skilful and excellent at this'.<sup>347</sup> Finally, the third style of painting Rodrigues mentioned was that of *dei-e*, which consisted of gold or silver powder applied to the painting, and was used 'to produce very lovely and wholesome pictures [...] combined with water-colour painting [...] and it really is a certain kind of illumination, albeit different from our kind'.<sup>348</sup> But in my view, Ricci's and Rodrigues' critiques towards Chinese and Japanese painting moved from a common preoccupation. In their opinion Chinese and Japanese "flat", "lifeless" and dull bi-dimensional painting could not, on the one hand, marvel and intrigue beholders as much as European-style painting could (and we will see some examples of how this was the case in the following paragraph), and, on the other hand, properly illustrate with the complexities of Christian iconography to educate and draw Chinese and Japanese viewers nearer to the "true" faith.

From an iconographic point of view, the visual arts, as one might expect, were of great avail to literally "illustrate" the most complex concepts and controversial dogmas of Christianity. Certainly the didactic use of painting was nothing new to the missionaries. It was common to Christian Europe, where the very low levels of literacy among the lower strata of European societies called for a rich use of visual aids to catechise the masses.<sup>349</sup> The didactic use of paintings was a very serious issue in early modern Europe, a period of deep religious turmoil which changed the geo-

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<sup>344</sup> VLAM 1976: 1.

<sup>345</sup> RODRIGUES 2001: 321.

<sup>346</sup> RODRIGUES 2001: 321.

<sup>347</sup> RODRIGUES 2001: 321.

<sup>348</sup> RODRIGUES 2001: 321.

<sup>349</sup> See JONES 1993, and particularly chapter 3: "The Didactic Role of Sacred Art: Guiding Subject Matter and Style to ensure its Efficacy".

political configuration of the old continent. Indeed, during the second half of the sixteenth-century, on account of the contemporary Protestant Reformation and the iconoclasm linked with it, the correct uses of images and their display in churches and houses was a matter taken extremely seriously at the Council of Trent. These issues were in fact discussed on the occasion of the Council's last session on 3 and 4 December 1563.<sup>350</sup> (We have seen how the Jesuit missionaries in Japan put a similar topic up for discussion on the occasion of the *consulta* of Katsusa of 1590, in the attempt to determine the differences between the kind of folding screens displayed in churches and those displayed in Jesuit residences.) The Tridentine precepts austere declared that:

'by means of the histories of our Redemption, portrayed by paintings or other representations, the people is instructed, and confirmed in (the habit of) remembering, and continually revolving in mind the articles of faith [...]'.<sup>351</sup>

These ideas were further professed in the writings of one of the main actors in the Tridentine debate on the uses of images, the Bolognese Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti.<sup>352</sup> As Paleotti noted, uneducated and illiterate commoners (*popolo minuto*) were supposed 'to learn from paintings the things erudite men learn from books'.<sup>353</sup>

In Japan, as in Europe, paintings were used by the Jesuits to teach Christian doctrine. The initiator of the Jesuit mission in Japan, Francis Xavier, did not take long to experience the fascination of Japanese people for visual arts and for European painting in particular (something never seen before). For instance, he presented the paintings he had brought with him from Europe (a *Virgin with Child* and an *Annunciation*) to the lord of Satsuma, Shimazu Takahisa, and his mother. After that, Shimazu's mother requested a copy of the latter painting, but due to the lack of materials to paint in oil available at that time, her request was soon denied.<sup>354</sup> As I shall discuss below, with

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<sup>350</sup> In particular the Tridentine discussions referred to the "anathemas concerning sacred images" established at Nicaea II (787 CE), against those rejecting visual representations of the Gospels and to those refusing to pay respect to sacred images following the iconoclastic movement of the period. See WATERWORTH 1848: 235; HEFELE 1910: 741-756, 774.

<sup>351</sup> WATERWORTH 1848: 235.

<sup>352</sup> On Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597) see PRODI 1959-67; BIANCHI 2008.

<sup>353</sup> PALEOTTI 1582: c. XVIII: 'atteso che il popolo minuto le cose che i dotti leggono sui libri, egli le intende dalla pittura, o almeno dalle pitture piglia occasione di domandarne i più savii et indenderle da loro.'

<sup>354</sup> LÓPEZ-GAY 2003: 101.



the establishment of a seminary of painters in the 1590s, the *Virgin and Child* was one of the most painted subjects by Japanese artists trained in western-style painting. However, in spite of the great impact made on Japanese beholders, throughout the period comprised between the arrival of Francis Xavier in 1549 and the institution of Giovanni Niccolò S.J.'s seminary of painters at Arima in 1590, the dissemination of western-style paintings and pictures was not as widespread as the padres had hoped for. Not surprisingly, western-style paintings were rare birds in late sixteenth-century Japan.

But how did the missionaries in Japan deal with their chronic shortage of sacred images before the arrival of Niccolò? Was there a skilled European painter among them? And if so, which and how many works did he produce? It is known that in 1555 there was a Portuguese painter among the Jesuit missionaries in Japan. His name was Melchior Dias. Born in Lisbon in 1534, he arrived in Japan in 1555 together with the group of Portuguese missionaries (including Luís Fróis) led by Provincial Melchior Barreto.<sup>355</sup> Melchior Dias remained in Japan only four months, before returning to India (his name is in fact registered in Cochin in 1557) and then to Lisbon, where he was eventually expelled from the Society of Jesus in 1581.<sup>356</sup> It is not known, however, whether or not Dias was able to produce some paintings during the short period he actually spent in Japan.<sup>357</sup>

What is known is that, after Dias's short visit to Japan, the padres had to wait until 1565 to witness the first attempt of a Japanese artist to copy western-style paintings, when an unknown Japanese painter produced a *Resurrection* for the private chapel of the Christian daimyo Dario Takayama Hide-no-kami, at Sawa castle.<sup>358</sup> Then, about fifteen years after this painting of the *Resurrection*, another (or maybe the same) Japanese unknown artist produced an *Ecce Homo*

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<sup>355</sup> *HJ*: I, p. 93; his name is spelled 'Belchior', and a short biographical note is given on page 93, note 14, of the same text.

<sup>356</sup> CURVELO 2007: 292 suggests that Dias arrived in Japan in 1554. I referred to *FR*: I, 139, note 5, where it is stated that the group with whom Dias travelled arrived in Japan in 1555.

<sup>357</sup> CURVELO 2007: 292.

<sup>358</sup> VLAM 1976: 7; McCALL 1947: 124.

which was considered good enough to be even sent to Philip II of Spain as a demonstration of the padres' progress in Japan.<sup>359</sup>

With regards to the paucity of western-style paintings in Japan, Jesuit primary sources also reveal that throughout the first forty years of their presence in the archipelago the missionaries experienced somewhat of a paradox. On the one hand, the missionaries in Japan commissioned, and in some cases, with the help of Portuguese traders, managed to receive satisfactory altarpieces from Europe and Macao. On the other hand, they struggled to provide an ever-increasing number of Japanese converts with even the simplest pictures for private worship. As for the altarpieces arriving from Europe, it is known that in 1555 the Portuguese Luís de Almeida S.J., himself a wealthy merchant in the Luso-Asian Trade before entering the Society of Jesus the same year,<sup>360</sup> had commissioned an altarpiece to be made in a workshop in his native Lisbon for the chapel dedicated to *Nossa Senhora da Piedade* in Bungo. As Baltasar Gago S.J. noted in a letter dated 23 September 1555, the Jesuits in Lisbon received a letter from Almeida explaining which figures had to be painted and how many panels there had to be along with one hundred *cruzados*-worth of grains of musk for making it.<sup>361</sup> Unfortunately, I have not been able to find this letter from Almeida; however, in a subsequent letter dated 1 October 1561 Almeida wrote about the great number of Japanese Christians visiting the *Nossa Senhora da Piedade* every day, but made no mention of any altarpiece decorating it – something I believe he would have done had his long-distance commission proved successful.<sup>362</sup> In 1561 another painting, this time a *Virgin and Child*, was sent from Portugal to Japan by Catherine of Hapsburg, queen consort of João III of

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<sup>359</sup> McCALL 1947: 124.

<sup>360</sup> On Luís de Almeida S.J. (1525-1583), responsible for founding the first hospital in Japan where western medicine was practiced see Manuel Teixeira "Luís de Almeida, Surgeon, Merchant and Missionary in Japan", *Boletim do Instituto Camões*, Macau, Vol. 5, No.1-2, 1971. On Luís de Almeida as benefactor of the Society of Jesus in Japan see ALDEN 1996: 329. See also FIGUEIRA DE FARIA 2007.

<sup>361</sup> CARTAS 1598: I, f. 41v: 'Luys Dalmeida que ca fica este anno, alem da esmola que dà ao hospital dos pobres pera esta casa de nossa Senhora da Piedade de Búugo [*sic*, Bungo], ma[n]da a Portugal cem cruzados empregados em almiscar, & vão enderecados aos padres que estiverem em Lysboa, pera que mandarem fazer hum retauolo das melhores figuras e obra, q[ue] o dinheiro abranger, elle escreve hu[m]a cartas das image[n]s, & paneis que hão de ser.'

<sup>362</sup> CARTAS 1598: I, f. 83.

Portugal.<sup>363</sup> In 1562, as Fróis noted, Almeida took care of the decoration of three churches in the cities of Kasuga, Shishi, and Iriomote with images ‘coming from China’, meaning, with all probability, Macao.<sup>364</sup> It is possible that a painting of the Virgin as *Nossa Senhora da Graça* was also shipped from Macao during the same period to decorate a small altar which Father Cosme de Torres had prepared for daimyo Bartolomeu Omura Sumitada, lord of Hizen.<sup>365</sup> For the year 1562, Fróis also mentions a *Visitation of Mary to Elisabeth (Nossa Senhora da Visitação)* displayed in a private chapel at Ichiku castle, residence of Niirō Ise-no-kami, a vassal of the above-mentioned Shimazu Takahisa.<sup>366</sup> However, with the exception of few oil paintings donated to a relatively small number of Christian daimyos, Japanese Christian commoners saw hardly any image to pray to. In 1577, the missionaries’ desperate need for sacred images became a matter of discussion in the letters of another prominent Jesuit in Japan, the Italian Organtino Gnechi-Soldo who we have met above as the missionary responsible for establishing a mission in Azuchi and for being in good relations with Oda Nobunaga. Father Organtino stressed the importance of having skilled European artists in Japan.<sup>367</sup> Finally, in 1581, in one of his last requests as Provincial of Japan before being dismissed by Visitor Valignano, Francisco Cabral made a similar request to Superior General Mercurian, insisting that a skilled European painter be sent over to Japan in view of the increasing number of churches built in Kyūshū and southern Honshū, where altarpieces painted on wooden panel were commonly substituted with pictures on paper (*image[n]s de papel*) drawn by locals.<sup>368</sup>

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<sup>363</sup> McCALL 1947: 124.

<sup>364</sup> *HJ*: I, p. 287.

<sup>365</sup> *HJ*: I, p. 222. Omura Sumitada (1533-1587) converted to Christianity in 1563 and opened the port of Nagasaki to Portuguese trade in 1571, See COSTA 1994.

<sup>366</sup> *HJ*: I, p. 222.

<sup>367</sup> BAILEY 1999: 61. On Organtino Gnechi-Soldo (1533-1609), whose missiological approach greatly inspired Valignano’s *metodo d’adattamento*, see BERTUCCIOLI 2002.

<sup>368</sup> ARSI Jap. Sin. 9.I.19-20v, Francisco Cabral to Superior General Everard Mercurian, Usuki, 3 September 1581: ‘[...] Quanto ao pintor q[ue] V[ossa] P[aternalidade] diz q[ue] se mandara; seja p[or] amor de de[us] e saiba he m[ui]to necesario p[or] q[ue] alem das igrejas comu[n]m[en]te p[or] falta de retabulos, os quais avendoos não ajudarão pouco adoração dos xpãos e os gentios tomarão co[n]ceito de nosas cousas.’ It is known that in 1592 there were 207 churches and 24 Jesuit residences in Japan; see BAILEY 1999: 58, n. 18.

Eventually, in a letter dated 1 January 1587 and addressed to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, Luís Fróis called for more attention to be paid to the scarcity of sacred images in Japan.<sup>369</sup> ‘These Japanese – Fróis stated – are naturally inclined towards images [...] and other such things.’<sup>370</sup> But the Portuguese Jesuit knew all too well that this ‘natural inclination’ that the Japanese had for pictures and sacred objects was indeed a double-edged sword for the missionaries. In fact, Japanese converts were keen to turn to the visual medium, not least as a means to understand what was hard to explain with words or simply impossible to translate.<sup>371</sup> Moreover, Fróis noted, once Japanese converts got rid of the pictures and objects belonging to their former beliefs they constantly referred to the missionaries for Christian pictures and objects to make up for the old ones.<sup>372</sup> The missionaries could not keep up with these requests.

Determined to improve the situation, Fróis made three requests to the Superior General Claudio Acquaviva. The first was to forbid all the missionaries directed to Japan to donate any of the liturgical objects and sacred images they carried with them to other missionaries. Particularly, Fróis blamed the common habit of leaving pictures and liturgical objects ‘in every Jesuit residence and college they stopped at along their way through Europe and India’. Ironically, almost adding insult to injury, in many cases the missionaries who made it to Japan at the end of their long journey ‘grumbled about all the things they carried [with them and] which were either taken away from them or were too important to be given out [to Japanese Christians]’.<sup>373</sup> To make his point

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<sup>369</sup> ARSI, Jap. Sin. 10.II.223v, Luís Fróis to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, Shimonoseki, 1 January 1587.

<sup>370</sup> ARSI, Jap. Sin. 10.II.223v, Luís Fróis to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, Shimonoseki, 1 January 1587: ‘sono natural[men]te i Giapponi inclinati [*sic*, inclini] a imagine [*sic*, immagini], reliquie, agnus dei, et cose benedette, et alter [*sic*, altre] cose di q[ue]sta qualità [...]’.

<sup>371</sup> ARSI Jap. Sin. 9.I.19-20v, Francisco Cabral to Superior General Everard Mercurian, Usuki, 3 September 1581.

<sup>372</sup> ARSI, Jap. Sin. 10.II.223v, Luís Fróis to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, Shimonoseki, 1 January 1587: ‘[...] p[er]che dentro de si essendo gentili usao [*sic*, usano] molto d’altre cose che il demonio gli ha insegnato che i Bonzi le dão [*sic*, danno], et qua[n]do dopo d[e] sêr christiani butano [*sic*, buttano, gettano] poi tutte q[ue]lle cose restano come nudi, e co[n] istantia dema[n]dano alli P[ad]ri che gli quedano [*sic*, lascino] di q[ue]ste cose [...]’. A similar statement was made in 1585 by the Portuguese Pero Gomes S.J., see CURVELO 2007: 289.

<sup>373</sup> ARSI, Jap. Sin. 10.II.223v, Luís Fróis to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, Shimonoseki, 1 January 1587: ‘La p[ri]ma è (se for possibile) che V[ost]ra P[at]ernità ordeni espressam[en]te alli P[ad]ri et fr[at]ti che sono mandati in Giappone, che tutte le cose di q[ue]sta qualità sopraditte che levano d’Europa che essi p[er] niuna maniera las doano [*sic*, donino] qua[n]toq[ue] [*sic*, quantoché] gli sara[n]no dima[n]date p[er] le case

stronger, Fróis indicated Father Celso Confalonieri S.J. as a perfect example of this frustrating behaviour. In fact, Confalonieri had left his native Milan loaded with 40 crystal reliquaries and arrived in Japan with none.<sup>374</sup> The second thing Fróis requested from Acquaviva was that he be allowed to use part of the funds granted by Pope Gregory XIII to purchase ‘a few hundred [*alcuni cento*] little copper reliquaries decorated with the image of Our Lady to distribute among Japanese nobles and the oldest Japanese lay brothers’.<sup>375</sup> Reliquaries were indeed very common among Japanese converts, who were in the habit of making them using all kinds of different materials such as copper, tin, brass, bone, and wood.<sup>376</sup> Fróis also admitted that Japanese craftsmen were good enough to do the job, so much that some of them could be easily compared to the most skilled European artisans. After all, in 1565 he even employed a Japanese goldsmith to make two altarpieces, one of the *Nativity* and the other of the *Resurrection*.<sup>377</sup> However, the Portuguese Jesuit continued, ‘[Japanese Christians] would be much more devoted to them [the reliquaries] knowing that you [the Superior General personally] sent them and that they came all the way from Rome.’<sup>378</sup> Finally, Fróis’s third request was for ‘a press with matrixes [ready] for printing, [in order to] distribute prints among the Christians [of Japan]’.<sup>379</sup> But it was still too early

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et collegij p[er] donde passano in Europa, et nella India insino che arriveno in Giappone, p[er]che tutti dopo di qui arrivar si vengono lame[n]tando che levavano molte cose, ma che alcune gli pigliarono, et p[er] altre gli importavano tanto che nò potevano lasciar [...].’

<sup>374</sup> ARSI, Jap. Sin. 10.II.223v, Lúis Fróis to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, Shimonoseki, 1 January 1587: ‘et q[ue]sto a[n]no ve[r]ra il P[adr]e Celso [Confalonieri] che porto di Milano .40. reliquarij di cristallo, et arrivo in Giappone co[n] niuna, di modo che ni alli n[ost]ri della co[m]p[agn]ia ni alli secolari dieno, ni riportano nie[n]te di quel levano, ni li Prov[incia]li p[er] donde gli le possano prender insi che [*sic*, finché] arrivano in Giappone, p[er]cioche se così nò se fa q[ue]sto molto esatto, impossivel [*sic*, impossibile] sara portar qui niuna cosa.’ On Celso Confalonieri (1557-1627), master of novices in Japan see ALDEN 1996: 264; BARTOLI 1825: 163.

<sup>375</sup> ARSI, Jap. Sin. 10.II.223v, Lúis Fróis to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, Shimonoseki, 1 January 1587: ‘La 2<sup>a</sup> è che dette elemosine che continuam[en]te la face il som[m]o Pontifice [*sic*, Pontefice] tanto grande ordenasse V[ostra] P[at]ernità alcuna co[n] che li in Roma comprasse alcuni cento reliquarij che te[n]gono una imagine di Nossa Sègnora [*sic*, Signora] piccoli in lamina co[n] soi vetri p[er] cima p[er] se divi-/dir co[n] q[ue]sti sig[no]ri et coli fr[at]ti Giapponi antiqui, [...].’

<sup>376</sup> *HJ*: I, p. 357.

<sup>377</sup> McCALL 1947: 124.

<sup>378</sup> ARSI, Jap. Sin. 10.II.223v, Lúis Fróis to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, Shimonoseki, 1 January 1587: ‘p[er]che qua[n]toq[ue] qui si facciano molto richi [*sic*, ricchi], et lustrati, molto piu le sa[n]no declamar venendo di Roma, et mandati da V[ostra] P[at]ernità.’

<sup>379</sup> ARSI, Jap. Sin. 10.II.223v, Lúis Fróis to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, Shimonoseki, 1 January 1587: ‘La 3<sup>a</sup> sara p[er] tutti i christiani grande co[n]solatione [...] mandar V[ostra] P[at]ernità uno sta[m]patore de Imagini grande che porti forme p[er] si sta[m]par qui, et ripartir p[er] li christiani [...].’

for that, since the first printing press to be seen in Japan would be brought only in 1590 upon the return of Valignano and the Tenshō envoys to the archipelago of the rising sun.

Fróis was not the only person convinced of the utility of a press for printing Christian pictures and texts. In 1589, the Vice-Provincial of Japan Gaspar Coelho S.J. wrote that 'Japanese [Christians] are all devoted to the Cross because they have no other images [to pray to]'.<sup>380</sup> For the missionaries, who had few visual aids at their disposal, the symbol of the Cross – in addition to its historical, mystical, and eschatological meanings – had the advantage of being very easy to draw and to make, say, by joining two wooden sticks together. The devotion of Japanese commoners to the Cross is clearly well explained in the description of Coelho's 1588 visit to the Gōto archipelago, where Coelho unwillingly tells us how the missionaries coped with the lack of a printing press. On 9 November 1588, Gaspar Coelho and a Japanese Brother named Paulo brought with them on their visit to the Gōto islands, off the western coast of Kyūshū, a Cross to commemorate burials.<sup>381</sup> At the request of the islanders to have the symbol of the Cross copied onto paper sheets for private worship, Paulo decided to carve the shape of the Cross out of a piece of wood and to make rudimentary prints with it which were then distributed in a orderly manner to those who wanted one.<sup>382</sup> It was obvious that the missionaries could carry on with such feeble means. Well aware of this, Valignano recognized that the printing press could be exploited to reproduce pictures to pray to and books to disseminate European scientific learning and sacred texts. But book covers and prints needed skilled artists to draw them before being printed, and these skills needed to be taught. This task was fulfilled by a young southern Italian painter, Giovanni Niccolò.

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<sup>380</sup> *CARTAS* 1598: II, f. 246v. This letter of 24 February 1589 was the annual letter reporting on the activities of the previous year, so the facts which follow refer to 1588. On Gaspar Coelho S.J. (1530-1590), see COSTA 1994b.

<sup>381</sup> The Crucifix used by Coelho on this occasion might be the same one requested by Father Baltasar Gago S.J. for the commemoration of funerals in his letter of 23 September 1555, *CARTAS* 1598: I, f. 39v-40: '& ao outro dia ajunta[r]o[n]se ao Christãos na igreja, & feita sua sepultura, & com velas acesas digolhe o responso entoado, & o pater noster na maneira acima dita pola sua alma: para isto desejo hu[m]a cruz dourada, com hum crucifixo muito bem feito com seu pé q[ue] se possa alevantar em hu[m]a procisam destas quando imos a estes officios.'

<sup>382</sup> *CARTAS* 1598: II, f. 252v: '[...] leuaua comigo hu[m]a cruz de que me seruia pera os enterramentos & os Christãos pola devoção que tem a Cruz me pedirão todos que lhe tirasse hu[m]a forma em papel perda cada hum ter em sua casa a cruz diante a qual pudesse fazer oração, & porque gastavamos muito tempo, fazendoas com pena & tinta, fez o irmão Paulo lapão hu[m]a forma esculpida em tauoa como melhor [*sic*, melhor] pude, com a qual imprimiamos as outras facilmente [...].'

## Giovanni Niccolò, a Jesuit painter in Japan

The 25-year-old Giovanni Niccolò arrived in Japan on 20 July 1583.<sup>383</sup> Born in 1558 in Nola, a city located 30 kilometres east of Naples and hometown of the renowned philosopher and intellectual martyr Giordano Bruno,<sup>384</sup> little is known about the life of this painter, both before and after his admission into the Society of Jesus in 1577.<sup>385</sup> Niccolò may have been trained in Naples, although the names of his teachers are not known. The Jesuit art historian, John McCall, in the first of his five articles dedicated to the Jesuits and the arts in sixteenth-century Japan, proposes the names of Giovanni Filippo Criscuolo, Francesco Santafede – both coming from the school of Andrea Sabatini da Salerno – and Francesco Curia.<sup>386</sup> The only thing which might suggest such an association is the fact that all three masters were active in the early 1570s, at the time when Niccolò was old enough to be an apprentice in their workshops, but this might be not enough to substantiate McCall's hypothesis. Unfortunately, Niccolò's only surviving painting, an unfinished oil sketch on wood panel of a *Madonna and Child* produced in Japan between 1583 and 1614 (**fig. 65**), offers no solid bases for a serious stylistic comparison between Niccolò's work and that of his hypothetical Neapolitan teachers.

What is certain is that Niccolò's experience as a Jesuit painter in far eastern Asia lasted much longer and proved more fruitful than that of his predecessor Melchior Dias. Immediately following

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<sup>383</sup> In primary sources his name is also spelled as João Nicolão and Giovanni Cola; however, I will only refer to him as Giovanni Niccolò.

<sup>384</sup> Although Niccolò and Bruno were contemporaries (Bruno was born in Nola in 1548 and died in Rome in 1600) and although the two were in Rome during the years 1576-77, there is no documentary evidence suggesting that they knew each other.

<sup>385</sup> A very short biographical summary can be found in D'ELIA 1939: 23, n. 2, and reproduced in D'Elia's comments in *FR*: I, 231, n.3. In addition to that, see also VLAM 1976: 252-263.

<sup>386</sup> McCALL 1947: 126, see also n. 18. On Giovanni Filippo Criscuolo, also known as Crescione, or Crisconio (1531-c.1584), mentioned as 'Criscuoli' in McCALL 1947: 126, see ABBATE 1984. On Francesco Santafede (active in Naples in the 2nd half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and father of the more famous Fabrizio, 1560-c.1628) see DE DOMINICI 1762: I, 147. On Andrea Sabatini da Salerno (1480-1530) mentioned as 'Antonio da Salerno' in McCALL 1947: 126, see PREVITALI 1986; DE DOMINICI 1742: I, 33-51; ORLANDI 1753: 54; D'ENGENIO CARACCILO 1623: 32, 201, 206, 208, 256, 353, 483. On Francesco Curio (d. 1608) see DE DOMINICI 1742: I, 205-211.

his novitiate in Rome,<sup>387</sup> the Nolan painter spent one year in the Portuguese city of Évora, where he and his companions, enroute to Asia, were forced to stay on account of the plague.<sup>388</sup> He eventually left Lisbon in March 1581 and arrived in Cochin, India, in October of the same year. From Cochin Niccolò travelled to Goa, seat of the Portuguese Viceroy and, on 26 April 1582, we have seen he embarked together with Father Matteo Ricci S.J. and headed to Macao, where they arrived on 7 August 1582.<sup>389</sup> Niccolò spent one year in Macao waiting for the first ship ready to set sail to Japan.

Once in Macao, Niccolò was immediately put to work by Father Visitor Alessandro Valignano, who, on 9 March 1582, had returned to the Portuguese trading post from his first visit in Japan. Together with Valignano there were also the four Christian Japanese emissaries of the Tenshō mission who stayed in the city until 31 December 1582 when they headed to the courts of Philip II and Pope Gregory XIII Boncompagni.<sup>390</sup> As I have discussed above, probably under the direction of the Father Visitor, the young Nolan painter painted a map of Italy and a *Salvator Mundi*.<sup>391</sup> The *Salvator Mundi*, or *Christ as Saviour of the World*, holding the terrestrial globe in his right hand, was one of Niccolò's most painted subjects. We have already encountered a representation of the *Salvator Mundi* on the occasion of the visit of the Tenshō envoys to the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, in the *Votive Portrait of Doge Sebastiano Venier* by Paolo Veronese (**fig. 64**). Unfortunately none of the *Salvator Mundi* he painted survived to this day,<sup>392</sup> but this fact can be deduced from the works of his Japanese pupils who, like their teacher, painted after Flemish prints (**fig. 66, 67, 68**). Furthermore, several depictions of paintings representing the *Salvator Mundi* on some *namban*

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<sup>387</sup> VLAM 1976: 252: 'Though it is not certain where he spent his novitiate, he may have spent it in Rome.' MO 2009: 217 suggests that Niccolò spent time in Rome studying 'small-scale metal relief sculpture' but provides no reference for this.

<sup>388</sup> VLAM 1976: 254.

<sup>389</sup> FR: I, pp. civ-cv. The group of Jesuits stopped over in Malacca in the summer of 1582.

<sup>390</sup> FR: I, p. 159: 'Nell'anno 1582 venne il P. Valignano di Giappone a Maccao menando seco i quattro signori, che erano mandati d'alcuni re e signori christiani a Roma, a visitare e dare obedientia al Papa, come loro Ambasciatori, como di poi forno.' Philip II was formally acknowledged as King of Portugal on 18 December 1582, two years after his succession to the Portuguese throne.

<sup>391</sup> OKAMOTO 1972: 100.

<sup>392</sup> FR: I, 231.



screens testify to the spread of this subject through the Jesuit missions in Japan and China (**fig. 8, 9**).

The preference for this particular representation of Christ was due to precise theological and evangelical reasons. As a matter of fact, in China paintings of the *Madonna and Child* became the object of iconographic misinterpretations. From Matteo Ricci's letters we know that Chinese viewers often thought that the god and founder of the religion of the Jesuits was in fact a woman.<sup>393</sup> In this respect it comes as no surprise if the representation of the *Salvator Mundi* reproduced in **fig. 8** and in **fig. 9** shows something in common with the representation of the Virgin Mary in **figs. 70** and **71** – for instance in the head-veil. In fact, the representation of the Virgin Mary holding Christ as child in her arms was often misunderstood, both in China and Japan, as the Buddhist deity Bodhisattva Kannon (or Guanying in Chinese) in its manifestation as 'bringer of sons'.<sup>394</sup> To compensate for this rather serious misunderstanding, in 1587 the Provincial of Japan Gaspar Coelho sent a *Salvator Mundi* painted by Niccolò to Ricci in Zhaoqing.<sup>395</sup>

It is possible that the representation of Christ as 'saviour of the world' was considered an act of witness to true doctrine. In the New Testament the designation *Salvator Mundi* appears only twice, both in texts attributed to St John the Apostle: once in the Gospel of the Apostle John, where a group of Samaritans reports having seen Christ in person and having heard him preaching;<sup>396</sup> and once in the First Letter of John, where Christian devotees were warned against the Antichrist and false gods.<sup>397</sup> Both passages refer to a direct act of acknowledgment of the figure of Christ, in historical and transcendental terms, by witnesses who might have been tempted to turn their backs on the "true" doctrine to follow pagan beliefs. The Chinese and the Japanese were to the Jesuits what Samaritans and heretics were to St. John. In this respect, the

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<sup>393</sup> D'ELIA 1939: 23, n. 1.

<sup>394</sup> Kannon/Guanying is the female manifestation of the Indian male manifestation Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. On Kannon 'bringer of sons' and relative images, see SHIN 2011; MIDORI 2009; HABITO 1994; REIS-HABITO 1993.

<sup>395</sup> *FR*: I, 231.

<sup>396</sup> John 4: 42: 'iam non propter tuam loquelam credimus, ipsi cuim audivimus et scimus quia his est vere Salvator Mundi.'

<sup>397</sup> 4: 14: 'et nos vidimus et testificamur quoniam Pater misit Filium Salvatorem Mundi.'

commission of pictures of the *Salvator Mundi* in the Jesuit missions in east Asia seems particularly appropriate.

The representation of Christ as Saviour of the World was probably a very dear one to Niccolò, to judge from the fact that he occasionally drew a head of Christ next to his signature (**fig. 72**). The head of Christ decorating Niccolò's signature is very similar to the one dominating the front page of the *Doctrina Christan* ('*Christian Doctrine*') (**fig. 69**), the first Christian catechism written in Romanized Japanese, printed in Amakusa in 1592 and drawn after Maarten de Vos (**fig. 68**). In fact, Niccolò was a skilled engraver and, as the comparison of his signature and the frontispiece of the *Doctrina Christan* suggests, signed several prints which served not only as models for his and his pupils' paintings, but also as title pages of books which were printed in Japan following the arrival of the printing press in 1590.<sup>398</sup>

Niccolò left Macao for Japan after spending one year in the Chinese harbour. He eventually arrived in Japan on 20 July 1583; here, his skills as painter and engraver were fully employed, and his works went some way to making up for the paucity of sacred images that had been troubling the Jesuit mission in the archipelago.<sup>399</sup>

## The Jesuit Seminary of Painters: Paintings, Prints, and Books (1590-1614)

Did Niccolò meet the expectations of the missionaries in Japan? Unfortunately, Niccolò was not as prolific a painter as the missionaries in Japan had hoped, but the quality of his works and his teaching skills proved to be very good. Jesuit sources ascribe Niccolò's small output to his weak

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<sup>398</sup> COOPER 2005: 219, n. 7; VLAM 1976: 28, n. 32.

<sup>399</sup> RAH, Madrid, MSS Legajo 9-7236 (I), ff. 6: 'Na era de 1583, veyo Andres Gonsalves [*sic*, Gonçalves] de Miranda, e co[m] elle a Nagasaqui os Padres Pedro Gomes e Damian Mary espanholes, Francisco Pasio italiano Jorge de Carvellas portuguez, e dous P[adr]es, q[ue] se foram ordenar em China, e os Irmaos [*sic*] Joam Ierardino coajdutor temporal formado, e Joam Nicolao, pintor, Italianos, e Francis[co] Pi[re]z portuguez.' See also *HJ*: IV, pp. 3-4: 'Este ano de 1583, estavamos com grande pena e angustia esperando pela nao de la China [...] chegou a nao de Ayres Gonsalves de Miranda a Nangazaqui, e nella vinha o P[adr]e Pedro Gomes, pessoa muito antiga na Companhia [...]. Com elle vierão 5 padres e 3 irmãos [...].'

health. Nevertheless, his pupils were many and their output abundant.<sup>400</sup> In 1587, the small number of paintings completed by Niccolò offered Fróis a reason to write to the Superior General Acquaviva in Rome to request a printing press:

‘three years have passed since painter Brother Giovanni Cola has arrived [in Japan]; he is very weak, and to this day he has not painted more than four or five altarpieces for a few churches, [works which are] not big and with few figures [in them].’<sup>401</sup>

Niccolò’s weak health is also punctually recorded in Jesuit documents (November 1585): ‘Brother Joam Nicolao, Italian, from Naples, twenty-five years old, mediocre health, nine years in the Society, painter, lay brother.’<sup>402</sup> In addition, Niccolò was busy studying to complete his novitiate, one more reason keeping him away from painting.<sup>403</sup> He was, however, a good teacher. His main activity was that of painting and teaching western-style techniques to his Japanese pupils, and in this he produced good results (**fig. 66**).<sup>404</sup> Niccolò’s first paintings in Japan were two representations of the *Salvator Mundi* for the churches of Arima and Nagasaki;<sup>405</sup> after this, as mentioned above, it is known from Fróis that Niccolò painted only a very few small altarpieces, but the author of the *Historia de Japam* gives no information on their subjects. We know,

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<sup>400</sup> For a list of Japanese painters trained in western-style painting in Niccolò’s school see VLAM 1976: appendix C, pp. 273-287.

<sup>401</sup> ARSI, Jap. Sin. 10.II.223v, Luís Fróis to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, Shimonoseki, 1 January 1587: ‘p[er]che [...] sono tre a[n]ni che qui sta il fr[at]t[ell]o G[iovann]i Cola pintore, esso è natura[lem]te molto debole, et no[n] ha fatto insino a hora dopo che sta in Giappone piu di 4. o .5. quatri p[er] alcune ecclesie [...] no[n] gra[n]di, et di pochi figure.’ The information from this document is also mentioned in SCHÜTTE 1940: 262.

<sup>402</sup> RAH, MSS Legajo 9-7236 (I), Livro de diversas lembranças e couzas q pertencem ao Superior universal de Japam, começou a escrever em Nangasaqui aos 13 de Novembro da era de 1585, «Lista dos Padres, e Irmaos da Comp.<sup>a</sup> de JESVS que estam em Japam, começado primeiro pelos q ao presente estan nestas partes do Ximo neste anno de 85», f. 2v: ‘O Irmao Joam Nicolao, Italiano, natural de Napoles, tem idade de veinte e sinco [sic] annos, forcas mediocres, nove da Companhia, pintor, votos de secolar.’

<sup>403</sup> VLAM 1976: 253 notes that Niccolò left Rome in 1579 before the end of his novitiate, which normally lasted two years. Niccolò was eventually ordained priest in 1593. He knew enough Japanese to confess in the language. See also VLAM 1976: 255, n. 14, mentioning the original document giving this information in ARSI Jap. Sin. 25, f. 35. See also ARSI Jap. Sin. 25, ff. 61-61v, “Catalogo das casas & residencias que tem a Comp[anhi]a na vice provincia de Iappão e China em outubro de 1603 com os nomes dos P[adr]es e Irmãos, que estão nellos – Collegio de Nangasaqui”: ‘P[adr]e João Nicolao Prefeito do Seminario dos Pintores sabe da lingoa q[u]e abasta p[ar]a confessar – Italiano coadjutor spritual formado.’

<sup>404</sup> ARSI Jap. Sin. 25, f. 86r, “Catalogo dos Padres e Irmãos da Comp[anhi]a da Provincia de Japão em Fever[eir]o do anno de 1613 – Collegio de Nangasaqui & suas Residencias”: ‘P[adr]e João Nicolao occupase em pintar, & ensinar a pintar.’

<sup>405</sup> ARSI, Jap. Sin. 9.II.329r, Luís Fróis to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, 13 December 1584: ‘[...] & u Irmão J[oa]o nicolao pintor q[ue] ca veo ja hai com dous annos q[ue] esta em Japão [...] não tem f[ei]tos mais q[ue] dous Retabolos hu[m] em na[n]gasaki & outro em arima [...]’ This document is mentioned in SCHÜTTE 1975: 517, n. 5. See also SCHÜTTE 1940: 262.

however, that Niccolò painted not only for the Jesuit missions in Japan, but also for those in China. In 1587, as I have already mentioned above, Father Gaspar Coelho sent one of Niccolò's *Salvator Mundi* to Matteo Ricci in Zhaoqing. After this, Niccolò painted a St. Stephen and a St. Lawrence for Ricci, who brought these two paintings to Nanjing.<sup>406</sup>

Niccolò's major contribution to the dissemination of western-style painting in Japan and China was, of course, the foundation of a seminary of painters in Katsusa in late 1590.<sup>407</sup> But the school remained in Katsusa only two years, after which it was transferred to Shiki (as Valignano reported); in 1593 it was in Hachirao (as Pedro Gomes reported in his annual letter dated 15 March 1594); in 1595, following two years of peaceful activity, the seminary at Hachirao was destroyed by fire and, consequently, it was transferred to Arie (as Fróis noted in the annual letter dated 13 December 1596) where it remained until 1597, when it was closed down on account of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's anti-Christian measures.<sup>408</sup> After this, in 1598, the seminary was re-established in Nagasaki; in 1600 it was in Shiki, then in Nagasaki again until 27 October 1601, when another fire forced the padres to shut the seminary and move it to Arima for one year. In 1602 the seminary was once again in Nagasaki. Here it remained until 1614 when Tokugawa Ieyasu issued a decree expelling all Catholic missionaries from Japan.<sup>409</sup> With Ieyasu's decree, Giovanni Niccolò was forced to move to Macao, together with part of his pupils and his seminary. In spite of all these changes of location, the organization of the seminary may not have changed much from place to place. A hint of how the seminary was organized is offered to us, once again, by Luís Fróis:

'The seminary is composed of four classes and a school [where pupils are taught how] to read and write; in one of these [classes], once they are finished with their study of Latin, they [the students] read Japanese texts [...]; the remaining three classes are of Latin; other [students] of Juan [Niccolò] are [either] busy painting in oil, observing and painting with such precision and refinement [*con tanta exactitud y lindeza*] as Your Paternity [Claudio Acquaviva] must have noticed in the images which were sent [to Rome] over the last [few] years, or they practice

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<sup>406</sup> FR: I, 366, n. 3, 9.

<sup>407</sup> Some authors have upgraded Niccolò's 'seminary' of painters to an 'Academy of Painting', or 'Academy of St Luke'. On the misuse of terminology in recent literature defining the Jesuit school of painting in Japan see BAILEY 1999: 66, n. 74.

<sup>408</sup> See SCHÜTTE 1975: 517, n. 5.

<sup>409</sup> Ibid.

engraving with a burin [on copper] where they draw and imitate very well from the printed books coming from Europe.<sup>410</sup>

From this brief description, we can learn that Niccolò's seminary of painters appears to have been a very busy workshop. In addition, as Fróis notes, some of their paintings were sent to Rome to the Superior General Acquaviva as tokens of the progress made in the quality and the dissemination of Christian images in Japan.<sup>411</sup>

Although the seminary's main focus was on painting, prints and printing techniques were also taken very seriously because of the high numbers of copies which could be distributed to the Japanese Christian community. The production of copperplate engravings was possible thanks to the printing press that arrived in 1590 when Alessandro Valignano and the Tenshō mission returned to Japan. With the return of the Tenshō emissaries Niccolò and his pupils could finally make use of Flemish prints from renowned artists such as the Maarten de Vos or the Wierix brothers, exploiting them as models for their own engravings and paintings. Several paintings were also brought back from Italy by the Tenshō envoys,<sup>412</sup> but their impact on the visual production of the seminary cannot be ascertained. Prints were also mentioned in several letters written by the missionaries in Japan. On one occasion Fróis suggested to General Acquaviva in Rome to send those images that the Portuguese Jesuit thought most suitable for the Japanese mission:

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<sup>410</sup> ARSI, Jap. Sin. 52.193, Luís Fróis S.J., annual letter, 3 Decemeber 1596: 'Esta repartido el siminario en quatro clases y una escuela de leer y escribir. en una dellas se lee cosas de lapo[n] alorq[ue] ya tiene[n] acabado su estudio de latin q[ue] es cosa muy importante assi para los q[ue] ande predicar como para tratar co[n] los gentiles q[ue] sabe de las letra de Japo[n], las otras tres clases so[n] de latin otros do Juan se ocupa[n] de pintar Imagenes de olios, de guardar y de pintar co[n] tanta exac[titud y lindeza q[uan]ta alla deve aver constado por las ymagenes q[ue] los años passados hechas por ellos se ma[n]dara[n] a V. P. o se exercita[n] em abrir laminas al buril adonde dibuxa[n] y imata[n] muy bie[n] varios registros q[ue] viene[n] de Europa [...]' This document is also mentioned in BAILEY 1999: 69, but it is very loosely translated (as he mentions 'watercolours' where there is no trace in this passage of Fróis's letter); however, BAILEY 1999: 68-69 provides documentary references by Francesco Pasio and Pedro Gomes (both dating 1594) concerning Niccolò seminary. See also McCALL 1947: 132 to whom BAILEY 1999: 68 refers for Gomes's letter. On the organization of Jesuit seminaries in Japan see Valignano's *Regimento Pera os Seminarios de Japam* (1580), the entire document reproduced in SCHÜTTE: 1958: 479-486.

<sup>411</sup> BAILEY 1999: 71, n. 100, referring to the *Crucifixion* painted by a Japanese student of Niccolò, which Pedro Gomez S.J. sent to Rome in 1595.

<sup>412</sup> SCHURHAMMER 1963: 738-39 provides a list of the gifts brought back to Japan by the Tenshō emissaries.

‘Christ with the world in his hand [*Salvator Mundi*]; the Transfiguration; the Resurrection; pictures of the Virgin Mary; the Magis; and some pictures of Saints the size of one or one half a leaf of paper, as these [pictures] will give great comfort to the Christians [of Japan].’<sup>413</sup>

Fróis request was satisfied, as these themes were the subjects of what were probably Giovanni Niccolò’s earliest engravings in Japan. A series of five copperplate engravings printed in 1590 were sent to the Jesuit headquarters in Rome to testify to the success of the seminary of painters.<sup>414</sup> However, the printing press in the Jesuit seminary was not used only for copperplate engravings, but also to print books in Latin, Japanese, and in Romanized Japanese.<sup>415</sup> At the end of the day, printing books had been the original purpose of the Jesuit missionaries having a printing press in sixteenth-century Japan, where – as Francis Xavier and Valignano noted – the levels of literacy were relatively high compared with those in contemporary Europe.<sup>416</sup>

Catechism books, such as the *Sanctos no Go-sanyo no uchi Nugigaki* (‘Extracts from the Acts of the Saints’, printed in Kazusa in 1591), the above-mentioned *Doctrina Christan* (Amakusa, 1592, **fig. 69**), or the confessionary entitled *Salvator Mundi* (Nagasaki, 1598, **fig. 73**) with its glossary of Christian terms, were published alongside heavier treatises on cosmology and natural theology. The latter category included works such as Pedro Gomes’s *De Sphaera*, largely based on the work of the thirteenth-century English astronomer and mathematician John of Holywood (also known by his Latin name of Johannes de Sacrobosco), where Ptolemaic cosmology was used to demonstrate the existence of the Christian God.<sup>417</sup> Depictions of the Ptolemaic planetary system

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<sup>413</sup> ARSI, Jap. Sin. 9.II.329r, Luís Fróis to Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, 13 December 1584: ‘quizeze mandar a Japão bom official q[ue] trouzesse algu[m]as laminas ja de la feitas dos materiais ou instrum[en]tos neç[ess]arios p[er]a q[ue] podir bem estampar e Repartir todos xpãos. & as image[n]s [...] q[ue] as mais pod[e]r servir são da figura do salvador co[m] o mu[n]do na mão - a transfiguração - a Resureição [...] Imagens de Nos[s]a sen[ho]ra da adoração dos Reis magis & as Imagens de algu[n]s S[an]tos da grandeza de hu[m]a folha de papel & de m[edi]a folha porq[ue] com isto serão os xpãos m[ui]tos consolados – [...]’

<sup>414</sup> See SCHÜTTE 1940, reproduced in OKAMOTO 1972: figs. 88-92. In line with Fróis’s request Niccolò’s engravings represent a *Resurrection*, a *Salvator Mundi*, a *Virgin with Sleeping Child*, St. James, and St. Peter (a stone under Peter’s right foot bears the date ‘1590’).

<sup>415</sup> See LAURES 1940; ENGLAND 1998.

<sup>416</sup> CARTAS: I, “Outra do Mestre Fra[n]cisco de, Iapam, escrita em Cangoxima [Kagoshima] aos Irmãos do Collegio de S. Paulo de Goa”, 5 November 1549, f. 9v: “[...] muita ge[n]te sabe ler & escrever, q[ue] he hu[m] grande meo [*sic*, meio] para co[m] brevidade aprender as orações & as cousas de Deos.’

<sup>417</sup> See GOMES 1592/1965. John of Holywood’s *Tractatus de Sphaera* was published for the first time in Ferrara in 1472, and, in its turn, was based on Ptolemy’s *Almagest*. Holywood’s work was later commented

on *namban* screens testify to the great impact Ptolemaic cosmography had in Japan (fig. 74), and it is likely that the anonymous artists at work on these screens referred to the images available in the books printed by the missionaries. Concerning natural theology, the Jesuit padres published in Japan the *Fides no Doshi* ('Guide to the Faith', printed in Amakusa in 1592), an adapted translation into Romanized Japanese of an abbreviated version of a well known work by the Galician Dominican Friar Luís de Granada, the *Introducción al Símbolo de la Fe* ('An Introduction to the Symbol of Faith'), first published in Salamanca in 1583.<sup>418</sup> The entire version of Granada's *Introducción*, translated into Japanese, was later published in Nagasaki in 1611.<sup>419</sup> The publication of Granada's work brings us again to the preaching of St. Paul, to which the Jesuit missionaries in Asia felt very close. Referring to the words of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, the Spanish friar stated, in the beginning of his *Introducción*, one of the ways to experience the presence of God is that to observe and understand the natural world.<sup>420</sup>

This interest in natural theology should not surprise us, considering that Jesuit missionaries in Japan made extensive use of their knowledge of mathematics, cosmology and cosmography in their evangelical efforts. In 1549, for instance, Francis Xavier had noted the benefit of using European cosmography as a tool of evangelization, after acknowledging that the Japanese:

'[...] knew nothing about the roundness of the earth, the course of the sun and all the other planets.'<sup>421</sup> So when we were asked about similar things, such as comets, lightening, rain, and we

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on by the Jesuit mathematician Christoph Clavius in a work entitled *In Sphaeram Iohannis de Sacrobosco* (Rome 1581). On Clavius and Ptolemaic cosmology see LATTIS 1994. See also LEITÃO and PINTO 1998; SZCZEŚNIAK 1944.

<sup>418</sup> GRANADA 1583/1989.

<sup>419</sup> See LAURES 1940. On the translation and diffusion of Granada's work in China see *FR*: II, 230, n. 2. See also D'ELIA 1947.

<sup>420</sup> GRANADA 1583/1989: "Primera parte de la Introducción al Símbolo de la Fe": 'Las cosas que no vemos de Dios, se conocen por las que vemos obradas por Él en este mundo.' See also St Paul, Rom. 1.20: 'For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made [...].'

<sup>421</sup> In contrast Francis Xavier still believed in the possibility of a geocentric vision of our solar system and the universe at large. St. Francis Xavier had left Europe for Asia in 1542 and died on the Chinese island of Sanchuan in 1552, therefore, he could not have known about Copernicus's heliocentric theory, discussed and published in his *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* (Nuremberg, 1543). For the introduction of Copernicus's work in Far Eastern Asia, see SIVIN 1973; SZCZEŚNIAK 1945. Copernican heliocentric theories were incompletely disseminated in China due to the distrust of Jesuit scholars in China as well as to the scarce interest in them on the part of the Chinese (NAKAYAMA 1969: 172); on the introduction of Copernican theories in Japan see Nakayama 1969: 170-179. Before St. Francis Xavier S.J., reference to the roundness of our planet seems to have appeared in Japan in 1525, in a work by an unknown Japanese titled *Description of China* (see NAKAYAMA 1969: 87).

explained the causes of these phenomena to them; they listened to us with their mouths open, to their great delight, and they admired us as men of great knowledge. And this idea proved the path by which to gradually insert our Holy Religion into their souls.<sup>422</sup>

It is not surprising that folding screens became an additional support for this strategy. The cartographic screens which will be discussed in chapter four were part of this vision targeting Japanese fascination with European-style painting as well as new scientific knowledge. The gap that existed between European and Japanese knowledge of geography and astronomy required that all the Jesuits destined to the mission in Japan be skilled mathematicians before anything else.<sup>423</sup> In particular, the missionaries could employ their preparation in astronomy and cosmology on occasion of the many debates they held on these matters with Buddhist monks.<sup>424</sup> It was thought that proving 'Christian' science more reliable and superior to Buddhist cosmology and cosmogony served to discredit Buddhism as a useless and harmful superstition. In addition to this, the best candidates for the Japanese mission had to be able to combine their knowledge of the *esphera* of the earth and the sky with artistic skills; the screens discussed in this chapter as well as in the next one are remarkably striking examples of how Francis Xavier's suggestions were followed to the letter.

We have seen above how Matteo Ricci came to be the best representative of the Jesuits' "scientific apostolate" in China. In Japan a similar but less known figure was the Italian Carlo Spinola who, like Ricci, had studied mathematics under Clavius.<sup>425</sup> As the historian Daniele Frison has noted, Spinola was chosen to join the Japanese mission because of his skills in mathematics and his versatility in astronomy, cosmography and cartography.<sup>426</sup> In a letter written from Kyoto on 3 December 1606 and addressed to the Assistant of Portugal in Rome, João Alvares S.J., Spinola confessed:

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<sup>422</sup> SAVERIO 1716: Libro IV, Lettera I, p. 211: 'Non sapevano mica, che il mondo è rotondo: nulla del corso del Sole, e degli altri Pianeti. Perciò noi, mentre interrogati d'altre simili cose, come delle comete, de' fulmini, delle piogge, ne scoprivamo loro le cause, essi ci stavano a bocca aperta a sentire, con infinito lor gusto, e ci ammiravano come uomini di gran sapere. E questo concetto ci fu da strada a insinuare negli animi loro la nostra S. Religione'.

<sup>423</sup> On the teaching of mathematics in Jesuit schools see ROMANO 2002.

<sup>424</sup> LEITÃO and PINTO DOS SANTOS 1998; TORRES 1929.

<sup>425</sup> BALDINI 1984, 1995.

<sup>426</sup> FRISON 2009.



‘Mathematics is very useful to enter into contact with the most important daimyos as they are very interested in it; so that even the Emperor [Go-Yōzei] and the shogun [Tokugawa Hidetada] know about me and have asked for me. Really [mathematics] is the most important thing [to know] in order to be respected in Japan. Since I am a skilled mathematician it was better for me to be sent to Japan [than to any other place]; and for those who want to come here, they better be good in mathematics if they want to be held in high esteem.’<sup>427</sup>

Spinola’s attention to the value of mathematics for the mission in Japan was enough to make him worry about its lack of specialized texts, some of which he expressly requested from Alvares in Rome:

‘[...] what I am worried about is that we don’t have [enough] books, and since I have lost those I brought from Italy, with the texts I had read during my three years in Milan, I do not remember many things which would certainly be of great interest to the Japanese; for this reason I ask if Your Reverence could please send me some texts, either from our [Jesuit] Fathers or from others, as long as they are in Italian, such as an extensive treatise on arithmetic (as I already have here the small one from Clavio, together with the *Sphaera*, *De Horologiis*, and the *Astrolabium*), on how to measure fields and to build different machines, on architecture, perspective, painting, and so on; any book on these subjects would be more helpful than any other on Theology.’<sup>428</sup>

Intriguingly, the mathematical works of Pedro Gomes and Christopher Clavius were used to retrieve images later reproduced on some cartographic screens, suggesting the involvement of Spinola in the making of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens (see chapter four) where mathematics, astronomy, and geography were merged together into an eschatological reading of Japan’s eventual inclusion into the Christian commonwealth. However, before

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<sup>427</sup> ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, 151rv, Carlo Spinola S.J. to João Alvares S.J., Kyoto, 3 December 1606: ‘A mathematica me sirve muyto p[ar]a entrar na familiaridade destes Tonos principaes, os quaes são muy curiosos d’estas cousas, e atè o Dairi, e Xongunsama tem noticia de mim, e me tem ma[n]dado a chamar; antes p[ar]a ser estimado dos Japo[n]es he a parte mais necess[ari]a, de modo q[ue] porq[ue] sabia mathematica foy melhor q[ue] eu viesse à Japão, e os q[ue] viesse[m] p[ar]a ca, e soubesse[m] della, serão estimados.’ I am grateful to Daniele Frison for this document.

<sup>428</sup> ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, 151rv: ‘o q[ue] me peza he, q[ue] não temos livros, e como p[er]dò os q[ue] trouxi d’Italia, co[m] os escritos do q[ue] tinha lido e[m] 3. annos e[m] Milão, não me le[m]brão muytas cousas curiosas, e q[ue] sim falta farião p[ar]mar estes japo[n]es; pello q[ue] peço a V. R. por charidade me queira ma[n]dar algu[n]os escritos, e livros modernos, ou de nossos P[adr]es, ou de fora dos q[ue] sobejão por esses collegios, ainda q[ue] sejam e[m] lingua italiana, como de Arithmetica copiosa (que a peq[ue]na do P[adr]e Clavio, com a esfera, de Horologiis, e Astrolabio aqui tenho) de medir os ca[m]pos etc. de Machinas diversas, Architettura, p[er]spectiva, pintura etc. calquer livro destas materias, farà aqui agora mais fruito q[ue] outros livros de Theologia [...]’ The texts in mathematics and astronomy Spinola refers to in this passage probably were the following: *Epitome arithmeticae practicae*, 1593; *In sphaeram loannis de Sacro Bosco commentaries*, 1570; *Gnomonica*, 1581, *Fabrica et usus instrumenti ad horologiorum descriptionem*, 1586; *Horologiorum nova description*, 1599; *Astrolabium*, 1593. The books on architecture and perspective might have been Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola’s *Regole* (1562) and *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica* (1583). Vignola was involved in the initial stages of the construction of the Chiesa del Gesù in Rome. In addition, as discussed by BAILEY 2001, Vignola’s works were used for the development of Jesuit architecture in Latin America. Nevertheless, following Valignano’s admonitions, it was advised not to build western-style churches in Japan.

proceeding to discuss the two cartographic screens which convey such eschatological meanings (the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* and the *Battle of Lepanto* screens), it is necessary to briefly define what *namban* screens are and what they tell us about early modern Luso/Iberian-Japanese relations.

## ***Namban* Screens**

The painters trained at Niccolò's seminary of painting did not paint exclusively Christian religious subjects. Great attention was also given to secular subjects, particularly after 1590. A large number of these paintings were executed on folding screens for private patrons, possibly Christian daimyos, and many of these works have survived to this day, thanks to the fact that secular paintings were not the objects of anti-Christian persecution following Hidetada's decree of 1614. As discussed above, the bulk of so-called *namban* subjects were secular, including cartographic images and city-views. Of all the so-called *namban* objects, folding screens are probably the most remarkable ones.<sup>429</sup> As I have discussed above, the importance of screens over other *namban* objects is due to the different decorative and functional uses of folding screens in Japanese interiors, not to mention their public uses as diplomatic gifts or, on occasion, in religious ceremonies. Moreover, some of the most important and influential artists in Momoyama/early Tokugawa Japan – most notably from the Kanō workshop – were commissioned to paint *namban* screens. Of the *namban* screens made between the early 1590s and the end of the seventeenth century only ninety-two survive.<sup>430</sup> According to the classification made by Sakamoto, *namban* screens usually fall into four categories: Type I, consisting of a pair of screens with scenes of China (left screen) and of Japan (right screen) (**fig. 10**); Type II, screen, including cartographic ones, showing a combination of scenes of foreign countries and of Japan (**fig. 16**); Type III, a pair of

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<sup>429</sup> OKAMOTO 1972; TAKAMIZAWA 1981; WELSH and VINHAIS 2003, 2008; MUSÉE CERNUSCHI 1980; SHIRAHARA 2007; NISHIMURA 1958; JACKSON and JAFFER 2004; JÖRG 1981; LISSENDEN 2002.

<sup>430</sup> SAKAMOTO 2008.

screens showing Japan on both (**fig. 75**); and the *Namban Koeki-zu* (Scenes of Portuguese Trade) type (**fig. 76**).<sup>431</sup>

*Namban* screens began being produced after 1593, not long after the completion of Hideyoshi's castle in Nagoya.<sup>432</sup> Many *namban* screens representing trading activities were often commissioned by Japanese merchants for good luck.<sup>433</sup> However, it might also be that some screens – classified as Type I, II, and III by Sakamoto, or “Europeans in Landscape” by Vlam<sup>434</sup> – were explicit reminders of two important European diplomatic missions visiting Japan at the time when Hideyoshi was in power. This possibility is suggested by three recurring elements: depictions of Catholic churches (with western-style sacred images and missionaries praying or serving mass in them); the march of the *Capitão-mor*, the Portuguese captain of the ship, escorted by several Jesuit missionaries (recognizable by their black robes), the Tenshō emissaries, and other merchants with their bare-footed servants; and exotic animals such as camels, elephants, or Arabian horses.<sup>435</sup> The first European diplomatic mission I am referring to here is the above-mentioned embassy of Alessandro Valignano to Hideyoshi of 1591. We have seen how among the gifts presented to the *kampaku* there was an Arabian horse with its horse-tacks of red velvet and its gilded stirrups, which appears in some screens (**fig. 10**).<sup>436</sup> The second embassy in question is the 1597 one of the Spaniard Luís Navarrete Fajardo, representative of the Spanish Governor of the Philippines Francisco Tello de Guzmán, to Hideyoshi. The Spanish embassy of 1597 was organized immediately after the shipwreck of the Spanish galleon San Felipe off the coast of south-western Japan on 28 September 1596 with the aim of retaking possession of the

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<sup>431</sup> YAMAFUNE 2012: 11, quoting SAKAMOTO 2008.

<sup>432</sup> CURVELO 2010: 202; TAKAMIZAWA 1981.

<sup>433</sup> LIPPIT 2007.

<sup>434</sup> VLAM 1976.

<sup>435</sup> These recurring elements have been highlighted in YAMAFUNE 2012: 11 (quoting SAKAMOTO 2008: 298–300), but they are not linked to the history of European diplomatic missions in sixteenth-century Japan.

<sup>436</sup> As I mentioned above, there were originally two horses, but one did not survive the journey by ship from Macao to Nagasaki. See *HJ*: IV, p. 299: ‘Dous cavalos arabios, posto que não chegou mais que hum vivo a Japão, mui ricamente ajaezados, hum a gineta e outro a bastarda, com seos aparelhos de veludo roxo e outro de preto, com seos jaezes e acabeçadas, e mais aparelhos de prata, e os estribos dourados.’ However, two horses appear depicted on a pair of six-fold *namban* screens attributed to Kanō Naizen which has been sold at Christie's on 23 March 2011 (<http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/paintings/attributed-to-kanon-naizen-southern-barbarians-come-5416302-details.aspx>).

goods Japanese authorities had confiscated following the shipwreck. In addition, Tello required an explanation for the martyrdom of six Franciscan missionaries who had been burnt at stake on 4 February 1597.<sup>437</sup> Among the gifts brought to Hideyoshi was a portrait of Governor Francisco Tello, armed and holding a military baton (which was initially misinterpreted as a threatening image), and a black elephant, which was greatly appreciated by the *Kampaku* and the people of Kyoto (**fig. 10, 77**).<sup>438</sup>

Cartographic screens too began being made after 1593, and what is most interesting about them is that they included copies of European maps. Most of these cartographic works were taken directly from the two atlases which the Tenshō envoys had brought back from Europe, Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* and Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. These two works were not, however, the only examples of European cartography available to Japanese artists during the period discussed in this dissertation. Other relevant cartographic works available in Japan between 1590 and 1614 were Japanese portolan charts based on Portuguese knowledge,<sup>439</sup> the maps introduced by Dutch merchants (who arrived in 1600 and established a trading post in 1609),<sup>440</sup> and the maps produced by the Jesuit missionaries and other cartographers in their

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<sup>437</sup> The names of the friars crucified on this sad occasion were: Pedro Bautista, Martín de Aguirre o de la Ascensión, Francisco Blanco, Felipe de las Casas, Gonzalo García, Francisco de San Miguel. See AGI, FILIPINAS, 79, N. 33, "Relación del martirio de Franciscanos en Japón". See also AGI, FILIPINAS, 79, N. 28, "Relación de la arribada al Japón del Galeón San Felipe y martirio de Franciscanos". See also ARCOS 2002.

<sup>438</sup> Spanish sources report that the streets of Kyoto were so packed with people that seven bystanders died by suffocation. Hideyoshi's gift to Navarrete included twelve sets of armour and thirty spears, but Tello reports he never received it. See AGI, FILIPINAS, 6, R. 9, N. 144, "Carta de Tello sobre abandono de Mindanao, embajada a Japón" (Manila 17 June 1598): 'El embaxador don luis de navarrete q[ue] embie al combaco [*sic*, *kampaku*] llego alla bien con el presente q[ue] llebo y el elefante fue muy bien recibido. y me afirman que el dia que entro en Meaco, que es la Corte del japon cargo tanta gente en la plaza por no averse Visto nunca Alli elefante que murieron Aogandose siete personas. y abiendo el embaxador subido A la sala salio el Rey Arreçibille [*sic*, a recibirlo] con treinta Reyes, Vassallos. Suyos y alli se lio mi carta en publico cuyo traslado embie a V[uestra] Mag[esta]d el año pasado reciviola bien y dixo que me responderia y queriendo ber el Prese[n]te que se llebava que se puso en doze Bufetes. Se Altero mucho de un retrato mio que yba harmado [*sic*, armado] y con un baston en la mano. y dixo a voces si era aquello a menazalle. Respondiosole que no si no huso entre personajes que representavan officios grandes. que quando se embiavan embaxadas embian sus retratos en señal de amor y de amistad. con esto se sosego y mando colgar el retrato en una sala grande y ove saliese a berle su hijo y sus mujeres. – Despues desto combido a comer con el Al embaxador y le despachò embiandome un press[en]te de doze cuerpos de harmas y treynta lanzas, y dos frisiones. el despacho no a llegado antes sospecho que el embaxador es muerto que quedaba muy Al cabo en nangasaq[ui] pero lo que e referido A V[uestr]a Mag[esta]d lo supe por cartas del dicho embaxador.'

<sup>439</sup> NAKAMURA 1964.

<sup>440</sup> KISH 1967; MATSUMOTO 1975; JACOBS 1983.

service (such as the Portuguese Ignacio Moreira who accompanied Valignano on the occasion of his second visit to Japan, 1590-1592).<sup>441</sup> The translation of European maps onto screens was facilitated by the long-lasting tradition of the above-mentioned Gyōki-type maps, which had usually been painted on hanging scrolls and used for the *Tsuina* ritual.<sup>442</sup> This type of screen was probably produced for merchants involved in foreign trade and for military leaders interested in expanding Japanese possessions in continental Asia,<sup>443</sup> such as Hideyoshi during the Japanese invasion of Korea (1592-1598).<sup>444</sup> Other screens, such as those decorated with images of western kings on horseback (**fig. 78**), with kings and heroes (**fig. 79, 47**) with genre scenes (**fig. 80**), and with battles (such as the beautiful screens representing the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* in **fig. 63** and discussed below), have mostly been found in the residences of shoguns or local daimyos.<sup>445</sup> Important elements in the pictorial composition of cartographic *namban* screens were also the decorative insets depicting the mechanics of lunar and solar eclipses (important elements in Japanese calendar-making), the south and north poles (stressing the sphericity of the earth which was unknown to the Japanese prior to the arrival of the Portuguese), figures of couples from different parts of the world, and views of important cities from around the world (**fig. 16, 81**). Moreover, cartographic screens offered an especially effective way of showing off the results achieved by Japanese painters trained in western-style painting under Niccolò.

Among the ninety-two known *namban* screens which have been identified to this day, the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* and the *Battle of Lepanto* screens stand out from the others for conveying a political and Christian eschatological message that somehow binds them to the screens given to Philip II of Spain by the Tenshō envoys. Moreover, they provide valuable evidence regarding early seventeenth-century developments in Japanese foreign policy. These

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<sup>441</sup> SCHÜTTE 1962; KISH 1949; KITAGAWA 1950.

<sup>442</sup> Gyōki-type maps were also painted on gold-leafed folding screens, and after 1590 they were often paired with European world maps. See MUROGA, ODA, UNNO, and NAKAMURA 1975, 1976.

<sup>443</sup> TADAYOSHI 2004: 326.

<sup>444</sup> CURVELO 2008: 118.

<sup>445</sup> VLAM 1977; HICKMAN 1996: 144.

two screens were commissioned and painted at a time when Japan had begun to curtail its relations with Europeans.

In 1602, the new Tokugawa regime was established. The influence which Jesuit missionaries exerted on some Christian feudal lords and on Christian Japanese commoners had gradually become a problem which, in the eyes of Tokugawa policies of centralization and pacification, needed to be controlled and eliminated. In 1614, the retired first Tokugawa shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu, reinforced Hideyoshi's measures of 1587 and signed an anti-Christian ban which forced all Catholic missionaries and Japanese converts out of the country. Those who remained had to apostatise under the threat of torture or crucifixion. Within less than thirty years, in 1639, the Tokugawa regime closed the country to Portuguese and Spanish traders as well. Dutch traders were the only Europeans allowed to trade with Japan and to settle on the small but extremely active trading post on the artificial island of Deshima, in the bay of Nagasaki. Seen in this context, these two screens represented a sound response to the persecution of Christianity in Japan, and with that, the rapidly worsening crisis which triggered the country's definitive closure to Portuguese and Spanish traders in 1640.

### **Conclusion to Chapter Three**

In this chapter I have discussed the use and teaching of visual arts in the Jesuit mission in Japan. During the sixty-five years of experience of the Society of Jesus in Japan, the dissemination of western-style painting by the missionaries went through three different phases.

The introduction of the first oil paintings by Francis Xavier during his brief visit to the archipelago in 1549-1551 marked the beginning of the demand for western-style paintings in Japan. This first phase, which lasted until 1583, was mostly characterized by the paucity of sacred Christian images, by the spirit of improvisation of the missionaries in producing rudimentary prints, and by the lucky arrival of a few paintings (mostly the donations of Portuguese traders involved in the Macao-Nagasaki trade). The only trained European painter setting foot on the archipelago of the

rising sun during this first phase was the Portuguese Melchior Dias, who arrived in 1555 and stayed only four months before returning to Goa. He produced no paintings to leave to his Jesuit brothers in Japan. Despite the scarcity of images, the missionaries did commission some works from local craftsmen, as is the case with two altarpieces representing a Nativity and a Resurrection which the Jesuit Luís Fróis commissioned from Japanese goldsmiths in 1565.

The second phase, from 1583 to 1590, is characterized by the arrival of Nolan painter Giovanni Niccolò in 1583. Niccolò was not a prolific artist, but nevertheless his presence was a blessing by the missionaries, who were in need of sacred images in both Japan and China. Paintings were used to evangelize and unveil the most concealed teachings of the Christian faith. During this phase we see the introduction of new iconographic motifs including the representation of Christ as Savior of the World (*Salvator Mundi*, **fig. 65, 66, 68, 69, 72**). In the context of the Jesuit mission in Far Eastern Asia, this particular depiction of Christ blessing the globe held in his left hand emphasized a delicate theological point: the acknowledgment of the figure of Christ by those who once followed pagan beliefs.

The production of folding screens, decorated with secular subjects, coincides with the third phase of the dissemination of western-style painting in Japan. This third phase began in 1590 with the foundation of the first school of western-style painting by Giovanni Niccolò in Katsusa, and terminated in 1614 with the anti-Christian ban issued by Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada. The year 1590 also saw the return of the Tenshō emissaries with a great number of maps and pictorial sources which were quickly used as source motifs for many cartographic screens commissioned during this third phase. In 1591 the successful embassy of Alessandro Valignano to the court of Toyotomi Hideyoshi managed to thwart the latter's edict of 1587 ostracizing the missionaries and the Christian communities in Japan. After this embassy Hideyoshi became interested in things European. He was the first to commission the first *namban* screens in 1593, not long after the completion of his castle in Nagoya. After that first experience, Japanese screen painting saw the development of four distinct types of *namban* screens: pairs with scenes of China and Japan (type I, as in **fig. 10**); cartographic screens with scenes of foreign countries (type II, as in **fig. 16**); pairs of

screens showing the Japanese archipelago on both left and right screens (type III, as in **fig. 75**); and scenes of Portuguese trade (*namban koeki-zu* as in **fig. 76**). The broad dissemination of cartographic screens in Japan owes a tremendous deal to a pre-existing Japanese cartographic tradition which found its richest expression in Gyōki-type maps (**fig. 46, 54**), as discussed in chapter two above. As mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation, Gyōki-type maps served as ceremonial objects and for this reason they were meant to offer a religious/ritualistic reading of the world rather than a descriptive/scientific one. In Japan all of these aspects were reconciled for the first time on cartographic *namban* screens. In the next chapter I will discuss two important pair of screens, the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens and the *Battle of Lepanto and Map of the World* screen, where the reconciliation of religious/ritualistic with the descriptive/scientific aspects are exemplified.



#### 4. *The Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* and the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens: a religious interpretation

So far I have discussed the spread of Jesuit missions in Japan, their relations with local elites, the use of folding screens in extra-Japanese political contexts, and the evangelical use of cartography and western-style painting in the archipelago of the rising sun. Discussing all of these aspects is necessary in order to understand why very complex objects such as the two pairs of screens considered in this section – commonly known as *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* and the *Battle of Lepanto* screens (fig. 16, 63) – were conceived, commissioned, and made. Unfortunately, there is no documentary evidence telling us with precision who the intended recipients of these screens were.

In the case of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screen, we know that it entered the collections of the Imperial Household Agency in Tokyo after 1868, during the Meiji epoch.<sup>446</sup> We also know from the *Tokugawa Jikki* (the chronicle of the Tokugawa shogunate) that Tokugawa Iyeasu, the first Tokugawa shogun, received a pair of cartographic screens in 1603.<sup>447</sup> However, this entry says nothing else about the screens donated to Iyeasu, and no one can say whether they were the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens or another pair. It is not even possible to say whether the author of this entry in the *Tokugawa Jikki* was referring to a European map or a Japanese Gyōky-type map. However, the interest of Iyeasu in things European – we have seen above how he was presented with one of Niccolò's clocks – suggests the possibility of him being given a pair of screens with European maps. Moreover screens of the high quality of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* pair might well have been presented as a gift to one of the Tokugawa shoguns.

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<sup>446</sup> VLAM 1976: 144, n. 173.

<sup>447</sup> VLAM 1976: 144, quoting OKAMOTO and TAKAMIZAWA 1970.

With regards to the *Battle of Lepanto* screens, now part of the collections of the Kosetsu Museum of Art in Kobe, almost nothing is known about their provenance except that they belonged to the Okubo family, once vassals of a Christian daimyo.<sup>448</sup> We also do not know if the *Battle of Lepanto* screens were made for a local Christian lord (as their provenance from the Okubo family suggests) and presented as a gift or if the pair was explicitly commissioned from artists trained at the Jesuit school of painting. The two pairs of screens were most probably made around or before 1614, when Niccolò and the Jesuit seminary of painters (and many Japanese artists) were forced to move to Macao following Tokugawa Hidetada's anti-Christian ban issued that year. The two pairs of screens discussed in these pages were most likely painted in the same workshop, probably by the same group of painters who had been trained by Giovanni Niccolò at the Jesuit school of painting. This is because they share several elements in their pictorial compositions, and because, in Japan, the prints, maps, and books used as visual sources for the two pairs of screens could only be found in the Jesuit seminary of painters.

These artists drew directly from European cartographic sources and contemporary European treatises on astronomy which the Jesuit missionaries had brought to Japan and re-published after 1590. It is very likely that in the painters at work on the *World Map and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens had been guided in their task by a skilled mathematician and cartographer. In this respect, I will argue that this was Carlo Spinola, the skilled mathematician and astronomer who we have met above in chapter three. This would not have been the first time Niccolò worked together with a skilled mathematician on a cartographic subject. In fact, as we have seen above, the Nolan painter had probably been assisted by Matteo Ricci when he painted a map of Italy for the Tenshō envoys on the occasion of their stop-over in Macao in 1582-83. On the other hand, for what concerns the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens, I will argue that one of the Tenshō envoys, Martino Hara, contributed to conceive their pictorial program. Hara had in fact the chance to see a number of important mural map cycles and the (in Florence, Caprarola, and the Vatican Palace), paintings and frescoes celebrating the Battle of Lepanto and the Battle of the

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<sup>448</sup> VLAM 1976: 120, quoting NISHIMURA 1956.

Milvian Bridge during his passage in Italy in 1585. In addition to that, I will argue that the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens were also largely inspired by the pictorial representation of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge given its significance as a victory of Christianity over paganism. We will see how these themes were translated into the Japanese context on the eve of the Christian persecution started by Tokugawa Hidetada in 1614.

The eight-fold *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* pair (**fig. 16**) is now part of the Imperial Household Agency's collections, as I have said, and for the sake of simplicity I will also refer to them as the Imperial household screen or as the Imperial screens. They measure 179 cm in height by 490 cm in width, and they are painted in water-soluble colours and gold on paper. The left-hand screen shows a world map framed by decorative borders representing forty-two couples from different parts of the world, twenty-one couples on each side of the world map. The right-hand screen is decorated with eight equestrian portraits of kings, twenty-eight city-views, and a map of Portugal represented with the east at the top.

Concerning the six-fold *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens (for the sake of simplicity, I will refer to them as the *Battle of Lepanto* screens) (**fig. 63**), measure 153.5 cm in height by 362.5 cm in width, and they also are painted using water-soluble colours and gold on paper. On the left-hand screen we have a map of the world and sixteen decorative insets: a bigger decorative inset at the bottom centre showing a group of Brazilian cannibals, and fifteen smaller insets with representations of different couples from the different regions of the world. The right-hand screen is decorated with a battle scene covering all six panels with, in the background, European and Turkish warships and a city landscape.

The Imperial Household Agency screens and the *Battle of Lepanto* screens certainly appeal to the imagination of today's viewers with their combination of superb Japanese craftsmanship and European cartographic depictions. In addition, the impressive number of figures represented on the two pairs of screens is unique in its kind, reminding today's viewers of European tapestries. Indeed, as the art historian Grace Vlam has argued, European tapestries were known in sixteenth-century Japan and exercised some stylistic influence on the secular paintings of the Jesuit painting

school.<sup>449</sup> But let us first describe and comment on the world maps represented on these pairs of screens, beginning with that represented on the left-hand screen of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* pair.

## The World Maps on Our Japanese Screens and Their European Cartographic Sources

The world map reproduced on the left-hand screen of the Imperial Household Agency pair (**fig. 16**) is drawn from Flemish cartographer and engraver Pieter van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* (**fig. 37**).<sup>450</sup> Published in Amsterdam in 1609, the only known copy of this map is an edition published in 1619 and now preserved in the Bibliothèque National in Paris.<sup>451</sup> Unfortunately, the copy preserved in Paris lacks its original decorative borders, which were probably cut off at some point in time. Pieter van den Keere, in his turn, copied this map from one by the Dutch cartographer and publisher William Janszoon Blaeu, who had first published the original *Nova Orbis Terrarum* in Amsterdam in 1606-7 (**fig. 35, 36**).<sup>452</sup> It is important to say that until very recently, the whereabouts of Blaeu's prototype was unknown, and its cartographic details could be studied only through van den Keere's copy.<sup>453</sup> This map was the third of three world maps in

<sup>449</sup> VLAM 1981: 490, n. 61.

<sup>450</sup> *NOVA ORBIS TERRARUM GEOGRAPHICA / ac Hydrographica Tabula, Ex optimis in hoc opere auctorib<sup>s</sup> desumpta. Auctore P. Petro Kaerio. Anno Dom 1609 | Petrus Kaerius Flander caelavit excudit [sic] Amstelodami habitans in platea vulgo de Calver-strate, in intesignio Incerti temporis. Anno à Chrōnato 1609.*

<sup>451</sup> SCHILDER 1979: 50; 2007: 461. As Schilder notes (2007:461), 'the only difference between the unknown original edition of 1609 and the state ten years later preserved in Paris is the drawing of the Strait le Marie and Cape Hoorn.'

<sup>452</sup> *NOVA ORBIS TERRARUM GEOGRAPHICA / ac Hÿdrogr. Tabula, Ex Optimis in hoc opere auctorib<sup>s</sup> desumpta auct. Gul. Ianssonio. | Excudebat Gulielmus Ianssonius Alcmarianus Amsterodami sub signo Solarii deaurati Anno à Chrō. nato 1607.* SCHILDER 1979; 1981; 2007: 461-472; SHIRLEY 1983: 273-276.

<sup>453</sup> In 1979, cartographic historian Günter Schilder found a small photograph of Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* among other photographs of maps preserved at the Rijksmuseum Nederlands Scheepvaart-Museum in Amsterdam. The photograph was part of the content of two boxes which used to be the property of the cartographic historian Frederik Casparus Wieder. Following Wieder's death in 1943, the two boxes and their photographic content were bought by the Rijksmuseum Nederlands Scheepvaart-Museum at an auction in 1958, (SCHILDER 1979: 36, and note 7; SCHILDER 1981: 23). Schilder was able to recognize the map in question thanks to Wieder's own notes, which were collected and published in 1973 by another important Dutch cartographic historian, Johannes Keuning (KEUNING 1973: 94-95). Wieder's notes, however, say nothing about the map's whereabouts at the time he wrote. Probably, Schilder later noted, this particular map was part of Wieder's collection of maps, which he sold in Berlin during Second World War (SCHILDER

different projections published by Blaeu. The Dutch cartographer had already published a map of the world in 1604, engraved by Joshua van Ende and based on Plancius's 1592 world map in cylindrical projection,<sup>454</sup> and another one in 1605 drawn in stereographic projection on twenty sheets.<sup>455</sup> With the *Nova Orbis Terrarum*, Blaeu intended to keep a step ahead of his competitors by differentiating his workshop's output, and van den Keere copied Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* probably on account of its commercial value. There are, however, some minor differences between Blaeu's and van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum*, particularly in the rendering of some decorative elements. I will come back to these little differences below; nonetheless, the decorative borders in van den Keere's version included ten equestrian portraits of kings, twenty-eight city-views, and thirty figure pairs, as in Blaeu's.<sup>456</sup>

Pieter van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* of 1609 is shown on the left-hand screen (**fig. 16**), painted over six of the eight panels of the screen with forty-two couples representative of people from different parts of the world to the right- and left-hand sides of the map (which I will discuss below). The possibility that the world map on this screen was used for cartographic study can be excluded by the lack of the longitudinal/latitudinal grid which is characteristic of maps of the world in Mercator's cylindrical projection, such as Blaeu's and van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum*. Published in the German city of Duisberg in 1569, Gerard Mercator's *Nova et Aucta Orbis Terrae Descriptio* had been the first map using this projection and, as its full title clearly

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1979: 36, 1981:23). A very unhappy idea indeed, as the whole collection went lost in the turmoil of the conflict (ibid.). Unexpectedly, in 1980, while doing archival research at the Ryhiner collection in the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek in Berne, Switzerland, Schilder found the only known copies of the four original sheets composing Blaeu's 1606-7 *Nova Orbis Terrarum*, but without the decorative borders and the texts surrounding the world map (SCHILDER 1981). Strangely, SHIRLEY 1983 still reports the map as lost, taking into account Schilder's article of 1979 but not that of 1981.

<sup>454</sup> The only known copy of this map is preserved in the Bibliothèque National, Paris. See SCHILDER 1981: 23; DESTOMBES 1944.

<sup>455</sup> The only known copy is kept at The Hispanic Society of America, New York. See SCHILDER 1981: 23; STEVENSON 1914.

<sup>456</sup> Although van den Keere's map lacks its original decorative borders, their content is specified in van den Keere's dedication to the reader: 'Ad ornatum porrò et delectationem, decem potentissimorum Principum, qui toti orbis terrarum nostro hoc seculo imperant, effigies; nec non orthographicas sciographicasq, praecipuarum urbium picturas variarumq, gentium multiformes habitus, curiosis multorum oculis ac novitatis avidis pascēdis, in margine exarvim<sup>o</sup>.'

states, it was particularly intended for maritime navigation (**fig. 41**).<sup>457</sup> Sailors around the globe could benefit from the latitudinal/longitudinal grid on the map to calculate their position at sea; however, the main drawback of this projection is that the use of this grid, which is meant to keep all the angles and meridians equal to each other, distorts the size of the objects represented by increasing their size the farther they are from the equator towards the poles. This distortion is also evident on the Imperial Household Agency left-hand screen, although no grid has been drawn to justify it. The only line the painter of this screen did not forget to exclude is that of the equator. This fact is a further indication that this screen was not intended for practical cartographic study.

The geographical outlines of the land masses closely follow the ones represented in two other important geo-iconographic screens, namely the companion screens to the *Battle of Lepanto* screen and the *Four Capitals of the World* screen (**fig. 63, 81**).<sup>458</sup> The painters of the Imperial Household screen kept some of the elements we find in these two screens, such as the mountain ranges occupying the northern tip of the American continent. Because of the outline of the geographical masses, in her doctoral dissertation the art historian Grace Vlam has argued that the source for these three world map screens was the map of the world in stereographic projection published in 1605 by Willem Jansz. Blaeu.<sup>459</sup> Vlam, however, could not know about Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* of 1606, as she wrote her dissertation in 1976. This was before Günter Schilder found the photograph of Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* in the collections of the Rijksmuseum Nederlands Scheepvaart Museum of Amsterdam in 1979, and a copy of the original map (without decorative borders) at the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek of Berne in 1980. On the other hand, Vlam has also argued that the world map of the Imperial Household Agency screen was influenced by one of the sino-centric world maps authored by the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci, missionary in

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<sup>457</sup> On Gerard Mercator (1512-1594), see ALVES GASPAR and LEITÃO 2014; CRANE 2002; AVERDUNK and MÜLLER-REINHARD 1969.

<sup>458</sup> VLAM 1976: 130-140, 140-143.

<sup>459</sup> VLAM 1976: 135.

China between 1583 and 1610. This influence is reflected in the central position occupied by Japan on the map, much like China in Ricci's maps.

As I have mentioned above, throughout his stay in China, Ricci produced four world maps, in 1584, 1596, 1600, and 1602, the latter being the most important as it was commissioned from Ricci by Emperor Wanli (**fig. 42**). The world map of 1600 was immediately sent to Macao and from there to Japan.<sup>460</sup> Ricci's maps invariably place China at the centre of the map and, as Vlam has discussed,

'the Japanese artist of the Imperial screen seems to have tried to do the same: he cut out the then unknown western regions of North America on the left and reinstated them on the right shifting Asia more towards the center of the map thereby allotting Japan more room than it had received on the Lepanto and Kobe maps.'<sup>461</sup>

Although Ricci's world map of 1600 was not the source used for the Imperial Household Agency screen, I agree with Vlam's suggestion that the Japanese painter intentionally allotted more importance to Japan than it actually had in Blaeu's and van den Keere's wall maps. As a matter of fact, in both versions of the *Nova Orbis Terrarum*, it is possible to see only a little portion of Japan's Kyūshū (**fig. 36, 37**), while Japan is depicted in its entirety on the Imperial screen (**fig. 16**).

The world map reproduced on the left-hand screen of the *Battle of Lepanto* pair (**fig. 63**) was also taken from van den Keere's copy of Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum*. Unlike the world map on the Imperial Household Agency pair, in this world map Japan is only partly visible. The only islands that can be seen here are the island of Kyushu and the western part of Hoshu.<sup>462</sup> On the other hand, the landmass of North America is here represented in its entirety and is fully covered by a landscape with mountains. Conversely, in the Imperial screen we find today's Alaska and North-western Territories peeking from the last panel on the right, and the mountainous landscape only covers what is today's Canada. Furthermore, in the *Battle of Lepanto* world map screen the

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<sup>460</sup> On the acceptance of Ricci's world map in Japan see MIGNOLO 2003: 223; FREI 1984; *FR*: II, p. 60. Ricci's world map was translated into Japanese after 1645, on this see WALLIS 1965: 42-43; UNNO 1994: 347, 391, 404-410.

<sup>461</sup> VLAM 1976: 147.

<sup>462</sup> Hokkaido, the northernmost part of the Japanese archipelago, was mapped in 1621 by the Italian Jesuit Girolamo de Angelis so it could not be included in the world map screens discussed in these pages. On de Angelis's map of Japan, see KITAGAWA 1950; SCHÜTTE 1952; KUDO 1953.

landmass of Antarctica is less prominent than the one we see on the Imperial screen. Intriguingly enough, the land mass of Antarctica appearing south of Japan might vaguely remind today's viewers of the northern coast of Australia. The same can be seen in the world map screen of the *Four Capitals of the World and World Map* (**fig. 81**), also using van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* as its source. With the exception of these features, the world map of the *Battle of Lepanto* pair presents the same characteristics as the world map of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* pair. The same lively colours are applied over the same areas (**fig. 16, 63**), although colour is more heavily applied on the world map of the *Battle of Lepanto* pair. In this respect, Vlam has suggested that the Japanese painter involved making the world map on the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* pair may well have also been a skilled calligrapher.<sup>463</sup>

## Decorative Insets I: Contextualising the Terrestrial World

Like in Blaeu's and van den Keere's wall maps, several decorative elements, legends, and explanatory insets are painted over the world maps reproduced on the two pairs of screens discussed in these pages. The world map represented on the left-hand screen of the Imperial Agency Household pair is richer in decorative insets than the world map screen of the *Battle of Lepanto* pair. All of these elements are visually striking, but the first ones that come to the viewer's attention are certainly the four legends occupying the world map's lower part.

On the left-hand screen of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* pair, occupying the lower part of the third panel from the right, just off the Atlantic coast of South America, is the first empty legend, framed in mannerist strap-work. Under the legend is a visual vignette depicting a group of cannibals gathered around a grid on which human legs and arms are being cooked (**fig. 17**). The group takes shelter under a tree with pieces of human flesh hanging down from its branches. Probably the empty legend on the top of this vignette was meant to explain the macabre scene. We find the same image on the decorative borders of Blaeu's *Nova Orbis*

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<sup>463</sup> VLAM 1976: 148.



*Terrarum* (**fig. 35**). A very similar vignette is also on the world map screen paired with the *Battle of Lepanto* screen (**fig. 63, 82**), and, in this case, the label specifies that the scene shows a group of Brazilian cannibals.<sup>464</sup> Scenes of this kind became part of the early modern European imagination, following the publication of illustrated works such as Liège-born Theodore de Bry's *Grand Voyages*, published in Amsterdam in 1590 and certainly known to Blaeu at the time he had his *Nova Orbis Terrarum* printed (1606).<sup>465</sup>

Still describing the world map screen of the Imperial Household Agency pair, the second legend from the left is also framed in mannerist strap-work and is located above a larger vignette with allegorical representations of the four continents (**fig. 18**). The iconography of these allegories follows the tradition established by the Flemish painter Maarten de Vos (**fig. 83, 84, 85, 86**).<sup>466</sup> From left to right, America is represented by a couple wearing colourful feathers and they are accompanied by an armadillo carrying spears and other gifts to Europe. Europe is depicted sitting on a globe, wearing a crown and holding a sceptre, as visualized by Vos. At her feet lay scattered several objects, symbolic of music (the mandolin, the drum), science (the open book, the rod of Asclepius for medicine, the set square for mathematics), and military power (the musket, the sword). Asia is represented by a richly dressed couple wearing stereotypical ottoman turbans, the man presenting Europe with an incense burner and the woman holding a camel by the reins. Finally, Africa appears as a black woman holding an umbrella (a cover from the heat of the sun) in her left hand; she is accompanied by a crocodile carrying elephant tusks on its back.

The third legend from the left is decorated with a frame surmounted by the figures of two young women, the one on the left holding a set square in her right hand and a compass in her left hand. These decorative figures too are taken from Blaeu's world map of 1606-7, and can also be found in van der Keere's copy of 1609 (**fig. 38**); these geometrical elements are also present in the circular inset between the two female figures (**fig. 31**), but the legend below them sits empty. The

<sup>464</sup> VLAM 1976: 131; NISHIMURA 1956.

<sup>465</sup> See GROESEN 2008; GREVE 2004.

<sup>466</sup> The designs for these prints are dated between 1588 and 1589, see SCHUCKMAN and SCHEFFER 1995/1996: entry plates 1396-II, 1397-II, 1398, 1399.

legend in Blaeu's and van den Keere's maps explains how to calculate distances on the map (*Distantiae locorum mensurandae modus*), and the geometrical elements are there to facilitate users/beholders in this task.<sup>467</sup>

On the far right, the fourth legend is composed of a smaller legend on the top of a bigger one. Two *putti* are represented sitting on top of the small legend, and between them is a clock within a compass (**fig. 30**).<sup>468</sup> These elements tell us with certainty that the Japanese painters at work on the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* world map screen did refer to Pieter van den Keere's 1609 copy of Willem Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum*.<sup>469</sup> In fact, in Blaeu's version between the two *putti* we find a globe on a conch-shell, a clear reference to the sea and to the map's use for maritime navigation (**fig. 40**). Van den Keere, on the other hand, chose to keep the conch-shell and to replace Blaeu's globe with the clock and the compass, two other instruments designed to help sailors get their position at sea (**fig. 39**).<sup>470</sup> In addition to this, Van den Keere replaced the flaming pyre, which Blaeu's original had placed next to the image of the *putto* on the left, with an incense burner. The purpose of this legend in van den Keere's copy, however, is the same as that seen in Blaeu's original, which is to explain the map and its projection to its users at sea. These explanatory notes are not included in the legend reproduced on the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screen. Together with these four legends and their decorative elements, the left-hand screen of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* pair provided its viewers

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<sup>467</sup> SCHILDER 1979.

<sup>468</sup> See also TAKAHASHI 1988: 259.

<sup>469</sup> A similar clock with Roman numbers and a skull at its centre is found in van den Keere's *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis* of 1608. For this map I consulted the copy kept at Leiden University Library, COLLBN 009-15-018.

<sup>470</sup> Calculating longitude, however, was still an unsolved problem in sixteenth-century Europe. At that time, latitude was the only reliable data to determine the likely position of a given place on a map for European sailors, astronomers, and mapmakers alike. The correct calculation of longitude at sea was possible only in 1759; the year the English clockmaker John Harrison (1693-1776) finished his famous portable clock, the H4. The H4 was successfully tested twice, in 1761 (on a sea journey from England to Jamaica) and in 1764 (on a voyage from Portsmouth to the city of Bridgetown, in the Barbados Islands). Before that, attempts to calculate longitude were based on the observation of the four moons of Jupiter (discovered by Galileo in 1610) or by calculating the motion of the moon with respect to its background stars. Of course, accurate astronomical observation was impossible at sea due to ships' wobbly movement. For the same reason, clocks were thought unreliable instruments to calculate longitude at sea. The movement of a ship at sea, in fact, affected the correct performance of clocks on board. Harrison's solution to the problem, after 29 years of work, was very simple: the motion of the ship could be neutralized by making a clock with a heavier balance wheel. See House of the Lords of Great Britain, *Discovery of Longitude*, 1763.

with additional decorative insets. Within them, one finds representations of the North and South Poles as well as graphic explanations of astronomical phenomena, particularly lunar and solar eclipses, to which we will return.

On the second panel from the right, depicted just on top of the northern tip of the American continent, is the first circular inset with a view of the earth's North Pole (**fig. 19**). This inset was also included in Blaeu's original and later in van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* (**fig. 36, 37**). In this case, the Japanese painter has been particularly generous in his representation of the northern coast of the American continent because, at that time, it was still largely unknown to European cartographers. Symmetrically opposite the circular inset with the North Pole, at the top of the sixth panel from the left, is another circular inset with a representation of the South Pole (or, more correctly, a suggestion of what it was thought to look like) (**fig. 20**). We find the same symmetrical arrangement of circular insets with representations of the earth's poles in Blaeu's and van den Keere's versions of the *Nova Orbis Terrarum*. However, not all the circular insets decorating the world map screen of the Imperial Household Agency's pair were taken directly from the *Nova Orbis Terrarum*, whether it was Blaeu's original or van den Keere's copy. The remaining decorative insets, describing astronomical phenomena, were added by the Japanese painter, who must have been following the suggestions and requests of whoever commissioned the screen; this brings us to the contribution of the Jesuit missionaries to the making of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens.

## **Decorative Insets II: Setting the Terrestrial World in the Heavens**

Insets with representations of solar and lunar eclipses follow the same symmetrical arrangement as in the case of the North and South Poles, but in this case occupying the centre of the panel and painted in proximity to the equatorial line. On the second panel from the left, hanging from the equatorial line like a Christmas-tree ball, is a geocentric diagram describing the mechanics of a solar eclipse (**fig. 32**). On the sixth panel from the left, with its base leaning on the equatorial line

is the geocentric description of a lunar eclipse (**fig. 34**). As I have mentioned above, these representations were not included in Blaeu's and van den Keere's versions, but were probably requested by whoever commissioned this screen. In this respect, these elements certainly do suggest the involvement of Jesuit missionaries in the making of this *byōbu*. We have seen how solar and lunar cycles were included in Niccolò's clocks (**fig. 47**). Indeed, eclipses were extremely important for Japanese calendar-making and, more importantly, for its ritual life. Calendrical science had been imported into Japan from China around the sixth century of our era.<sup>471</sup> Since the introduction of the Chinese calendar, however, Japanese astronomers had showed less interest in revising the calendar than had the Chinese.<sup>472</sup> This was possibly because Japanese imperial dynastic continuity had (and has) always been maintained since mythical times, while several dynastic changes in China implied the calculation of a new calendar with the coming of each new political regime. In fact, since the earliest years of their presence in China in the early 1580s, Jesuit missionaries in the Middle Kingdom had gained great respect among the literate Confucian elite thanks to their expertise in mathematics, cosmology, and cosmography. The Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci in particular stood out for his contribution to the rectification of the Ming calendar and to the improvement of Chinese astronomical science and its techniques for predicting eclipses.<sup>473</sup> Ricci's cartographic production relied heavily on the observations of eclipses.<sup>474</sup> In Japan, on the other hand, the prediction of lunar and solar eclipses was important for ritual reasons. This was because eclipses were considered bad omens, and their correct prediction meant that the emperor, by avoiding them, could perform particular apotropaic rituals at favourable times. Since unexpected eclipses could jeopardize the ritual and symbolic scaffolding on which Japanese imperial power was based, the possibility of their occurring was avoided by simply predicting an unwarranted number of solar and lunar eclipses compared to how many could actually be

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<sup>471</sup> NAKAYAMA 1969: 65-69; STEELE 1998. Japan adopted the Gregorian calendar only in 1873, see COHEN 2000.

<sup>472</sup> NAKAYAMA 1969: 71; STEELE 1998: 528.

<sup>473</sup> *FR*: I, cxxi; II, doc. 538, pp. 49-52; doc. 543, pp. 56-58. On Chinese astronomers in Beijing fearing that Ricci's competencies and correct calculations of eclipses could divest them of their office and honours at the Emperor's court see *FR*: II, doc. 542, pp. 55-56.

<sup>474</sup> *FR*: II, doc. 6, p. 14.

observed from Japan.<sup>475</sup> Given the little interest of the Japanese in reforming the calendar, the Jesuit missionaries in Japan did not focus on the observation and prediction of lunar and solar eclipses until the 1610s, and precisely, in 1612 and 1617. It was in these years that the above-mentioned Carlo Spinola observed lunar eclipses in Nagasaki simultaneously with other Jesuits in China, in an effort to calculate the longitudinal difference between Macao and Nagasaki.<sup>476</sup> Returning to the world map screen of *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* pair, it is possible that the two circular insets with descriptions of solar and lunar eclipses were included to explain the use of eclipses in the calculation of geographical distances, as the experiments of Ricci in China, and Spinola in Japan, had demonstrated.

The drawings in these decorative insets probably refer to the visual descriptions included in John of Holywood's thirteenth-century treatise *De Sphaera*. Later, in the sixteenth century, John of Holywood's work was commented on by the Portuguese humanist and mathematician Pedro Nunes (published in Lisbon, 1537) and by the German mathematician Christopher Clavius S.J. (published in Rome, 1570).<sup>477</sup> Copies of Clavius's *In Sphaeram Ioannis de Sacrobosco Commentarius* were circulated in China and Japan at the time the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens were made. In fact, it is known that Ricci had brought many of Clavius's works with him to China,<sup>478</sup> and that he possessed a copy of his teacher's commentary on Sacrobosco's work.<sup>479</sup> Clavius's commentary had then been translated into Chinese in 1607.<sup>480</sup> In Japan, as we

<sup>475</sup> NAKAYAMA 1969: 52. Nakayama refers to the period stretching from the sixth century until 1600. STEELE 1998 refers to KANDA 1935 for a Japanese historical record of eclipses until 1600.

<sup>476</sup> NAKAYAMA 1969: 117; COCKS 1883: 292-293: 'August 6. [1617] – [...] There was a greate eclips of the moone this night past, about 3 a clock after midnight, which Mr. Nealson and Mr. Totton observed, to find the true longetude of this towne of Firando [*sic*, Hirado, where the English had their trading post], which standeth in 32 ½ degrees of latetude to the northward of the equenocall [...]. The other important English sailor in Japan, William Adams, does not mention this eclipse in his log book; see ADAMS 1916. On the Jesuit education and mathematics see ROMANO 2002.

<sup>477</sup> Pedro Nunes, *Tratado da Sphera com a Theorica do Sol e da Lua, e ho primero livro da Geographia de Claudio Ptolomeo Alexa[n]drino, tirado novamente de Latim en ligoagem pello Doutor Pe[d]ro Nunez [...]*. On Pedro Nunes (1502-1578) see MARTYNS 1996; SOUSA VENTURA 1985; UNIVERSIDADE de LISBOA VV.AA. 2003. Christopher Clavius, *Christophori Clavii Bambergensis ex Societate Iesu, In Sphaeram Ioannis de Sacrobosco Commentarius*. On Christopher Clavius S.J. (1538-1612), who studied mathematics in Coimbra, probably under Nunes, see LATTIS 1989, 1994; BALDINI 1995.

<sup>478</sup> FR: II, 114, n. 5; II: 122.

<sup>479</sup> FR: I, 296, n. 3; II: 207, n. 1.

<sup>480</sup> FR: II, 177

have seen above, Carlo Spinola owned a copy of Clavius's *In Sphaeram* among other works by the same author. Clavius's *In Sphaeram*, or at least a great part of it, would eventually be translated into Japanese in the 1640s by the apostate Portuguese Jesuit Cristovão Ferreira.<sup>481</sup> It is quite possible, therefore, that the painters working on the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens referred to the copy of Clavius's *In Sphaeram* owned by Spinola, or, more simply, to some explanatory sketches drawn by somebody reasonably familiar with Clavius's work. Such a person could not have been any other than a Jesuit missionary, and considering Spinola's request to João Alvares (when he affirmed he had with him a copy of Clavius's *In Sphaeram*), it is possible that the missionary assisting the painters of working on the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens was Spinola himself.

### Decorative Insets III: On the Earth's Globe East Meets West

The remaining insets decorating the world map screen of the Imperial Household Agency, contain an explanation of the division of the hours of light and darkness over the east and west hemispheres (**fig. 21**), and the earth's sphere inclined on its axis and encircled by a golden belt with twelve empty rectangular insets – which were probably meant to host the twelve signs of the zodiac. Once again, the source for these two insets was probably Clavius's *In Sphaeram*. The latter

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<sup>481</sup> On Cristovão Ferreira (c. 1580-1650), who apostatised under torture in 1633, see CIESLIK 1974; ELISON 1973; PROUST 1998 (a translation of one of Ferreira's text where the Portuguese refutes Christianity); LUCCHESI 1995. The figure of Ferreira is prominent in the Shūsaku Endō's famous historical novel, *Chinmoku* (1966), translated into English with the title *Silence*. On occasion of the shipwreck of a Portuguese ship in 1643, Ferreira was appointed to translate a Latin text on astronomy confiscated to one of the Jesuit missionaries on board (NAKAYAMA 1969: 89). According to LEITÃO and PINTO DOS SANTOS 1998: 292 the group of Jesuits landed in Oshima on 27 July 1643, and it was known as 'Rubino group' after Giovanni Antonio Rubino S.J. (1578-1643) who organized the clandestine expedition. PINTO dos SANTOS 2011 argues that the owner of the text Ferreira translated was Giovanni Antonio Rubino. Before reaching Japan in 1643, Rubino spent a long period in India, where he worked on eclipses and ephemerides and even produced a world map for the king of Bisnaga in southern India (PINTO dos SANTOS 2011: 149, quoting RYAN 1991: 14). Ferreira's translation in romanised Japanese was later rendered in Japanese script by a renowned Confucian scholar and physician, Mukai Genshō (NAKAYAMA 1969: 89). The book, an introduction to the practice of astronomy, took the title of *Kenkon Bensetsu* (*A Treatise on the Heavens and Earth*) and it dates from around 1650. As Nakayama noted (1969: 89, 235-237) its content coincides with Aristotle's *De Caelo*, *Metereologica*, and *De Generatione et Corruptione*, although the core content derives from Clavius's *In Sphaeram*. See also NAKAYAMA 2009, particularly chapter 1; LEITÃO and PINTO DOS SANTOS 1998. On the possibility that the *Kenkon Bensetsu* might be a forgery see NAKAYAMA 1969: 90.

inset is particularly significant as it shows the earth as spherical. This was an important statement considering that in Japan, at the time this pair of screens was made, the sphericity, or not, of the earth was still fiercely debated. I have already mentioned how Francis Xavier, on the occasion of his visit to Japan in 1549-1551, had commented on the fact that the Japanese were unaware of the roundness of the earth. Yet, fifty years later, in 1605, Fucan Fabian (a Japanese Christian admitted as a Brother into the Society of Jesus in 1586) wrote a Christian propagandist treatise, the *Myōtei Mondō* or *A Dialogue between Myōshū and Yūtei*, in which two ladies debate the superiority of the Christian faith over Buddhism and Confucianism. In this work Fabian supports the European view conceiving the earth as a spherical object.<sup>482</sup> This fact – as Fabian rightly argued – had been incontrovertibly proved by the Spanish and the Portuguese circumnavigations of the world. Of course, his argument did not pass unnoticed, and in 1606 a young Confucian scholar, Hayashi Razan, paid a visit to Fabian to refute the latter's claim of the earth being a 'globe'.<sup>483</sup> Despite Razan's harsh critique, in Japan the roundness of the earth was only accepted in the late 1640s/early 1650s. This had become possible following the publication of the *Kenkon Bensetsu*, a commentary on Cristovão Ferreira's translation of Clavius's *In Sphaera*, by the above-mentioned Confucian scholar Mukai Genshō.<sup>484</sup> It is possible, then, that the earth's sphere represented on the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screen was deliberately included in order to make a statement in support of the thesis which considered the earth as spherical. In this respect, it is striking that this inset is painted on the last section of the map, over the north-eastern tip of the American continent where, as Fabian wrote in his *Myōtei Mondō*, 'the end of east is west and the end of west is east'.<sup>485</sup>

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<sup>482</sup> NAKAYAMA 1969: 87-88; FUCAN and HUMBERTCLAUDE 1938; ELISON 1973; AYUSAWA 1964: 278.

<sup>483</sup> The meeting took place on 15 June 1606. As a result from this encounter Razan wrote a small account of the meeting, the *Hai-Yaso* (*The Anti-Jesuit*), where he reports what he discussed with Fabian. For a complete English translation of Razan's account see ELISON 1973: 149-153. See also ELISON 1973: 142; NAKAYAMA 1969: 88; AYUSAWA 1964: 278; MULLER 1939. Eventually, Fabian apostatised around the year 1616, and in 1620 wrote the anti-Christian booklet *Ha Daiusu* (*Deus Destroyed*). For the English translation of *Ha Daiusu* see ELISON 1973: 259-291.

<sup>484</sup> NAKAYAMA 1969: 94.

<sup>485</sup> Quoted in AYUSAWA 1964: 278.

## Decorative borders: contextualising the world's peoples, cities and rulers

The decorative borders with various figure pairs from different parts of the world complete the pictorial composition of the world maps of the Imperial Household Agency and the *Battle of Lepanto* pairs. The world map screen of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* pair includes forty-two figure pairs divided into two decorative borders of twenty-one figures each (fig. 26, 27). Under each couple sits an empty label, thus providing us with no precise indication of which part of the world, or, even less, to which country they belong. Interestingly, the anonymous Japanese painter divided the peoples of the Americas and Africa (left-hand side border) from those of Europe and Asia (right-hand side border). In the case of the American/African figure pairs, the painters at work on this screen put great emphasis on their scanty clothes, their skin colour, and the objects that exemplified their material culture. In contrast, in the case of the Asian/European figure pairs the emphasis is all on their elaborate dress and polite manners. It is possible that this division was driven by early-modern European views that American and African indigenous populations were uncivilized, or, following Aristotelian thought, “slaves by nature”.<sup>486</sup> Another interpretation was the appreciation of Chinese and Japanese people who were considered “white”, or, in other words, of the same race of Europeans, and for this reason more receptive to Christian doctrine.<sup>487</sup>

The division of American/African from Asian/European peoples is found also in Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum*, and, later, in the van den Keere's 1609 copy used in making the Imperial Agency screen. The world map screen of the *Battle of Lepanto* pair also has two decorative borders with couples, but they are fewer in number than the ones painted on the Imperial screen, only 15, and they

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<sup>486</sup> ARISTOTLE 1944: Vol. 21, *Politics*, Book 1, 1254b: ‘all men that differ as widely as the soul does from the body and the human being from the lower animal (and this is the condition of those whose function is the use of the body and from whom this is the best that is forthcoming) these are by nature slaves, for whom to be governed by this kind of authority is advantageous [...]. And also the usefulness of slaves diverges little from that of animals; bodily service for the necessities of life is forthcoming from both, from slaves and from domestic animals alike. The intention of nature therefore is to make the bodies also of freemen and of slaves different—the latter strong for necessary service, the former erect and unserviceable for such occupations, but serviceable for a life of citizenship [...].’

<sup>487</sup> ARANHA: 2008: 85.



appear on the lower part of the screen. They are divided by the inset with the Brazilian cannibals, seven couples to the left (**fig. 87**) and eight couples to the right (**fig. 88**). Each couple can be identified by a label in Japanese. From these, we learn that we have couples, from left to right, representative of: Magellanica (Patagonia); Ilha dos Ladrões (the Mariana Islands); Malabar (the south-west coast of India); Canaria (the Canary Islands); Tartaria; Irlandez (Ireland); França (France); Brazil (the central inset with the cannibals); Sumatra; Turco (Turkey); Groenlandia; Senegal; Abyssinia (Ethiopia); Moscovia (Russia); Roma (Rome); and Espanha (Spain).<sup>488</sup> In contrast to the arrangement on the Imperial screen, here there is no division between civilized and uncivilized peoples.

The idea of decorating maps and city views with figure pairs dressed in local fashion had been inaugurated by Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, but it was then thanks to the Dutch cartographer Jodocus Hondius (also van den Keere's brother-in-law) that decorative borders with figure pairs from different parts of the world became a common addition to early modern European maps.<sup>489</sup> The figure pairs on Blaeu's map, however, are displayed differently; the American/African figure pairs occupy the decorative strip at the bottom of the world map while the Asian/European ones appear on its left- and right-side borders (**fig. 35**). There is reason to believe that van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* did not differ in this aspect.

A remarkable difference between the decorative borders on the left-hand screen of the Imperial Household Agency pairs and their cartographic source is in the number of figure pairs represented. The decorative borders in Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* include thirty figure pairs, while we have forty-two on the Imperial Agency screen. Did van den Keere's 1609 version of the *Nova Orbis Terrarum* include forty-two figure pairs instead of the thirty found in Blaeu's prototype? Apparently not. For the cartographic historian Günter Schilder, Pieter van den Keere relied entirely on Blaeu's model, including for what concerns the decorative strips, which were printed from five copper plates like for Blaeu's original. Unfortunately, as I wrote above, the only

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<sup>488</sup> VLAM 1976: 132, quoting NISHIMURA 1956: 20.

<sup>489</sup> SCHILDER 1985. On J. Hondius (1563-1611) see also SCHILDER 2007.

known copy of van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* does not have decorative borders anymore,<sup>490</sup> but it seems most unlikely that van den Keere would have changed the decorative features of a map which sold very well. Let us in fact not forget that these maps could make the fortune of professional printer due to their huge commercial value.

But why was it decided to decorate the Imperial Agency screen with forty-two figure pairs when the rest of van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* was so faithfully reproduced on the screen? One possible reading may derive from the esoteric and cabbalistic meaning of the number of figures represented in Blaeu's/van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* and their relation to the cycles of the sun and the moon. In fact, the so-called decorative elements in Blaeu's/van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* are by no means solely "decorative", for they helped to convey an esoteric message of global tolerance and Christian harmony to the viewers/users of the *Nova Orbis Terrarum*.<sup>491</sup> This esoteric message was translated onto the Imperial screens, with relatively few changes. It found full expression not only in the visual appearance of the images chosen to decorate the *Nova Orbis Terrarum* (and later the Imperial screens), but also in their esoteric numerical significance. Conveying a message of global tolerance and Christian harmony was common to other works by other important cartographers mentioned in these pages, such as Ortelius as well as Braun and Hogenberg, who shared with Blaeu similar philosophical views in spite of the former two being Catholics and the latter being a Protestant.<sup>492</sup> In Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* the number thirty (the figures pairs in the decorative borders) should be considered in parallel with the number twenty-eight (the city-views) and the number ten (the kings on horseback decorating the top of the map) (**fig. 35**). Thirty are the days of the solar month. Twenty-eight are the days of the lunar month. Ten, like twenty-eight, is a number related to the orbit of the moon around the earth, as ten lunar months is the duration of a woman's pregnancy from conception to childbirth, and, at the same time, in the cabala ten stands for renewal, the end of a cycle and the beginning of a new one. In the case of the ten kings decorating the top of

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<sup>490</sup> SCHILDER 1979: 50; 2007: 461.

<sup>491</sup> COSGROVE 2003; NUTI 2003; MANGANI 1998.

<sup>492</sup> KEUNING 1973; STEVENSON 1914; MANGANI 1998.

Blaeu's and van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum*, this "new cycle" relates to the beginning of a new era marked by the acceptance of Christianity the world over. It can be argued, then, that the decorative borders of Blaeu's/van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* were as important as the world map they decorated. They offered what could be construed as an interpretative key to decode the message the cartographer wanted to convey. This emblematic element was characteristic of all medieval and early modern maps which, as the cartographic historian Denis Cosgrove notes, 'served as emblems – objects of contemplation through the assistance of which the individual could rise above the mundane in order to observe the theater of the world'.<sup>493</sup> In the same way, I would argue, the idea of the map as emblem was duly translated into *namban* cartographic screens. The *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* and the *Battle of Lepanto* screens are outstanding examples of this phenomenon.

In the borders decorating the sides of the world map of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens the figure pairs are forty-two instead of thirty (fig. 26, 27). Like in Blaeu's/van den Keere's maps, the number forty-two hides a precise esoteric meaning, in this case referring to the figure of Jesus Christ. In fact, in the Gospel of Matthew forty-two are the generations of the Genealogy of Jesus, forty-two names stretching from Abraham down to Jesus.<sup>494</sup> Moreover, in the cabala the number forty-two is related to the name of God and God's creation of the universe. The Christian significance of this number and the cabalistic one meet perfectly on the Imperial screen: on the one hand, forty-two links it (via Jesus) to Jesuit patronage, and, on the other hand, it stresses the concept of *harmonia mundi* (world harmony),<sup>495</sup> with the forty-two couples from different parts of the world being interpreted as different emanations of God on earth and, therefore, of the universality of the Christian message.

This brief exploration of the numerological significance of the decorative elements in Blaeu's and van den Keere's *Nova Orbis Terrarum*, leads us to the description of the elements depicted on the right-hand screen. Here we find, with some minor changes and a different arrangement, the same

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<sup>493</sup> COSGROVE 2003: 865-866.

<sup>494</sup> Matthew 1: 1-17.

<sup>495</sup> DAN 2006: 17.

decorative elements as those on Blaeu's/van den Keere's map. We have the twenty-eight cities, the map of Portugal with the east at the top, and the eight kings on horseback on the top. Let us proceed in this order, starting with the twenty-eight city views. The views of the twenty-eight cities reproduced on Willem Blaeu's and van den Keere's maps are taken from the first four volumes of Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, the famous city atlas published in six volumes between 1572 and 1617, a copy of which we have seen had been brought to Japan by the Tenshō enovys in 1590. The only map which was not taken from the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* is that of Mozambique, which comes from Van Linschoten's *Itinerario* of 1596. The city-views decorating Blaeu's world map are the work of Dutch engraver Claes Janszoon Visscher,<sup>496</sup> and disposed in two columns decorating the left and the right borders of the world map.<sup>497</sup> Van den Keere copied the same reproductions. As summarized in the scheme used by the historian of cartography Günter Schilder,<sup>498</sup> the city-views on the *Nova Orbis Terrarum* are:

Left:	Right:
Lisbon (view)	Seville (view)
Paris (map)	London (view)
Venice (map)	Genoa (map)
Cologne (view)	Frankfurt (map)
Gdansk (view)	Hamburg (view)
Bergen (view)	Stockholm (view)
Prague (view)	Moscow (map)
Constantinople or Istanbul (map)	Alexandria (map)
Goa (map)	Calcutta (view)

<sup>496</sup> SCHILDER 1981: 27; SCHUCKMAN and HOOP SCHEFFER 1991a: entry 203.

<sup>497</sup> This, however, was not the only map Visscher (1587-1652) contributed to decorate with city-views. Several others were commissioned by other publishers such as Willem Blaeu or published by Visscher's himself: a 1614 reproduction of a 1607 world map by Plancius (SHIRLEY 1987: entry 288); a world map on Mercator's projection of 1639 (SCHUCKMAN and HOOP SCHEFFER 1991a/b: entry/plate 209; SHIRLEY 1987: entry 350); a map of the seventeen Dutch and Flemish provinces of 1618 (SCHUCKMAN and HOOP SCHEFFER 1991a/b: entry/plate 211); a map of the seventeen Dutch and Flemish provinces as a lion produced between 1611 and 1621, with etchings probably by Pieter van de Keer (Kaerius) who reproduced the same city views in his 1617 atlas (ibid.: entry/plate 214-II); the borders of a 1608 map of the province of Holland published by Blaeu (ibid.: entry/plate 217); the borders of a 1610 map of the province of Holland published by Pieter van de Keere (ibid.: entry/plate 219); a map of the province of Holland ca. 1652-1657 (ibid. 1991a: entry 220); a 1633 map of the province of Holland as a lion (ibid.: entry/plate 221-III); a 1630 map of the province of Holland engraved by Abraham Goos with borders etched in Visscher's workshop (ibid.: entry/plate 222-III); other maps of various Dutch provinces (ibid.: entries/plates 232-III, 233, 233a, 236, 238-II, 241); maps of various German provinces (ibid.: entries/plates 249-IV, 250-II, 251-II, 252, 255, 256-II); Poland (ibid.: entry/plate 258-I, 258-IV); the Iberian peninsula (ibid.: entry/plate 260); the Italian peninsula (ibid.: entry/plate 261); Russia (ibid.: entry/plate 263-II); and even the North American New Belgium and New England (ibid.: entry/plate 264-II). See also CAMPBELL 1968.

<sup>498</sup> SCHILDER 1979: 37.

Hormuz (view)	Aden (view)
Bantam (view)	Ternate, then Gammalamma (view)
Mozambique (map, from van Linschoten) <sup>499</sup>	Cefala (view)
Mexico City (map)	Cuzco (view)

The city-views on the *Nova Orbis Terrarum*'s left and right borders are symmetrically arranged according to their regional proximity – Lisbon presented in opposition to Seville, Venice to Genoa, Mexico City to Cuzco, Gdansk to Hamburg, Hormuz to Aden, and so on. It is likely that on the *Nova Orbis Terrarum* this symmetrical arrangement on the left and right decorative borders according to the regional proximity of these cities was conceived to facilitate the memorization of their geographical location by association. I have already mentioned above how the geographical information (the cities' regional proximity) provided in Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* conveyed a more subtle esoteric meaning where the number of the cities decorating the map's borders referred to the days the moon takes to complete its orbit around the earth (twenty-eight). Like the moon orbiting around the earth, so beholders of this map were given the chance to observe the world from above, in one single glance. We find the same city-views and city maps represented on the Imperial Household Agency right-hand screen, albeit differently arranged and with the addition of a map of Portugal decorated with three insets (two framed legends devoid of text and the Coat of Arms of Portugal):

Kings on horseback							
Lisbon	Seville	Constantinople / Instambul	Rome	Venice	Mexico City	Map of Portugal	
Danzig	Hamburg	London	Hormuz	Amsterda m	Aden		
Bergen	Stockhol m	Genoa	Bantam	Cologne	Frankfur t	Pragu e	Goa
Alexandri a	Moscow	Antwerp	Mozambiqu e	Cuzco	Cefala	Calicu t	Pari s

As is visible from the scheme above, the cities are not arranged by regional proximity, although the city-view of Lisbon (top-left), Rome (centre top) and the map of Portugal (top-right) undoubtedly occupy significant places in the whole composition. The map of Portugal reproduced

<sup>499</sup> VAN LINSCHOTEN 1596.

on the right-hand screen of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* pair's side was taken from the 1570 edition of Ortelius's *Theatrum* (**fig. 28, 29**).<sup>500</sup> The legend on the top right corner of the map clearly states, the author of this map was the Portuguese cartographer Fernando Álvaro Seco, and the map was printed in 1561 and dedicated to Cardinal Camerlengo Guido Ascanio Sforza, at the time serving in Rome at the court of Pope Pius IV (elected 1559) and acting for the interests of the Spanish crown in the Vatican.<sup>501</sup> As I mentioned above in chapter two when discussing the use of maps as diplomatic gifts in early-modern Europe, this map was presented to Pope Pius IV in homage to his election. This map had been presented to the Pope in homage to his election. On the Imperial screen, this map should be interpreted in combination with the views of Lisbon and Rome, suggesting that the screen's patrons were the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries in Japan.

Concerning the kings on horseback, I have already mentioned how from the ten that they were on Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* they were reduced to eight on the Imperial screen. This reduction is simply due to the practical fact that the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* are a pair of eight-fold screens, so it was more convenient to include one king per panel. The esoteric reading of these kings on horseback, however, was not lost. The identities of the ten kings on the *Nova Orbis Terrarum* (**fig. 35**) are known thanks to the short Latin captions which are right below the portraits.<sup>502</sup> These captions help us to identify the portraits on the Imperial Household Agency screen (**fig. 16**). The kings portrayed on the *Nova Orbis Terrarum* were all contemporaries (at least those whose name is disclosed in the caption). From left to right we have: Henry IV, King of France (the only one having his coat of arms decorating his horse's harness); Philip II, King of Spain; the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II; the Ottoman Sultan; the King of Persia; the Grand Duke of Muscovy (Ivan IV?); the Grand Khan of the Tartars; the Chinese Emperor; the King of the Abyssinians (Priest John?); and finally King James VI of Scotland, and I of England and Ireland. The

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<sup>500</sup> ORTELIUS 1570/1964: plate 8.

<sup>501</sup> On Guido Ascanio Sforza (1518-1564). His name and qualities are also mentioned in ALBERTI 1551: f. 260. See also PETRELLA 2004: 211, n. 95, 506, n. 486.

<sup>502</sup> For an English translation of these captions see SCHILDER 1981: 26-27.

fact that the names of the non-European kings were not specified should come as no surprise, their figures serving the purpose of counter-balancing those of the European Christian kings. For instance, Philip II (**fig. 89**) and Rudolf II appear in opposition to the Ottoman Sultan and the King (Shah) of Persia. The actual identities of these two Muslim rulers do not really matter. In the case of the Ottoman Sultan, his presence was probably meant to represent the historical threat the Ottoman Empire posed to Christian Europe. And in the case of the Persian Shah, albeit a Muslim ruler as powerful as the Sultan, his portrait probably had the overriding purpose to pair with the Ottoman ruler, in symmetrical opposition to the two Hapsburg rulers, defenders of Christianity. In the same way, the Grand Duke of Muscovy opposes the Grand Khan of the nomadic Tartar tribes.<sup>503</sup> Considering that the kings portrayed in the *Nova Orbis Terrarum* were all contemporaries, it could well be that the Grand Duke of Muscovy is Ivan IV, better known as Ivan the Terrible and first Tsar of Russia, responsible for curtailing the incursions of the Tartars between 1555 and 1556.<sup>504</sup> The King of the Tartars is followed by the Chinese Emperor, who is said to wisely govern his kingdom, his subjects living 'in the endless repose of Peace'.<sup>505</sup> The same goes for the King of the Abyssinians 'who rule[s his] subjects in ancient peace'.<sup>506</sup> As mentioned above, it is possible that this King of the Abyssinians might be identified as the mythical Priest John. The medieval myth of a Christian king ruling over the territories stretching from Ethiopia to Libya is often mentioned in Marco Polo's *Il Milione*,<sup>507</sup> where he is also described as originally having ruled over the Tartars and as an enemy of Genghis Khan. King James VI of Scotland, and I of England and Ireland, the last king to the right, turns his shoulders to the King of the Abyssinians. This is because—the engraver of this map, Claus Janszoon Visscher, probably used a

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<sup>503</sup> The translations given in SCHILDER 1981: 26 exhort the Grand Duke of Muscovy to 'let not the Tartar frighten you with a dreadful appearance and abuse, or an unconquered poisonous sword' and 'to defend your broad kingdoms'; at the same time, the Gran Khan is warned of the possibility to be driven by the Muscovite the Anian Strait [the legendary North-West passage] or to the 'long walls [the Great wall] and the mountains adjacent to the clouds [the Himalayas] of the Chinese Kingdom'.

<sup>504</sup> Ivan IV, born 1530, Grand Duke of Muscovy 1533-1584, first Tsar of Russia 1547-1584.

<sup>505</sup> See translation in SCHILDER 1981: 26.

<sup>506</sup> See translation in SCHILDER 1981: 26.

<sup>507</sup> POLO 1975: chapters 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 73, 107, 108, 134.

plate formerly including both King Henry the IV and King James I, which he split at the moment of printing the map.<sup>508</sup>

As I have discussed above, the fact that the kings portrayed on the *Nova Orbis Terrarum* are ten conveys a precise Christian eschatological message, which was then co-opted by the patrons of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens. The eight kings portrayed on the panels on right-hand screen of the Imperial Household Agency pair are, from left to right: Rudolph II and the Ottoman Sultan (**fig. 23**); Philip II and Henry IV (**fig. 22**); the Grand Duke of Muscovy (possibly Ivan IV) and the Grand Khan of the Tartars (**fig. 24**); the King of the Abyssinians (the Priest John?) and the King of Persia (**fig. 25**). We see that the Chinese emperor and King James IV of Scotland and I of England and Ireland were not included among the kings on horseback represented on the Imperial screen. The exclusion of the Chinese emperor can be explained by the fact that there was no need to include a representation of the Chinese ruler in a gift meant for the Tokugawa Shogun; Japan was a tributary of China, and it might have been thought that its ruler would be offended by being represented on a par with foreign rulers. On the other hand, the exclusion of King James was probably due to the fact that at the time the screen was made English merchants had recently established a trading factory in Hirado (1613-1622), and were competing with the Portuguese to gain ground in Japan's foreign trade.<sup>509</sup> However, if the kings on horseback represented on the Imperial Household Agency right-hand screen are eight (one for each panel) instead of ten as in Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum*, their esoteric significance remained. Their representation, I would argue, should be understood in relation to the Battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571) where the Christian fleet of the Holy League (Venice, Spain, Genoa, and the Papal States) defeated the Ottoman fleet.

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<sup>508</sup> SCHILDER 1981: 27.

<sup>509</sup> FARRINGTON 1991; ADAMS 1916; COCKS 1883.



## Battles Old and New: the Universal Significance of Christian Victories Over Pagan Foes

The echoes of this Lepanto had arrived in Japan. A major contribution in this respect was that of the Tenshō envoys. As we have seen above, these Japanese converts to Christianity had been taught about this famous battle during their visit in Europe. We have seen how they attended the celebrations for the anniversary of the victory at Lepanto during their visit to Toledo in October 1584, and how paintings representing the battle had been pointed out to them on several occasions: in Madrid, during their visit to the Monastery of the Escorial (**fig. 49**). ; in the Vatican, in the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican (**fig. 53**), where Pope Gregory XIII insisted that the Battle of Lepanto be represented (**fig. 90**), and in the Sala Regia, where Pius V had commissioned Giorgio Vasari to paint a fresco celebrating the victory (**fig. 62**); and in Venice, in the Sala del Collegio (**fig. 64**). The four young Japanese envoys even reported on the Battle of Lepanto in their dialogues, collected in the *De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam*, published in Macao in 1590:

‘Nineteen years ago [1571] there was a great battle [...], and at that time King Philip of Spain and the Venetian Republic, together with the Pope, entered into a solemn alliance against the Saracens, the most dangerous enemies of the Christian name, and they provided two hundred and ten triremes. Commander of all this tremendous fleet, and this was a condition of the alliance itself, was the most famous John of Austria, brother of King Philip. His second-in-command was the most illustrious duke Marco Antonio Colonna, commander of the Papal triremes, and Sebastiano Veniero [*sic*, Venier], a most noble man, admiral of the Venetian fleet, who later, because of that famous battle was made doge of the Republic of Venice. The Saracens had much larger number of triremes, but with Christ as leader [...] the Christians won a victory worthy of eternal memory.’<sup>510</sup>

But the Battle of Lepanto was more than just a naval battle. In Christian Europe this victory was hailed as nothing less than a manifestation of God’s will. This prophetic reading of the battle of Lepanto found expression in several pamphlets and orations published before and after the event. In particular, before the Holy League had been called and organized with the diplomatic help and vision of Pope Pius V, it was hoped to unite the Christian rulers of Poland and Russia, and

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<sup>510</sup> From MASSARELLA 2013b: Colloquium XIV, “On the naval battle in which they usually engage in Europe”.

even the Safavid Shah of Persia against the Ottoman threat.<sup>511</sup> In the early 1600s, the prophetic scaffolding built around the events of Lepanto would eventually be translated into the Japanese context at the onset of the Tokugawa shoguns' persecution of Christianity.<sup>512</sup> The *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* and the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* discussed in these pages provide eloquent testimony to just this transfer of ideas. On the right-hand screen of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* pair, the eight kings on horseback, with Philip II and Rudolph II opposing the Muslim sovereigns, may well have been intended to reflect the same eschatological understanding and hopes about the Christian future of Japan, once the persecution was over. In this respect, the right-hand screen of the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* pair is the most direct reference to the hopes of a Christian victory in Japan.

On this screen, the battle scene covers all the six panels (**fig. 63**) with clashing Christian and Ottoman armies in the foreground, and two Spanish ships (recognizable by the flags with the cross of Burgundy) and two Ottoman galleys in background. The only architectural elements in the composition are the fortified tower on the sixth panel from the left, with the most prominent tower reminiscent of the Galata Tower in Istanbul (**fig. 93**), displaying a label reading "Turk", situated right below the entrance to the city. On the first panel from the left (**fig. 91**), in the foreground, we see a young ruler seated on a throne and dressed as a Roman emperor (the label above this figure reads "Roman King"), clearly leading the Christian army against the Turks bearing golden banners and mounting horses and elephants. The banners of the Christian army bear the acronym "SPQR".

The visual source of this screen – as discussed by the Japanese art historian Sakamoto – is the *Battle of Scipio versus Hannibal at Zama* engraved between 1550 and 1578 by the Dutch Cornelis Cort (**fig. 94**) after Giulio Romano.<sup>513</sup> In addition to Cort's engraving, the Japanese artists used Adriaen Collaert's prints of the *Twelve Roman Emperors* and, particularly, of *The Triumph of Caesar* (**fig. 95**), for the Roman king in the first panel, and the portraits of Nero (**fig. 96**), Otho (**fig.**

<sup>511</sup> BARBERO 2010: 129; PIEROZZI 1994; Ghibellini 2008: 22-23; Poumarède 2004: 92-94.

<sup>512</sup> ELISON 1973; PARAMORE 2008, 2009; CIESLIK 1974.

<sup>513</sup> VLAM 1976: 125.

97), and Domitian (fig. 98), as well as for some of the horses in the foreground.<sup>514</sup> *Caesar's Triumph* had also been used as model for the representation of Philip II on another screen, namely the *Western Kings* screen kept at the Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture, where the Spanish king can be recognized by the presence of his coat of arms at the feet of the throne (fig. 79).<sup>515</sup> Intriguingly, charging over the bridge we find the same portrait on horseback of Philip II from Visscher (fig. 89), which had also been used as a model for the portrait of the King of Spain on the right-hand screen of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight cities* pair (fig. 22). This element suggests that the two pairs of screens discussed in this chapter were made in the same workshop and by the same artists.

In her description of the *Battle of Lepanto* screen Vlam did not consider this detail, most probably because at the time she wrote her dissertation Blaeu's *Nova Orbis Terrarum* had still not been found and because, as I mentioned above, van den Keere's copy of 1609 of Blaeu's original has reached us stripped of its decorative borders. Nevertheless, Vlam does not make any connection to the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens – which she also discusses in her thesis – where this portrait on horseback of Philip II appears. In her interpretation of the painting on this screen Vlam argues that:

'[...] while the choice of the *Battle of Scipio vs. Hannibal at Zama* – using whatever prints was [sic] available at the time – it was nevertheless very significant. Not only did Scipio and Philip share the same nationality, but in their respective times both men were engaged in reconquest: Scipio was trying to wrest Spain from the Carthaginians, Philip and his forbearers from the Moors. [...] Scipio's battle with Hannibal is the equivalent and the prototype of Philip's battle with the Turks.'<sup>516</sup>

Vlam states that the battle depicted on this screen is intended as a representation of the Battle of Lepanto, opposing Sakamoto's objection to the possibility that this could be a representation of that famous battle – because the battle was fought at sea and not on land, as represented on the screen.<sup>517</sup> The concept and the significance in Christian history of the Battle of Lepanto – Vlam continues – were well known at the Jesuit school of painting where the artists at work on this

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<sup>514</sup> VLAM 1976: 125.

<sup>515</sup> VLAM 1976: 125.

<sup>516</sup> VLAM 1976: 126.

<sup>517</sup> VLAM 1976: 128.

screen had been taught about this event by means of an account of it in the dialogues collected in the *De Missione Legatorum*. The fact that the right-hand screen of the *Battle of Lepanto* pair is not a representation of sea-battle is due, and I agree on this with Vlam, to the possible lack of a “visual concept” of a sea-battle on the part of the artists painting it (representations of battles on land, on the other hand, were common in Japanese screen painting, (fig. 13): ‘hence the depiction of a land battle on the screen’, Vlam concludes, ‘with a significant amount of sea nearby to create a mental association with what the Japanese [artists] had learned about Lepanto.’<sup>518</sup> However, in her analysis Vlam does not consider another historical Roman battle which the Tenshō envoys had described in the *De Missione Legatorum* and had had the chance to see painted during their stay in Europe; I would argue that there can be little doubt that this pivotal event, the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, played a significant role in the creation of the *Battle of Lepanto* screen.

The Roman iconography of the Christian king and the bridge represented in the foreground of the *Battle of Lepanto* screen are suggestive reminders of the battle of the Milvian Bridge (28 October 312), in which Constantine fought Maxentius for the title of Roman emperor during the civil war of the Tetrarchy. As is commonly known, the battle was won by Constantine’s troops following his vision of the Cross and, with it, the words “in this sign you shall win” (ἐν τούτῳ νίκα); this led him to the final victory and to the fall of his opponent. In the late sixteenth-century the battle of Lepanto was explicitly associated with the battle of the Milvian Bridge, as the two battles were not only related to the defence of Christianity against paganism, but were also symbolic of the temporal power of the Pope. It comes as not surprise, then, that this association was represented in the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican. As a matter of fact, the history of Constantine, the progress of the Church under his rule, and the Battle of the Milvian Bridge are depicted on the four panels decorating the vault of the south entrance to the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche,<sup>519</sup> highlighting the victory of Christianity over paganism and the Pope’s authority as a

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<sup>518</sup> VLAM 1976: 128.

<sup>519</sup> The four panels on the vault represent Sylvester baptizing Constantine, Constantine founding the Basilica of St. Peter, Constantine holding the reins of Sylvester’s horse, and Constantine vision of the Cross before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge (MOFFIT WATTS 2005: 185).

secular ruler. Below the vault, two large depictions of the two most important victories against the Turks decorating the walls of the south entrance to the Galleria, showing the siege of Malta (1565) and the Battle of Lepanto (1571), further stress these notions. In Japan, the deeds of Constantine had certainly been discussed by the preaching missionaries (after all, Constantine must have served as incredibly effective focus in their sermons, as the archetypal pagan ruler who eventually turned to the Cross). For those Japanese who had learned to read Latin, the figure of Constantine and his role in the development of the Church as a temporal and spiritual institution could be studied in some of the books owned by the Jesuits, in particular in Marko Marulić's *Opere de Religiose Vivendi per Exempla* (Cologne 1531).<sup>520</sup> Additionally, the historical figure of Constantine is mentioned in the dialogues of the four Tenshō envoys as the one ruler 'so ardently zealous in spreading the Christian religion that he not only had splendid churches built, but also saw to it that Christianity was propagated throughout all the kingdoms subjected to him'.<sup>521</sup> And indeed, the Tenshō envoys contributed to the description and explanation of Constantine's figure and historical importance to the Christian community in Japan. Moreover, they were the only Japanese who had seen paintings and frescoes representing the battle of Lepanto during their visit in Europe. Three of them – Mancio Itō, Martin Hara, and Miguel Chijiwa – had been the only Japanese who visited the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche where the battles of Lepanto and of the Milvian Bridge were closely associated.<sup>522</sup> They most probably also visited the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican, with its large fresco of Constantine's *Victory at the Milvian Bridge* by Giulio Romano (**fig. 99**). Given these facts, there is a good chance that one of them, Martin Hara, who as we have seen above had been ordained a Jesuit in 1591 and was forced to leave Japan in 1614

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<sup>520</sup> On the arrival of a copy of this work in Japan see LÓPEZ-GAY 1959/1960: 374, KADIĆ 1961: 13.

<sup>521</sup> MASSARELLA 2013b: Colloquium VIII, "About the Secular Monarchy, and Various Dignities Belonging to It": 'When the emperors of old first came to know the truth of Christianity and adopted it, there was one named Constantine who above all others was celebrated, famed, and renowned. He was so ardently zealous in spreading the Christian religion that he not only had splendid churches built, saw to it that Christianity was propagated throughout all the kingdoms subjected to him, but he also decided to make manifest by his deeds the regard in which he held the authority and the majesty of the Supreme Pontiff. Accordingly he gladly assigned to him the whole city of Rome, together with many other provinces, and he moved away from Rome and established for himself a new Rome in Thrace.'

<sup>522</sup> On that occasion the fourth Tenshō emissary, Julião Nakaura was sick with fever. On this see FRÓIS 1942: 148, 183.

with the onset of the Tokugawa persecution of Christianity, assisted the painters in devising the pictorial composition of this screen.<sup>523</sup> Therefore, while Vlam argues that the Roman king in the first panel from the left represents Philip II, as ‘the contemporary successor to the Imperium Romanum’<sup>524</sup> (although he never held the title of Holy Roman Emperor), I would say that the screen of the *Battle of Lepanto* blends together the battle of Lepanto and that of the Milvian Bridge, where Philip II, charging on his horse on the bridge is represented as a new Constantine (the Roman king), and where the Turks are, more simply, emblematic for the persecution of Christianity in Japan.

## Conclusion to Chapter Four

The interpretation of the iconography of the *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* and the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screen is strictly related to the tightening measures of the Tokugawa regime against Christianity. The two pairs of screens discussed in this chapter conveyed a political message which could be deciphered in the light of the prophecies and the eschatology characterizing the contemporary understanding of the political and religious consequences of the Battle of Lepanto (7 October 1571), when the fleet of the Holy Christian League defeated that of Sultan Selim II. Indeed, the two pairs of screens were made around 1614, the year the Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada decreed the definitive expulsion of the missionaries and the banishment of all Christians from Japan. Such a clear reference to a battle considered above all a Christian victory over Islam, combined with the fact that no explicit Christian symbol is represented on either pair, makes these pairs of screens a true act of visual resistance to Hidetada’s anti-Christian ban. Like the Holy League defeating the Ottoman Empire and curtailing the spread of Islam in the Mediterranean, so it was hoped that the Christian monarchs of the world would unite to help the spread of Christendom in Japan, putting an end to the persecution of Christianity in that country. Besides the political meanings and the auspices for the continuation of the Catholic missions in

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<sup>523</sup> Mancio Itō died in Nagasaki in 1612, and Miguel Chijiwa apostatised in 1601, see ELISONAS 2007: 48.

<sup>524</sup> VLAM 1976: 126.

Japan they contain, these two pairs of screens provide eloquent testimony, on the one hand, to the fluid circulation of European political ideas and Christian eschatological beliefs in the early modern Iberian world, and, on the other hand, to the fragility of the politico-diplomatic relations between Iberian powers and Japan during the early Philippine period. In these two respects, the Tenshō embassy, culminating in the visits to Philip II and Pope Gregory XIII in Europe, and to Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Japan, stand out as successful attempts at cultural cross-fertilization which, as we have seen, found in cartographic folding screens one of its most striking and effective expressions.

## Conclusion

“What are you trying to say by studying these screens?” As I mentioned in the very first page of this dissertation, this is the usual question my interlocutors still ask me when I tell them about the topic of this research. I hope I have managed to demonstrate that *namban* cartographic screens are an advantageous point of observation to understand a much larger process of cross-cultural grafting characterizing early modern transoceanic encounters. Cartographic screens, I have argued, represented and created spaces for cultural and political negotiation, situated between culturally different ways of describing and making meanings of early modern European expansion. In particular, we have seen how Jesuit missionaries attempted to graft the European use of maps as object of contemplation and as statements of post-Tridentine ideology into cultivated Japanese practices (the use of screens as diplomatic gifts and the use of maps in rituals) which helped Japanese recipients to make sense of the meaning conveyed in these images.

The use of folding screens in traditional Japanese architecture was successfully co-opted by the Jesuit missionaries who, after adopting folding screens to decorate their residences and their churches, began using them as diplomatic gifts. In doing this, the organizer of the first Japanese embassy to Europe, Alessandro Valignano, exported to Europe an established practice in Japanese external (with China and Korea) and internal (among local daimyos) diplomatic relations. He even went as far as commissioning roman artists to produce screens in Japanese fashion decorated with western-style paintings to be donated to Japanese rulers. His wish was eventually realized only with the establishment of a painting workshop where Japanese painters were trained in western painting techniques. In addition to that, screens help us understand the grounds on which this encounter occurred and the interest Japanese took in European scientific cartographic and astronomical knowledge. As a matter of fact cartographic *namban* screens performed more than a mere didactic function, they were used to reconcile a religious, political, and descriptive/scientific understanding of the world much like mural map cycles in sixteenth-century Europe. It was so for the Azuchi screens presented to Pope Gregory XIII (signifying the evangelical



success of the Jesuit mission in Japan and the support of Japanese elites in this effort) and for the screens with a map of China presented to King Philip II (a reminder of the possibility that the King of Spain might be the prophetised Christian universal monarch). This emphasis on cartography underlined the itinerary of the Japanese emissaries in Europe between 1584 and 1586. The four young emissaries were almost forced to admire the contents of the royal library at the Escorial, and the striking beauty of the mural map cycles in the Sala del Mappamondo in the Farnese palace in Caprarola, the Guardaroba Vecchio in Florence, the Galleria delle Mappe Geografiche in Rome, and the Sala del Consiglio in Rome. As if this was not enough, the Tenshō envoys were presented with hitherto innovative atlases of Abraham Ortelius (the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*) and of Braun and Hogenberg (the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*) so that these works could be admired and studied in Japan. But all these cartographic works and mural cycles were not only a beautiful display of maps; they were especially important for their marked Christian eschatological and post-Tridentine political character. In this dissertation I have examined how these ideas were transferred into a Japanese context in all their authority in the moment in which the Jesuit enterprise in Japan was coming to an end due to the anti-Christian bans of 1587 (issued by Toyotomi Hideyoshi and then revoked following Valignano's embassy of 1591) and of 1614 (issued by Tokugawa Hidetada). Cartographic *namban* screens became then powerful examples of visual resistance on the part of the Japanese Christian community and, at the same time, a privileged channel for Japanese non-Christian recipients to make sense of European cartographic knowledge and European transoceanic expansion within the framework of their system of beliefs and visual episteme. This fact becomes clearer when we think that the artists employed in the making *namban* cartographic screens, even if trained in Jesuit workshops, were after all Japanese. *The Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities* screens and the *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens which I discussed in the last chapter of this dissertation could be said to be a direct expression of this view.

I am aware that some of the topics of discussed here are in need of further analysis. For instance, the use of the printing press by the Jesuits operating in Japan and the differences there were

between the European sources used in Japan and those used in other Jesuit missions in Asia, such as India and Persia; the confusion Christian and Buddhist iconography in China and Japan; or the degree of assimilation of western-style painting techniques by the Japanese artists trained in the Jesuit schools of painting. Not having been able to discuss more in depth these fascinating subjects are some of the limits of this dissertation; however, I am confident that other and more capable students will unveil unfamiliar perspectives and new documents which will eventually, and hopefully, tie in with the new aspects on cartographic *namban* screens discussed here. Worth mentioning here is also a recent line of research which looks at the development and dissemination of folding screens in Spanish America (particularly in today Mexico and Peru). On this topic I would single out the works of Sofia Sanabrais and Alberto Baena Zapatero.<sup>525</sup>

Finally, I hope that this research will be useful to other students interested in early modern historical studies to open new directions of research particularly in the history of cartography and construction of social and spatial identities, its relation to political theology and European expansion, and the intriguing connection between maps and art, as well as mathematics and art, in early modern global encounters. I trust that elsewhere some of the points argued in this dissertation will suggest new lines of investigation and fresher and unconventional interpretations.

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<sup>525</sup> SANABRAIS 2009; BAENA ZAPATERO 2010, 2012. See also SCHREFFLER 2007;

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## Appendix A

“Carta annua de lapão q[ue] escreveo o padre Gaspar Coelho de Nançàsaqui [sic], a quinze de Feuereiro do anno do [15]82. ao padre geral da Companhia de IESV [Claudio Acquaviva S.J.]”, in *CARTAS* 1997: I, ff. 39rv:

‘[...] **tendo Nobunânga feitos hu[n]s panos darmar** [sic, de armar] da maneira que os senhores lapões vsaõ, & são entre elles de grande estima, **os quaes chamão beòbus**, que auia hum anno, **que os mandara fazer pelo mais insigne pintor que auia en lapão** [i.e. Kanō Eitoku], e nelles mandou pintar esta cidade nova [Azuchi] com a sua Fortaleza tanto ao natural, que quis que discrepasse da verdade, pintando o sitio do lago, das casas, & de tudo o mais quam propriamente pudesse ser, gastando nisso muito tempo, por qualquer cosa que lhe parecia q[ue] em algu[m]a cousa discordava da verdade logo fazia borrar, & pintar de novo: finalmente sairão a seu gusto, sendo sua obra mui bem acabada, & perfeita, & como foraõ feitos estes panos com tanta diligencia por hu[m] pintor insigne, e a obra em si saio tal que contenttou [sic, contentou] a Nobunânga, e delle foi muito estimada, foi grande a fama que em toda a corte tinhão estes panos, o que acrescentava mais a estima delles era serem vistos de tão poucos por que por particular favor os mostrava o Nobunânga a algu[m] grande private seu. Chegou a fama ao Dairi [the Japanese Emperor] mandando pedir a Nobunânga q[ue] lhos [sic] mostrasse, e lhe contentarão tanto que fez saber a Nobunânga que os desejava, mas Nobunânga disimulou, e nunca lhos quis dar. Sabendo pois que o padre [Alessandro Valignano] se queria tornar, lhe mandou hum recado mui amoroso, & cortes, dizendo que [f.39v] elle viera de tam longe a velo, & naquella sua cidade se detivera muito tempo, & mostrara desejo de fazer muita conta da casa, que elle ali tinha dado aos padres de tudo lhe dava os agradecimentos, & juntamente desejava de lhe dar algu[m]a cousa que por lembrança, & sinal de amor que tinha aos padres levasse quando [sic, quando] se tornasse pera sua terra, & que cuidando nas peças q[ue] tinha de estima não achou cousa que lhe contentasse, porque todas as peças ricas vem de Europa, salvo **se o padre [Valignano] desejasse**

**de levar pintado o seu mesmo Collegio, de maneira que lhe mandou os seus beòbus pera que os vise, e que se lhe contentassem os deixasse ficar,** & não lhe contentando lhos tornasse a mandar. Ainda bem não começamos a abrilos pera os ver, quando chegou mui depressa hum fidalgo com outro recado de Nobunànga em que lhe mandava dizer que logo que lhe mandasse os seus beòbus se não lhe contentaraõ ao[s] padres [...]. **O padre [Valignano] lhe mandou dizer quanto lhe contentaraõ os beòbus** que Nobunánga ficou mui contente, dizendo que entenderia por ali o padre o muito amor que lhe tinha, pois aquellas peças erão tanto de seu gosto, que como o Dayrí lhas pedir, lhas negara, mas que folgava muito de as dar ao padre pera que em todo lapão se soubesse em quanta conte o elle tinha, & quanto o estimava, & assi fosse testemunho de quanto o fauorecera, porque ainda que lhe dera mil cruzados não fazia tanto, pois ouro e prata lhe não faltava, mas privarse de hu[m]a cousa tanto de seu gosto pola dar ao padre, que isto era o que se auia muito de estimar.’ Bold mine.

## Appendix B

ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 9.I.15-18v

P. Franc. Stephanoni, Meaco 2 Sept. 1581

*Al Car.<sup>mo</sup> Fratello*

*em xto Iacomo Borghesi*

*senese della comp.<sup>a</sup> de Iesus*

*nell in Loreto nella casa de Nostra Signora*

+

Jesus Maria

Paxx [sic]

Com [sic, con] la venuta del p[adr]e visitatore a queste parti di Giappone mi fu data una vostra la quale quanta alerezza e consolatione mi causaria il potrete voi medesimo immaginare recordandomi del grande amore com ę che nel senhor [sic] ci amavamo como era tambem [sic] radicado como indio per la grande distantia como l'uno de latro [sic, l'altro] ci siamo allontanati nò solo nò e niente deminuito ma tanto più cresciuto [sic, cresciuto] quanto l'anni della religione piu il rechore [?] e quanto piu ingolfati nel servisio del medesimo officio quale sto certo che perseverando anche noi in quello havera crescere [sic, crescere] ogni volta piu e de poi di spolhati [sic, spogliati] de questa mortalita e avvicinati alla gloria onde per sempre ci haveremo de revedere, senza piu nisuna divisione sera quivi questo amore tanto piu perfetto quanto liberati di queste miserie di questa vita e piu uniti saremo con Iddio Benedetto; la vostra littera [sic] che mi fu data era delli 13 e ricevuta nel 81 per che il fratello oliverio mella volse dare di sua mano e perche il p[adr]e visitatore se deteve visitando tutte parte della india nò fu possibile poter venir qua piu presto; ma com la gratia de Iddio fu venuto fu con tanta consolatione nostra como nò e facile a poterlo scrivere perche anchor che la fama che tutti lhanni [sic, gli anni] ci veniva della India era molto grande delle parti che Iddio Benedetto teneva communicate al p[adr]e visitatore [Alessandro Valignano] di regere e governare questa gente stranera con tanta prudensia e modo per il che esperando anche noi di esser molto consolati; quando il vedessimo supero quella que noi speravamo e assi li padri e fratelli como anche li cristiani lapponi restano admirati del grande cognoscimento ę che Iddio benedetto li tiene dato em [sic, in] tutte le cose e disponer in tutte le cose com tanta suavita e modo senza lasciar niente adietro; li padri della india restarono in tanto

modo sodisfatti & che il padre provinciale e altri gustando della sua communicatione e vedendo il suo modo di procedere dicavano & che questo p[adr]e [f. 15v] aveva [...illegible...] fato [...illegible...] ascenso [...illegible...] in Italia senza esser cognosciuto [sic, conosciuto] e quando qua fu mandato di roma nò sapevano tanto quanto era la sua ecclensia; e altro diceva che come la elettione del p[adr] nostro p[adr]e Generale [Mercurian] fu con spetiale gratia del spirito santo con tanta inclinatio a queste parti per le ajudare [sic], che anche il nostro p[adr]e Generale mandar questo padre qua che fu cosa miracolosa de Iddio; e la causa per che in tutto acerta e li succede bene tutto e per que in tutte le cose piccole e grandi prima & che facia communica com como lui il disse a hum [sic] padre per che li dessi credito in alcuni remedij che li dava in cose di spirito. venuto a questo Iappone nelle parti maretime dove arriva la nave ha venuto molta cristianita fece quivi detensa alquni [sic, alcuni] mesi dove se fece molto servitio a Iddio con molta conversione che se fece de lentilita alla nostra santa fede e molti tempij [sic] de Idoli se fecero in chiesa [sic] e se ordenò un seminario di molti giovani che nò studiano in altra cosa sinò per aquestar la perfittione [sic] e in lettere per che sabino [sic, sappiano] di essere instrumenti per se haver se convertere a questa lentilita [sic, gentilità, pagans] tutta alla nostra santa fede; de poi venne al regno di Bungo dove ordenò molto bene quella cristianita e se battezarono in una volta novecento persone, e in un altro battesimo che si fece cinquecento e si ordino quivi una casa de probatione dove gia stanno bom [sic] numero de fratelli portugesi e Giapponi e questo fu cosa di molta inportantia [sic, importanza] perche li Giapponi che si ricevero nella Comp[agni]a aquistino mo[l]to spirito gia[c]che per la conversione sonno [sic, sono] le nostre mani e piedi, e anche per noi che per ogni volta seamo piu caldi nel amor de Iddio; qui se battizo hum homo molto principale qual fu subito pieno di tanta gratia che de poi de battizado dette passanti di ducento squdi [sic, scudi] per si conprar un campo per far la chiesa molto piu che havendo chi qui dava il campo lui volse fare il resto di edificar una chiesa molto bella tutta a sua qusta [sic, costo]; questo Re Fran[cis]co como haverete inteso per altre lettere de poi di fatto cristiano su assai bene acompagnato de molte trebulationi e perdeta delli suoi regni ma in pero la fede nò solo nò fu di novo cristiano piu tanto forte como di un cristiano molto [...illegible...] e santo il p[adr]e visitador [sic] venne di poi a questo Meaco e per essere il camino pieno di guerre e sapendosi & che aveva di passar li inimici si de bungo como de Nobunaga fecero tal aparechio como Iddio benedetto não [sic] permise che dessi nelle sue [...illegible...] per l'impedimento che aveva di essere molto grande per tanto servitio de Idio como le esperava ma con tutto li dettero caccia [sic, caccia] per mare e per un quarto di hora che arrivarono al porto prima fu la salvatione si li detti padri como de [f. 16] alcune bone cose che il p[adr]e portava per dar di presente al Nobunaga e altri signori e de hornamenti con che se havevano remediare ~~tutte le~~ le chiese [sic, chiese] de queste parti del Meaco il che fu grande ajuda [sic] de Idio Benedetto per che li diano tutti molti lavori e gratie. e

desembarcato il p[adr]e in questo porto li cristiani di questa citta che se chiama Sequai [Sakai] achor que sonno pochi ne mi pare che arrevaranno a cinquanta tra piccoli e grandi con tutto di loro tanto bene quivi apresso ~~cinque~~ -5- milha ha un loco che si chiama yavo onde haverà cinquecento cristiani e il signor di quelli e uno delli boni cristiani & che teniamo e e e [sic] uno delli più valenti capitani che tieni il Nobunaga; e tera 10 homini di cavallo tutti suoi vassalli cristiani; questo signore (che se chiama semeone) como seppe & che il p[adr]e visitatore era arrivato al Saquai li fu al incontro con la sua lente di cavallo; altra fortelessa che se chiama langa dove sonno passanti de mille cristiani il signor de quelli como seppe & che il p[adr]e era arrivato al Saquai li fu al incontro [sic] con tutta la lente [sic, gente] ~~que~~ che teneva di cavallo, altra fortelessa che se chiama vocayama che sta de sanga mezo milho [sic] e del saquai nove e ~~qui~~ li cristiani di quella saranno doi milia [sic] il signor che perfetto cristiano fu al incontro del p[adr]e visitatore con tutta la sua lente di cavallo altra fortelessa che se chiama tacaçquui dove havea passanti di quindici milia cristiani, e il capitano [sic] di quelli teneva cento homini di cavallo, e lui com li suoi furono al incontro al padre, e questo signore che si chiama Gusto innanzi che si incontrassi col padre li mando ~~li mando~~ di presente un cavallo di molto prezzo; il p[adr]e visitador venendo dal sacai e pressandosi al primo loco de cristiani che si chiama yavo e nò havendo de entrar in quello tutti homini e donne grandi e piccoli li sallirono al camino andandosi hum poco al'incontro qui fu il p[adr]e sofrzato a discavalcare et satisfare a alcune cerimonie di Giappone e gustar di una breve collatione che li tenevano aparecchiata e apressandosi a l'altra [sic] fortelessa si sanga fecero il medesimo e né l'altra & che si chiama vocayama & che sta sul camino e havendo quella notte di riposar in quella tutti uscirono al incontro piccoli e grandi, che era tanta la alegreza de tutti che nò si po dire e qui arrivarono li cristiani de questo meaco che furono al'incontro [...]nove milha qui il p[adr]e riposato la notte e ditto messa de poi di una breve collatione si parti per la fortalleza [sic] di cacaçquui [sic] che stava -3 o -4- melha lontano dove quelli cristiani receverono al p[adr]e con tanta festa e alegreza & come podra imaginare e riposato in una bella casa che dalla medesima chiesa che poco avanti haveva finita il p[adr]e organtino tanto al suo volere quanto al signore di quella li haveva dati q che spendassi tutto quanto volessia, per il che la fece tanto bella e grande che il p[adr]e visitatore se ralegro molto ~~dalla~~ vederla estar in quella, e questo como era [f. 16v] nella settimana santa si cominciava a aparechiare per li offitij ~~della settimana~~ che se havevano di fare il melhor che si potessi per che facevano di concorrer quivi tutta la cristianita; dove venettero anche li cristiani del regno di Gifo [sic, Gifu] e Voari & che sonno 4 giornate di camino e como li pareva a <sup>tutti</sup> che nò haveva piu sinò quello che poteva fare un patre com un fratello como per inseno a questo tempo tenevano visto vedendo tutti la perfettione de tali offitij restarono admerati [sic] e con tanta consolatione che non sapevano che dire e se prima erano tanto ferventi nel amor de Iddio e opravano le cose della sua salvatione <sup>con tanta</sup> avidita e gusto com veder la

novita di tanto belle cerimonie per laudar Iddio se animarono tanto piu quanto se vide in loro refflorirone fervore e gusto de spirito; e uni decevano che si il Nobunaga questo potessi vedere e altri signori lentili q che abasterebe per se convertire alla nostra sante fede senza piu prediche del catechismo; altri che erano venuti di un regno molto lontano q che si chiama yamaguchi dove haverà milli cristiani (tutti fatti per doi secolari cristiani che predicano) dicevano che se questo potessero vedere nel suo regno abastava per tutti si convertere, e quando videro celebrar la pasqua con messa di -3- com tanto belli hornamenti como il p[adr]e visitatore haveva portato e com organi e canto restarono tanto piu satisfatti e contenti dando tutti gratie e lovari a Iddio Benedetto. in questo accadde che venne il Nobunaga della sua fortallessa a questo meaco, e pare che sapendo nove del padre mando un suo molto prevato [*sic*, privato] a nostra casa com dire q che intendeva che era venuto um padre de statura molto alto che il vedessi per li dar nove, selli respuse che questo era il nostro superior che era venuto delli regni della cristianita e che anche stava em tacaçququi [*sic*, Takatzuki] che venendo l'andava a visitare; e fu subeto avesato il p[adr]e e venne quel medesimo giorno alla notte e il sequente fu il p[adr]e a visitarlo com um presente che della cina haveva portato per il medesimo effetto, e fu il p[adr]e del Nobunaga molto ben ricevuto mostrandoli amore e parlandoli molte cose, e stando il p[adr]e magro e pallido mostava [*sic*, mostrava] ter compassione di lui, e detteli di presente dui como oche molto grandi che li havevano venuto di presente di altri regni dicendo che se facessi cucinare un di quelli passari e si governassi molto bene; con qual presente mosto [*sic*, mostrò] molto amore di che li gentili restarono admirati e li cristiani molto contenti de tanto favore che il nobunaga teneva fatto, e per che gustassero anche de quelli mando il p[adr]e che alli signori cristiani a ognuno dessiro li suo, li gentili de questo Meaco como homini che vincent in tenebris e teneno odio alla luce promulgarono per il meaco e fora di quello che il Nobunaga haveva fatto poca acolhantia [*sic*, accoglienza] al padre perche intendette che era venuto a questi Giappone tanquam explorator; e non manco chi dicessi anche al medesimo Nobunaga che in tutti li regni onde arrivavano che erano causa della perturbatione di quelli; a chi il Nobunaga respuse dicendo tacete perche sete mali advocati io tengo anche animo di conquistare per insino alla india; in questo medesimo tempo ordino il Nobunaga in questo Meaco una festa de cavalli, e fu cosa che per insino adesso no si haveva fatto, in che entrarono tutti li nobili que serveno al Nobunaga afora di questi nò piu che li signori di fortalleze [*sic*, fortezze] e regni quali como sonno tutti homini riqui [f. 17] nisuno perdonava a dinari ma ognuno ~~hem~~ se afatigàva a essere melhor che laltro [*sic*, l'altro] e fu il Nobunaga have<sup>r</sup>si de mettere li ochi piu in si che in altro per il che a no nò manifestava a laltro il suo modo di vestito che haveva fatto per che l'uno nò robassi l'inventione a latro e per che ognuno causassi admiratione a latro, de modo q[ue] che tutti erano coperti di oro argento per insino alle staffe de cavalli, como ognuno era differente nel vestito cussi [*sic*, così] anche lo era in

quello e che havevano di metter nella testa, como era capello [*sic*, cappello] ou altra cosa il che volendo il Nobunaga il giorno innanzi vedere desse a hum signor cristiano che li mostrassi e laudandocello ricevette quello per grande honore como invero lo era, e li signori cristiani che in questo intrarono fu il signor di cacaçquui che si chiama Giusto e il signor de yavo che si chiama semeone e il signor de sanga che si chiama mansio e il signor de vocayama che si chiama Joanne e il signor di yobaxingatta che si chiama paolo, e un suo felholo [*sic*, figliolo] che e Gentilhomo del Nobunaga e altro che si chiama silvestro qual anchor que nò tenga fortallessa e molto caro al Nobunaga e serve al principe, e anche altro e nò mi ricordo il nomw homo di molta entrata in cavalli, e la conta ~~delli cavalli~~ di questi digono e che arrivavano a milli; fu conselhato il p[adr]e visitatore che agraderebe al Nobunaga che fusse a veder la festa per che f li pareva che faceva stima delle sue cose; ~~e perche~~ e per il frutto che desideriamo e tanto necessaria la gratia del Nobunaga fu il p[adr]e sforzato a andar a vedere de hum loco prehemimente e il Nobunaga quasi apostata ~~quiva~~ qui apresso curreva col cavallo piu che li altri e una sedia di velluto carmesino che il p[adr]e li haveva dato de presente quivi nel mezo della festa ~~la fece~~ la fece portare per .4. homini avanti de si nella quale discavalcando si assise; e il giorno sequente fu il padre organtino a sua casa e il Nobunaga mostro ralegrarse molto del p[adr]e ter visto demandando se haveva bem visto e si li haveva parso bene. di poi di questo il Nobunaga se torno alla sua fortalleza che chiama Anzuchi; e il p[adr]e visitatore co nò laxando [*sic*, lasciando] in questo meaco piu che un p[adr]e e fratelli con tutti li piu si fu adietro ~~e si~~ e avvicinando a anzuchi se ralegro molto di una bella casa che quivi teneva fatta il p[adr]e organtino quale teneva dai so prati e tanto capace e grande quanto anche con quelle se desiderava si compiacesse il Nobunaga per quello che ogni notte desideriamo de lui e si ralegro molto anche il p[adr]e [visitatore] di vedere il sitio della casa e il meliore che potevano tenere perche steano apresso della fortallessa e avanti de lhochi [*sic*, gli occhi] del Nobunaga e di fatta nobileza e de laltra parte sta tutta la citta, e il campo che tenemo per fare la chiesa avanti della casa che sta fatta e molto spasioso e grande e assi la casa como quello sta cercato di muro assai alto e anchor che sea a pietra seca tuttavia per essere le pietre molto grosse e il muro molto largo nò solo não [*sic*] pare disconforme ma molto bella como qua il sapeno fare; il p[adr]e di poi de haver riposato qui alcuni pochi di giorni il Nobunaga mando doi homini molto principali perche salessimo alla fortalleza , e dissero, senza restar nisuno; e uscissimo di casa .6. padri e .6. fratelli e .3. portugesi e .3. giapponi e altri .4. giovani della casa che predicano e tutti del seminario che sarebero de .20. e con quese [*sic*, queste] tanta gente a far vista de noi per la strada che bem seppe il Nobunaga quando ci mando quelli homini per che ci defendessiro e aprissiro [f. 17v] il camino, salliti alla fortalleza ci fece mostrare alcuna parte della sua casa e apressandosi si fece a una finestra per ter melhor vista di noi e de quivi ci parlo molte parole con molta alegreza e disse a quelli che ci guidavano che decevano della belleza della sua

casa; e dixendendo [sic, discendendo] ci chiamo déntro [sic] dove anche con molta alegrezza ci parlo molte cose e di novo ci mando a mostrar alcuni altri loci della sua casa e tornati anche altra volta avanti de lui de novo torno a parlare altre cose e contandoci disse che mancava uno; e dicendoli che era padre luis frois & che era tornato al meaco, e dandoci una caxa [sic, cassa] grande de f fici sechi che li erano venuti a lui di presente del regno di voari ci tornassimo com si admirar tuttu li gentili del grande amor che ci teneva mostrato, e tornando stavano le strade tutte piene di gente che haveva concorso per a far vista di noie quelli signori che ci havevano penati [?] ci tornaro accompanhar per insino a casa facendo sempre che ci aprissero il camino e tornando il p[adr]e Luis Frois del Meaco per che era suo cognosciuto antico il fu anche a visitare convitandolo li mostro anche molto amore e mettendoli la mano nella testa li desse chi il era il p[adr]e visitatore il p[adr]e luis frois dicendoli del p[adr]e [visitatore] molte cose bone il Nobunaga si ralegro molto e disse che li decessi che facessi molto frutto nella sua terne [?]. e il p[adr]e Luis Frois demandandoli licentia per andar al regno che si chiama yechizen li respuse se andate ð non per far frutto mi pare molto bene ma si e per tornar di subito nò so che li dica; e andando la per ordine del padre visitatore per visitare un signor cristiano che qui sta desterrato in alcuni giorni che fece quivi dimora si battezarano .50. persone; e de poi de questo si ocupo il p[adr]e visitare in ordinare le cose del seminario e finiti altri negotij se torno al meaco per visitare tutte le fortalleze e loqui [sic, lochi] de cristiani e per che le chiese sonno molto bone grandi e capaci in ognuna di quelle conforme alle feste che ocorrerono di poi della Ascensione li celebro una messa solenne la quale anche loro la solennizarão [sic] tanto con festa e alegrezza quanto sepo [sic, si può] dire, e in sanga se fece ~~ang~~ anche um battismo di .90. anime e in yavo altro di altre tante; e in vocayama anchor che stava altro aparechiato de molto piu numero per inconveniente che nebe [?] nò nò se possette finire con quelli in facaççuqui dove se fece la festa di corpus cristi e anchor che com la medesima solennita che nelli altri lochi tutta via como la gente quivi era molta e convenendo anche tutta la nobilita delle altre fortallesse fu cosa molto bella e la processione che se fece fu che tutti restarono atoniti si battizarono qui passanti de doi milia anime e se fece un convito generale a tutti molto splendido e grande ~~nell~~ il p[adr]e de poi de visitati anche molti <sup>altri</sup> lochi di cristiani si sonno al meaco e de poi a Anzuchi dove arrivando il Nobunaga lhi [sic, gli] mando a dire che pensando che li haverebe ~~dare che li piacerebe~~ di dare tornandosi alla india nò potendo di ricevere argento ne oro nò teneva cosa che piu cara li fusse che la sua fortallessa e cilla [sic, ce la] pintata in biobos se si ralegrava con quilli che celli [sic, ce li] manderebe e dandoli il p[adr]e molte gratie, e mandandocelli li mando a dire & che se nò li contentassiro che li tornassi a mandare; e vendoli <sup>il p[adr]e</sup> che quello era cosa per molto contentar e darli infinite gratie se per il grande amòr che in dar quello mostrava como per la cosa esser molto rica [f. 18] torno il Nobunaga a mandar altra imbasciata con dire che in che si ralegrava con quelli che lui anche si ralegrava molto, in



questo tempo li cristiani del regno che se chiama il gifo [Gifu] che <sup>e</sup> dove reside il principe mandarono a pregar al p[adr]e visitatore con grande instantia che li volessi mandare hum padre in tanto tempo haveva che in quelle parti nò li tenevano il che desiderando anche il principe como per il tempo passato dette a intendere, il p[adr]e del seminario a mandar la el p[adr]e Gregorio con il fratello paolo giappone molto bono predecatore e pieno di molto spirito <sup>quale</sup> e havendosi di venire a despedir il p[adr]e ¶ che se voleva tornar nò possette la far tanto como si desiderava e e in quel poco de tempo che quivi si deteve se battizzarino di .60. o .70. persone e il principe e li cristiani tutti pregarono che volessi de poi tornar altra volta <sup>e</sup> il p[adr]e visitator como ~~en sta com~~ sta col pensiero nella india e altri lochi si sua obligatione in pendo [?] la necessita/~~tate~~ de tutti per procedere conforme alla necessit [sic, necessità] si determino tornarsi e demandando licensia al Nobunaga de poi che il fece sallir altra volta alla fortalleza mostrandolhe alcuna parte del suo palazzo e casa li disse che se tornassi in bona ora e de quivi se venne a questo meaco e consolatisi de novo ci abracio [sic, abbracciò] e dette la sua benedittione e se parti per tacaçququi e de quivi al sacai dove se ha de imbarcare e dove intendiamo li dettero tante belle cose e de prezo per portar con seco a [...illegibile...] che li venne scrupulo de pelharli [sic, pigliarli, prenderli] tanto quanto li offrivano, e vi deco de certo che tutti padri e fratelli e cristiani restiamo con tanto sentimento della edificazione grande che ci tiene dato della sua grande perfetione e amore e carita, che possiamo dire che idio Benedetto ci tiene visitati nò conforme a quello che io meritava per li miei peccati ma conforme alla sua grande misericordia i [sic, e] bonta con questo santo padre che per tutti fu como un angelo di Idio. Nò scrivo piu se nò che vi gardiate [sic, guardiate] di nò dimenticarvi de mi nelle vostre sante oratione e sacrificij per che mi pare che ia serete sacerdote per il che di qua col spirito vi baso la sacrata mano; e desidero molto di essere racomandato a tutti li padri e fratelli del collegio ou casa dove starete e si sera nella casa di Nostra Signora de loreto essendo ¶ voi sacerdote vi prego per carita me dite una messa nella nella [sic] sua santa casa in gratia cum actione per che lei qua mi mando e in tutti li miei fastidij mi tiene agiutato como vera madre di misericordia ed imenso amore, e nò stando voi se terete <sup>la</sup> algum p[adr]e o fratello cognosciuto vi prego che il pregate per questo, e se il fratello Ioan Paolo senese ¶ che era fatto ministro del nostro tempo sera vivo potendo darmelli molte racomandation sie per l'amor de Idio como anche a tutti lhaltri [sic, gli altri] che per esser <sup>io</sup> miserabile nò mi ricordo delli nomi nò scrivo piu se nò che a rivederci nel paradiso. la veronica o immagine di rame e la corona bene=/deta e grani benedetti ¶ che me havete mandati mi furono grandissimi expe[c]to ut ret[ri]butio tua fiat in mille millibus nel paradiso. il p[adr]e organtino sta bene e e superiore in queste parti del meaco. di questo meaco il .2. di settenbre 1581

Servo suo in cristo

João Fran[ces]co Stephanoni

# Glossary

Byōbu (屏風): folding screens.

Cha-no-yu (茶の湯): tea ceremony.

Chudan (中段): middle section in a *shoin*-style room.

Daimyō (大名): feudal lords, vassals of the Shogun.

Doppuku (独幅): single painted hanging scroll.

Fusuma (襖): opaque sliding screen made of frames covered with thick paper. Also used as a painting support.

Gampi (雁皮): see *gampishi*.

Gampishi (雁皮紙): handmade paper made from mulberry tree (*diplomorpha sikokiana*), ideal painting support, preferred to other kind of paper for its damp-resistant qualities.

Gedan (下段): lowest level in a typical *shoin*-style room reserved to low ranking retainers.

Genkan (玄関): entry porch leading in *shoin*-style architecture.

Happukutsui (八幅対): set of eight painting handing scrolls.

Hinoki (檜): Type of cypress (*chamaecyparis obtusa*) used in traditional Japanese architecture.

Jodan (上段): highest section of a typical *shoin*-style room, where the person with the highest rank used to sit.

Jūnifukutsui (十二幅対): set of twelve hanging scrolls, usually representing the twelve months.

Katagi (形木): Japanese etiquette.

Kozō (楮): strong and translucent paper made out of a type of mulberry native of Japan (*broussonetia kajinoki*) used to make *shoji*-screens.

Omote (表): reception hall of a *shoin* building where social activities took place.

Rakachū rakugai-zu (洛中洛外図): ‘*Scenes in and around Kyoto*’, genre of screen paintings capturing the early capital of Kyoto from a bird’s-eye-view (see **fig. 12**). Famous sites, festivals and activities within the capital *rakuchuu* 洛中 and its surroundings *rakugai* 洛外 are presented in

combination with a detailed interest in figures and buildings. Most versions of the theme were painted between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in the format of six-panel folding screens.

Roppukutsui (六幅対): set of six hanging scrolls, often used to cover the panels of folding screens.

Sanpukutsu (三幅対): set of three hanging scrolls.

Shinden-zukuri (寝殿造): architectural style in fashion among Japanese elites during the Heian period (794-1185). It was characterized by rigid architectural symmetry of the buildings composing *shinden* palaces.

Shita-e (下絵): preparatory sketch made before undertaking an actual painting. It was often made using erasable charcoal, which was then transferred to the final painted surface by placing the paper or silk over it to trace the sketched image. For folding screens a kind of carbon paper (*nenshi* 念紙) was used to transfer the design.

Shōhekiga (障壁画): traditionally referring to painting on screens (on *byōbu* as well as on *fusuma*).

Shoin-zukuri (書院造): residential architectural style in fashion among Japanese elites of the Momoyama period (1573-1602).

Shōji (障子): sliding screen used to divide the interior of a building into separate rooms. It was not used as a painting support.

Soufuku (双幅): a pair of painted hanging scrolls, a diptych.

Sumi-e (墨絵): ink painting on paper or silk.

Tsuitate (衝立): single panel screen.

Yonpukutsui (四幅対): set of four painted hanging scrolls, usually representing the four seasons.

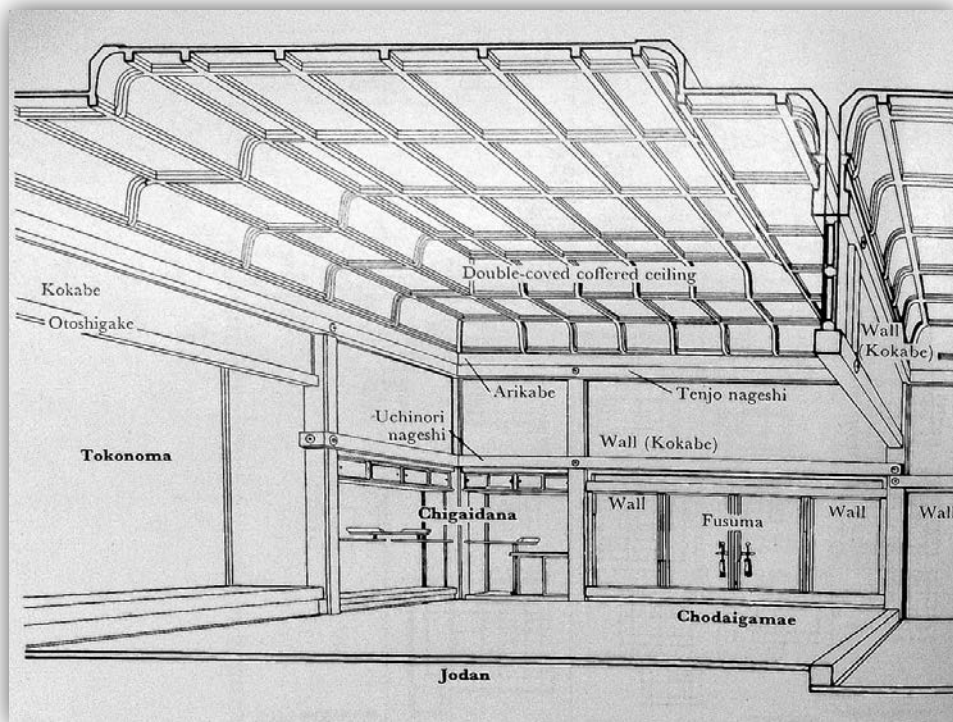
Zashiki (座敷): generic term for room covered with straw mats (*tatami* 畳).

## Illustrations

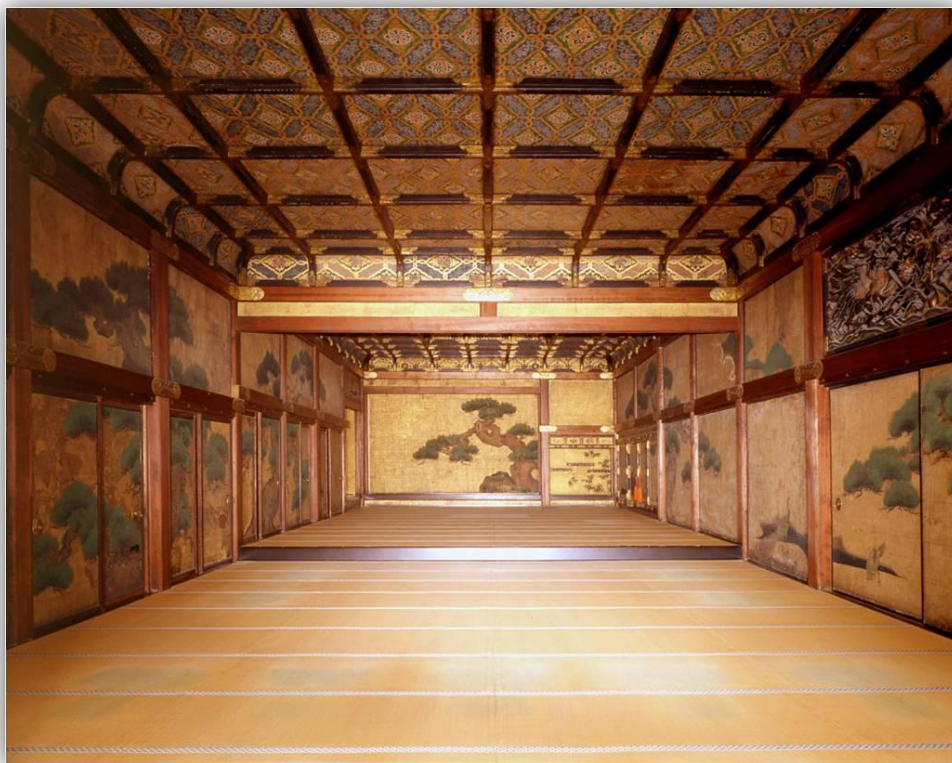


**Figure 1** - Portrait of Alessandro Valignano, engraving, ca. 1600. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

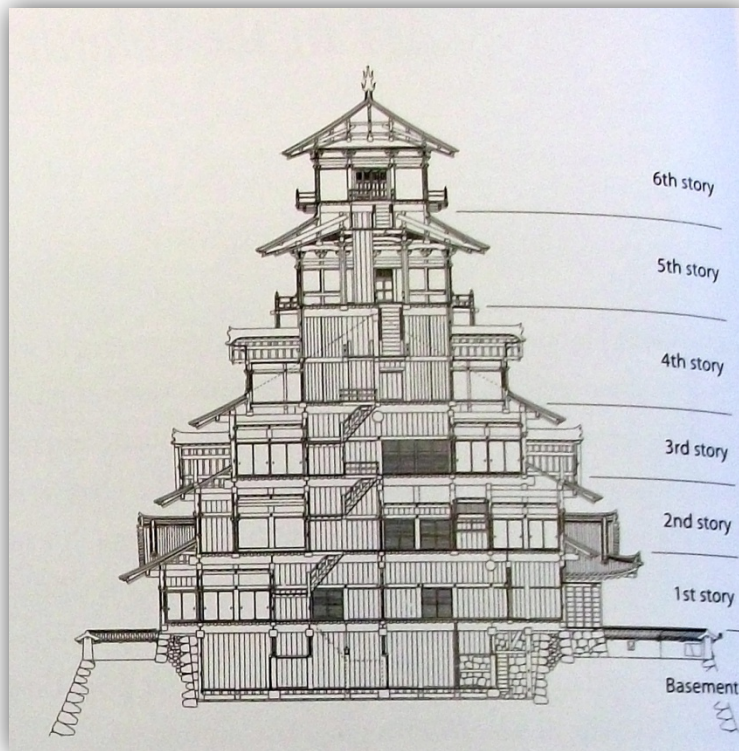




**Figure 2** – Jōdan section of the ohiroma hall in Hommaru Compound of Edo castle, according to the reconstruction of 1860. Source: from HIRAI 1973.



**Figure 3** – Unknown artist, Great Audience Hall, Nijō Castle, Kyōto, 1626. Source: Wikimedia Commons.



**Figure 4** – Reconstruction of the *tenshu* of Azuchi Castle by NAITŌ 1976. Source: MURASE 2004.



**Figure 5** – Kanō Eitoku, *Landscape with Flowers and Birds*, 1566, Daitoku-ji temple, Kyōto. Source: ARTstor Collection.





**Figure 6** – Kano school, *Birds and Flowers of the Four Seasons*, pair of six-fold screens, colour on gold leafed paper, each screen (106.7 x 349.9 cm), Momoyama period (1573-1615), early 17<sup>th</sup> century. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Source: Wikimedia Commons.



**Figure 7** – Unknown artist, detail from a pair of six-fold *namban* screens, colour and gold on paper, 147.6 x 355.8 cm each, early 17<sup>th</sup> century, private collection. Source: SAKAMOTO 2008: no. 20.



**Figure 8** - *Salvator Mundi*, detail of figure 10.





**Figure 9** – *Salvator Mundi*, detail of figure 10.



**Figure 10** – Kanō Naizen, pair of six-fold *namban* screens, colour on gold-leaf paper, 155.5 x 364.5 cm each, Kober City Museum, after 1593 and before 1614. Source: SAKAMOTO 2008: no. 3.





**Figure 11** – Furuyama Moromasa, *Shin Yoshiwara*, woodprint, 1740's. Source: ARTstor Collection.



**Figure 12** – Kanō Eitoku, *Rakuchu Rakugai zu*, Useugi version, pair of six-fold screens, ink, colour, and gold-leaf on paper, 160.5 x 364.5cm (each), ca. 1565. Yonezawa, Yonezawa City Useugi Museum. Source: Wikimedia Commons.





**Figure 13** – Unknown artist, *Nagashino Kassenzu Byōbu* (screen showing the Battle of Nagashino), ink and colour on paper, 1575. Nagoya, Tokugawa Art Museum. Source: Wikimedia Commons.



**Figure 14** – Detail of fig. 13.



**Figure 15** – The first Japanese embassy to Europe, woodblock print by Michael Manger, Augsburg, 1586. Top, from left to right: Julião Nakaura, Father Mesquita, Mancio Ito. Bottom, from left to right: Martinão Hara, Miguel Chijiwa. Source: Wikimedia Commons.





**Figure 16** – Unknown artist(s), *Map of the World and Twenty-Eight Cities*, pair of eight-fold screens, colour and gold-leaf on paper, 179 x 490 cm (each), left-hand screen at the top, right-hand screen at the bottom. Imperial Household Collection, Tokyo. Source: ODA 1975.



**Figure 17** – Detail of fig. 16.





Figure 18 – Detail of fig. 16.



Figure 19 – Detail of fig. 16, decorative inset with North Pole.



**Figure 20** – Detail of fig. 16, decorative inset with South Pole.



**Figure 21** – Detail of fig. 16, circular inset showing the earth's sphere with zodiac belt.





**Figure 22** – Detail of fig. 16, equestrian portraits of Philip II of Spain and Henry IV of France.



**Figure 23** – Detail of fig. 16, equestrian portraits of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II and the Ottoman Sultan (possibly Selim II).



**Figure 24** – Detail of fig. 16, equestrian portraits of the Grand Duke of Muscovy and Kings of the Tartars.



**Figure 25** – Detail of fig. 16, equestrian portrait of the King of the Abyssinians and the King of Persia.



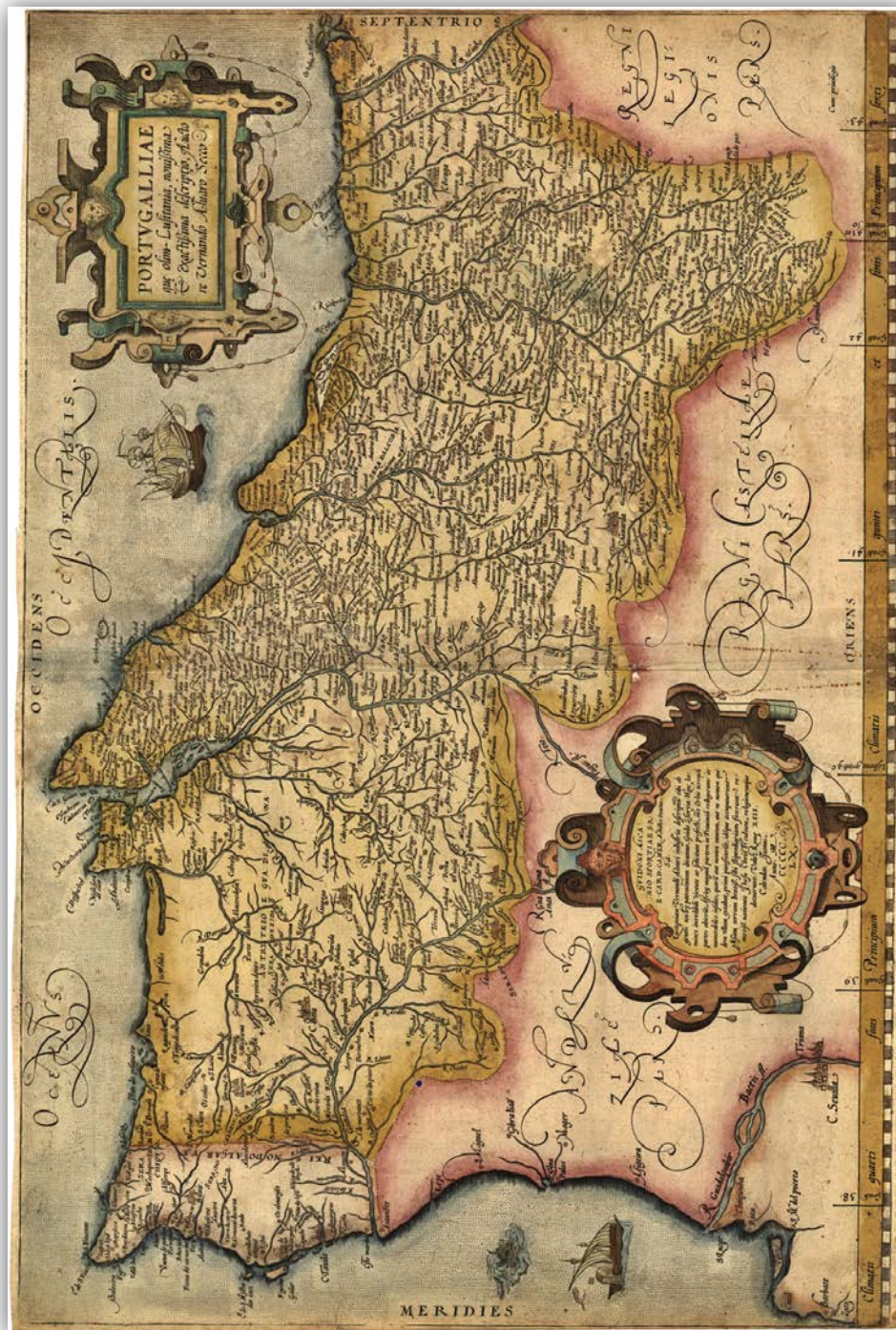


**Figure 26** – Detail of fig. 16, decorative border with African and American couples.



**Figure 27** – Detail of fig. 16, decorative border with Asian and European couples.





**Figure 28 – Portugalliae**, map of Portugal by Fernando Álvaro Seco (1560) included in Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1570. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

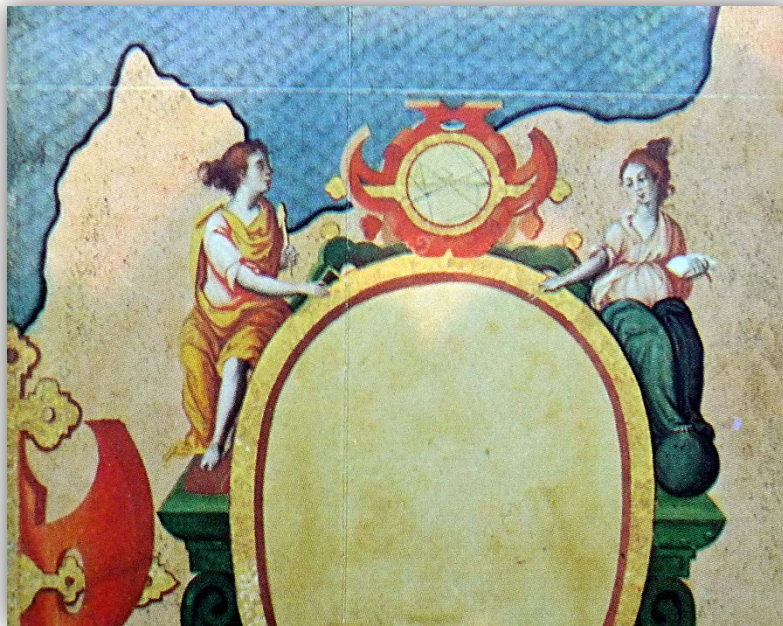


**Figure 29** – Detail of fig. 16, map of Portugal after fig. 28.

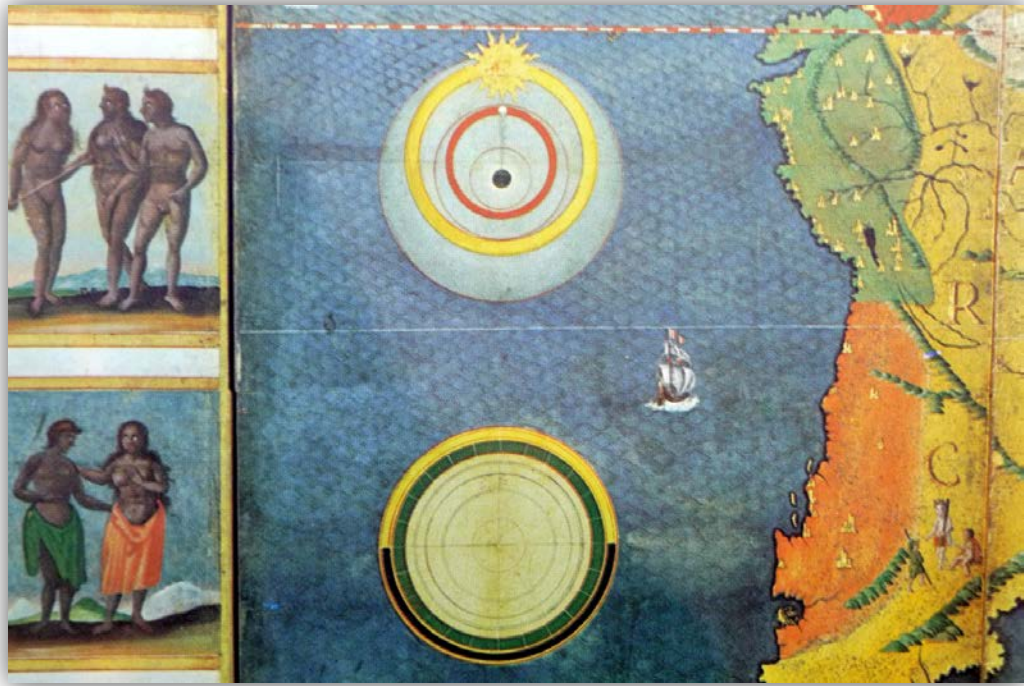




**Figure 30** – Detail of fig. 16.

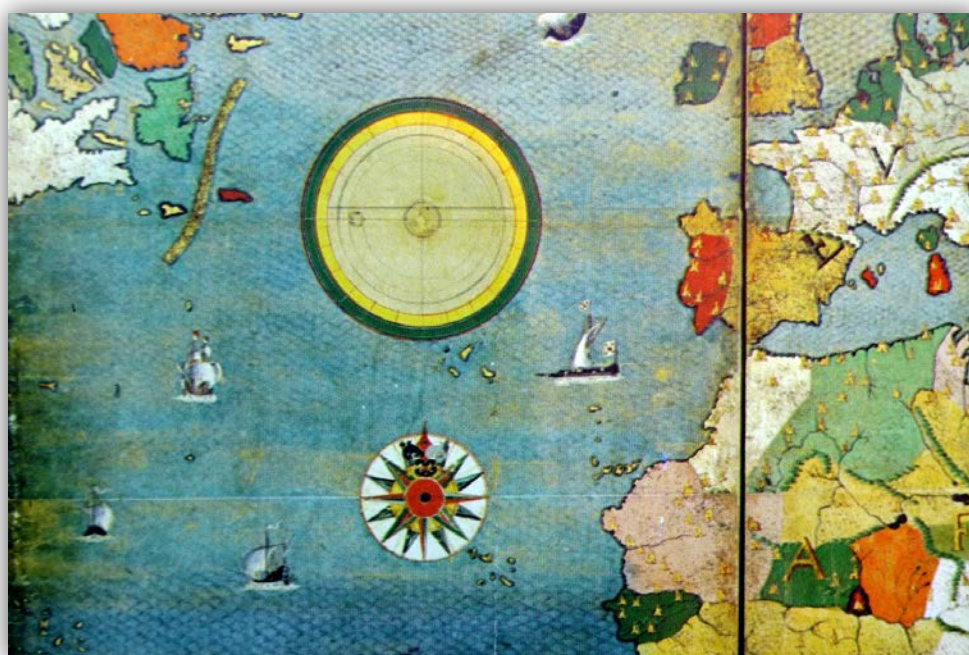


**Figure 31** – Detail of fig. 16.

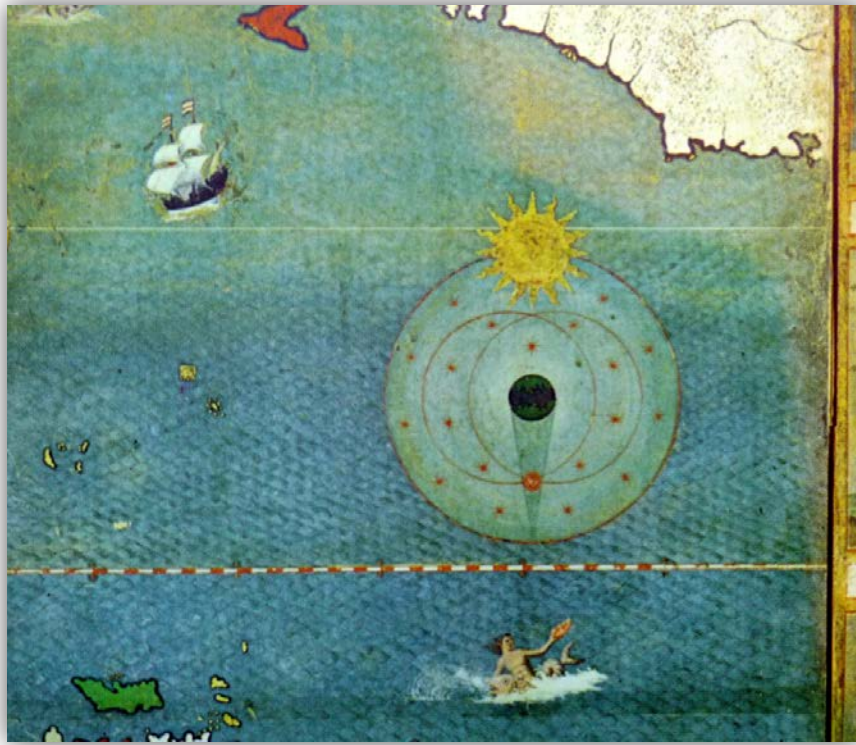


**Figure 32** – Detail of fig. 16, circular insets describing a solar eclipse (top) and the division of the hours of the day and night over the earth's East and West hemispheres (bottom).

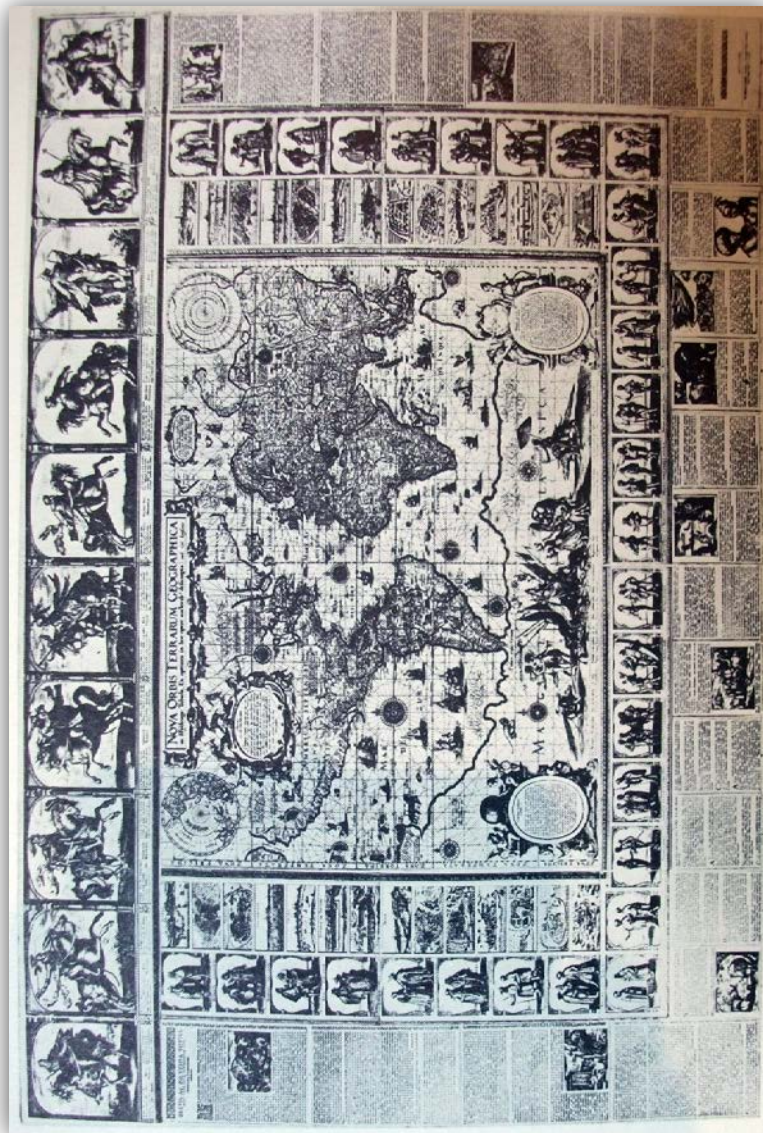




**Figure 33** – Detail of fig. 16, circular inset describing the orbit of the moon around the earth.



**Figure 34** – Detail of fig. 16, circular inset describing a lunar eclipse.

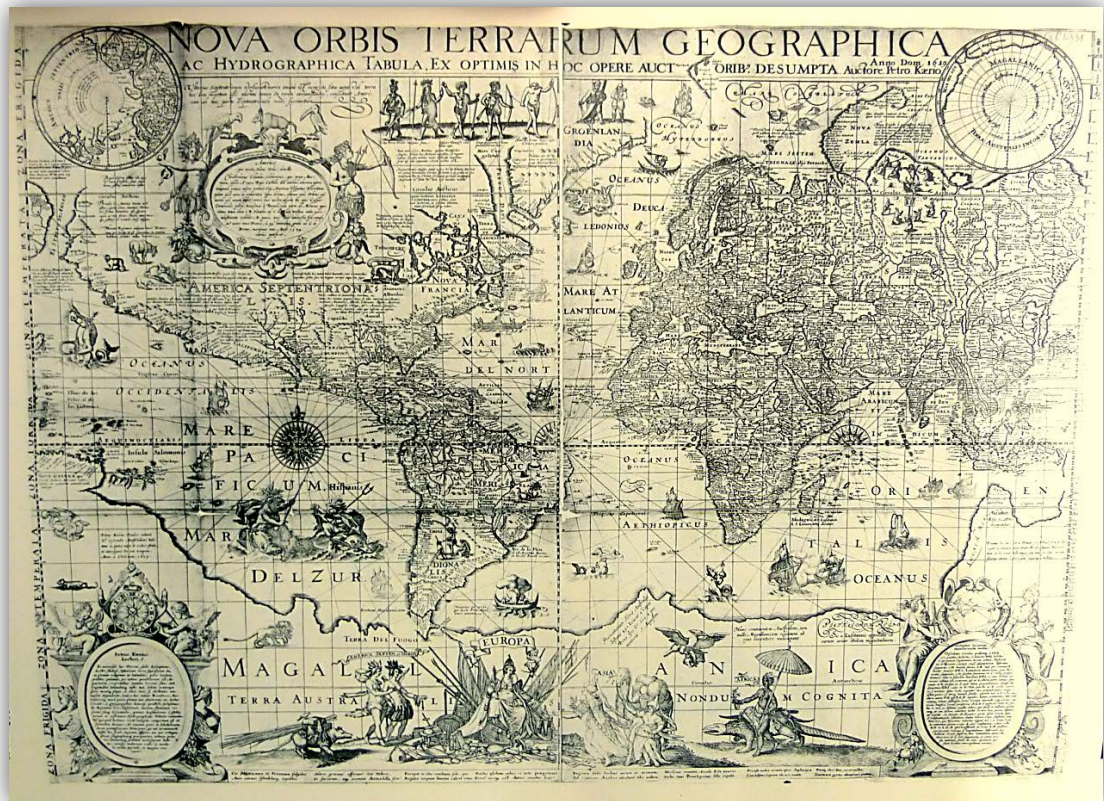


**Figure 35** – Willem Janszoon Blaeu, *Nova Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica ac Hydrogr. Tabula, Ex optimis in hoc opere auctorib<sup>s</sup> desumpta auct. Gul. Ianssonio*, 84 x 111 cm (map alone), 143 x 204 cm (including decorative borders). Amsterdam, 1606-7. Photograph of the lost complete map. Source: SCHILDER 1981.





**Figure 36** - Willem Janszoon Blaeu, *Nova Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica ac Hÿdrogr. Tabula, Ex optimis in hoc opere auctorib<sup>s</sup> desumpta auct. Gul. Ianssonio*, copy of the wallmap in four sheets without decorative borders kept at the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Bern. Source: SCHILDER 1981.



**Figure 37** – Pieter van den Keere, *Nova Orbis Terrarum Geographica Ac Hydrographica Tabula, Ex Optimis in Hoc Opera Auctorib<sup>5</sup> Desumpta. Auctore Petro Kaerio*, 83 x 108 cm. Amsterdam, 1609. Source: SHIRLEY 1988: plate 209.





**Figure 38** – Pieter van den Keere, detail of fig. 37, *Distantiae locorum mensurande modus*. Source: SCHILDER 2007: fig. 26.7.





Figure 39 – Pieter van den Keere, detail of fig. 37.

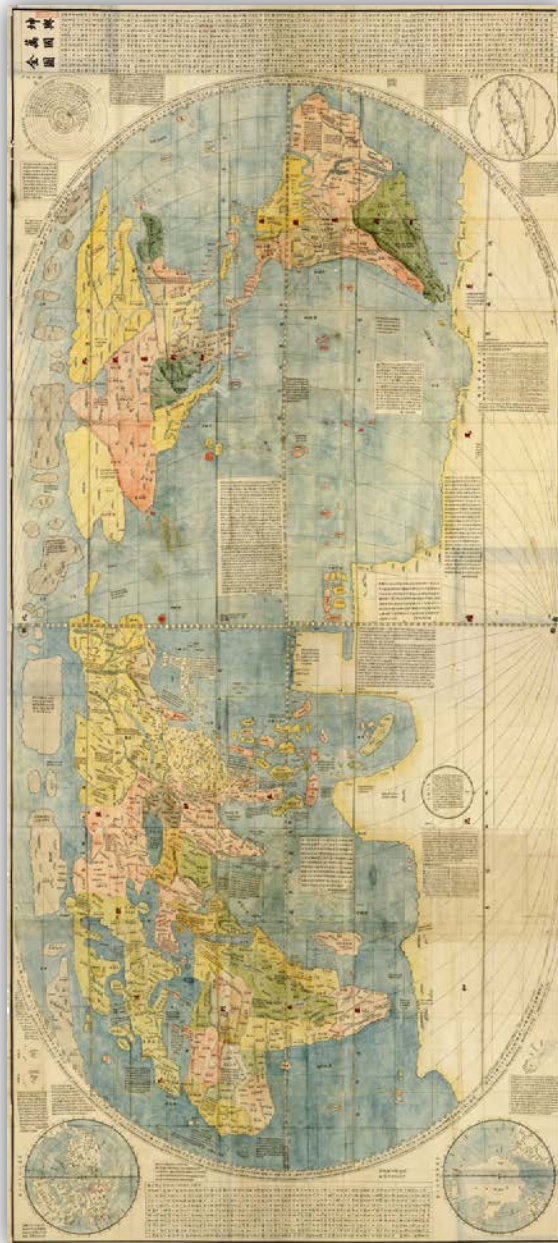


Figure 40 – Willem Janszoon Blaeu, detail of fig. 36.



**Figure 41** – Gerard Mercator, *Nova Et Aucta Orbis Terrae Descriptio Ad Usum Navigantium emendate accomodata*, 134 x 212 cm. Duisburg, 1569. Source: Wikimedia Commons.





**Figure 42** – Matteo Ricci, *Kun yu wan guo quan tu* (A Map of the Myriad Countries of the World), 1602.  
Source: Wikimedia Commons.



**Figure 43** – Luis Jorge de Barbuda, *Chinae, Olim Simnarum Regionis, Nova Descriptio, Auctore Ludovico Georgio*, in A. Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1584. Source: Wikimedia Commons.



**Figure 44** – F. Vaz Dourado, *Asia Or.*, color on parchment, 385 x 277mm, ca. 1576, BNP Cota II.-171.



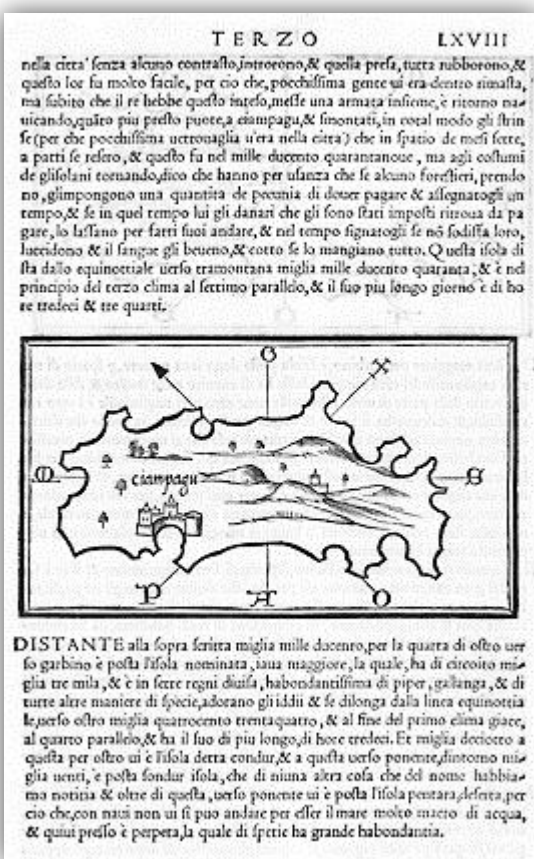


Figure 45 – Benedetto Bordone, “Ciampagu”. Source: BORDONE 1528.



Figure 46 – South-orientated map of Japan in the Ninna temple, Kyoto (MS 1305/06). 34.5 x 121.5 cm. The part showing western Japan is damaged. Source: UNNO 1994b: fig. 3.



**Figure 47** – Unknown Japanese artist, *European King and Members of His Court*, six-panel folding screen, ink, color, and gold on paper, 170.2 x 391.2 cm, 1601-1614. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Fenollosa-Weld Collection. Source: ARTstor Collection.





**Figure 48** – Interiors of the Royal Library at the Escorial. Source: ARTstor Collection.





**Figure 49** – El Greco, *Adoration of the Name of Jesus (The Dream of Philip II)*, oil on canvas, 140 x 110 cm, c. 1577-1579. Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Madrid. Source: ARTstor Collection.



**Figure 50** – Detail of fig. 49.





**Figure 51** – Sala delle Carte Geografiche (or Guardaroba Nuovo), Dionigi di Matteo Nigetti (cupboards), Egnazio Danti and Stefano Bonsignori (paintings), Palazzo Vecchio, Firenze, 1564-1586. Source: Wikimedia commons.



**Figure 52** – Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese, Sala delle Carte Geografiche, 1573-1575, Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola. Source: Wikimedia Commons.



**Figure 53** – Egnazio Danti, Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, 1580-1585, Città del Vaticano. Source: ARTstor Collection.





Figure 54 – Unknown, Gyōki-type map of Japan, ASF Misc. Med., 97, ins. 91, ink on paper, ca. 1585.



**Figure 55** – Luís Teixeira S.J., *Iaponiae Insulae Descriptio*, in A. Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1585. Source: Wikimedia Commons.





**Figure 56** – Unknown Japanese artist, *Nansembushū Dainihon Shōtō-zu* (Authorized Map of Great Japan and the World), hanging scroll, ink on paper, 169.8 x 85.5 cm, 1558. Source: CORTAZZI 1983.





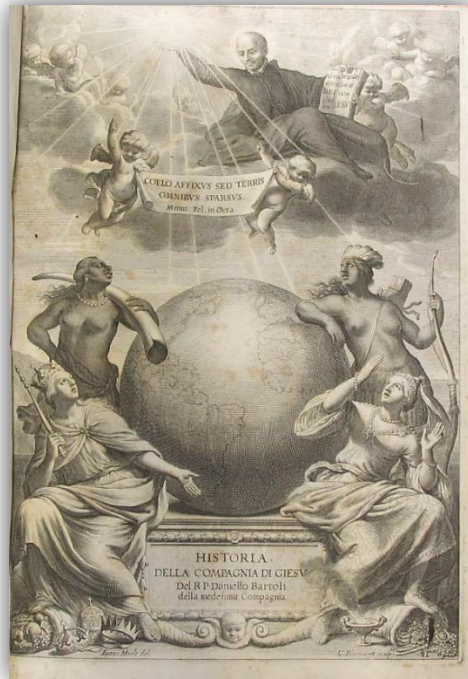
**Figure 57** – Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese, Sala delle Carte Geografiche, world map and personifications of the four continents, clockwise from upper right: Europe, Africa, Asia, and America. Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola. Source: Wikimedia Commons.



**Figure 58** – Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese, Sala delle Carte Geografiche, map of Italy. Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola. Source: PARTRIDGE 1995: 439.



**Figure 59** – Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese, Sala delle Carte Geografiche, map of Palestine. Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola. Source: PARTRIDGE 1995: 438.



**Figure 60** – Book cover of Daniello Bartoli's *Historia della Compagnia di Gesù*, 1559. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

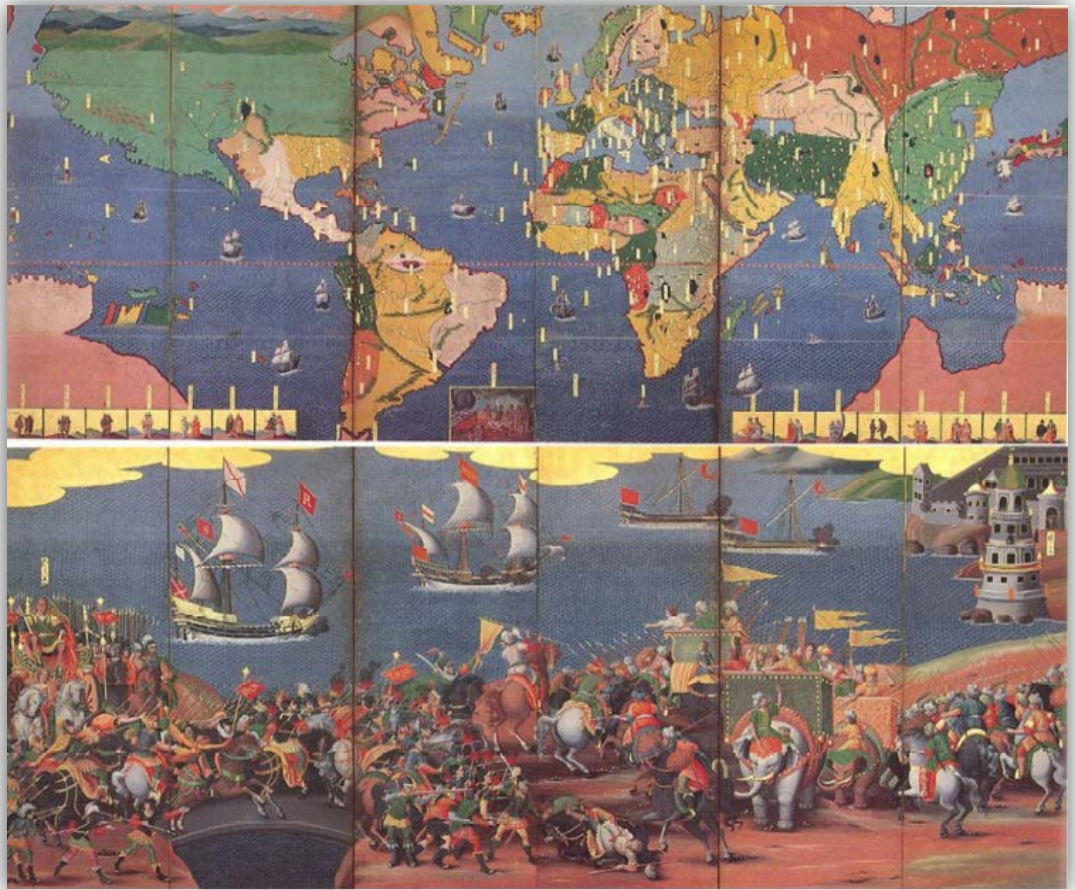


**Figure 61** – View of the interiors of the Sala Regia, Vatican. Source: ARTstor Collection.





**Figure 62** – Giorgio Vasari, *The Battle of Lepanto*, fresco, 1572-1573, Sala Regia, Vatican. Source: Wikimedia Commons.



**Figure 63** – Unknown Japanese artist(s), *Battle of Lepanto and World Map*, pair of six-fold screens, ink, colour and gold-leaf on paper, 153.5 x 379.0 cm (each), ca. 1610-1614, Kobe, Kosetsu Museum of Art. Source: Wikimedia Commons.





**Figure 64** – Paolo Veronese, *Votive Portrait of Doge Sebastiano Venier*, oil on canvas, 285 x 565 cm, 1580-1582, Palazzo Ducale, Venezia. Source: Wikimedia Commons.



**Figure 65** – Giovanni Niccolò, *Madonna and Child*, oil on wood panel, 1583-1614. Source: BAILEY 2002: fig. 8.



**Figure 66** – Iacobus Sacam, *Salvator Mundi*, oil on copper, 23.1 x 17 cm, 1597. General Library, University of Tokyo Library System, A100: 1649. Source: BAILEY 2005: 319.

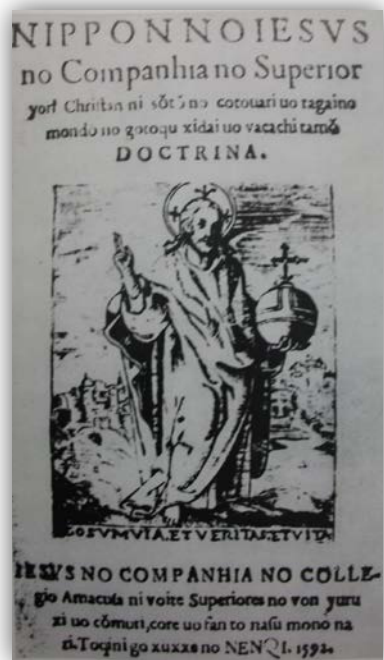


**Figure 67** – *Salvator Mundi*. Engraving, 1586, 24.4x 18.2 cm. Engraved by Hieronymus Wierix. Signed at margins at left: *M. de Vos inuen. / Hieroni: Wierix / fecit.* Address at right: *H. Liefrinck / excudit.* Source: SCHUCKMAN and DE HOOP SCHEFFER 1996: plate 696.





**Figure 68 – Christ Blessing.** Engraving 1578, 33.7 x 22.1 cm. Between the bases of the two columns, left: *Mertin de Vos inuen.*; centre: *cu[m] preuil*; right: *Petrus Baltens excude.* Bottom centre: *Johannes Ditmer fecit.* Source: SCHUCKMAN and DE HOOP SCHEFFER 1996: plate 845.



**Figure 69** – Frontispiece of the *Doctrina Christan* ('*Christian Doctrine*'), probably by Giovanni Niccolò, Amakusa, 1592. Source: OKAMOTO 1972: fig. 29.



**Figure 70** – Detail of fig. 71.



**Figure 71** – Unknown Japanese painter, detail of *The Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary*, colours on paper, 75 x 63 cm, early 17<sup>th</sup> century. National Historical Study Center, Kyoto. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Gio: Cola

Per segnale, che io scrivi questa Gio: Cola

Figure 72 – Giovanni Niccolò's signature, Goa, April 1582. Source: VLAM 1976: 400.



Figure 73 - Cover page and opening pages of *Salvator Mundi*, Nagasaki 1598.





**Figure 74** – Detail of a Jesuit residence with a depiction of Ptolemaic planetary system on the residence's outside wall. Pair of six-fold screens, colour and gold-leaf on paper, 163.2 x 361.2 cm (each), end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Osaka, Namban Bunkakan. Source: SAKAMOTO 2008: No. 6.



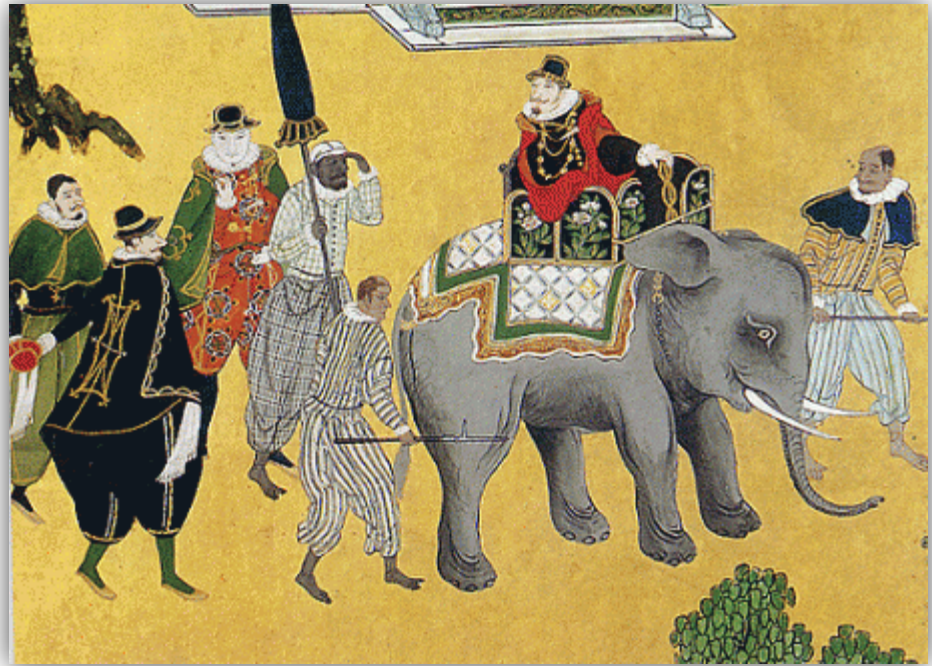
**Figure 75** – Unknown Japanese artist(s), pair of six-fold screens, color and gold-leaf on paper, Edo period, c. 1600. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, AK-RAK-1968-1 A/B. Source: SAKAMOTO 2008: no. 62.





**Figure 76** – Unknown Japanese artist, *Portuguese in Japan*, pair of six-fold screens, colour and gold-leaf on paper, early seventeenth century. Source: Wikimedia Commons.





**Figure 77** – Detail of fig. 10.



**Figure 78** – Unknown Japanese artist, *Western Kings on Horseback*, four-fold screen, color on paper, 166.2 x 460.4 cm. Koby City Museum. Source: Wikimedia Commons.



**Figure 79** – Unknown Japanese artist, *Western Kings Screens*, color on paper, one screen of a pair of six-fold screens, 123,8 x 51,4 cm each panel. Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture, Nagasaki. Source: Wikimedia Commons.





**Figure 80** – Unknown Japanese artist, *Yojin Sogakuzu Byōbu* (Europeans Playing Music), ink and colours on paper, 93 x 302 cm (each), early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Shizuoka Museum of Art. Source: HIOKI 2011: figs. 1a, 1b.



**Figure 81** – Unknown Japanese artist(s), *Four Capitas and World Map*, pair of eight-fold screens, ink and colour on paper, each 159.0 x 478.0, early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Kobe City Museum. Source: LITTLE 2008: fig. 3.





**Figure 82** – Detail of fig. 63.



**Figure 83** - Maarten de Vos, *Europa*, drawing dated ca. 1588. Etching by Adriaen Collaert, 21.4 x 25.9 cm.  
Source: SCHUCKMAN and SCHEFFER 1995/1996: plate 1396-II.



**Figure 84** – Maarten de Vos, *America*, drawing dated 1589. Etching by Adriaen Collaert, 21.4 x 25.9 cm. Source: SCHUCKMAN and SCHEFFER 1995/1996: plate 1399.



**Figure 85** – Maarten de Vos, *Asia*, drawing dated 1588, etching by Adriaen Collaert, 21.2 x 26 cm. Source: SCHUCKMAN and SCHEFFER 1995/1996: plate 1397-II





**Figure 86** – Maarten de Vos, *Africa*, drawing dated ca. 1588, etching by Adriaen Collaert, 21.3 x 26 cm.  
Source: SCHUCKMAN and SCHEFFER 1995/1996: plate 1398.



**Figure 87** – Detail of fig. 63.



**Figure 88** –Detail of fig. 63.





Figure 89 – Philip II, detail from fig. 35.



**Figure 90** – Egnazio Danti, *Battle of Lepanto*, fresco decorating the walls of the south entrance of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche, Vatican (see fig. 53 above).





Figure 91 – Detail of fig. 63.





Figure 92 – Detail of fig. 63.





Figure 93 – Detail of fig. 63.



**Figure 94** – Cornelis Cort (after Giulio Romano), *The Battle of Scipio vs. Hannibal at Zama*, engraving, 41.7 x 54.2 cm. Source: SELLINK 2000: 196 II/IV.





**Figure 95** – Adriaen Collaert, *The Triumph of Caesar*, engraving, 32.7 x 22 cm, before 1612. Source: The British Museum Collection Online.





**Figure 96** – Adriaen Collaert, *The Twelve Emperors, Nero*, engraving, 32.1 x 21.7 cm, ca. 1587-1589. Source: The British Museum Collection Online.





**Figure 97** – Adriaen Collaert, *The Twelve Emperors, Otho*, engraving, 32.3 x 21.9 cm, ca. 1587-1589.  
Source: The British Museum Collection Online.





**Figure 98** – Adriaen Collaert, *The Twelve Emperors, Domitian*, engraving, 32.3 x 21.8 cm, ca. 1587-1589. Source: The British Museum Collection Online.



**Figure 99** – Giulio Romano (after designs by Raphael), *Battle of the Milvian Bridge*, fresco, Sala di Costantino, Vatican, 1520-1524. Source: ARTstor Collection.