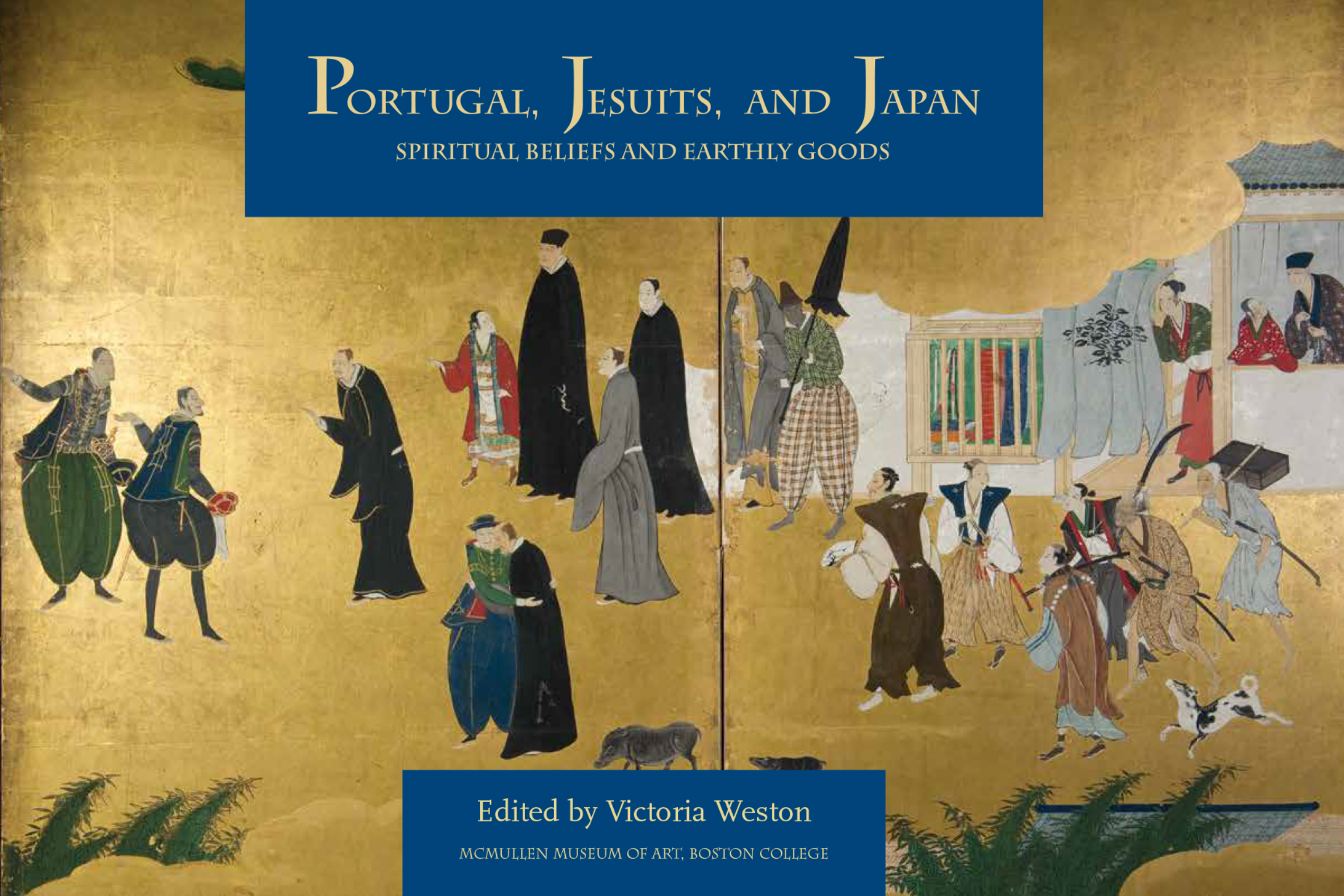
Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan

Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods



Edited by Victoria Weston

McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College

FOR JACQUELINE MCMULLEN

Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan

Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods

Edited by Victoria Weston

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DIRECTOR'S PREFACE

For the most part, Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan each are studied by distinct groups of scholars with different cultural backgrounds, historical training, and linguistic skills. Yet, in order to examine a brief period in Japanese history, that of the arrival of the Portuguese in Japan in 1543 and the introduction of Christianity there by the Jesuit St. Francis Xavier in 1549, until the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1639, one needs to rely on discourse among scholars from the traditionally distinct compartments of historical inquiry. This book and the exhibition it accompanies present the results of one of the first attempts at such a fruitful discussion.

The origins of this project date to 2007 when one of the McMullen's Patrons, Gerald Buckley, suggested I meet the Consul General of Portugal in Boston, Manuela Bairos. Given the large Portuguese-American population in New England, Bairos wished to inspire a local museum to organize an exhibition exploring an aspect of her country's culture. Finding common interest in connections between Portugal and the Jesuits in the early modern period, the McMullen agreed to seek a subject for an exhibition that would involve new research on an aspect of that relationship. The Consul then introduced us to Portuguese art historian Pedro Moura Carvalho, who at that time was a postdoctoral fellow in the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University. Moura Carvalho suggested that the exhibition examine an understudied group of Japanese nanban screens for the information they impart about the arrival of Portuguese traders and Jesuit missionaries in Japan from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries. Moura Carvalho agreed to serve as co-curator of such an exhibition with Victoria Weston, associate professor of art history at University of Massachusetts Boston, who would also edit the catalogue. Also on the initial organizing team was a Jesuit historian, Professor René B. Javellana from Ateneo de Manila University, who held the Thomas Gasson Professorial Chair at Boston College in 2007–08. The group began working on a wish list of objects. Generously supported by a grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Moura Carvalho identified many works in the Peabody Essex Museum and in Portuguese collections that he arranged for me to see with him in the summer of 2009. We were able to secure several tentative agreements for loans, thereby establishing a core group of objects for the exhibition. In 2011, Moura Carvalho became chief curator of the Asian Civilisations Museum and Peranakan Museum, Singapore, a post that unfortunately would not allow him the time required to continue working on the exhibition. He and Paulo Cunha Alves, who succeeded Bairos as Consul General of Portugal in Boston shortly after the project began, suggested another Portuguese scholar, Alexandra Curvelo, curator at the Museu Nacional do Azulejo in Lisbon,

to take his place. Curvelo and Weston worked to finalize a list of loans and create a narrative and themes to be developed in the exhibition. They were aided in this process by Angelo Cattaneo, a professor of the history of cartography at the Center for Overseas History of the New University of Lisbon, who developed a section for the exhibition on the "mapping" of Japan during the period in question. Historians Rory Browne and Prasannan Parthasarathi of Boston College and conservator Ulrike Körber of the José de Figueiredo Laboratory in Lisbon joined the team as contributors of essays to the catalogue.

Our principal debt of gratitude is to Victoria Weston and Alexandra Curvelo. Weston has guided the curatorial initiative from beginning to end and has edited this volume of essays by authors of various native tongues with exceptional discernment, applying her vast knowledge of Japanese art and history. Curvelo has brought to the project unparalleled knowledge of the objects created during the Portuguese Age of Exploration and has organized them in juxtaposition with depictions on the nanban screens to provide new insights into the artistic, cultural, religious, and economic history of the period.

We offer special thanks to Paulo Cunha Alves, Consul General of Portugal in Boston and Maria João Pinto Correia, Ana Paula Laborinho, and Alexandra Pinho of the Camões Institute of Cooperation and Language/Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, without whose hard work, assistance, and support at every stage, this exhibition would not have been realized.

At the McMullen Museum, Diana Larsen undertook the herculean task of designing the galleries and cases to accommodate the unusually wide array of large and fragile objects. John McCoy designed this publication and the exhibition's graphics to capture the cultural interplay of the Age of Exploration. Kate Shugert organized loans and photography, copyedited with extraordinary care the essays in this publication, and, with John McCoy and Victoria Weston, compiled the index. Kerry Burke provided numerous photographs for the catalogue and exhibition. Linda Webb assisted with proofreading and interns Francesca Falzone, Noele Illien, Gabriela Lorido, Lauren Passaro, and Emilie Sintobin helped with proofreading and loan processing. Filomena Cunha Alves; Jeremy Clarke, SJ; Kenji Hayao; T. Frank Kennedy, SJ; T. K. McClintock; Michael Noone; Elizabeth Swinton; and James Weiss provided valuable advice in the planning process. Anastos Chiavaras and Rose Breen from Boston College's Office of Risk Management provided essential guidance regarding insurance. We are grateful to the University's Advancement Office—especially James Husson, Thomas Lockerby, Catherine Concannon, Mary Lou Crane, Kathy Kuy, and Ginger Saariaho—and to our Patrons Edward Studzinski and Edmund Granski, for advising on funding opportunities.

Much of this exhibition has been drawn from the riches of private collections and institutions in the US and in Portugal. For assistance in identifying and obtaining these loans we thank friends and colleagues: Jay Jie Xu, Laura Allen, Melissa Rinne, and Sharon Steckline (Asian Art Museum, San Francisco); Adriana Proser (Asia Society, New York); Emilio Rui Vilar, João Pedro Garcia, Maria Fernanda Matias, and Nuno Vassallo e Silva (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon); Simonetta Luz Afonso, Rosa Campizes, and Isabel Cardoso (Camões Institute of Cooperation and Language/Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal); Deborah Rudolph (C. V. Starr East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley); Paulo Cunha Alves and Maria João Rodrigues (Consulate General of Portugal in Boston); João Calvão (Fundação Oriente); Joseph Garver (Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University); William Stoneman, Mary Haegert, Hope Mayo, and Carie McGinnis (Houghton Library, Harvard University); Jorge Welsh, Luísa Vinhais, and Margarida Lamas (Jorge Welsh Oriental Porcelain & Works of Art, Lisbon/London); Rui Machete, Mario Mesquita, and Miguel Vaz (Luso-American Development Foundation); the late Mary Griggs Burke, Stephanie Wada, and Gratia Williams (Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation); Thomas P. Campbell, John Carpenter, Emily Foss, and Denise Leidy (The Metropolitan Museum of Art); Virgínia Gomes (Museu Nacional Machado de Castro, Coimbra); Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos (Museu Nacional do Azulejo); Malcolm Rogers, Marta Fodor, Anne Nishimura Morse, Pamela Parmal, Kim Pashko, Jane Portal, and Angie Simonds (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); James Russell, Melanie Correia, Stuart Frank, and Doug Kendall (New Bedford Whaling Museum); Dan Monroe, Nancy Berliner, Christine Bertoni, Kathryn Carey, Karina Corrigan, Lynda Hartigan, Mimi Leveque, Bryanna O'Mara, Nicole Pearson, and William Sargent (Peabody Essex Museum); Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere (Sainsbury Institute for the Study of Japanese Arts and Cultures); and Deborah Whiteman (University Library, Santa Clara University). In addition we are grateful to many private collectors in Portugal, Great Britain, Brazil, and the United States and to the following institutions in Portugal: Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon; Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon; Diocese de Coimbra, Sé Nova; Direção Geral do Livro dos Arquivos e das Bibliotecas; Direção Geral do Património Cultural; Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis, Oporto; Santa Casa da Misericórdia, Sardoal; Santa Casa da Misericórdia/Museu de São Roque, Lisbon; Secretário de Estado da Cultura.

The McMullen could not have envisioned such a groundbreaking project of international scope were it not for the continued generosity of the administration of Boston College and the McMullen family. We especially thank President William P. Leahy, SJ; Provost Cutberto Garza; Chancellor J. Donald Monan, SJ; Vice-Provost Patricia DeLeeuw; Dean of Arts and Sciences David Quigley; and rector of the Jesuit community, T. Frank Kennedy, SJ. Major support for the exhibition was provided by the Patrons of the McMullen Museum, chaired by C. Michael Daley, Leslie and Peter Ciampi, the Camões Institute of Cooperation and Language/Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, the Consulate General of Portugal in Boston, and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation with additional support for the catalogue from the Luso-American Development Foundation and the Japan Foundation, New York.

Finally, we express sincere gratitude and dedicate this volume to our engaged, wise, witty, and beloved collaborator of long standing, Jacqueline McMullen.

Nancy Netzer
Director and Professor of Art History

INTRODUCTION

Victoria Weston

Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan: Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods takes as its premise the meaning of fine objects in the twin contexts of commercial trade and ecclesiastic use. In the later sixteenth century Japan welcomed its first European visitors—traders from Portugal. Jesuit missionaries quickly followed. The two interests remained ever side-by-side during the next hundred years as Portuguese ships, following the patterns of seasonal winds, arrived bearing foreign wonders of nature and human manufacture as well as new European recruits for the Jesuit mission. How the foreigners and their wares were received in Japan varied over time subject to domestic political interests.

Japanese folding screens offer glimpses of what this dynamic interaction might have looked like. Large paintings made typically in pairs, folding screens are room dividers that stand independently thanks to the hinging of the panels that make up each screen. These are a Japanese product, made for use in Japanese interiors and catering to the interests of their domestic audience. Among the many topics such screens display are conventionalized depictions of the meeting of East and West: a Portuguese freighter unloading its cargo as, in port, resident Jesuits file forward to greet the captain and his officers. Onboard ship, at shore, streaming into town, and in shops, the Japanese viewer—and we—are treated to a display of all the treasures the Portuguese had to offer.

This exhibition was inspired by the desire to assemble examples of some of that treasure—exotic animals notwithstanding—to reflect upon the commercial and cultural interactions then developing between Japan and Portugal. The exhibition is anchored by four sets of folding screens depicting the arrival of the Portuguese vessels on one side and the reception of crew and goods in port on the other. The exhibition objects, ranging from that staple commodity, fabric, to singular works such as a Mughal-style shield, make plain that the Portuguese inter-Asian trade networks could both secure foreign items of great beauty and produce fine objects on commission for target audiences. At a time when the roundtrip from Lisbon to Nagasaki took over four years, the networks of trade and manufacture the Portuguese developed in Asia were truly remarkable.

The screens also attest to the essential role Jesuit missionaries played in Japan. The purpose of Portuguese shipping was trade, but a secondary role grew from the Portuguese Crown's patronage of the Catholic Church. Granted exclusive shipping privileges by the pope, Portuguese monarchs vowed to help the spread of Christianity to the new cultures their ships encountered. While Francis Xavier, Jesuit order co-founder and pioneering missionary in Asia, found his own way to Japan, thereafter, Portuguese freighters carried missionaries to Goa, India; Macao, China; and Nagasaki, Japan. When Portuguese ships put into Japanese ports, it was the resident Jesuits who came to welcome them.

Japan was hospitable to the Jesuits in ways unlike other places in Asia. An island nation just far enough

away from the continent to remove it from routine relations with its neighbors, Japan had an integral cultural sense of self. Its islands were a constant, with no shifting borders or immediate threats. Its history could be understood as a series of waves, periods of involvement and even integration into continental culture alternating with periods of removal and cultural introspection. Japan's religious landscape was shaped by two poles: Shinto, an indigenous set of beliefs addressed to the natural world, and the imported theology of Buddhism, which aimed to explain the order of the cosmos and the soul. This past gave precedent to the arrival of new foreigners bringing with them a new foreign religion. The Japanese were highly literate and amenable to new arguments and ideas. As the Jesuits learned to separate their evangelical message from their European biases and work within Japan's cultural norms, their mission prospered. It was only when Jesuit priorities came into collision with evolving political realities that the mission and the evangelizing of Japan came to an end.[1]

The period of Portuguese and Jesuit engagement with Japan is historically complex. Portuguese trade in Japan, the Jesuit mission, and the many fine objects circulating in Japan thanks to these two agents are far better appreciated when placed in their specific historical moments. The essays that follow in this catalogue all rely on historical context to develop their arguments; what follows here is an overview of the period.

The turbulent years of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Japan fueled a host of social, political, and economic changes. The period bridges the end of Japan's so-called "Age of Warfare," when the country was atomized into competing feudal domains, with the return of centralized government under the Tokugawa shoguns. In the terms of Japanese political history, these are the Sengoku (1467–1573), Azuchi-Momoyama (1573–1615), and Edo (1615–1868) periods, though these periods can be reckoned in finer units. During the hundred years of Sengoku bloodshed, the memory of a centralized authority—and order—remained, but however much the great houses struggled for territory, none could bring all the others into submission.

That changed with Oda Nobunaga (1534–82), the daimyo, or warrior ruler, of Owari province. Not the greatest of the domains in size or wealth, it had the advantage of position in Japan's heartland near the ancient capital, Miyako, which we now call Kyoto. Nobunaga was a canny general, using the social ferment of these unstable years to raise up talented subordinates, no matter their class of birth, and to seize new technologies to fight with greater devastation than his enemies. Advances in weaponry came from overseas, from Europe, thanks to an accident. Three Portuguese sailors shipwrecked on one of Japan's small southern islands, Tanegashima, which sits some twenty-five miles south of Kyushu. There, among their possessions, were muskets. The Portuguese sailors demonstrated for the lord of Tanegashima their use, after which he ordered his own craftsmen to replicate them. Daimyo of Kyushu domains quickly followed suit, and on Honshu, Nobunaga was among the first to embrace them and the shifting military practices they offered. By 1549, Nobunaga had ordered the casting of five hundred matchlock guns and had a dedicated firearms brigade serving in his army.

In 1549 Japan had another encounter with Europeans who were of an entirely different sort. This was the year Francis Xavier of Navarre, Jesuit missionary, arrived in Kyushu. Xavier was a leader of the new Jesuit order, founded in 1534, which embraced among its core principles evangelizing in the East. The Jesuits drew their members from Catholic countries throughout Europe, but became popularly associated with the Portuguese because theirs were the ships that carried them to Asia. Portuguese monarchs embraced evangelizing as part of their sovereign duties, welcoming both the prestige and the increase in Portuguese influence in world affairs. From the start, the Jesuits in Japan were a mix of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese. This distinction would not have been apparent to the Japanese since they all came on Portuguese trading ships. For the Japanese, they were all *nanban-jin*, or "southern barbarians," because their route to Japan was to sail from Macao, on China's southern coast, northward to Kyushu.

Like firearms, the Jesuit mission spread from Kyushu to Japan's main island, Honshu. Kyushu's daimyo were the most hospitable, believing that a warm welcome to the foreign priests would encourage Portuguese ships to dock in their domain harbors. Portuguese trade networks connected India, Southeast Asia, and China with Japan and carried foreign luxury goods sought by Japanese warrior elites. Portuguese freighters meant wealth for the daimyo whose port received and distributed the cargo. Kyushu daimyo accommodated the Jesuit missionaries with grants of land and access to their people. Some Kyushu daimyo themselves converted to Christianity and some ordered their citizens to do likewise.

By the 1570s, the use of firearms in daimyo armies was spreading, but it was the 1575 Battle of Nagashino that proved their destructive superiority in combat over mounted swordsmen. Deploying some three thousand musketeers, the castle and the last serious rival to Nobunaga's hegemony over Honshu fell. He crowned this achievement by beginning construction in 1576 of the colossal Azuchi Castle, his new fortress built to withstand the punishment of canon fire. Thus began the process of Japan's reunification under a single political authority and the age of modern warfare.

In 1576, Nobunaga gave permission for another

epochal building project: the construction of the Jesuits' first church in Kyoto, Church of the Assumption, otherwise known as *Nanban-ji* ("Temple of the Southern Barbarians"). The Jesuit mission in Japan had seen steady growth in the previous decades despite a chronic need for more missionaries and financial support from Europe. The situation improved with the naming of Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) as Visitor ("overseer") of Missions in the East in 1573. The relatively young Italian began his work by convincing secular and Jesuit authorities in Portugal to finance the travel of as many as fifty-five Jesuit recruits to Asia, far more than had ever sailed before. Valignano himself arrived in Japan in 1579 to survey the mission there. Despite the new churches and increased flock, Valignano found much to address. He reorganized the Jesuit mission structure, ordered Jesuits to study Japanese language, increased the training of Japanese for the priesthood, and built Jesuit connections with Japan's warrior elites. The work flourished as Nobunaga's control on Honshu deepened. Nobunaga's attitude toward the Jesuits was surely pragmatic: they offered access to lucrative foreign trade and new military technologies.

Valignano departed Japan in 1582 with four young Japanese Christians to serve as ambassadors to Catholic Europe. Within months of his departure, the regime of Nobunaga came to an abrupt end with his assassination. Nobunaga's subordinate, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98), quickly avenged his murder and seized the structures of control. Hideyoshi consolidated power on Honshu and in a series of military campaigns and negotiated truces, brought all of Japan under his control. Initially, Hideyoshi proved as good a friend to the Jesuits as Nobunaga had been, permitting unfettered access to Japan and its people.

This changed in 1587 when, following his subjugation of Kyushu, Hideyoshi issued his first anti-Christianity edict. In it, Hideyoshi forbad daimyo from becoming Christian or ordering the mass conversion of their people. Churches and Jesuit institutions were torched and members of the mission were ordered expelled. At its core the edict was surely about power and loyalty, for with control of Japan now in his grasp, Hideyoshi needed his daimyo loyal to him, not to the church or its priests. Hideyoshi feared that Christianity would grow to compete with him for his generals' loyalties, as had Buddhism. Ultimately, few Jesuits left Japan, non-elite Japanese remained free to worship as they pleased, and the church continued to grow. However, when Valignano returned to Japan in 1590 accompanying the four Japanese ambassadors on their journey home, he carefully presented himself not with his Jesuit title but with a Portuguese political one so as not to run afoul of the edict.

With the unification of Japan's domains under his authority accomplished, Hideyoshi turned his ambitions to the continent. From Kyushu, Hideyoshi organized a massive invasion of Korea in 1592 that was intended to lead to the conquest of China. Kyushu daimyo, including Christian daimyo ministered by Jesuits, led the assault. The campaign lasted into 1593 when Chinese troops repulsed the Japanese invaders. In Japan, among the lasting effects of this war was the capture of Korean potters who revolutionized Japanese ceramics technologies and styles. In 1592 Valignano left Japan for Macao to attend to his many duties in Asia.

Hideyoshi sustained an atmosphere of tension for the Jesuit mission in Japan. The 1587 edict remained on the books though was not enforced, and in 1593, Hideyoshi welcomed to Japan Spanish Franciscans from Manila. The arrival of priests from other orders demonstrated that Christianity, like Buddhism, had its competing branches. To these Franciscans Hideyoshi granted land for a church and latitude to preach. A few Dominicans and Augustinians, too, arrived, all of them mendicant orders ministering to the poor. Hideyoshi may well have seen the newcomers as a means to check the strength of the Jesuits, who were forced to remain guarded in their activities. In 1596, Hideyoshi again proscribed Christianity following the famous "San Felipe Incident." A Spanish ship out of Manila shipwrecked on Shikoku; daimyo inspectors found a heavily armed ship loaded with cargo and carrying many priests. In an attempt to safeguard their investment, a member of the Spanish crew emphasized to Japanese officials Spain's wealth, colonial reach, and might. In addition, the idea was communicated that evangelism was but a step toward conquest, the missionary and the conquistador working together. Hideyoshi's fury was directed to the Franciscans, whom he ordered executed throughout the country. In the end, twenty-six were martyred in Nagasaki in February 1597.

Hideyoshi died in his sleep in 1598, bringing to an end that reign of terror and a second attempted conquest of Korea and China. Hideyoshi left behind a juvenile heir whom he had sought to protect through a council of regents, but that system soon collapsed in warfare. Tokugawa Ieyasu won the decisive Battle of Sekigahara in 1600, becoming Japan's ruling hegemon. In 1603 he received the title of *Shogun*, which made him Japan's official ruling magistrate. Despite his favoring advisors who were fiercely anti-Christian, Ieyasu treated the Jesuits and other Christian orders much as Hideyoshi had—no more daimyo could convert, but otherwise Christianity prospered. In 1607, the Society of Jesus saw its highest number of active members in Japan, at 140, far outstripping the numbers of priests coming from the mendicant orders. By 1614, it is thought that there were some 300,000 Japanese Christians.[2] In addition, Ieyasu continued to promote overseas trade, including increases in Japanese vessels

venturing into Asia.

The new shogunate—the government of the shogun and his advisors—spent their initial years securing power. Ieyasu poured resources into building his new capital, Edo (modern Tokyo). He turned the reins of government over to his adult heir to secure generational succession. And, he used the now tame Buddhist establishment as a tool for social control. Buddhist sects were required to establish their main temples in Edo; districts were to support some form of Buddhist temple; all Japanese needed to register with their local temple. Like the model of Catholic parishes, Buddhist temples were transformed into agents of social order.

Proscription came again in 1614. The Jesuits knew that all was not well: one of their order worked as a translator for Ieyasu, other Jesuits were well connected with samurai elites, and Ieyasu had elected not to stop localized persecutions of Christians. Several incidents occurred, including a reminder of Spain's maritime power, leading ultimately to the 1614 edict banning the religion and demanding that Christians depart Japan. In November, enough Portuguese ships had assembled and missionaries and Japanese converts alike set sail for Macao. The timing of the edict again played in tandem with domestic politics: in the summer of 1615 Ieyasu destroyed the last of the Toyotomi house and secured enduring power to his own descendants.

Ieyasu died the following year, and with him passed the relative tolerance missionaries had known. Ieyasu's son and grandson built a steady catalogue of edicts and punishments including martyrdom to check the growth of Christianity in Japan. Ultimately, Tokugawa authorities choked off relations with Europe, permitting only a very restricted trade with the Protestant Dutch. The internationalism of the previous hundred years gave way to two hundred and fifty years of relative isolation. Japanese Christians remained in Japan, but their activities could occur only in secret.

The essays collected in the present volume take inspiration from folding screens depicting Japanese encounters with Portuguese traders. The great freighter weighs anchor, its sailors ferrying its foreign cargo to shore. On land, the Japanese port bustles with shopkeepers, foreign traders, resident European Jesuits, buildings, and goods. Luxury items from abroad fuel Japanese markets in commodities; fine objects provide the Jesuit mission with the gifts required by Japanese social etiquette. The authors here have looked to the depictions of this cargo to explore how these objects reflect the times in which Portuguese traders, Jesuit missionaries, and Japanese all mixed.

The first two essays introduce important foundational topics. The first, by René B. Javellana, SJ, establishes the Jesuit mission in Japan through a discussion of the career of Francis Xavier. Professor Javellana discusses Xavier's evangelical methods in Asia, the development of an iconography for depictions of him, and objects from the exhibition that refer back to him. Angelo Cattaneo's essay examines developments in mapmaking as reflections of growing mutual understanding among the mariners, cartographers, and decision-makers in Europe and Japan.

The essays that follow derive from the content of the folding screens. Pedro Moura Carvalho examines objects imported for the Jesuit mission in Japan. The Jesuits needed supplies for their own consumption, objects required by evangelizing and worship, and fine goods to use as gifts in accordance with Japanese etiquette. Ulrike Körber makes a close study of a single object, a Mughal Indian-style lacquered shield of a type shown in several of the trade screens. Her close analysis of materials and construction offers insights into how the Portuguese responded to market interests. Prasannan Parthasarathi addresses the trade in fabric—a commodity universally featured in the screens. While examples of Chinese-made silks are not extant in Japan, Professor Parthasarathi examines Japanese consumption of Indian cottons and silks. Rory Browne offers a lively exploration of the exotic animals featured in the screens as cargo and as pets. Alexandra Curvelo discusses the Painting School the Jesuits established in Japan as well as a remarkable bed frame that once again speaks to Portuguese systems for making and distributing fine objects. Finally, my essay examines the four sets of Japanese folding screens in the exhibition that depict encounters in trade with the Portuguese and offers ideas about their stylistic features.

I wish to express here my gratitude to all those who made this book possible. I offer my thanks to Nancy Netzer, who played such a large leadership role in developing the exhibition and its loans. I want to especially applaud the breadth of her vision in seeing this catalogue as an opportunity for dynamic inter-disciplinary inquiry. To Kate Shugert, my editor and writing confederate, my heartfelt thanks for your endless patience and assistance, your eagle-eyed ability to catch the sneaky typos, and great good humor. John McCoy has produced a catalogue that is intelligently and beautifully designed (and has kept our folding screens out of the book's gutter!). Diana Larsen's exhibition design brilliantly shaped the gallery spaces to highlight both the ideas in the show and the beauty of the individual objects. To my co-authors in this catalogue, I offer my deep appreciation for their insightful reflections on the exhibition's objects and themes. The literature in English on this period of Japanese art has long been quite limited. With your work, it has grown significantly.

1. The literature on the Jesuits in Japan includes: the many works of Charles R. Boxer, foremost among them, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967); the works of Michael Cooper, SJ, such as his *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (New York: Weatherhill, 1974); George Elison's *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity*

in Early Modern Japan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973); Neil Fujita's *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991); Andrew Ross's *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542–1742* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1994); and Georg Schurhammer's *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times; Vol. 4: Japan and China, 1549–1552*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, SJ (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1982).

2. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed*, 87.

The Invention of an Icon: From Francisco Xavier of Navarre to San Francisco, Patron of Missions and Apostle to the Indies

René B. Javellana, SJ

As he lay dying on the shores of Sancian (Sang Chuan) Island, off the coast of mainland China, Francis Xavier (1506–52) regarded that great land where countless people had not heard the Gospel. He was so close to his objective, yet he died away from his companions, attended only by a Chinese convert, Paul, who placed a lighted candle in his hand. By dawn of December 3, 1552, Francis was dead. He was forty-six years of age. Seven decades later at his canonization in 1622, the legend of Francis as an apostle in the league of St. Paul was well established. Although famed for his piety, education, and dedication, it was the image of Francis as "Apostle to the Indies" that would have the strongest impact on Catholic missionary expansion in East Asia.

Japan was the apogee of Francis Xavier's career; here he brought his strategies and methods of evangelization to their fullest synthesis. Francis's key tool was the idea of cultural adaptation, one that he developed most successfully in Japan in his two years there. Later, the Society of Jesus dispatched Alessandro Valignano, SJ as Visitor of Missions to assess the East Asian mission. Consequently appointed the mission's superior, Valignano drew upon Francis's model and pushed for adaptation as the crucial means for effective evangelization in Japan.

Xavier's Evangelistic Methods and Strategies

Despite Francis Xavier's extraordinary missionary journeys and enormous numbers of converts, critics have charged him with employing methods and strategies that were superficial, hasty, insensitive to indigenous cultures, and even harmful in the long run. In fact, Francis did not dwell in any one place for long: He arrived in Goa in 1542, Malacca in 1545, departed for the Moluccas in 1546, and then returned to Malacca the next year. Francis traveled to Japan in 1549, where he remained until 1552. Intending to return to Goa, he made it only as far as coastal China where he died.[1]

Francis Xavier's career in Asia must be understood in the context of sixteenth-century Counter-Reformation Catholicism and Western expansionism. Francis's methods of preaching and ministry grew from his own experience of ministry in Rome, where he and his companions first created the Society of Jesus, looking to its purpose and future and ultimately seeking papal approval. This company of friends met every evening after their day of ministry, which involved teaching catechism to children, ministering to the sick in hospitals, engaging others in spiritual conversation, and counseling the needy and leading them to the sacrament of confession. All these acts and methods of ministry are attested to in the Jesuit constitution.

From the beginning, the Society of Jesus looked to win patronage and converts through engagement with elites. The Society's leading founder, Ignatius of

Loyola (1491–1556), a Basque noble who underwent a conversion experience while convalescing from a broken leg suffered at the Battle of Pamplona, was himself masterful in dealing with the pontiff, cardinals, ecclesiastical leaders, as well as civic leaders and Roman nobility. Ignatius's choice of the site for both the Gesù, the Jesuits' mother church, and the Jesuit *casa professa* ("house of the professed") for Jesuits who had pronounced final vows that included one of dedication to the pope himself, placed the Jesuits in proximity to power. Located at Via di Astalli, the Jesuits neighbored the papal court at Palazzo Venecia, the Campidoglio at Via de Aracoeli, and the Quirinale, the site of Rome's most sumptuous villas. The positioning of these key buildings was surely strategic.[2] Francis Xavier embraced this focus on the influential in the Society's ministry in Asia. In Goa, Francis sought out Portugal's highest officials; in Japan, he would seek out ruling feudal elites.

Francis Xavier's mission began in Goa, an island off the west coast of India and Portugal's administrative center in the East. There, he transplanted his routine from Rome, preaching and ministering to the sick, and seeking out lapsed Portuguese and neophyte Christians who, for lack of priests and preachers, were living less than exemplary lives. Francis's credo, *reformatio vitae* ("reform" or "conversion of life"), taken from Ignatius's formative text *Exercitia Spiritualia* (*Spiritual Exercises*), is fully exemplified in his activities in Goa. This *reformatio* extended even to the clergy who, as the governor of India noted, would greatly profit from a "preacher among those who come here who can devote himself to the clergy, giving them the *Spiritual Exercises* or lectures on Sacred Scripture or the sacraments, since not all the priests who come to India are scholars."[3] Goa was ripe for a reformer of Francis's energy and convictions.

While Goa was already three decades a Portuguese colony, it was home to a substantial Indian population and was surrounded by millions of native peoples. As Francis expanded his ministry beyond the bounds of the familiar, he grew keenly aware that his missionary methods would have to evolve to embrace learning and preaching in local languages. We see this in a letter to the Jesuits in Rome (January 15, 1544), where Francis, now living among the Christians of Cape Comorin explains his need to learn the local language to be able to minister effectively.[4] He wrote:

> They did not understand me nor I them, their native language being Malabar and mine Basque. I assembled those who were more knowledgeable and sought out individuals who understood both our language and theirs. After they had helped me with great toil for many days, we translated the prayers from Latin into Malabar, beginning with the Sign of the Cross, confessing that there are three persons in one sole God, then the Creed, the Commandments, the Our Father, Hail Mary, Salve Regina, and the Confiteor. After I had translated these into their language and had learned them by heart, I went through the entire village with a bell in my hand in order to assemble all the boys and men that I could. After they had been brought together, I taught them twice a day. Within the space of a month, I taught them the prayers and ordered the boys to teach their fathers and mothers and all those of their house and their neighbors what they had learned at school.[5]

This letter goes on to detail the care Francis took communicating the meaning of his lessons with the help of his native assistants.

Francis's advancement across Asia took him progressively from the familiar to the alien. In Goa, he was among Portuguese and Christians a step removed from Europe. The Malabar Christians were accepted and understood as Christians descended from the church established by St. Thomas the Apostle, but they were utterly non-European. When Francis moved on to Japan, he truly entered the world of the "other." Neither European nor Christian, Japan was completely alien.

FRANCIS IN JAPAN

Francis arrived in Japan in August 1549, accompanied by one Japanese convert known as "Anjiro," baptized Paulo or Paul, and seven European missionaries. He arrived in Kagoshima, Kyushu, then part of the Satsuma domain. He brought with him from India the understanding that learning and communicating in the native language would be an absolute necessity. Writing to Jesuits in 1552, Francis reported that in Japan "there is only one language and it is not too difficult to understand."[6] This may have been too hasty an assessment because Francis spent a full year learning Japanese and translating Christian texts and treatises into Japanese.

In Japan, Francis again sought out the highest echelons of power to preach his cause. While in Kagoshima, Francis met the domain lord, or daimyo, Shimazu Takahisa and enjoyed his patronage for a time. In 1551, Francis journeyed to Kyoto to gain an audience with the Japanese emperor, whom he believed wielded considerable influence. His Kyoto journey met first with disappointment, for he prepared as a Jesuit in Europe might, *in modo apostolico*,

that is, as a poor itinerant preacher of the Gospel. While the Jesuit mission extolled and identified with the model of the humble apostle, Japanese culture required that dress express status. When Francis arrived at court, the Japanese were not equipped to interpret Francis's robes; reading him a beggar, court officials sent him away. The next time, Francis dressed as a leader: elegantly dressed and groomed, he brought a retinue, gifts, and letters of introduction designating him Ambassador of Portugal and the papal legate. Francis gained his audience, and ever after he presented himself to Japanese elites as a fellow elite.

In a 1552 letter home, Francis gave his impressions of Japan and its peoples:

> This land of Japan is extremely large consisting entirely of islands....The Japanese are a race that has a very high opinion of itself, since it seems to them that they have no match in arms and chivalry. They are a race that has little esteem for foreign races. They have a high regard for arms and hold them in very great esteem, and they prize nothing so much as to have fine weapons, very well adorned with gold and silver. They always carry swords and daggers, both indoors and out; and when they sleep, they keep them near their head....
>
> They are very bellicose and are constantly at war; and the more power that one has, the greater lord he is. They are a people that have only one king; but it is more than a hundred and fifty years since they have obeyed him, and that is why they continue to fight among themselves.[7]

Japan in the mid-sixteenth century was indeed engulfed in an age of wars and warlords. While there remained an emperor in Kyoto, he wielded no power and Japan was atomized as a collection of aggressive feudal domains. War was the way of life for Japan's ruling elites.

As he studied the Japanese, Francis came to understand how his mission fit into the culture. Japanese at all levels of society were self-content in their traditional ways of life, Francis felt, and expressed no need of Christianity per se. The Japanese practiced Shinto and Buddhism, with Buddhism represented by multiple sects and bodies of belief. Japan's warrior elites welcomed the Jesuits not so much for their evangelical message as for their access to Portuguese trade. Francis hoped to exploit that interest to promote his mission: he planned to engage leading Buddhists, who were among the society's most influential thinkers, in debates that would demonstrate the superiority of Christianity.

In one of his letters from Japan, Francis described the Buddhist clergy thus:

> There are in the land a great number of men and women who make a profession of religion. Among these the men are called "bonzes." There are many kinds of these, some with grey habits, and others with black habits; and there is little friendship between them, since the bonzes in black habits have a great antipathy towards those in grey habits, saying that those in grey habits know little and live badly....
>
> Priests of this kind preach to the people on certain days. The main point which they make in all their preaching is that even though they have committed and are still committing many sins, they should have absolutely no doubt that the saint which they have chosen will free them from hell, even if they go there. The bonzes pray for them, since they keep the five commandments.[8]

Francis's letter reflects a deepening understanding of Buddhist sects and doctrine. That "none of the people will be condemned to hell" stems from the Buddhist concept of *samsara* or reincarnation; death is thus not understood as final as among Christians. The landscape of feuding sects, marked by monastic robes of different color, is consistent with the turbulent politics of the time.

Buddhist monks took pride in their mastery of multiple intellectual disciplines, and many sects valorized the mechanism of debate. Francis realized that the progress of his mission in Japan would in part depend on being able to win intellectual disputes. In a letter to Ignatius (January 29, 1552), Francis requested more Jesuits for his mission, with the following criteria: "Now all this being so, it is self evident that what we want here are powerful intellects, practised in dialectics, gifted with a popular eloquence, quick to follow error in its shiftings and even to anticipate them, able to snatch the mask from lies which plausibly bear the semblance of reality, to unravel sophistical arguments, and to show the incoherence and mutual contradiction of false doctrines."[9] Francis justified this request by saying that in Japan there are many prudent persons of sound judgment but unlearned, that is, they had not had formal schooling. When confronted with their errors these people cite the teachings of the Buddhist monks. Buddhist monks who devote their lives to deep research and learning, Francis continued, were regarded as authorities to whom one might

entrust matters of metaphysical and ethical meaning.

In new Jesuit recruits, Francis required the best and the brightest to engage Buddhist intellectuals in their familiar mode of doctrinal debate. While the monks themselves might not be persuaded to conversion, lay Japanese might. The power of language was again essential, and the appeal would ultimately be made to Japanese elites engaged as audience to such debates.

EVANGELIZATION AND THE VISUAL IMAGE

Jesuit missions used images in their teaching as a matter of course. Images in evangelization, catechizing, and teaching long had a major role in Catholic tradition. The invention of movable type in the fifteenth century and improvements in metal engravings revolutionized Catholic teaching. No longer constrained by single, handmade words and images, printing made many copies and relatively cheaply. Ignatius recognized this potential in his project to print *Spiritual Exercises* accompanied by illustrations, whereby the "rudes," or the unlettered, could access the ideas through pictures. Ignatius's dream was never realized; however, Geronimo Nadal, one of Ignatius's first companions, produced *Evangelicae historiae imagines* (Images of Gospel history, an illustrated Gospel) using both text and images. Including 153 engravings made by Flemish artists, each image was accompanied by explanatory footnotes. Large in dimension, the engravings were used by preachers to illustrate the ideas and events of the Gospel that they delivered verbally.

The Jesuit use of images went further than simply established Catholic practice. The Jesuits subscribed to the methods of Ciceronian rhetoric, which counseled using art, and so beautiful pictures, "to delight, to teach, and to move" (*delectare, docere, movere*). More importantly, images could help the Jesuits reach across language barriers in Asia, especially since priests moved frequently across cultures and countries and so lacked the time to develop proficiency in local languages.[10] Jesuit preaching in Asia largely followed established practice in Europe, except that they now required assistants in addition to pictures to interpret their words. This is well illustrated in André Reinoso's painting, *Francis Xavier Preaching in Goa*, c. 1619, where the priest utilizes both pictures and an interpreter to reach his Asian audience.[11]

Evidence abounds in Asia for the presence of imported Catholic imagery. Nadal's illustrated Gospel clearly made it to China, where we have Chinese depictions based on the work's engraved images. Individual icons were copied for use in missions, including the Madonna from the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, *Salus Populi Romani*.[12] Large works of painting and sculpture were not practical for travel, so the Jesuits relied on smaller objects and reduced-size copies. Great works by Michaelangelo, Raphael, Rubens, Velázquez, and others were rendered in engraving and collected into volumes that traveled to Asia. In India, for instance, we see native artists "quoting" from Michaelangelo's Sistine Chapel.

In Japan, images played an enormous role both as icons and as examples of a wholly different artistic tradition. When Francis first met with Shimazu Takahisa, lord of the Satsuma domain, he brought with him pictures. Bringing depictions of the Annunciation and the Madonna, Takahisa and his elderly mother both were entranced. Jesuit writers interpreted their fascination as adoration, particularly as the daimyo requested that copies of the novel images be made for him.[13] Interest in European art flourished in Japan in the later sixteenth century, fueled by a steady stream of Jesuit requests for more images from Europe through the years 1565 to 1584.[14]

THE IMAGE OF FRANCIS

Francis himself, as leader of the Asian missions, became one of its most important icons. The Society of Jesus was founded in 1540 and was still in the process of institutional maturation. Jesuits in Europe carefully cultivated Francis's image as Apostle to the Indies as a bid toward his canonization. Francis's copious Asian correspondence with Ignatius, the Jesuits, friends, and nobles contained much information about the lands he visited and the peoples he encountered, serving as a kind of travelogue that gained wide popularity in Europe. As Massimo Leone observes:

> Francis Xavier's letters...provoked an extraordinary enthusiasm throughout early modern Catholic Europe. In Spain and Portugal, in Rome and during the sessions of the Council of Trent, in Cologne and Coimbra, these letters turned into an object of frequent and passionate reading. The king of Portugal ordered to have them read in churches. Cardinal Marcello Cervini, who would become pope as Marcellus II, collected Francis Xavier's documents with fervent devotion.[15]

This corpus of writing, which enjoyed such enormous popularity, served both biographers and artists as Francis the missionary became Francis, Apostle to the Indies.

An iconography quickly consolidated around Francis. Orazio Torsellini, SJ's 1594 biography of Francis, *De vita Francisci Xaverii*, written to promote the

cause for beatification, began the process. Torsellini's biography recounts Francis's gradual conversion by Ignatius through conversation and his practice of the *Spiritual Exercises*, his dream of bearing an Indian on his shoulders, his preaching in Europe, and his fulfillment as leader of the Asian mission. Torsellini's plot strands include Francis's development from converted to converter, Francis's preaching as direct appeal to the heart, and his role as a founder of the Jesuits' pastoral mission.[16] Adopting the current critical stand toward the miraculous, Torsellini avoided the image of sudden, wondrous conversion and depicted Francis's career as rooted in good works. Reissued in 1596 with corrections, the work was translated into Spanish in 1600, French in 1608, Italian in 1612, and Flemish in 1648.

Two types of engravings emerged that accompanied popular translations of Torsellini's biography. One type depicted Xavier dressed in surplice and stole, a preacher's proper liturgical garments, and carrying symbolic attributes. Francis could be shown holding the cross of the church with or without the *corpus*, an Easter lily symbolizing chastity or purity, or both of these attributes. This image type emphasized the power of Francis's preaching and created purposeful parallels with the iconic image of Ignatius of Loyola in chasuble and stole either celebrating or presiding at Mass. The Jesuits understood preaching and presiding at Mass as two different functions. Preaching in public was an activity restricted to the professed, and in a liturgical celebration one priest would preside and another would preach.

The second image type showed Xavier dressed as a pilgrim with staff in hand and either a full cape enfolding his body or a short cape called a *manteo* covering his torso. The image of the pilgrim invokes the iconography of St. James the Apostle, who brought Christianity to Spain and is known there as "Santiago," "San Iago," and "San Diego." Spanish depictions of Francis utilize the short *manteo* cape and gourd canteen tied to the traveler's staff found in Santiago depictions. Pilgrims on the Camino de Santiago, which ends in Campostela, also carry these attributes. The allusion to St. James thus emphasizes Francis's role as journeying apostle and preacher.

Torsellini's biography yielded additional Francis iconography. One of these images takes Francis as preacher and elevates him to apotheosis. In these depictions, Francis appears before an audience while his own attention is directed heavenward. A descending ray of divine light, an expression of divine favor, answers his gaze. The light further recalls the conversion of the Apostle Paul, when such a ray strikes him off his horse and he hears: "Saul, Saul, why are you persecuting me?" (Acts 9:4).

In early engravings of Francis this image type has a dramatic variant: chest open, the ray of heavenly light strikes his flaming heart. Two early engravings, of uncertain date but believed to be before 1600, place a flaming winged heart between Francis and either Jesus or the Father. These engravings came from the printing workshop of the Guasp family. The paterfamilias, Gabriel Guasp, established the print shop in 1576 in Palma de Mallorca and it continued to function as a family business until 1908. The flaming heart can be interpreted in several ways: divine grace flooding Francis, Francis offering a zealous heart, or the heat of divine inspiration driving Francis to carry the Gospel to the East.

A final image type grounds Francis's activities in Asia in the historical. Francis is shown as missionary, staff in hand, the breadth of his mission in Asia represented by an array of diverse peoples. Richly clad, the onlookers surely refer to the foreign elites Francis sought out during his career. Some Spanish works emphasize Francis's foreign labors by including background scenes of him preaching and distant ships or just sails that allude to his journey.

PORTRAIT OF ST. FRANCIS, KOBE

Portraits of Francis were among the images used by Jesuits in Japan. The Jesuits made repeated requests for paintings and engravings of all kinds from Europe, but the process was a slow and expensive one. By necessity, the Jesuits resorted to creating their own sources for images in Japan, inclusive of a painting school that could supply the oil paintings and prints and develop the imagery needed by the Jesuit mission. Jesuits founded the *schola pictorum*, or Painting School, in 1583, its founder an Italian Jesuit priest, Giovanni Niccolò (or Nicolao, c. 1558–1626) who was also a professional painter from Nola, near Naples. Painting instruction there was set into a humanist and religious education that included Latin.[17] This institution had an itinerant life until it settled in Nagasaki in 1602. It flourished until 1614 when authorities ordered all missionaries expelled from Japan, but by that time numerous Japanese painters had learned European methods. The success of the Painting School inspired Jesuit colleges throughout Asia to train students in the fundamentals of European-style depiction.

The Painting School supplied the Jesuit mission with pictures to use as preaching aids and as decorations of churches on important feast days or academic convocations. Japanese students had to rely primarily on engravings for models at the Painting School, which limited their access to a full appreciation of European painting. Smaller than typical oil paintings, the engravings, too, lacked color and the subtlety of brush strokes. The model engravings were typically

Flemish, following current Portuguese tastes. But as the Jesuits in Japan turned increasingly international, Spanish and Italian models were also introduced.[18]

Among the most famous Japanese Jesuit works is the portrait of St. Francis owned by the Kobe City Museum (fig. 1). This work is executed in Japanese pigments and gold on paper and painted in Western style. The tall rectangular form shows its origins as a hanging scroll, though it is now a framed panel. Fully iconic in treatment, the picture devotes much of its surface to the figure of Francis Xavier. Below this is a register of script in Latin and Japanese identifying the figure. The depiction of Francis is restricted to the bust, making his image somewhat under life-size. The detailed iconographic knowledge for rendering Francis as well as the use of Latin indicates that the painter likely trained at the Jesuit Painting School.[19]

St. Francis occupies the foreground, his gnarled hands crossed in front of his chest. He wears the black habit and long cape of the Jesuits over a white undershirt visible at his neck and wrist. A thin golden halo circles his head. Francis is surrounded by a dark sky, which opens to reveal a lighted heaven containing the crucified Christ and framed by clouds and cherubs. Francis gazes upward at Christ from whose cross emanates a sunburst in the baroque manner of alternating straight and wavy rays. The IHS monogram, also accompanied by rays of light, appears midway up and behind the vertical shaft of the cross. At the base of the crucifix is a flaming heart, which rests on the fingers of Francis's open right hand. The motif of wavy flame rays connects the heart to the light radiating above. From Francis's lips emanate his familiar words, *Satis est Dñe satis est* ("It is enough Lord, it is enough"). The overall meaning of the painting suggests that the Christianization of Japan is not Francis's initiative but a response to divine call.

Fig. 1: *S. P. Frāciscus Xaverius Societatisu*, after 1624? Pigments and gold on paper, 61 x 48.7 cm, Kobe City Museum.

The text below the image is first in Latin and then in Japanese, the Japanese appearing over a solid gold ground typical of some schools of Japanese painting. The Latin reads *S. P. Frāciscus Xaverius Societatisu,* and identifies the figure. Grace Vlam has explained the Japanese text, which begins and ends with vermillion seals, as follows:

> The first seal in the upper right hand corner reads IHS vertically; the last seal in the lower left corner is the characteristic vase or pot seal of the Kanō school of art, a mark indicative of the artist's affiliation. The text, written in the grass-style of *manyōgana* (Chinese characters used phonetically) reads: "San furanshisuko saberyusu sakaramento," followed by the signature read as "Gyofu Kanjin," which has been interpreted as meaning fisherman.[20]

The curious text in Japanese calligraphy, transliterated as *San furanshisuko saberyusu sakaramento*, may translate as "Sacrament of St. Francis Xavier." In Catholic tradition, a sacrament is a sign that points to another reality, a spiritual one. Sacraments make present what is invisible to the eyes and undetectable by human senses. In the Byzantine tradition, an image or icon makes the person of a saint present. Perhaps, the painting, done after Francis's death, suggests that the image brings the viewer in contact with the heroic person of Francis Xavier. Francis is not far off but at hand, communion with him achieved through prayer and faith.

The identity of the painter is not known, though the seals used with the inscription provide clues. The IHS seal in the upper right is specifically Jesuit. These letters form a monogram from the phrase *Jesus Hominum Salvator,* which the Jesuits employed as the principal design in their official seal. It appears in the seal of the Father General, first used by Ignatius of Loyola, and in subsequent seals in books, statuary, colleges, and churches of the Jesuits. This is the same IHS that appears on the cross in the painting. The second seal, shaped as a wide-bellied pot, was the proprietary mark of the Kanō school of painting, an extensive family-based guild of painters serving Japan's warrior elites. The signature, *Gyofu Kanjin*, is in the form of an artistic pseudonym and has not been identified, though the reference to a fisherman could have Christian meaning. The seals and expert

knowledge displayed indicate a Japanese painter who trained with both the Kanō and the Jesuits.

Aspects of the painting may refer to Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*, the seminal Jesuit text and one that Francis had worked through with his teacher and its author, Ignatius. Ignatius conceived *Spiritual Exercises* as a four-week manual for use during retreat. The retreat leader used the four weeks, each with its own theme, to guide the participants in daily prayer and meditation. The first week addressed sin, repentance, and conversion; the second, the life of Christ and applications to one's own life; the third, the Passion and death of Christ; and the fourth, the Resurrection. These are among the core lessons of the missionary, the *Exercises* giving form to doctrine.

Other exercises not falling neatly into the weekly themes supplemented the course, including a meditation comparing the call of an earthly king to that of Jesus. Entitled "The Kingdom of Christ," Ignatius put the challenge of Jesus Christ to the participant to join him in a campaign to win the world for the Father.[21] Those who respond to Christ's challenge fall under his sacred standard or banner, marked by the cross, and oppose Satan.[22] The image of the sacred standard is additionally connected to a vision Ignatius had where he saw God the Father place him under the standard of the cross, a vision Ignatius interpreted as one confirming that the founding of the Society of Jesus was not his own ambition but him responding to a call from God. In the Kobe portrait of St. Francis, it is Francis who falls under the sacred banner and who answers the call of God. The *Spiritual Exercises* concludes with an oblation, the last line reading, "Give me thy love and thy grace, for this is sufficient for me," words that surely inform Francis's utterance in the painting.[23]

The image of Francis is thought to derive from

Fig. 2: Portrait of St. Francis Xavier (detail, plate 26, Diocese de Coimbra, Sé Nova, © Arnaldo Soares/Direção-Geral do Património Cultural/Divisão de Documentação, Comunicação e Informática).

Orazio Torsellini's biography of St. Francis Xavier, which was printed several times and with two different engraved portraits of Francis, the first by Theodore Galle (1571–1633/4), the second by Hieronymus Wierix (1553–1619).[24] Extant copies of this biography in Japanese collections appear to date no earlier than 1597 and bear the Wierix image. However, an extant copy of the 1596 imprint of Francis's letters, edited by Torsellini, uses the Galle image as its frontispiece. The Galle image provides a bust portrait of Francis, his hands grasping the front edges of his habit at breast level and his gaze directed upward to a wisp of light, with a block of text below and the words *Sat est, Domine, sat est* along the top border of the image.[25] A extant Japanese copy of the 1597 edition of Torsellini's *De vita Francisci Xaverii* uses the Wierix image, which places the bust portrait into an oval and pictures Francis in his black Jesuit cloak, hands crossed over his chest, while the words *Sat est, Domine, sat est* are given in an oval at the top.[26] The Kobe portrait surely owes its basic composition to both of these printed depictions, the addition of the cross and vision of heaven building upon the idea of Francis's call to evangelize.

The present exhibition includes one painted image of St. Francis. Attributed to the lay Jesuit, Manuel Henriques, SJ, it is thought to come from the early seventeenth century (fig. 2; plate 26).[27] This oil on canvas depiction is in Sé Nova, formerly a Jesuit church in Coimbra, Portugal. This painting presents a bust portrait of Francis, splendidly attired, his left hand poised over his heart and his right hand raised. Immediately above this hand a shining anthropomorphized sun hovers, its bottom-most rays touching his palm. The aureole of the sun is matched with a similar display around the saint's head.

This is an image of Francis in glory. His typical black Jesuit robes are here covered over in a brocade-like scheme of fine abstract decoration. Beaded pearls fall from his belt. Such ornamentation of otherwise plain and drab vesture was common in Iberian iconography, and the effect here is sumptuous. The small units of patterning are also reminiscent of the gold and mother-of-pearl inlays used routinely in Japanese lacquerwares. Once again, the rays of sun and halo follow the baroque pattern of alternating straight and wavy lines. The sun gracing Francis's hand is surely symbolic of Francis's spreading the light of the Gospel to the world. Francis raises his hand to his heart, in gesture of heartfelt sincerity.

Imagery from the story of Francis was used on Japanese liturgical items as well. The exhibition offers one fine example in the form of a baptismal bowl. The bowl is typical of Japanese stoneware but sized and decorated to suit Jesuit needs. The bowl bears the crab of Francis, a cross, and the IHS symbol (plate 28). With objects such as this, we see the Jesuits taking

advantage of Japan's flourishing art industries and placing orders for specialty items. Jesuit direction was essential for the potter's understanding of the decorative scheme, and the Painting School was surely the source for pictorial examples of how the design should be executed.

The bowl's interior features a three-dimensional crab, its legs affixed to the curved interior when the vessel was formed. The crab derives from the story of St. Francis Xavier, when, on his way to Malacca, he was caught by a sudden squall at sea. His ship was in danger of sinking; Francis prayed that the storm would cease. Taking off the crucifix he wore around his neck, he cast it into the sea. As soon as the crucifix touched water, the seas calmed and the ship made its way safely to Malacca. Francis was saddened at having lost the crucifix, but then out of the sea came a crab clutching the lost item in its claws. Here the story lapses into legend. It is said that Francis blessed the crab and thereafter its species bears a white cross on its carapace, thus becoming known as "the St. Francis crab" and becoming part of Francis's iconography.

In this bowl, the crab recalls the story in a more historical vein, as it appears without markings. In use, the depicted crab follows the story, for this one, too, would emerge from the waters, his raised front claws a prominent reminder of its service to Francis. The sides of the bowl continue the program of Christian imagery, with a cross and the IHS monogram that further marks this baptismal bowl as made for Jesuit use. The bands of contained wavy lines at the short ends are curious, but may rely upon Japanese depiction: the elongated form and bands at the ends recall the form of a bale, used for sake kegs and rice. The potter may thus be completing the need for decoration by using an abstract pattern suited to the oblong form.

Several factors impact the dating of this bowl.

Fig. 3: Marcus de Orozco, engraving of Francis Xavier, 1621. From Francisco Colin, *Labor evangelica de los Obreros de la Compañia de Jesus en las islas Filipinas*, ed. and annot. Pablo Pastells (Barcelona: Henrich, 1900).

A dramatic expansion in stoneware and porcelain production occurred in Japan following Hideyoshi's two invasions of the Korean peninsula in 1592/3 and 1597/8. In those campaigns Christian daimyo from Kyushu were important leaders and among other booty, captured Korean potters. Japanese elites, particularly those who practiced tea ceremony, esteemed Korean stoneware and particularly the *bunch'eong* type, which utilized white glaze over stoneware bodies in a variety of decorative schemes. Korean potters were set to work at Japanese kilns during the first years of the 1600s, where they transferred their knowledge of firing and decoration. Christianity was officially banned in 1614 by the succeeding Tokugawa shoguns. Either this bowl dates to that interval, or it was fashioned clandestinely by Christians practicing their faith in secret.

APOSTLE TO THE INDIES

The image of the canonized Francis, Apostle to the Indies, offers a culmination of his missionary labors in Asia. A seventeenth-century engraving, made by Marcus de Orozco as the frontispiece for Francisco Colin's *Labor evangelica*, a history of Jesuits in the Philippines up to 1616, gives us an apotheosis that envisions a single Asia redeemed by St. Francis (fig. 3).[28] Francis is a colossus, straddling the islands of Southeast Asia. He rests one foot on the island of Mindanao, in the southern Philippines. To his left are the Visayan Islands and to his right what are most likely the Moluccas. Churches with towers dot the islands. In the distance is the rising sun, its face just barely above the horizon. A new dawn comes to Asia, thanks to Francis.

The figure of Francis is heroic. He stands, but his form communicates energy. Body positioned in *contrapposto* and with arms raised, Francis's habit and surplice fall in animated folds while his stole lifts in the wind. Francis gazes upon the large crucifix he holds aloft in his right hand, while gesturing with an open left hand. The crucifix casts its long shadow over the waters of Asia. The meaning of the left hand is ambiguous: Perhaps he signals acceptance of God's call to the standard of the cross. Perhaps the hands

indicate preaching the Gospel to lands arrayed at his feet. Perhaps he invites others to join him in the Indies and continue the work of evangelization and conversion.

A Latin banner wraps around the perimeter of the engraving and is an extract from Isaiah 60:9, *Me insulae expectant et naves maris in principio ut adducam filios tuos de longe*, or "For, the islands wait for me, and the ships of the sea in the beginning: that I may bring thy sons from afar."[29] Five ships in the image, three in full sail and two docked, represent the *naves maris* of the quote. Those in sail are streaming toward Francis. The two ships in the foreground depict Jesuits with their habits, capes, and four-cornered hats. Like the gesture of Francis, the Latin text applied to the image is ambiguous. Who are the "sons from afar"? Are they the peoples of Asia? Are they the Jesuits who have answered Francis's challenge to exchange their intellectual pursuits to an apostolic pursuit of conversion? Or are they both so that Francis's invitation becomes one of bringing together "from afar" those from East and West?

Much of the iconography of Francis is present here: the surplice and stole, the crucifix and heavenly gaze. Between the two stationary ships is a crab retrieving the crucifix Francis lost at sea. In addition, we have an expanded narrative, where the call to evangelize in Asia is answered by Jesuits in the ships. The rising sun here, too, suggests the idea of the dawn of Christianization in Asia. Certainly the image is triumphal as the reality of struggle and trial is lost in favor of him as the monumental beacon of Asia. He lords over the waves of the sea, making them calm so that the summons issuing from the crucified Christ through Francis can bring East and West together.[30]

The mission Francis began in Japan flourished after his departure and death in 1552. Initially, Japanese leaders welcomed the Jesuit mission for opportunities to trade with the Europeans, namely, the Portuguese. Some Japanese leaders did indeed embrace the new religion as Francis's strategies of engaging in learned debate, employing images, and careful attention to potential converts bore fruit. But as conversions increased, Christianity became suspect as a new feudal authority in the form of Tokugawa shoguns sought to consolidate power and control. Worse still, rumors circulated that the traders and their missionary brethren were in fact an advance party studying Japan for possible colonization. Ultimately, the Tokugawa banned the religion and expelled the missionaries, bringing to an end Francis's dreams for a Christianized Japan.

1. That Francis Xavier was not an unqualified success has already been noted by biographers like Alban Goodier. See his *Saints for Sinners* (New York: Doubleday, 1959); James Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier, 1506–1552* (London: Burns and Oates, 1952) and the authoritative work of Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, SJ, 4 vols. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1973–82).

2. Thomas Lucas, *Landmarking: City, Church and Jesuit Urban Strategy* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1996). This is the thesis of the whole book by Lucas. He does, however, discuss the thesis more pointedly in chapter 6, "A Good and True Jerusalem," 85–105.

3. M. Joseph Costelloe, SJ, trans. and intro., *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992), 55. In Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, 2:275, the last clause is translated as "are not all educated." Footnote 36 reads: "No son todos literados," which is Xavier's euphemistic expression for uneducated or ill-trained. The context of this statement is Francis's letter to Ignatius from Goa (September 20, 1542) where he speaks about a college, named by some "College of the Conversion of St. Paul and others of the Holy Faith." This college was founded at the initiative of some Portuguese and the College Church of the Conversion of St. Paul was consecrated on January 25, 1543. The governor was an ardent patron and it was he who asked for Jesuits to run the college (Costelloe, *Letters and Instructions*, 52–56). An older English translation of Francis Xavier's letters is Henry J. Coleridge, ed. and trans., *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, 2 vols. (London: Burns and Gates, 1872).

4. Cape Coromin (Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu) in southern India, also known for its pearl fisheries.

5. Costelloe, *Letters and Instructions*, 65.

6. Ibid., 327.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., 327, 329. Five commandments, i.e., the five precepts obligatory to all: not to harm living beings; not to take what is not freely given; not to engage in sexual misconduct; not to lie; and not to take intoxicating drink. Francis cites these commandments in paragraph nine of his 1552 letter.

9. Ibid., 369. Costelloe translates this paragraph as follows: "There is need for trained scholars, especially for good *artystas*, to answer their [*bonzes'*] questions, and for those who are *sophystas* to catch them up as soon as they contradict themselves. These bonzes are deeply ashamed when they are caught in contradictions, or when they are unable to reply (346)." A footnote to this paragraph defines *artystas* and *sophystas*: "He is asking for philosophers and dialecticians" (346n7).

10. "Many of the first Jesuits had serious trouble learning the diverse languages of Asia, and some, such as the first missionary, Francis Xavier, in Japan never advanced beyond the most rudimentary speaking level" (Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Jesuit Art and Architecture in Asia," in *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, and Giovanni Sale [Philadelphia: St. Joseph University, 2005], 314).

11. See figure 10.2 in ibid., 315.

12. See figures 10.23, 10.25 in ibid., 338, 340.

13. "When Paulo [Francis's Japanese assistant Anjiro] went to talk with the duke [Takahisa], who was five leagues away from Kagoshima, he took with him an image of Our Lady that we had

brought with us. And the duke was very contented and kneeled down before the picture of the dead Christ and our Lady and adored it with reverence, showing much delight.

"A few days after Paulo's return to Kagoshima, where we were, the duke's mother sent a gentleman for the making of a picture similar to that one. Since we could not find materials in that place that was not possible" (Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, SJ, ed. *Documentos de Japon*, 1547–1557 [vol. 1]; 1548–1562 [vol. 2], 156–57 in Alexandra Curvelo, "Copy to Convert: Jesuits' Missionary Practice in Japan," in *The Culture of Copying in Japan: Critical and Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Robert Fox [New York: Routledge, 2008], 115).

14. Ibid., 115–16, 120–21.

15. Massimo Leone, *Saints and Signs: A Semiotic Reading of Conversion in Early Modern Catholicism* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 332.

16. See ibid., 375, 388.

17. Grace A. H. Vlam assembles all documentary references for the school in "Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1976), 264–72.

18. Francis had suggested that Jesuits from Northern European countries, like Germany, should be sent to Japan, because if they were to work in Bandu (a city in northern Japan) where there was a large Buddhist university, they had to survive the biting winter cold, to which these Northerners would have been accustomed. So from the very beginning, Jesuits in Japan were potentially an international group.

19. The dating of this work is hotly debated. The reference to "Saint" Francis suggests a date after his canonization in 1624, but there are multiple examples of Francis depicted with a halo and with the "saint" title prior to this date, including examples known to have been in Japan. See Grace Vlam for an extended discussion of this problem, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 184–200. Vlam points to, among other things, the famous commission to Peter Paul Rubens for portraits of Saints Francis and Ignatius prior to their canonization and to the 1626 ruling by Pope Urban VIII forbidding any further use of the title "saint" for persons not yet canonized.

20. Grace A. H. Vlam, "The Portrait of S. Francis Xavier in Kobe," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 42, no. 1 (1979): 48, and Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 184, text nearly identical. The quote is given without the figure and source citations appearing in the original.

21. Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, trans. Louis J. Puhl (Manila: St. Paul Publications, 1980), nos. 91–109. The text of the *Spiritual Exercises* has been cited using paragraph and section numbers traditionally assigned to the text. See Ignatius of Loyola, *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius with Related Documents*, ed. John C. Olin, trans. Joseph F. O'Callaghan (New York: Harper and Row, 1974) for the story of the genesis of the *Spiritual Exercises*, especially in his experience of prayer at Manresa.

22. Ibid., nos. 137–47.

23. Ibid., no. 234.

24. Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 188–89.

25. The work is signed "Theodorus Gallaeus, engraver" (*Theodorus Gallaeus, sculpsit*). Galle's engraving of Francis Xavier is available online at Sophia University's Laures Rare Book Database Project & Virtual Gallery: Orazio Torsellini, SJ, *Francisci Xaverii Epistolarum* (Rome, 1596), vv. http://laures.cc.sophia.ac.jp/laures/pageview/id=JL-1596-KB3-222-130/. Copies of this text are owned by Sophia University, Tokyo and the Tenri Central Library, Tenri, Japan.

26. The extant copy in Japan of this work is owned by Sophia University. See Sophia University's Laures Rare Book Database Project & Virtual Gallery: Orazio Torsellini, SJ, *De vita Francisci Xaverii* (Liège, 1597), iiiv. http://laures.cc.sophia.ac.jp/laures/pageview/id=JL-1597-KB4/.

27. By 1651, Henriques was in Malacca with another Jesuit to assess the state of the city's Catholic residents under the Dutch, who had seized the city in war with Portugal. Liam Matthew Brockey, "Nodes of Empire," in *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World*, ed. Liam Matthew Brockey (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), 2–7.

28. The engraving is signed by Marcus de Orozco. The plate was made in Europe as no engraver with such name is recorded in the Philippines. The plate is a frontispiece for a history of the Jesuits in the Philippines, *Labor evangelica, ministerios apostólicos de los obreros de la Compañia de Iesus, fundacion y progressos de su provincia en las islas Filipinas*, intended as the continuation of a history of the Philippine province to bring the historical narrative up to 1616. The first volume was a work by Pedro Chirino, who arrived in the Philippines in the seventeenth century. Chirino's manuscript history was brought to Rome but was never published. Francisco Colin, who wrote *Labor evangelica*, incorporated much of the information in Chirino's unpublished history. Colin's history was published in Madrid in 1663, by José Fernández Buendía. The seventeenth-century edition of Colin is quite rare and citation is often made from a 1900 edition: Francisco Colin, *Labor evangelica de los Obreros de la Compañia de Jesus en las islas Filipinas*, ed. and annot. Pablo Pastells (Barcelona: Henrich, 1900). For this twentieth-century edition, the text was reset but the engravings accompanying the earlier seventeenth-century edition were reprinted. For this essay, the twentieth-century reprint of the engraving is used.

29. The complete quote and its translation of Isaiah 60:9: *me enim insulae expectant et naves maris in principio ut adducam filios tuos de longe argentum eorum et aurum eorum cum eis nomini Domini Dei tui et Sancto Israhel quia glorificavit te* ("for, the islands wait for me, and the ships of the sea in the beginning: that I may bring thy sons from afar: their silver, and their gold with them, to the name of the Lord thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel, because he hath glorified thee").

30. If Francis is depicted like a colossus in this seventeenth-century engraving, the eighteenth-century map of the Philippines (printed 1744) designed by the Jesuit Pedro Murillo Velarde and engraved by a Tagalog, Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, depicts Francis riding a chariot pulled by seahorses. He holds aloft a banner with the monogram of Jesus. Above him is the text *Princeps maris*. The allusion to Apollo riding the chariot of the sun is unmistakable. Francis is one with the gods.

THE MUTUAL EMPLACEMENT OF JAPAN AND EUROPE DURING THE NANBAN CENTURY

Angelo Cattaneo

Around 1300 Marco Polo alerted Christian Europe to the existence of *Zipangu*, a distant, idolatrous, unconquerable kingdom rich in gold, pearls, and precious stones situated to the east of Cathay.[1] On the basis of Marco Polo's account, Fra Mauro (Venice, c. 1450), Henricus Martellus Germanus (Florence, c. 1490), Martin Behaim (Nuremberg, 1492), and Cristoforo Colombo (1492), among others, attempted to place *Zipangu* in the European *imago mundi* (map of the world), of the fifteenth century.[2]

Between 1515 and 1520, a new geography of the eastern maritime spaces of the Indian Ocean—new with respect to those inherited from antiquity and medieval Christian and Muslim travelers like Marco Polo, Niccolò dei Conti, and Ibn Battuta—came into being on the basis of information the Portuguese acquired directly in Asia from local agents. And this not long after the fleet commanded by Vasco da Gama and guided by the Muslim pilot and astronomer, Ahmad Ibn Mājid, of Yemeni origins, reached Calicut on the southwestern coast of India.[3] In this context, the Portuguese apothecary Tomé Pires (c. 1465–c. 1540), who was responsible for the selection and acquisition of spices for the ships of the *Carreira da Índia*, composed a work, *Suma Oriental*, a wide-ranging account of the East in which was figured *Ilha Jampom* (or its equivalents *Japon, Iapam*). Pires's Japan was distinct from the literary and cartographic traditions of Marco Polo's *Zipangu* and marks the first appearance of Japan in the literary *imago mundi* described by a European.

Pires composed the *Suma* in Malacca, in what is present-day Malaysia, while awaiting a ship traveling to China with the goal of reaching Beijing and the court of the emperor in what turned out to be an unsuccessful and dramatic diplomatic mission. In one brief reference, Pires described how the *Ilha de Jampom* was situated a few days' sail from the islands of Ryukyu (*Lequíos*), a chain of islands that stretch northwest from Taiwan to Kyushu, nevertheless some distance from China. As the Japanese were not accustomed to maritime navigation, the inhabitants of the *Lequíos* managed a lucrative commerce in which Japanese gold and copper was exchanged for precious Chinese textiles.[4]

Some twenty years after Pires gathered this initial fragmentary information on Japan in Malacca, there was a shipwreck around 1542/3 of a Chinese junk on the island of Tanegashima, south of Kyushu, which led the first Portuguese merchants to land on Japanese soil. Among them, there was Fernão Mendes Pinto (1509–83) and the captain Jorge Alvarez who, after returning to Malacca, informed the Spanish Jesuit Francisco Xavier (1506–52)—one the founders of the Society of Jesus and among the first and most active Jesuit missionaries in the Indian Ocean—of the existence of the rich Japanese kingdom.[5] Just a few years later, in the summer of 1549, Xavier landed another Chinese junk at Kagoshima, a port city at the extreme southwest of Kyushu. From this point, Portuguese ships regularly returned to Japan, bringing it

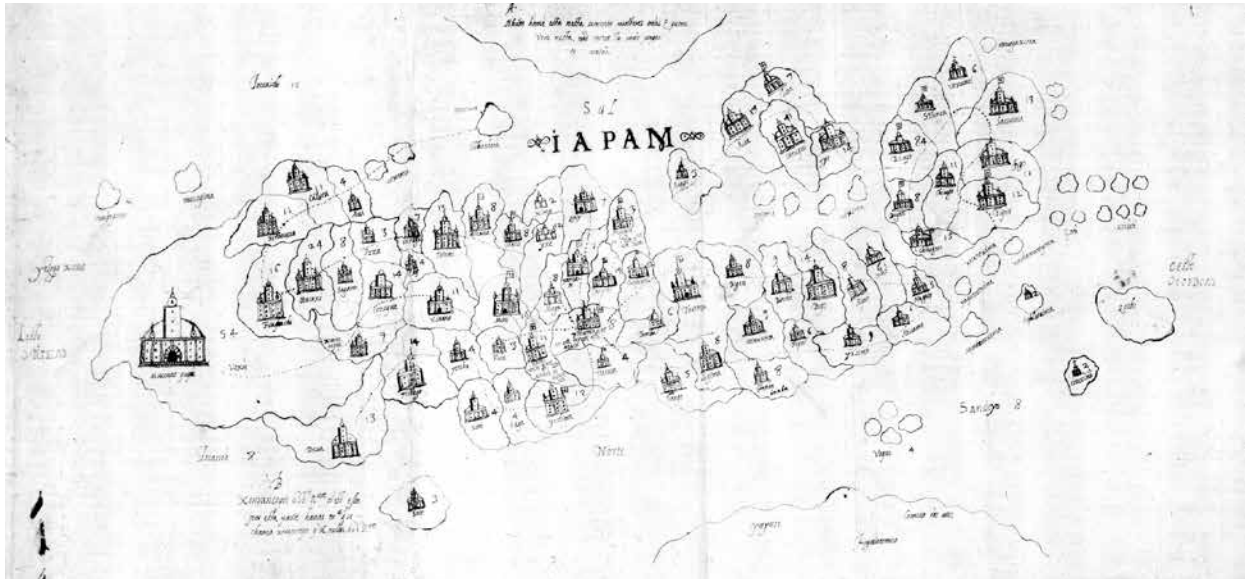

Fig. 1: *Iapam* (Map of Japan), 1585. Ink on paper, 27.6 x 60 cm, State Archives, Florence, Misc. Med. 97, ins. 91, ff. 2–4.

into networks of commerce that grew to encompass the globe.

As Europeans, or *nanban-jin* as the Japanese called them, engaged with Japanese political, religious, and social elites, the world expanded for both: European maps benefitted from Japan's rich cartographic traditions, while Japanese leadership could envision political reunification of their country on a global stage. Within this articulated context, the synoptic analysis of both European and Japanese sources highlights three main interconnected cartographic genres through which the emplacement of Japan in the European *imago mundi* and, vice versa, the European *imago mundi*, was incorporated into Japanese cosmography, as developed between 1550 and 1650.

Portuguese manuscript cartography developed in collaboration with Asian merchants and pilots as well as with the first Jesuits, who reached Japan in 1549.[6] Maps and literary accounts were dispatched to Lisbon or Seville in the forms of treatises or letters, where they were then often re-elaborated and circulated in manuscript form to many European courts. A few of these were also printed in Northern Europe, especially in Antwerp, Cologne, and Amsterdam, but also in Venice.[7] The Jesuits in Japan also themselves produced maps using Japanese sources, which they sent back to Europe. These were copied, re-elaborated, and printed primarily in Italy, especially in Rome, Florence, and Naples.

Japanese manuscript cartography grew in response to Portuguese Jesuit, Chinese, and Dutch cartography. Matteo Ricci, SJ (1552–1610), for instance, worked in collaboration with Chinese Confucian scholars and engravers and was an important source for Japanese cartographers, who addressed the islands of Japan and the wider world. Using particularly the form of the folding screen (*byōbu*), Japanese painters addressed both the geography of Japan and the world by re-elaborating works from these many sources. Folding screens are a painting format native to Japan and the topic of cartography was one of many nanban or foreign/Portuguese topics treated on their broad surfaces. Nanban cartography on folding screens was first a product of the *schola pictorum* (Painting School) under the direction of Giovanni Niccolò, SJ (c. 1558–1626) and founded at the behest of Visitor of Missions, Alessandro Valignano, SJ (1539–1606).

Whether made for the use of trade, Jesuit missions, or for Japanese consumption, these three cartographic trajectories developed interdependently in the nanban period. Here, we focus on the latter two strands, drawing attention to some characteristic features and to their interdependence. This choice depends on the fact that Portuguese manuscript cartography of Japan is by far the best known of the three strands, and at the same time the less relevant to the study of the *mutual* emplacement of Japan and Europe in the early modern period.[8]

JESUIT AGENCY IN THE MAPPING OF JAPAN

The Society of Jesus was an essential catalyst for cultural exchange. Jesuit leaders promoted understanding Japanese society as a prerequisite to effective evangelism but it was also a consequence of their ever-deepening sophistication. Over the course of about sixty years, Jesuit missionaries made enormous contributions to Europe's knowledge of the previously little-known island nation. Francisco Xavier, Cosme de Torres (c. 1510–70), Balthasar Gago (d. 1583), Gaspar Vilela (1525–72), Luís Fróis (1532–97), Pedro Gomez (1535–1600), Organtino Gnecchi-Soldo (1530–1609), Alessandro Valignano, and João Rodrigues (1561–1633) were among the most active

Jesuits in Japan, and they relied upon the mediation of converted Japanese Catholics such as Paulo Kyōzen (d. 1557), Paulo Yohō (1509–96) and his son, Vicente Tōin, Sebastião Kimura (1563–1622), and Luís Niabara (1566–1618). These Jesuits studied language, systems of belief and religions, customs, and ceremonies and came to consider Japan among the most advanced and developed civilizations in the world.[9] Between about 1555 and 1614, in addition to annual letters from Japan,[10] these men wrote ambitious treatises sharing their growing knowledge. Mission histories by Fróis (*História do Japão*); Valignano (*Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumes e catangues de Japão* and *El sumario de las cosas de Japón*); and Rodrigues (*História da Igreja do Japão*), to name a few, as well as two more works by Rodrigues codifying Japanese grammar, syntax, pronunciation, and language instruction (*Arte da Lingoa de Japam*, Nagasaki, 1604, and *Arte breve da lingoa Iapoa*, Macao, 1620), reveal the tremendous effort Jesuits put into listening, observing, understanding, and, at times, misunderstanding Japan.

Jesuit texts also reveal their growing knowledge of Japanese geography and the political borders of the sixty-six daimyo domains. Making extensive use of Japanese informants and sources, Jesuit authors constructed a complex cultural geography of Japan. Understanding Japanese geography was foundational knowledge, relevant, but not confined to, the territorial organization of the missions. Surviving maps from this period demonstrate the expanding reach of Jesuit penetration into Japan and their accumulating fund of knowledge about the culture. A manuscript map of Japan (held in the State Archives, Florence) c. 1580–85 and written in Portuguese, is a rare early survivor that shows Jesuit adaptation of Japanese cartography. A series of printed maps after this derived either directly or indirectly from those produced by

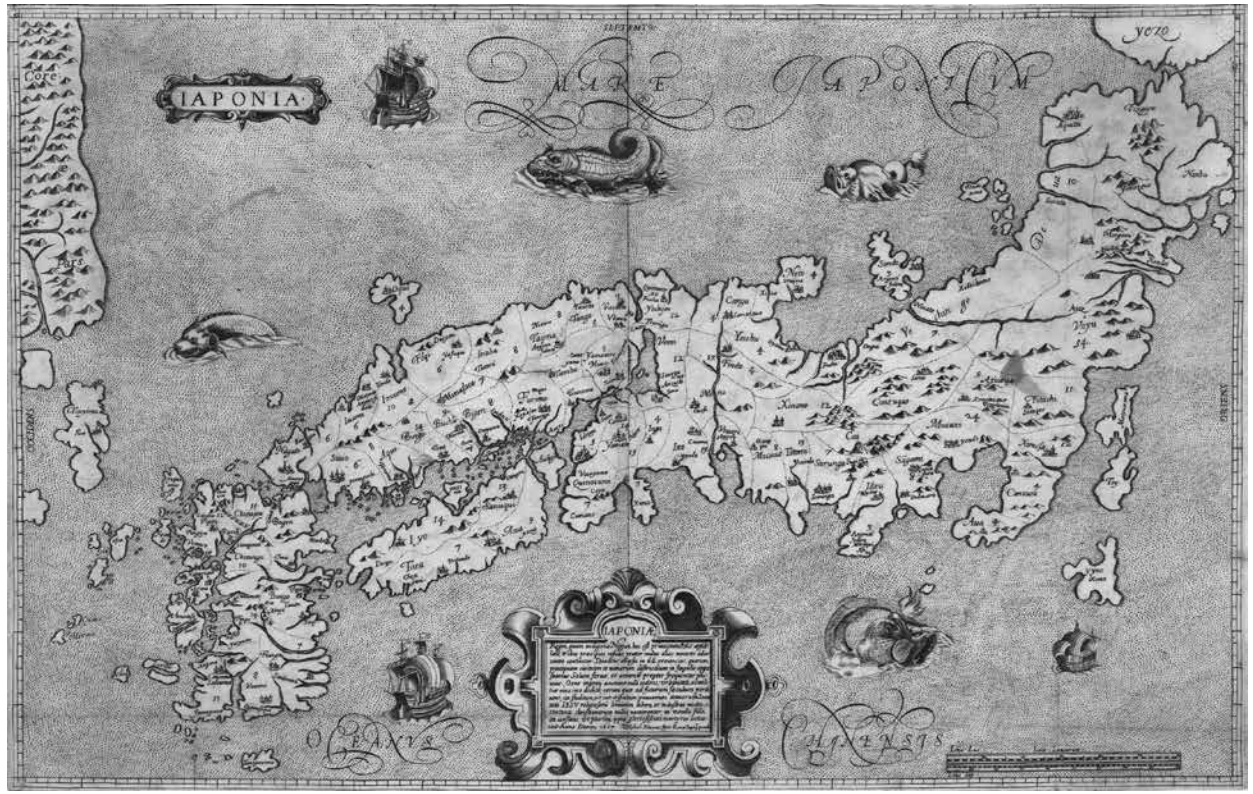

Fig. 2: Christophoros Blancus, *Iaponia* (Map of Japan), Rome, 1617. Copperplate, 42 x 66 cm, private collection, London.

the Portuguese mapmaker Inácio Moreira in Japan between 1590 and 1598; one printed in Rome by Christophorus Blancus in 1617; and later ones by Bernardino Ginnaro, SJ, António Francisco Cardim, SJ, and Sir Robert Dudley chart the progress of European cartographic knowledge over time.

The manuscript map of Japan now in Florence was discovered only in 1931 in an archival file that also contained a manuscript account of Portuguese trade in Asia and a copy of the 1585 map of Japan showing the privileges granted to the Japanese ambassadors in Rome (fig. 1). Drawn with ink and pen, a material analysis of the paper indicates a provenance in central Italy, perhaps Lucca, Florence, or Rome and dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. This analysis suggests the following scenario: a copy made in Pisa or Florence from a lost prototype likely made by the Jesuit mission in Japan and brought to Europe with the 1582 diplomatic mission. Alessandro Valignano organized the mission to draw the attention of European kings and the pope to the successes and potential for the Jesuit effort in Japan. Valignano dispatched four young Japanese men to Europe, who represented three of the most powerful Christian daimyo of Kyushu.[11] After visiting several Catholic courts, they traveled to Rome and visited Pope

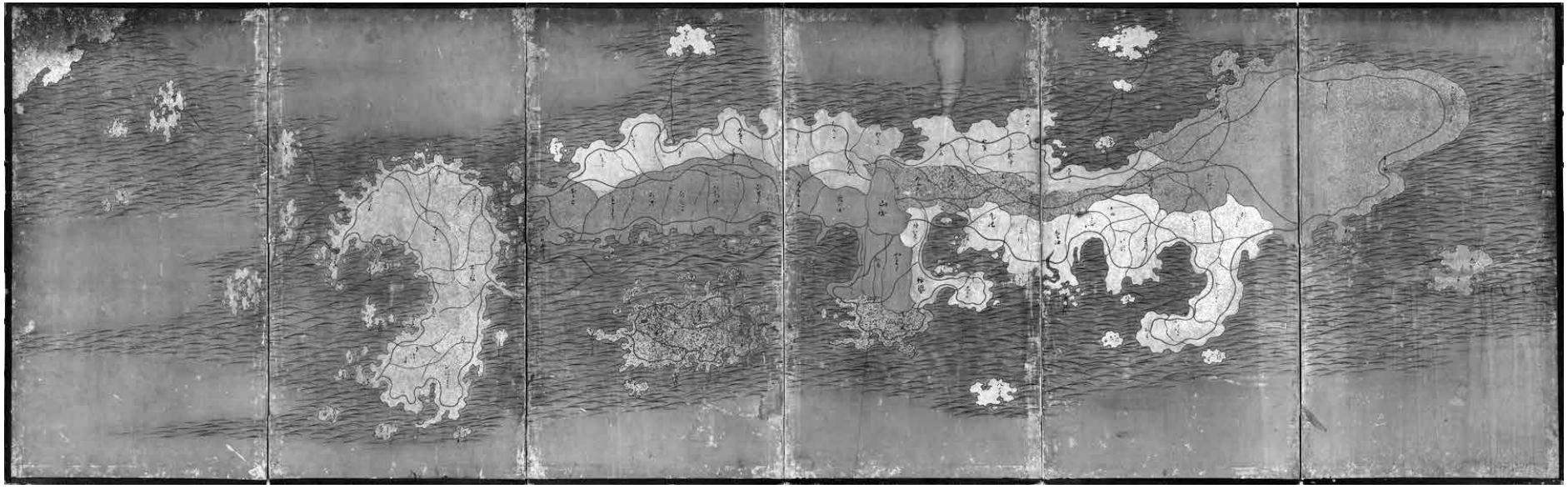

Fig. 3: Map of Japan (*Sekaizu narabini Nihonzu byōbu*), Japan, c. 1640. Six-panel screen (one of a pair); ink, color, gold, and gold leaf on paper, 71 x 230 cm, C. V. Starr East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley. Photograph courtesy of David Rumsey.

Gregory XIII in March 1585.[12] On their way to Rome that February, they were received in Pisa by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francesco I, and it was likely at that point that the map was copied by hand in ink.

Although this map bears a legend and toponyms in Portuguese, it depicts Japan in the manner of the so-called "*gyōki* maps," using cartographic conventions dating from the early ninth century. Named for the Buddhist priest credited with their invention, the earliest extant examples date only to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and the type remained current until the nineteenth century. Oriented to the south, they show the sixty-six provinces of Japan and their respective frontiers (without Hokkaido) with distinctively rounded forms.[13] Such maps derive from a Buddhist temple context, which suggests that the manuscript map of Japan in Florence was somehow achieved through the interaction of Jesuit missionaries and Japanese assistance, perhaps even through direct exchanges with Buddhist clergy.

Inácio Moreira, who was born in Lisbon around 1538, added enormously to European understanding of Japan's geography. He lived for many years in Macao and elected to travel to Nagasaki in 1590 with Valignano and the returning Japanese diplomatic mission. According to Valignano, Moreira surveyed Japan from Kyushu to Kyoto, integrating into his work local information obtained from Japanese informants, especially for the domains that he did not know directly. In addition, he was able to determine the length of the Japanese league, or *ri*, in terms of Portuguese and Spanish measurements. As a result, he created a map of Japan that for the first time interpreted all of this information into a graduated astronomical frame. Valignano wrote about the accomplishment because he intended to include Moreira's map, accompanied by a lengthy written description, in his *Libro primero del principio y progresso de la religión christiana en Jappón...en el anio 1601*. While that map has been lost, Valignano's written description in Latin (*Iaponicae tabulae explicatio*) is still extant.[14] Christophoros Blancus's map, *Iaponia*, dates to 1617 and demonstrates how quickly other European cartographers assimilated Moreira's achievements (fig. 2). Blancus's map, originally engraved in Rome in 1617 and known now only through a copy, displays a graduated frame, two sets of scales, and a legend in Latin. Scholar Jason Hubbard used Valignano's surviving *explicatio*, which discussed Moreira's map, to recognize in the Blancus map almost all the salient features of the earlier work, including the double scaling using Portuguese and Japanese leagues.[15] Blancus's *Iaponia* also refers for the first time to *Yezo*, as Hokkaido was then called in Japanese, which again attests to the speed with which

new information was incorporated into mapping, for it had only just been visited and mapped for the first time in 1619 by Girolamo de Angelis, SJ (1567–1623). Angelis himself published his work in Rome in 1624 in the book entitled *Relazione sul regno di Yezo*.[16] Although only one copy of Blancus's map is so far known to be extant, it circulated widely in the twenty years or so after its publication. At least three other maps, two of which were produced and published in the context of the Jesuit press and propaganda and a third by a Medici cartographer, utilized this root source. Bernardino Ginnaro, SJ (1577–1644) used it in his *Nuova descrittione del Giappone*, published in the first volume of the 1641 *Saverio Orientale ò vero Istorie de'Cristiani illustri dell'Oriente*, a letterbook published in Rome that detailed the vicissitudes and sufferings of Christians in Asia (plate 22). António Francisco Cardim, SJ (1596–1659) relied on it for his *Iapponiae: Nova & accurata descriptio, Ad Elogia Iappanica*, which was published in Rome in 1646 in the *Fasciculus e Iapponicis floribus*, a book on the martyrs of Japan containing eighty-six plates (plate 20). Finally, Sir Robert Dudley (1574–1649), cosmographer to the Florentine Medicean navy, created his *Asia carta diciasete piu moderna: Gappone* [*sic*]. This map appeared in the first volume of *Dell'Arcano del mare*... a multi-volume nautical atlas published in Florence in 1646 (plate 21).

All together these maps highlight how Jesuit manuscript cartography produced in Japan in the context of the mission received great attention in Catholic Europe, circulating in printed form in devotional books produced by the Jesuit press but also in scientific books about universal cosmography. In the first case, the goal of the maps of Japan was not only to emplace the mission, but more importantly to provide a geographic setting to the places of martyrdoms—a clear form of propaganda. The second case highlights instead that cosmographers in Europe were aware that cartography produced by the Jesuits *in situ*, together with Portuguese and Dutch cartography, represented the most updated knowledge of the most remote regions of the world available to them, before eighteenth-century scientific expeditions.

CARTOGRAPHIC NANBAN BYŌBU

The Japanese were equally interested in the widening world revealed in European maps. While European agendas put cartography to practical use, in Japan maps were most often absorbed into decorative schemes that expressed local hierarchies. The preferred format for cartography was not the readily portable map nor the scholarly treatise, but rather the architectural painting format of the folding screen. Typically made in pairs of six panels each and positioned at right angles or parallel to one another, screens could create a pocket of intimacy within a large hall. Folding screens were especially well suited to cartographic themes; from a seated position on the floor, a viewer effectively entered the depictive world of the screen. For Japanese warrior elites, cartographic screens fed ambitions of expansion, conquest, and international significance.

Cartographic screens benefited from three distinct contexts of knowledge: the global circulation of material goods and knowledge resulting from the Iberian expansion in Asia; Jesuit evangelism; and Japan's unsuccessful attempts to conquer Korea and China (1592–98). Iberian ships yielded Western maps of the world, in particular Dutch-printed planispheres and Portuguese manuscripts. In China, Matteo Ricci collaborated with Chinese scholars and publishers to produce Chinese-language planispheres from 1585 to 1610. Finally, General Katō Kiyomasa (1562–1611), one of the three generals leading Japan's invasion of Chosŏn Korea, ordered a copy of the Sino-Korean manuscript world map derived from the *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to* (Map of integrated lands and regions of historical countries and capitals, Korea, c. 1479–85).[17]

Cartographic *byōbu* first emerged in the context of the Jesuit *schola pictorum*, and were then later made autonomously by Japanese painters following the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1614.[18] The *schola pictorum*, also known as the Academy of St. Luke, was founded in 1583 to teach Western painting on the initiative of Alessandro Valignano.[19] Directed by Jesuit Giovanni Niccolò, the *schola* operated in various cities and islands, especially in Kyushu, until 1614 (the year the Society was expelled from Japan), mostly with Japanese students. Though they were mainly taught to reproduce Catholic Christian iconography, Japanese painters became also familiar with other European iconographic genres, including European world cartography. We may reasonably assume that, as in the case of the numerous printed maps produced in the context of the Jesuit mission in China, the cartographic *byōbu* were also originally part of a range of instruments—clocks, astrolabes, scientific treatises—which assisted the process of evangelization by corroborating the truthfulness and credibility of the Christian message by demonstrating the superior achievements of Western culture and civilization, including cosmography.[20]

There are thirty known and extant cartographic *byōbu*.[21] Often the pair of screens included a planisphere on one side and some form of cultural intelligence on the other. Among these, the second screens show a large-scale map of Japan in forms ranging from the *gyōki* type to more modern representations,[22] views of Western cities accompanied by depictions

Fig. 4: Map of the fifty-three stages of the Tōkaidō (*Tōkaidō Gojusantsugi Zu*), Japan, c. 1640. Six-panel screen (one of a pair); ink, color, gold, and gold leaf on paper, 71 x 230 cm, C. V. Starr East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley. Photograph courtesy of David Rumsey.

of emperors and kings,[23] paired figures cataloguing the cultures of the world,[24] or scenes from Western history such as the Battle of Lepanto (1571).[25] Cartographic folding screens served multiple functions. As large works utilizing rich mineral-based pigments and gold foil, they were attributes of wealth and power. The earliest examples captured and displayed privileged knowledge and experience. Like other nanban topics, these screens entertained their viewers with their detailed descriptions of curious people, places, and things, much as the trade screens. Perhaps most importantly, though, they were also scholarly documents that demonstrated cosmographical concepts such as the spherical Earth placed within the Ptolemaic universe, the geographical *mise en carte* of Japan, and the forms of all other regions of the world as the *orbis terrarum*. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, European, Chinese, and Japanese scholars were all trying to gain a cohesive understanding of the globe that related political entities to geographical form. What cartographic folding screens revealed to the Japanese was a revolutionary understanding of the shape of the world and Japan's place in it.

Of the thirty known cartographic *byōbu*, only one pair is in a collection outside of Japan. This pair, in the C. V. Starr East Asian Library of the University of California, Berkeley, shows a map of Japan on one screen and a map of the world on the other, each measuring 71 by 230 centimeters; the latter screen is featured in the present exhibition (plates 15a–b).[26] The map of Japan (fig. 3) is of the so-called "*Jotoku-ji* type," named for the temple in Kanzaki, Saga Prefecture, Kyushu, that owns the oldest extant example. *Jotoku-ji*-type maps of Japan update *gyōki* maps: while still depicting the traditional sixty-six provinces, their round forms, and network of main roads linking the principal Japanese cities, they also incorporate elements derived from European cartography. The monumental map of the world (plate 15a) derives, likely directly, from the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* (Map of the ten thousand countries of the world, Beijing, c. 1602–10) prepared by Matteo Ricci and his Chinese assistants Li Zhizao and Zhang Wentao (plate 24 shows one panel of this map).[27]

The Berkeley screens are unusual in also carrying depictions on their reverse sides. These display the Tōkaidō, or Eastern Sea Road, which connected important cities in eastern Japan (fig. 4; plate 15b). The Tōkaidō was one piece of an ambitious transportation plan launched in 1601 by Tokugawa Ieyasu. One of five national roads, it was an important part of reconceptualizing Japan as a national unit rather than a collection of domains. The fifty-three "stations" of the Tōkaidō were towns at comfortable walking

distances serving the needs of travelers, while at the same time providing political control of the Tokugawa shogunate over the movement of people. They also conveyed a spiritual meaning, by corresponding to the Buddhist spiritual masters that Sudhana, a young Indian acolyte of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, visited to receive teachings in his quest for enlightenment, according to ancient religious literature of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Tōkaidō linked the new Tokugawa capital of Edo to the ancient capital of Kyoto by following the Pacific coast of eastern Honshu. The pair of folding screens elegantly depicts the coastal landscape and the post stations, crowned by the distinctive cone of Mount Fuji. Because the Tōkaidō highway dates no earlier than 1601, their depiction here helps to date the screens. The project came to full fruition in the decades following; this, plus stylistic evidence suggest that the screens date to around 1640.

As on Ricci's planispheres, in the external corners of plate 15a, next to the planisphere, there are four diagrams that represent the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic universe. On the upper-left corner, there appears the sub-lunar world surrounded by the seven planetary spheres and the sphere of the fixed stars; in the lower-left and lower-right the Arctic and Antarctic poles are represented in stereographic projection; finally, in the upper-right corner there is a diagram of the sub-lunar world, at whose center there is a representation of the terraqueous globe, surrounded by four ships, positioned at the four cardinal points. At the center of the globe, the Eurasian landmass can be made out. The overall effect of the four diagrams is without a doubt to point out the spherical nature of the Earth and its circumnavigability in the context of the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic universe, composed of four elements: ideas that all contrasted with Confucian and Buddhist cosmographic ideas.

Therefore, the Berkeley *byōbu* give spectators an extraordinary omnipotent visual experience, from the cosmographic height of the planisphere, with the celestial and sub-lunar worlds, to the surface of the spherical Earth, down to a visualization of a unified Japan. By moving around the large pair of screens, the viewer travels the known coastline and highway revealed as a cultural and political ideal, then sweeps upward to contemplate the surface of the Earth, sub-lunar, and celestial.

Even after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Japan, cartography remained an important genre for folding screens. Cartographic *byōbu* were instruments of aesthetic, political, and scientific character, which were bearers of meaning independent of their origins with the *nanban-jin* and the evangelical mission in Japan. Given their eye-catching, if not flamboyant, aspect, this genre of *byōbu* was also undoubtedly intended to be a decorative tool, like those narrative, detailed scenes of the departure of the *nanban-jin* on board the *kurofune* ("black ships") from foreign lands, their arrival and landing in Japan, and their daily life in Japanese society, without recalling in any explicit form the presence of the *nanban-jin*.[28] As useful and efficient encapsulations from visual, didactic, and discursive points of view, and, since they were without explicitly Christian evangelical connotations or even evocative of the Christian presence in Japan, their reproduction or elaboration was subject to fewer controls or political vetoes.

As Marcia Yonemoto has observed,[29] modern Japanese cartography began when the Portuguese and Jesuits provoked new thinking about the shape of Japan and the world. Pictorial and cartographic innovations taught at the Jesuit Painting School as well as the inevitable dialectic process of self-identification through the internal and external comparison of self with other led to singularly dynamic depictions responsive to distinctly Japanese needs. The problematic presence of the *nanban-jin*, and particularly the Jesuits, with their doctrines, techniques, and visual culture ultimately helped to open new ways of thinking in Japan that embraced empirical observation based on travel and the writing of encyclopediae based on a spatial and almost cartographic ordering of the "other" and the "elsewhere."[30]

This text presents research developed in the context of the project *Interactions between Rivals: The Christian Mission and Buddhist Sects in Japan (c. 1549–c. 1647)*, financed by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology.

1. *Zipangu* is perhaps a phonetic transliteration from the Chinese of the Yuan Mongol dynasty *Jih-pen-kwe*, or "Kingdom of the Rising Sun." In the multiple redactions of Marco Polo's text, as well as in the maps incorporating Polo's geography, the term *Zipangu* assumes various equivalent forms, such as *Zinpagu, Zimpagrum, Cipango, Cimpagu, Cinpangu, Simpago, Sipango*. Luigi F. Benedetto, "Introduzione," in Marco Polo, *Il Milione* (Florence: Olschki, 1928), i–ccxxi (English edition, London: Routledge, 1931).

2. George Kish, "Two Fifteenth-Century Maps of 'Zipangu': Notes on the Early Cartography of Japan," *Yale University Library Gazette* 60 (1966): 206–9.

3. Gerard R. Tibbetts, *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the Coming of the Portuguese: Being a Translation of Kitab al-Fawa'id fi usul al-bahr wa'l-qawa'id of Ahmad b. Majid al-Najid* (London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1971).

4. Armando Cortesão, ed., *A Suma Oriental de Tomé Pires e o Livro de Francisco Rodrigues* (Coimbra: University of Coimbra, 1978), 373–74.

5. A controversial character, Pinto wrote in his *Peregrinação*, a memoir published posthumously in 1614, that between 1542 and 1557 he visited Japan three times, during which time he managed to gain the confidence of several daimyo of Kyushu, including, Ōtomo Sōrin, who later became Christian. In 1554, during his last journey

to Japan, he entered the Society of Jesus, giving also to Xavier the money to build the first Catholic Church of Japan. In 1557, on the return journey to Malacca and Goa, on the way back to Portugal, Pinto abandoned the Society and his name was banished from most Jesuit accounts of the mission in Asia. See Ana Paula Laborinho, "O Imaginário do Japão na Peregrinação de Fernão Mendes Pinto," *Mare Liberum* 11–12 (Jan.–Dec. 1996): 39–52. Also see the recent reissue and translation *Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Peregrinação: Studies, Restored Portuguese Text, Notes and Indexes*, ed. Jorge Santos Alves, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2010). On the information given to Xavier by Captain Jorge Alvarez, *Documentos del Japon, 1547–1557*, ed. Juan Ruiz de Medina, SJ (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1990), 1–44 (docs. 1–7).

6. Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota, eds., *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, 6 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1960), 5:170–77. Alfredo Pinheiro Marques, *A cartografia portuguesa do Japão (seculos XVI–XVII)* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1987).

7. Lutz Walter, ed., *Japan: A Cartographic Vision; European Printed Maps from the Early 16th to the 19th Century* (Munich: Prestel, 1994).

8. Cortesão and Mota identified seven types of representations: first, the "*Cipango* type" (1492–1559), derived from Marco Polo; second, the "1550 type" (c. 1550 and 1551–61); third, the "Gastaldi type" (1556–74); fourth, the "Lopo Homem type" (1554–84); fifth, the "Bartolomeu Velho type" (c. 1560–68); sixth, the "[Lazaro] Luís–[Fernão] Vaz Dourado type" (c. 1560–68); finally, the seventh being what they called the "Luís Teixeira type" which includes the maps drawn between 1581 and 1649. See *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, 5:170–177.

9. Alessandro Valignano, SJ, *Il cerimoniale per i missionari del Giappone: Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumes e catangues de Japáo*, ed. Josef Franz Schütte (1946; Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2011); Urs App, *The Cult of Emptiness: The Western Discovery of Buddhist Thought and the Invention of Oriental Philosophy* (Kyoto: University Media, 2012), 34–60; Minako Debergh, "Les débuts des contacts linguistiques entre l'Occident et le Japon (premiers dictionnaires des missionnaires chrétiens au Japon au XVIe et au XVIIe siècles)," *Langages* 16, no. 68 (1982): 27–44.

10. *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreverão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India, & Europa, des do anno de 1549. atè o de 1580*, 2 vols. (Évora: Manoel de Lyra, 1598) (plate 27). *Monumenta Historica Japoniae 1: Textus Catalogorum Japoniae 1553–1654...*, ed. Josef Franz Schütte, SJ (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1975).

11. This analysis should finally contradict the hypothesis advanced by several historians that Portuguese cartographer Inácio Moreira authored the map in the State Archive. Cortesão and Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, 2:127–28.

12. The *missio*, described into detail in the *De missione legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam...dialogus*, published by Valignano in Macao in 1590, was also echoed in numerous European publications. See Adriana Boscaro, "Giapponesi in Europa nel XVI secolo," in *Anno 1585: Milano incontra il Giappone* (Milan: Diapress, 1990), 71–100. Michael Cooper, *The Japanese Mission to Europe, 1582–1590: The Journey of Four Samurai Boys through Portugal, Spain and Italy* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2005).

13. The oldest extant *gyōki* map of Japan is held in Kyoto, Ninna-ji, oriented to the south, pen and ink on Japanese paper, 34.5 x 121.5 cm. See Unno, "Cartography in Japan," 367–68 and Lucia Dolce, "Mapping the 'Divine Country': Sacred Geography and International Concerns in Mediaeval Japan," in *Korea in the Middle: Korean Studies and Area Studies; Essays in Honour of Boudewijn Walraven*, ed. Remco E. Breuker (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2007), 288–312.

14. London, British Library, Add. MS. 9857, 12–16, "De la descripcion de Japon, y de su division, capit. 2°." Josef F. Schütte, "Ignacio Moreira of Lisbon, Cartographer in Japan 1590–1592," *Imago Mundi* 16 (1962): 116–28.

15. Jason C. Hubbard, "The Map of Japan Engraved by Christopher Blancus, Rome, 1617," *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994): 84–99.

16. See Hubbard, ibid. (who transcribes its legend and toponyms in comparative form).

17. Kumamoto (Kyushu), Honmyō-ji (a Buddhist temple of the Nichiren sect, in which Katō Kiyomasa is buried), *Tae Myŏng-guk chido* (Map of the Great Ming), manuscript on paper, late sixteenth-century copy of the Sino-Korean *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to* (the original, drawn in 1402, is lost; the oldest extant copy, held at the Omiya Library in Kyoto, was prepared between 1479 and 1485).

18. Alexandra Curvelo and Angelo Cattaneo, "Le arti visuali e l'evangelizzazione del Giappone: L'apporto del seminario di pittura dei gesuiti," in *Geografia e cosmografia dell'altro fra Asia ed Europa/ Geography and Cosmology Interfaces in Asia and Europe*, ed. Tanaka Kuniko (Milan: Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2011), 31–60.

19. Unno, "Cartography in Japan," 346–477; Hirotada Kawamura, "*Kuni-ezu* (Provincial Maps) Compiled by the Tokugawa Shogunate in Japan," *Imago Mundi* 41 (1989): 70–75; Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan*.

20. See *Fonti ricciane...*, ed. Pasquale D'Elia, SJ, 3 vols. (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1942–49) and Margherita Radaelli, *Il mappamondo con la Cina al centro: Fonti antiche e mediazione culturale nell'opera di Matteo Ricci, SJ* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2007).

21. For a still-useful and comprehensive list of nanban cartographic screens (just one screen is missing, that held at Kanshin-ji, in Kawaranagano [Osaka Prefecture], displaying a planisphere derived from the tradition of the Sino-Korean *Honil kangni yŏktae kukto chi to*), including their current whereabouts, see Unno, "Cartography in Japan," 461–63. While the list maintains its validity, Unno's system of classification of the screens, on the basis of their alleged "cartographic projections" is not acceptable, as certainly the painters were not reproducing cartographic projections but images of the world available to them.

22. Kanzaki (Saga Prefecture, Kyushu), Jotoku-ji, pair of six-fold screens, late sixteenth century (1595?), color on paper, 148.5 x 364 cm.

23. Tokyo, the Imperial Household Agency, pair of eight-fold screens, early seventeenth century, color on paper, 178.6 x 486.3 cm.

24. Tokyo, Idemitsu Museum of Arts, pair of eight-fold screens, early seventeenth century, color on paper, 166.7 x 350 cm.

25. Kobe, Kosetsu Museum of Arts, pair of six-fold screens with the Battle of Lepanto, early seventeenth century, color on paper, 153.5 x 370 cm.

26. The first screen shows a map of Japan of the so-called "*Jotoku-ji* type"; the second screen, a map of the world derived from Matteo

Ricci's 1602 planisphere. The backs are also decorated with representations of the Tōkaidō (Eastern Sea Road).

27. John D. Day, "The Search for the Origins of the Chinese Manuscript of Matteo Ricci's Maps," *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995): 94–117.

28. For a the most recent systematic catalogue of ninety-one nanban screens, with excellent color reproductions, see Sakamoto Mitsuru, Izumi Mari, et al., *Nanban byōbu shusei* [A catalogue raisonné of the nanban screens] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2008).

29. Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan*, 5–6.

30. Hubert Cieslik, SJ, "The Case of Christovão Ferreira," *Monumenta Nipponica* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1974): 1, 32–40. Hiraoka Ryuji, "The Transmission of Western Cosmology to Sixteenth-Century Japan," in *The Jesuits, The Padroado and East Asian Science (1552–1773)*, ed. Luís Saraiva and Catherine Jami (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2008), 81–98. For the first translation into a European language of the *Kenkon Bensetsu*, see José Miguel Pinto dos Santos, "A Study in Cross-Cultural Transmission of Natural Philosophy: The Kenkon Bensetsu" (PhD diss., New University of Lisbon, 2012).

The Circulation of European and Asian Works of Art in Japan, circa 1600

Pedro Moura Carvalho

One of the consequences of the arrival of Europeans on Japanese shores was the introduction of a variety of material goods. The export to Japan of animals and plants from various continents, the introduction of guns and gunpowder, as well as new vocabulary and culinary techniques have all received great scholarly attention. The arrival in the country of paintings, furnishings, and musical instruments from Renaissance Europe as well as goods from other parts of Asia has, in contrast, been scarcely discussed. For the first time in its history, Japan became part of a remarkable global network. This network was mostly under Portuguese control and stretched from Brazil to China, including the coast of Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and Southeast Asia. Links to traders and religious orders established in the Spanish Philippines expanded it even further.

Diplomatic contacts imply almost by definition the exchange of gifts. In Japan, Jesuit missionaries became a source for exotic goods, highly admired by local elites.

Occasionally, the Jesuits were serving as messengers for the viceroy of the *Estado da Índia*, as the network of Portuguese territories and interests in the Indian Ocean and other parts of Asia was called.[1] More often, though, their gifts were intended to secure their own evangelical interests. Gift exchanges were fundamental diplomatic tools in Asia.[2] In Japan, Jesuits used gifts to help them win daimyo interest and privileges to evangelize in their domains. To the missionaries' chagrin, the presentation of gifts was required with every visit, and when dealing with non-Catholic lords, their goods were expected to be worth twice what they expected to receive.[3] Gifts became a major expense for the mission's finances, which were perennially underfunded.[4] The Jesuits often complained about this, but earthly goods facilitated relations and stimulated the expansion in Japan of their spiritual beliefs. As discussed below, interregional trade and the Jesuits' own network of colleges in both Europe and Asia played an important part in this traffic.

The relatively high number of Japanese screens surviving from the Momoyama period (1573–1615) and following decades gives visual evidence for Portuguese gift exchanges. Produced in pairs, the most common subject illustrated on screens is the annual *nau do trato*—the arrival of a vessel coming from Macao into a Japanese port city (plate 25a). Usually, on the left screen a large vessel immersed in a wavy sea and cloudy sky commands the scene, while on the right a group of missionaries moves toward it or toward a group of finely dressed Portuguese men on shore. Variations of the iconography do occur as observed on another pair of nanban screens in the exhibition (plates 1a–b). In one further extraordinary screen we see Portuguese men visiting a local daimyo and trading goods including books, exotic animals, and textiles with locals.[5]

Fig. 1: *Kendi* aboard Portuguese carrack (detail, plate 1a, panel 2, private collection).

In most screens the goods that formed the basis of gift giving and trade figure prominently in the depiction. The captain is easily identifiable by attributes of authority including being seated in Chinese chairs (plates 60–61) or, canopied under a parasol, an ancient Indian symbol of royalty adopted by the Portuguese in Asia. Others are depicted holding goods of many sorts on trays, in boxes, or carried in their hands. An important component of such trade is an exotic menagerie formed by elephants, peacocks, and felines as well as domestic animals including horses, goats, and dogs,[6] conducted by traders and their servants.[7] On the small boats ferrying goods from the carrack and on shore are boxes of various forms and dimensions, with simple decoration or lacquered and gilt decoration (plate 25a.2). These likely contained goods needing some protection during travel. Large stoneware jars almost certainly from Martaban on the west coast of Burma, as well as Iberian earthenware jars are often depicted; the latter being used to transport olive oil.[8] Chinese blue and white porcelain such as *kendi* (plate 53) reproduced in one of the screens (fig. 1) appear less frequently. Rolls of fabric, probably Chinese silks but also Indian trade textiles, and occasionally arms are illustrated as well.

Jesuit writings tell us much about the goods wanted for the mission in Japan. Contemporary documents reveal, for instance, that olive oil reached Japan as early as 1554 as part of the foodstuffs consumed by the Jesuit mission. Father Gaspar Vilela, SJ (1524–d. after 1571), founder of the Jesuit church in Kyoto, complained of a "lack of olive oil" as well as other European foods.[9] In 1577, while in Macao, Father Alessandro Valignano, SJ (1539–1606) received two letters from Jesuits living in Japan that identified the gifts he should procure before embarking for Japan, where he would inspect the local mission.[10] Father Luís Fróis, SJ (1532–97), author of the first Western history of Japan and one of those letters, identifies a substantial group of secular goods:

> Hats from Portugal lined in their interior with taffeta or velvet; hourglasses; works in glass; spectacles; *cordobán* leather;[11] little bags in velvet of fine cloth; fine embroidered handkerchiefs; [glass] flasks with sugar candies;[12] canned food; honeycombs; capes of Portuguese cloth;[13] copper coins, even if these are from China; gilded [wood]works from China; Chinese silk mats to be used on the doors; *Águila* or fine *calamba*;[14] some musk pods; large boxes from Pegu[15] or from Bengal or Cambay;[16] crimson cloth; some good *iiquiro* of those made in Canton, which are large boxes that contain two or three smaller ones—any Japanese knows what is the type made in Canton;[17] a jar of *bolos*[18] of sugar and others of *fartes*;[19] some preserved pepper; some cloth from Flanders[20] or leather[21] or carpet. All these things should be secured there [in Macao] for the visits... for these will be many and [should] cover various reigns.[22]

Fig. 2: Ceremonial parasol (outside), Macao, c. 1600–50. Bamboo, silk, lacquer, and gold, c. 120 (diam.) cm, Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum, Nagasaki.

Goa and Malacca were then key Portuguese trading centers where international and interregional merchants exchanged their goods. In East Asia, however, Macao was the trading hub, and a more cosmopolitan port.[23] It was there that goods arrived from Europe—via Lisbon—as well as from Africa, India, and Southeast Asia, and then went on to Japan. In the late sixteenth century foreign merchants such as Englishman Ralph Fitch (d. 1611) attested to this trade: "When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Japan they carry much white silk, gold, musk and porcelains and they bring from thence nothing but silver.... They bring from China gold, musk, silk,

Fig. 3: Ceremonial parasol (inside), Macao, c. 1600–50. Bamboo, silk, lacquer, and gold, c. 120 (diam.) cm, Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum, Nagasaki.

copper, porcelains and many other things very costly and gilded."[24] Japan was then a market for both luxury goods as well as commodities.

Father Luís Fróis's letter, above, shows a list of goods available in Macao that would suit export to Japan, and that these things had various origins: Portugal, Spain and Flanders, India, Burma, and China. Not many of these objects survive in Japan. An exception is the large ceremonial parasol (figs. 2–3) now in the Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum in Nagasaki, which attests to the splendor of objects used as gifts.[25] The type of materials employed in its making—bamboo and silk coated with gilt lacquer—shows that it was not made in Portugal but probably in a seventeenth-century Macanese workshop. Additionally, the decoration on the outside surface (divided into three bands) is typically Chinese (fig. 2). The inner band is simply decorated with four small cranes flying among stylized cloud groups. The decoration of the external band is far more complex: mountainous landscapes and an assortment of buildings in Chinese form including fortresses, storied towers, bridges, and gates. Figures with Asian features hunt a tiger, while soldiers wearing what appears to be European dress march behind cavalry and a single foot soldier carrying a shield decorated with a cross. The museum interprets the soldiers as Japanese Christian troops sent by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98) (plate 8) in 1592 to invade Korea, though it is not clear, especially given their dress, why these figures might be Japanese. The basis for such assumption is uncertain, though the cross form with crab base is a direct reference to one of the miracles of St. Francis Xavier, SJ (1506–52).[26] The decoration on the middle band is related to furniture production attributed to territories bordering the Bay of Bengal. The squirrels among vines and bunches of grapes depicted are stylistically very close to those seen on the so-called "Cardinal's table," a sixteenth-century folding table top related to Coromandel Coast textiles,[27] and other furniture including chests and boxes.[28]

Interestingly, the inside surface of the parasol with its four large cranes flying among clouds is more Japanese in taste (fig. 3). The type of lacquer on the parasol, made using a reduced number of coatings, the gilt motifs, as well as its shape, suggest that it was made for a foreign patron or for the export market. The parasol form was a novelty for the Japanese, the crane motif suggests customizing that harkens to Japanese norms, and the Chinese décor resonates with established Japanese tastes for Chinese luxury goods.

Furniture is one of the categories of objects consistently depicted in nanban screens among the goods brought to Japan. Most, if not all, seems to be of Chinese origin. This should not be a surprise, for Europeans and Chinese share many furniture typologies, especially the high-backed chairs and tables not used in other parts of the Asian continent. A Chinese chair typical of those in the screens and sent to Japan can be seen in the present exhibition (plate 61). Two Chinese lacquered chairs from the late sixteenth century thought to have belonged to Philip II (r. 1556–98) survive in the Royal Monastery of Escorial, near Madrid.[29] These attest to the export of Chinese chairs to Europe.[30]

European chairs, which were often more than simple seats, also reached Japan. Father Valignano, for instance, took with him to Japan a "chair of state, upholstered with crimson velvet, and enriched with gold," which had been offered to him by a Portuguese merchant based in Macao.[31] Such "chairs of state" go back to the earliest contacts between the Portuguese and rulers from other parts of the globe. Paulo da Gama, commander of the S. Rafael—one of the vessels of Vasco da Gama's fleet—presented a chair to the king of Malindi (in present-day Kenya) while en route to India on his inaugural trip. Neither its shape nor any materials other than the crimson velvet and the silver stud nails used in its decoration are described,[32] yet the same chronicler refers to a second chair, "furnished with pile velvet, rich and decorated with gilt silver stud nails," among the gifts presented later to the Zamorin of Calicut (known now as Kozhikode, Kerala, India).[33]

The chair Father Valignano took with him to Japan was later presented to Oda Nobunaga (1534–82), the daimyo leading the long process of reunifying Japan and friend of the Catholic missionaries. Like other contemporary Asian rulers the Portuguese established relations with, Nobunaga used the chair.[34] Among these were Emperor Akbar of Mughal India (r. 1556–1605) who owned what has been described

as a "Portuguese throne" but was surely a "chair of state"; his son Jahangir (r. 1605–27), who was depicted seated in a throne-like chair;[35] and Shah Abbas I (r. 1587–1629), the ruler of Safavid Iran, who was given a chair by the viceroy of Goa.[36]

Objects of a religious nature were also in great demand. In a letter written by Father Fróis, in the early stages of the Japanese mission in January 1566, he states that local Christians "persistently ask for blessed rosaries, relics, a bead of St. Thomas wood, veronicas, images [probably prints] and other related things to have at home."[37] Requests for the Gospels and works on prayer were also frequent due to their scarcity.[38] In 1577, Father Fróis suggested to Father Valignano that he bring to Japan a variety of religious objects:

> For some Christian noblemen, from Miyako [Kyoto] as well as from other parts, your reverence may order ten or twelve silver reliquaries of various types, for the Chinese make them there very well; beads [rosaries] to pray, not very small nor very big, which in China are white and black, if possible in amber, they have great esteem for rosaries from St. Tomé, meaning made in wood from St. Tomé;[39] some images [prints] of Christ our Lord or of our Lady or of saints, and blessed rosaries. This is what can be offered to [local] Christians and what they expect.[40]

The list includes a curious selection of goods. Some, such as the images or prints and the rosaries would have been easy to acquire, for these were readily produced almost everywhere. The suggestion that "ten or twelve silver reliquaries" could have been produced rapidly in Macao is more intriguing. As the missionary mentions, excellent Chinese silversmiths were certainly working there, but authentic relics were known to be extremely difficult to obtain even by the Jesuit authorities in Goa.[41]

Fig. 4: *Fumi-e*, Japan, 17th century. Wood and bronze, 21 x 17.5 x 10.5 cm, Asian Civilisations Museum, Singapore, acc. no. 2011-02284.

Father Valignano also brought with him from Goa an organ, which the Jesuits hoped would excite great interest "for the Japanese have never seen such [an] invention."[42] The Jesuit was poorly informed for according to earlier sources, as early as 1554 Mass was celebrated in Japan with organ music.[43] This and other European instruments were available in Goa whence they were exported to various parts of Asia. We know that music from mobile organs entranced listeners at the Mughal court, where painters also depicted them in courtly miniatures.[44]

While still in Macao, Father Valignano had the good fortune to receive from Teotónio de Bragança, SJ (d. 1602), the archbishop of Évora, Portugal, and a great admirer of the Jesuit's work, a package of goods enormously useful to the mission. It contained many representations of the Agnus Dei,[45] four reliquaries and fine rosaries, a big and very good clock, and a valuable breviary.[46] These came almost certainly from Lisbon via Goa.

Paintings of the Virgin, Christ, and New Testament scenes were also imported into Japan. Whether these were originally from Portugal, India, or Macao is difficult to ascertain for more often than not sources offer little details. For example, in a letter dated 1549, a Jesuit in Japan complained that "a painting of Our Lord and of the Virgin has caused much commotion" noting however that "a copy of it has been commissioned but was not made, for the materials were not available."[47] Although few foreign goods from this period are extant in Japan, clearly, religious works of art from Europe were available. Among these are metal religious plaques that typically show scenes related to the Passion of Christ, such as the Crucifixion and the Pietà. These images are durable and were later copied to be used as *fumi-e*, meaning "pictures to trample," when Japanese authorities outlawed Christianity and required suspects to reject their true beliefs (fig. 4).[48] More surprising is the fact that Jesuits had the means to commission specific paintings from artists working in Portugal. In 1555 they sent funds to their counterparts in Lisbon who were told to order "a retable with the largest figures that the money [sent] allowed."[49] The letter specified the figures to be depicted.

Such interest in paintings is justified as images proved powerful instruments in engaging the newly converted. In a letter written in 1561, Brother Luís de Almeida in Japan wrote to his brethren in Portugal of the excitement following the offloading of a retable in the port of Hirado. The fact that there was as yet no church in the city did not prevent him from showing the retable to the locals. With the agreement of the captain, Brother Almeida spread the word that on the following Sunday, Mass would be celebrated on board with the retable on display. "It was something to thank our Lord for, as many people came. During the time the retable was unveiled boats packed with Christians came from different parts as if it was the Holy Week."[50] The enormous interest in Japan in religious paintings led the Jesuits to establish the Painting School headed by Brother Giovanni Niccolò (c. 1558–1626) in 1583.[51]

We have considerable information on artistic and exotic goods exported to Japan from Europe and China, and much less about works of Indian origin. Nanban trade screens illustrate the offloading of many animals that were almost certainly from India, namely peacocks and tigers, but information on objects is much scarcer. Often, it is difficult to ascertain whether objects arriving from India were in fact made there. One may presume that the "fine [personal] armor and other pieces" sent in 1554 by the Goan viceroy to the daimyo of Bungo were, in fact, made there since these were common items.[52] The "very devote [*sic*] image of Our Lady of Grace, which came from India"[53] circa 1565 must also have been a local product, for images carved in both ivory and wood were the result of well-established industries in Portuguese India. The same surely applies to capes, for some finely embroidered Indo-Portuguese capes made in the Bengal region survive in Japan.[54]

A particular type of nanban lacquerware also points to origins in India. In terms of shape these relate to both Indian and Indo-Portuguese models. These objects are carved in wood and coated with gilt black lacquer inlaid with the traditional mother-of-pearl in nanban style. Therefore they are rightly classified as "nanban lacquers." A domed box and a tabernacle, now in the Peabody Essex Museum, are among these. The shape of the box is distinctive; its wide circular base and domed low lid are close to those from India and has no parallels in either Japan or Europe.[55] The tabernacle, featured in the current exhibition, follows Indo-Portuguese forms in its carved pillars, hexagonal dome, and elegant proportions (plate 34).[56] Only scientific analysis of the wood of these unique pieces could confirm that they were made in India circa 1600 and later exported to Japan for decoration.[57]

It is clear from Jesuit sources that a vast range of secular and religious goods was necessary to the prosecution of the missionaries' evangelical goals. These had various origins: some were European and Indian but most apparently originated from Macao. This is likely for the city was relatively nearby and was also a cosmopolitan trade center where skilled craftsmen worked. Records show that such goods were in great demand and that they were hard to obtain. This helps to explain the foundation of the Painting School—unique in an Asian context—and the Jesuits' interest in lacquer production. The extent of their involvement in the latter industry has yet to be fully understood. As it has been often noted the *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam*, the Japanese-Portuguese dictionary produced in the College of Nagasaki in 1603–04, includes a variety of terms related to lacquer production that confirms Jesuits' deep knowledge of the complex techniques employed in the making and decoration of Japanese lacquer.[58] This as well as the many surviving lacquers decorated with their insignia (plates 29, 33) strongly suggest direct Jesuit involvement in this industry. One may therefore conclude that when Jesuits realized that they could not guarantee the constant supply of works of art from abroad, they invested in their local production. From importers, Jesuits became producers and ultimately exporters of artistic goods. Such facets of their work are however beyond the scope of this essay.

I am grateful to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation for a grant that allowed me to conduct research at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, the central archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome. The grant also allowed me to travel to Japan, to establish the initial contacts with scholars, curators, and collectors that led to the list of objects at the basis of this exhibition.

1. From 1530 onward, Goa became the capital of the Portuguese State of India, comprising not only all the territories under Portuguese rule in the Indian subcontinent but also all her other possessions from the eastern coast of Africa to Macao. Trade and religious relations with Japan were also under Goa's control. It ended in 1961, when the Indian army invaded Goa.

2. Jesuit missionaries working in Asia often remarked about such traditions. Father Jerome Xavier, SJ, (1549–1617) who worked at the Mughal court for almost nineteen years, stated "as it is custom in this country never to appear before princes empty-handed." Quoted from Pierre du Jarric, SJ, *Akbar and the Jesuits: An Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar by Father Pierre Du Jarric*, trans. and annot. C. H. Payne (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1926; reprint New Delhi and Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1997), 82.

3. For the presentation of gifts in Japan see Michael Cooper, SJ, *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (New York: Weatherhill, 1974), 240.

4. Although there were various grants from secular and religious authorities—namely the king, the viceroy, and the pope—as well as revenues from properties in India, trade in silk, donations by

novices and local Christians, and alms from both Japanese and Portuguese traders, the Japanese mission was permanently under financial pressure. For an overview of the various sources of funding, see Helena Rodrigues, "Local Sources of Funding for the Japanese Mission," *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 7 (2003): 115–37.

5. Discussed by Anna Jackson in "Visual Responses: Depicting Europeans in East Asia," in *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer, exh. cat. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2004), 200–217.

6. See essay by Rory Browne in this catalogue, "Priests, Pachyderms, and Portuguese: Animal Exchange in the Age of Exploration."

7. The latter show various shades of skin indicating perhaps that some were African and others from different parts of India.

8. For a report on these see Yohei Kawaguchi, "The Newly Found Olive Jars in Japan and Their Historical Significance," *Sokendai Review of Cultural and Social Studies* 7 (2011): 123–32.

9. Including butter, cheese, milk, and medicines. Letter written by Father Gaspar Vilela, SJ, from Japan to the fathers and brothers of the Company of Jesus in Coimbra (1554) in *Copia de las Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañia de Iesus que andan en el Iapon escrivieron a los de la misma Compañia de la India, y Europa, desde el año de MDXLVIII que começaron, hasta el passado de LXIII* (Coimbra: Juan de Barrera and Juan Alvarez, 1565), 57.

10. Known as *visitador* or visitor; he was expected to inspect the various missions and send to Rome periodical reports about their progress to the General, as the head of the Society of Jesus is known.

11. Soft Spanish goat leather that became extremely popular in the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance. It is unclear whether he is describing the highly resistant leather employed to cover chests, boxes, and other types of furniture or the gilt embossed leather used on the decoration of walls. Both types were made in the city of Córdoba, but the specificities of Japanese interiors suggest that he was referring to the former.

12. Or *confeito* in Portuguese. It gave origin to the Japanese word *kompeitō*, which refers to the technique of producing such sweets, introduced by the Portuguese in Japan.

13. A standard Iberian male outer garment often adopted by the Japanese.

14. The names of two aromatic woods.

15. Located in Burma.

16. The old city port of Cambay, known at present as Khambat, is located in the Indian state of Gujarat.

17. He seems to be referring to lacquer boxes.

18. The Japanese word *bouru* derives from the Portuguese *bolo* (cake or biscuit).

19. An unidentified type of box that was almost certainly lacquered, since those made in Canton (known at present as Guangzhou) at that time were highly admired.

20. Probably a type of velvet.

21. *Guadameci* in the original.

22. Letter of Father Fróis to Father Valignano, August 10, 1577, quoted from Alessandro Valignano, SJ, *Sumario de las Cosas de Japon, 1583; Adiciones del Sumario de Japon, 1592*, ed. José Luis Alvarez-Taladriz, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1954), 52–55*.

23. See Pedro Moura Carvalho, "Macao as a Source for Works of Art of Far Eastern Origin," *Oriental Art Magazine* 46, no. 3 (2000): 13–21.

24. *Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India and Burma, His Companions and Contemporaries, with His Remarkable Narrative Told in His Own Words*, ed. J. Horton Ryley (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1899; reprint New Delhi and Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1998), 179.

25. *Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum Catalogue* (Nagasaki: Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum, 2004), 52. I am grateful to Father Renzo De Luca, SJ, for providing me with images of the parasol.

26. See the essay by René B. Javellana, SJ, "The Invention of an Icon: From Francisco Xavier of Navarre to San Francisco, Patron of Missions and Apostle to the Indies," in this catalogue.

27. Now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Illustrated and discussed in Pedro Moura Carvalho, "Oriental Export Lacquerwares and Their Problematic Origin," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorichen Museums* 3 (2001): 246–61.

28. For some of these see Pedro Moura Carvalho, ed., "A Group of Early Lacquered Furniture for the Portuguese Market and Its Probable Origin in the Bay of Bengal and Coromandel Coast," in *The World of Lacquer, 2000 Years of History*, exh. cat. (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, 2001), 127–41.

29. For an illustration of one of these in the Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, inv. no. 10014156 see Nuno Vassallo e Silva and Helmut Trnek, eds., *Exotica: The Portuguese Discoveries and the Renaissance Kunstkammer*, exh. cat. (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, 2001), 224.

30. A third also of Chinese style (x-framed construction) is lacquered with nanban figures and survives in the Zuiko-ji Temple in Kyoto. It is possible that the chair is in fact Chinese but has been decorated in Japan. Illustrated in Oliver Impey and Christiaan Jörg, *Japanese Export Lacquer, 1580–1850* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), fig. 291.

31. Valignano, *Sumario*, 56*.

32. Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, vol. 1 (Lisbon, 1858), 62.

33. Ibid., 85.

34. Valignano, *Sumario*, 151*, 153*.

35. Pedro Moura Carvalho, "Goa's Pioneering Role in Transmitting European Traditions to the Mughal and Safavid Courts," in *Exotica*, 72–75.

36. Ibid.

37. *Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañia de Jesus, que andan en los Reynos de Iapon escrivieron a los de la misma Compañia, desde el año de 1549, hasta el de 1571* (Alcalá: Iuan Iñiguez de Lequerica, 1575), 248v.

38. Ibid., 259r.

39. São Tomé de Meliapor, also known as Saint Thomas of Mylapore, near Chennai (formerly known as Madras) on the Coro-

mandel Coast.

40. Quoted from Valignano, *Sumario*, 54*.

41. Jesuit authorities in India often complained that even the main Jesuit church in the Asian continent (Saint Paul's Church in Goa, also known as Bom Jesus) was "very poor of these; not even a head of one of the eleven thousand virgins." See Pedro Moura Carvalho, *Mir'āt al-quds (Mirror of Holiness): A Life of Christ for Emperor Akbar; A Commentary on Father Jerome Xavier's Text and the Miniatures of Cleveland Museum of Art, Acc. No. 2005.145*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 34.

42. Valignano, *Sumario*, 55*–56*.

43. Quoted from a letter from Japan written in 1554 by Father Gaspar Vilela to the fathers and brothers of the Company of Jesus in Coimbra, in *Copia de las Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos* (1565), 75.

44. See Carvalho, "Goa's Pioneering Role," 75–76.

45. Or Lamb of God, an image used as a symbol of Christ based on a quotation in the Gospel of John (1:29). It consists of an image of a lamb with a halo and a banner with a cross.

46. Valignano, *Sumario*, 55*.

47. Quoted from a letter from Japan written in 1549 by Father M. Francisco, SJ, in *Copia de las Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos* (1565), 31.

48. Images of religious nature, normally metal plaques, used by the Japanese authorities to prove that locals were not Christian; those suspected to be so were asked to step on such plaques.

49. *Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos* (1575), 73r.

50. Copy of a letter written by Brother Luís de Almeida from Japan to the fathers and brothers of the Company of Jesus in Portugal in 1561. Quoted from *Copia de las Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos* (1565), 258.

51. See Alexandra Curvelo's "Nanban Art: What's Past is Prologue," in this catalogue, as well as Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 66–78.

52. *Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos* (1575), 53v.

53. In Father Luís Fróis, SJ, *Historia de Japam: Vol. 2 (1565–78)*, annot. José Wicki, SJ (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 1981), 80.

54. Such capes are extremely rare; for one now in a Japanese private collection see *Via Orientalis: porutogaru to nanban bunka ten; mesase toho no kuniguni* [*Via Orientalis*: Portugal and nanban culture exhibition; Voyages to eastern countries], exh. cat. (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai, 1993), 222, cat. 215.

55. Peabody Essex Museum, TD2001.2.1, illustrated in Impey and Jörg, *Japanese Export Lacquer*, fig. 198.

56. For an Indo-Portuguese piece decorated in pseudo-nanban style see, for example, Carvalho, *World of Lacquer*, 153.

57. There is a further stimulating possibility: according to Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (d. 1611), the Dutch secretary of the Portuguese archbishop in Goa, circa 1584, "certaine handie crafts men [brought by the Portuguese] out of India, with whome they have to do" were allowed to stay in Japan. Quoted from Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies, from the Old English Translation of 1598*, ed. A. C. Burnell, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1885; reprint New Delhi and Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1988), 163. Whether woodworkers were among such men is unknown.

58. See for example the essay by Leonor Leiria, "The Art of Lacquering According to Namban-jin Written Sources," *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 3 (2001): 9–26.

Reflections on Cultural Exchange and Commercial Relations in Sixteenth-Century Asia: A Portuguese Nobleman's Lacquered Mughal Shield

Ulrike Körber

A lacquered shield in the collection of the Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis in Oporto, Portugal and featured in the present exhibition, offers a rich testament to the complex cultural and commercial ties characterizing Portuguese interests in Asia during the sixteenth century (plates 59a–b). Its composition of materials, manufacturing techniques, and stylistic attributes reveal how broadly the Portuguese conceived of manufacturing luxury goods in Asia. Utilizing multiple, far-flung territorial possessions and trade partners, the shield was ultimately destined for a European recipient. Like other high-value Asian luxuries, the shield's form and manufacture are Asian and the customizing of its decoration for European taste added to its ultimate commercial value.

After the Portuguese arrived in India, they built an extended network of trading ports and fortresses along the Indian coastline, a process they continued further into Asia. An ever-expanding catalogue of novel and exotic items excited European collecting, leading to distinct markets for Asian luxury objects. Perhaps more importantly, Portuguese settlements in India required furnishings suited to European habits of life.[1] This demand built local production including different production centers scattered along the Indian coast where Portuguese settlements were numerous, resulting in objects of inherently hybrid character, where furniture following European prototypes was crafted with tropical woods and embellished with carving work or inlays of exotic materials such as ivory, mother-of-pearl, or tortoise shell.[2] Through officially established or independent merchants, the Portuguese commissioned enormous quantities of rarities. Indo-Portuguese furniture was produced in almost all coastal regions of India, in the Mughal Empire and Ceylon. Typical items were chests, cabinets, traveling trunks, writing boxes, trays, and coffers—small and portable objects to serve Portuguese officials, settlers, traders, and noblemen. Also the many religious orders and missionaries acquired portable altars, oratories, lecterns, or other fittings for Christian churches built in the Portuguese territories in India.

A subset of objects from this production, generally of smaller dimension, such as writing boxes, chests or trunks, cabinets, Mass lecterns or trays, presents additional refinements with Asian lacquer. Due to their diverse character, the question of where the objects were lacquered has remained, as their decorations make the attribution to certain origins difficult. For example, it has been suggested that these items were lacquered by Chinese artisans in India, or the coatings of some have been characterized as nanban lacquers.[3] Technological research on lacquered objects of this group from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including the lacquered shield, was conducted at the furniture section of the José de Figueiredo Laboratory (LJF) in Lisbon (formerly the Instituto Português de Conservação e Restauro) with the collaboration of its

scientists and the Hércules Laboratory at the University of Évora.[4]

Asian lacquer is a composite material obtained from three main species of trees which are scattered throughout Asian regions but do not grow in India. The lacquer known as *urushi* (Japanese) or *qi* (Chinese) is the sap of the lacquer-producing tree species *Rhus vernicifera,* which grows in China, Korea, and Japan. The *Rhus succedanea* species from which *laccol* lacquer is obtained grows in Vietnam and Taiwan but also in the southern Chinese Guangxi Province and the former Ryukyu Kingdom. The sap of *Melanorrhoea usitate* species, or *thitsi* lacquer, forms the basis for lacquer art in Southeast Asian regions like present-day Burma and Thailand. Lacquer trees are not endemic to the Indian subcontinent, thus requiring a second place of Asian manufacture. Historically, these items have been dubbed "Indian-Portuguese" artifacts as well, but given their complex origins, "Luso-Asian" would seem a more appropriate designation.

This study collected and analyzed micro-samples of nearly thirty objects from Portuguese and European museums and from private collections. A multi-technical approach was used with respect to all objects in order to identify the lacquer type, the materials, such as binders and fillers employed, and the decorative techniques applied. The results allowed for a subdivision of these items into two groups of lacquering traditions—a Southeast Asian and an East Asian one. Objects of the first group have been lacquered with *thitsi* lacquer, while *laccol* and *urushi* were identified on objects of group two. The materials and techniques found on both groups are distinct to those applied on nanban lacquerware pieces.

The earliest Japanese lacquered objects (*nanban-shikki*) made for Western markets were decorated in the so-called nanban ("southern barbarian") style. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the word "nanban" was applied to all foreigners except Chinese and Koreans, and sometimes even to them. Thus, the word also came to be associated with artifacts made by, depicting, or made for foreigners. It also referred to the style and techniques of the latter two categories, or especially to the techniques and decoration styles of the earliest group of Japanese lacquerware for export to the West, ordered by or for Portuguese, who first arrived in Japan in 1542 or 1543, or the Society of Jesus. In keeping with most export-market commodities, nanban lacquerware was decorated in a manner derived not only from native styles, but also from imported ideas and demands, combining designs of sprinkled gold or silver and cut-shell inlays. The Jesuits ordered a large quantity of lacquered liturgical objects, such as missal stands (plate 29), host boxes (plate 33), and triptych portable oratories (plates 30–31), usually decorated with the emblem of the Society of Jesus (the IHS insignia with heart and three nails) in mother-of-pearl. Common typologies of other trade goods are chests (plates 38, 46), cabinets (plate 41, 43), writing utensil boxes (plates 2, 44), and caskets of European shape. The background to any nanban decoration is almost invariably a thick, rather coarse black lacquer constituted of several thin lacquer layers. In contrast to lacquerware produced for domestic use, surfaces are almost completely covered with vegetal and floral motifs, in mother-of-pearl inlay (*raden*) combined with flat sprinkled decoration (*hiramaki-e*) in gold or silver, or painted gold lacquer (*nerigaki*). Cut or randomly shaped mother-of-pearl may be inlaid. Frequently, the cut shapes are geometric: squares, triangles, rectangles, or ovoids that fit together to create patterns or border decorations. The shell could also be broken into random shapes to form a mosaic. Decorations in shades of gold lacquer, or alloys with silver powder (which generally have changed color due to oxidation), were painted onto the black lacquer ground, and onto inlaid shell for the inner drawing of flowers or leaves, the whole forming a coherent scene or pattern. Object surfaces are divided in separate cartouches, filled with flower-and-grass patterns with a tall, almost straight stalk with leaves in alternating tones. Other floral scenes, scrolling vines, maple leaves, or peony, wisteria, and camellia flowers were common. Depictions of the early period include garden fences, peacocks, tigers or other animals, or human figures, but these are exceptions. The outermost border tends to be a narrow nanban scroll (*nanban karakusa*); within it may be further borders, nearly always of symmetrically cut mother-of-pearl arranged in a geometric pattern, with additional lacquer painting.[5] The gold lacquer can vary in shade, and other colors, including silver and pale red, could be sparingly used, but there are at least two different tones that contrast with the monochrome gold-foil decoration (Japanese *haku-e*, the general Chinese term for gold foil is *jinbo,* for thin gold foil *tiejinqi*[6]) that we observed on the items of group two's East Asian/*laccol*- or *urushi*-lacquered items.

The lacquer coatings on several nanban objects from Portuguese collections, which were examined in the José de Figueiredo Laboratory, consist of *urushi*. In early nanban style pieces the foundation layers are agglutinated with *urushi*, with a protein binder used only in some transition-style objects.[7] Our observations also show that foliage or other plant patterns always have at least two different tinctures of leaves, in gold and other metallic alloys. The way in which the decorative elements are executed and depicted on objects of group two, which have been classified as nanban lacquers, is different from what is characteristically nanban style. There the decoration is

monochrome, achieved by applying gold foil or gold painting (Chinese *miaojin*). In some objects these techniques are combined with inlays of very thin pieces of mother-of-pearl (Japanese *raden* or Chinese *luodian*) and one or two simple gold lines frame the central fields. Also the lacquer type and the cross section differ, which seem to have a more complex composition. In these Luso-Asian artifacts, foundation layers were applied onto the wooden substrate, composed of a mixture of clay with a protein binder also containing starch and oil, sometimes followed by a thin black layer of charcoal, and one or two layers of lacquer. In these pieces, the clay that was used has a larger particle size than the one normally found in nanban pieces. Another difference concerns the thickness of the lacquer layers, which in the case of the nanban items are generally thinner.[8]

The shield in the exhibition is part of the second group, which presents lacquering and decoration techniques of East Asian (Chinese, Ryukyuan) influence, where represented motifs include landscapes, peonies, lotuses, grapevines, and squirrels or just flowering branches on a black or red lacquered background. Gilded double-line borders or wave borders with spirals often frame these scenes. In some outstanding pieces gold decoration is combined with other techniques, such as mother-of-pearl inlays or sprinkled ray-skin grains (*togidashi-same*). Additionally, East Asian motifs are combined with European elements such as heraldic arms, as seen on this shield, scenes from Greco-Roman mythology, biblical symbols or scenes, and emblems of religious orders.

The provenance of the Oporto shield is obscure. Acquired by the Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis in 1943, its former owner and circumstances are unknown. Recent conservation work to arrest its deterioration has provided the opportunity to study its

Fig. 1: Front side of lacquered shield with detail of circular friezes, broader frieze with arabesque pattern in *haku-e* and *harigaki* on a *chinkin* diaper background (Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis, Oporto).

Fig. 2: Rear side, Oporto shield. Rhomboid-shaped arm support with remaining strips and traces of the former arm pad.

construction and its decorative scheme in close detail. Questions about its manufacture and origins abound: Was it made to order for a specific individual based in India or in Europe? Or as part of a group order from Europe? Might it be the trophy of a Portuguese adventurer in Asia? Where was the shield lacquered? As part of the team caring for the shield, my work explores this impressive heritage of diverse technical and cultural factors.[9]

This shield, with a diameter of sixty-one-and-a-half centimeters, consists of a wooden structure core covered with leather. Its round, convex form is coated on both sides with black lacquer and is gilded. The front of the shield features five of what were originally six round and convex gilded brass nails with washers, laterally arranged in two rows of three nails. They have the form of eight-petal rosettes, decorated with double-lined incised borders. These nails were presumably intended to attach the handle to the back of the shield.

The front of the shield was richly ornamented. The center front is decorated with the coat of arms of a Portuguese nobleman, with remnants of gold and red painted stripes visible on the bottom right division. Too much has been lost to identify the specific family crest, but the shape of the heraldic shield and the knight's helmet are typical of sixteenth-century Iberian noblemen's coats of arms. Traces of two crossed axes above the helmet crest suggest that it referred to the Machado family. Two circular decorative friezes frame the coat of arms: a narrow band of linked quatrefoils and ovals surrounded by dots within a double-lined border. A broad frieze contained in a double-lined border circles the edge. The frieze consists of arabesque leaf-work on a diaper-patterned background of thin gilded cross-hatching lines (fig. 1). The heraldic shield is symmetrically complemented by mantling in the form of leaf-work, emerging from the bottom of the helmet.

The back of the shield shows a series of nail holes

Fig. 3: Squirrels on grapevine (rear side, Oporto shield).

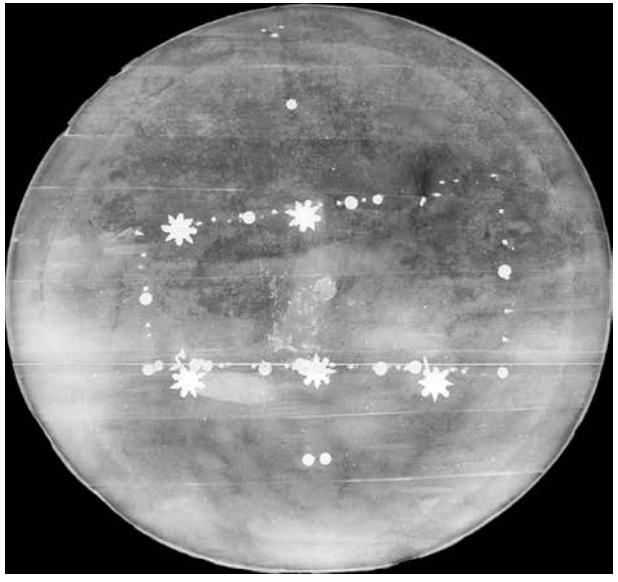

Fig. 4: X-radiography, Oporto shield, © LJF Lisbon.

arranged in a rhomboid figure with traces of cotton and velvet, suggestive of an arm pad laterally attached. Traces of a handle remain in the form of some cotton fibers and two leather straps, all covered with blue-green velvet (fig. 2). In the center of this area is a later museum inventory paper label and a yet-unidentified shellacked seal (showing the initials ".P.P."), which is attached to an uncoated rectangle of leather. The back also bears gilded decoration in four groups arranged around the handles. Vines with two squirrels appear at the top (fig. 3); a pair of birds, likely doves, resting on peonies, below; to the left is a peony; and to the right another flower not yet identified. The entire back of the shield is framed at the edge by a narrow band of volute scrollwork surrounded by dots, again within a double-line border.

Analysis of the shield prior to conservation treatment was undertaken in the LJF. A breach in the shield's leather covering exposed its wood core. Radiographic testing showed that this core consists of eight wooden strips or planks joined together (fig. 4). While the exact species of wood could not be identified, it clearly tested as tropical and deciduous. Raw tropical woods were not shipped to Europe in this period, so the manufacture had to have been domestic. The breach also exposed an additional layer of unidentifiable leather.

Experiments in 2008 attempted to replicate how the shield might have been covered with the leather. Our findings show that the shield was wrapped with two leather disks probably using the *cuir bouilli* technique, wherein leather is treated with hot liquid before molding. Once dry, such leather benefits from increased resistance to cuts or damage and better retains its molded form. During the medieval epoch, this technique was often used in the fabrication of shields and armor in Persia, Turkey, and parts of Europe. Tests further confirmed that the concave shield back was covered first with leather of the same diameter as the wooden core. Leather of a wider diameter was then affixed to the front, the excess stretched across the

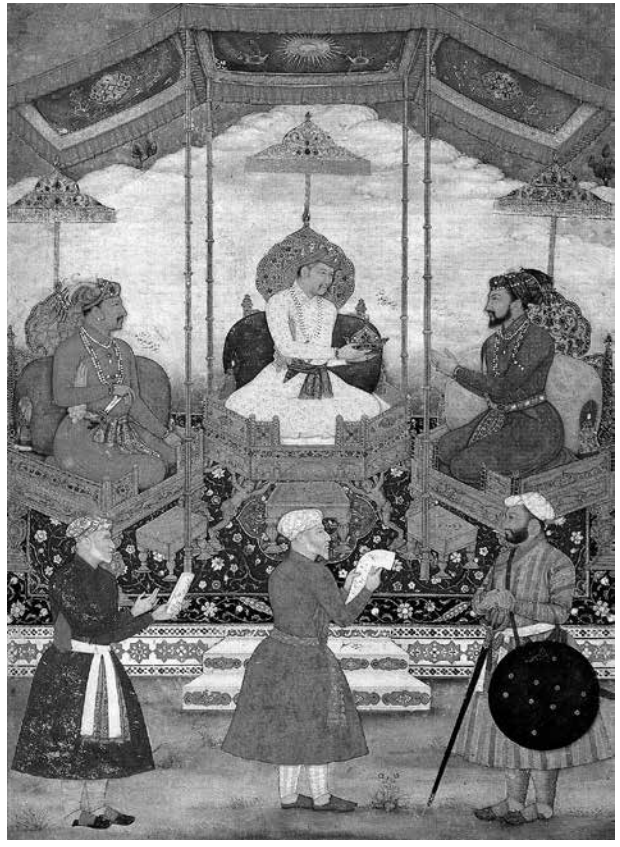

Fig. 5: Akbar the Great gives the imperial crown to Shah Jahan (Amina Okada, *Les grand Moghol et ses peintres* [Paris: Flammarion, 1992], 33).

rear and fastened. Once dried, the overlapping excess was trimmed to approximately three centimeters from the edge. The sample left the same tracks—in the form of wrinkles on the folded edge of the leather—evident on the Oporto shield.

Analysis of the coat of arms reveals further information. Curiously, after removing the nails and brass elements, only the gilded outlines of the heraldic shield were visible over the black lacquer. The tincture of the shield therefore was completed only after the

arm pad was mounted, and the materials used for this pad are both endemic to India and typical in their use on Indian shields. The red and gilded tincture was oil based; a cross section of this area reveals it was modified and repainted several times. Only the outlines of the heraldic shield and the knight's helmet were done in lacquer. The remaining free space would have permitted the addition of a crest and arms of its future owner. Traces of the same red color remain on one of the brass nails, meaning that the application or modification of the crest's tincture occurred only after the handle had been attached.

The general form of this shield conforms to Mughal cavalry shields used in Persia, Turkey, and Muslim north India.[10] Termed *sipar,* Persian for "shield," they regularly feature in Mughal miniatures. These paintings show *sipar* decorated in many ways, including some borne by Mughal rulers that are luxuriously decorated with Persian arabesques similar to the broad frieze on the Oporto shield (fig. 5). In Mughal lore, carrying a shield conferred dignity; bearing arms emblazoned with the emperor's crest was a prestigious court honor.[11]

Mughal shields were typically fabricated using one of a variety of tropical woods, which was then covered with vegetable-tanned rawhide. The woods used were sal (*Shorea robusta*), mango (*Mangifera indica*), neem (*Azadirachta indica*), sisham (*Dalbergia sissoa*), and teak (*Tectona grandis*). The leather or hide increased the shield's hardness, and became the ground for decoration using resin varnishes such as shellac or mastic. Such shields almost always have a circular form and range from nearly flat to robustly convex, with diameters varying between twenty and sixty-six centimeters. Two or more leather straps attached to the center back with metal bosses served as handles or loops for the forearm. The metal bosses could add decorative appeal in their individual shapes and in the patterns created. The handles ensured comfort with cotton-filled pads covered in silk, velvet, or cotton.[12] This type of cavalry shield persisted until the seventeenth century, when iron shields replaced them.

It is therefore possible to identify the Indian origin of the shield, but where was it lacquered? Thanks to the detailed shipment records of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) we know about other Indian shields that were refined with a lacquer coating. Seventeenth-century evidence shows Indian shields going to Japan for lacquered decoration. The VOC, through which the Dutch conducted its Asian commercial operations, began shipping shields as well as many other items from Bengal, the Coromandel Coast, and Surat to Deshima in Nagasaki Bay in 1647. In contrast to Portuguese trading activities, the VOC documented the movement and contents of their shipments in exacting detail. They intended these shields for the Indian market or as gifts for Mughal rulers, and directed that "they should be decorated with flowers only, without human figures, pigs or owls as these are not liked by the Moors."[13] This scheme lasted only until the eighteenth century.

The Dutch shields often bear evidence of their making on their fronts. Generally the decorations correspond to the style of Japanese export lacquerware for the Dutch market. Some Dutch officials had the shields lacquered with their own coats of arms or monograms, affixing the handles when the objects returned to India. Shields bearing the arms of VOC officials are found in European museums and collections, as are shields with the arms of European royal families, which were either ordered from Europe or intended as diplomatic presents.[14] In shape and structure these shields conform to another Mughal type—the *dhal*. Consisting only of molded rawhide, these

Fig. 6: Kanō Naizen (1570–1616), nanban screen detail, c. 1603–10, MNAA, Lisbon (Maria Helena Mendes Pinto, *Biombos Namban* [Lisbon: MNAA, 1993], 54).

convex shields have rolled edges to stabilize them and two handles fastened to ring bolts riveted to bosses on the front.[15] Usually the lacquered shields with the arms of VOC officials do not have handles; only one example, bearing the arms of Johannes Camphuys and in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, is known.[16]

Far fewer Luso-Portuguese shields are extant and it is ultimately the Portuguese who established their interest in Mughal-style shields as items for parade purposes. Probably the Mughals and other Indian rulers found a liking for such decorated shields, turning lacquered shields into appreciated gifts or merchandise, which helped the Dutch to improve or maintain diplomatic relations with their Indian trading partners. To be sure, ornamented Mughal shields were exquisite objects and therefore exuded luxury and status. Such shields are pictured in nanban screens as carried by Portuguese entering the Japanese port town, which, among other items, they have likely brought from India (fig. 6).[17]

Fig. 7: Rear side of the Ashmolean Museum shield, © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

At present, only eight examples of Luso-Asian Mughal shields are known. Three examples present a coating with Southeast Asian *thitsi* lacquer and are decorated according to Burmese or Siamese techniques of gold foil painting (*shwei zawa/lai rod nam*).[18] What we know from the recent studies conducted at the LJF in Lisbon is that there were different lacquering centers, or at least artisans of different origins involved.

Three other shields bear very similar decorative motifs to the Oporto shield. Two are in British collections; the third is in Vienna. All four shields are similarly constructed, and the arm supports consist of three leather straps with a rectangle in the center of the rear side, which was left uncoated with lacquer. These commonalities suggest similarities of manufacture, which allow us to establish a general time frame and to think about the meaning of the shared

Fig. 8: Detail of the narrow band on the rear side's edge of the Wallace Collection, London shield.

decorative programs. Portuguese individuals in Asia may well have acquired them as exotic trophy items, as later VOC officials did, but it is unknown whether these shields resulted from occasional private or group orders. It is also conceivable that their decoration followed models of contemporary European decorative themes that were circulating in Asia.

The British examples are in the Wallace Collection, London and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Both feature coats of arms in a similar manner, as well as verso decorations of vines, squirrels, and peonies (fig. 7).[19] The coat of arms on the Wallace shield is Portuguese, and it, too, has the same narrow band of running volute scrollwork at the rear's edge (fig. 8).[20] The back of this shield is in very poor condition and much of the gold-foil decoration is gone, but close examination plus a 1986 description of the décor, when it was less degraded, verifies the motifs.[21]

The Ashmolean shield is part of a rich history. The core of the Ashmolean collection was the Lambeth museum of John Tradescant the Elder (1570–1637) and his son, John the Younger, who were England's premier plantsmen in the first half of the seven-

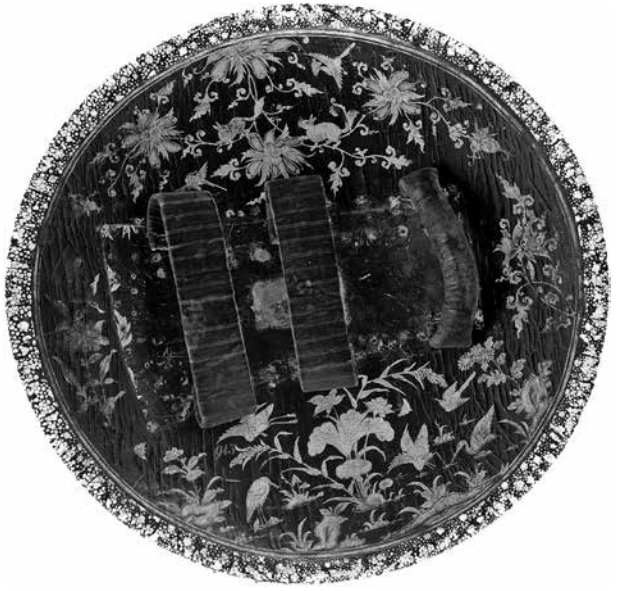

Fig. 9: Rear side of the "ray-skin shield," © Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

teenth century. Both an extensive plant collection and a "cabinet of curiosities," the Lambeth museum (called "Tradescant's Ark") benefitted from their plant collecting missions to Europe, Russia, North America, and North Africa.[22] The Lambeth museum was bequeathed to Elias Ashmole (1617–92), who later offered it to Oxford University. A special building was constructed to house the collection, which opened in 1683 and became England's first public museum, and the predecessor of today's Ashmolean Museum.[23] The shield was part of the early collection. Its front side also presents a coat of arms, probably of British provenance.[24] A narrow band of an undulated wave border frames the rear's edge. The same decorative band appears on various examples which form the same lacquer group, as for example the "Pope's trunk" or the "Cardinal's table," both in Austrian collections and mentioned in Renaissance collection inventories.[25]

The shield in Vienna belongs to the Kunsthistorisches Museum and carries verso decoration of the same sort as the Oporto and British shields.[26] Its history is known back to its first mention in the state inventory of Archduke Ferdinand II of 1596 (fig. 9). This fixed point allows us to posit basic dating for the whole group of four. The recto decoration on the Vienna shield is distinguished by its *togidashi-same* technique, wherein bits of ray skin of different sizes are sprinkled into the freshly lacquered surface. Once dry, it is then coated in lacquer and polished. The verso decoration is painted in gold on black using the *haku-e* and *maki-e* (Chinese *sajin*) methods of gold painting, and offers four vignettes around the handle: squirrel-like animals climbing flowering branches, a peony, a lotus flower, and a water landscape at the bottom, all framed by a double-lined border. Curiously, this side was lacquered a second time before reaching Europe, and the front and back lacquers derived from different tree species.[27] *Urushi* was identified on the front and *laccol* lacquer on the back.[28] Thus it is conceivable that the manufacture of lacquer objects involved either multiple specialist centers, or centers with practicing artisans of different origins.

The decoration on the Oporto shield is representative in its references to multiple decorative traditions including European, Mughal, Chinese, and Ryukyuan. This is common to other Luso-Asian objects employing Indian craftsmanship and Southeast Asian or East Asian lacquering. The arabesques on the outer friezes of the shield are reminiscent of Persian and Mughal art, as well as European Renaissance decoration. Flowers and other motifs from nature recall Chinese conventions.

The vignettes on the back of the shield are open to symbolic readings from both Chinese and European cultures, making the meaning of this decorative scheme difficult to interpret. Flowers, for instance, have a rich symbolic history in China. One of the flowers on the shield's back is a peony—a premier symbol of wealth, rank, and prosperity, favored by royalty in China and samurai patrons in Japan. In Christian iconography, the peony was understood to be a thornless rose and revered as an attribute of the Virgin Mary. The Oporto shield combines the peony with paired birds that resemble doves. In Chinese art any pair of living animals of approximately the same size is generally understood to represent male and female or a couple in a state of conjugal fidelity. Additionally, birds could refer to rank or social standing. If the two birds are doves, they may stand for lifelong fidelity, fertility, and longevity.[29] In Christian symbolism, the dove could refer to Christ, though they are not usually shown paired in this fashion.

The grapevine motif came to China via the Silk Road from Greece. The plant was cultivated in China from the Han dynasty (206 BCE–221 CE), and became symbolic of abundance, fecundity, and progeny.[30] Specifically, the curling tendrils and bunches of swollen grapes symbolized fertility.[31] In the mid-Qing dynasty, the addition of squirrels among the grapevines transformed the image into a rebus wishing the owner long life. The rebus was based on two homophones: the squirrel, called "pine tree rat" in Chinese, provides the source of the word "pine"; grapes provide the homophone for peaches. Both peaches and pines were ubiquitous and millennia-old symbols for longevity, so this play upon words refreshed the ideas.[32] The motif of grapevines and cavorting squirrel-like rodents also came to coastal Asia with the Portuguese, probably transferring the imagery from India to Japan. This combination appears on lacquerware from Japan and the Ryukyu Kingdom from the sixteenth century onward, on Indo-Portuguese gold and silver, and on Chinese porcelain of later periods.

This pair could have meaning in Christian iconography as well. The grapevine stood for the Tree of Knowledge or the Tree of Life and could symbolize Christ. In the European Middle Ages, the squirrel was seen as a companion of the devil and a symbol of infidelity.[33] By the time of the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation, however, possibly the combination read as a reinterpretation of the Old Testament's theme of "peace of the animals in the vine."[34]

Three silver liturgical objects of Luso-Asian origin deploy this pairing of grape and squirrel in their decoration. Father André Coutinho, who lived in India for thirty-eight years as a missionary, gave these objects to the Convento do Carmo da Vidigueira in 1595. The monastery no longer exists and they are now in the collection of the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.[35] Counter-Reformation rules strictly forbad the use of profane decoration on liturgical utensils and Father Coutinho's equipment surely conformed, thus indicating that the reading of the grapevine and squirrel motif would have been Catholic.[36]

The Oporto shield offers a tenuous link to this context. The diverse cultural influences that reflect the shield's being lacquered either on the Indian subcontinent by Chinese artisans, by Chinese overseas elsewhere, or by Ryukyuan artisans, complicate the reading of its decoration. The European patrons' preferences for motifs that followed certain schemes also must be considered. The grave damage to the back of the shield made technical studies a necessary preliminary to conservation, which in turn permitted micro-sampling of different areas of the lacquer coating. Cross sections of the samples were examined under visible and ultraviolet light. Fourier transform infrared micro-spectroscopy (FTIR-μs) and x-ray diffraction (XRD) analyses identified organic binders

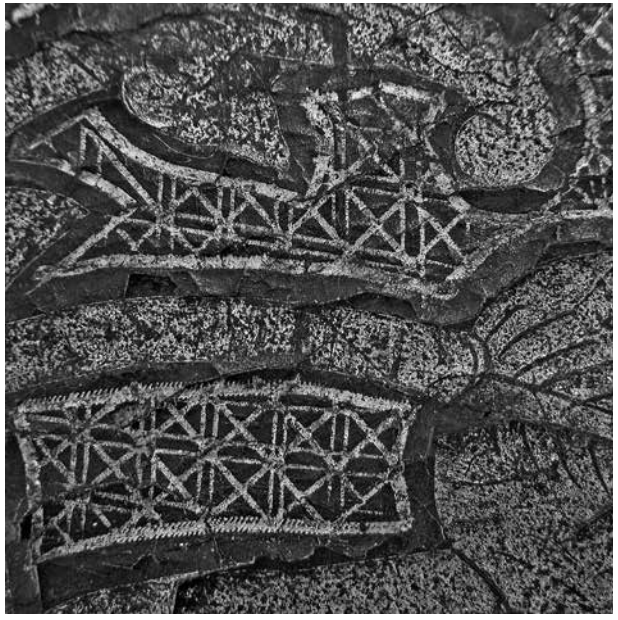

Fig. 10: Detail of *chinkin* decoration with zigzag traces on the Oporto shield (front side).

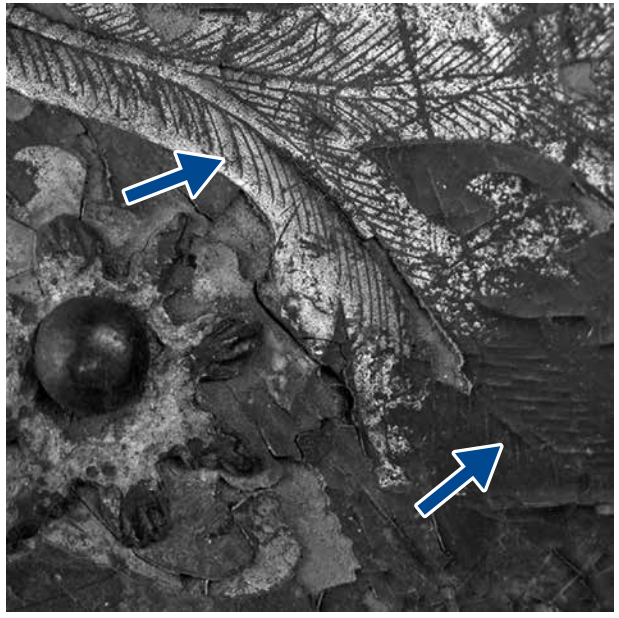

Fig. 11: Detail of *haku-e* with traces of needle drawing on the Oporto shield (front side).

and inorganic aggregates. The specific tree sources for the lacquer sap were determined via pyrolysis-gas chromatography/mass spectrometry (Py-GC/MS).[37] The analysis determined that over the leather substrate, one or two heterogeneous ground layers of earth material were applied. In some cross sections, a thin intermediate and unidentified layer of organic nature is visible. The ground layers are composed of a mixture of clay and other silicates, agglutinated in a protein binder in a manner known in Japanese as *tonketsu shitaji* (pigs' blood) or *nikawa shitaji* (animal glue). XRD analyses detected aluminum silicates and iron in foundation layers.

The lacquer coatings on the two sides of the shield are different in cross section. Analysis of the front shows an initial layer of raw lacquer, followed by a second. FTIR-μs and Py-GC/MS analyses made clear that this second layer was mixed with a drying oil. The rear was coated only with one lacquer layer, and in this case with the lacquer-oil mixture. The base lacquer was obtained from *Rhus succedanea*, which grows in Taiwan, Vietnam, south China,[38] and the islands of the former Ryukyu Kingdom.[39]

Analysis of the gilded decoration verifies that two different techniques were utilized. In these areas, a thin layer of lacquer was applied prior to the gold. The diaper background of the arabesque frieze consists of incised lines filled with lacquer and then gilded. In areas where the gold is worn away from the incisions, a brownish lacquer layer remains as well as zigzag marks indicating the use of an engraving stylus or burin tool (fig. 10). This evidence corresponds to the Chinese *ch'ian-chin* technique of incised and gilded lines as well as the Japanese or Ryukyu *chinkin-bori* technique wherein a design is incised and lacquer applied, then immediately wiped off.[40] While the residual lacquer is still tacky the artist adds gold leaf or sprinkles gold dust (*maki-e/sajin*).[41]

The *haku-e* technique, or Japanese gold-foil painting, produced other gilded motifs on the shield such as the mantling leaves next to the heraldic shield on the front and the leaves of the arabesque frieze on the back. In this method, the design is outlined in lacquer and then gold leaf is impressed upon it. Often designs are then embellished with needle drawings (*harigaki*) to inscribe texture lines. In areas where the gold leaf has worn away on the shield, traces of needle drawing are still visible (fig. 11). Due to the incisions, leading to reduced thickness, the lacquer in these areas has cracked.

While this analysis shows resemblances to methods employed in southern China, a fuller match corresponds to the practices of the Ryukyu Kingdom. This is not surprising as lacquer techniques were introduced into the kingdom from southern China from the end of the fourteenth century.

The distinct arrangement of motifs on the shield in combination with the two techniques, *haku-e* and *chinkin/ch'ian-chin*, argues for its decoration occurring outside China since these methods were no longer in use there. The *ch'ian-chin* technique first emerged in China in the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), but was out of fashion by the mid-sixteenth century in favor of carved lacquer and the so-called "filled-in" lacquer (*tianqi*) or painted lacquer technique. The *ch'ian-chin* technique was introduced into the Ryukyu Kingdom in the first half of the fifteenth century. In Ryukyu, the *chinkin* tradition endured, reaching its peak in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[42]

Lacquerware with flower and bird or squirrel and vine motifs thought to have been produced in Ryukyu during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth

Fig. 12: Cinnabar lacquered footed tray, Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya (Ōshiro Sōsei and Ashimine Kanemasa, eds., *Okinawa bijutsu zenshū* [The art of Okinawa], vol. 2 [Naha: Okinawa Times Co., 1989], pl. 12).

Fig. 13: Detail of footed tray with *haku-e* decoration and volute scrollwork.

centuries includes many examples that combine *chinkin* and *haku-e* techniques.[43] A twelve-sided footed tray lacquered in cinnabar red in the Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya, shows designs of a peony crest, birds, beasts, grasses, and flowers in *haku-e* as well as a narrow band with consecutive volutes consistent with the shields from Oporto and the Wallace Collection (figs. 12, 13). This piece is typical of Ryukyuan arts, as its shape refers to lacquerware from Southeast Asia and its depictive techniques derive from China. The gilded line-engraving or *chinkin* found on the shield's front, including the filigree gold patterns with embedded representations, is akin to several Ryukyu lacquer objects from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, such as the sixteenth-century lacquered food container from the Urasoe Art Museum (figs. 14, 15).

The Ryukyuan archipelago is situated between Taiwan and Kyushu, Japan and sits close to the coast of south China, giving it strategic positioning. It was an independent kingdom that from the fourteenth century was a tributary of China until its annexation by Japan in 1879, when it became the prefecture of Okinawa. In 1609, the Japanese Satsuma clan invaded Ryukyu, beginning the kingdom's status as a vassal state under Satsuma, existing alongside its tributary relationship with Ming China. Ryukyu's privileged tributary status permitted it to send one or two ships annually to China, which yielded highly desirable Chinese luxury goods that became stock for Ryukyu's sea-borne interregional trade.[44] Additionally, Ryukyu produced lacquerwares and like others in China's larger cultural orbit, the methods largely followed those of China's Ming dynasty, particularly those established in the south. Regional differences characterize East Asian lacquer arts, but works from Ryukyu are especially responsive to Chinese models, although

Fig. 14: Cinnabar lacquered food container, Urasoe Art Museum (Ōshiro and Ashimine, *Okinawa bijutsu zenshū*, 94).

unique combinations of techniques that became typical for Ryukyuan lacquer art did develop.

The Portuguese came into contact with Ryukyuan merchants after their capture of Malacca in 1511. Ryukyuan vessels visited that port several times a year, and it is likely that contact was also made in other Southeast Asian ports. Descriptions by Portuguese voyagers, including Duarte Barbosa and Fernão Mendes Pinto, indicate how well informed they were about the kingdom and its merchandise—decades before any Portuguese arrived in Japan.

The art of Ryukyu is especially difficult to study due

Fig. 15: Detail of food container with diaper pattern background in *chinkin* technique.

to the enormously destructive battles fought there at the end of the Second World War. Scholars depend on objects preserved in China and in Japan, where they arrived as tribute, or on works in European and other foreign collections, where they were products of Portuguese and later Dutch trade networks.[45] Hirokazo Arakawa has identified as Ryukyuan four lacquered Indo-Portuguese trays in Lisbon's Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga,[46] decorated with *haku-e* and *raden* techniques (typical of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ryukyu lacquerware featuring Chinese-inflected designs).[47] Analyses of their coatings revealed the same lacquer type as on the Oporto shield, while the sample stratigraphies and other identified materials employed in their composition were also highly consistent. Curiously, a very similar tray equally presenting an Indian structure and a lacquer coating embellished with *raden* and *haku-e*, and depicting a flower and bird design, remained in Japan and is housed by the Kyushu National Museum in Dazaifu.[48] Other items that carry very similar decoration to those found on the second group of Luso-Asian items are still housed in Japanese collections, such as a lacquered Mass lectern at the Namban Bunkakan in Osaka and a parasol at the Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum in Nagasaki. The Oporto shield may now be reckoned among those few objects in European collections that constitute this particular group. Its decoration might be attributable to lacquerware produced in the Fujian Province, Macao, or the Ryukyu Islands—a territory where an exchange of artistic techniques and artisans took place and where, separate from official tribute relations, merchandise circulated through either Portuguese, Fujianese, or Ryukyuan unofficial private merchants.[49]

Historical documentation for Ryukyuan lacquered objects in Europe is limited and begins in Portugal with the royal house. Portugal's rulers, related to the powerful Habsburgs of Europe, appreciated exotic and costly gifts of lacquerware of diverse origins. This interest in collecting began with Catherine of Austria (1507–78), Portuguese queen and wife of King John III (1502–57). There, in Portugal, Catherine sat at the source of Asian exotic goods arriving in Lisbon Harbor. Among Europe's most powerful and influential figures, Catherine's enthusiasm for exotica and Far Eastern art inspired a similar vogue throughout Europe (for collecting *naturalia* and *artificialia*). Her collecting began in earnest a few years after her arrival in Portugal in 1525 and hers was the first significant *kunstkammer* in Iberia. She had agents spread throughout Asia to acquire exotic goods for her. A 1557 inventory of the collection includes lacquerware from China, Japan, and Ryukyu.[50] The queen offered many of these objects to her Habsburg relatives in Spain, Austria, and other European courts.

The 1596 inventory of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol's (1529–95) collection records a cinnabar lacquered bowl with *haku-e* decorations of ears of corn, birds, butterflies and insects that remains today in the Ambras Castle Collection.[51] It is still unknown how Ferdinand acquired the item, though doubtlessly it is related to his family connections with the ruling houses of Spain and Portugal through which countless objects came into his possession. The collections of Archduke Ferdinand II included a wealth of exotic objects, not least because of the ideal conditions created for such purchases with the expansion of Habsburg rule over previously unknown continents. The bowl, of non-European shape, was recognized as a typical object of sixteenth-century Ryukyuan lacquerware.[52]

The Oporto lacquered shield is a complex artifact. Indian in form and basic construction, likely Ryukyuan in lacquer finish, and multivalent in decorative scheme, it is wholly a product of the Portuguese expansion in Asia. It is complicated to distinguish between either Chinese or Ryukyuan manufacture, and the lack of documentation makes difficult a certain attribution of the lacquer coatings of this shield and several other similar items. However, a question for further analysis is whether these objects were made in the Ryukyu Kingdom or in southern China or even in both, as is suggested by the impact that the art of the latter had on the former.

Portuguese merchants sought out the new and exotic in Asia, coming home with, among many other

things, beautiful objects coated and decorated in luminous lacquer. The new lacquered objects entranced Europeans, a market that Portuguese merchants fed by acquiring them from multiple sources and commissioning their making. Foreign object types such as Mughal shields responded to tastes for the novel and perhaps even burnished growing pride. Motifs entrenched in Chinese symbolism, styled and understood by East Asian craftsmen according to their own conventions, arrived in Europe as exotic renderings of a wholly different symbolic vocabulary. The shield offers important evidence about the processes of lacquer production in East Asia and the flows of technical and cultural information. At the same time, it embodies the complex cultural relations established by Portugal during the Age of Discovery.

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1. Amin Jaffer, "Furniture for the West," in *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer, exh. cat. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2004), 252.

2. Nuno Vassallo e Silva, "Export Art from Portuguese India," in *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, ed. Jay A. Levenson, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2007), 199–209.

3. Pedro Moura Carvalho, "Oriental Export Lacquerwares and Their Problematic Origin," in *Exotica: Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance*, ed. Helmut Trnek and Sabine Haag, exh. cat. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2001), 247–61; Pedro Dias, *O contador das cenas familiares* (Oporto: VOC Antiguidades, 2002).

4. LJF: Departamento de Museus, Conservação e Credenciação/ Direção Geral do Património Cultural; LJF scientists: José Carlos Frade (Py-GC/MS, FTIR), Ana Mesquita e Carmo (XRD), Luís Piorro (x-radiography, fig. 4; photography, plates 59a–b); Hercules Laboratory: Luís Dias (scanning electron microscope analysis performed in some cases). The findings of the study were published in Ulrike Körber et al., "A Study on 16th- and 17th-Century Luso-Oriental Lacquerware," in *ICOM-CC 16th Triennial Conference Preprints Lisbon, September 19–23, 2011*.

5. Oliver Impey and Christiaan Jörg, *Japanese Export Lacquer, 1580–1850* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), 77–79.

6. In relation to the Chinese terms of the decoration techniques that are mentioned in this essay I am indebted to Daisy Yiyou Wang, Chinese Art Project Specialist at the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, DC.

7. After the Portuguese were expelled and only the Dutch and Chinese were allowed to trade with Japan, there was a change to a more pictorial style. Objects from the period between the 1630s and the 1650s show a transition to the pictorial style, but still have characteristics of early nanban lacquers (Impey and Jörg, *Japanese Export Lacquer*, 83–84).

8. Information from José Carlos Frade.

9. Ulrike Körber, "A Mughal Wood and Leather Shield with East Asian Lacquer Decoration Made for a Portuguese Nobleman: Technical Analyses and Development of the Conservation Project" (Diploma thesis, University of Applied Science, Potsdam, 2008).

10. G. N. Pant, *Indian Arms and Armour*, vol. 3 (New Delhi: S. Attar Singh, 1983), 95, 257.

11. Ibid., 78.

12. Ibid., 97, 98.

13. Impey and Jörg, *Japanese Export Lacquer*, 192.

14. Ibid., 192–94, 252–64.

15. Pant, *Indian Arms and Armour*, 86.

16. Impey and Jörg, *Japanese Export Lacquer*, 45.

17. As for example on the nanban screens in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (MNAA), Lisbon, Inv. 1640, 1641 mov.

18. Museu de Évora, Inv. ME18143; private collection, Lisbon; Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, Inv. Bg. M 788; Amsterdam Museum, Inv. KA 13521. (Thank you to Jaap Boonstra for the information. This shield has not yet been analyzed.)

19. Wallace Collection, London, Inv. A315; Ashmolean Museum/ Tradescant Chamber, Oxford, Inv. AN1685 B.13.

20. The family name here that can be identified with certainty is "Monteiro" and the crest of a lion above the helmet specifies it probably as "Pintos e Monteiros." I am indebted to Paulo Machado Jesus for this information.

21. J. Mann, *Catalogue of Arms and Armour in the Wallace Collection* (London: Wallace Collection, 1962), 195–96; A. V. B. Norman, *Supplement to the Catalogue of Arms and Armour in the Wallace Collection* (London: Wallace Collection, 1986), 95.

22. Tyler Whittle, *The Plant Hunters* (1970; Boston: Lyons Press, 1977), 29–30 and Penelope Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History* (London: Pavilion, 1997), 111.

23. Oliver Impey, *Chinoiserie: The Impact of Oriental Styles on Western Art and Decoration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 59.

24. Concerning this information I am again indebted to Paulo Machado Jesus.

25. "Pope's trunk," Museen des Mobiliendepots, Schloss Laxenburg, Austria, Inv. MD 047590; "Cardinal's table top," Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. 4958.

26. Kunsthistorisches Museum/Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Vienna, Inv. A 915.

27. Traces of the first coating and *haku-e* decoration are still visible in the rhomboid area of the handle.

28. Ulrike Körber, "Der 'Rochenhautschild' der Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer des Kunsthistorischen Museums: Ein Reflex der portugiesischen Handelskontakte im 16. Jahrhundert; Untersuchung der Lackfassungen und Vergleiche mit ähnlichen Exemplaren," *Technologische Studien/Kunsthistorisches Museum: Konservierung, Restaurierung, Forschung, Technologie* 8 (2011): 170–89.

29. Patricia Bjaaland Welch, *Chinese Art: A Guide to Motifs and Visual Imagery* (Singapore: Tuttle, 2008), 67, 71.

30. Ibid., 53.

31. Estelle Niklès van Osselt, *Five Blessings: Coded Messages in Chinese Art*, exh. cat. (Geneva: Fondation Baur/Musée des Arts d'Extrême-Orient, 2011), 68.

32. Welch, *Chinese Art*, 53, 144.

33. Hope B. Werness, *Animal Symbolism in Art* (New York: Continuum, 2006), 390.

34. Markus Neuwirth, "Der Schatz von Vidigueira," *Das Münster Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft* 52, no. 2 (1997): 214–25.

35. MNAA, filigree pax, Inv. 98; oratory-reliquary, Inv. 99; missal stand, Inv. 100.

36. Neuwirth, "Der Schatz von Vidigueira," 214–25.

37. Körber et al., "16th- and 17th-Century Luso-Oriental Lacquerware"; José Carlos Frade, "A laca: Identificação das origens e das técnicas" (PhD diss., New University of Lisbon, 2011).

38. Y. Y. Wan et al., "Does Donglan Lacquer Tree Belong to *Rhus vernicifera* Species?," *International Journal of Biological Macromolecules* 41, no. 5 (2007): 497– 503.

39. Harry Garner, *Chinese Lacquer* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), 20; Jonathan Bourne, *Lacquer: An International History and Collectors Guide* (Ramsbury: Crowood Press, 1984), 138.

40. Harry Garner, *Chinese and Associated Lacquer from the Garner Collection* (London: British Museum, 1973), 9, 16–17.

41. Hirokazu Arakawa, "Lacquerware," in *Craft Treasures of Okinawa* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1978), 258.

42. Harry Garner, *Ryukyu Lacquer* (London: David Percival Foundation, 1972); Garner, *Chinese and Associated Lacquer*, 17, 155; Arakawa, "Lacquerware," 255; Monika Kopplin, *Lackmuseum Münster: Ostasiatische Lackkunst; Ausgewählte Arbeiten* (Münster: BASF Coatings, 1998), 74; Monika Kopplin, *Lacquerware in Asia: Today and Yesterday* (Paris: UNESCO, 2002), 71.

43. Ōshiro Sōsei and Ashimine Kanemasa, eds., *Okinawa bijutsu zenshū* [The art of Okinawa], vol. 2 (Naha: Okinawa Times Co., 1989), vii; Masako Miyasato, "Ryukyu Urushiware," in *Japanese and European Lacquerware*, ed. Michael Kühlenthal (Munich: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 2000), 86.

44. Kurayoshi Takara, "The Kingdom of Ryukyu and Its Overseas Trade," in *Sources of Ryukyuan History and Culture in European Collections*, ed. Josef Kreiner (Munich: Ludician, 1996), 48–50.

45. Ibid., 52.

46. MNAA, Inv. 1, 2, 20, and 44 Band.

47. Josef Kreiner, "European Collections from Ryukyu/Okinawa," in *Japanese Collections in European Museums*, ed. Josef Kreiner, vols. 1–2 (Bonn: Bier'sche, 2005), 375.

48. Thanks to Masako Miyasato, and to Josef Kreiner for acquiring this information from Yuji Dainobu, chief curator at the Kyushu National Museum (Inv. H133).

49. See for example: Roderich Ptak, "The Ryukyu Network in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries," in *Review of Culture—International Edition* 6 (2003): 7–23.

50. Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, "The Marvels of the East: Renaissance Curiosity Collections in Portugal," in *The Heritage of Rauluchantim*, ed. Nuno Vassallo e Silva (Lisbon: Museu de São Roque, 1996), 83–127; Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, "O Fascino de Cipango: Artes Decorativas e Lacas da Asia Oriental em Portugal, Espanha e Austria (1511–1598)," in *Os Construtores do Oriente Português*, ed. António Manuel de Hespanha (Oporto: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1998), 195–227.

51. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Schloss Ambras Collection, Inv. PA 543.

52. Hirokazu Arakawa, "Ryukyu Lacquerware in Europe," in *Sources of Ryukyuan History*, 214–15.

THE PORTUGUESE TEXTILE TRADE IN ASIA

Prasannan Parthasarathi

When one thinks of the Portuguese trade in Asia, one usually thinks of spices. There is the famous story of Vasco da Gama who was stunned to learn that black pepper sold in the southwestern Indian city of Calicut for a fraction of the price in Portugal. In the sixteenth century Portuguese activity in the Indian Ocean centered on constructing a monopoly to make them the sole supplier to Europe of the spices that they procured in India, Sri Lanka, and Southeast Asia. The *cartaz* system (in which ships had to purchase Portuguese-issued passes), the blockading of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and the exclusion of other buyers from spice-growing areas were all designed to eliminate competition for the pepper, cinnamon, cloves, and nutmeg that were so widely demanded in Europe, thereby increasing Portuguese profits.

From an early date Portuguese mercantile activity extended beyond spices and included a broad array of goods, ranging from exotic animals to Chinese silks and Indian cottons. A number of these items are on display in the present exhibition, *Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan: Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods*. The six-panel folding screens (plates 1a–b, 25a–b, 36a–b, 48) depicting the arrival of Portuguese traders show the great breadth of commodities brought to Japanese shores, including many rolls of cloth, which is the focus of this essay.

The Portuguese pioneered the European trade in Asian textiles. While early Portuguese ventures did not reach the magnitude of the Dutch and English textile trade of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they laid the foundation for the Europeans who followed. In addition to transporting cloth across the waters of the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, the Portuguese popularized Indian cotton goods in Europe. According to Beverly Lemire, "direct trade with India was momentous for Europe, and Portugal was vital in the early circulation of Asian goods...merchants great and small moved Indian cottons through well-used channels, among the most prominent new entrepôts being Lisbon and Antwerp."[1]

To some extent the Portuguese could not avoid entering into the complex interregional textile trade in the Indian Ocean as they discovered, as did the Dutch and the English after them, that Indian cotton cloth was the currency with which spices were purchased in Southeast Asia. With the assistance of Tamil merchants trading in Malacca, the Portuguese learned about the varieties of cloth, the tastes of different buyers, and the manufacturing centers in south India.

As the Portuguese expanded their commercial network to the South China Sea, they took textiles with them and discovered the lucrative circuits of exchange that connected Malacca, Macao, and then Nagasaki. In these waters the Portuguese traders were introduced to Chinese silk, which was demanded throughout Asia and found, along with Indian cottons and silks, appreciative buyers in Japan.

Silk was long a staple of trade between China and its island neighbor. China was the home of silk and several thousand years ago an unknown Chinese man or woman invented the process by which the filaments of the silkworm cocoon were turned into yarn. While the Japanese coveted the cloth manufactured from this material, they themselves did not learn its secrets until the third or fourth century BCE when silkworms were smuggled into the archipelago along with four young women who knew the techniques of sericulture, as legend has it. Even after obtaining this knowledge, however, the Japanese sought the higher quality Chinese silk, both as yarn and as cloth.

In the sixteenth century, Portuguese ships filled the trade vacuum between China and Japan. China had no official interest in trading with Japan and the Japanese carried on only a limited trade in the region. Local officials gave tacit approval to the Portuguese to establish a commercial mission in Macao, and from there the Europeans fed the Japanese appetite for fine Chinese silks for which in exchange they acquired silver. The nanban paintings may permit us a glimpse of the kinds of silk cloth the Japanese imported from China, but we cannot be sure of the accuracy of the representations. No Chinese export silks to Japan from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century—the period of the Portuguese trade—survive. Nevertheless, the rolls of cloth scattered through the screens appear to depict the fabric that the Portuguese brought with them for sale to Japanese buyers (fig. 1).

While we do not possess examples of the cloth itself, we do have descriptions of the Chinese silks that the Japanese sought. According to a Spanish memorandum from around 1600, a variety of silk goods, gold and other metals, both precious and base, luxuries such as ceruse, musk, licorice, rhubarb and white sugar, medicinal plants such as China-root

Fig. 1: Rolls of cloth arriving in Japan (detail, plate 1b, panel 4, private collection).

(smilax), earthenware, as well as cotton yarn and cloth formed the cargo of the great ship of the Portuguese that plied the waters between China and Japan. The silk goods included yarn of various colors and fineness and 1700 to 2000 pieces of "a certain silk worked with birds, and other pictures done in silk and unwoven silver." (These may have resembled the silk fragment from the late seventeenth century that is part of this exhibition. See plate 66.) The cotton cloths comprised plain pieces in white, black, and various colors, some made wholly from cotton and others made from a mixture of cotton and silk.[2] The silk cloth appealed to the tastes and budgets of the upper classes, while those of more modest means consumed the cotton. Both varieties of cloth were used in the making of kimonos as well as for decorative and household purposes. The plain cloth may have been further finished in Japan itself to suit the fashions of local buyers.[3]

The Portuguese traded much of their cargoes of textiles and other continental treasures for Japanese silver. In the sixteenth century, Japan became one of the world's most important sources of the precious metal thanks to the "Silver Mountain of Iwami," or the mines of Iwami Ginzan. China's huge domestic market, which was differentiated by regional specialization, required vast quantities of silver to function and the Japanese met part of this demand. Portuguese traders also turned to Japanese artisans for lacquer finishing of a host of objects, which Europeans came to demand in growing quantities.[4]

After visiting Japan, the ship returned to Macao where silver was exchanged for Chinese goods that were demanded in India. Silk again comprised a sizable part of the cargo from Macao to Goa and included damasks and taffetas in a variety of colors and in a range of qualities. The ship also loaded Chinese furniture (plate 60) and other fabrics for the domestic interior, including coverlets, bed-curtains, and hangings. Some of these decorative cloths may have resembled the two pieces of Chinese furnishing fabric from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, included in this exhibition (plates 64, 65). Alas, the fact that no pieces survive from that trade means that we can only speculate. (We know that these cloths were made for furnishings because of their heavy weight. Silks destined for dress would have been lighter and more delicate.)

A list from 1637, and therefore late in Portugal's trade with Japan, gives more details on types of cloth, both silk and cotton, carried for sale to Japan. The cargo included damasks, satins, and taffetas in a range of colors and patterns. However, the Portuguese corruption of Chinese words (terms such as *pansges* and *pelings*) makes it difficult to identify the precise variety of cloth in every case. While many pieces were

plain, in white, black, and red, and likely destined to be finished in Japan itself, there were also damasks with large flowers, satins with stripes (perhaps resembling the silk manuscript cover made in western India found in this exhibit, plate 69), and gold brocade. This list also contains cotton goods, both from China and India. Those from the latter were labeled *sarassen*, a corruption of the Indo-Portuguese *saraca*, which entered Japanese as *sarasa*. Indian cotton goods would become more popular in Japan in subsequent centuries and were used as both dress and decoration. Pieces of Indian cotton were incorporated into tea ceremonies, for example. According to Kayoko Fujita, "eye-catching *sarasa* fabrics were used for making pouches (*shifuku*), crepe wrappers (*fukusa*), and mounting hanging scrolls (*kakejiku*). Although today the tea ceremony is considered a Japanese traditional art in which *wabi* or elegant and quiet simplicity is prized, in earlier periods the ceremony rooms were colourfully appointed."[5]

The Jesuits themselves were active participants in the silk trade from Macao to Japan in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Charles Boxer has shown that the Jesuits earned substantial profits from the trade, which financed their mission in Japan. Even after their expulsion in 1614, the Jesuits continued to engage in commerce, shipping their goods to Nagasaki under other names. "Not to put too fine a point on it," Boxer wrote, "the Jesuits in the Far East inevitably became traders on a considerable scale."[6]

It is possible that some of the silk cloth that the Portuguese traded in Japan was purchased in India, which was the case with the Dutch trade that followed. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, India's major silk production centers were located in the north and west. (Silk weaving appears to have diffused more widely through the subcontinent in the nineteenth century.) The three pieces in this exhibition illustrate the prowess of Indian silk weavers and the quality of their cloth. While the raw silk was likely to have come from Bengal, in eastern India, these cloths were most likely manufactured in the western region of Gujarat, the traditional center of Indian silk weaving.

Fig. 2: Arrival party clad in Indian cloth (detail, plate 1b, panel 6, private collection).

Its alternating stripes of red and white with small geometrical designs make the mixed cloth of silk and cotton quintessentially Indian in design, color and execution (plate 68). The piece, a fragment of a larger cloth, was made in the city of Surat, the commercial and manufacturing hub of Gujarat at the time, and it may have been used as a shawl, a shoulder cloth, or for decorative purposes. Cloth of similar design, made from cotton, silk, and mixtures of the two, are ubiquitous in contemporary India. The striped piece, which formed the cover for a Jain manuscript, was also likely to have been woven in Gujarat, which was then the center of Jainism (plate 69). Such striped textiles, in blues and reds as well as other colors and manufactured in cotton, came to be demanded around the globe by the eighteenth century.

The place of production for the third piece of Indian silk, a brocade from the seventeenth century, is difficult to establish (plate 67). Silk brocades were manufactured around the world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including a number of centers in Gujarat and northern India. They are among the richest of all silk textiles: in the manufacture of the cloth extra weft yarn of different colors and fine silver and gold threads are woven into the fabric to create a pattern.[7] In this piece the silver and gold are worn and the red has faded, but the beauty and elaborate workmanship are still evident.

The Japanese appetite for Chinese and Indian textiles was so great that when the Portuguese were expelled from Japan, the new European traders, the Dutch, immediately took it over and carried silk and cotton cloth to Nagasaki. The provenance of these early modern silk textiles is often elusive, because of increasing globalization in designs and techniques of manufacture. As one historian of Chinese export silks has put it, "evidence abounds to demonstrate cross-fertilization of styles and adaptations of motifs by Easterners and Westerners alike."[8] The cottons, however, largely came from India, whose manufacturers had perfected the techniques of dyeing, painting, and printing so that the colors remained fast and did not run when the cloth was washed. These cottons were used in Japan for clothing and decorative purposes. Striped and checked cotton cloth, which the Japanese called *shima* and *koshi-jima*, respectively, printed and painted south Indian chintzes, and flowered printed cloth, which came to be known as *sarasa*, were imported from the Indian subcontinent for use in dress and decoration, as already discussed.[9]

The Portuguese may well have helped to popularize Indian textiles in Japan. As noted above, the goods list from 1637 includes Indian cotton cloth. That the

Portuguese traders brought things Indian is indicated in one of the first words the Japanese used to label them: *tenjiku-jin*, or "people from India." It was only later that the Japanese referred to them as *nanban-jin* or "southern barbarians."[10] Finally, there are the Japanese folding screens depicting trade with the Portuguese, or *nanban byōbu*. The screens in the exhibition show the Portuguese and their entourage of Indians and Africans clad in the richly patterned fabrics of India and surely reflect the fashionability and popularity of Indian cottons in Japan (fig. 2). Many of these screens date to the early decades of the seventeenth century, and so accord in date with the 1637 goods list. By this time the Portuguese in Asia had been using Indian cottons for several decades. Jan Huyghen van Linschoten reported in the late sixteenth century that the Portuguese and other Christians in Goa made their breeches from local cloth.[11] While the Dutch are usually credited with popularizing Indian cotton textiles in Japan, these screens suggest that the process may have begun with the coming of the Portuguese to Nagasaki.

1. Beverly Lemire, "Revising the Historical Narrative: India, Europe, and the Cotton Trade, *c.* 1300–1800," in *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 211.

2. Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, 1959), 179–83.

3. Fujita Kayako, "Japan Indianized: The Material Culture of Imported Textiles in Japan, 1550–1850," in *Spinning World*, 181–203.

4. For an example of a Japanese lacquered plate made in the seventeenth century for European buyers, see Jay A. Levenson, ed., *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2007), 348.

5. Kayako, "Japan Indianized," 195–96.

6. Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 117.

7. For more details see Yashodhara Agrawal, *Silk Brocades* (New Delhi: Roli Books, 2003).

8. Leanna Lee-Whitman, "The Silk Trade: Chinese Silks and the British East India Company," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 21.

9. Kayako, "Japan Indianized," 181–203.

10. Ronald P. Toby, "The 'Indianness' of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other," in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 327–28.

11. John Guy, *Woven Cargoes: Indian Textiles in the East* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 160.

PRIESTS, PACHYDERMS, AND PORTUGUESE: ANIMAL EXCHANGE IN THE AGE OF EXPLORATION

Rory Browne

When considering animal exchange, 1498 is at least as significant as 1492. The discovery of the New World, particularly of tropical South America with its seemingly bizarre and endemic fauna of sloths, armadillos, tapirs, opossums, neotropical monkeys, macaws, and toucans, might have introduced Europeans to animals of which they had previously had no inkling, let alone acquaintance, but the Portuguese voyages down the coast of Africa, around the Cape of Good Hope, and, finally, across the Indian Ocean to India itself inaugurated an era in which the more spectacular, if better known, fauna of Africa and tropical Asia became increasingly familiar, whether through live specimens or their remains and products.

THE INDIAN OCEAN NETWORK

Old World animals such as elephants had been known since the time of classical antiquity; their use in warfare, their appearance in the Roman circus, and even their habits had been chronicled by the ancients. In the Middle Ages, they were featured in bestiaries and recorded in medieval iconography; individual specimens of both the African and Asian species made their appearances, albeit briefly, at royal and imperial courts as the result of diplomatic exchanges. What, however, the Portuguese accomplished in their opening up of the sea route to Asia by way of Africa was the establishment of more secure, convenient, and frequent means for bringing such exotic and impressive animals back to Europe, thereby giving naturalists and artists greater opportunity to verify their existence and record their true features and behavior.

In so doing, the Portuguese were, in some sense, doing nothing new or really changing anything. Animals then found in both North Africa and the Middle East, such as lions, cheetahs, and ostriches, and even beasts as characteristic of the sub-Saharan African and Asian faunas as giraffes and tigers were still traded across the Mediterranean or described by West European travelers from living specimens in the court menageries of Ottoman Constantinople and Mameluk Cairo. However, in extending their sea lanes down the west coast of Africa, around the Cape, and up the east coast to Malindi, they not only secured for themselves unparalleled access to tropical Africa and its products, but they also forged the last European link in a chain of cultural and mercantile exchanges that extended from East Africa, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf across the Indian Ocean to India, Malacca, and the Spice Isles, and even up to China and Japan. In other words, they were tapping into, extending, and eventually dominating an established network in which live exotic (i.e., foreign or strange to their eventual destination) or trophy animals and their products were exchanged along with other traded commodities and tributary or diplomatic offerings.[1]

Among the most significant animals in terms of

numbers traded and demand were horses. From the rise of the warring and expansionist Vijayanagar and Bahmani states in the Deccan in the fourteenth century onward, large numbers of horses had been imported at high prices from Ormuz and other ports in Arabia and the Persian Gulf to India, mainly through Goa.[2] These animals were, of course, primarily used for war and princely parade, but there is ample evidence that other rarer beasts were also sought, less for their utility than for their exotic appeal and significance as foreign tribute. Mughal miniatures depict such native Indian animals of the chase as blackbuck that might once have been employed as decoys but were now cherished as court pets and denizens of princely menageries, but they also portray the East African plains zebra as harnessed and docile treasured objects of Indian rulers' collections.[3]

In an age and in cultures dominated by mounted warrior aristocracies, zebras as strikingly striped equids had a particular appeal and there is ample evidence that, on the other side of the Indian Ocean and of the exchange network, the Christian Ethiopian emperors, the Prester John of Portuguese belief, used them, particularly the largest and most magnificent species, Grévy's zebra, as diplomatic gifts; indeed, in 1624, to free two of the Portuguese Jesuits who had been captured on a mission to Abyssinia, the emperor sent the Turkish pasha controlling the Red Sea coast a zebra described by Father Jeronimo Lobo as a "wild ass, a creature of admirable size and beauty."[4] Similarly, during the period of Chinese openness and the voyages of the great Ming fleets in the Indian Ocean in the early fifteenth century, it seems that giraffes, identified with the mythological symbol of good luck, the *qilin*, were offered or presented as tribute animals to the emperor in Beijing by way of Aden and then either Malabar or Bengal.[5]

MONARCHS AND MENAGERIES

It was into this established nexus that the Portuguese inserted themselves. Armed with superior naval technology and papal sanction, they made good their king's claim to be "lord of navigation, conquest and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India." Viceroy Francisco de Almeida's great victory over a combined Egyptian-Indian fleet off Diu in 1509; the successive seizure by his successor, Albuquerque, of Goa (henceforth the Portuguese primary base) in 1510; of Malacca, entrepôt of the spice trade, in 1511; and of Hormuz, controlling the mouth of the Persian Gulf and source of horses, in 1515; and the system of forts and *cartazes* or passes required of all trading vessels made effective their monopoly of control in the Indian Ocean itself. Beyond, their control was more tenuous because the Chinese could and did stand up to their naval power, even expelling their merchants from Canton. However, especially after the effective establishment of Macao at the mouth of the Pearl River by Portuguese merchants on sufferance by the local Chinese officials in 1555–57, they came to dominate the carrying trade between China and Japan, bringing goods and spices up from Goa and Malacca and, after the union of the Iberian crowns, South American silver from Manila in the Spanish Philippines.[6]

The story of the rhinoceros so famously portrayed by Albrecht Dürer well illustrates how effectively the Portuguese profited from their new role in control of the existing exotic animal exchange to bring Europe within the nexus and the extent to which they themselves subscribed to the same set of assumptions and values as the animals' Asian donors.[7] This individual, the first rhinoceros to reach Europe since Roman times and thus representative of an animal family known but not hitherto seen by contemporaries, was actually an adult Indian or greater one-horned rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*) sent in September 1514 to the Viceroy Albuquerque by Sultan Muzafar II of Cambay in Gujarat on the return to Goa of a Portuguese embassy empowered to negotiate the fortification of the island of Diu. Its status as a propitiatory offering at so fraught a time, the tractability in this and the subsequent, much longer voyages of such a powerful animal, and its origins in north or northwestern India, on the other side of the sub-continent from Gujarat, all suggest that this rarity must originally have been given or acquired as a youngster by the sultan himself for his own collection of marvels. Having thus been re-gifted once, the *ganda*, as the rhinoceros was called in Gujarati, was soon sent by the viceroy to his own sovereign, King Manuel I of Portugal, in January 1515 in the fleet leaving Cochin for Lisbon, where it arrived aboard the *Nostra Senora da Ajuda* on May 20, 1515.

By all accounts, Manuel was very greatly pleased to be in possession of a near-mythological beast and almost immediately sought to test the assertions of the ancients about the rhinoceros by staging a contest between it and its supposed mortal enemy, the elephant, on June 3, 1515. The phlegmatic rhinoceros lived up to its reputation and vindicated the ancients when its opponent, a young elephant from the small herd stabled in the Ribeira palace, took fright on first sight and turned tail, but it was too valuable a trophy to be kept for the king's own purposes and was dispatched in December to Pope Leo X as part of Manuel's campaign to preserve and extend papal sanction for his continued monopoly and ecclesiastical privileges in Asia. The *ganda*'s fame preceded it, because no less a person than Francis I of France rowed out to see it when João da Pina's transport ship put into an

island off Marseilles. This monarchical meeting was, however, to be the rhinoceros's last moment of glory, because da Pina's vessel foundered in a storm off the Italian coast and went down with all hands.

It is said that the rhino's bloated corpse was recovered on a beach, stuffed, and eventually presented to the disappointed pope, but no trace of the taxidermized specimen has ever been found. If the animal lives on in reputation, it is because of the great success of its likeness in a woodcut by the renowned artist Albrecht Dürer (fig. 1) and of the dominance of this image in European art and literature until displaced by more realistic representations drawn from a living specimen that traveled throughout Europe—and survived—in the eighteenth century. There has been much discussion about the inspiration for the exaggerations and ornamentations that decorate and enhance the marvelous appearance of the rhinoceros in Dürer's original sketch—the shell-like and entirely mythical horn appearing between its shoulders, the worked and webbed folds and flaps of skin looking like something produced by Dürer's Nuremberg neighbors in the armorers' guild—but, for our present purposes, the most interesting aspect is the original source for the German artist in a sketch and written description sent in a newsletter from Lisbon, probably by Valentin Fernandes, a Moravian long resident in the city as this form of his name attests. The authorities seem to disagree as to whether it was this same newsletter or a different one sent by the Lisbon correspondent of one of the great northern Italian mercantile cities or companies of merchants that inspired contemporary Italian representations and descriptions of the rhinoceros, as well as another and more realistic German woodcut by Dürer's Augsburg colleague, Hans Burgkmair, but the point remains that through these and other means the Portuguese link in the exchange and familiarization of exotic fauna was extended into Europe beyond the Atlantic littoral.

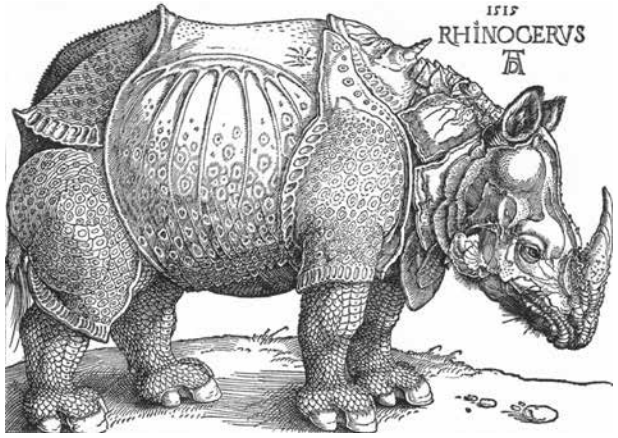


Fig. 1: Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), *Rhinocerus*, 1515. Woodcut, 21.4 x 29.8 cm, British Museum, London.

One way this was accomplished was, as we have seen in the ill-fated shipment of Manuel's precious rhinoceros to Leo X, through the re-gifting of tributary animals by the Portuguese monarchs to their relatives and fellow potentates, particularly in Northern Europe. Catherine of Austria, queen of Portugal and consort of John III, son and successor of Manuel the Fortunate (because the Portuguese dominance in the spice/Indies trade had enriched his court), has been identified as a particularly zealous agent in the acquisition and dissemination of exotic animals and their products along all the intertwined branches of her Habsburg family tree. Sister and sister-in-law to the Emperor Charles V himself, she sent him such entertaining animals as parrots and Indian cats to distract and amuse him in his monastic retirement at Yuste, just across the Spanish frontier in Extremadura, but she also procured curious and rare beasts direct from the Portuguese holdings in Africa, Asia, and South America or through the Lisbon market for her nephew and son-in-law Philip II of Spain, her grandson, the Infante Don Carlos, and her niece, daughter-in-law, and sometime rival for the regency of Portugal, Joanna of Austria (she had been married to John and Catherine's son, John Emmanuel, but their son had been born after his father's death and had succeeded his grandfather on the throne while still a minor), all in distant Madrid.[8]

This royal network was, however, supplemented and extended by Portugal's extensive commercial contacts with Northern Europe, particularly by way of the important port of Antwerp and down into Germany, through the great Augsburg houses of the Welsers and the Fuggers, who were not only imperial bankers but also the leading suppliers of copper from their Swiss and Tyrolean mines. Their hold on this commodity, one of the few desirable items Europeans had to offer in return for Eastern luxuries, as well as their extensive commercial contacts and ability to raise capital, made the Fuggers an invaluable connection in the Europa contract during the royal Portuguese monopoly of the trade in spices between Lisbon and the East and rendered them the natural candidates for the India contract itself once that monopoly had been abrogated and the Iberian crowns united under Philip II. Even, however, in the heyday of the royal monopoly in spices, the Welsers and Fuggers had established agents not just in Lisbon but in India itself, and had traded directly in other commodities, including live animals and their products.[9] That this trade in *naturalia* was of significance to them is evident from the Fuggers' own insistence to their agents that it continue and that provision be made in their factories for the accommodation of the animals.[10]

Once again, elephants serve as a good example of the way these two overlapping networks operated to bring exotic animals to the ken of Europeans gener-

ally and to transform them from a royal peculiar into a commodity, an article of trade and exploitation. The rhinoceros, rare and elusive in its own range, would remain for that very reason a gift fit only for a king, and, indeed, in our period (from Vasco da Gama's voyage to the expulsion of the Portuguese from Japan) only one more was brought to Europe, again through Lisbon c. 1577–81, and that was destined for Philip II as the newly-minted king of Portugal and kept by him at his court in Madrid for the rest of its sad life (he had it blinded and de-horned in punishment for goring some noblemen).[11] Elephants, of which Philip received one at the same time as his rhino, were, however, like the horses whose trade across the Indian Ocean Portugal now controlled, relatively common in their homeland, where their size and strength led to their use not only as animals of war and parade but also as beasts of burden and haulage. Thus, even in Europe, where their scarcity, size, legendary qualities, and association with imperial Rome made them still the unique gift for the pope or emperor who already has everything, they became increasingly well known.

Probably the best known to history of these European elephants is the celebrated and so-called Hanno, the Asian elephant sent by Manuel I to Pope Leo X in the very year before the dispatch of the rhinoceros as part of an embassy of obedience to congratulate the pontiff on his accession.[12] Led by the great Portuguese navigator Tristan da Cunha, this embassy brought many other Asian, African, and Brazilian animals for the Medici pope's menagerie, but it was the elephant that made the greatest impact on both pope and populace. It did not long survive, but having been walked from the Italian coast to Rome and having performed publicly in both its formal presentation and other papal parades, its memory lingered. Similarly, the two Lisbon elephants given to the Emperor Maximilian II in the third quarter of the fifteenth century made a great impression upon the people who saw them along their routes as well as upon the townspeople and notables of their final destination, Vienna, despite, again, their relatively short stay in the imperial menagerie; the first was presented to Maximilian while he was still at the court of Spain in 1551 and traveled back with him to Austria, marching overland through northern Italy and the Alps, while the second was dispatched to him in 1563 by way of Antwerp and made recorded stops along the way in both Brussels and Cologne. In both cases, the stir made by the great beasts' actual appearances was amplified by broadsheets and other printed materials.[13]

These and other occasional visitations north of the Alps were, however, merely the tip of the elephantine iceberg, even in Portugal. Hanno was but one of a number of parade pachyderms in King Manuel's stable, recently acquired by gift, barter, or conquest by the Viceroy Albuquerque for his royal master.[14] By inserting themselves into the apex of power and commerce extending from the coasts of the Indian subcontinent to Southeast Asia, the Portuguese had become the beneficiaries of a considerable trade and tribute in elephants. Apart from those actually captured in battle, they acquired elephants by treaty from client rulers in Ceylon/Sri Lanka, a well-established source for their capture, training, and export until at least the eighteenth century, and exchanged them for saltpeter by agreement with other princes on the mainland. Indeed, this trade was robust enough not to be simply a matter of exchange between princes but of considerable commercial exchange between individuals trading on their own account.[15]

ANIMALS DEPICTED IN NANBAN SCREENS

It is against this context that the elephant represented in a nanban screen in the present exhibition (plates 1a, 1a.1) must be seen. Nanban screens showing the coming of the "southern barbarians" were produced in some quantity, indicating the interest of their subject matter, particularly for the wealthier merchant class, but those showing, as this pair do, not only the arrival of the Portuguese in Japan with the coming of the captain-major and the great ship in the right-hand screen (plate 1b) but also the departure of the same ship from some foreign country, probably China, and scenes of horse-racing along the shore in the left-hand screen, are rarer.[16] This is hardly surprising because the Asian elephant, though well known to the Chinese and well represented in their art, only has a range on the continental mainland that extends into southern China and is now restricted to a remnant population in Yunnan.[17] Thus, although the animal might already be known to the Japanese screen artist (likely Kanō Naizen) and his patrons through Buddhist and imperial symbols from China, its representation in the retinue of the captain-major (albeit in an Asian trophe) and its association with the loading and departure of the Portuguese trading vessel from the mainland firmly establishes it among the novelties and marvels of which the coming of the southern barbarians and their great black ship held promise for the Japanese.

The very depiction of the elephant and its attendants and accoutrements would also suggest that the artist had either seen a living example or a portrayal from life and knew of its provenance from Portugal's sub-continental holdings (fig. 2). Part of a stately

retinue making for the shore and the transport vessel taking passengers and supplies out to the ship, the elephant follows a palanquin bearing a mitered figure in bright robes and itself carries, in an Indian-style howdah set upon its caparisoned body, another figure that is probably that of the captain-major himself, judging by its near identity with the leading figure in the arrival scene on the right-hand screen (plate 1b.2). Both of the authority figures have their rank and prestige enhanced by not only their modes of transport but also by being shaded by parasols borne by attendants, in another touch associated in Asia with rulership. Almost all of the attendants in this scene are depicted as bare-footed and dark-skinned, presumably South Asians, and the two guiding the elephant are each equipped with an *ankus*, the spike and hooked goad traditionally used on elephants in India. The elephant itself is curiously out of proportion in comparison to the men (perhaps it is rendered smaller so that the mount does not overshadow the prestige of the rider), but otherwise it is well observed: its tail is tasseled, its feet represented as rounded pads with toenails, and, contrary to medieval European lore and representation, its legs appear to be jointed and its tusks in the correct orientation (though it is hard to tell if they are emanating from the upper jaw, as they should). Furthermore, its arched back, double-domed forehead, small ears, and the single, finger-like protuberance at the end of its trunk all quite clearly identify it as an Asian elephant (*Elephas maximas*) rather than its larger African cousin (*Loxodonta africana*) or a more generic example.

So comparatively realistic is the depiction of the processing elephant in this and other screens in the same "family," including one which depicts a second, unharnessed elephant being goaded to stand up, that it might have been inspired by the memory

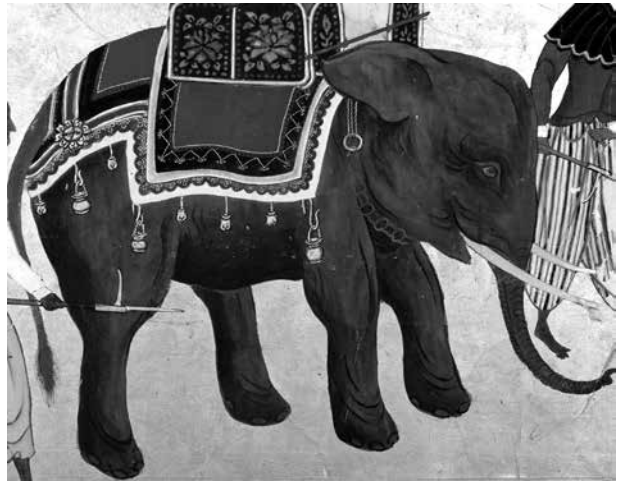


Fig. 2: Elephant in procession (detail, plate 1a, panel 6, private collection).

Fig. 3: Young European holding bird (detail, plate 1a, panel 4, private collection).

or representations of an actual incident such as the presentation of the elephantine "Don Pedro" to Hideyoshi at Osaka by Captain Don Luis de Navarrete Fajardo's embassy from Manila in 1597 or the leading of a pachyderm, possibly the same animal, through Nagasaki.[18] Still, not all the elephants in these screens are treated so accurately, suggesting that for some of the artists they were more stylistic stand-ins for exotic lands and luxuries than images of actual animals; two in particular are very fancifully portrayed with one seeming to spring almost directly from the pages of a Gothic bestiary.

The elephant is not, however, the only animal from Portugal's tropical dominions that the Kanō Naizen screens include. Almost immediately in front of the procession is a young European holding a bird on his fist (fig. 3). From its pose, sleek shape, and the red jesses hanging from its feet, it could almost be a hawk, just the type of aristocratic sporting bird represented as being held in much the same way by the samurai watching the arrival procession in the right-hand screen from the Avery Brundage Collection (plate 25b, panel 1), but its green plumage and what is probably a red beak, as well as the man's ungloved hand and the bird's unhooded head, all indicate that it is probably a parrot. Again, this makes sense in terms of what we know of the Portuguese bringing back, whether as royal gifts or objects of commerce and speculation, specimens of this trainable, amusing, and colorful family of birds, which is to be found in the tropics of all three continents on which they established their empire.[19] Furthermore, the same bird or type of bird is represented among a group of confined exotic animals that a group of seated Europeans and their dark-skinned attendants appear to have just brought ashore from the ship in the arrival scene on the right-hand screen (plate 1b, panel 4). There it

quite clearly seems to be an Indian ring-necked parrot (*Psitticula krameri*) or related species (the gray underbelly does not seem characteristic of the Indian ring-neck, but the species is variable), and is even being kept in the sort of cages that came to be associated with parrots in captivity.

The other two caged animals in this scene also seem to be representative of the Portuguese trade in living exotica from their tropical outposts, although they are even harder to identify with certainty. The white bird to the right of the group appears to be some type of cockatoo, probably one of the white cockatoo genus from the Philippines and the Indonesian archipelago; the image has suffered some damage but what seem to be a large black beak, a high white crest, and an indignant attitude are characteristic. The third caged animal, which on the right of the group, is hardest of all to identify, because it looks more like a mythical beast than a real animal (fig. 4). It is obviously intended from its confinement to be some sort of wild small mammal, but neither its long, sinuous body nor the pointed, long-muzzled head seem right for a cat. It could possibly represent some type of Asian palm civet; the Portuguese were certainly known to have brought live African civets back to Europe, both as pets and as living suppliers of their musk to make perfume, and certain of the Asian species, some of which are longer-bodied and more pointed in the face than their African cousin and banded rather than spotted, have been introduced by human agency throughout Southeast Asia for their rat-catching or musk-producing capacity.[20] Whatever it is, and nothing quite fits, it represents some sort of Portuguese exotic pet that fascinated the Japanese artist by its "otherness."

The other animal depicted in this arrival group is definitely a pet and a prized possession; it is a white

Fig. 4: Caged animal (civet?) ashore (detail, plate 1b, panel 4, private collection).

Fig. 5: White cockerel held by European (detail, plate 1b, panel 4, private collection).

cockerel cradled in the arms of a young European (and a gentleman rather than a servant judging by his apparel and arms) and being hand-fed a tidbit (fig. 5). It seems likely that it is a Portuguese or Southeast Asian fighting cock and belongs, therefore, to another category of animals that the artist shows the Portuguese as bringing with them: domestic sporting or martial animals that would appeal to the aristocratic leaders of Japan's warrior society. We know from the records of the English East India Company's contemporaneous attempts to break into the Japanese trade that greyhounds and mastiffs from Europe were thought to be acceptable gifts.[21] That may, indeed, be the intent behind the brindled greyhound leashed to an attendant of the captain-major's group in the arrival scene of this same screen or the two rather ferocious-looking and impressively fanged but collared hunting dogs resting beside the captain-general's chair and goods in the disembarkation scene of the left-hand Avery Brundage Collection screen (plate 25a, panel 1). It might possibly account too for the antlered stag being led on a leash along with the horses and other domestic animals just disembarked from the ship onto the shore into the very foreground of the screen (plate 1b, panel 6); this might be another animal of the chase, Timor and Sambar deer (*Rusa* species), that had been tamed to serve as a decoy for its fellows.[22]

The horses, which quite clearly captured the imagination of Naizen as they appear in both screens, would, of course, have the greatest appeal and prestige as diplomatic gifts, because they were the ultimate engines of both war and sport. Indeed, in the left-hand screen, the two horses are shown as taking part in an exciting race along the strand (plate 1a, panel 2), followed literally and metaphorically by an enthusiastic crowd, and remind us that many of

Fig. 6: Horse and grooms just offshore (detail, plate 48, panel 1, Peabody Essex Museum).

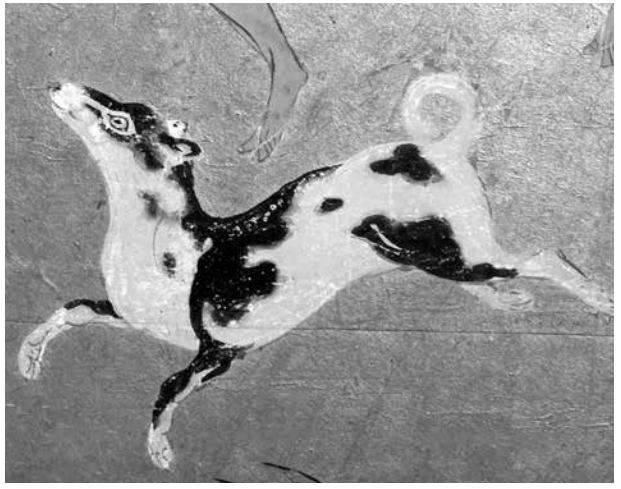


Fig. 7: Local dog cavorting near shops (detail, plate 1b, panel 1, private collection).

Fig. 8: Pet dog of Mediterranean origin (detail, plate 1a, panel 4, private collection).

these animals, both the exotic pets and noble mounts and other animals of the hunt, were brought along by Europeans to foreign climes for their own purposes too, for amusement and companionship on long voyages and longer stays. Nevertheless, the noble riders of these mounts, their gorgeous harnesses (the piebald even has a leopard-skin saddle blanket), and the mettlesomeness of the two freshly landed by their grooms from the ship in the right-hand screen must have appealed to the Japanese samurai whose sturdy, heavy headed Mongol ponies of Chinese origin would have compared unfavorably to these swift, small-headed imports from India, the Middle East, and even distant Iberia.[23]

This fascination with the chargers imported by the Portuguese would seem to be borne out by their presence in all the nanban screens featured in this exhibition, even in the single screen from the Peabody Essex Museum (plate 48). There, in a motif repeated in other screens, a lone milk-white saddle horse and his two dark-skinned grooms are represented standing in shallow water next to the shore while nearby a skiff is being unloaded of goods from the great ship (fig. 6); although there is plenty of activity on the land, with both seated and processing groups of foreigners and Japanese looking out from a shop, no other animal is represented, not even any of the dogs so beloved of the nanban artists. Horses are, however, represented alongside other animals in the other two pairs of screens in the exhibition, and again as creatures of value and breeding, not like the loaded packhorses of other nanban screens. In the Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation screens (plates 36a–b) they are only included in the right-hand screen with the town scene, not in the left-hand screen showing the arrival and unloading of the ship, but in the Avery Brundage Collection screens (plates 25a–b) a group with a single horse, two grooms, and a banner-bearer is included on both screens of the pair, in both the landing and town scenes. The horses (and attendants) in this latter pair of screens are very similar, if not identical, and are both portrayed as draped in tiger-skin saddle blankets, while the value of the pair shown in the Burke Foundation screen is heightened and emphasized by one having a tiger-skin, and the other, a leopard-skin undercloth (live tigers and leopards, whether caged or leashed, appear as nanban gifts in other screens not exhibited here, either, like the domesticated Bactrian camels also shown, as charismatic megafauna characteristic of the extended Chinese empire or, like the cheetah identifiable in at least one screen, as products of South Asia).

Dogs appear in both the Kanō Naizen screens, but not the same individual or type. Apart from the greyhound brought by the Portuguese in the right-hand screen, there is quite clearly a local or native dog running excitedly with the mixed Japanese crowd through the street of shops to see what is going on at the landing (fig. 7). His curly tail characteristic of the working and street dogs of China and Japan contrasts nicely with the silky brush of the sitting dog watching the Portuguese noblemen taking refreshments presumably before embarking in the departure scene in

the left-hand screen (fig. 8). This latter dog's tolerance at this scene by the attendants, his drop ears, luxuriant coat, and expectant demeanor all suggest that he might be one of the pet dogs of Mediterranean origin, a proto-spaniel or papillon, which the conquistadores are supposed to have taken with them to new lands and which figure in other screens chronicling the coming of the Portuguese.[24] Indeed, two such dogs feature in the Avery Brundage Collection screens, one leashed but proudly leading the captain-general's procession as it approaches the Christian church in the Japanese town (plate 25b, panel 4) and the other unleashed but collared and responding to a gesticulating boy among a group of Westerners waiting on the shore in the embarkation scene of the left-hand screen (plate 25a.2). The squashed features of this second dog does, however, raise a continuing controversy about the ultimate origins of these animals; while the evidence of the screens certainly seems to suggest that these lapdogs were brought by Westerners, among others, to Japan, where they became the probable progenitors of the modern Japanese spaniel, their diminutive appearance and, in some cases, flattened faces indicate that rather than being brought all the way from the Iberian peninsula, some at least were actually obtained from among the sleeve and lion dogs of China, the ancestors of the modern Pekingese.[25]

As exotic pets in the eyes of the Japanese, these dogs form quite a contrast with the local dogs, such as the large brindled one slumbering under a counter in the Japanese town scene in the right-hand screen of the Avery Brundage Collection pair (plate 25b.3), and even with Westerners' own shipboard pets in the left-hand screen (plate 25a, panel 4), but even the domestic animals that the Portuguese brought for likely utilitarian purposes, the two goats that are featured in the scene of animals being landed in the right-hand

Fig. 9: Collared goat and men on shore (detail, plate 25a, panel 2, Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, Avery Brundage Collection)

Naizen screen and that were probably used for both milk and meat, are rendered with character and action (plate 1b, panel 5). They too seem to form a contrasting pendant with the two swine (plate 1b, panels 1–2) (boar and sow or sow and piglet?) further to the right on the screen, which form part of the welcoming party with the resident priests (the black of the Jesuits and Dominicans and the gray of the Franciscans being picked up by the respective colors of the pigs; I am grateful to Diana Larsen for this observation). It is hard to know why these animals have been included (and hogs only rarely appear in nanban screens; other native domestic animals such as water buffalo and pack horses do, but it is usually in the defined role of beasts of burden) unless it is to suggest the tumult of Japanese street life, where, as in contemporary European cities, wandering, almost feral swine and dogs would have served as scavengers.

When, however, nanban screens in general are considered, interpreting the significance of the appearance of goats on many of them is as problematic as deciphering the origin of the dogs or the inclusion of the hogs. While those featured in Naizen screens really do seem to have just landed and so can plausibly be seen as walking, living larders for the mariners, the goats in the other two pairs seem well-established on the mainland and, in their patterns and interactions with the human figures, would seem to hold some special significance, whether metaphorical or zodiacal. On the Burke Foundation's right-hand screen, the three goats with fiendish looks upon their faces cavorting in front of the three silk-clad Chinese ladies (plate 36b.2), who seem to be expressing their admiration for the animals, as the Western procession winds its way into town before the excited inhabitants, could be of Cashmere or Angora breeds, brought to Japan by the Westerners from South Asia for the fine, silky mohair they yield.[26] However, the sleeker, handsomer animals, one with neat black stockings communing with clerics from the right Brundage Collection screen and another wearing a red collar from the left, would seem to demand another explanation (fig. 9). Were they, with the dogs and the hogs, included as signs of the Chinese zodiac, or as subtle and sly comments on the Europeans, their appearance, manners, and religion, black-and-white dogs being, after all, the symbol of the Dominicans, *domini canes*? To the Japanese, the caprine, canine, and porcine aspects of the southern barbarians must have been all too evident—hairy, noisy, smelly, and large-featured. But perhaps, after all, a goat is just a goat and denotes the wonder and excitement the Japanese experienced in viewing the marvels the Europeans brought.

Nothing, however, could be quite as exotic, beautiful, and sought after as the peacock in full courtship

display at the top of the right-hand Naizen screen (fig. 10). Originating in India and Southeast Asia, depending on the particular species, but introduced into Europe and bred commercially by the Fuggers, peafowl were not only prized in their own right as ornamental birds but also for the magnificent eyed tail feathers which could be harvested after the males' moult.[27] Set somewhat apart from the brouhaha of the landing in the lower part of the screen and ignored for the most part by the drab priests and friars making their way to the shore, this particular male bird is, however, holding court before a seated group of astonished Portuguese and their barefoot, dark-skinned kneeling attendant who looks as if he is holding a feed basket.

This attention and admiration for an Indian bird that their travels had brought back to Europe and introduced to Japan well summarizes the role the Portuguese played in making the unfamiliar familiar. They forged the two further links in the chain that brought exotic animals exchanged across the Indian Ocean up into Europe and North Asia. As with the animals and animal products they introduced from Brazil and West Africa, they were suppliers and purveyors of these beasts, not their cataloguers or describers. In our period, practitioners of natural history in Iberia and its far-flung tropical possessions were few and far-between, cut off from the budding community of Renaissance naturalists in Italy and Northern Europe, and it was left to others to build upon and profit from their labors.[28] But it was the Portuguese who first brought back the beasts that opened the eyes of Europe and Japan.

Fig. 10: Peacock and Portuguese admirers (detail, plate 1b, panel 3, private collection).

1. K. S. Mathew, *Indo-Portuguese Trade and the Fuggers of Germany* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1997), 31–60.

2. Michael Gorgas, "Animal Trade between India and Western Eurasia—The Role of the Fuggers in Animal Trading," in ibid., 196–206.

3. Dorcas MacClintock, *Animals Observed* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 31, 34–35.

4. Father Jeronimo Lobo, SJ, *Voyage to Abyssinia* (London: Cassell, 1887), 8.

5. Berthold Laufer, *The Giraffe in History and Art* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1928), 41–55.

6. Mathew, *Indo-Portuguese Trade*, 60–99.

7. For what follows on this first rhinoceros and its impact: T. H. Clarke, *The Rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs, 1515–1799* (London: Sotheby's, 1986), 16–27; Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 158–68; Susan Dackerman, ed., *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe*, exh. cat. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 163–80; Silvio Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant* (Nashville: J. S. Sanders, 1998), 111–36.

8. Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, "Rarities and Novelties" and "Exotic Animals in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *Encounters: The Meeting of Europe and Asia, 1500–1800*, ed. Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer, exh. cat. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2004), 32–43; Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, "Renaissance Menageries: Exotic Animals and Pets at the Habsburg Courts in Iberia and Central Europe," in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature, and the Visual Arts*, ed. K. A. E. Enenkel, E. E. P. Kolfin, and P. J. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 419–46.

9. Mathew, *Indo-Portuguese Trade*, 7–25.

10. Gorgas, "Animal Trade," 218–22.

11. Clarke, *Rhinoceros from Dürer to Stubbs*, 28–35; Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 168–70; Dackerman, *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge*, 182–85.

12. Bedini, *Pope's Elephant*, 23–29.

13. Gschwend, "Exotic Animals," 43; Gschwend, "Renaissance Menageries," 428–37; Dackerman, *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge*, 160–61.

14. Bedini, *Pope's Elephant*, 30–32.

15. Gorgas, "Animal Trade," 206–11; Charles Ralph Boxer, *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo: A Portuguese Merchant Adventurer in South East Asia, 1624–1667* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), 2–3. The Portuguese Vieira was commissioned by the governor of Manila to bring him back two elephants from Cambodia but, after the revolt of the Portuguese against the Spanish Crown in 1640, he seems to have diverted one at least of these elephants to the court at Macassar.

16. Anna Jackson, "Visual Responses: Depicting Europeans in East Asia," in *Encounters*, 202–5.

17. Ronald M. Nowak, *Walker's Mammals of the World*, vols. 1–2, 6th ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 1:994–98.

18. Bernardino de Avila Giron, "Audience with Hideyoshi at Osaka, 1597," in *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543–1640*, ed. Michael Cooper (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1995), 113–14, 125n. As

we have seen, the Spanish in the Philippines would have acquired elephants through the Portuguese from the Asian mainland.

19. J. B. Lloyd, *African Animals in Renaissance Literature and Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 22–27, on a Venetian-Portuguese speculation in African parrots.

20. Ibid., 54; Nowak, *Walker's Mammals*, 1:748–49, 1:758–59, 1:762.

21. V. W. F. Collier, *Dogs of China and Japan in Nature and Art* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1921), 46–47, 74, 175–77, 372, 429.

22. Nowak, *Walker's Mammals*, 2:1102–6.

23. Juliet Clutton-Brock, *Horse Power: A History of the Horse and the Donkey in Human Societies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 105; but see contemporary comment reported, Collier, *Dogs of China and Japan*, 64.

24. Kim Dennis-Bryan and Juliet Clutton-Brock, *Dogs of the Last Hundred Years at the British Museum (Natural History)* (London: British Museum [Natural History], 1988), 86–93, 102.

25. Desmond Morris, *Dogs: The Ultimate Dictionary of over 1,000 Dog Breeds* (North Pomfret, VT: Trafalgar Square, 2002), 549–50, neatly summarizes the controversy in his entry on the Japanese spaniel.

26. Bernhard Grzimek, ed., *Grzimek's Animal Life Encyclopedia, Volume 13, Mammals 4* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1975), 492.

27. Gorgas, "Animal Trade," 219.

28. Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 55–62, 243–52; Lloyd, *African Animals*, 24–30.

NANBAN ART: WHAT'S PAST IS PROLOGUE

Alexandra Curvelo

Antonio: Who's the next heir of Naples?

Sebastian: Claribel.

Antonio: She that is Queen of Tunis; she that dwells
Ten leagues beyond man's life; she that from Naples
Can have no note, unless the sun were post—
The Man i' th' Moon's too slow—till new-born chins
Be rough and razorable; she that from whom
We all were sea-swallow'd, though some cast again
(And by that destiny) to perform an act
Whereof what's past is prologue; what to come,
In yours and my discharge.

(Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, act 2, sc. 1)

And so, too, when we look at history: there are episodes that, in retrospect, reveal themselves as agents of a new order or paradigm. Like the castaways of Shakespeare's play, when a violent storm lands them on a strange island, the first Portuguese to arrive in Japan did so when storm winds blew their Chinese junk off course and into harbor at Tanegashima Island. One could have hardly imagined then that the arrival of four Portuguese traders would serve as prologue for the development of nanban art.

A prologue usually introduces a scene and presents the fundamental elements of the play, or in this case, the story. In our story, this prologue may not only allow us to consider two distinct European presences in Japan in the early modern era—Southern Catholic and Northern Protestant—but also the diversity of forms found in nanban art. The task at hand becomes sorting and defining what makes an art object nanban in character, for what audience the work was meant, and how these objects were ordered and circulated in commercial networks. In the specific case of nanban art, what was the prologue to the phenomenon?

THE NANBAN-JIN

The period of the so-called *nanban-jin*, or the Portuguese, in Japan opens in 1543 (the late Muromachi period, 1333–1573). Establishing its close is more difficult. We can fix a date to 1639, the year Japanese authorities issued their final expulsion edict and closed the country to the Portuguese and other representatives of Catholic European nations. These chronological markers, however, should be understood not as rigid temporal boundaries, but as flexible

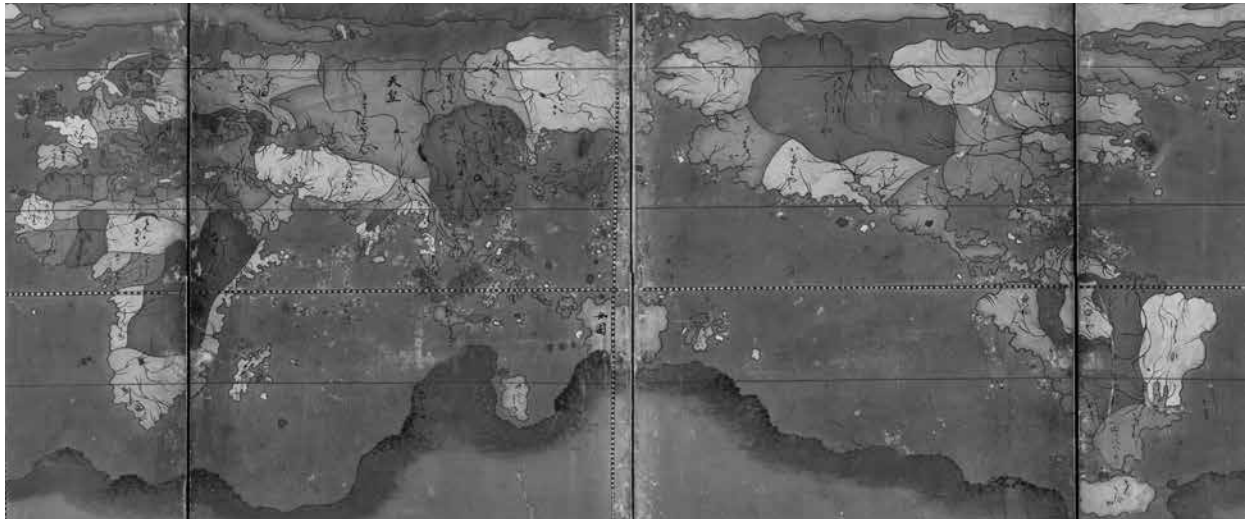


Fig. 1: Map of the world (*Sekaizu narabini Nihonzu byōbu*) (detail, plate 15a, C. V. Starr East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley. Photograph by David Rumsey).

as the geography the nanban phenomenon embraces.

The arrival in Japan of the first Portuguese was pure chance. Fortune struck again six years later, when Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier reached the archipelago in a junk accompanied by a Japanese pirate. As the Portuguese expanded into Asia to develop what became known as the State of India, the encounter with Japan was an exceptional occurrence at the very edge of the continent.[1] Serendipity, not design, brought the Portuguese to this insular island nation.

Japan's extreme distance from Portuguese centers of strength in Asia fundamentally shaped their relationship (fig. 1). A standard journey from Lisbon to Nagasaki would take as long as two to two-and-a-half years. Leaving home from the Tagus River in March or April, the Portuguese would sail for Goa, India. After sojourning there for a year, they would sail on to China, reaching Macao four months later. There, they would lie at anchor for ten to eleven months, their timing determined by Canton's seasonal commercial fair and the monsoon winds, which they used to carry them on to Nagasaki, Japan.[2] In the reverse direction, the voyage could take as little as twenty-two or twenty-three months if travelers left Japan in October or November. This timing allowed them to board in Macao in January and a year later set sail from India to Portugal, where they would arrive late the following summer. Mail dispatches roundtrip between Japan and Rome through Portuguese India would usually take five to six years.[3] Thus constrained, the Portuguese and Europeans during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had to adapt, accommodate, and innovate to manage their far-flung Asian interests. Japan, at the very end of the world, proved to be a particularly yielding place to new influences.

In Japan, Portuguese visitors pursued their interests free from official oversight. In India and Southeast Asia, the Portuguese Crown maintained nominal control, but in Japan, missionaries, traders, and other private individuals functioned autonomously. To be sure, other Europeans, mostly from Southern Europe, came to Japan, but they tended to associate with the more numerous Portuguese, whom the Japanese treated as the representatives of Europe. While we can integrate our discussion of Portugal's influence in Japan into the motif of the State of India and especially Portuguese patronage of the Orient, it is paradigmatic that the Society of Jesus, which held exclusive missionary rights granted by the Vatican from 1549 until 1592, had in its ranks important contingents of Spanish and Italians.[4]

Missionary practices in Japan reflected the principles of accommodation and adaptation. It was there that the Jesuits refined their preaching strategy, which focused on ruling elites[5] and embraced the idea of cultural accommodation or "enculturation."[6] In the later sixteenth century, two distinct evangelical models competed for Japanese converts. One, led by Francisco Cabral (1533–1609), focused on individual converts and advocated the standard European model, which required full compliance with Catholic doctrine in accordance with Counter-Reformation directives. The other targeted ruling elites, who could compel mass conversions of subordinates, and urged accommodation of local cultural norms and tolerance.[7] The majority of missionaries actually working in Japan subscribed to this second view. From 1574 to 1606, Italian Jesuit Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) oversaw the Jesuit mission in Asia, and it was he who validated the accommodation model. Visiting Japan first in 1579, Valignano inspected the Japanese mission three times, where he encouraged experimentation and adaptation responsive to the local situation.[8] This approach, used by Organtino Gnecchi-Soldo (1530–1609) in Kyoto and Kyushu, Francesco Pasio (1554–1612) in Sakai and Kyushu, and Francis Xavier, peaked with Valignano's reforms. Later, it became

aptly known as *il modo soave*.[9]

THE PAINTING SCHOOL

As an instrument of adaptation in Japan, representatives of the Society of Jesus quickly recognized the value of visual arts. Inspired by the principles of Ciceronian rhetoric, these missionaries understood art as prayer, capable of entertaining, instructing, and moving the heart—*delectare, docere, movere*. That image could be an essential support to meditation originates in the seminal Jesuit work, *Spiritual Exercises*.[10] While the use of images was essential to the evangelical mission in China and Japan, the Jesuits responded to the especially strong Japanese interest in images by creating a school of painting in Japan.

The Painting School (*Seminário de Pintura*), as it was called, was established in Kumamoto, Kyushu in approximately 1590. The School owed its structure to the institution of the "open seminars" that emerged in the early 1580s. The Society of Jesus cultivated a wide network of colleges and seminars throughout Portuguese networks of control in Asia. These institutions are owed to the competitions of interest in Europe, where the Society of Jesus vied with other missionary orders for prominence. As Aldo Scaglione has put it, "the colleges were the Jesuits' foremost weapon and means of social influence,"[11] and nowhere more so than in Asia. The Painting School fully conformed to the spirit of European Counter-Reformationism, while also serving as a component of the humanist education the Jesuits offered in Japan.

The founding of the Painting School was part of a program of events conceived by Valignano to reinvigorate the Jesuit mission in Asia. First, Valignano dispatched four Japanese converts to Rome in 1582, where they offered living proof that the Jesuit model of adaptation worked. Just as these Japanese envoys were leaving, the Jesuit mission in Japan received its first European member dedicated solely to the production of painting, the Neapolitan Giovanni Niccolò (c. 1558–1626). Niccolò became the director of the new Painting School.

The Painting School addressed two pressing needs: local painters committed to the Jesuit mission and a local supply of images. For Jesuits working in Japan, an order for images from Rome would take about as long as the eight year roundtrip experienced by the Japanese envoys to Rome. This was too long to properly adapt to local interests, and the Japanese mission encountered several periods of political disfavor, requiring them to move their bases of operation. An order placed from the mission in one city might have to be received in an entirely different locale. We can think of the pictures produced in or associated with the Painting School as visual complements to the written account of the four young Japanese abroad, *De missione legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam* (The mission of the Japanese legates to the Roman Curia); both products of the dynamic Jesuit mission in Japan in the 1580s. While Valignano may have been the author of the plan, Niccolò was, in the field of painting, its executor.[12]

Giovanni Niccolò traveled a great deal in Japan, where his paintings supplied various churches and missions. He arrived in Nagasaki on July 25, 1583, and worked in Kyushu through 1585. In Nagasaki, Niccolò painted his first works on Japanese soil: two images of Christ as Savior of the World (*Salvator Mundi*) made for Catholic communities there and in Arima.[13] In 1584, he left for Azuchi, near Kyoto, and then moved on to Shimo, the northwest and western area of Kyushu, in 1585.[14] By 1587, Niccolò had moved to Osaka, then to Arie, a town situated at the northeast

Fig. 2: The Virgin and Child (detail, plate 31, Santa Casa da Misericórdia, Sardoal, Portugal, © Paulo Sousa/CMS).

part of the Arima district, in 1589.[15] Contemporary sources identify him painting another *Salvator Mundi*, which Father Gaspar Coelho shipped to the Chinese mission, as well as an "Our Lady of Assumption" for the church in Usuki, near Funai (currently Ōita). Paintings associated with its activity can be observed in objects such as the portable oratories presented in this exhibition (fig. 2; plates 30–32). However, some of the paintings used in this group of religious items could have reached Japan by way of Goa and Macao or even the Philippines, and could have originated from places as diverse as Europe or the Vice-Royalty of New Spain.

In 1592, Niccolò moved to Shiki, an island in the Amakusa group, where the Jesuit mission was thriving thanks to the patronage and conversion of

the daimyo Konishi Yukinaga (1555–1600). Located across the bay from Nagasaki and part of Kumamoto, the islands were divided into five small fiefs. Shimoshima, the largest of the islands of the Amakusa group, was the home of the landlords of Shiki and Amakusa. In 1591, the Jesuits established Amakusa as the site for their training of novices and a college within the castle fortifications. There they remained until 1597. In the year Niccolò arrived, the Jesuits also began printing operations. From 1598 to 1600, Bishop D. Luís Cerqueira (1552–1614) resided in Amakusa, testament to the importance of the site to the Jesuit mission in Japan.[16]

The Painting School dates to this busy period of Jesuit activity. As peripatetic as Niccolò, the School moved several times. According to Grace Vlam, it received funding early in the 1590s and was likely first located in Katsusa, on the Shimabara Peninsula.[17] By 1592, it had moved to Shiki, then again in 1594 to Arie, both sites in Amakusa. A contemporary description of the school, when visited by Jesuits Bishop Pedro Martins, Vice-Provincial Pedro Gomez, and several priests, as well as Captain-Major Rui Mendes de Figueiredo and other Portuguese, reveals that a picture of "Saint Luke's Virgin" hung at the door. The painting was reputedly made by one of the young Japanese students of the School.[18]

The School at last moved to Nagasaki, home to the largest Christian population in Japan. The institution's transfer was instigated in 1597,[19] and then given temporary establishment in 1600.[20] In 1602, it was at last settled in Nagasaki permanently. By 1603, documentary evidence speaks of both the offering of classes in painting[21] and to Giovanni Niccolò, who is referred to as "Prefect of the Painters' School."[22] While in Nagasaki, numerous painters worked at the School. Contemporary reports highlight those Japanese who joined the Society of Jesus, but there were a considerable number more who acted as mission assistants, or *dōjuku*. The School in Nagasaki thrived until 1614 with the issuance of orders expelling missionaries from Japan. At that point, core elements of the Painting School transferred abroad, to Manila and mainly to Macao, where the activity continued.

NAGASAKI

That the Painting School should find its most durable home in Nagasaki was natural considering the founding character of the city, whose wide harbor made it well-suited for transport and trade (fig. 3). Nagasaki had been a small settlement of roughly four hundred homes before the arrival of the Portuguese in Japan in the 1580s. A decade later, Nagasaki's population had reached some five thousand, and it would continue to grow at this extraordinary rate. By 1600, it was home to approximately fifteen thousand people; in 1611 it boasted some twenty-five thousand; and in 1614 it surpassed thirty thousand. Most of these residents were Japanese and many of them were Christian. Nagasaki had so many Japanese Christians that by 1601, it was organized first into districts and then, in 1605, into parishes.[23] Nagasaki's remaining Portuguese, Chinese, and Korean inhabitants all engaged in trade.[24] By 1614, Nagasaki was the acknowledged terminus for international trade, with the annual arrivals of long distance Portuguese ships (*nau do trato*) and sixty to seventy Chinese ships that brought the city seasonal increases in population by several hundreds.[25]

Documentary evidence concerning Portuguese trade in Nagasaki and in Japan more generally is quite limited. While in other parts of Asia Portugal established sovereign rights and Crown interests, Japan lost no element of sovereignty thence no official reports were filed in Goa or Europe. Neither can we extrapolate much from documents in neighboring Macao. Additionally, we gain little from Portuguese in Japan who renounced Christianity and adopted Buddhism following the expulsion edicts.[26]

Other evidence does attest to the cosmopolitan nature of Nagasaki, however. The city became home to a distinct Japanese dialect featuring numerous loan words such as *birōdo* (ビロード or 天鵞絨) meaning "veludo" (velvet), *botan* (ボタン・釦・鈕) meaning "botão" (button), *tabako* (煙草・莨) meaning "tabaco" (tobacco), or *tempura* (天麩羅・天婦羅), probably a derivation of the word "tempôras," the Portuguese term for the religious fasting during which it was not allowed to eat meat, therefore cooking (frying) fish and vegetables.[27]

Nagasaki became the hub for the introduction of new European scientific ideas in fields ranging from astronomy to medicine. Foreign residents in Nagasaki imported native food plants, particularly from Europe and America,[28] leading to syncretic dietary practices.[29] Daily life in Nagasaki was utterly different than in the rest of Japan, where the shape of the day was reckoned in Western not Asian units and the bell of a Christian church rather than a Buddhist temple rang the hours.[30]

The open cosmopolitan character of Nagasaki changed after the final expulsion of the Portuguese in 1639. In 1640, the Dutch occupied the spaces vacated by the Portuguese, but their impact was reduced in scale.[31] In physical terms, the Dutch suffered confinement to the small, man-made island of Deshima, just off the Nagasaki shore, and their numbers were sharply restricted. The Japanese permitted the Dutch continued trade privileges provided they in no way try to interfere with any aspect of Japanese authority.

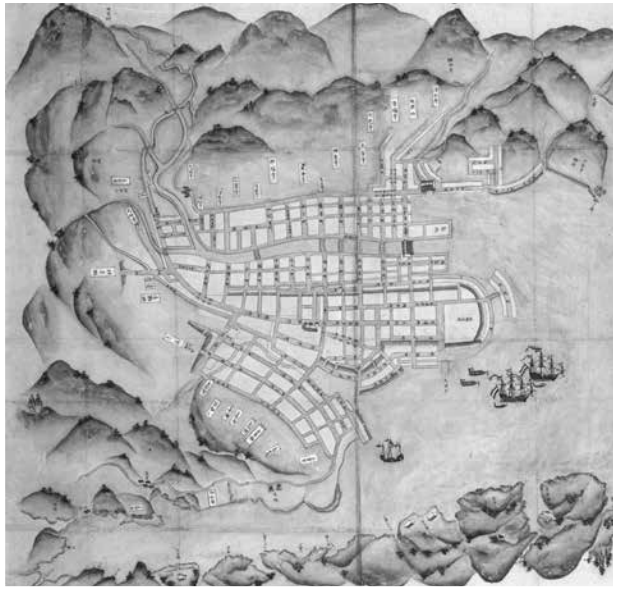


Fig. 3: Map of Nagasaki (detail, plate 23, Jorge Welsh, Lisbon/London, © Jorge Welsh Oriental Porcelain & Works of Art, Lisbon/London).

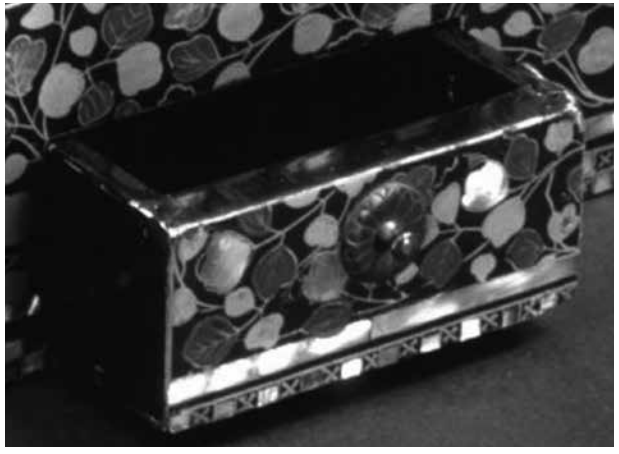


Fig. 4: Fine lacquer and mother-of-pearl decoration (detail, plate 44, private collection, Portugal, © Jorge Welsh Oriental Porcelain & Works of Art, Lisbon/London).

Fig. 5: Heraldic Japanese *mon* in gold, mother-of-pearl, and lacquer (detail, plate 49, private collection, Portugal, ©José Meneses).

Times had changed as well, for no longer were Europeans and their goods objects of such novel fascination. To be sure, the Japanese did continue to import European goods through the Dutch and to trade with the Chinese and the Koreans, and these interactions had marked impacts on Japan's material culture. But, from 1640 forward, the Japanese were actively vigilant and consciously selective in their foreign affairs.

NANBAN OBJECTS

Nanban style embraces objects in a wide range of typologies, shapes, and materials, of which the current exhibition gives an extensive demonstration. All reflect the dynamic interrelations of the European community in Japan, both secular and religious. The most numerous nanban object type is lacquer, but ceramics (plate 28), liturgical pieces (plates 28–34, and probably the pair of sake bottles, plate 45), furniture (figs. 4–5; plates 37–38, 40–44, 46, 49), painted folding screens (plates 1a–b, 25a–b, 36a–b, 48), and more abound.[32] In Japan, those interested in the European-inflected works included military, trading, and religious elites, who purchased items in customary formats. Objects such as the Japanese camp helmet, the mask of a *nanban-jin*, the metal shoes (plates 5– 7), and the military artifacts (plates 9–14), can be interpreted through this lens. Among Europeans, nanban objects appealed to those living in the wider Portuguese sphere of influence in Asia as well as to markets in Europe. The objects the Portuguese sought in Japan largely accorded with types they purchased elsewhere in the world. Therefore we can establish an association between objects such as the portable lacquered nanban cabinet (plate 43) and the casket made in India (plate 50). Shipping constrained them, so they acquired primarily portable objects of relatively small dimensions made of lacquer, ceramics, and fabric, with some larger pieces of furniture committed to their holds.

Nanban objects reflect their Asian origins in terms of materials and construction. Lacquer pieces were especially valuable to the Portuguese, for not only were they suited to Asian climates, they were also light and as a result readily portable. Lacquer craftsmanship wholly followed indigenous practices, with many layers of viscous lacquer applied to forms constructed primarily of thin wood. Lacquer objects are water and humidity resistant, impervious to insects, and durable. In furniture, lacquer can also be applied to straw, rope, and caning, lending these same properties to chair seats and backs. Indigenous furniture makers excelled in wood joinery, which proved superior to metal structural links that quickly oxidized and failed in continuous humidity. Joinery also served portability, as sections could be quickly assembled and disassembled. Portuguese outposts throughout

the hot and humid climates of Asia readily benefitted from such furniture.

A NANBAN BEDSTEAD

A particularly important piece of nanban furniture in the present exhibition is the lacquered bed frame, likely made in Japan during the first half of the seventeenth century (plate 49). First exhibited in Lisbon in 2010, the bed speaks eloquently to the hybrid character of Luso-Asian art.[33] The bed frame features elegantly worked wood elements coated in lacquer and embellished with powdered gold and silver and mother-of-pearl inlays. This remarkable piece came to Portugal in the late nineteenth century from Goa. The bed is incomplete, as it lacks the canopy supports at the feet, some pieces of the headboard, and all of the boards supporting the mattress. For exhibition purposes, these elements have been replaced, based upon comparison with other period pieces and study of the bed's structure.

The bed frame resembles other surviving examples of Luso-Asian furniture, reflecting Iberian taste through nanban aesthetics.[34] Its lacquer decoration is typical of objects made for the Portuguese/Iberian market, with common floral, geometric, and zoomorphic motifs. The application of gold dust and inlay are of the highest quality, following methods used in lacquer studios catering to Japanese elites. The headboard features a series of plain gold circles suited to presenting heraldic Japanese *mon*, or family emblems, that here serve as geometric ornament (fig. 5).

Analysis of the lacquer used on the bed has yielded important insights into nanban art. Using pyrolysis-gas chromatography/mass spectrometry (Py-GC/MS), the lacquer has been identified as coming from the sap of the tree *Melanorrhoea usitate*, one of three species of tree grown in Asia for the sap needed for making lacquer. *Rhus vernicifera* is grown and used in Japan, China, and Korea; *Rhus succedanea* is grown Vietnam; and *Melanorrhoea usitate* is cultivated in Thailand and Burma. Recent chemical studies of archaeological remains have shown that Thai lacquer was widely used in Kyoto in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, suggesting that endemic sap sources were insufficient to meet demand. Documentary evidence found in the *dagregisters* of the Dutch East India Company attests to impressive imports of Thai lacquer to Japan. From 1636 to 1643, between fifty and one hundred tons were shipped annually. Surely this need was partly due to the enormous volume of Portuguese lacquer orders bound for their possessions in Asia and for Europe.[35]

This nanban bedstead, with its European form, wood core of unknown source, Thai sap, Japanese lacquer techniques, and Indian destination testifies to Portuguese networks of commerce and interest. Indeed, this one piece heralds the complex operations of a modern consumer society.

The bed, like hundreds of other nanban objects, also speaks to how very much their production fed interregional demand in Asia. The evidence of the surviving objects—their composite character, their distribution, and the impact of demand on aspects of the supply chain—attest to their principal consumption in Asia. Nanban objects reaching Europe, again mainly lacquers, were not, I believe, a significant proportion of the whole production. And, the majority of nanban objects collected in Europe were religious. Whether by design or by later adaptation, nanban art in Europe was largely in the hands of monasteries and convents. There was a market in nanban art, but it did not exist in Europe. It was a product instead of intra-Asian commerce.

Nanban art is a multi-faceted phenomenon. Under the nanban designation, we include pieces ranging from folding screens depicting Portuguese traders made for Japanese elites by Japanese artists, to Western-style paintings made by Japanese and European painters at the Jesuit Painting School, to lacquered objects catering specifically to Japanese and European consumers. In subjects, motifs, and methods, we understand "nanban" as an aesthetic answering to contemporary conceptions of the artistic in both Europe and Japan. In its multiple patterns of production and circulation, we see the dynamics and flows of people and ideas in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. So much resulted from a taste for goods bearing the traits of what has come to be known as "nanban." If the sequence of a narrative determines its richness and complexity, then this is but the prelude to the story: *Whereof what's past is prologue…*

This text presents research developed in the context of the project *Interactions between Rivals: The Christian Mission and Buddhist Sects in Japan (c. 1549–c. 1647)*, financed by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology.

1. The expression "State of India" was disclosed in the mid-sixteenth century, corresponding to the group of territories, people, establishments, and goods that were, from the Cape of Good Hope to the Nippon archipelago, under Portuguese authority, tutelage, or administration. Covering half the globe, delimited to the west by Ormuz and Sofala and to the east by Macao, Ternate-Tidore, and Japan, the area also was named the State of Eastern India (and later the Portuguese State of India) and for nearly a century, was a state of Lusitanian exclusivity, with the only exception being the Spanish presence in the Philippines since 1565.

2. For a closer look at the purchasing process of goods in the Canton fair, see Rui Lourido, "A Rota Marítima da Seda e da Prata: Macau-Manila, das origens a 1640" (master's thesis, New Univer-

sity of Lisbon, 1995), 157ff.

3. João Paulo Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão e o Bispado de D. Luís Cerqueira" (PhD diss., New University of Lisbon, 1998), 468–69; J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (London: Routledge, 1993), 42ff.

4. Portuguese patronage can be defined, generally speaking, as a set of rights, privileges, and duties assured by the papacy to the Portuguese Crown in its position as sponsor of Catholic missions and the ecclesiastic establishments in Africa, Asia, and Brazil. It was thus the Crown's responsibility to ensure the evangelization of these territories by paying for the dispatch of missionaries and the construction of buildings for the celebration of the divine cult and the upkeep of ecclesiastic hierarchy. On the other hand, monarchs could nominate the bishops for the vacant or newly founded colonial cathedrals, charge taxes, and administrate some of the ecclesiastic fees.

5. Ana Fernandes Pinto, "Japanese Elites Seen by Jesuit Missionaries," *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 1 (Dec. 2001): 29.

6. Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão," 123.

7. For a comprehensive yet specific approach to the adaptations performed on the liturgy, see Jesus López-Gay, *La Liturgia en la Misión del Japón del Siglo XVI* (Rome: Libreria dell'Università Gregoriana, 1970).

8. The first inspection occurs 1579–82, the second 1590–92, and the third 1598–1601. About Valignano and particularly about the "accommodation" method, see Antoni Üçerler, "Alessandro Valignano: Man, Missionary, and Writer," in "Asian Travel in the Renaissance," special issue, *Renaissance Studies* 17, no. 3 (Sept. 2003): 337–66 and Edward Malatesta, SJ, "Alessandro Valignano, Fan Li-An (1539–1606): Estratega da Missão Jesuíta na China," *Revista de Cultura*, 2nd. ser., no. 21 (Oct.–Dec. 1994): 51–66, which includes Valignano's chronology in its appendix.

9. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 61.

10. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Art et Architecture des Jésuites en Extrême-Orient, 1542–1773," in *L'Art des Jésuites*, ed. Giovanni Sale (Paris: Éditions Mengès, 2003), 280.

11. Aldo Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System* (Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1986), 61.

12. Alexandra Curvelo and Angelo Cattaneo, "Le arti visuali e l'evangelizzazione del Giappone: L'apporto del seminario di pittura dei gesuiti," in *Geografia e cosmografia dell'altro fra Asia ed Europa/ Geography and Cosmology Interfaces in Asia and Europe*, ed. Tanaka Kuniko (Milan: Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 2011), 31–60.

13. Yoshitomo Okamoto, *The Namban Art of Japan* (New York: Weatherhill; Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1972), 100; John McCall, "Early Jesuit Art in the Far East," *Artibus Asiae* 10, no. 2 (1947): 127.

14. About this school, see Johannes Laures, SJ, "The Seminary of Azuchi," *Missionary Bulletin* 5, no. 5 (Sept.–Oct. 1952): 141–47.

15. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), *Goa* 24–I, f. 168. Cf. *Monumenta Historica Japoniae 1: Textus Catalogorum Japoniae 1553–1654...*, ed. Josef Franz Schütte, SJ (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1975), 272ff.

16. Madalena Ribeiro, *Samurais Cristãos: Os Jesuítas e a Nobreza Cristã do Sul do Japão no Século XVI* (Lisbon: CHAM, 2009).

17. Grace A. H. Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1976), 15. For a listing of documental references to the painting school see 264–72.

18. ARSI, *Jap-Sin* 46, fl. 283v. See Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 267.

19. Josef Franz Schütte, SJ, *Introductio ad Historiam Societatis Jesu in Japonia 1549–1650: Ac Prooemium ad catalogus Japoniae hedednos ad edenda societatis Jesu Monumenta Historica Japoniae Propylaeum* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1968), 704–5, 740.

20. ARSI, *Jap-Sin* 25, fl. 57.

21. Ibid., 25, fl. 70. Document referenced in Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 272n6.

22. ARSI, *Jap-Sin* 25, fl. 61. Transcribed document in *Monumenta Historica Japoniae*, 443ff.

23. Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão," 506–7, 519–21, 528–30.

24. Aloysius Chang, *The Chinese Community of Nagasaki in the First Century of the Tokugawa Period (1603–1688)* (New York: St. John's University, 1970), 103–6.

25. Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão," 509.

26. Charles Ralph Boxer, "When the Twain First Meet: European Conceptions and Misconceptions of Japan, Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries," *Modern Asian Studies* 18, no. 4 (1984): 533.

27. Tai Whan Kim, *The Portuguese Element in Japanese: A Critical Survey with Glossary* (Coimbra: University of Coimbra, 1976), 215–25.

28. Pedro Lage Correia, "Father Diogo de Mesquita and the Cultivation of Western Plants in Japan," *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 7 (Dec. 2003): 73–91.

29. Fernando Castelo-Branco, "A influência portuguesa na culinária japonesa," in *O Século Cristão do Japão: Actas do Colóquio Comemorativo dos 450 Anos de Amizade Portugal-Japão (1543–1993)*, ed. Roberto Carneiro and A. Teodoro de Matos (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa da Universidade Católica Portuguesa/Instituto de Além-Mar, 1994), 617–27.

30. Helena Rodrigues, "Nagasáqui nanban das origens à expulsão dos Portuguese" (master's thesis, New University of Lisbon, 2006).

31. Alexandra Curvelo, "Nagasaki/Deshima after the Portuguese in Dutch Accounts of the 17th Century," *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 6 (June 2003): 147–57.

32. For two summary articles about Japanese lacquer, see Ann Yonemura, "Lacquered Ware," in *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, ed. Gen Itasaka, 9 vols. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983), 4:360–62; *Jaanus: Japanese Architecture and Art Net Users System*, s.v. "urushi-nuri," http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/.

33. Alexandra Curvelo, "Introdução," in *Encomendas Namban: Os Portugueses no Japão da Idade Moderna/Namban Commissions: The Portuguese in Modern Age Japan* (Lisbon: Museu do Oriente, 2010), 11–31 and "Leito/Bed," 155–61.

34. João Filipe da Silva Nascimento, *Leitos e Camilhas Portugueses: Subsídios para o seu estudo* (Lisbon: Livraria Nova Eclectica, 1950), fig. 9; Pedro Dias, *O Contador de Cenas Familiares: O quotidiano dos*

portugueses de Quinhentos na Índia na decoração de um móvel indo-português (Oporto: Pedro Aguiar Branco/VOC Antiguidades, 2002).

35. Takayuki Honda et al., "Applied Analysis and Identification of Ancient Lacquer Based on Pyrolysis-Gas Chromatography/Mass Spectrometry," *Journal of Applied Polymer Science* 118, no. 2 (Oct. 2010): 897–901. Three samples of lacquer were taken from a ceramic vase unearthed from sixteenth- to seventeenth-century ruins in Kyoto.

UNFOLDING THE SCREEN: DEPICTING THE FOREIGN IN JAPANESE NANBAN BYŌBU

Victoria Weston

The term *nanban byōbu* refers to Japanese folding screens that take as their subject the Portuguese and their culture. Produced in the Momoyama (1573–1615) and early Edo (1615–1868) periods, their initial patronage came from elite samurai who could afford the large paintings and potentially encounter these exotic foreigners. These screens feature elegant and informative world maps, representations of foreign cities, costumes or activities of imagined Europeans, or, most often, encounters in trade. Portuguese freighters brought luxury items of both established and exotic types: Chinese silks in quantity, Chinese furniture and other high value objects, but also birds and animals originating from all over Asia, and more.[1] In addition, the ships brought Jesuit missionaries. Like the traders of expensive objects, Jesuits pursued a proselytizing mission focused on elites, whom they hoped would then sway those in their command or control to convert. Members of the Kanō atelier, well established as the premier suppliers of paintings to wealthy samurai, developed image types that were perpetuated in their extensive system of studios. Among these were scenes of arriving Portuguese ships and the unloading of their treasures.

The 2013 exhibition *Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan: Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods* at the McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College features four examples of screens depicting encounters in trade (hereafter, "trade screens").[2] Folding screens are made in pairs, each being six panels hinged in accordion fashion to allow them to stand on their own and carrying their decoration on their fronts. One is a pair of folding screens recently acquired by a private collector and exhibited here for the first time. These screens bear the seals of Momoyama-period painter Kanō Naizen (1570–1616) and are both among the earliest trade screens and of very high quality (plates 1a–b). This pair of screens is noteworthy also for its close resemblance to an early pair in the Kobe City Museum, which undisputedly bear the seals of Kanō Naizen.[3] In addition, the exhibition features three early Edo-period trade screens: the pair owned by the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (Avery Brundage Collection, plates 25a–b); the pair in the Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation collection (plates 36a–b); and the single screen in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts (plate 48). This group of four speaks to established conventions and encourages reflection on the meanings these images conveyed to their intended viewers.

Recent research by Sakamoto Mitsuru and others has resulted in a catalogue raisonné of trade screens that establishes the total of known examples at ninety-one.[4] The privately-held screens by Kanō Naizen in the current exhibition increase this total by one. This catalogue sets out three basic compositional types, arranged chronologically as later Momoyama, including work by Kanō Naizen, and Edo-period work of

the first half of the seventeenth century.[5] The Edo works are far more numerous and reflect the spread of interest in the topic to broader segments of society. The handful of Momoyama-period examples set the compositional conventions that the later Edo works largely follow. To be sure, there is rich variety in the trade screens, but the compositional types provide the essential narrative structure.

Stylistically, trade screens generally appear to be the product of Kanō painters. The extended Kanō family ran multiple elite ateliers and secondary studios, which acted too as schools certifying painters in conventional Kanō practice. Depending on their ranking, these graduates might go on to prestigious careers supplying imagery to ruling elites or they might establish themselves in cities and towns where considerable wealth accrued in the hands of merchants.[6] Kanō Naizen was among the elite serving Japan's military leadership, in particular, the Japanese hegemon Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98), and after Hideyoshi's death, the Toyotomi clan.[7] Earlier works such as Naizen's distinguish themselves in the quality of the brushwork and complexity of gold-foil application, the richly developed execution of architecture and ships, and the close examination of figures and costumes. Often, the later works show looser qualities of brushwork, broader characterizations of figures, and a deeper engagement with genre activities.

The burgeoning of the theme in the first half of the seventeenth century coincides with growing government constraints placed on Portuguese traders and Catholic missionaries that culminated in firmly enforced expulsion orders. It is in this later period that Japanese merchants based in coastal port towns seem to have embraced the theme and spurred increased production at the level of town painters trained in Kanō studios. The large screens, trophy items in themselves, depicting treasure from overseas extended established propitious themes including the New Year's image of *takara-bune*, or "treasure ships."[8]

The core compositions, or narratives, are three, again as established in the 2008 catalogue raisonné. All present the idea of trade with the Portuguese and feature their huge ocean-faring freighters, or carracks. While the right-hand screen offers a recognizably Japanese setting, the left-hand scene establishes the idea of distant travel. In type one, a Chinese port town is shown, the home of many of the luxury items sought by Japanese elites. Type two replaces China with some imagined city. Type three gives the left screen to a Portuguese carrack at anchor in Japan. In this typology, the Kanō Naizen pair in the present exhibition would fall into type one, while the three Edo-period sets are categorized as type threes. No matter the type, the paintings abound with strange garments and alien animals, ships of enormous size and unfathomable riggings, and a bounty of bundled and cased cargo, their contents left to the imagination.

Architecture is the primary means by which painters set the stage. The Japanese scenes rely on familiar forms including Jesuit churches, which utilized familiar Buddhist temple architecture in a conscious bid to connect with potential Japanese converts.[9] Chinese architecture establishes the idea of foreignness. Conventional Chinese architectural forms signal China as the intended locale, while exoticized Chinese architecture suggests that the site is somewhere outside the familiar scope of the world. Japanese screens relying on European maps reflect a nominal understanding of ports along the Portuguese trade routes and beyond. Macao, China was the East Asian center of Portuguese trade, while Goa, India served as Portugal's "capital" in Asia. The ideas deployed in these trade screens by Japanese painters reflect a lively engagement with the idea of foreign places and cultures. Japanese painters surely experimented with creating a visual vocabulary to convey "Portuguese" by turning to the conventional pool of foreign imagery, thus relying on motifs signifying China and India, and conflating and adapting them.

Trade screens have roots in broader period interests and established Kanō types. In fundamental composition, the screens are likely indebted to depictions of earlier trade missions and embassies from China. Ashikaga shoguns of the fifteenth century, eager for Chinese goods, participated in China's system of tribute and hierarchy wherein Japan agreed on paper to accept status as a satellite of China. Such diplomacy opened the way for Japan to engage in a trade that yielded highly valued Chinese luxuries. The arrival of Chinese ships, their unloading, and the processions of foreign Chinese to audience with Japanese authorities are likely precursors to similar activities with the Portuguese. While very little pictorial evidence remains, folding screens depicting Chinese embassies are attested to in contemporary Japanese writing.[10]

Additionally, Momoyama-period screens depicting sights in and around Kyoto (*rakuchū rakugai zu*) were a staple of Kanō studios and offered densely detailed views of Kyoto's street life, especially its festivals. Painters handled the large screen format by using bands of opaque gold-foil clouds to partition the surface into scenes, thus rendering the condensed city plan intelligible in its parts. While not so nearly as compacted as these, nanban trade screens similarly benefit from organizing cloudbanks to divide the surface. In the Momoyama and early Edo periods, Kanō painters treated other stock topics including the quintessentially Japanese *Tale of Genji* (*Genji monotagatari*) and the Sino-Confucian *Mirror of Emperors* (*Teikan zu*) in this fashion on folding screens.

Trade screens are distinguished, however, by their generally close view of the action, the figures given in relatively large scale from a vantage point at a near level horizontal. Miyeko Murase, in writing about the Burke screens, notes this as well as the use of architecture and gold foil to create a backdrop and a stage for the principal figures. She suggests that European depiction, entering Japan with the Jesuits, could have inspired this innovative compositional type.[11] The view is in striking contrast to the typical bird's-eye view of complex architectural settings, providing the observer a sense of immediacy and engagement in the scene.

IMAGINING MACAO: THE KANŌ NAIZEN SCREENS

Some screen pairs wonder from where the strangers came. While Japanese ships in this period working inside and outside the rules of lawful trade traveled to neighboring countries, international travel was not part of Japanese culture. Japanese elites were avid consumers of Chinese silk and Chinese luxury items, but this did not inspire desires to tour that country or its closer neighbor, Korea.[12] Thus, in trade screens, Japanese painters relied on conventions established in depiction, which they then embellished.

The McMullen Museum exhibition premiers a pair of screens that is both among the earliest trade screen sets and imagines the Portuguese in their own environs (plates 1a–b). Measuring 175.9 by 377.8 centimeters each, they are standard room size. The right-hand screen offers the familiar scene of unloading in a Japanese port town, but the left situates the Portuguese at the Asian point of their embarkation. This is a narrative that embraces the idea of voyage and is accomplished by giving us carracks in both screens. Bearing seals of Kanō Naizen, this pair closely follows other Naizen screens on this topic. A total of four are known: the pair in the Kobe City Art Museum; a single screen, the left one, in the collection of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, Tokyo; the pair in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon; and a pair once owned by the Koide family, daimyo of Izushi domain in Hyōgo prefecture.[13] The location of the Koide screens has been unknown; these newly emerged screens may perhaps be that lost set.

Kanō Naizen was a member of the elite Kanō house. Founded in the fifteenth century by Kanō Masanobu (1434–1530), Naizen's teacher was Masanobu's grandson, Kanō Shōei (1519–92). Naizen was a talented apprentice and one of two adopted into the Kanō family by his teacher. Kanō Shōei had four sons in the studio as well; his expanding family-guild was an important factor in the growth of the Kanō network of studios and their subsequent domination of elite painting circles. Naizen's grandson, Yasunobu (1613–85) would become the leader of the Kanō system in his time and author the seminal work on Kanō method, the *Gadō yōketsu*.[14] The Kanō house catered to the tastes of warrior elites, and for Naizen, this patronage came from Toyotomi Hideyoshi and his clan.

In viewing pairs of folding screens, one begins at the far right and scans leftward, as one would in reading Japanese script. Following this convention, Kanō Naizen presents the home country first (plate 1b). The Japanese port town has two distinct zones, shops in the foreground and a church essentially one street over. The church follows familiar architectural forms: Chinese-derived post-and-lintel with plaster screening walls and tiled hip-and-gable roof, plus overhanging eaves sheltering a board veranda, and two-piece *shitomido* shutters (plate 1b.3). The ornate cross centered on the ridge signals that this is a church and not a

Fig. 1: Japanese men viewing the shore-party (detail, plate 1b, panel 1, private collection).

Buddhist temple. Its interior shows a reverent samurai kneeling before a retable and a framed image. Another church building, its connection to the first implied by the zigzag formation, reveals a mix of carefully described figures, Portuguese and Japanese. This is Japan's hybrid space of easy association with the Jesuits and other foreigners, and the Jesuit program of blending into Japan's cultural norms.

In town, the narrative of meeting is fully enacted as Jesuits and others stride forward to greet the travelers, the space between them and the heralds engaged through eye contact, gesture, and pose. The leader of the shore-party prepares to enter town farther to the left (plate 1b.2). Indeed, meeting is accomplished in one pair, who embraces in the foreground of the group. A substantial group of Japanese men of various social stations follow on the street while others peer out the windows, eager to watch the excitement (fig. 1). The carrack dominates the extreme left two panels, while the shore and unloading develop along the bot-

tom and in the center panels. The wealth of figures and activity make this a lively, thriving port.

The Christian imagery returns with the carrack. The ship flies ornate flags featuring such motifs as a bust of Christ holding a cross, Christ walking and carrying a cross, and the angel Gabriel, all finely drawn in gold on dark blue (plate 1b.1). These flags, though, simply expand on the identity of the ship; while not specifically political, the flags perhaps acknowledge the Vatican's grant to Portugal of exclusive trade rights in the East. As part of that agreement, Portuguese ships transported missionaries to Asia, and here, sailors and priests mill about the decks. Amusement for the viewer is offered in the riggings where all manner of truly acrobatic maneuvers are performed including tightrope walking, spread-eagle face-first sliding, and swinging upside down. The scene on shore is rich in variety: people, clothing patterns, cargo, including two magnificent horses, and activity. Spectacle and the normalcy of the Portuguese and their goods define this screen.

The left-hand screen transports the viewer to the imagined home of Japan's trade partners (plate 1a). This port town offers the trade relationship in a single space: Chinese residents and Portuguese traders. The architecture here is essentially Chinese: the post-and-lintel buildings sit on stone-faced podiums, the roofs are tiled, and decorative frieze panels, gently cusped gables, ogee arches, curved eaves, and decorative acroteria abound. Opaque red, blue, green, and gold embellish inside and out, a colorfulness that signals China. The foreign port screen roughly mirrors the Japanese port screen, with two blocks of architecture to the left, carrack to the right, and figures activating the lower portion of all six panels.

The left-hand screen strongly suggests the hybrid space that was Macao. Macao occupies a spit of land to the extreme south of China's coast. While a Portuguese base, Macao was wholly dependent on its Chinese neighbors for essential needs and commercial opportunities. That Macao was in China made deploying Chinese architectural conventions natural for a Japanese painter. But Macao was not pure China; it was exotic, too, as the home of foreign Portuguese whose Asian operations were foremost based in Goa. Thus, the Chinese architectural template is embellished with fanciful forms signaling hybridity.

The roof shapes in particular make these buildings exotic. A hemispheric dome, open through arches on six sides adapts a hexagonal hall to novel use. In Japan, small hexagonal buildings were typically used for founder's halls in Buddhist temples. This one, though, is stretched upward, punctuated on its sides by columns topped with ornate capitals. Colorful frieze panels mediate between the walls and the dome so that the whole exudes a sense of Mughal form. The adjacent building connects a long hipped roof to a pyramidal center (a balancing horizontal wing is suggested at the screen's edge). The symmetry evokes Chinese norms, as do the regular courses of tile, but the center pyramidal roof and its multi-colors do not. Edo-period screens depicting Chinese architecture make use of this color scheme, but here, married to the shape, it is striking.

Elite Portuguese are amply distinguished, and through Indianizing devices. One gentleman lounges on an open chaise-like palanquin, utterly at leisure as dark-skinned servants, Indians, bear him aloft. Behind him comes a Portuguese riding aboard the ultimate exotic symbol of rank, an elephant (plate 1a.1). Servants shelter them both with status-confirming parasols. The two embody the ambiguity of the cultural space in their dress: the Portuguese riding the elephant wears European garb trimmed in gold; the Portuguese lounging on the chaise contrasts with him in pink robes cloaked in deeply-shadowed blue and a peaked cap that resonates with both Catholic hierarchy and a Chinese crown type of similar form. Three more leaders at the shore sit in chairs equipped with footrests. Their comfort and seating is sufficient to distinguish them, but the symbolism of the parasol is again deployed.

The Portuguese and the Chinese of Macao are neatly divided in this screen, the Portuguese occupy the outdoors, while the Chinese observe from within. Framed by the open arches of the domed room, Chinese ladies look out as though in a garden pavilion, admiring Portuguese pageantry rather than seasonal flowers. Another group in an elevated waterside pavilion looks out, gesturing to the Portuguese ship in full sail. In the large foreground building, a Chinese lady looks out coyly from behind a drawn curtain (plate 1a.2). A seated figure in this building is curious: a man with Asian features and European clothing, he contrasts with the similarly ambiguous Portuguese forward of him on the palanquin.

The viewer's passage from Japan abroad is made in the mind's eye by moving from Portuguese freighter to Portuguese freighter. The ship anchored in Japan is lapped by the blue waves of coastal waters, while the ship loading on the left screen is buffeted by the whitecaps of open ocean. The ships themselves offer the contrast: in Japan, the ship's sails are furled, leaving the black body of the vessel and its masts stark against the mineral blue waters; abroad, white dominates and the sails fill with the wind that excites the waters. Both are ships of the same Portuguese type, which the Japanese dubbed "black ships" in contrast to the dominating white of the Chinese ships that called in earlier times. The carracks present the oppositions of departure and arrival, movement

and rest, and even the color conventions of Chinese and Portuguese. Indeed, the carrack of the left-hand screen is so characterized by white as to communicate a sense of the Chinese on to it.

The positions of the artist's seals on the screens suggest alternative room placement and viewing. While we expect a painter to seal his or her work at the lower right on the right-hand screen and the lower left on the left-hand screen so that they do not end up in the middle of the combined composition and interfere with the narrative, this pair and the pair in Kobe carry theirs at the bottom left for both screens (fig. 2). This placement is disruptive should we imagine them erected side-by-side, for the artist's seal on the left of the right-hand screen would sit solidly in the center of the action. Instead, this seal placement urges positioning the screens standing opposite and parallel to each other, the viewer seated in between. The viewer thus reads from right to left twice and the artist's marks sit in their customary positions. The placement of the landmasses to the outer corners of the screens orders a side-by-side placement, but the waters that would occupy the center are discontinuous. Instead, the voyage is accomplished through the mediating physical position of the viewer.

Whether the owner of this screen pair was Hideyoshi himself or an elite samurai in his circle, sea travel was in the realm of the known. Hideyoshi mounted two invasions of Korea in the 1590s. Crossing from coastal waters into rough seas was a lived experience for daimyo required to lead the action. Crossing the seas and absorbing the geographic and cultural spaces of Korea and China defined Hideyoshi's ambitions. The elephant and the chaise-palanquin pictured here were likely modeled on gifts to Hideyoshi, the chaise given by the Portuguese in 1591,[15] the elephant by Spanish envoys from Manila in 1597.[16] There is an ordering of the figures in the "Macao" screen, too, that speaks to ambition: the Portuguese circulate through these screens with ease and confidence, while the Chinese characters tarry within ornamented halls, almost like birds in gilded cages.

In discussing the Naizen screens in Kobe, Mari Takamatsu has explored the idea that the culturally ambiguous figure seated in the hybrid Chinese hall is a projection of Hideyoshi himself as world conqueror.[17] The inclusion of the elephant and palanquin are then Hideyoshi attributes confirming his international status. In the screens in this exhibition, the figure in question is distinct from all others. While the screen abounds with action, and even those Portuguese distinguished as leaders are ordinary men engaged in conversation, gesture, curious gazes backward—this one figure sits quietly, unobstructed, and in an attitude of contemplation. He looks out on the Portuguese pageantry, while beauties fill his halls. Even if not screens meant for Hideyoshi's specific consumption—and in comparison to the Kobe screens, these are less detailed—they surely speak to confidence, wealth, and possession.

TRADE SCREENS SITUATED FULLY IN JAPAN: THE BRUNDAGE, BURKE, AND PEABODY ESSEX SCREENS

Most numerous among trade screens are those that take place fully in Japan. The present exhibition offers three of these. Their right-hand screens show a Japanese port, with Japanese town folk and Portuguese traders circulating through streets and shops. This port is generally thought to be Nagasaki, with its harbor deep enough for the huge ocean-faring craft and its growing population of Jesuits and Portuguese.[18] Their left-hand screens center on the freighter at anchor and small boats receiving cargo for transport to shore. The ships teem with activity as sailors move about the decks and fill the riggings with strange acrobatic maneuvers. While the Peabody Essex example is now a single screen, it follows the left-hand composition of the type thoroughly, thus suggesting that the lost right-hand screen would have shown the Japanese port. Both the Brundage and the Burke screens are Edo-period successors to a screen pair in the Sannomaru Shozokan Collection of the Imperial Household Collections, which date to the Keichō era (1596–1615), or late Momoyama period. The Peabody Essex screen is an Edo-period successor to Keichō-era screens in private hands ("K-family Version" in Japan and a two-panel fragment in the Gwinnet Collection, Australia).[19]

EXPRESSIONS OF HIERARCHY: THE AVERY BRUNDAGE COLLECTION SCREENS

The pair in San Francisco is full sized, measuring 147.6 by 316.2 centimeters per screen, and it is typical in its presentation of a trade encounter taking place wholly in Japan (plates 25a–b). Hues of red, green, and black, supported by broad expanses of gold foil, establish the color palette. On the right, we look into a mix of Japanese structures, their inhabitants revealed from the side via the opening of sliding door panels, rolled-up *sudare* screens, placement in open doorways, and seating positions on verandas (plate 25b). Portuguese traders enter town from the left, bearing a variety of luxury goods, while Jesuit and Franciscan priests are poised to greet them. The Jesuit mission was an important consumer of European luxury goods, as it needed them as gifts for Japanese elites.[20] Town architecture extends to the left-hand

screen, tying the composition together. Land becomes shore and in the waters a carrack sits at anchor, four launches ferrying people and goods (plate 25a).

Izumi Mari, who has written on these screens, connects their richness of incident with Keichō-era genre screens that similarly explore town life.[21] Additionally, Izumi points to specific groups of figures deriving from pictorial conventions for divine and legendary figures. One of these is the figure beneath a pine posed with a mountain goat on the right screen. The answering curves of the two forms and their eye contact strongly recalls depictions of Jurōjin, a Japanese divinity of good fortune, and his deer companion. In those images, the picture is a figure painting, the divinity and his attributes centered with landscape elements offering setting. In this trade screen, the model of Jurōjin and the deer are reduced in scale, adapted, and then imported into the screen as one of many figural groups.

The Brundage screens amply demonstrate how much Kanō painters relied on such conventions. Apprentices learned to paint by copying *funpon*, or model images, which ingrained core Kanō images and brush techniques.[22] While Kanō style was rooted in essentially Chinese subjects and brush methods, it included fundamentally Japanese styles as well in order to cater to the multiple interests of wealthy samurai. The painter of the Brundage screens reveals knowledge of multiple past examples of trade screens, genre screens, and conventions for legendary figures of both Chinese and Japanese type. The sumptuous gold and color here originates in Japanese style, while figural groups and architecture indicate Chinese-style models.

The expressions of hierarchy among the figures here is quite notable. Height is both a physical attribute and a signifier of status, where important figures

Fig. 2: Seal of Kanō Naizen (detail, plate 1b, panel 6, private collection).

Fig. 3: Young attendant and older man (detail, plate 25a, panel 1, Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, Avery Brundage Collection).

have short attendants who read as both youths and servants. The samurai standing in an open doorway, panel one (plate 25b.3); the old man in the temple gate, panel three; and in panel four, the leader of the Portuguese party (plate 25b.2); are all enhanced by attendants, that last one minding a small dog on a leash. In this last group, a man of dark complexion holding a parasol over the Portuguese leader further confirms status. Such parasols abound in Asian imagery, stemming from their use in India as status symbols and their visual export to China through Buddhist imagery. In addition, the Portuguese actually used such parasols in their Indian territories, assimilating this ancient practice into their own expressions of power. A surviving example in Japan suggests that Portuguese continued their use there.[23]

Buddhist conventions seem to inform many vignettes in this scene of Portuguese arrival. This is not surprising: in Buddhist depiction more than anywhere else, Japanese painters had models for how to paint foreigners. The Portuguese leader referred to above embodies this strategy. The most striking features of his face—the large rounded eyes with the extended ink line shaping the upper lid, the high, full nose, and the prominent ear adorned with gold hoop earring—suggests a model in depictions of Bodhidharma, native of India and founder of Zen Buddhism. Overlay this with the figure's tight body attitude, the hands held stiffly against the chest and the animated lines of drapery, and there are hints of conventions for the historical Buddha, Sakyamuni, coming down from the mountains after his failed attempt to achieve enlightenment through severe austerities. Not yet a Buddha, he too wears the hoop earring in the many conventional depictions of this theme. While this Sakyamuni type buries his hands in his sleeves, our Portuguese leader's are revealed. His hands are clenched, one above the other, the position recalling the "wisdom fist" mudra. Mudras are a vocabulary of symbolic hand gestures; the wisdom fist, where the fingers of the left hand wrap around the index figure of the right, indicates the five senses plus the mind. This gesture is especially striking when we consider that the hands of the surrounding Portuguese are purposefully obscured in their sleeves.

Hierarchy is described through seated positions as well. On shore, in the first panel of the left screen, the man who matters is clearly the gentleman seated in the elaborate Chinese chair, treasure displayed before him (plate 25a.2). Forward of him, a fellow Portu-

guese sits on the ground, which visually reduces his mass and places him in subservient position. To the opposite side, we are again presented attendant figures: a pair of dogs and a pair of Portuguese in each case so overlapped as to communicate that they are masses not individuals. The forward standing attendant is a slim youth and his partner a much older man, suggesting a pairing common in Buddhism of the young monk Ananda with the old monk Kasyapa (fig. 3). The older man brings one arm forward into the crook of the young man's elbow; a bit of a tug, and the younger man's hands could slide together, palms pressed, into the conventional gesture of reverence.

A similar throning is offered onboard the Portuguese carrack. The most venerable man sits before a standing Chinese screen, raised and at his ease (plate 25a.1). He sits high, so that the top edge of his red hat connects visually with the standing attendant figures entering from the right. These three bear offerings of lacquer and ceramic, two on trays, and all held raised to the chest. The old man—the captain—exceeds all other figures aboard the ship in implied mass, his shoulders broader and his head much larger than those around him. To either side of him are two pairs of seated Portuguese men in rough symmetry, their forms carefully calibrated to express their subservience. A trove of cargo is spread before him. The captain sits vaguely cross-legged, a cup held to his chest, while an attendant to his left waits ready with a raised ewer. In this vignette the Chinese/Buddhist vocabulary of hierarchy is fully deployed.

The painter here drew on more than just Buddhist conventions. The procession of Portuguese and their attendants who follow emphatically recall Chinese images of tribute bearers, bringing both objects and animals of value and wonder (plate 25b.1). In this case, the objects borne into the Japanese town, including the long lacquered box for a hanging scroll and the powerful horse, indicate that these treasures come from China. In fifteenth-century Japan and during the time of the Ashikaga shoguns, Japan received Chinese embassies that brought gifts from the emperor in colorful and impressive retinues. Now, with Japan no longer connected to China through diplomacy, the Portuguese become the bearers of what continued to be the objects most valued in Japan—Chinese luxuries.

This is not to say that the painter wishes to glorify the Portuguese leadership with these depictive strategies; rather, conventional imagery surely provided inspiration for how to tackle important characteristics of this relatively new narrative in Japanese painting. The painter is posed with multiple problems: the depiction of foreigners and the expression of hierarchy among them. Conventions scaffold the development of novel figures and scenes, and using multiple sources of inspiration helps to neutralize the traditional iconographies.

The Portuguese figures in these screens have a distinctive appearance that Izumi characterizes as somewhat "sinister." Izumi points to the shape of the eye and the downward tip of the outer point, the red lips, often slightly parted, the facial wrinkles, and the general sagging of the features.[24] But, this "otherness" also appears qualified. The Portuguese are humanized through the frequent use of "direct address," wherein figures face forward, eyes trained on the viewer. Such figures create a sense of connection with the viewer that is compellingly affective. These screens have only fourteen Japanese figures, all in the right-hand screen, but their presence invites comparison with the Portuguese. The nine women conform to Japanese conventions of beauty. The trio out walking in the lower right, right-hand screen, though, suggest

Fig. 4: Japanese women in Portuguese-inspired veils (detail, plate 25b, panel 1, Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, Avery Brundage Collection).

a Portuguese-inspired fashionability in their covered heads, particularly the two ladies in white whose figured fabrics suggest lace (fig. 4).

The Japanese males, however, show greater affinity with the Portuguese. Many of the facial features share basic forms, with the Japanese versions given in reduced size. The three mature Japanese men wear thin mustaches and goatees, their eyebrows are long and full at the outer tips, and hair covers the head and invades the face through long sideburns. Only the eye shape remains ethnically distinct. The samurai standing in the doorway of the right-hand screen displays both the styling of hair and ambiguities of clothing. What in the past would have been a campaign coat is now a lightweight vest, draping with a swing along the bottom edge. He and his page wear narrow ruffled collars close to the neck. The kimono is dramatically edged in red, which connects these Japanese with the Jesuits whose robe plackets are trimmed in red. In earlier trade screens, samurai are shown adopting

Fig. 5: Woman working silk thread (detail, plate 36b, panel 1, Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation).

specific articles of Portuguese clothing, which was fashionable in the days before suspicion and expulsion edicts. Here, the Portuguese-like elements blend with the Japanese, making this samurai a kind of hybrid figure that bridges the two cultural spheres.

SCENES IN AND AROUND THE PORT: THE MARY AND JACKSON BURKE FOUNDATION SCREENS

The Burke Foundation screens offer a similar composition (plates 36a–b). Measuring approximately 105 by 260 centimeters each, they are roughly two-thirds the height of standard room screens. These measurements are due in part to trimming across the top, which clips the full height of the carrack masts and the rooflines of the farther buildings.[25] The essential compositional features that establish kinship with the Brundage screens are the general disposition of the buildings, the pronounced rounding of the carrack's hull, and the placement of the converted church in the upper right, right screen.[26] But, the Brundage and Burke screens differ in their essential interests. Where the Brundage screens explore themes of hierarchy and display, these screens abound in genre detail. Where the Brundage screens offer iconic vignettes, the Burke screens give us scenes of leisure, commerce, and worship.

The right-hand screen immediately announces its topic interests: in the foreground, bottom, we have a group of well-to-do Japanese strolling, a shop where a woman works silk thread, and, at the top, a church compound peopled by Japanese, Jesuits, and Franciscan priests. In the screen's center, a Portuguese group enters town. To the left, shops raised on piles extend over the water, while another party of Japanese tourists strolls under trees and foreign grooms manage a pair of horses. On the left-hand screen, we move to a spit of land where cargo is off-loaded and the great Portuguese freighter sits at anchor.

This is a lively port town. The paired shops over the water show one Portuguese examining a bolt of fabric, while opposite him a man calculates on an abacus (plate 36b.1). Bundles of rolled fabrics and an accounts book complete the scene. In the next shop over we see scales for weighing and pricing; the owner is looking out his window, waiting for customers. While the architecture is Japanese, the figures all appear Portuguese, suggesting that cargo was first reckoned by agents settled in the Japanese port. The woman working thread at the right is further evidence of the importance of silk fabric to commerce (fig. 5). Usually in trade screens of this type, Catholic priests meet the Portuguese shore-party entering town. Here, the story is in progress and the news is being spread. The group enters led by two pages and a man who calls out; he is answered by a mix of priests in a church building and a pair of figures in the church gate. The welcoming priests are not yet assembled in the road, and we have instead the exotic revelation of a trio of strolling Chinese beauties with their pet mountain goats (plate 36b.2). Chinese luxuries and exotica define the cargo Portuguese traders brought to Japan: the presence of these ladies and their peculiar pets are harbingers of treasures to come.

This pair of screens offers a striking contrast of activity and rest, an adjunct to the larger narrative of arrival. The left screen is dominated by the carrack at anchor, its open decks filled with lounging Portuguese (plate 36a.1). On shore, a group of Portuguese and priests awaits the unloading of cargo. The brown-clad and bare-footed monks settle back on a tray-like bench of Chinese flavor, and three Portuguese, two seated on the ground, one leaning on a standard, are as static as the cargo piled around them (plate 36a.3). Activity is largely reserved to the right-hand screen, where we await the climax of meeting. The strong diagonal composition of figures from lower right to upper left establishes an axis of movement through the whole screen. Seated figures in this screen are engaged through conversation, activity, or gaze. Overlapping buildings in staggered formation and overlapping figures in lively conversation speak to the many facets of a bustling port city. The wealth of detail and variety in the architecture, clothes, and figure types further enlivens the port scene.

Earlier trade screens showed marked interests in the rituals and trappings of the Jesuit priests. These later screens are typical in their more casual approach, which may well have to do with the changing politics in Japan at the time. While the black-robed Jesuits held the majority interest in Japan, brown-clad Fran-

Fig. 6: Men playing *go* (detail, plate 36b, panel 2, Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation).

ciscans also proselytized and often associated with their more numerous brethren. Here the two types circulate through the church buildings in near equal numbers, with a few Japanese men as well, as though the painter foremost sought visual variety. Two Jesuits in the upper right wear or carry large crosses (plate 36b.3). They enter a room featuring an ink landscape, where three men pray with rosaries wrapped around their hands. No other ritual equipment is apparent and the ink painting takes the place of a depiction of Jesus, which earlier screens pictured. In the next room over, Portuguese and Japanese play *go*, a game similar in concept to chess (fig. 6). One last church building, occupied by the group of figures calling back to the shore-party herald, shows a book on a lectern written in the vertical rows of Japanese script. The lectern, a box, and a tray of scrolls sit on a low built-in desktop typical of Japanese *shoin* architecture. In this nanban church, ritual and scholarship are suggested, but the references are incomplete, even somewhat casual. Instead, we have genre scenes of lively human interaction and the narrative of visitors.[27]

In the Burke screens, there are no definitive poles of power. Where the Brundage screens offered three distinct Portuguese leaders, here, in every case the single focal point is replaced by a pair. The two Portuguese leading the trading party into town chat with one another, eyes engaged, one with hand raised in gesture. A dark-skinned attendant shelters the pair with a parasol, but this one speaks more to utility than power: it is sized to just cover the men, it ruffles in the breeze, and the servant gazes casually behind him. The parasol is a decorative thing and offers a kind of product comparison with the one used by the Japanese strollers who travel the same diagonal line. These Japanese are elites, as indicated by their palanquins and parasol, but the status message is muted. Their parked palanquins are obscured behind bushes and their Japanese parasol is an aid to leisure.

NATURALIZING THE CARRACK: THE PEABODY ESSEX SCREEN

The Peabody Essex screen poses interesting questions of composition since it is at present a single screen (plate 48). Screens are generally made as pairs, thus we have to assume that a mate has been lost. Measuring 167.8 by 346.2 centimeters, the screen is of typical proportions. The color palette shows dark tones and muted hues, set off by bands of cut gold-foil clouds. The composition of this screen largely follows that of the left-hand screens of the previous two pairs, though balanced differently. Here, the anchored carrack occupies the left three panels, the spit of land for unloading the right three panels. Like the Brundage and Burke screens, the carrack has a pronounced rounding through the hull. As before, launches ferry people and goods.

This screen mines the vocabulary of author-

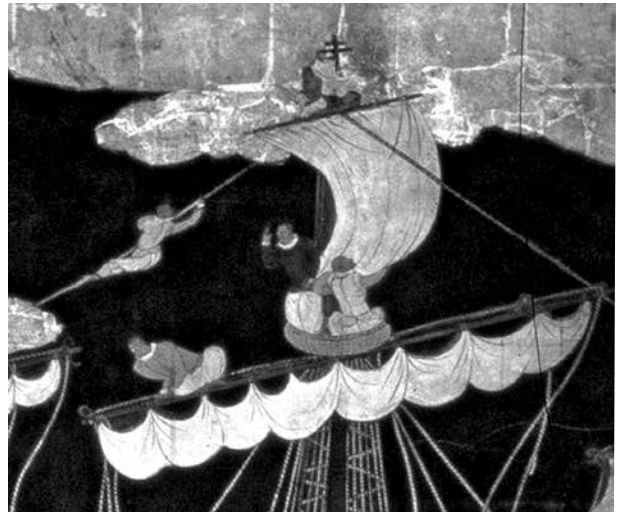


Fig. 7: Acrobatic shipmates in carrack's rigging (detail, plate 48, panel 5, Peabody Essex Museum).

ity. Aboard ship, the captain-major is set off by his elaborate chair, which is gold-trimmed and canopied (plate 48.1). Dressed in black and at his leisure, his attendant kneels at the ready. On shore, a pair of distinguished figures directs unloading (plate 48.2). These gentlemen sit in Chinese chairs and rest their feet on tray-like footrests. Each man has two standing attendants: one bears a broad parasol (one is deployed), the other a standard. A fifth, bare-headed figure, approaches carrying a jar that he raises up to his chest, as though in offering. This screen offers many well-dressed Portuguese threaded through the scene, who wear generally dark clothes trimmed with gold, heavy necklaces with pendant crosses, and hats.

The carrack is a curious thing, its embellishments of woodwork suggesting that the painter turned to familiar Japanese conventions to ornament the unknown. The ship prow and stern show a frieze-like row of ogee arches that are decorative, rather than functional windows (plate 48.3). These suggest the

painter took recourse in Japanese architectural forms, where the decorative panel ogee arch is familiar in Zen temples. The fanciful curling cloud forms, too, point to carved decoration from Japanese frieze panels for gates and other architectural uses. Even the stern of the boat and its open-grille "ocean-viewing platform," depicted often on carracks, owes to Japanese architecture in the structure of its pent roof, the grille of slim struts, and the veranda rail. That this foreign ship is a queer thing for the painter is further attested to by the great tangle of rigging and bizarre acrobatics performed by the shipmates (fig. 7).

The screen offers something not seen in other depictions of ship unloading: a pointed contrast of Portuguese and Japanese. In the foreground waters, two launches of roughly equal size head to shore. One is Japanese; one is Portuguese. The contrast is both in the passengers and the boats themselves. The Portuguese in his foreign craft is closer to shore; the Japanese couple observes the carrack from their Japanese boat. Neither boat ferries goods. The Portuguese gentleman is centered, a dark-skinned sailor working the rudder at the back while a smaller figure acts as lookout. To the left, the Japanese couple sits centered and forward, attended by a Japanese sailor working a long rudder. The lady has a lace-like drape over her head, and a smaller Japanese figure shelters her with a parasol. This vignette was undoubtedly added later to the screen, as it is outside the conventional narrative, but the desire to compare is consistent with Edo-period interests.[28]

All three of these screens explore the idea of trade with the Portuguese as experienced in Japan. By devoting one screen to the port town and the other to the carrack and its immediate unloading, the painter has ample room to explore the spectacle of arrival, the wonder of the treasures revealed, and the nature of the visitors in dress and action. Japanese conventions support the painter in the depiction of the novel, but the compositional type also itself became a known quantity in its many iterations through the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries.

CONCLUSION

Trade screens offered Japanese collectors wealthy enough to purchase them fodder for the imagination and ambition. In the first wave of screens of the Keichō era, leading Kanō painters gave elite samurai images of cosmopolitan concourse, acquisition, and wealth. Finely drawn, the painters cleaved to the closely observed details of Portuguese sailors, Jesuit missionaries, and Catholic ritual in Kyoto as well as in the southern domains of Kyushu. Kanō Naizen's screens reflect this era in the meaningful representations he provides of both the foreigners and their activities.

In the early Edo period, trade screens entered the repertoire of town-based Kanō painters catering to an expanded clientele. Often, these later screens rely more on conventional treatments—whether drawn from genre painting or iconic expressions of hierarchy—and the figures are broader in gesture and expression, dress and features. Their scenes venture more fully into the fanciful, where Chinese ladies walk their pet goats through Japanese ports, and Portuguese sailors have eyes like Indian sages. Wealthy merchants surely enjoyed the valorization of commerce while at the same time appreciating trade screens as part of the armature of seasonal rituals expressing hopes for future prosperity.

By the later seventeenth century, trade screens were no more. Times changed, and expulsion edicts drove first the missionaries and then the Iberian traders out of Japan. Internationalism gave way to insularity. The Japanese continued to trade with Europeans, but through the Dutch, who professed no interest in proselytizing or political gain. The Japanese handled the Dutch very differently, confining them to a small manmade island in Nagasaki Bay and embarking on a limited exchange of goods. To experience the Dutch, a Japanese person would have to travel to Nagasaki and gain special permission, or gawk from afar when the Dutch trade mission made its annual visit to the authorities. Under new political realities in Japan, foreign trade became a very different thing, with new images and iconographies.

1. See Pedro Moura Carvalho's "The Circulation of European and Asian Works of Art in Japan, circa 1600" and Rory Browne's "Priests, Pachyderms, and Portuguese: Animal Exchange in the Age of Exploration" in the present catalogue for more on this topic.

2. The Japanese literature employs a variety of names for this screen type: *nanbanjin bōeki zu* (nanban trade paintings); *nanbanjin torai zu* (nanban arrival paintings); *nanbanjin jōriku zu* (nanban landing paintings); and, later, *kurofune byōbu* (black ship screens). I am essentially following the first of these naming conventions. For a good introduction to trade screens in English, see Yukio Lippit, "Japan's Southern Barbarian Screens," in *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, ed. Jay A. Levenson, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2007), 244–53 and 294–96. Lippit discusses these labels on page 248.

3. The seals here read *Kanō Naizen* and *Shigesato*.

4. Sakamoto Mitsuru, Izumi Mari, et al., *Nanban byōbu shusei* [A catalogue raisonné of the nanban screens] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2008). This count includes fragments.

5. Ibid. Sixteen screens are collected into a fourth group as "trading with foreign merchants." This is a heterogeneous group with no Keichō-era predecessors.

6. For more on the Kanō system see, for instance, Karen Gerhart, "Talent, Training, and Power: The Kanō Painting Workshop in the Seventeenth Century," in *Copying the Master and Stealing His Secrets: Talent and Training in Japanese Painting*, ed. Brenda Jordan and Victoria Weston (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 9–30 and Yoshiaki Shimizu, "Workshop Management of the Early Kanō Painters, ca. AD 1530–1600," *Archives of Asian Art* 34 (1981): 32–47.

7. Narusawa Katsushi, "Kanō Naizen kō," *Kobe shiritsu hatsubutsukan kenkyū kiyō* 2 (1985): 3–15.

8. Lippit explores this aspect of the screens and the arguments made by Japanese scholars ("Southern Barbarian Screens," 251–53), as does Anna Jackson in "Visual Responses: Depicting Europeans in East Asia," in *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer, exh. cat. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2004), 200–217. Takamizawa's research shows that extant screens overwhelmingly came, not from Kyushu, but from cities along the Japan Sea and Inland Sea. See Okamoto Ryōchi and Takamizawa Tadao, *Nanban byōbu*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kajima Kenkyūjo Shuppankai, 1970) and "Paravents namban," in *Nanban ou l'Européisme japonais, XVI-XVII siècles* (Paris: Musée Cernuschi, 1980). Also Narusawa Katsushi, "Nanban byōbu no tenkai," in *Nanban kenbunroku* (Kobe: Kobe City Museum, 1992), 84. This idea is now widely accepted.

9. See René B. Javellana, SJ, "The Invention of an Icon: From Francisco Xavier of Navarre to San Francisco, Patron of Missions and Apostle to the Indies," in the present catalogue for a discussion of Jesuit strategies in Japan.

10. Lippit, "Southern Barbarian Screens," 247–48 citing Izumi Mari, "Tōsen zu no keishō: 'Taisokkan zu byōbu o megutte,'" *Fiorika* 5 (Mar. 1988): 102–29.

11. Miyeko Murase, ed., *Turning Point: Oribe and the Arts of Sixteenth-Century Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 244–45.

12. The glaring exception, of course, is Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea in 1592 and 1597. Hideyoshi conceived a plan of Asian domination once his hegemony over the domains of Japan was largely secured. Korea was to be a stepping-stone to the eventual conquest of China.

13. Katsushi Narusawa, "Departure of the Nanbans," in *Turning Point*, 252–53.

14. Gerhart, "Talent, Training, and Power," 10–22.

15. Narusawa, "Departure of the Nanbans," 253.

16. Bernardino de Avila Giron, "Audience with Hideyoshi at Osaka, 1597," in *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543–1640*, ed. Michael Cooper (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1995), 113–14, 125. The elephant's name was Don Pedro.

17. Takamatsu Mari, "Kinsei shoki fuzokuga no poritiksu—Kanō Naizen 'Nanban byōbu' (Kobe shiritsu hakubutsukanzō) no kaishaku o chūshin ni," *Kajima Bijutsu Kenkyū*, no. 27 (Nov. 15, 2010): 515–27.

18. Identifying the Japanese port is nearly impossible because the depictions lack specific architectural and geographic detail. Murase notes, too, that unlike the typical Japanese images of famous places (*meisho-e*), they also eschew seasonal references (*Turning Point*, 246). She does argue for connecting trade screens to the broader tradition of *meisho-e* on the basis that the place is likely Nagasaki and the foreign ships and sailors provide the distinctive features.

19. Sakamoto, *Nanban byōbu shusei*, 394–97.

20. See Carvalho and Javellana in this catalogue.

21. Izumi, *Nanban byōbu shusei*, 350.

22. Jordan and Weston, *Copying the Master*.

23. See Carvalho in this catalogue. As he points out, parasols were specifically requested by Jesuit leaders in Japan, and one survives in the Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum, Nagasaki. Carvalho points also to contemporary engravings of Portuguese India by artists such as Linschoten, who show such parasols held by dark-skinned Indians over Portuguese strollers.

24. Izumi, *Nanban byōbu shusei*, 350.

25. According to Murase, referring to Takamizawa, about one foot was trimmed off the top, likely in order to remove explicit Christian references that could have been found on the ridge of the church. Murase, *Turning Point*, 246, and Takamizawa, *Nanban byōbu*, 1:126.

26. Izumi discusses this screen pair in *Nanban byōbu shusei*, 350–51, especially in connection to past precedents.

27. The central painting, where a Christian icon would be expected, is abraded and that plus the trimming across the top suggests purposeful editing to mute the Christian content. (As above, note 25.) Yet, the rosaries and worship remain, as does a flag on the carrack bearing a cross.

28. Izumi discusses this screen in *Nanban byōbu shusei*, 361–62. Izumi accepts, as do other scholars, Takamizawa's determination that these two boats are later additions and should be ignored. But, that a later owner should want to add this vignette is itself interesting.

PLATES

Plates are arranged to correspond to the exhibition's sections: The "Southern Barbarians" in Japan (1–7); The Nanban-Jin and the Lords of War (8–14); Japan in the World Map (15–24); Spiritual Beliefs: The Christian Mission (25–35); Earthly Goods (36–47); Asian Voyages (48–69).

1a. Nanban trade screen (*nanban byōbu*)
Attrib. Kanō Naizen (1570–1616)
Japan, c. 1600
Pair of six-panel screens; ink, color, gold, and gold leaf on paper; 175.9 x 377.8 cm (each)
Private collection

1b. Nanban trade screen (*nanban byōbu*)

Details of plate 1a, nanban trade screen, private collection

1a.1. Elephant and palanquin procession (*top*)
1a.2. Woman and men observing the procession (*bottom*)
1a.3. The black ship departing Macao

Details of plate 1b, nanban trade screen, private collection

1b.1. Flags and sailors onboard the carrack
1b.2. Shore-party entering town (*top*)
1b.3. Christian church with kneeling samurai (*bottom*)

2. Writing utensil box with figures of Europeans (*suzuribako*)
Japan, c. 1600–33
Wood with black and colored lacquer (*urushi*), raised gold and silver powder (*takamaki-e*), silver foil inlays (*kanagai*); 4.7 x 20 x 22.3 cm
Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation

3. *Inrō* (small tiered case) with Portuguese figures; dog-shaped netsuke
Japan, late 16th or 19th century (uncertain)
Case: Paulownia wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*); fastener (*ojime*): antler bead, 9.5 x 5.4 x 2.9 cm; netsuke: ivory; 2.5 x 4 x 1.6 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
The Harry G. C. Packard Collection of Asian Art, Gift of Harry G. C. Packard, and Purchase, Fletcher, Rogers, Harris Brisbane Dick, and Louis V. Bell Funds, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and the Annenberg Fund Inc. (1975.268.178/179)

4. Mirror with nanban figures (*e-kagami*)
Japan, early 17th century
Inscribed *Tenkaichi Sado* ("Sado: First under Heaven"); cast bronze; 20.2 x 9.6 (diam.) cm
Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation

5. Soldier's camp helmet (*jingasa*)
Japan, early 17th century
Brown lacquered hide and cloth with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*); 35 x 30 (diam.) cm
Jorge Welsh, Lisbon/London

6. Mask (*sōmen*) of a *nanban-jin*
Japan, late 16th/early 17th century
Iron with black and red lacquer (*urushi*); 21 x 17.5 cm
RA Collection

7. Nanban metal shoes
Japan, late 16th/early 17th century
Metal, traces of lacquer (*urushi*); cord; 8 x 24.5 x 10 cm
Private collection, Portugal

8. Portrait of Toyotomi Hideyoshi
Seishō Shōtai
Japan, 1599
Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk; 90.7 x 37.8 cm (image)/179.7 x 52 cm (overall)
Asian Art Museum, San Francisco
Gift and Purchase from the Harry G. C. Packard Collection Charitable Trust in honor of Dr. Shujiro Shimada (1991.61)

Correct orientation

9. Matchlock gun (*teppo*)
Japan, late 16th/early 17th century
Cast-iron barrel with brass (*sinchu hirazōgan*) and silver inlay (*nunome zōgan*); lacquered wooden stock; 105 cm (overall)/76 cm (barrel)/3.5 (diam.) cm (breach)/2.7 (diam.) cm (muzzle)
RA Collection

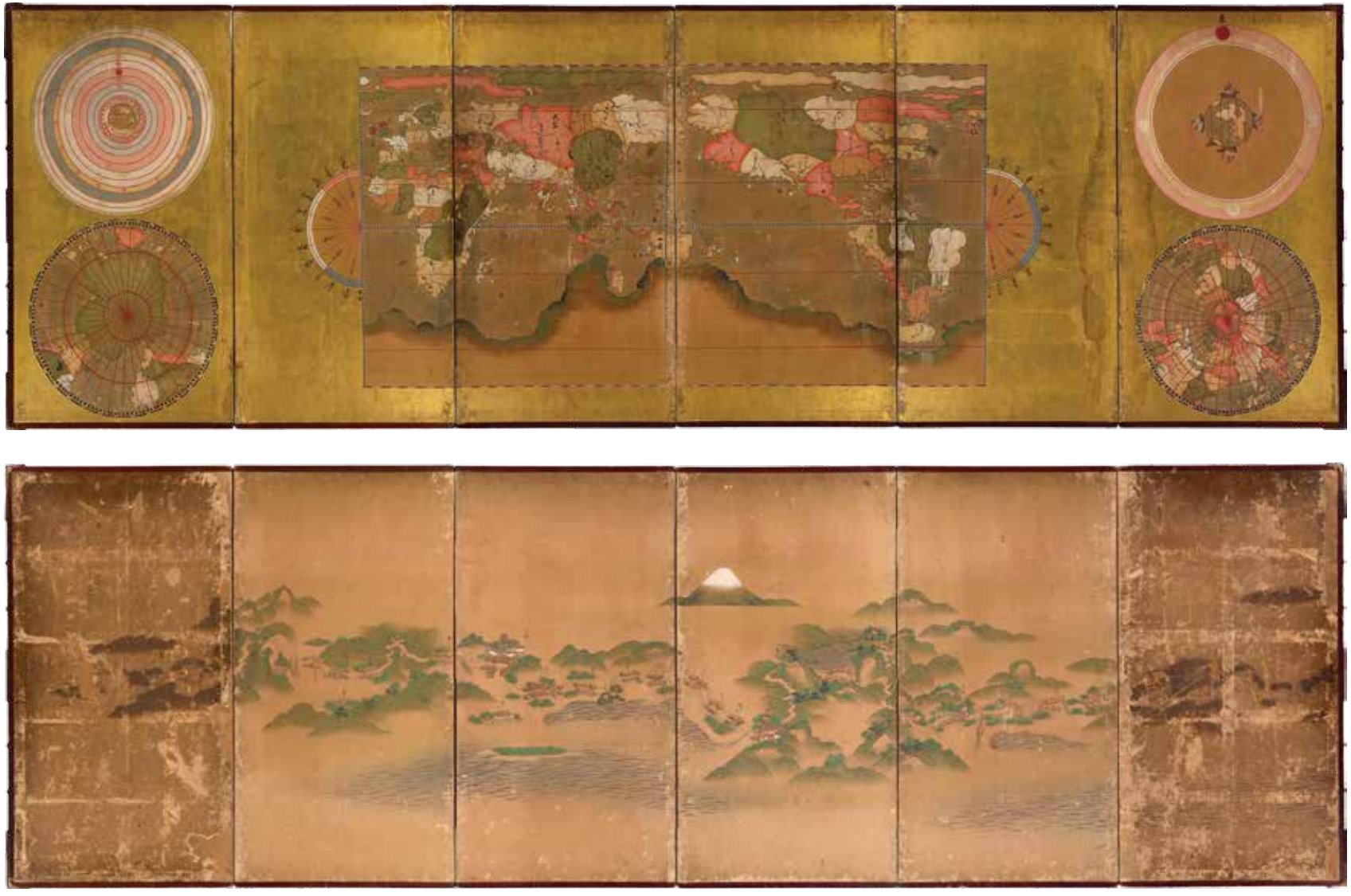
10. Stirrups (*abumi*)
Japan, late 16th/early 17th century
Iron inlaid with brass, copper, and silver; wood with lacquer (*urushi*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); 25 x 30 x 13 cm (each)
Private collection, Portugal

11. Iron helmet (*kabuto*)
Japan, late 16th/early 17th century
Hammered iron with embossed silver inlays (*nunome zōgan*), traces of green lacquer (*urushi*); 20 x 28.5 x 32 cm
Jorge Welsh, Lisbon/London

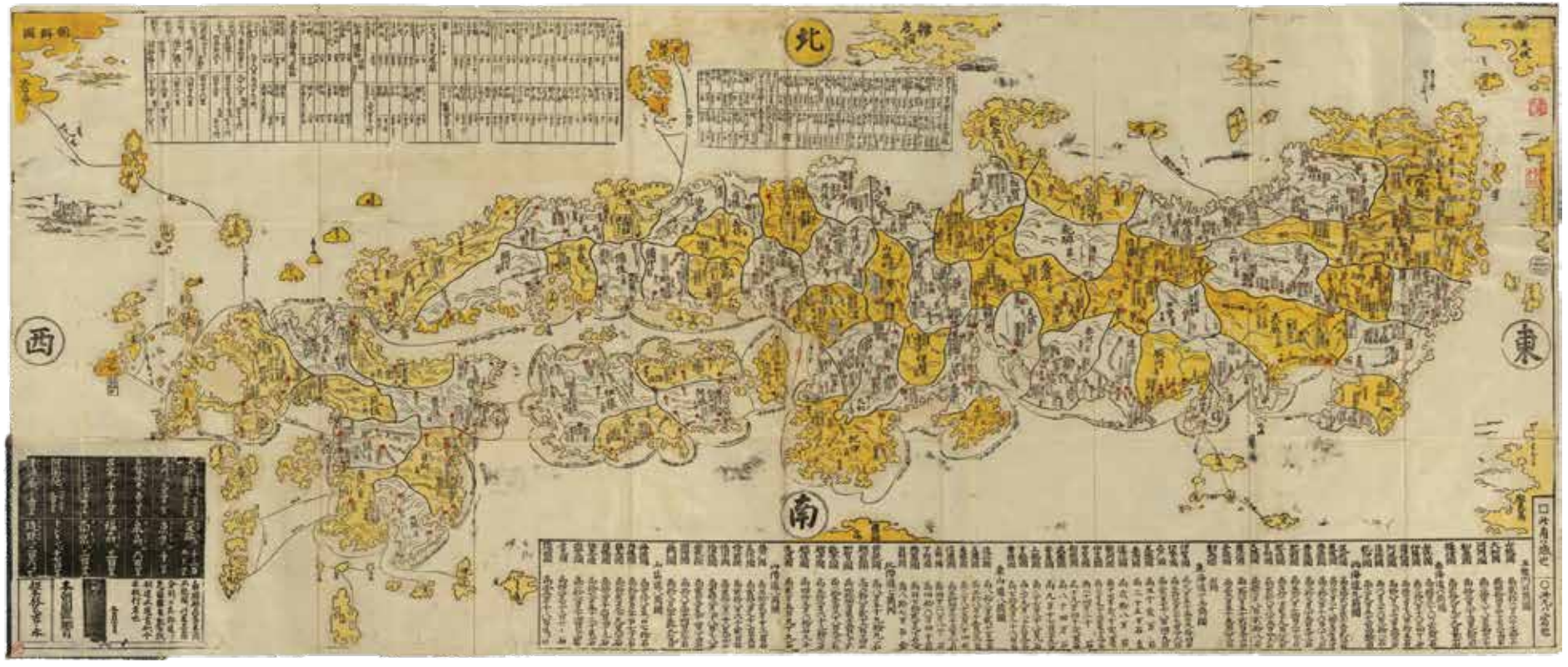
12. Nanban sword guard (*tsuba*) with "black ship"
Japan, late 16th/early 17th century
Iron with gold gilding; 7 (diam.) cm
Private collection, Portugal

13. Nanban sword guard (*tsuba*) with Portuguese figures and shouldered gun
Japan, late 16th/early 17th century
Iron; 7.5 (diam.) cm
Private collection, Portugal

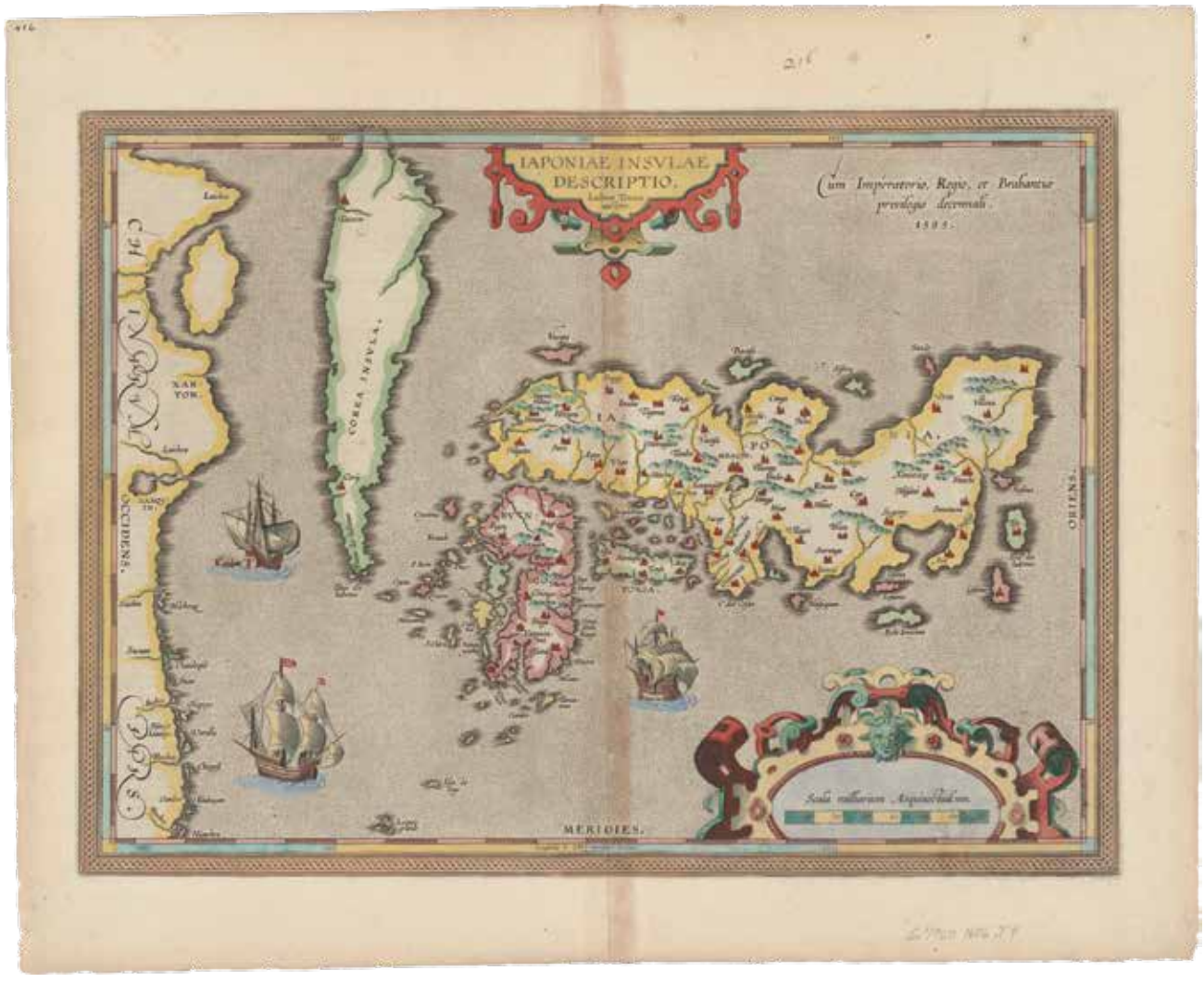
14. Nanban sword guard (*tsuba*) with Christian cross
Japan, late 16th/early 17th century
Iron with gold and bronze gilding; 8 (diam.) cm
Private collection, Portugal



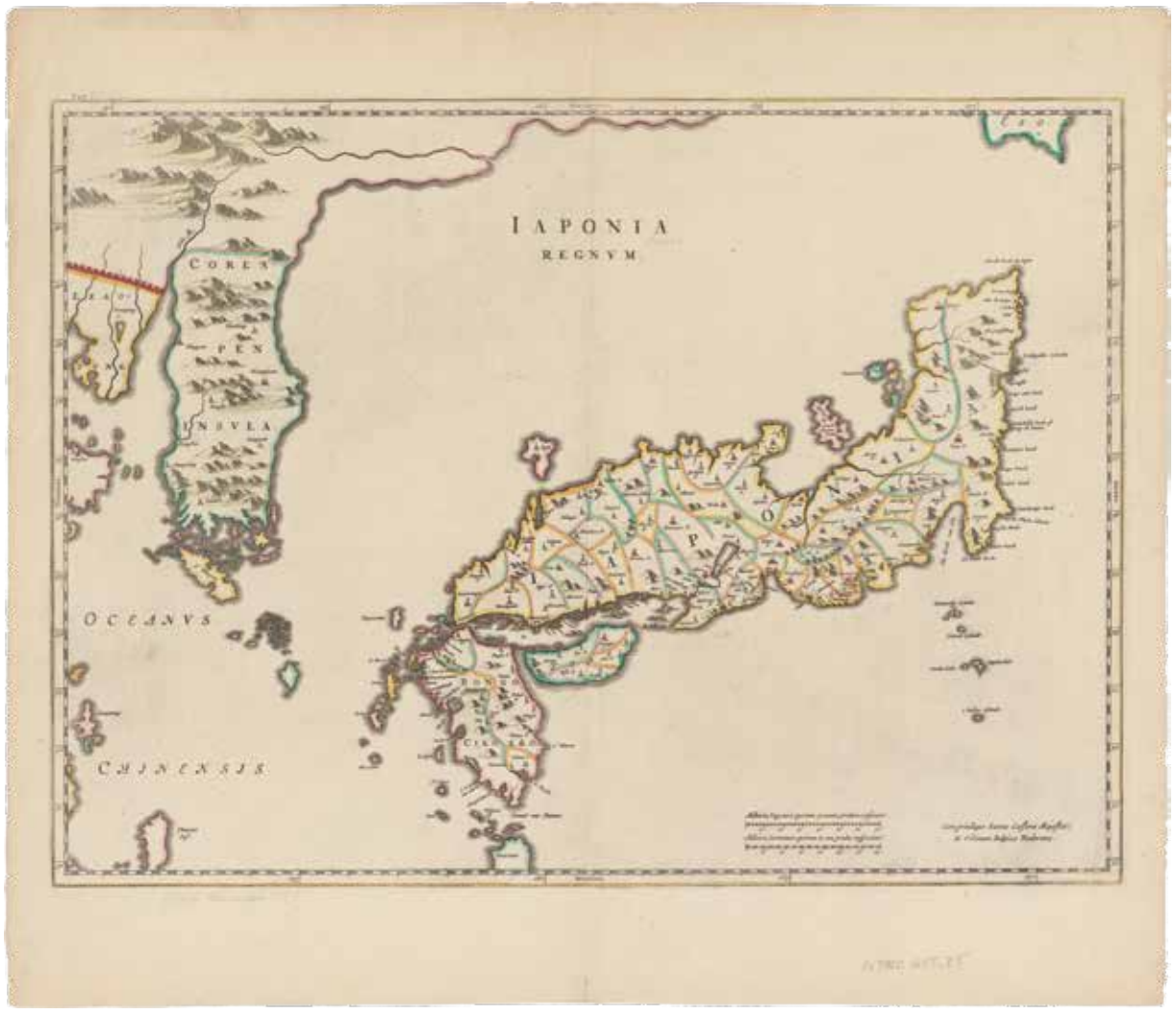
15a–b. Map of the world (*Sekaizu narabini Nihonzu byōbu*) (*recto*)/Map of the fifty-three stages of the Tōkaidō (*Tōkaidō Gojusantsugi Zu*) (*verso*)
Japan, c. 1640
Six-panel screen (one of a pair); ink, color, gold, and gold leaf on paper; 71 x 230 cm
C. V. Starr East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley (By/ma\obu 1)



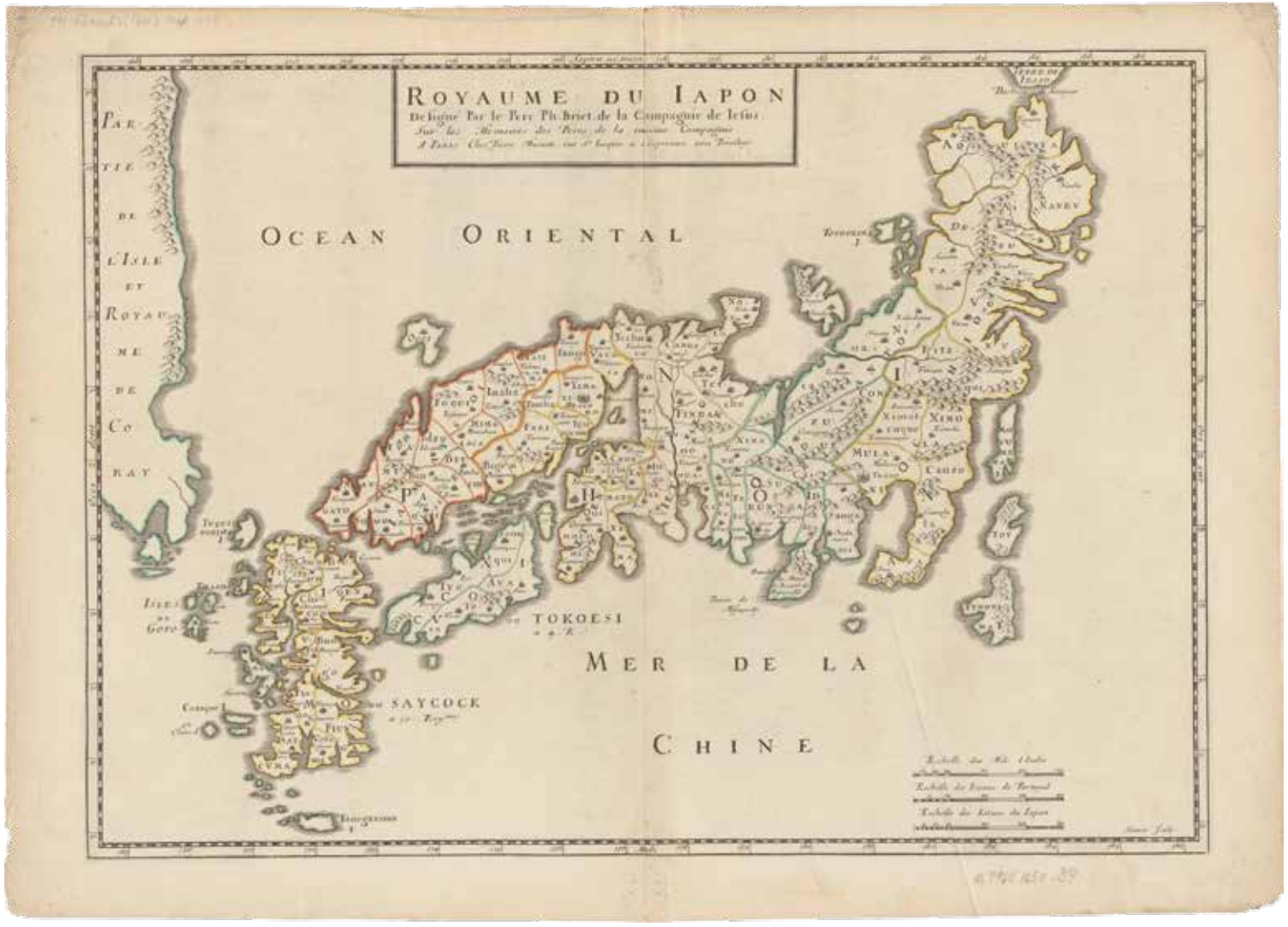
16. Map of Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu and their domains (*Shinpan Nihonkoku oezu*)
Yoshinaga Hayashi
Kyoto, 1630
Woodblock print, hand col.; 68 x 166 cm/24 x 18 cm (folded)
C. V. Starr East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley (Ca 11)



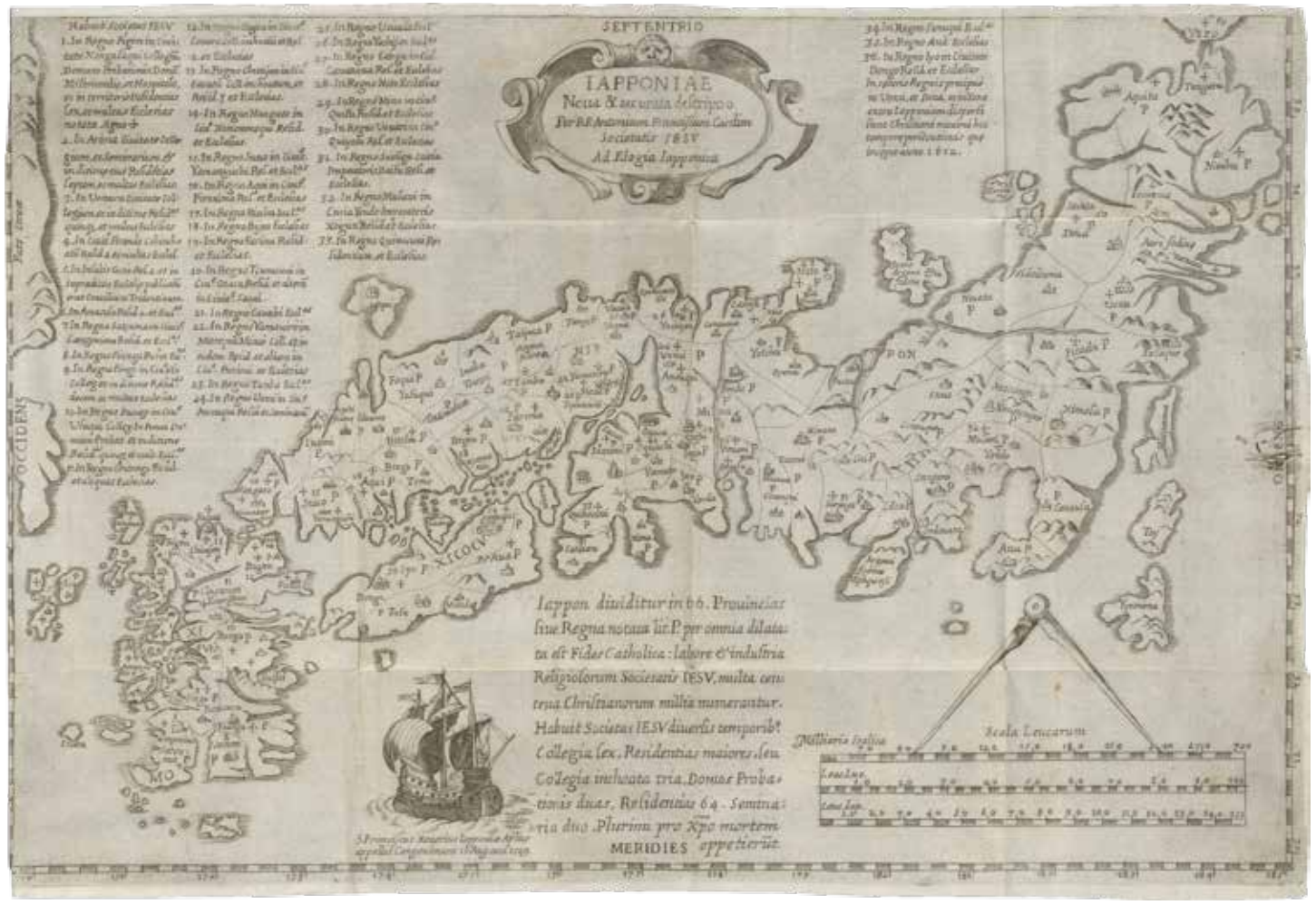
17. *Iaponiae insulae descriptio, Ludovico Teisera, auctore* (Representation of the island of Japan, by Luís Teixeira)
From Abraham Ortelius (1527–98), *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Theater of the world) (London: I. Norton, 1606)
Woodblock print, hand col.; 35.5 x 48 cm (image)/44 x 54.5 cm (sheet)
Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University (MAP-LC G7960 1606. T4)
Photograph courtesy of Harvard Map Collection



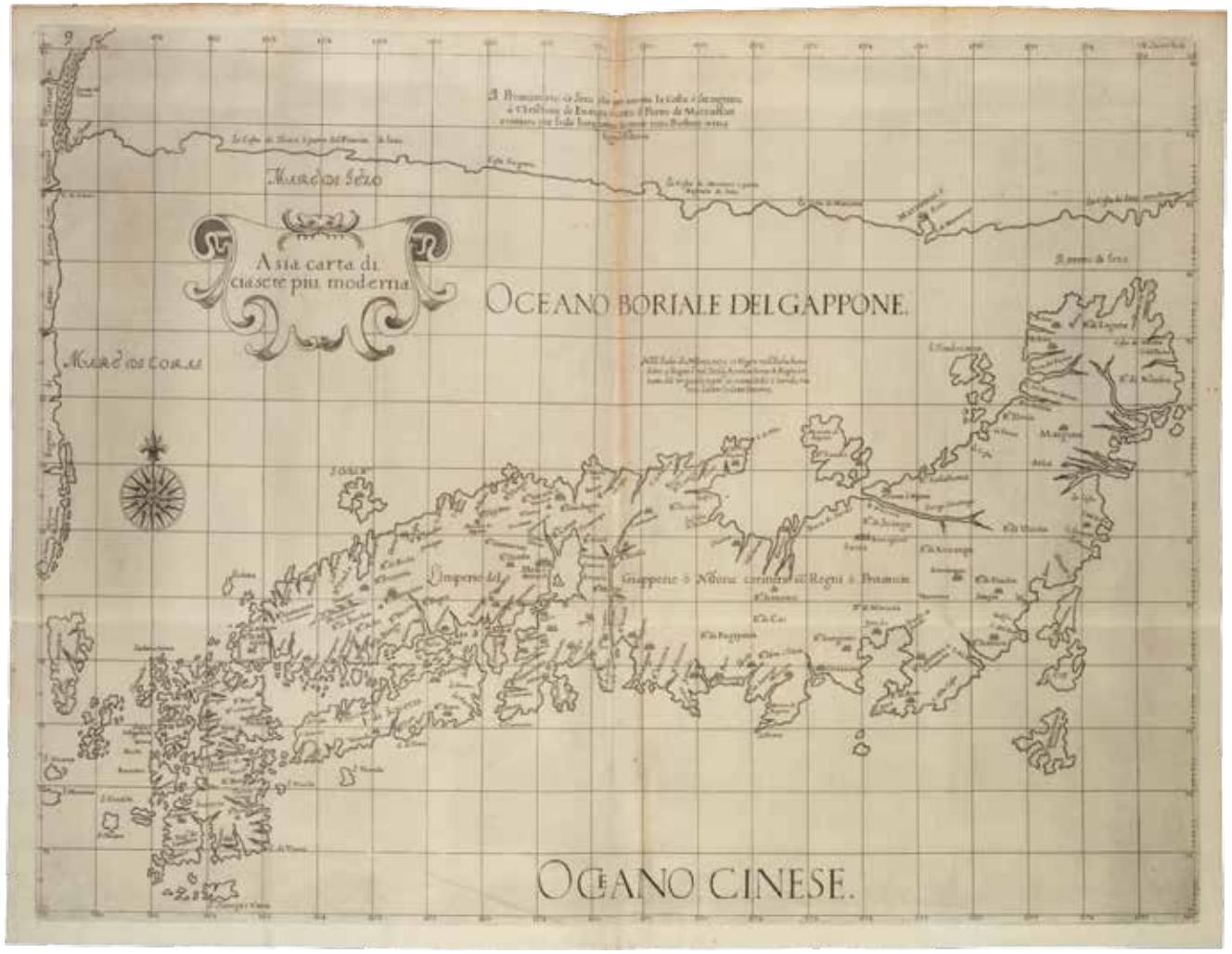
18. *Iaponia Regnum* (Kingdom of Japan)
From Joan Blaeu (1596–1673), *Theatrum orbis terrarum, sive Novus atlas* (Theater of the world; or, new atlas) (Amsterdam, 1655)
Woodblock print, hand col.; 41 x 56 cm (image)/53 x 61 cm (sheet)
Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University (MAP-LC G7960 1655. B5)
Photograph courtesy of Harvard Map Collection



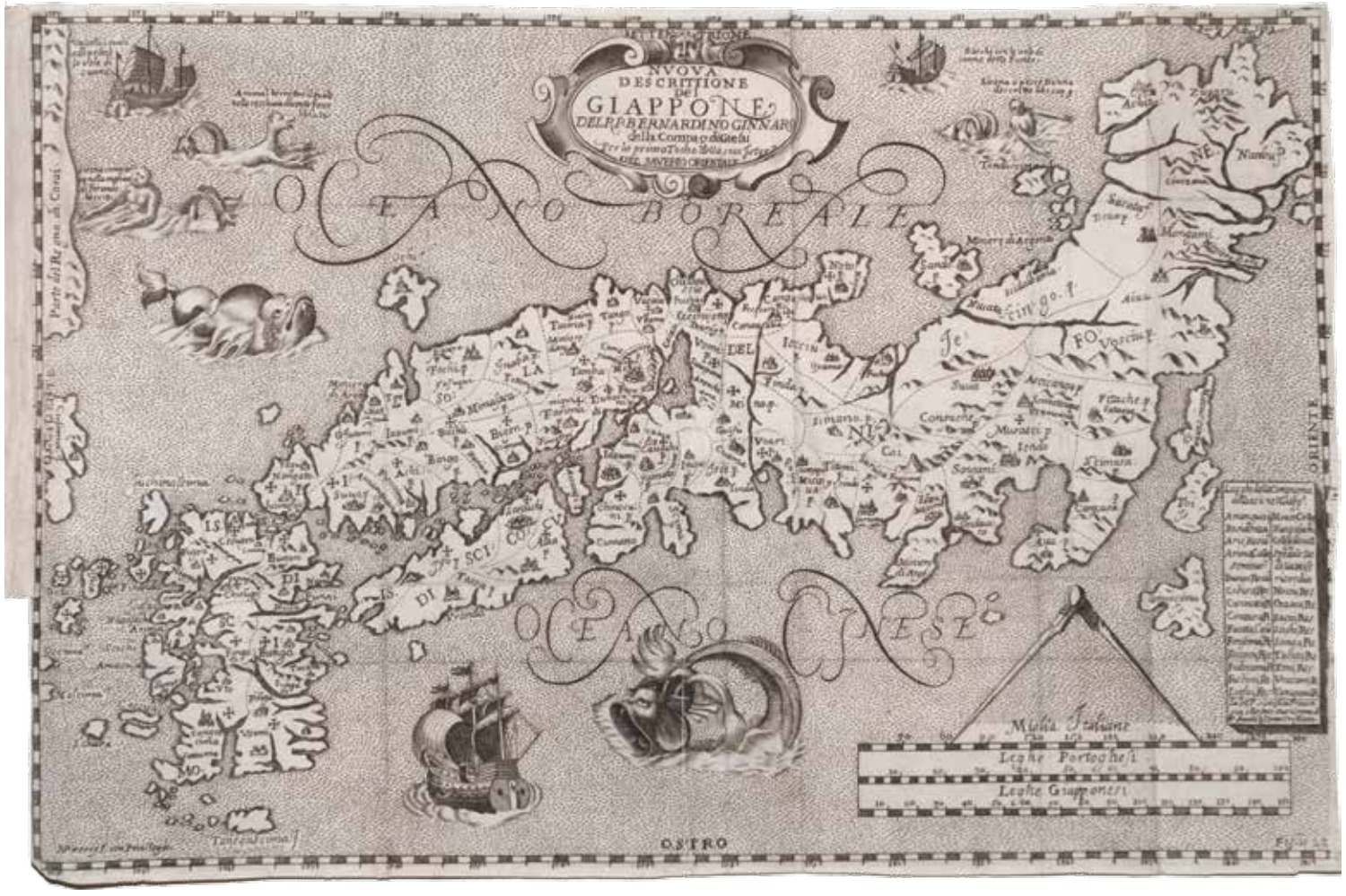
19. *Royaume du Iapon designé par le Père Ph. Briet de la Compagnie de Iesus* (Kingdom of Japan, designed by Father Philippe Briet, SJ)
Philippe Briet, SJ (1601–68) (Paris: Pierre Mariette, 1650)
Copperplate, hand col.; 37 x 52 cm (image)/42 x 58 cm (sheet)
Harvard Map Collection, Harvard University (MAP-LC G7960 1650. B7)
Photograph courtesy of Harvard Map Collection



20. *Iapponiae: Nova & accurata descriptio, Per R. P. Antonium Franciscum Cardim Societatis IESU, Ad Elogia Iappanica* (New and accurate representation of Japan, by Father Antònio Francisco Cardim, SJ, in praise of [the mission of] Japan)
From António Francisco Cardim, SJ (1596–1659), *Fasciculus e Iapponicis floribus, suo adhuc madentibus sanguine/compositus a P. Antonio Francisco Cardim è Societate Iesu, Provinciae Iapponiae ad Urbem Procuratore* (Bouquet of Japanese flowers [the martyrs of Japan] still dripping with blood, composed by Father António Francisco Cardim, SJ) (Rome: Typis Heredum Corbelletti, 1646)
Engraved on paper; 26.5 x 40.5 cm (sheet)/16 x 20 x 5.5 cm (book)
Houghton Library, Harvard University
Gift of John B. Stetson Jr., in memory of Aleixo de Queiroz Ribeiro de Sotomayor d'Almeida e Vasconcellos, Count of Santa Eulalia (*PC6 C1795 646f)

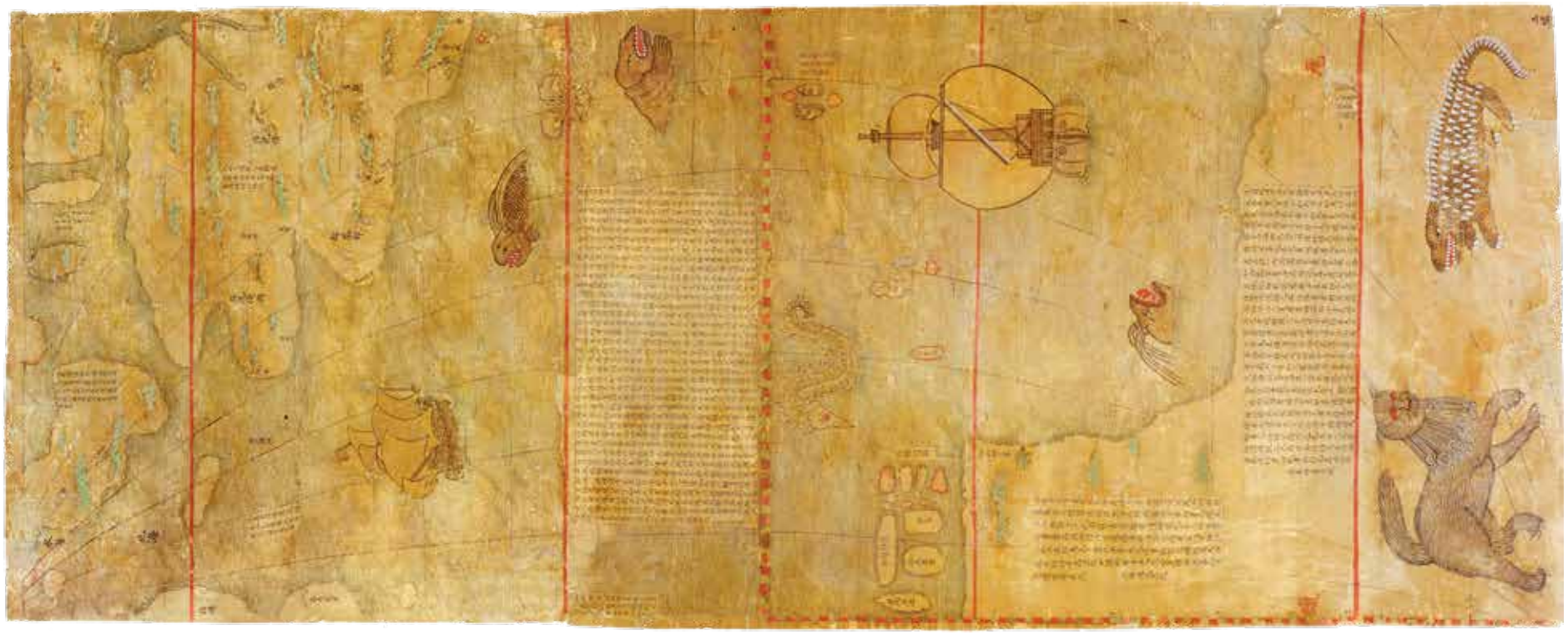


21. *Asia carta diciasete piu moderna: Gappone* (Updated plate seventeen of Asia: Japan)
From Sir Robert Dudley (1574–1649), *Dell'Arcano del mare/di D. Ruberto Dudleo, Duca di Nortumbria, e Conte di Warvich, libri sei: nel primo de quali si tratta della longitudine praticabile in diversi modi…* (The secret of the sea by Sir Robert Dudley, Duke of Northumberland and Earl of Warwick, in six books: The first [book] deals with different ways of determining longitude…) (Florence: Francesco Onori, 1646)
Copperplate; 42.5 x 55.5 cm (sheet)/24.5 x 35.5 x 7 cm (book)
Houghton Library, Harvard University
Gift of David Pingree Wheatland, Harvard Class of 1922 (*83-368F)



22. *Nuova descrittione del Giappone* (New representation of Japan)
From Bernardino Ginnaro, SJ (1577–1644), *Saverio Orientale ò vero Istorie de'Cristiani illustri dell'Oriente, li quali nelle parti orientali sono stati chiari per virtù e pietà cristiano dall'anno 1542 quando S. Francesco Saverio apostolo dell'Indie e con esso i religiosi della Compagnia di Giesù penetrarono a quelle parti sino all'anno 1600* (*Saverio Orientale*; or, The history of illustrious Christians of the Orient that became famous for their Christian virtues and piety from 1542, when St. Francis Xavier, Apostle of the Indies, and his co-brothers of the Society of Jesus reached the Indies, until 1600) (Naples: Francesco Savio, 1641), vol. 1
Engraved on paper; 26.5 x 41 cm
Archives and Special Collections, Santa Clara University Library (BX4700.F8 G5)
Photograph courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Santa Clara University Library

23. Map of Nagasaki
Japan, c. 1650
Ink and colors on paper, mounted in wooden frame; 101 x 216 cm
Jorge Welsh, Lisbon/London



Correct orientation

24. Pacific Ocean section of the *Kunyu wanguo quantu* (Map of the ten thousand countries of the world)
Matteo Ricci, SJ (1552–1610) and Li Zhizao (fl. 1598–1629), printed by Zhang Wentao
Beijing, China, c. 1602–10
Watercolor and ink on Chinese mulberry paper; 159.4 x 62.9 cm
New Bedford Whaling Museum
Kendall Collection, New Bedford, MA (2001.100.4531)
Photograph courtesy of New Bedford Whaling Museum

25a. Nanban trade screen (*nanban byōbu*)
Japan, c. 1620–40
Pair of six-panel screens; ink, color, gold, and gold leaf on paper; 147.6 x 316.2 cm (each)
Asian Art Museum, San Francisco
The Avery Brundage Collection (B60D77/78+)

25b. Nanban trade screen (*nanban byōbu*)

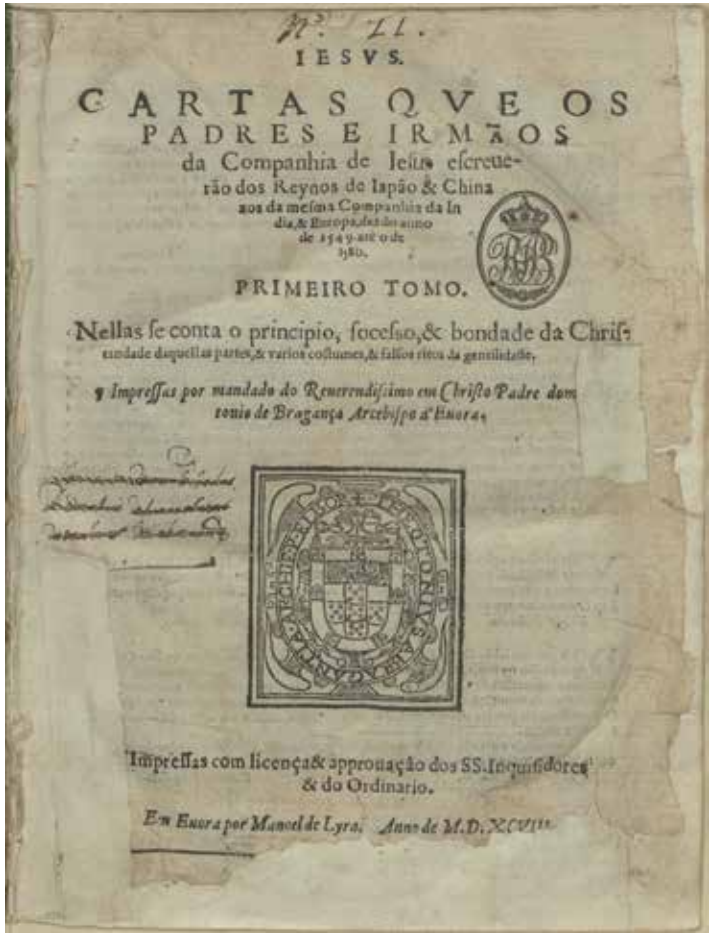
Details of plate 25a, nanban trade screen, Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, Avery Brundage Collection

25a.1. Portuguese leader; men unloading carrack
25a.2. Portuguese men observing arrival of goods

Details of plate 25b, nanban trade screen, Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, Avery Brundage Collection

25b.1. Portuguese carrying goods into town
25b.2. Portuguese leader and attendants
25b.3. Samurai observing scene; Japanese women wearing Portuguese-inspired veils

26. Portrait of St. Francis Xavier
Manuel Henriques, SJ
Portugal, early 17th century
Oil on canvas; 78 x 54.5 cm
Diocese de Coimbra, Sé Nova, Portugal



27. Title page, vol. 1 of *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreverão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India, & Europa, des do anno de 1549. atè o de 1580* (Letters by the fathers and brothers of the Society of Jesus in the Kingdoms of Japan and China, to the fathers and brothers of the same Society in India and Europe, written from 1549 to 1580), 2 vols. (Évora: Manoel de Lyra, 1598)
Copperplate; 26.1 x 18.5 x 6 cm (vol. 1, closed)/26.3 x 19 x 4 cm (vol. 2, closed)
Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon (RES. 401 V./402 V.)

28. Baptismal bowl with crab of St. Francis Xavier, cross, and Jesuit IHS symbol
Japan, c. 1600–50
Polychrome and glazed stoneware; 18 x 29.2 (diam.) cm
Private collection, Portugal

29. Folding missal stand (*shokendai*) with Jesuit IHS symbol
Japan, c. 1600
Hinoki cypress with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold and silver powder (*maki-e*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); silver mounts; 35 x 31 cm
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (E76703)
Photograph courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum

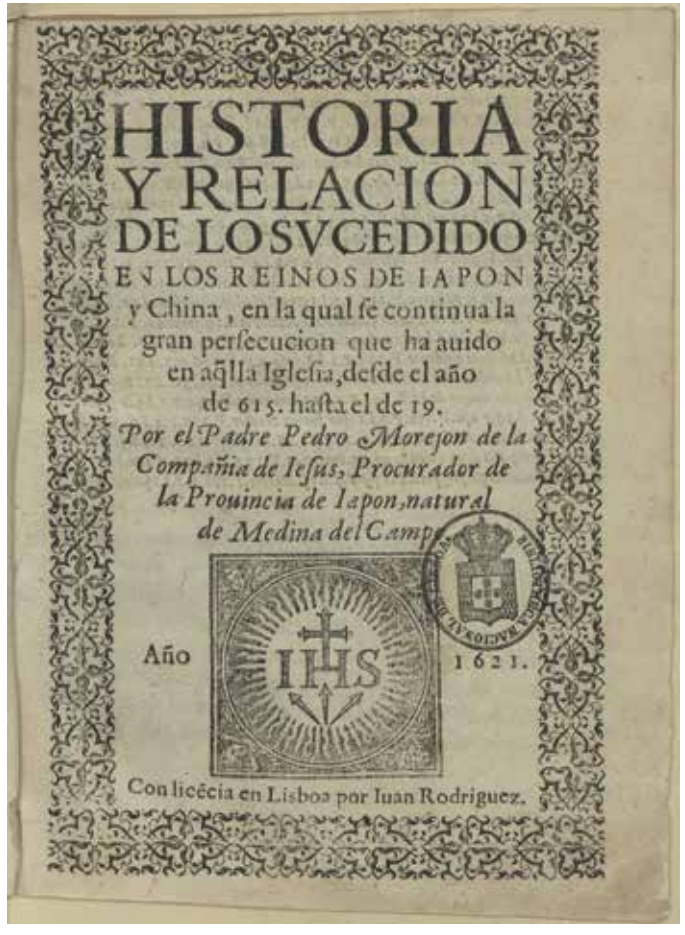
30. Portable oratory with painting of the Virgin and Child
Japan, c. 1597
Painting: pigment on canvas; oratory: wood with lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*), shell inlays (*raden*); 45.5 x 32 x 4.5 cm (overall)
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (AE85752)
Photograph courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum

31. Portable oratory with painting of the Virgin and Child
Japan, late 16th/early 17th century
Painting: pigment on wood; oratory: wood with lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); gilt copper fittings; 47.2 x 35 x 5.1 cm (closed)
Santa Casa da Misericórdia, Sardoal, Portugal

32. Portable hanging oratory with painting of St. Dominic
Japan, late 16th century
Painting: oil on copper; oratory: wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); gilt copper mounts; 15.5 x 15 x 2.4 cm (closed)
Private collection, Portugal

33. Pyx or host box (*seiheibako*) with Jesuit IHS symbol
Japan, late 16th century
Cryptomeria wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold and silver powder (*maki-e*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); 8.7 x 11.5 (diam.) cm
Jorge Welsh, Lisbon/London

34. Tabernacle
Japan, c. 1600
Wood with lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*), shell inlays (*raden*); 60.1 x 57.5 x 35 cm/30 (diam.) cm
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (E76704)
Photograph courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum



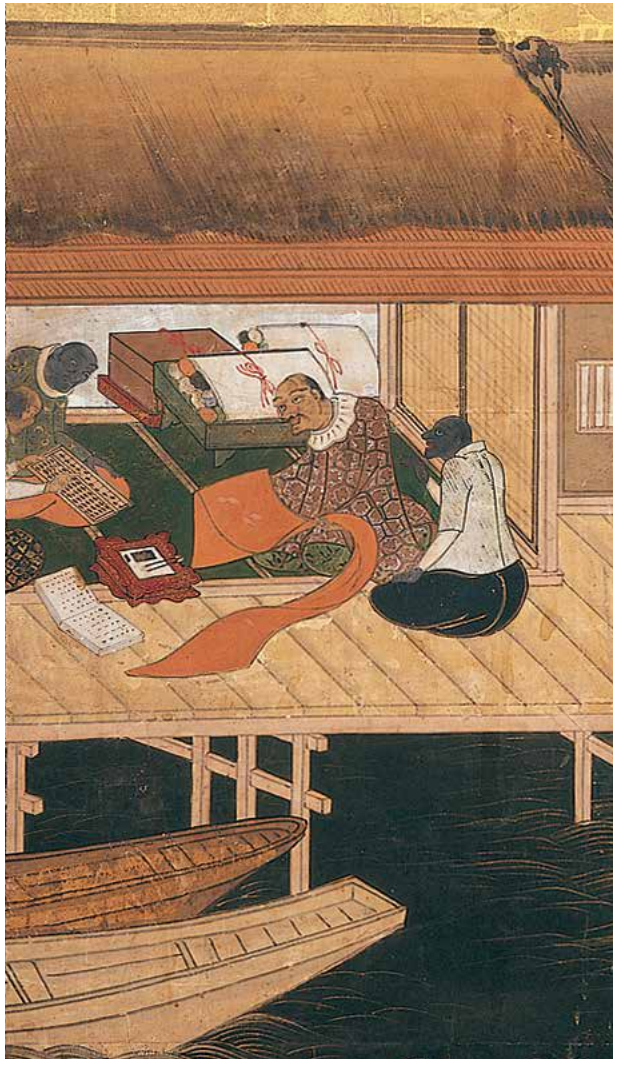
35. Title page of *Historia y Relacion de lo sucedido en los Reinos de Japon y China, en la qual se continua la grande persecucion que ha avido en aqlla Iglesia, desde el año de 615. Hasta el de 19* (History and report on what happened in the Kingdoms of China and Japan, in which continues [the history of] the great persecution that occurred in that Church, from 1615 to 1619)
Pedro Morejon, SJ (1562–1634?) (Lisbon: Juan Rodriguez, 1621)
Copperplate; 20 x 14.5 x 3 cm (closed)
Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon (RES 451 P.)

36a. Nanban trade screen (*nanban byōbu*)
Japan, c. 1600–25
Pair of six-panel screens; ink, color, gold, and gold leaf on paper; 105.1 x 260.7 cm (each)
Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation

36b. Nanban trade screen (*nanban byōbu*)

Details of plate 36a, nanban trade screen, Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation

36a.1. Portuguese lounging onboard ship
36a.2. Ferrying goods ashore (*top*)
36a.3. Portuguese observing the arrival of goods (*bottom*)



Details of plate 36b, nanban trade screen, Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation

36b.1. Portuguese examining goods in fabric shop
36b.2. Chinese women with goats
36b.3. Franciscans and Jesuits in church buildings

37. Chest with drawer
Japan, c. 1600
Wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold and silver powder (*maki-e*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); gilt copper fittings; 24.4 x 49.4 x 33.5 cm (closed)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Purchase, Barbara and William Karatz Gift (2008.182a, b)

38. Chest with European stand
Japan, late 16th century (18th-century European stand)
Cypress wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), ray-skin grains (*samegawa*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); metal fittings; 60 x 141.3 x 57.2 cm
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (AE85687.AB)
Photograph courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum

39. Letter box (*naga-fubako*)
Japan, late 16th/early 17th century
Wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*), silver foil (*kanagai*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); metal fittings; 5.8 x 21.1 x 6.2 cm
Private collection, Portugal

40. Table with autumn flowers
Japan, c. 1575–1600
Wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*); 41.8 x 24 x 25.6 cm
Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation

41. Portable lacquered nanban cabinet
Japan, mid-16th century
Cryptomeria wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); gilt copper fittings and handles; 27 x 27.5 x 26.4 cm
Private collection, Portugal

42. Nanban table
Japan, late 16th century
Wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); gilt copper mounts; 36 x 57 x 43 cm
Private collection, Portugal

43. Portable lacquered nanban cabinet
Japan, late 16th century
Cryptomeria wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); gilt copper fittings and handle; 23 x 30.5 x 21 cm
Private collection, Portugal

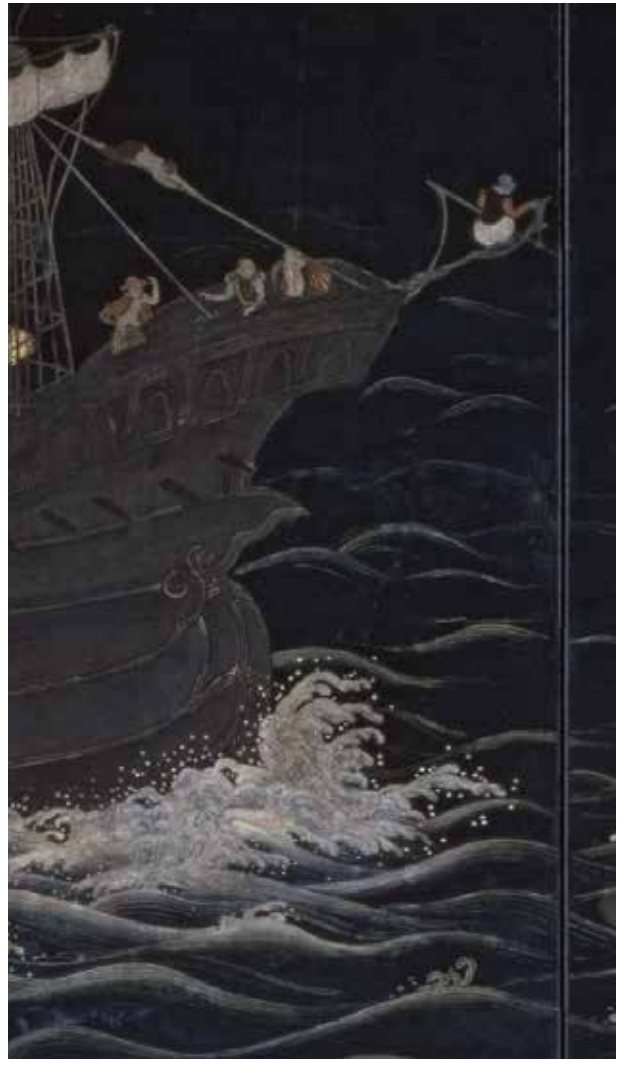
44. Writing utensil box with two drawers
Japan, early 17th century
Hinoki cypress wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); gilt copper mounts; glass inkwell; 9.4 x 24.4 x 15.8 cm
Private collection, Portugal

45. Square sake bottles (*tokkuri*)
Japan, late 16th/early 17th century
Cypress wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); copper fittings; 30.6 x 11.8 cm (each)
Private collection, Portugal

46. Domed chest
Japan, early 17th century
Wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold and silver powder (*maki-e*), mother-of pearl inlays (*raden*); gilt copper fittings and handle; 15.2 x 23 x 13.2 cm
Santa Casa da Misericórdia/Museu de São Roque, Lisbon (Inv. RI272)

47. Backgammon board
Japan, early 17th century
Wood with black and red lacquer (*urushi*), gold powder (*maki-e*), mother-of-pearl and abalone inlays (*raden*); gilt copper mounts; 9 x 44.2 x 42.7 cm (closed)
Private collection, Portugal

48. Nanban trade screen (*nanban byōbu*)
Japan, c. 1600–50
Six-panel screen; ink, color, gold, and gold leaf on paper; 167.8 x 346.2 cm
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (E200727)
Photograph courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum



Details of plate 48, nanban trade screen, Peabody Essex Museum

48.1. Portuguese captain-major in canopied chair; sailors in rigging
48.2. Portuguese observe unloading of goods
48.3. Ship's prow

49. Nanban bed
Japan (?), c. 1600–50
Wood with black lacquer (*urushi*), gold and silver powder (*maki-e*), mother-of-pearl inlays (*raden*); iron fittings; 157 x 195 x 122 cm
Private collection, Portugal

50. Casket
India, c. 1600
Wood covered in mother-of-pearl; engraved silver fittings; 15 x 25 x 17 cm
Private collection, Portugal

51. Deep dish
China, Ming dynasty, Yongle period, 1403–24
Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; 7 x 38.1 (diam.) cm
Private collection

52. Deep *kraak*-type dish
China, Ming dynasty, Wanli period, 1573–1620
Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; 9 x 47 (diam.) cm
Private collection

53. Frog-shaped pouring vessel (*kendi*)
China, Ming dynasty, Wanli period, 1573–1620
Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; 18.4 x 14 x 11.8 cm
Private collection

54. Sino-Portuguese charger with Jesuit IHS symbols
China, Ming dynasty, Zhengde/Jiajing period, 1520–40
Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; 10.5 x 52.5 (diam.) cm
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (AE85730)
Photograph courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum

55. *Swatow*-type dish
China, Ming dynasty, Wanli period, 1600–20
Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; 8.8 x 41.3 (diam.) cm
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (AE86428)
Photograph courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum

56. Petal-edged round dish
China, Ming dynasty, Tianqi period, 1621–27
Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; 3.6 x 20.1 (diam.) cm
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (E84099)
Photograph courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum

57. Bowl with Ave Maria inscription
China, Ming dynasty, Jiajing period, c. 1540 or later
Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; 10 x 19.7 (diam.) cm
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (AE85676)
Photograph courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum

58. Deep *kraak*-type bowl
China, Ming dynasty, Longqing/Wanli period, 1570–1610
Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; 15 x 36 (diam.) cm
Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA (E83611)
Photograph courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum

59a–b. Mughal-style lacquered shield
Ryukyu Islands/Southern China (?), 16th century
Wood and leather with black lacquer (*laccol*), gold leaf (*haku-e*), oil paint (traces); cotton, velvet; metal fittings; 61.5 (diam.) cm
Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis, Oporto, Portugal (Inv. 63 Div)

60. Yoke-back armchair
China, c. 1600
Huanghuali wood; 120.7 x 47 x 59.1 cm
Private collection

61. Folding chair
China, late 16th/early 17th century
Huanghuali wood; 88.9 x 59.7 x 69.2 cm
Private collection

62. Standing screen
China, c. 1600
Huanghuali wood; 185.4 x 95.3 x 67.3 cm
Private collection

63. Picnic box
China, c. 1700
Zitan, huanghuali woods; 29.9 x 45.4 x 24.5 cm
Private collection

64. Length of furnishing fabric
China, Ming dynasty, Wanli/Tianqi period, 1575–1625
Silk lampas; 133.5 x 101.7 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Museum purchase with funds donated by Mrs. Charles Gaston Smith's Group (34.71)

65. Length of furnishing fabric
China, Ming dynasty, Hongzhi/Wanli period, 1500–1600
Silk satin weave with silk continuous and discontinuous supplementary patterning wefts tied down in twill-weave; 226.5 x 79 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Gift of Miss Lucy T. Aldrich (35.687)

66. Textile fragment
China, Qing dynasty, c. 1650–1700
Silk satin with silk and metallic thread supplementary patterning wefts tied down in twill; 33 x 14 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Otis Norcross Fund (33.606)

67. Brocade book cover
India, 17th century
Silk satin with supplementary silk and metallic patterning weft floats; 31 x 23 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Marianne Brimmer Fund (21.1425)

68. Textile fragment
India (Surat), 17th/18th century
Cotton and silk complementary warp weave; 19 x 13 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Samuel Putnam Avery Fund (29.1034)

69. Manuscript cover
India (Jain), 18th century
Silk satin-weave; mounted on cardboard; 31.7 x 13.4 cm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection (17.2307)

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17TH-CENTURY PORTUGUESE AND JAPANESE TRADE ROUTES
Portuguese trade route to Japan
Other Portuguese trade routes
Asian/Japanese trade routes
Arrows show departure and return routes
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
AZORES
CAPE VERDE
ST. HELENA ISLAND
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
PERSIAN GULF
RED SEA
INDIA
Goa
Cochi
BAY OF BENGAL
BAGO
Bago (Pegu)
Martaban
BURMA
Malacca
CHINA
SOUTH CHINA SEA
Macao
Manila
JAPAN
Nagasaki
RYUKYU ISLANDS
MOLUCCAS
Malindi
Mombasa
MOZAMBIQUE
Sofala
INDIAN OCEAN
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Lisbon
JAPAN
Miyako (Kyoto)
Edo (Tokyo)
Funai (Oita)
Nagasaki
TANEGASHIMA

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