

EMERGENT CONSCIOUSNESS ABOUT THE SELF
DEPICTED IN THE WORLD MAP SCREENS

by

Tomoko Gotō

B.A., Hōsei University, Tōkyō, Japan, 1969
M.L.I.S., The University of Hawaii, 1979

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Department of Fine Arts)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September 2000

© Tomoko Gotō, 2000

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Fine Arts

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date Sept. 29, 2000

Abstract

A pair of eight-fold screens entitled *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City*¹ represents a colorful world map with the figures of peoples of the world on one screen. The painting is punctuated by numerous city markers, with the largest indicating the city of Rome. On the other screen, twenty-eight cities of the world and Christian and Muslim kings in ceremonial attire on horseback are depicted. This pair of screens was probably produced in the early seventeenth century. It was most likely painted by Jesuit-trained Japanese painters who had learned western themes and painting techniques: perspective and chiaroscuro

Until the sixteenth century, Japanese experience with and knowledge of the world was limited to its neighbouring lands, such as China, Korea, and India. Beyond the realm of Japan lay worlds formed through fascination and the imagination. In 1543, however, this changed with the appearance of the Portuguese, who journeyed to Japan in the pursuit of new lands to develop trade and to spread Christianity. The Portuguese and their culture had a strong impact on Japanese thoughts and activities, including the creation of many screens with European motifs and new views of the world at large. This pair of screens was drawn upon Dutch prototype made by Petrus Kaerius (1571-1646) in 1609.

In my thesis I will examine how *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City* screens performed a two-fold function. I will first examine how the screens marked Jesuit propagation of Christianity in Japan, and second I will examine how the screens articulated what might be called an emergent sense of Japanese collective identity. By this I do not mean identity based on nationalism, which emerged in Japan only in the nineteenth century. Rather, I mean an increasing awareness of the Self in relation to Other, and not only in relation to those outside the geographic confines of Japan but also within. What I intend to explore is how definitions of geography and culture in world map screens, and specifically *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City* screens, prompted viewers to acknowledge a more distinctive Self.

The end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries was a transitional moment for both the Jesuits and Portugal. Religiously, the Jesuits were in

¹ The Royal Household Agency, Tōkyō. Early 17th century. 二十八都市図と万国図屏風. 宮内庁.

conflict with the Japanese government and, as well their authority was undermined by Mendicants from the Philippines. These conflicts were compounded further by the spread of Protestantism in Europe. Similarly, after a short prosperous trade in Asia, rising economic and political power of the Netherlands and England gradually pushed Portuguese trade out of Asia.

By comparing *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City* screens with *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens,² I argued that the Jesuit's hidden agenda of glorifying Christendom and God's order on earth emerged. Moreover, by comparing this pair with *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People* screens,³ I detect the emergence of sense of a Japanese Self, that was forged in relation to the Europeans. Although the screens give the impression of the orderly and peaceful world, they mask the unstable situation which the Jesuits and Portugal were experiencing at the time.

In the end, I propose that *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City* screens transformed and reworked the Dutch prototype from a geographical mode to one that is highly decorative. Rather than articulating a Japanese view of the world, the screens maintained the notion of a powerful Catholic world.

² Funaki Family edition. The Tōkyō National Museum, Tōkyō. Early 17th century. 洛中洛外図屏風. 東京国立博物館.

³ Kōbe City Museum. Late 18th century. 世界四大洲図 四十八国人物図屏風. 神戸市立博物館.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures	v
Acknowledgement	viii
Chapter I: Introduction	1
Chapter II: Historical Moment	6
Chapter III: Japanese Tradition	14
3.1 Traditional World View	14
3.2 Painting Traditions	16
3.3 Traditions of Screens	19
Chapter IV: European Prototypes of <i>World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City</i> Screens	23
Chapter V: <i>Twenty-Eight-City</i> Screen and the Battle of Lepanto	31
5.1 Figures of Kings	31
5.2 City Scenes	38
5.3 Urban Space: <i>In-and-Around-Kyōto</i> Screens	45
Chapter VI: <i>World-Map Screen</i> and Japanese Self	53
6.1 European Cultural Hierarchy	53
6.2 Representations of Peoples	57
6.3 Representation of the Islands of Japan	63
6.4 Consciousness of Self: <i>Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People</i> Screens	67
Chapter VII: Conclusion	72
Figures	74
Bibliography	114

List of Figures

1. *Twenty-Eight-City* screen from *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City* screens. Early 17th century. Colour on paper. A pair of eight-fold screens. Each 179 x 490 cm. The Royal Household Agency, Tōkyō.
二十八都市図と万国図屏風. 宮内庁. 1, 54
2. *World-Map* screen from *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City* screens. Early 17th century. Colour on paper. A pair of eight-fold screens. Each 179 x 490 cm. The Royal Household Agency, Tōkyō.
二十八都市図と万国図屏風. 宮内庁. 1, 53-58, 63
3. *Battle of Lepanto* screen from *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens. Kōsetsu Museum. Early 17th century. Colour on paper. A pair of six-fold screens. 153.5 x 362.5 cm. Kōsetsu Art Gallery. レパント戦闘図と世界地図屏風. 香雪美術館. 2, 33, 43
4. *World Map* screen from *Battle of Lepanto and World Map* screens. Kōsetsu Museum. Early 17th century. Colour on paper. A pair of six-fold screens. 153.5 x 362.5 cm. Kōsetsu Art Gallery. レパント戦闘図と世界地図屏風. 香雪美術館. 2, 43
5. *Gotenjiku Zu* (Map of the Five Regions of India). Jūkai (b.1297). 1364. Manuscript. Mounted as a scroll, 177 x 166.5 cm. Hōryūji, Nara.
五天竺図. 重懷. 法隆寺, 奈良. 15
6. *Plum Tree and Water Birds*. Kanō Eitoku (1543-1590). 16th century. Four paper sliding doors. Daitokuji, Jukōin, Kyōto.
梅に水禽図襖. 狩野永徳. 大徳寺, 聚光院. 17
7. *Maple Tree*. Hasegawa Tōhaku (1539-1610). ca. 1593. Four paper sliding doors. Each 174.3 x 139.5 cm. Chishakuin, Kyōto.
楓図襖. 長谷川等伯. 知積院. 17
- 8 & 9. *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens. Funaki-bon (Funaki Family edition). Early 17th century. Colour on paper. A pair of six-fold screens. 163 x 351 cm. The Tōkyō National Museum, Tōkyō.
洛中洛外図屏風. (舟木本) 東京国立博物館. 17, 45
10. *World Map*. Willem J. Blaeu. Amsterdam, 1607. 84.0 x 111.0 cm. (map alone); 143.0 x 204.0 cm (with border). Photograph. Maritime (Scheepvaart) Museum, Amsterdam. 23, 56, 63
11. *European Kings on Horseback*. Early 17th century. Colour on paper. Four-fold screen. 166.2 x 468.0 cm. Kōbe City Museum, Hyōgo.
泰西王侯騎馬図. 神戸市立博物館. 27, 39
12. *European Kings on Horseback*. Early 17th century. Colour on paper. Four-fold screen. 168.0 x 231.0 cm. Santory Art Gallery, Tokyo.
泰西王侯騎馬図. サントリー美術館. 27, 39
13. *City Map of Rome*. Attributed to Cornelis Galle. Engraving in: Pedro Ribadeneira, *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae*. Antwerp, ca. 1610. 27 x 36 cm. Rome, Archivium Romanum Societatis Iesu, Armadio 4.
(A) The Church of the Gesù and Casa Professa, (B) The University of Rome, (C) The Penitenzieria Apostolica, (D) The Novitiate at S. Andrea, (E) & (F) Orphanage, (G) The House of Catechumens, (H) Santa Marta, (I) S. Caterina

- dei Funari, (K) German College, (L) English College, (M) The Roman Seminary, (N) Maronite College..... 42
14. City Map of Rome.
Source: Georg Braun, and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum 1572-1618*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terravm, 1965)..... 42
- 15 & 16 *Four-City-and-World-Map* screens. Early 17th century. Colour on paper.
A pair of eight-fold screens. Each 158.7 x 466.8 cm. Kōbe City Museum, Hyōgo.
四都市図と世界図屏風. 神戸市立博物館. 43
- 17 & 18. *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens (Former Ikeda Family edition). Early 17th century. Colour on paper. A pair of six-fold screens. 159.0 x 363.0 cm.
Okayama Art Gallery.
洛中洛外図屏風. (池田家旧蔵本). 岡山美術館. 51
- 19 & 20. *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens. Early 17th century. Color on paper. A pair of six-fold screens. 94.0 x 272.9 cm. Ōsaka Nanban Bunkakan.
洛中洛外図屏風. 大阪南蛮文化館. 51
- 21 & 22. *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens. Early 17th century. Color on paper. A pair of six-fold screens. 152.5 x 333.0 cm. Private collection.
洛中洛外図屏風. 51
23. Detail (Japanese and Chinese figures) from World map. Willem J. Blaeu.
Amsterdam, 1607. 84.0 x 111.0 cm. (map alone); 143.0 x 204.0 cm (with border). Photograph. Maritime (Scheepvaart) Museum, Amsterdam.
Source: Tadayoshi Miyoshi, "J. Burau no 1645/46-nenban Sekai Chizu ni tsuite" (On the World Map Made by J Blaeu Published in 1645/46), *Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Kiyō*, 11 (Mar. 1994): 58, Fig. 12. 57
24. Detail (figures of a Japanese couple) from *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City* screens. Early 17th century. Colour on paper. A pair of eight-fold screens. Each 179 x 490 cm. The Royal Household Agency, Tōkyō.
二十八都市図と万国図屏風. 宮内庁. 58
25. Detail (women with long hair) from *European Landscape with Musicians*. First half of the 17th century. Colour on paper. A pair of six-fold screens. 93.1 x 302.4 cm. Atami Art Gallery.
洋人奏楽図屏風. 熱海美術館. 58
26. Detail (women with long hair) from *European Landscape with Musicians*. First half of the 17th century. Colour on paper. A pair of six-fold screens. 93.0 x 302.0 cm. Hosokawa Family.
洋人奏楽図屏風 細川家. 58
27. Detail (woman with long hair) from *Woman Playing the Zither*. Attributed to Nobukata. First half of the 17th century. Colour on paper. 55.5 (H) x 37.3 (W) cm. Yamato Bunkakan, Nara.
婦女弾琴図. 伝信方筆. 奈良. 大和文華館. 58

28. *Honan*. Carolus Allard. 1695.
 Source: Carolus Allard, *Orbis Habitabilis Oppida et Vestitus = The Towns and Costumes of the Inhabited World*, 1695 (Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm, 1966) Fig. 35. 59, 68
29. World Map attributed to Ignacio Moreira. circa 1590-1614. Kenneth Nebenzahl, Inc.
 Source: Kenneth Nebenzahl, and Alfredo Pinheiro Marques, "Moreira's Manuscript: A Newly Discovered Portuguese Map of the World - Made in Japan," *Mercator's World* (July/Aug. 1997): 18-19. 67
30. *Bankoku Sōzu* (map of the world). 1645. Manuscript. Shimonoseki Shiritsu Chōfu Hakubutsukan.
 万国総図. 下関市立長府博物館.
 Source: Tadayoshi Miyoshi, *Zusetsu Sekai Kochizu Korekushon* (Tōkyō: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1999) 45.
 三好唯義 『図説世界古地図コレクション』 東京: 河出書房新社.
 60, 67, 70
31. Title page of *Kaitai Shinsho*. Trans. Sugita Genpaku. Ill. Odano Naotake. 1774.
 解体新書. 杉田玄白訳. 小田野直武画.
 Source: *Eikō no Oranda Kaiga to Nihon = Glorious Past of The Netherlands and Japan*. Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan ([Ōsaka]: Asahi Shinbunsha Bunka Kikakukyoku Ōsaka Kikakubu, 1993) 123.
 『栄光のオランダ絵画と日本』 神戸市立博物館.
 [大阪]: 朝日新聞社文化企画局大阪企画部. 61
- 32 & 33. *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People* screens. Late 18th century. A pair of six-fold screens. 164x 364 cm. Kōbe City Museum, Hyōgo.
 世界四大洲図 四十八国人物図屏風. 神戸市立博物館. 67
34. *Kanton*. Carolus Allard. 1695.
 Source: Carolus Allard, *Orbis Habitabilis Oppida et Vestitus = The Towns and Costumes of the Inhabited World*, 1695 (Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm, 1966) Fig. 36. 68
35. Detail (Asia and the Americas) from *Wall Map*. Gerard Valck. ca. 1695.
 Source: Josef H. Biller, "Jemniště ist eine Reise wert: Kostbarkeiten holländischer Kartographie und Vedutenkunst in Böhmen" *Speculum Orbis*, 2(1985): 48. 70
36. Detail (Asia) from *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People* screens. Late 18th century. A pair of six-fold screens. 164x 364 cm. Kōbe City Museum, Hyōgo.
 世界四大洲図 四十八国人物図屏風. 神戸市立博物館. 71
37. *Wall Map: Asia*. Gerard Valck. ca. 1695.
 Source: Tadayoshi Miyoshi, *Zusetsu Sekai Kochizu Korekushon* (Tōkyō: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1999) 42-43.
 三好唯義 『図説世界古地図コレクション』 東京: 河出書房新社.
 71

Acknowledgement

I have been very fortunate to have had support from many people not only during the thesis project but also throughout my study for the last nine years. First of all, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Professor Moritaka Matsumoto for his academic support and encouragement. Without his long-term support, it would have been very difficult to continue studying for all these years while I have worked. I am also very grateful to my other thesis supervisor, Professor Rose Marie San Juan. My thesis topic began in her class, and she opened a totally new idea of space to me. I am indebted to her rigorous and yet encouraging critique, in addition to her many hours of reading and correcting my paper.

Special thanks goes to Professor Num-Lin Hur of the Department of Asian Studies. He volunteered to read my draft, and gave me many valuable comments. Without him, my factual errors would have been publicized. I would like to thank Dr. Miyoshi Tadayoshi of Kōbe City Museum, Japan for his insightful articles and for the various help I received from him, including detailed photographs of *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People* screens. I would also like to thank my colleague, Ms. Reiko Yoshimura, librarian at the Freer Gallery of Art for providing me with important information and articles. I am also grateful to Ms. Haruko Itō, curator of Nagasaki Prefectural Art Museum, Japan for her support and for sending me exhibition catalogues despite being busy preparing for an exhibition.

I have been very privileged to have been surrounded by good friends. I would like to thank my classmate, Ms. Kathleen Wyma, for her meticulous reading and constructive critique of my thesis in spite of her own busy schedule. I am grateful to my former classmate Ms. Teresa Lo for her careful reading and precise advise. I also appreciate for various advise mixed with humour provided by my former classmate and a Ph.D. candidate in Japanese art history at Columbia University, Mr. Jo Loh, for all these years. Thanks are also extended to Ms. Ellen Halliday, Mr. Rod Hermsmeier and Mrs. Sheila Stone for giving me precious comments and suggestions and correcting my grammatical errors in spite of their hard schedule. Special thanks goes to Ms. Dorothy Martin, Mrs. Mary-Louise Nichols and Ms. Lydia Basso for their moral support and encouragement.

Last but not least, I am very thankful to the Library at the University of British Columbia, for giving me this opportunity to study while I work. The library staff and librarians have been very accommodating and without their continual support I could not have finished my study.

I. Introduction

The pair of *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City* screens (referred to as *World-Map-and-City* screens) (Fig. 1-2) was created by Jesuit trained Japanese painters around the beginning of the seventeenth century. This belongs to *Nanban* art¹ which has non-Japanese motifs. These screens are some of the earliest examples of western style painting in Japan. One screen illustrates the world map flanked by representations of forty-two peoples of the world; whereas, the other depicts eight kings in ceremonial attire on horseback above twenty-eight cities of the world. One of the most fascinating things about these screens is that although they are dominated by western motifs they were executed in the glorious *Momoyama* style, as will be discussed below, situating them between Japanese and western traditions. About thirty world maps created during the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries in Japan still exist. Of these, at least twenty world maps were executed on screens, including those under investigation in this thesis.²

The research on world map screens has tended to concentrate on comparisons between the screens and their prototypes to establish a visual genealogy and insert them within a specific historical framework according to style. The predominance of this methodological approach is the result of the majority of research on these screens has been done by cartographers and geographers. The cultural and religio-political aspects of

¹ *Nanban* literally means "southern barbarian" or "people from the south," and refers to Iberian people and their culture. It does not have a derogatory meaning. The word, which means "barbarian" in Japanese, is "banjin" or "yabanjin."

the screens were introduced with art historian Nishimura Tei's article (1956)³ on *Battle-of-Lepanto* screen (Fig. 3-4). Nishimura's shift in methodological approach was then taken up by Sakamoto Mitsuru and Grace A. H. Vlam. In *Nanban Bijutsu* (Nanban art) (1970),⁴ Sakamoto Mitsuru discusses such issues as Christianity and art, Mannerism, Jesuit art education in Japan, and some European sources of the paintings produced by Jesuit-trained Japanese painters. He also points out that the prototype of the city map of Rome in *World-Map-and-City* Screens comes from the biography of Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), the founder of the Society of Jesus.⁵ Although Sakamoto discusses its European historical background, visual analysis is basically limited to questions of style. In her Ph.D. dissertation (1976), Grace Vlam related *Battle-of-Lepanto* screen to the Spanish political situation under Philip II during the middle of the sixteenth century. In general, however, investigations into *World-Map-and-City* screens are usually ancillary to a larger project addressing *Nanban* screens.

In 1997, Miyoshi Tadayoshi, historical geographer and curator at Kōbe City Museum, wrote an article on the 1609-edition world map made by Petrus Kaerius (1571-1646).⁶ As the title suggests the majority of this article discusses the history of Dutch cartography and Petrus Kaerius' 1609-edition world map, which is the prototype of *World-Map-and-City* screens. To my knowledge, this is the first article that considers

² Kazutaka Unno, "Cartography in Japan," *The History of Cartography*, ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward, vol. 2, book 2, *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) 377.

³ Tei Nishimura, "Repanto Sentōzū no Byōbu ni tsuite." *Kokka* 766 (Jan. 1956): 2-22.

⁴ Mitsuru Sakamoto, "Nanban Bijutsu," *Nanban Bijutsu to Yōfūga*, Genshoku Nihon no Bijutsu 25 (Tōkyō: Shōgakugan, 1970) 161-196. I did not have a chance to read his earlier article: "Repanto Sentōzu Byōbu ni tsuite (On the Battle of Lepanto Screens), jō: Nihon Shoki Yōfūga to Yōroppa ni okeru Sono Haikai," *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 246 (1966).

⁵ Sakamoto, "Nanban Bijutsu" 188.

World-Map-and-City screens in relation to its Dutch prototypes. It also examines *World-Map-and-City* screens in terms of sources and compares the screens with other similar Japanese screens. During this process, Miyoshi briefly touches religio-politico situation of the Jesuits, and suggests Catholic influences on the screens. This as well as his other article on J. Blaeu's 1645/46-edition world map⁷ are indispensable to a study of *World-Map-and-City* screens, because they reveal details of the maps by Kaerius and J. Blaeu including names of the cities, kings and peoples as well as Japanese translation of the kings' descriptions from Latin.

Yet important issues remain to be addressed. For example, the pair of *World-Map-and-City* screens is not just a very well-made copy of European prototypes. It is a historical product of the early seventeenth century in Japan, and carries Japanese as well as European social, religious, political and economic signification at the time. Therefore, it is necessary to look into how Jesuit ideology, European cultural values, or Portuguese political struggles at the time are expressed, and how cultural exchanges between Japan and Europe take place in the screens. To my knowledge, no one has related the theme of the screens to a glorious display of Catholic power, or the arrangement of the cities to the Battle of Lepanto, or has looked into how the screens were part of cultural exchange. Also, as far as I know, this is the first paper that concentrates on this pair of screens in terms of Japanese identity, and in relation to the Jesuits and to the expansion of European colonialism.

⁶ Tadayoshi Miyoshi, "P. Kaeriusu 1609-nenban Sekai Chizu o Megutte (On the 1609 edition world map made by P. Kaerius)," *Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Kiyō* 13 (Mar. 1997): 15-43. Kaerius' Dutch name is Pieter van den Keere.

⁷ Tadayoshi Miyoshi, "J. Buraeu no 1645/46-nenban Sekai Chizu ni Tsuite (On 1645/46 edition world map made by J. Blaeu)," *Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Kiyō* 11 (Mar. 1994): 23-58.

In my thesis I will examine *World-Map-and-City* screens and its cartography in relation to Jesuit propagation of Christianity in Japan, and to what might be called an emergent consciousness about the Japanese Self. I do not mean an identity based on nationalism, which emerged in Japan only in the nineteenth century.⁸ Rather, I mean an increasing awareness of the Self in relation to Other, and not only in relation to those outside but also within. I use the term "Self" similar to what historian Ronald Toby calls "Japanese notions of ethnic Self," whose footnote I will quote below.

Neither "national" or "ethnic" is entirely appropriate to represent the collectivity of "Japanese" at this historical moment, but the notion of ethnicity and the attendant constructs of boundary maintenance and identity vis-à-vis Other seems preferable in this context, as it is burdened by 19th century nation-state concepts of nationalism.⁹

In another article on early modern Japan, Ronald Toby argues for an "'encyclopedic' movement that had roots in late sixteenth-century China, but incorporated both European elements and indigenous Japanese forms for the organization and representation of knowledge."¹⁰ What I intend to explore is how definitions of geography and culture in world map screens, and specifically *World-Map-and-City* screens, prompted viewers to acknowledge a more distinctive Self. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans, Japanese people had always thought about themselves in relation to the Chinese. For example, a Chinese document tells us that Japan had sent missions to China as early as the first century. When Shōtoku Taishi (Prince Shōtoku, 574-622) sent a

⁸ Hiroshi Mitani, "Ishin Nihon no 'Sekai' Kitei," *Nihon Imēji no Kōsaku: Ajia Taiheiyō no Toposu*, ed. Masayuki Yamauchi, Motoo Yoshida, UP Sensho (Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1997) 137.

⁹ Ronald P. Toby, "The 'Indianness' of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other," *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) 330. Footnote no. 14.

¹⁰ Ronald P. Toby, "Imagining and Imaging 'Anthropos' in Early-Modern Japan," *Visual Anthropology Review* 14.1 (1998): 21.

mission to Sui 隋 in 607, he wrote a diplomatic letter which started with a sentence: "Emperor of the land of the rising sun sends the document to the Emperor of the land of the setting sun."¹¹ Japan sent scholars and monks to China during the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries and learned "advanced" Chinese culture, such as art, literature, Buddhism, political and educational systems. On the one hand Japanese tried to incorporate Chinese "advanced" culture, but on the other hand, as this Prince Shōtoku's letter indicates Japanese rulers had a sense of self which tried to define Japan as different from China, if not, equal to China. With the encounter with Europeans, the Japanese faced a new Other and, as the screens suggest, slowly started constructing a new distinct cultural awareness as Japanese and Asians.

A number of questions have shaped my analysis. What kind of world view did the Japanese have before their encounter with the Europeans? *World-Map-and-City* screens draw on Dutch prototypes, world maps framed by the figures of peoples and cities. How did these prototypes serve to produce ideas of social diversity and, in turn, of the Self? How did Japanese artists synthesize European values and knowledge of the world through cartography and what were the implications? These are central questions to my investigation. Ultimately, I am interested in the process of cultural exchange, which led to the organization of visual knowledge with subsequent effects on how people thought about themselves.

¹¹ Mitsuo Tōyama, "Kenzuishi wa Naze Hakensareta ka," *Shin Shiten Nihon no Rekishi* : vol. 2: *Kodai Hen I*, Taichirō Shiraishi, Takehiko Yoshimura, eds. (Tōkyō: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1993) 312. The Sui Emperor was highly displeased by this letter. According to historian, Tōyama Mitsuo, "rising sun" simply meant direction from China, and Chinese document also used the same word for Japan. What made the Sui Emperor displeased was that the Chinese believed that there should be only one emperor (Japanese word "tenshi" for emperor literally means "the Son of Heaven") and Chinese emperor was the one who was granted heavenly orders to rule the world. In other words, there should not be more than one emperor, and for that reason the Sui Emperor was displeased. See p. 312 of the title above: *Shin Shiten Nihon no Rekishi* : vol. 2: *Kodai Hen I*.

II. Historical Moment

Until the sixteenth century, Japanese experience with and knowledge of the world was limited to its neighbouring lands, such as China, Korea, and India. Although cognizant of countries existing beyond the boundaries of Japan, these worlds were primarily formed through fascination and imagination. However, in 1543 this changed with the appearance of the Portuguese, soon followed by the Jesuits, who sought new lands to develop trade and to propagate Christianity. The arrival of the Portuguese had a strong impact on Japanese thought and visual imagery, leading to a new focus on cultural diversity. With the Jesuits came not only encounters with Europeans, but also with other peoples such as those from Goa and Indonesia who served as sailors or interpreters. Africans also came to Japan as servants, causing great curiosity among Japanese people. The de facto leader of Japan, Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and his successor, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), gave audience to them, and commoners came all the way from afar to see the visitors from Africa.¹² Cartographic images of the world at large came at this pivotal moment as well and would eventually emerge as an interesting site of cultural exchange.

In order to understand the meanings of the screens, it is necessary to know the historical background of Japan, Portugal and the Jesuits at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. The trade between Japan and Portugal brought tremendous amounts of profit to both countries, especially the latter. "The [Portuguese]

¹² Yoshitomo Okamoto, "Nanban byōbu no Ikokuteki Naiyō," *Shigaku* 19.3: 88-89.

trade involved bartering pepper for silks in China, selling these at great profit in Japan, converting all proceeds to silver to be transported to Chinese ports, again buying silks with the silver, and returning to India."¹³ The whole India-Japan voyage sometimes yielded profits that were ten times or more the value of the original merchandise loaded in India.¹⁴

Nevertheless, this profitable trade did not last long for Portugal. The political, religious and economic situation for both Portugal and Japan around this time was in a constant state of flux. First of all, Portugal had been under Spanish rule since 1580.¹⁵ Amsterdam and Antwerp were also under Spanish rule, and were a constant threat to the Catholic world due to the Protestant Reformation movement started by Martin Luther in 1517 in Germany. The clash over religion, coupled with the Dutch struggle for independence from Spain, eventually lead to the "Eighty Years' War" in 1568. The treaty of the Twelve Years' Truce resulted in a temporary lull in the conflict from 1609 to 1621, but it was not until 1648 that the Netherlands realized their complete independence from Spain. Contemporaneously, Mediterranean Christians were under constant siege from Islam. The Ottomans and the Venetian Republic had been fighting over the border between their lands for years making the victory of Christendom over the Muslims in 1571 at the Battle of Lepanto a significant political event. Another uneasy situation for Portugal concerned their economic situation due to the growing power of the Dutch and

¹³ Yoshitomo Okamoto, *The Namban Art of Japan*, trans. Ronald K. Jones, Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art 19 (New York : Weatherhill, 1972) 13.

¹⁴ Okamoto, *Namban Art* 13.m

¹⁵ Nishimura, "Repanto" 19.

English. By 1630, they shared in the Indian trade at the expense of Portugal and by 1638, Portugal had been virtually pushed out of its trade.¹⁶

When a Jesuit priest, Francis Xavier (1506-1552), came to Japan in 1549, Japan was just coming out of the Warring Period (1467-1573) under the leadership of Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582).¹⁷ Nevertheless, Nobunaga still had many enemies including powerful religious group, the Ikkōshū, a branch of the Pure Land sect of Buddhism. For example, after several years of battles against Ikkōshū in Ise Nagashima, the Ikkōshū surrendered in 1574. In spite of the treaty Nobunaga made with them, he ordered to shoot the defeated Ikkōshū people as they fled, resulted in the annihilation of 20,000 people. Also in 1576, Nobunaga's retainer Maeda Toshiie (1538-1599) brutally killed more than 1,000 Ikkōshū people in Echizen, on the Sea of Japan.¹⁸ However, with the Ikkōshū in Ishiyama, he made a truce in 1580 after more than ten years of protracted battles. Nobunaga accepted Christianity favourably partly because he thought Christianity could be used to suppress Buddhist power.¹⁹ Therefore, he allowed the Jesuits to build churches and seminaries and preach to the people. He even ordered that those who interfered with the Jesuits' activities be punished.²⁰ However, during the early years of the propagation of Christianity, especially during the 1570s and the 1580s, the Jesuits encouraged Japanese Christians to attack *Shintō* (Japanese indigenous religion)

¹⁶ Mark Girouard, *Cities and People: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) 150.

¹⁷ The Warring Period is the time between Ōnin Rebellion (1467) and 1573 when Nobunaga banished *Shōgun* (head of military government) Ashikaga Yoshiaki (1537-1597) from Kyōto and started unifying Japan.

¹⁸ Hisashi Fujiki, ed., *Oda Nobunaga no Kenkyū*, Sengoku Daimyō Ronshū 17 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1985) 91-92, 99.

¹⁹ Fujiki 97; Chie Nakane, and Shinzaburō Ōishi, ed., *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan* (Tōkyō: University of Tokyo Press, 1990) 26. Keiji Nagahara, *Daimyō Ryōgokusei*, Taikō Nihon Rekishi 3 (Tōkyō: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1967) 226.

shrines and Buddhist temples. While Nobunaga was generous to the Jesuits, his reign was short-lived, and he was killed by one of his most trusted retainers, Akechi Mitsuhide (1526-1582). Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), a Mitsuhide's colleague and rival, swiftly defeated Mitsuhide, assuming Nobunaga's reign.

When Hideyoshi was in power, the popularity of Christianity increased in Japan among commoners and the *daimyō* (lords). Since Portuguese ships only came to ports where Christianity was accepted, some *daimyō* welcomed Christianity partly because of the attraction to the benefit brought by *Nanban* trade.²¹ Hideyoshi was no exception. He tried in vain to separate Christianity from trade in order to enjoy only economic advantages. What he did not seem to realize was that Portuguese merchants and the Jesuits were interdependent and could not be separated.²² The former needed the latter to do business in Japan because the Jesuits knew Japanese and the religio-political and cultural situation in Japan. On the other hand, the Jesuits needed the Portuguese merchant's protection and support to come to Japan and to do their trade, as well. In order to support propagation of Christianity, the Jesuits started their silk trade between Macao and Nagasaki when Portuguese merchant, Luis d'Almeida jointed the Jesuits in 1556.²³ Their trade expanded, and during 1570-1581, they had traded gold, mercury, lead and textile besides silk.²⁴ Furthermore, Hideyoshi did not appear to know how great profit Portuguese merchants made out of this trade.²⁵

²⁰ Takahiro Okuno, *Zōtei Oda Nobunaga Monjo no Kenkyū, Jōkan* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988) 277.

²¹ Toshio Fujitani, "Kirisutokyō to Hōken Shihai," *Iwanami Kōza Nihon Rekishi 9: Kinsei I* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1963) 237-238. Nagahara *Daimyō* 165-166.

²² Okamoto *Namban Art* 29.

²³ Kōichirō Takase, *Kirishitan Jidai Taigai Kankei no Kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1994) 237.

²⁴ Takase 228.

²⁵ Michael Cooper, "The Mechanics of the Macao-Nagasaki Silk Trade," *Monumenta Nipponica* 27.4 (1972): 423.

Under Hideyoshi's rule, merchants continued to accumulate wealth. In fact, the merchants' economic and political power grew stronger during the Muromachi period (1392-1573), and some port cities such as Sakai in Ōsaka became an autonomous city. During the Muromachi period, merchants in urban area, such as Kyōto and Sakai, were very active both economically and culturally. They cultivated new forms of sociability including the tea ceremony. Also in 1500 in Kyōto, merchants revived the Gion Festival, the symbol of their identity, which had been banned for more than thirty years before then. Later, during the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1573-1600), Nobunaga abolished checking stations (*sekisho* 関所) on the highway and toll (*ritsubun* 率分 or *sekisen* 関銭.) in order to stimulate commerce.²⁶ Hideyoshi followed Nobunaga's policy and made it even more thorough by applying it to wider area including the territories of Royal Household and court nobles. However, they brought Sakai under their direct control in order to weaken merchants' political power and yet to use their wealth for nation building.

Hideyoshi had a big dream of "conquering" Korea and China. To prepare for his invasion to Korea, Hideyoshi asked Jesuit Vice-Provincial, Gaspar Coelho, to acquire for him "two large Portuguese carracks fully equipped with personnel"²⁷ in order to conquer China. In return, Hideyoshi promised that he would make Christianity the state religion in China upon his victory. Coelho promised to give him the ships as well as to bring the Christian *daimyō* to Hideyoshi's side. Since the Jesuits had more control over Christian *daimyō* than Hideyoshi wanted them to have, Coelho's reaction might have made Hideyoshi uneasy. A historian, Donald Lach, points out that Coelho's overplay

²⁶ Tadachika Kuwata, *Toyotomi Hideyoshi Kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1975) 319.

probably contributed to Hideyoshi's sudden change of attitude toward the Christians in 1587, when Hideyoshi issued an edict banishing the Jesuits within twenty days from Japan.²⁸ Facing the edict, Coelho tried to make the Christian *daimyō* rebel against Hideyoshi, and requested military help from Manila, Goa and Macao, but no one responded the way he wished. He had no choice but to follow Hideyoshi's order.²⁹

In 1596, a Spanish ship, the San Felipe, was shipwrecked off Shikoku, Japan. Portuguese priest used this incident politically because of their religious and economic conflict with the Spanish. He reported to Hideyoshi that a reason why Spain had so many colonies was because the Christian missionaries acted as the advance guard for the *Conquistador*.³⁰ Moreover, a Philippine mission which came to Japan around that time stated that the presence of the missionaries and Portuguese trading ships in Japan was in preparation for the colonialization of Japan.³¹ This incident angered Hideyoshi so much that he confiscated the merchandise on the ship. He then issued another edict calling for the crucifixion of twenty-six Christians: six Franciscan priests, fifteen Japanese Franciscans, three Jesuits and two Japanese.³² To complicate the matters, the Spanish friars had started coming into Japan from the Philippines, causing further religious and territorial strife.

After Hideyoshi's death in 1598, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) gained power and established a new government in 1603 located in the new capital city, Edo (Tōkyō).

²⁷ Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, book 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965) 304.

²⁸ Lach, vol. 1, book 1, 303-304.

²⁹ Lach, vol. 1, book 1, 304.

³⁰ Kiichi Matsuda, *Nanban no Bateren : Tōzai Kōshōshi no Mondai o Saguru*, NHK Bukkusu 122 (Tōkyō: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1970) 131.

³¹ Kuwata 352.

³² Michael Cooper, *Tsūji Rodorigesu: Nanban no Bōkensha to Dai Kōkai Jidai no Nihon, Chūgoku*, trans. Matsumoto Tama (Tōkyō: Hara Shobō, 1991) 113.

The political instability of the young government was rectified by the annihilation of the important people of the previous government. In 1615 Ieyasu finally solidified his political position by defeating the previous ruler's son, Toyotomi Hideyori (1593-1615). However, the free spirit of the Kyōto and Sakai merchants which flourished under Hideyoshi's rule was gradually suffocated during Ieyasu's feudal regime through the establishment of a strictly hierarchical social structure comprised of four classes, with merchants occupying the lowest rank.

In terms of foreign policy, Ieyasu tried to establish peaceful trade with the Philippines, Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries as opposed to Hideyoshi's Korean invasion or cessation of diplomatic relation with the Philippines caused by the San Felipe incident. The Tokugawa government issued *shuinjō* (red-sealed certificate) trade which allowed Japanese ships to do non-governmental trade with Southeastern Asian countries. Between 1604 and 1635, the number of *shuinsen* (trading ships which have *shuinjō*) was about 355,³³ and the Japanese immigrants to these countries started trading business. This compromised the monopoly of Portuguese trade. To make the matter worse a Dutch ship grounded off Japan. William Adams (1564-1620), a British navigator, who was on the ship, was summoned by Ieyasu. Surprised by the appearance of a Dutch ship, the Portuguese tried unsuccessfully to persuade Ieyasu to believe that the Dutch were pirates.³⁴ Since the Dutch were Protestant and did not preach Christianity, Ieyasu valued William Adams. Under Adams' influence, Dutch trade started in 1609 and British trade also began in 1613, causing the Portuguese trading power even more diminished.

³³ Kenji Yanai, "Nanban Bōeki," *Iwanami Kōza Nihon Rekishi 9: Kinsei I* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1963) 106.

As for Christianity, Ieyasu at first did not restrict its propagation. A primary reason was that he wanted to expand trade. Therefore, he tried to avoid friction with the Jesuits who could not be separated from the Portuguese trade.³⁵ However, he also allowed the Franciscans and the Dominicans to come to Japan from the Philippines. This was a great threat to the Jesuits and the conflict among the different religious denominations escalated. However, some of the shōgun's direct retainers living in shōgun's own territories were found to be Christians. The government was alarmed at this, and the ban on Christianity was issued in 1612 and 1613, and Christians were banished to Macao and Manila in 1614. Hideyoshi tried to ban Christianity several times, but often the edicts were not strict. That was because he could not afford to lose Portuguese trade and thus kept Christianity unwillingly. On the other hand, Tokugawa government banished Christians. Although they allowed Christianity at the beginning, due to a need of Portuguese trade, now that alternate trade without Christianity was available as noted above.³⁶ They did not have to depend on Portuguese trade any more. By the time *World-Map-and-City* screens were made, the Jesuits were in an escalating conflict with both the Spanish friars and with the Japanese government. In a world full of changes and conflict, propagating Christianity entailed constructing a world which is universal and concrete to symbolize the world "created" by God. This necessity eventually found visual expression in *World-Map-and-City* screens.

³⁴ Yanai 107.

³⁵ Yanai 107.

³⁶ Tomohiko Harada, *Edo Jidai no Rekishi* (Tōkyō: San'ichi Shobō, 1983) 102.

III. Japanese Tradition

3.1. Traditional World View

According to historian Okamoto Yoshitomo, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, before the first encounter with the Europeans, the Japanese were aware of China, Korea, Mongolia and Ryūkyū,³⁷ as well as India. For example, as noted above, according to Chinese historical document *Kanjo* (or *Han shu* 漢書), which was written during the first century, Japan regularly sent missions to Chinese territory, Rakurō (or Nangnang or Lo-lang 樂浪), present-day Pyongyang, the capital city of North Korea. When Buddhism was introduced to Japan during the early sixth century, people from the mainland, such as Chinese monks and Korean Buddhist sculptors and architects, came to Japan. Later the Mongols attacked Japan twice, in 1274 and 1281, only to be defeated by the strong typhoons, "*kamikaze*" 神風. As for Ryūkyū Kingdom, it was established during the beginning of the fifteenth century and made a great profit through transit trade in East Asia. Japanese experiential knowledge of the physical existence of these countries was buttressed by maps of Buddhist cosmology. Although the Japanese had never seen Indians or any one who came back from India until the end of the sixteenth century, through Buddhism they knew the existence of India called *Tenjiku* 天竺, which people believed lay beyond China. Interestingly, there are no *Shintō* (Japanese

³⁷Yoshitomo Okamoto, *Jūroku Seiki ni Okeru Nihon Chizu no Hattatsu* (Tōkyō: Yagi Shoten, 1973): 73.

indigenous religion) maps. Human geographer³⁸ Kazutaka Unno, suggests that unlike Buddhism, *Shintō* views the world in a vertical structure, that is, heavenly world, the earth and the underworld. This lack of horizontal structure probably did not necessitate the production of world maps.³⁹

On the other hand, with their concrete spatial views of the world, the Buddhists created many world maps in Japan, China and Korea. Many of them still exist.⁴⁰ The oldest one in Japan is called *Gotenjiku Zu* 五天竺図 (Map of the Five Regions of India) (Fig. 5) produced by a priest, Jūkai 重懷 (b.1297) in 1364. Based on the description in a sutra, *Kusharon* (or *Chū she lun* 俱舍論), the represented world had an egg shape; the north was wide and the south was narrow. India occupied the majority of the space, with Mt. Sumeru, the mythical centre of the cosmos, in its centre. Japan was not mentioned in the sutra,⁴¹ thereby it was outside of this realm, floating in the rough ocean. Politically and socio-economically, Japan had a very close relationship with China, which was regarded as the Central Kingdom not only in China but also in Japan. Both the Buddhist maps and the idea of China as the centre, placed Japan at the periphery of the world. Similarly, the sutra does not state anything about China⁴² and yet China has represented itself in the east within the Buddhist sphere.⁴³ Although, this

³⁸ 人文地理学者.

³⁹ Unno, "Cartography" 371.

⁴⁰ Takeo Oda, Nobuo Muroga, Unno Kazutaka, *Nihon Kochizu Taisei: Sekai Hen = The World in Japanese Maps Until the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Kaisetsu* (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1975) 10.

⁴¹ Tetsuya Hisatake, and Kōji Hasegawa, eds., *Chizu to Bunka* (Kyōto-shi: Chijin Shobō, 1989) 21.

⁴² Toshiaki Ōji, "Echizu ni Arawareta Sekaizō," *Nihon no Shakaishi 7: Shakaikan to Sekaizō* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1987) 310.

⁴³ In the northern part of the Buddhist map, there are many place names connected by the red line, indicating the pilgrimage route a Chinese monk Genzō took to go to India (See Ōji p. 309). This route is based on his document entitled *Dai Tō Saiikiki* 大唐西域記 (Travelogue of the western regions of Great Tang).

indicates consciousness of the Chinese Self, historical geographer,⁴⁴ Ōji Toshiaki, points out that Buddhist maps do not show China as the centre of the world. According to Kazutaka Unno, there are Chinese Buddhist maps produced in the early seventeenth century, and their composition is exactly the same as the 1364 *Gotenjiku Zu*. He suggests that Japanese Buddhist maps were based on Chinese ones, and Japan was simply added to them.⁴⁵ It is interesting that even with this representation of Japan as a small and remote country from Mt. Sumeru, the mythical centre of the world, we can detect a sense of Japanese Self.

3.2. Painting Traditions

This conception of the world would be altered, in part through changes in the tradition of painted screens. However, these changes did not happen instantly. During the Muromachi period (1392-1573), urban commoners who were accumulating economic wealth started participating in cultural activities, to which previously they were merely the audience. For example, Gion Festival used to be run by Shintō shrines, but by the beginning of the Muromachi period it was run by commoners.⁴⁶ After the Ōnin War (1467-1477)⁴⁷ the reconstruction of destroyed Kyōto stimulated economic as well as cultural activities. Even through the Warring Period (1467-1573), merchants built their wealth and economic power. By the end of the Muromachi period, the scale of festivals,

⁴⁴ 歴史地理学者.

⁴⁵ Unno, "Cartography" 374.

⁴⁶ Kazuhiko Satō, and Mamoru Shimosaka, eds., *Zusetsu Kyōto Runesansu* (Tōkyō: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1994) 108.

including Gion festival, became more grandiose, and other secular and religious festivals also started to be autonomously organized by the communities.⁴⁸ It was through the shift in the sponsoring agency that the meanings of these activities gradually changed from a religious purpose to an expression of secular enjoyment.⁴⁹ This shift was not confined to cultural activities but also had an effect upon painting style as well.

What spurred the changes even more was the beliefs of the rulers of the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1573-1615), Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598). They boasted their power and challenged Buddhist authority by declaring that they were the leaders of the country. Ever since Buddhism had been imported to Japan in the sixth century, Buddhists had strong religious, economic and political power. By declaring their own power, Nobunaga and his successor, Hideyoshi, confronted the entrenched socio-religious power of Buddhism. After several protracted and fierce battles, Nobunaga finally made a truce with the Ikkōshū, a Buddhist sect. When the rulers wished to decorate their castles to show their power, the cultural and socio-economic basis to support it already existed among the middle class urban citizens. It was through the wall and screen paintings executed for these castles that the *Momoyama* style of painting emerged

Under these circumstances, the new style paintings became objects of less religious admiration, and showed more idealistic world on the earth or everyday life, such as Kanō Eitoku's *Plum Tree and Water Birds* (Fig. 6), Hasegawa Tōhaku's *Maple Tree* (Fig. 7) and *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens (Fig. 8-9). The more static, somber and

⁴⁷ The battle caused by the dispute about the succession of Ashikaga Shōgun, head of the Muromachi Government.

⁴⁸ Satō 109-110, 114.

⁴⁹ Satō 114.

ethereal ink washes of the Buddhist style gave way to large-scale paintings with dynamic and bold composition and various vivid colours, indicating socio-economical prosperity rather than Buddhist spirituality. Screens and paper sliding doors were decorated with bright, rich colours against gold leaf. In these lavish paintings, idealized spaces of mountains and valleys with beautiful flowers and birds were represented for visual pleasure. Significantly, by the end of the sixteenth century, actual rather than idealized space also began to be represented in screens. The so called "*In-and-Around-Kyōto*" (old capital of Japan) screens depict the affluent and energetic city of Kyōto filled with more than a thousand figures of active people of disparate classes. In these screens of urban life, the diversity of people is of interest, including foreigners and locals interacting in city life. The screens were also painted in the *Momoyama* style and lavishly filled with golden clouds for the enjoyment of viewing.

Simultaneously, a new genre painting was developed as a result of Japanese contact with the Europeans. The pair of *World-Map-and-City* screens is rare, not because of its use of a world map, but because it links the map to cities and to peoples. Indeed what is interesting about it is that it transforms the fluidity of cultural diversity in the screens of city life into categories of cultural distinction. In other words, it becomes a site of identifying and accentuating geographical and cultural difference through such things as the arrangement of the illustrations of peoples and cities as will be discussed in the chapters five and six.

3.3. Tradition of Screens

In general, how were screens used and who were the patrons? Japanese have been using screens for hundreds of years, and these magnificent screens were used not only as decoration or portable partition of rooms, but also as objects of exchange. The display of wealth through the use of expensive materials in the screens, such as gold leaf, and powders of malachite, or lapis-lazuli,⁵⁰ affirms that they were made for *daimyō* and wealthy merchants. There is some historical documentation which supports that *daimyō* often used these screens as gifts or rewards, and they were greatly appreciated not only for the visual pleasure and social status that they gave to the recipient, but also for their economic value. An example is a valuable pair of screens attributed to a famous Kanō School master, Kanō Eitoku, given to Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), the Visitor of the Society of Jesus, by the de facto leader of Japan Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) in 1581. As Luis Frois recorded, Nobunaga did this in spite of Ōgimachi Emperor's great desire to have it.⁵¹ In 1582, Valignano sent these screens on with the Tenshō Christian Mission as a present for Pope Gregory XIII.⁵² To be sure this gift exchange had larger political implications: by giving an expensive gift to Valignano and not to the emperor, Nobunaga was expressing his political favour as well as displaying who was in control. Similarly as Valignano was trying to get the Jesuits' exclusive right to preach Christianity in Japan,

⁵⁰ C. R. Boxer, "Portuguese Influence in Japanese Screens: From 1590 to 1614," *Connoisseur* 98 (1936): 83.

⁵¹ Seiichi Iwao, ed., *Gaikokujin no Mita Nihon 1: Nanban Torai Igo* (Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō, 1962) 72-73. Michael Cooper, *Tsūji Rodorigesu: Nanban no Bōkensha to Dai Kōkai Jidai no Nihon, Chūgoku*, trans. Matsumoto Tama (Tōkyō: Hara Shobō, 1991) 35. Takeshi Moriya, "Tenkabito to Kyōto," *Fūzokuga: Rakuchū Rakugai*, *Nihon Byōbue Shūsei* 11 (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1978) 133.

and to prevent Franciscans from coming to Japan, he needed support from Papal Rome. He must have been sure that this gift from such an important person as Nobunaga would give the Pope an impression of the Jesuits' "success" in Japan.

There are two kinds of *Nanban* (southern barbarians) screens. The first group has non-Japanese motifs such as foreign cities and peoples, and European society and customs (including *World-Map-and-City* screens), and was painted by the Jesuit trained Japanese painters. The second group has scenes of Japanese port cities and Portuguese ship(s), sometimes with a scene of an imaginary foreign city, and was painted by traditional Kanō painters. Interestingly, the former with the images of foreign kings and battles has been primarily found in the households of *shōgun* or local lords;⁵³ whereas, the latter was mainly found in port cities,⁵⁴ suggesting that wealthy merchants who were interested in trade or sympathetic to Christianity probably commissioned them. Another reason lords and affluent merchants might have commissioned these, could be that the figures of the Portuguese ships might have provoked Japanese rulers and merchants to images of treasure ships which were believed to come from other worlds loaded with precious treasures. In other words, the images of Portuguese ships could have symbolized good fortune and prosperity to merchants.⁵⁵ The Jesuits probably produced expensive *Nanban* screens of the former type with European motifs as gifts for powerful

⁵² Money Hickman, *Japan's Golden Age Momoyama* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996) 144.

⁵³ *Taisei Ōkō kibazu* (European Kings on Horseback) (Kōbe City Museum and Santory Art Gallery) were found in the Wakamatsu Castle in Aizu. *Repanto Sentōzu* (The Battle of Lepanto) (Kōsetsu Museum) was found in the collection of the Ōkubos, lord in Odawara. (See Mitsuru Sakamoto, *Ōgon to Kurusu*, Ninngen no Bijutsu 8: Azuchi Momoyama Jidai (Tōkyō: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1990) 148-150.) *Taisei Fūzokuzu Byōbu* (Pastoral with Four Seasons) (Fukuoka City Art Gallery) was an heirloom of Kuroda Family, lord of Fukuoka. (See Tōbu Bijutsukan, and Asahi Shinbunsha, *Dai Zabieru Ten: Rainichi 450-shūnen, Sono Shōgai to Nanban Bunka no Ihō = St. Francis Xavier - His Life and Times* (Tōkyō: Tōbu Bijutsukan, Asahi Shinbunsha, 1999) 140, cat. no. 184.)

⁵⁴ Yoshitomo Okamoto and Tadao Takamisawa, *Nanban Byōbu: Kaisetsu kan* (Tōkyō: Kajima Shuppankai, 1970) 193.

lords in order to obtain favours, since the Jesuits wanted license to spread Christianity. This is supported by historical document which indicates that Valignano instructed priests to produce Western secular painting on screens as gifts for Japanese *daimyō*.⁵⁶ In this sense, these screens functioned as ideological gifts, which had hidden Jesuit's agenda of propagating Christianity under the guise of seductive *Momoyama* painting. In any case, these wealthy upper-class people would have been used to seeing screens richly decorated with gold foil, and *World-Map-and-City* screens would certainly have attracted these patrons.

Another thing that surely enticed patrons is the visual economic prosperity depicted in *World-Map-and-City* screens. The representations of the cities are all connected to the outside world by waterways, either by ocean or by river. Both the right and left screens of *World-Map-and-City* screens have numerous images of large European tall ships and small local boats indicating prosperous trade. Japanese rulers of the time did not really care for the Christian religion, but they were eager to attain economic benefit through international trade. In this sense, in spite of the unfamiliar motifs, these representations of prosperity might have appealed to the viewers quite effectively.

In terms of the direction of Japanese narrative tradition, in which written text is read from right to left, there is an interesting exception in the second group of *Nanban* screens with illustrations of *nao* ship (Portuguese ship) and Japanese port city. Here, the main narrative develops from left to right, and the secondary one from right to left. What is interesting about it is that they were painted by traditional Kanō painters who

⁵⁵ Tōbu Bijutsukan, and Asahi Shinbunsha 18.

adopted western style narrative. In spite of their traditional Kanō style painting, Kanō painters also used chiaroscuro in some of the foreign figures and portraits of Jesus, showing their eager adoption of this new painting style. Although there are differences between these two groups of painters in terms of the amount of adopting western style techniques, both kept their Japanese tradition of Momoyama painting style. Probably the retention of Momoyama style made it possible for the painters in both groups to successfully adopt western-style techniques within their familiar frame of Japanese tradition.

⁵⁶ Grace Alida Hermine Vlam, *Western-style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan*, Diss., U. of Michigan, 1976 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1979) 9.

IV. European Prototypes of *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City* Screens

The pair of *World-Map-and-City* screens are eight-fold and were probably produced between 1611 and 1614, based on several European prototypes. The major prototype is the 1609 edition of a world map produced by a Dutch map publisher and carver, Petrus Kaerius (1571-1646). However, this edition does not exist or has not been located yet. It is a "revised" or "pirate" edition of the world map made in 1607 by a Dutch map publisher Willem Blaeu (1571-1638) (Fig. 10).⁵⁷ As the 1609 edition is now believed to be the same or almost the same as the 1607 edition which exists only as a photograph,⁵⁸ I will use the latter for comparison. Concerning the production date of *World-Map-and-City* screens, 1611-1614, Miyoshi Tadayoshi proposes that the earliest possible date for its creation is 1610 based on the publication date of the original Kaerius' map in 1609.⁵⁹ However, I would posit that the earliest possible date is 1611, as, around this time, it would have taken at least two years to import materials from Europe because of the long distance, and because sailing ships often had to wait several months in port for the trade winds. Furthermore, I think we can suppose the date of production to be no later than 1614 when the expulsion edict of Christians was issued and many Christians, including the Jesuit painters, immediately fled to Macao. Possibilities for creating these kinds of large screens after 1614 would be extremely slim. However, I leave open the

⁵⁷ Miyoshi, "P. Kaeriusu" 26.

⁵⁸ Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps 1472-1700* (London: New Holland, 1993) 273.

⁵⁹ Miyoshi, "P. Kaeriusu" 29.

possibility for their production in Macao after 1614, but more research is necessary to determine this.

Let us examine how the prototype came to Japan. As I noted above, the Japanese traditional view of the world was of a two-dimensional Buddhist world. However, during his sojourn in Japan from 1549 to 1551, Francis Xavier (1506-1552) introduced the theory of a spherical earth. It is not certain if he had a globe or a world map to show the Japanese people.⁶⁰ As previously mentioned, in 1582 three Christian lords in Kyūshū (the southern island of Japan) sent the Tenshō Christian Mission, comprised of four young Japanese boys, to Pope Gregory XIII. The mission was planned by Valignano, the Visitor of the Society of Jesus, with the purpose in hand to gain financial and personnel support from the Society, to show the young Japanese boys the glory of Christendom,⁶¹ and to gain the approval of the Jesuits' monopoly in Japan from the Pope. In terms of the third purpose, it was not only because of religious and territorial competition, but also because Valignano was concerned about Spanish and Portuguese colonial views and *conquistador* mentality on the Japanese.⁶² When they were in Padua, Italy, the head of a botanical garden, Melchior Guilandini, gave the mission gift of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Theatre of the World) by Abraham Ortelius, and the first three volumes of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cities of the World) by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg.⁶³

⁶⁰ Unno, "Cartography" 377.

⁶¹ Ryōgo Yūki, *Rōma o Mita: Tenshō Shōnen Shisetsu* (Have Seen Rome: Tensho Boys' Mission) (Nagasaki-shi: Nihon Nijūroku Seijin Kinenkan, 1982) 14. Sakamoto, "Nanban" 184.

⁶² Vlam 62.

⁶³ Unno, "Cartography" 377.

Theatrum Orbis Terrarum is a world atlas published in 1570. *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* is a set of city atlases, and the first three volumes were published in 1572, 1575, and 1581 respectively.

Eight years later, when the mission went back to Japan, they brought back a wealth of European luxury goods; printed illustrated books, Gobelin tapestries, several Italian oil paintings, musical instruments, aristocratic clothing, jewelry, a printing press and the atlases noted above.⁶⁴ Prior to the return of the mission, the Japanese were no doubt familiar with Southeast Asian countries, but this was probably the first time a representation of Asia and the rest of the world in its entirety was seen. It must have been quite astonishing and fascinating for the Japanese to learn of the existence of a larger world they had not known even existed. Although Oda Nobunaga gave audience to Father Organtino Gnechi-Soldo (1533-1609) and Valignano on different occasions and showed keen interest in the sea route from Japan to Europe,⁶⁵ the maps brought back with the mission allowed previous descriptions to take on tangible form of European culture. With the return of the mission, curiosity toward European society and culture increased. The exotic objects the mission brought back from Europe and the experiences they had during the travel, aroused not only the intelligentsia's but also commoners' curiosity. The keen interest in the world outside the borders of Japan led to the explosion of *Nanban* obsession. Although *Nanban* means "southern barbarian," it also takes a more fluid meaning to accommodate the arrival of European culture.

Hideyoshi was one of the driving forces of *Nanban* vogue of which there are many documents. For example, Louis Frois (1532-1597), a Jesuit priest, reported that as early as 1586, Hideyoshi had "two furnished beds decorated with gold and all the rich

⁶⁴ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999) 65. Hickman 144. According to Unno, the first European globes and maps might have been taken to Japan by 1580. See Unno "Cartography" 377.

⁶⁵ Unno, "Cartography" 377.

trappings which are to be found on luxurious beds in Europe."⁶⁶ A Jesuit priest and interpreter, Joao Rodriguez, also wrote in his letter to his superior, that "when [Hideyoshi] left Nagoya [in Kyūshū] in *Bunroku* 1 [1592] to attend his stricken mother in Kyoto, all the *daimyō* who were in Nagoya, with their retinues, accompanied him to Miyako [i.e. Kyōto], attired in the manner of our country."⁶⁷ Hideyoshi also hosted a festival and told his retainers to wear *Nanban* clothes. The festival scene was illustrated in a pair of screens. The passion for *Nanban* artifacts was not confined to the ruling class. *Nanban* screens which illustrate the port city Nagasaki even depict ordinary people with foreign objects, such as *bombasha* (Portuguese pants), crucifixes and western style hats.

Through the Jesuits' exchange of communication with the Society in Rome, European science, technology and cultural information reached Japan. It is most probable that this 1609 edition of the Dutch prototype came to Japan through a similar route. One must ask why the Jesuits used maps made by their enemies the Dutch Protestants? To be sure there is certain irony in the fact that for about hundred years since 1570, the Dutch were the mapmakers of the world. They had published and revised maps with accompanying texts in Latin or Dutch. These texts were also translated into European languages. If the British or the French wanted the best maps of their countries, they had to buy one published in the Netherlands.⁶⁸ Although the Dutch were Protestant and a threat to the Catholics, when it comes to maps, even the Portuguese had to rely on the Dutch maps.

⁶⁶ Michael Cooper, *They Came to Japan : an Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1965) 137.

⁶⁷ Okamoto, *The Nanban Art* 71-72.

⁶⁸ Miyoshi, "P. Kaeriusu" 17.

The Kaerius' 1609 prototype for *World-Map-and-City* screens is quite small with the image of a king measuring only 26.5 x 20.6 cm.⁶⁹ It is a black-and-white etching and employed modeling and perspective. Two other folding screens entitled *European Kings on Horseback* (Figs. 11, 12) housed at Kōbe City Museum and Santory Art Gallery depict four kings on horseback per screen each based on the figures in the 1609 prototype.⁷⁰ It is believed that these two screens originally formed a pair.⁷¹ The one in Kōbe City Museum illustrates fighting kings with swords, and the other rather peaceful kings with scepters except for one. The posture and king's attire are almost the same as the ones in *World-Map-and-City* screens. However, the images of the kings are about forty times bigger than those in the prototype.⁷² How did Japanese painters learn western painting skills and produce these grand scale *Momoyama* style screens? They learned western painting techniques in the Jesuits' school or seminary of painters, that is art academy,⁷³ which was established based on the Jesuits' policy of propagating Christianity as will be discussed below. The language barrier faced by the Jesuits was overcome through the use of paintings to teach catechism, stories of Jesus, and customs of the European Catholic world. As such, paintings became very important didactic communication tools.

⁶⁹ Miyoshi, "J. Bureau " 44.

Since 1609 edition does not exist, we have to use Willem Blaeu's 1607 edition, the prototype of the 1609. However, 1607 edition exists only as a photograph. J. Braeu, son of Willem Blaeu, created 1645/46 edition. Fortunately for us, at that time he used the copper plates of all the marginal decorations made for the 1607 edition, including the figures of the kings on horseback. Based on this 1645/46 edition, we know the size of the figures in the 1609 edition.

⁷⁰ The size of each screen: Kōbe City Museum (166.2 x 468 cm), Santory Art Gallery (168 x 231 cm).

⁷¹ Mitsuru Sakamoto, Tadashi Sugase, and Fujio Naruse, *Nanban Bijutsu to Yōfūga*, Genshoku Nihon no Bijutsu 25 (Tōkyō: Shōgakusan, 1970) 37. It is also believed that they were kept at Wakamatsu Castle in Aizu.

⁷² Tadayoshi Miyoshi, *Zusetsu Sekai Kochizu Korekushon*, Fukurō no Hon (Tōkyō: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1999) 30.

⁷³ Bailey 66.

As this style of pedagogy was used not only in Japan, but also in many places such as China, India and Latin America, there was a great demand for religious paintings. Luis Frois, a Jesuit priest, sent a letter dated December 13, 1584 to the General in Rome asking for 50,000 devotional images.⁷⁴ Another priest left Europe with 1,000 paintings, but by the time he arrived in Japan, he had hardly any because of the great demand for these paintings en route to Japan.⁷⁵ Under these circumstances, and also as it took almost two years to receive anything from Europe, the Jesuits set up seminaries in Japan where they taught not only religion and languages, but also painting. A Japanese Jesuit art academy was established by Valignano in 1583 in Arima, Takaku Region of Kyūshū, and an Italian painter, engraver and sculptor, Giovanni Niccolò (1563-1626) was chosen as its director.⁷⁶ Similar to other Jesuits' churches, the seminary of painters changed location many times between 1583 to 1614.⁷⁷

According to Okamoto Yoshitomo, however, until 1590 nothing is known concerning the Jesuits' activities in art instructions.⁷⁸ Students were "sons of gentlemen and noble persons."⁷⁹ Some of them learned painting, printing or engraving depending on their interests in addition to standard curriculum.⁸⁰ Those who were interested in painting learned western style painting techniques, including chiaroscuro and linear perspective. These new techniques, however, stayed basically among Christian painters,

⁷⁴ Bailey 66.

⁷⁵ Mitsuru Sakamoto, Grace A. Vlam, and Yōichirō Ide, *Fūzokuga : Nanban Fūzoku*, Nihon Byōbue Shūsei 15 (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1979) 128. Bailey 66.

⁷⁶ Bailey 66. For information on Japanese and Chinese students including their names, see Bailey 67, 70-72, Sakamoto, Vlam and Ide, *Fūzokuga* 127-128, and Tamon Miki, "The Influence of Western Culture of Japanese Art," *Monumenta Nipponica: Studies on Japanese Culture, Past and Present* 19 (1964): 150-151.

⁷⁷ See the dates and places of the move: Bailey 67.

⁷⁸ Okamoto, *Namban Art* 101.

⁷⁹ J.F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan* (London: Routledge, 1993) 13.

⁸⁰ Okamoto, *Namban Art* 103.

and the vast majority of paintings outside the Jesuits' seminary were done in Kanō (official painting school) style. As noted above, even the second group of *Nanban* paintings, which were created around the same time as *World-Map-and-City* screens and illustrate *nao* ships and the procession of Portuguese merchants, were done by Kanō style.

Japanese Christian painters used western religious and secular paintings as their models, and in a few years, their skills developed significantly. Although Jesuits priests were not necessarily art specialists, they maintained that they could not distinguish Japanese painters' works from the originals.⁸¹ "...[T]he Seminary of painters was capable of producing art on a grand scale beyond anything else available in Asia, ... and it consequently became a model for missions everywhere."⁸² Japanese paintings were even exported to Europe. Although the painters learned western style painting techniques, *World-Map-and-City* screens show a synthesis of western and Japanese painting traditions. It was not common at this time in Japan to paint a portrait of a single person in a natural setting, as seen in *World-Map-and-City* screens. Japanese portraits of the day usually represented people in a field of colour as opposed to a realistic space. For example, portraits of Japanese Buddhist monks were normally painted in sitting posture on the floor or on a chair set against a background of one color. Further representational shift in the screens under investigation is evidenced by the fact that there were no portraits of cities without people until this time. As previously stated, so called *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens depict a bustling urban space filled with literally thousands

⁸¹ Bailey 68.

⁸² Bailey 71.

animated figures. Moreover, the motifs of *World-Map-and-City* screens are totally western and new to the Japanese.

These unfamiliar motifs and style introduced by the images of the West enabled Japanese painters to appropriate and reconfigure them accordingly to transform them into the representations on the screens. The western motifs were transformed from a small etched black-and-white prototype into a large-sized, traditional Japanese screens in the *Momoyama* style. The synthesis of east and west was envisioned with decorated frames, shining gold leaf background, and brilliant colours. Furthermore, according to art historian Sakamoto Mitsuru, under each representation of peoples there were once texts, although at some point they were erased.⁸³ This could be evidence to suggest that the screens were made for decoration rather than to impart knowledge of the world which was the primary purpose of the prototype. By eliminating most of the text from the world map and completely eliminating the labels of the figures of the peoples and the cities, the painters changed the scientific world map and encyclopedic informational chart in the prototype into a pair of grand scale decorative Japanese screens.

⁸³ Tōbu Bijutsukan, and Asahi Shinbunsha 17.

V. *The Twenty-Eight-City Screen* and The Battle of Lepanto

5.1. Figures of Kings

Let us examine the individual screens. For the purpose of convenience, the term "*Twenty-Eight-City screen*" is used for the folding screen which has city scenes and figures of kings, and the term "*World-Map screen*" is used for the other which has a world map and figures of peoples. As noted above, Japanese painters used Japanese painting and other Japanese cultural traditions to introduce these unfamiliar motifs to Japanese viewers. Simultaneously, however, they also transferred the Jesuits' view of the world. Japanese painters modified prototypes made by the Dutch, who were the predominant mapmakers of the world, and represented the Jesuits' views by using the following process. As stated earlier, during the early seventeenth century, Christians in Japan were in a precarious situation. Although they used the screens as one means of communication to spread Christianity, they probably could not explicitly show Christian iconography in the screen. Therefore their agenda of glorifying Christendom and Portugal had to be subtly incorporated into the representation. What is painted on the screens is not just scenery or events at a certain time in history, but the results of the relationship between historical events and the current situation in which the Jesuits were presently dealing.

The kings are depicted in the top row of the screen as seen below.

Holy Roman Emperor	Turkish King	Spanish King	Henry IV, French King	Grand Duke of Moscow	King of Tartar	Abyssinian King	Persian King
Lisbon	Seville	Constantinople	Rome	Venice	Mexico	Portugal	

They are on horseback, with their colorful capes and scarves cling to their bodies or fly in the air. Their clothes and headgear, as well as riding equipment are opulently decorated in spite of the suggestive fighting scenes. These kings and emperors are depicted in pairs, and a Sultan, the Turkish king, is also included. As I mentioned above Christians were constantly under siege from the forces of Islam. The Moors had been in the Iberian Peninsula for hundreds of years and the last Moorish city of Granada was not recaptured by the Spanish until 1492. As well, in eastern Europe, the Ottomans and the Venetian Republic had been fighting over their border for years, making the victory of Christendom over the Muslims in 1571 at the Battle of Lepanto, a very important and significant event to the Christians as summarized below.

The Battle between Christendom (the Holy League) and the Ottoman Empire, was over the imaginary border between East and West. In 1571, the Ottoman Empire was invading Cyprus, which at that time was a part of the Venetian Republic. The Ottoman Empire had been eroding Venetian territory for years and the Venetian Republic, the rearguard of Western Europe, appealed for help from other Christian powers. The Christian fleet, consisting of ships from Spain, Sicily, Genoa, Naples, Malta and Venice, was formed to prohibit further invasions by the Muslims into Christian lands. The Christian forces were led by the 24 year-old son of Charles V, the king of Spain.

The naval battle took place in the water opposite the port city Lepanto (present-day Nafpaktos on Corinthian Bay, Greece).⁸⁴ The battle had an ideological resonance, and as well political and religious victory had a significant implications. The victory of the Christian fleet displayed not only the supremacy of Christian power over Islamic power, but also established a firmer relationship between the Holy League countries and the Vatican. The Holy League, especially Spain, gained maritime power and France stopped supporting the Netherlands. Furthermore, the military union of the British and the French against Spain was abandoned.⁸⁵ The victory was so important to Christendom that many painters, including the Jesuit-trained Japanese painters, Tintoretto, Andrea Vicentino, and Veronese chose to depict these battle scenes showing Catholic ascendancy over Islam. The Jesuits also used this method to show the dominance of the Catholic power over the renegade Christian Protestants in Amsterdam and Antwerp, who were symbols of Protestant power and another threat to Catholic dominance as discussed above.

"So important was this battle to the Christian cause that Valignano described and explained it in *De Missione Legatorum* for the clearer understanding of the Japanese."⁸⁶ The theme of a pair of six-fold *Battle-of-Lepanto* screens⁸⁷ (Fig. 3) depicts this battle; the Battle of Lepanto is depicted on one screen, and the world map and the figures of peoples on the other. The pair was created at the beginning of the seventeenth century, probably shortly after the production of *World-Map-and-City* screens. The foreground of *Battle-of-Lepanto* screen portrays a crowded battle scene: the Holy League is depicted on the left, led by the Holy Roman Emperor in a chariot. On the right are the

⁸⁴ Nishimura, "Repanto" 9. Nishimura spells the name of the city as Naupaktos.

⁸⁵ Nishimura, "Repanto" 10.

⁸⁶ Vlam 128.

⁸⁷ Housed at Kōsetsu Art Museum, Kōbe. 153.5 x 370.0 cm.

representations of a Turkish fort, and an army including two huge elephants. The Holy League swiftly surges to the right, crossing a bridge, causing chaos among the Turks. The top half is the ocean battle scene. The figures of two firing tall ships with banners, which are marked S, R, and/or SPQR (Senatus Populusque Romanus), are illustrated facing Turkish battle ships on the right. The narrative in this screen starts from the left based on western tradition, whereas traditional Japanese style scalloped golden clouds are seen at the very top of the screen. The very well organized Holy League as opposed to the confused Turkish army unmistakably gives the impression of the former's power and victory.

How were these concerns translated into the *Twenty-Eight-City* screen? In order to give a victorious impression to this unstable Catholic world, the victory of the Battle of Lepanto, among other things, was implied in the images of the kings and the cities. The victory of the battle is emphasized three times at the top of the screen. First, the Spanish king, the leader of the Battle of Lepanto, is placed right above the image of

Constantinople, Turkey, the defeated

Holy Roman Emperor	Turkish King	Spanish King	French King
Lisbon	Seville	Constanti- nople	Rome

Islamic country. Second, the Turkish king, the second image from the top left is placed in-between the Spanish king and the Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolf

II, the figure at the top left. Third, the Turkish King is located above Seville, Spain. The representation of these three overlapping relationships strongly signifies the importance of the victory for Christendom. At the same time, ironically, it indicates how it was difficult to maintain the victorious situation because they seem to need to stress their

victory and prowess repeatedly. This was probably because of the problems the Catholics and the Jesuits had both in Japan and in Europe.

Henry IV (1553-1610), the King of France, the figure right above Rome, is paired in the screen with the Spanish king, making this the only pair which does not include a non-Christian or non-Caucasian king. Furthermore, the fact they are placed right above Rome and Constantinople, Turkey, the Islamic country defeated at the Battle

Holy Roman Emperor	Turkish King	Spanish King	Henry IV, French King	Grand Duke of Moscow	King of Tartar	Abyssinian King	Persian King
Lisbon	Seville	Constantinople	Rome	Venice	Mexico	Portugal	

of Lepanto, illustrates their power over the Muslims, which justifies their vital central position in the screen. The importance of these kings is stressed further by the selection of Henry IV, the king of France, a country which had been religiously divided in two, Catholic and Protestant. Henry IV was brought up in the strict principles of Protestantism, but in 1593 he converted back to Roman Catholicism for the second and final time. In 1598, he signed the Edict of Nantes, which confirmed Roman Catholicism as the state religion but admitted a large measure of religious freedom for Protestants.⁸⁸ Henry IV, while concerned with the peace and stability of France, strongly supported Catholicism.

⁸⁸ James L. McClain, John M. Merriman, and Kaoru Ugawa, *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994) 7.

Art historian, Nishimura Tei, believes that the second image from the right is King David (d. 1540) of Abyssinia, present-day Ethiopia.⁸⁹ He is shown as a figure peacefully sitting on horseback with a scepter rather than a sword. The Ethiopians believed they were the descendants of King Solomon, and have been Christians since the time of the Bible. Also Ethiopian aristocrats were not allowed to become Muslims.⁹⁰ What is important about the image of King David is that he represents another king who fiercely fought against the Turkish invasion in the sixteenth century and led Abyssinia to victory, although he was killed during the battle.⁹¹ Similar to the Abyssinian king, the Persian king and the Grand Duke of Moscow are also depicted as the kings who defeated the Turks and the Tartars respectively.⁹²

The images of the Chinese and the English kings that are among the ten kings in the 1609 prototype were not included in the screen. Why were they not chosen? As for the image of the Chinese king, Miyoshi Tadayoshi suggests that the image does not look like a Chinese thus the painter did not choose it.⁹³ Probably that is one of the reasons, and the Japanese painters must have used their own knowledge of the Chinese rather than European knowledge in making this decision. However, as will be discussed below, a Japanese woman is represented with curly long hair, which does not look like a Japanese, either, and yet it is represented in the screen. Consequently, I would rather suggest that there may be a more significant reason. That is, the religion of neither China nor England was Catholicism or Islam, and adding their figures would not support glorification of Catholicism. In case of China, during the late Ming (1368-1644) period,

⁸⁹ Tei Nishimura, "Taisei Ōzoku Kiba Gazō ni tsuite: Jō," *Kokka* 746 (May 1954): 141.

⁹⁰ Nishimura, "Taisei...: Jō 141-142.

⁹¹ Nishimura, "Taisei...: Jō" 151.

⁹² Miyoshi, "J. Burau" 45.

the Chinese had Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. Besides these three, there were unifying movement of these three practices as well as sectarian religions. Under these circumstances, the Jesuits could not determine if they were religions in Christian terms.⁹⁴ A Jesuit priest, Diego de Pantoja, who was in Peking from 1601 to 1617, even reported that the Chinese were atheists.⁹⁵ As for England, the King Henry VIII, declared the Church of England as the state religion in 1534 and rejected Roman Catholicism. If the Chinese and the English had been Muslims, their figures could have been used as "defeated" or "evil" kings. Therefore neither country would help emphasize the victory of Catholicism over Islam or Catholic power over Protestantism; there would be no use adding them to the screen. In the lower portion of the screen, the victory of the Battle of Lepanto and the Catholic check on Protestant power are implied, as will be examined below, but they are not nearly as obvious as on the upper portion of the screen. However, these figures of Catholic and Islamic kings, including a Catholic king who put Protestants under his control, were portrayed here thus giving a more definite visual impact of Catholic dominance over Islam and Protestantism to the viewers.

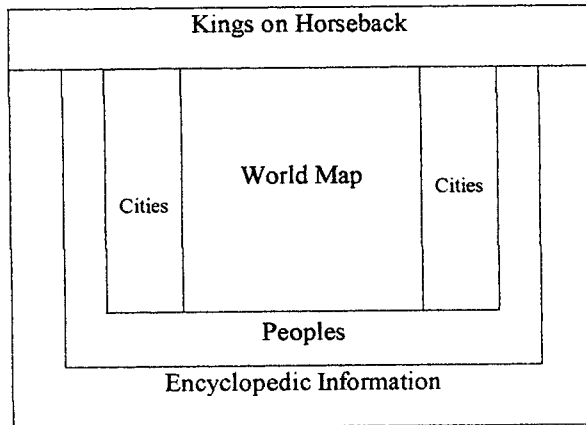
⁹³ Miyoshi, "P. Kaeriusu" 29.

⁹⁴ Ann Waltner, "Demerits and Deadly Sins: Jesuit Moral Tracts in Late Ming China," *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) 427.

⁹⁵ Waltner 425.

5.2 City Scenes

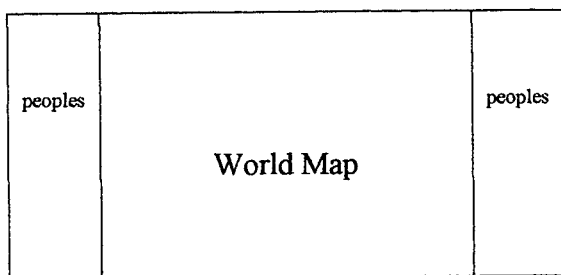
1609-edition Prototype



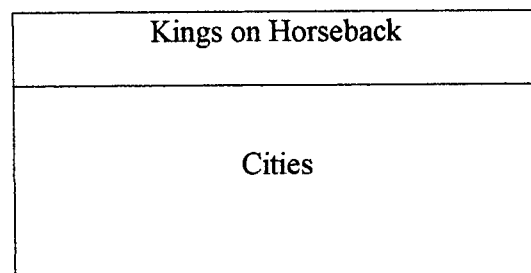
Beneath the kings, the images of the twenty-eight cities are neatly arranged. In the 1609-edition prototype, primary importance was given to the world map compared to its surrounding images and encyclopedic information. Whereas, in the pair of *World-Map-and-City* screens, the world

map and the cities share equal importance. Rather than giving detailed geographical information as in the prototype, Japanese painters' attention seemed to be drawn to the

World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City Screens



World-Map Screen



Twenty-Eight-City Screen

representation of the peoples and the cities. They are more tangible, vivid and "exotic" compared to the world map, an abstract concept of space, and they must have provoked the painters' imagination. This is probably why *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City*

screens show an equal treatment of the world map and the cities. That there are two screens entitled *European Kings on Horseback* (Fig. 11, 12) which depict images of kings suggesting that the painters were not solely interested in world maps.

The portraits of cities below the figures of kings further support the demonstration of Catholic power and dominance. The names of the cities in the first row

Twenty-Eight-City Screen

Holy Roman Emperor	Turkish King	Spanish King	Henry IV, French King	Grand Duke of Moscow	King of Tartar	Abyssinian King	Persian King
Lisbon	Seville	Constantinople	Rome	Venice	Mexico	Portugal	
Danzig	Hamburg	London	Hormuz	Amsterdam	Aden, Yemen		
Bergen, Norway	Stockholm	Genoa	Bantam, Indonesia	Cologne	Frankfurt	Prague	Goa
Alexandria	Moscow	Antwerp	Mozambique	Cuzco, Peru	Cefala, Africa	Calichut	Paris

from left to right are: Lisbon; Seville; Constantinople; Rome; Venice; Mexico and a map of Portugal which is turned sideways. In the second row from left to right are: Danzig, Poland; Hamburg; London; Hormuz at the Persian Gulf; Amsterdam and Aden, Yemen.

⁹⁶ In the third row from left to right are: Bergen, Norway; Stockholm; Genoa; Bantam, Indonesia; Cologne; Frankfurt; Prague and Goa. In the fourth row from left to right are: Alexandria; Moscow; Antwerp; Mozambique; Cuzco; Cefala, Africa; Calichut and Paris.⁹⁷ Many Asian and African port cities were Portuguese strongholds along the trade route. Mexico and Cuzco were centers of the silver trade.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Mitsuru Sakamoto switched Hamburg and Antwerp in *Dai Zabieru Ten*. I have checked *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, which is the prototype of the city maps of the 1607 edition, and confirmed that Hamburg should be in the second row in the screen and Antwerp in the fourth row. Miyoshi's table of the cities agrees with *Civitates*. See: Tōbu Bijutsukan, and Asahi Shinbunsha 16. Miyoshi, "P. Kaerius" 40.

⁹⁷ The names of the cities are from: Miyoshi, "P. Kaerius" 40.

⁹⁸ Vlam 160.

Similar concerns as those applied to the images of the kings, were translated into the city scenes. The victory of the Battle of Lepanto is implied in the first row by placing the allies, Seville and Venice, and their enemy Constantinople on both sides of Rome. Next to Venice is the city map of Mexico. Although Mexico might give an odd impression to this battle between Christendom and the Muslims, it was closely related to Christian power. Hernando Cortés (1485-1547), a Spaniard, ordered it drawn upon his "conquest" of Mexico in 1542, and presented it to King Charles V (1500-1558), the King of Spain, claiming Mexico for Spain, thus Mexico was called New Spain. Its depiction not only implies the victory of the Spanish, who were the leaders of the Battle of Lepanto, which was the last battle of the Crusade,⁹⁹ but also shows that Mexico is a symbol of all other heathen countries which were converted or have to be converted to Christianity. This imports the notion of colonialism. Naming a place which was newly "discovered" "New World" or "New Spain" shows the arrogance of the Europeans for whom the world they did not know did not exist.¹⁰⁰ Mapping and naming in the late sixteenth century were not only the search for the true shape of the world, but also "the political and economic strategies for the Crown, as well as the religious crusade engineered by Rome."¹⁰¹ The screen conceals these characteristics of colonialism under the guise of the orderly and peaceful look of the cities.

In terms of the arrangement of the cities, the Japanese tradition of narrative paintings which starts from the right, was used. A large map of Portugal is at the very important starting point in the upper right-hand corner of the screen. Also, by placing a

⁹⁹ Nishimura, "Repanto" 7.

¹⁰⁰ Walter Mignolo, "Putting the Americas on the Map: Cartography and the Colonization of Space," *The Darker Side of the Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995): 259.

¹⁰¹ Mignolo 288.

large map on the right, the symmetrical balance seen in the prototype was broken. Asymmetrical composition used in Japanese architecture, flower arrangement and painting had been a familiar visual language to the Japanese, and it was effectively used to introduce these unfamiliar scenes of foreign cities. The fact that the map of Portugal takes the largest space in the screen emphasizes its importance. Above all, in the prototype, a map and the crest of Portugal are not included, as will be discussed below, but the painters added them in the screen. Moreover, Lisbon and Portugal, placed as they are at the both ends, create the borders thus representing the notion of Portuguese power and legitimacy, enforced by the Pope in Rome, who is located in the very center of the screen.

Certainly this kind of notion was not shared with everyone, especially with the Japanese who did not know about these ruptures in the world. However when the Jesuits gave this kind of gift to a Japanese lord, they would certainly have explained what Portugal and Rome meant, what these buildings were, and so on, and thus it would have become a means of communication and control, as well as education. As stated above, because the Battle of Lepanto was very important, Valignano clearly described it for the Japanese Christians.¹⁰² As Japanese Christians faced the strict rules and harsh punishment of the government everyday, the meaning and the importance of the Battle of Lepanto might have been well-known at least among Christian painters. Therefore, the screens like this pair of *World-Map-and-City* screens and *Battle-of-Lepanto* screens among others could have been used to reinforce Christian value and unity.

Up to this juncture I have argued that images of the cities and the kings indicate three things: the Battle of Lepanto, and the supremacy of Christian and

Portuguese power. On the screen, other interesting exchanges have taken place that would add a new aspect to it. The 1609-edition world map has twenty-eight city scenes, which probably did not include the city of Rome. It is interesting to note that in the screen, the painters replaced the city of Gammalamma of Moluccas in Indonesia,¹⁰³ with that of Rome which was taken from the biography of Ignatius Loyola (1609) entitled *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae, Societatis Iesu Fundatoris* (Fig. 13).¹⁰⁴ Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) was the founder of the Jesuits, and the adoption of the city map of Rome from his biography has an ideological implication. The source of most of the cities in the 1609 edition and its 1607 prototype is *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. If the 1609 edition of the Dutch world map had Rome in it, probably it would have used the city map of Rome in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Fig. 14), that is, it would be more realistic than this heavily religiously biased map in the screen.¹⁰⁵

The map from the Loyola biography (Fig. 13) shows the Headquarters of the Jesuits, the Church of the Gesù (A) and the University of Rome (B) right in the centre and they are much larger than the rest of the buildings. Other noticeable buildings are nearly all Jesuit related and are depicted in the more central area of Rome than their actual location. Castel Sant' Angelo, the papal fortress, is also represented in a large

¹⁰² Vlam 128.

¹⁰³ Miyoshi, "P. Kaeriusu" 29. It is also called Spice Islands because Moluccas produce spices (Ternate, Moluccas. 香料諸島テルナテ島).

¹⁰⁴ Sakamoto says that it was published in 1610. See his "Nanban" p.188. According to a bibliographic record in an online database "WorldCat," the publication date of the biography is 1609. See the following title in "WorldCat": Galle, Cornelis. *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae, Societatis Iesu Fundatoris*. Romae: [s.n.], 1609. The map was published in Antwerp in ca. 1610. See Thomas M. Lucas, ed. *Saint, Site and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius, Rome and Jesuit Urbanism: Catalogue of the Exhibition: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1990) 133.

¹⁰⁵ Also, the map from the biography was published in 1609 in Rome and 1610 in Antwerp, whereas Kaerius' prototype was published in 1609 in Amsterdam. Therefore the city map from the biography could not have been in the Kaerius' 1609 prototype unless the 1609 city map of Rome published in Rome was used. Under these circumstances, I would argue that the city map of Gammalamma in the Kaerius' 1609

scale on the left. Compared to the city map of Rome in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, this apparently emphasizes the Jesuits' Headquarters and other Jesuit buildings, and shows their close ties to the seat of the Pope. However, only a small part of the east end of the Vatican is represented in the periphery, and the Palazzo San Marco (modern Palazzo Venezia), the papal residence, completely disappears;¹⁰⁶ a strong indication that this is the Jesuits' Rome, and not Papal Rome. Although the representations of the Jesuits' buildings are erroneous, by purposely presenting them larger than real size, the map gives the impression of the importance and authority of the Jesuits in Rome. When the map was shown to people, it is most likely that they accepted the scene as true.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the fact that this city map was specifically chosen and that it is located right in the center of the screen, signifies the righteousness and religious supremacy of the Jesuits' Headquarters in Rome, and the political and religious dominance of Catholic Rome in the world.

Miyoshi Tadayoshi points out that Turkey, Spain and Italy are commonly depicted in three sets of screens. They are: a pair of *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight City* screens, that is the screens under investigation, a pair of *Battle-of-Lepanto-and-World-Map* screens (Fig. 3-4) as noted above, and a pair of *Four-City-and-World-Map* screens (Fig. 15-16). They were produced around the same time, but probably in this order, and deal with a similar theme: world map and peoples.¹⁰⁸ The depiction of Italy, Spain and Turkey in all these screens seems to indicate the Battle of Lepanto. *Four-City-and-*

prototype was replaced with the city map from the biography which is represented in the *Twenty-Eight-City Screen*. For the production dates of the city map of Rome in the biography, see: Lucas 133.

¹⁰⁶ Lucas 134.

¹⁰⁷ As Michel Foucault has written: "knowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of 'the truth' but has the power to make itself true." See: Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publications, 1997): 49.

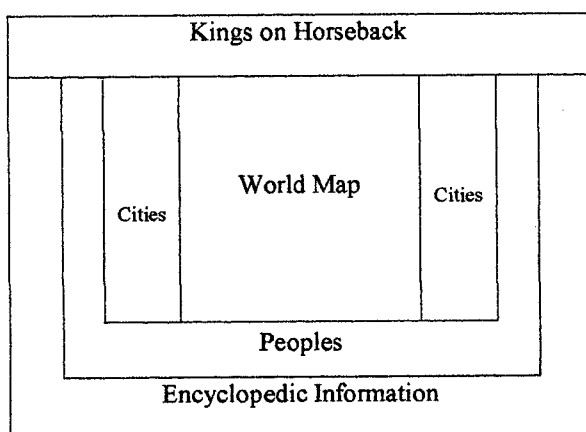
¹⁰⁸ Miyoshi, "P. Kaeriusu" 31.

World-Map screens include four cities: Lisbon, Seville, Rome and Constantinople, in this order from left to right. The city scenes of Lisbon, Seville and Constantinople were also chosen from the Kaerius' 1609 prototype, and the city map of Rome from the biography of the founder of the Jesuits, Ignatius Loyola. The selection and the arrangement of the cities clearly indicates religious conflict between Catholicism and Islam, and their power relationship, that is, powerful Catholicism represented by three cities versus defeated Islam, represented by only one city. They thus also confirm the importance of the victory of Christendom over the Muslims.

With the advent of the commodification of the world maps at the end of the sixteenth century in Europe,¹⁰⁹ visual representations of the cities and the peoples were added, as well as encyclopedic information on the margins. People were able to buy

world maps with or without some of the decorations on the margins. The

1609-edition Prototype



1609-edition world map is framed by the images of the kings on top, the cities on two sides and peoples on three sides, with the text of encyclopedic information at the outer edges. World maps showed not only the geographical shape of the "real world," but were

symbol of science and technology of "advanced European civilization." Therefore, the importance of the Dutch world map was the map itself, and the surrounding images and information were secondary. What is interesting about the city screen is that the Japanese

painters transferred the city scenes, the secondary information in the prototype, not only into a glorious Christian world but also into magnificent utopia, not a "real world," for the pleasure of viewing.

5.3. Urban Space : *In-and-Around-Kyōto* Screens

Interestingly enough, Japan also had a tradition of representation of urban space on screens. These screens, as noted above, do not have individual titles and are called "*In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens." Being different from *Twenty-Eight-City* screen, the buildings and the streets are usually named, thus these functioned as a kind of travel guide, and as such were very popular. The pair of screens housed at the Tōkyō National Museum (Fig. 8-9),¹⁰⁹ which is generally called *Funaki-ke-bon* or *Funaki-bon* (The Funaki family edition) to distinguish it from other *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens were probably produced at the beginning of Genna period (1615-1624).¹¹¹ It represents Kyōto around 1616-1617, depicting about 2,500 animated figures,¹¹² the famous places, festivals and everyday-life activities, such as rice planting, flower viewing, swimming, caring for children, alms-giving, and dancing, and invites the viewers to walk through the city. Although the golden clouds interrupt the view of some streets, they are named, and are not too difficult to follow. Based on the traditional Japanese narrative scrolls, the viewer reads the screens from right to left.

¹⁰⁹ Miyoshi, "P. Kaeriusu" 20.

¹¹⁰ Funaki-ke-bon (Funaki Family edition) (163 x 351 cm)

¹¹¹ Nobuo Tsuji, "Funaki-ke Kyūzōbon Rakuchū Rakugaizu Byōbu no Kentō," *Nihon Byōbue Shūsei 11: Fūzokuga: Rakuchū Rakugai* (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1978) 128.

¹¹² Tsuji 124.

It is meaningful to compare *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens with *Twenty-Eight-City* screen, because it sheds some light on the different perception of city space between the Japanese and the Europeans, and shows how Japanese painters adopted or did not adopt the European concept of urban space. It also brings out social and religious effects on people's views of city space at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Japan and Europe. *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens depict people's actual space and their whole range of daily experiences including peaceful, confused and violent moments. People from various classes and foreigners all intermingle; whereas, *Twenty-Eight-City* screen represents the city as a utopia, a perfect universe of God's creation. Order is assured by eliminating people who are the cause of troubles from the city scenes, and by using a high view point.

Both sets of screens represent commercial activities which might have attracted patrons. *Twenty-Eight-City* screen illustrates port cities surrounded by numerous tall ships and small boats. However, since there are no representations of working people on the shores or the details of individual trade, the cities are isolated from these ships. In this case, as Louis Marin says,

the city is not to be read as a work place. It is rather, the place of virtue and glory, commerce and exchange. In other words, it is presented as a space of communication and of ethical and political transmission. It is a commercial and economic space, not a place for the production of goods or the transforming of nature.¹¹³

Contrary to this, *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens show all kinds of trades and hard working people. Some of the commodities represented are: fabric, swords, umbrellas, medicine, furniture, fans, books, hanging scrolls, lacquer ware, *go* (Japanese board game), lumber,

¹¹³Louis Marin, "The City's Portrait in its Utopic," *Utopics: Spatial Play* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanity Press, 1984) 214.

and painting. There are also restaurants, a barbershop, carriage services, and postal services (like the Pony Express) alongside coopers and farmers.

In-and-Around-Kyōto screens emphasize the space of social and economic exchange in an early modern city as well as leisure activities. There are representations of the famous Gion Festival (the left screen, top of the 1-3 folds), kabuki (Japanese traditional theater (right screen, top of the 6th fold), puppetry (the right screen, middle of the 4-5 folds), dancing on the bridge (the left screen, the 5th fold), and the prostitute district (the right screen, bottom of the 5-6 folds and the first fold of the left screen). People are also depicted as playing with children on the street and swimming, sightseeing, and window-shopping. In *Twenty-Eight-City* screen, however, there are no images of people, which are quite often included in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, the prototype of the 1609 edition. The four sides of the representations of the cities are framed by boundaries, making it hard for human existence and activities. Whereas, *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens have no boundaries until the viewers come to the edge of the city, which is surrounded by a square frame. Yet the streets keep stretching, the river keeps flowing and the people's activities continue under the frame to the outside world. The images of the cities in *Twenty-Eight-City* screen are also connected to each other by water, thus to the outside world, but the activities seem much quieter there.

Both sets of screens have a bird's-eye view, offering the panoramic sight of the cities. However the view point of *Twenty-Eight-City* screen is much higher than that of *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens, and gives the impression of God's authority with its detached look. Some cities have a view point directly above a city, such as Paris, while the eye level view of Danzig and Aden are extremely low. Nevertheless, wherever the

eye levels are, all the scenes imply the existence of omniscient God; whereas the view point of *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens is much closer to the ground, as if the city were seen from a nearby hilltop. It would seem that the scene implies the existence of a human eye rather than a divine eye; the mundane as opposed to the supramundane. When the viewers are high above on the hilltop, they have the pleasure of seeing the whole, and have an illusion of seeing everything. However, all one can see is the spectacle of the city: its affluence, its energy, and the hubbub rising from the ground, but details are effaced. On the other hand, while they are in the city, they are the text of the urban space and thus only a part of it is revealed to them.

In *Twenty-Eight-City* screen, the cities exist in the far distance.

The ancient human dream of flying above the earth and having such an all-embracing view from above as only God could attain was here satisfied. To the exploration of his located, but intense and penetrating eye, the city holds no secrets: its overall shape, the layout of its streets, the architectonic features of its most prominent buildings are all revealed at a single glance.¹¹⁴

One sees the distinctive pattern of the cities but it does not open up a space in which to visually move about as the other city screen does. Viewers would feel as if they could move through the space between the buildings that are neatly arranged on both sides of the streets. As the viewers walk from one city to another, the space reveals to the viewers a new world they did not know, giving the pleasure and excitement of discovering new places.

Nevertheless as the viewers walk through the city, all they see is the facade of the buildings and an uninhabited and deserted place, and it is visible yet opaque urban space but decidedly an unproblematic city. Henri Lefebvre observes that a facade

"implies a front and a back - what is shown and what is not shown."¹¹⁵ Anxious details or problems are out of sight behind this utopic facade. This is a representation of space where readability is reduced to a surface which simultaneously claims to be transparent and free from problems.¹¹⁶ We are invited to view and admire the surface as if it were a religious icon, but not to participate as with the other screens.

According to art historian, Ishida Hisatoyo, *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens were made in such a way that if the screens were set up face to face, viewers in-between the screens would feel as if they were in an actual city space.¹¹⁷ When the viewers move through *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens, the space reveals the world known to them, thus engaging them differently from *Twenty-Eight-City* screen. Part of the pleasure of walking in a city is to be reminded of what it means to be a resident of the city, to see themselves or their neighbours, or to see something unexpected. Because spaces are always in flux, familiar things disappear and new things emerge, providing more memories to the extent that a city is full of "presences of diverse absences."¹¹⁸ Naming a place is giving the place an identity. It is a signifier which brings a whole series of images related to it. The proper names "seem to be carried as emblems by the travelers, they direct and simultaneously decorate."¹¹⁹ In contrast to this "nowness" with all the names which are valid only at this moment of history, the nameless and beautiful cities

¹¹⁴ Lucia Nuti, "Mapping Places: Chorography and Vision in the Renaissance," *Mappings*, ed. by Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion Books, 1999) 101.

¹¹⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) 273.

¹¹⁶ Lynn Stewart, "Bodies, Visions, and Spatial Politics: A Review Essay on Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13 (1995): 611.

¹¹⁷ Sakamoto, "Ōgon" 31. However, Tsuji Nobuo states that the Funaki-ke Kyūzōbon, *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens, is an exception with only one viewpoint, thus the pair of screens should be placed side by side and the urban scenes are continuous. See Tsuji "Funaki-ke" 122.

¹¹⁸ Michel de Certeau, "Walking in the City," *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984): 108.

and kings in *Twenty-Eight-City* screen are timeless and utopic, and unsullied by the everyday. All the cities uniformly fit in their boundaries, suggesting coherence and homogeneity as if to visually imply God's order. People, who introduce the possibility of the unexpected, are removed from the city scenes to *World-Map* screen, making the scenes unproblematic and motionless.

Compared to this utopic space of *Twenty-Eight-City* screen, *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens display a lived and heterogeneous space, and a space of everyday life for all classes of people, including courtiers and commoners. They are all engaged in activities, experiencing the city, as well as creating the text of the city without being able to read it.¹²⁰ This is a space of abundance and energy. Animated bodies fill every corner of the city. People walk, run or even dance through the city, enjoying the pleasure of experiencing the familiar world as it is revealed in front of their eyes with every step they take.

In a lived city, there are fights, beggars, and prostitutes, as well as *samurai* who transgress societal norms by sneaking into the famous pleasure district. They shield their guilt and their impropriety by concealing their faces with fans. Although these ruptures can be spotted here and there, they are all controllable, and all in all the city is happy and prosperous. What has been revealed by narrative discourse also hints at that which has been masked. As in *Twenty-Eight-City* screen, *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens also seem to have a hidden agenda.

In effect, this pair of screens seems to signify the resistance of the patrons or the painters toward the Tokugawa government, and even their longing for the former

¹¹⁹ De Certeau 104.

¹²⁰ De Certeau 93.

ruler. Let us see how this signification is conveyed in the screen. There are two large buildings in this pair of screens, one is Hōkōji Temple on the right of the right screen, and the other is Nijōjō Castle on the left of the left screen.¹²¹ The latter was used by the Tokugawa government and the former was built by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the previous ruler, in 1589.¹²² At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Tokugawa government still struggled with the threat of the previous political figures. This unstable situation caused many political killings, and the repressive power of the Tokugawa government was felt by all.

According to these screens, the red pillars and the black roofing tiles of the Hōkōji Temple are depicted more thickly and in more distinctive color than those of Nijōjō Castle, thus giving a much stronger visual impact. Also the size of the Hōkōji Temple takes up two folds of the screen as does the Nijōjō Castle; however, in reality the castle is much larger than the temple. Other famous "*In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens," such as *Ikeda-ke Kyūzōbon* (Former Ikeda Family edition) at Okayama Art Gallery (Fig. 17-18), the one at Ōsaka Nanban Bunkakan (Ōsaka *Nanban* Culture Museum) (Fig. 19-20), or the one in a private collection (Fig. 21-22),¹²³ whose viewing dates are all around 1614-1617, show Nijōjō Castle larger than Hōkōji Temple, and the colors of the temple much subtler than this. Also, *Ikeda-ke Kyūzōbon* and the one in the private collection place the image of Nijōjō Castle in a more central area than this, thus the image of the Castle implies more significant status. The clouds have been traditionally used in Japanese painting and they guide the viewers to what to see and thereby what not to see.

¹²¹ The Nijō Castle was built by Nobunaga in 1568 as a residence of the Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshiaki.

¹²² Takeshi Moriya, "Tenkabito to Kyōto," *Fūzokuga: Rakuchū Rakugai*, ed. Takeda Tsuneo, Nihon Byōbue Shūsei 11 (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1978) 133.

In this screen, the clouds reveal the whole scene of the Hōkōji Temple. In fact, it is the only major building the golden clouds do not cover at all. On the other hand, some parts of Nijōjō Castle are hidden under the clouds. Moreover, only half of the Nijōjō Castle is represented in the screen. By revealing the temple in its totality, the image represents its importance and gives an illusion of the building on a magnificent scale.

By placing the images of Hōkōji Temple, the symbol of the old government, and the Nijōjō Castle, the symbol of the new government, on both ends of the screens, the screens indicate a challenge to the Tokugawa government. Skillfully concealing this agenda and the unstable condition of the time, this pair of *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens presents Kyōto as a prosperous, energetic and pleasurable city together with a well-controlled nation overseen by the Tokugawa ruler. Similar to *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens, *Twenty-Eight-City* screen conceals the Portuguese and the Jesuits' precarious situation, showing a well-controlled, unproblematic and ideal world, God's creation.

¹²³Tsuneo Takeda, ed., *Fūzokuga: Rakuchū*, Nihon Byōbue Shusei 11 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1978): 46-47, Fig. 25 and 26.

VI. *World-Map* Screen and Japanese Self

6.1. European Cultural Hierarchy

If we consider the other screen of the pair of *World-Map-and-City* screens (Fig. 2), we see that the multi-colored continents surrounded by a dark blue ocean which is covered with Japanese style small and uniform waves. The images of many tall ships with their sails spread full are scattered to every corner of every ocean except for the Arctic region. They pass by imaginary European sea creatures and Tritons which swim or play in the ocean. Various vivid colors separate different regions of the world and the city markers are sprinkled all over the world with the largest identifying the city of Rome. The solar and lunar eclipses are also depicted, as well as the North and South Poles. The figures of forty-two peoples are placed on both sides of the screens. Similar to the arrangement of the city scenes, the Japanese tradition of narrative paintings was applied here. In keeping with this, the arrangement of peoples should be read from the right side of the screen to the left, thus the Europeans come first, based on the European idea of a cultural hierarchy. At the bottom of the right-hand side of the screen, a Japanese man and woman are depicted visually affirming the status of the Europeans.

The geographical "discoveries" of the late sixteenth century saw a flourish of map making in Europe. As Europeans had "discovered" new land, they added new places to the map, therefore revised editions were often published. Geographical "discoveries" and map making were so closely interrelated that a geographer, Norman J. W. Thrower, says, "it can be said that a place is not really discovered until it has been mapped so that it

can be reached again."¹²⁴ Maps are produced based on scientific and mathematical measurement and thus give the impression that they are transparent imitations of an external and objective reality, purely informative and neutral.¹²⁵ However, a map like any text or image, is a historical document which is rooted in traditions of the time, including such things as presuppositions, prejudices, power relationships. As such, maps cannot be free from the values of the time. During the process of mapping, selections, omissions and additions take place based on the value of the particular historical time in which they are made. Signs, such as city markers and colours, are given specific meanings through visual architecture. We have seen these in *Twenty-Eight-City* screen. The twenty-eight cities not only represent individual cities, but each one also represents a country, that is, a part represents a whole, and thus the collection of cities represents the whole world. In the world made up of these cities, we have already observed selection of cities, positioning cities in certain places in the screen, additions to and deletions from the prototypes, and they all signify certain meanings to the screen, in this case, the Victory of the Battle of Lepanto, the glory of the Catholic and the Jesuits' world, and Portuguese power.

Ideas similar to those in *Twenty-Eight-City* screen (Fig. 1) can be detected in *World-Map* screen (Fig. 2). At the bottom right, there are two oval cartouches. The cartouche on the right side has a triangular object on the top. It is a divider, a must for creating maps. Two children sit at the divider keeping records. Between them there is a

¹²⁴ Norman J. W. Thrower, *Maps and Civilization : Cartography in Culture and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 64.

¹²⁵ Christian Jacob, "Toward a Cultural History of Cartography," *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 192.

round cartouche, which is actually a clock.¹²⁶ In a larger square cartouche located at the bottom centre, a book, musical instrument and tools are spread in front of the female figure representing Europe. They all symbolize civilization, and their representation in front of Europe indicates "civilized" European culture. During the late sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, it was customary to add European views to the world maps. A common characteristic found in world maps and illustrations of peoples made by people such as Janszoon Visscher, Theodore de Bry (1528-1598), and Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1563-1611) is cultural hierarchy.¹²⁷ For example, allegorical figures of Europe and Asia usually occupy the upper part of a map, because they have writing systems. However, the former is always higher in the visual hierarchy than the latter, while symbolic representations of the peoples of the Americas and Africa are at the bottom and represented by semi naked people.¹²⁸ As Walter Mignolo has written: "In the process of describing otherness, our hypothetical observer helped redefine the concept of the self-same, that is to say, helped to construct the idea of Europe in the process of inventing a New World."¹²⁹

The prototypes Japanese painters used were no exception. How did Japanese painters incorporate the prototypes and their values into *World-Map* screen? In a cartouche at the bottom center (Fig. 2), an allegorical representation of Europe sits on a globe, a symbol of the world. She is surrounded by the other figures depicted in a manner showing their respect or subjugation to Europe. These figures represent three continents, each accompanied by an animal; a camel for Asia, a crocodile for Africa and

¹²⁶ Tadashi Takahashi, "Nanban Toshizu Byōbu kara Kaeriusu Sekaizu e," *Ezu no Kosumoroji*: Jōkan, ed. by Katsuragawa Ezu Kenkyūkai (Kyōto: Chijin Shobō, 1988) 259.

¹²⁷ Mignolo 279.

¹²⁸ Mignolo 279.

an armadillo for the Americas.¹³⁰ Asia, Africa and the Americas are symbolized by the animals, whereas the use of a globe indicates that Europe controls the world rather than just a continent. According to Jerry Brotton, globes began to symbolize authority through their use rather than their techniques of production. Although the papal division of global space was made on a flat map in 1493, its application was possible only with the use of a spherical globe. "Once produced and used in such high diplomatic circumstances, the globe could be incorporated as a symbol of divinely authorized imperial status, enabling the rival claims of European potentates to universal empire to be simultaneously territorialized and symbolized."¹³¹

The other square cartouche (Fig. 2) depicts Brazilian cannibalism, a symbol of "savages" and "heathens" who had to be "civilized" through conversion to Christianity. There are quite a few documents on Brazilian cannibalism written by the Jesuits who lived among the natives during the mid-sixteenth century. Although the description might be distorted, Donald Forsyth, an anthropologist, thinks some form of cannibalism existed.¹³² According to geographer, Takahashi Tadashi, the illustration of cannibalism is not in either the 1607 edition world map by Blaeu (Fig. 10) or the 1609 edition by Kaerius.¹³³ Illustrations by Theodore de Bry and Jan Huyghen van Linschoten were thought to be its prototype,¹³⁴ but Miyoshi Tadayoshi points out that Ōhira Shūichi¹³⁵

¹²⁹ Mignolo 264.

¹³⁰ Mignolo 273.

¹³¹ Denis Cosgrove, "Introduction: Mapping Meaning," *Mappings*, ed. Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaction Books, 1999) 14. See also: Jerry Brotton, "Terrestrial Globalism: Mapping the Globe in Early Modern Europe," *Mappings*, ed. Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaction Books, 1999) 87-88.

¹³² Donald W. Forsyth, "The Beginnings of Brazilian Anthropology: Jesuits and Tupinamba Cannibalism," *Journals of Anthropological Research* 39.2 (1983): 172-173.

¹³³ Tadashi Takahashi, "Nanban Toshizu Byōbu kara Kaeriusu Sekaizu e," *Ezu no Kosumoroji: Jō-kan*, ed. Katsuragawa Ezu Kenkyūkai (Kyōto: Chijin Shobō, 1988) 259.

¹³⁴ Vlam 132.

supports illustrations by Hans Staden for its prototype.¹³⁶ Europeans not only geographically placed Brazil on the map, but also culturally and conceptually placed it in the European cultural hierarchy. Consequently, highlighting this particular illustration in a cartouche placed next to another and larger cartouche of "civilized" Europe strongly indicates European superiority as well as the Jesuits' program for converting the "savages." Although the painters surely had not been aware of the notion of a cultural hierarchy as viewed by the Europeans, the components of the hierarchical representation were transferred from the original without much modification. Simultaneously, however, the Japanese artists also modified the European prototype to better fit their own views of the world, as will be discussed below.

6.2. Representations of Peoples

An interesting change in *World-Map* screen signals a changing consciousness of the Self. In the 1609-edition prototype, there are representations of Japanese and Chinese figures, and labeled as "Chinenses et Iaponenses." (Fig. 23)¹³⁷ Indeed, two out of three figures wear type of a turban on their head and what seems to be a long western style gown. They look more like Mughal rather than Chinese or Japanese. Nevertheless, the depiction of Chinese and Japanese figures (Fig. 2) in the screen are more realistically delineated. Yet, Japanese figures are placed at the very bottom accepting European cultural hierarchy. The representation of the Japanese woman's long and curly hair,

¹³⁵ Shūichi, Ōhira, "Nihon ni Okeru Minami Amerika Ninshiki no Gensho Keitai: Nanban-kei Sekaizu ni Mirareru Shojōhō o Megutte," *Idemitsu Bijutsukan Kenkyū Kiyō* 2 (1996): 32.

¹³⁶ Miyoshi, "P. Kaeriusu" 31.

which flows on her shoulders and back is at odds with the criteria of Japanese female beauty as requiring black, straight and long hair (Fig. 24). In addition, during the seventeenth century, Japanese women usually wore their hair up.¹³⁸ Thus Japanese artists accepted their own knowledge of Japanese people and painted more realistic Japanese figures, yet representation of curly long hair seems to indicate that they also acknowledged and incorporated new cultural knowledge of "European woman."

An example of a European woman with long and curly hair can be seen in the same screen, in the centre of the fourth row on the same side (Fig. 2). Likewise, in two sets of the screens of *European Landscape with Musicians* (Fig. 25, 26) which were also painted by the Jesuit-trained Japanese painters, there are figures of European women with long and curly hair. *Woman Playing the Zither* (Fig. 27) is attributed to Nobukata 信方,¹³⁹ a Jesuit-trained Japanese painter, and has a figure of a woman with long and curly hair. These paintings are thought to be painted based on European prototypes. Since the symbols of Otherness depicted in *Nanban* screens generally include such things as tall figures, large noses, curly hair and heavy beards,¹⁴⁰ the painters might have applied their new knowledge of European women to their familiar figure of a Japanese woman.

In his *Ōgon to Kurusu* (gold and a crucifix), Sakamoto says that it is probably because painters did not learn how to paint Japanese figures.¹⁴¹ If this were painted by European painters, his idea might be a solution. Nevertheless, it is a common knowledge that this screen was painted by Japanese painters based on awkward chiaroscuro and

¹³⁷ Miyoshi, "J. Burau" 58. Fig. 12.

¹³⁸ Yasutaka Kanazawa, *Edo Keppatsushi* (Tōkyō: Seiabō, 1968) 18-19.

¹³⁹ 婦女弾琴図. Yamato Bunkakan Museum, Nara. 55.5 (H) x 37.3 (W) cm.

¹⁴⁰ Toby, "Indianness" 331.

perspective applied in the screens, as well as the perfect use of *Momoyama* style. These Japanese painters probably had their basic painting training under the *Kanō* school tradition, a standard painting training of the time, which covered both *Tosa* (Japanese) style and *Kanga* (Chinese) style paintings. It is also known that some Christian *Kanō* painters existed, such as *Kanō Dōmi* 狩野道味 and *Kanō Ichūn* 狩野一雲.¹⁴² Therefore, they must have painted pictures of Japanese people, women, men and children alike. Moreover, they lived in Japanese society and would have known for sure that Japanese women usually did not have curly, long hair.

With regard to the same imagery, Professor Matsumoto argues that the Japanese painters were so affected by the Western mode of seeing that, "even their idealization of non-Western (most likely Japanese woman) women became almost smothered by a profuse and colorful application of a pictorial vocabulary more akin to Western conventions than to those of Japan."¹⁴³ Other similar instances can be seen in many illustrations of the "primitives" depicted by the European painters, such as the representations of the Hawaiians illustrated by Captain Cook's painters. Also, the imagery of the Chinese people depicted by a late seventeenth century Dutch artist, Carolus Allard, is a "hybrid" of European impressions of Chinese women (Fig. 28).¹⁴⁴ However, these images delineate the figures of other ethnic groups, and not the painters' own. Ronald Toby states that "each viewed new Others through lenses of culturally

¹⁴¹ Sakamoto Ōgon 120, note for Fig. 132. He states:

"...眼が窪んだ、くせ毛の日本人が描かれるのは、日本人の描きかたを習わなかったからであろう"

¹⁴² Okamoto and Takamisawa 126-127.

¹⁴³ Moritaka Matsumoto, "Images of Westerners in Nanban Art," *The Walls Within: Images of Westerners in Japan and Images of the Japanese Abroad: Selected Proceedings*, ed. Kin'ya Tsuruta (Vancouver: Institute of Asian Research, UBC, 1989): 199.

¹⁴⁴ Carolus Allard, *Orbis Habitabilis Oppida et Vestitus = The Towns and Costumes of the Inhabited World* (1695; Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966) Fig. 35: Honan.

constructed iconographies built-in, or just beyond the limits of, familiar universes, and tried at first to incorporate the new Other into its existing cosmology."¹⁴⁵ Similarly, Japanese painters might have tried to incorporate the new by intermixing it with the known.

Whether the painters wanted to assimilate to a European style or they were simply instructed to paint it this way, the representation does not indicate a Japanese identity. A similar problem is handled quite differently in *Bankoku Sōzu* (map of the world), a set consisting of a painting and a woodcut (Fig. 30)¹⁴⁶ made only about thirty years later in 1645, six years after Japan had closed the country. The set includes a painted world map on one sheet and printed figures of peoples on the other. The models for these figures were most likely the world map screens produced at the beginning of the seventeenth century, including *World-Map* screen. However, the totally imaginative figures of giants (lower left) and dwarves (right above the giants) are also included, which are not in *World-Map* screen. In this print, the arrangement of the figures is completely different. In the first row, Japanese figures come first, at the very top right, followed by Chinese, Korean, probably *Dattan* (Tartar) and *Orankai* (part of present-day Korea) figures. European figures are at the bottom half following other Asian and African figures. In other words, Asian figures come first and European figures come last. That is completely the other way around from the arrangement of the figures in the *World-Map* screen. Furthermore, Japanese figures are delineated very naturally, not like

¹⁴⁵ Toby, "Indianness" 329.

¹⁴⁶ *Bankoku Sōzu* 万国総図 (map of the world). 1645. Shimonoseki Shiritsu Chōfu Hakubutsukan. See: Miyoshi, *Zusetsu* 45. Another edition is in Kōbe City Museum. 134.0 (H) x 57.6 (W) cm. Early 17th century manuscript accompanied by a sheet (136 (H) x 59.5 (W) cm.) showing the peoples of the world (1645 woodcut). See: Oda, Muroga, and Unno 146-147, Fig. 60. The Special Collections, Main Library at the University of British Columbia has also 1645 edition.

the hybrid one in *World-Map* screen. Nevertheless, the combination of the figures of *samurai* in armor, which is a contemporary honourary figure, and a court lady in the Heian period (794-910) style is a little strange. The meaning of this combination could be the subject of further research. Other figures delineated in the same row are more Chinese and Korean. This emphasis on Japan and Asia clearly indicates Japanese awareness of Self and Asia in the global space based on their knowledge of their neighbouring Others.

During the early seventeenth century, nude painting was almost unknown in Japan. Yet, a majority of the images of the peoples on the left edge of this screen wear very few clothes. Three are totally nude, showing the genital area. At the bottom of the same screen there is a pair of female busts with huge breasts, which are exaggerated and unnaturally twisted towards the viewers. As Professor Matsumoto points out, this clearly indicates the painters fascination with European women's breasts.¹⁴⁷ Simultaneously, it also suggests male viewership. This openness and curiosity is quite different from the representations of the nude figures depicted on the title page of *Kaitai Shinsho* (a laborious translation of a Dutch human anatomy book published in 1774) (Fig. 31). Interestingly enough, the image of an ideal Renaissance man in the original book was transformed into that of a little shy and tired-looking man with his genital area securely covered by his hand. Considering that this book was published much later, in 1774, and has many illustrations of human bodies in whole or in parts, this modification is quite mysterious and amusing. Conservative *Shushigaku* (a school of Confucianism) thought, which was popular at the time, might have influenced the representation. However, more research is necessary to determine what really affected it.

In early modern Dutch maps, European-Christian culture was supreme. The location of nations outside this belief system depended on their level of development based on a European Christian view of the world. During the process of creating the screens, this ideology was inadvertently transferred. In *World-Map* screen, peoples with clothes or light-colored skin were arranged on the right side, and peoples wearing fewer clothes or having darker skin were placed on the left side. Similar to *Twenty-Eight-City* screen, these people represent not only peoples but also the countries they belong to, thus in total representing a whole world. Traditionally, maps were believed to show accurate and permanent boundaries. "Indeed, the concept and practice of precise and permanent separation, of special 'fixing' inherent in boundary definition and conventional mapping (whose *sine qua non* is the bounding frame) represent an urge towards classification, order, control and purification."¹⁴⁸

As we saw in *Twenty-Eight-City* screen, figures of peoples, which are the source of troubles, were all eliminated from the city scenes in order to produce an ideal God's creation. In this *World-Map* screen, the source of troubles were neatly classified and put in separate boundaries, making it difficult to disturb the order of the world. The world is under control. This is totally different from the representation of people depicted in *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens, where people from all classes intermingle and create everyday-life activities. In this interaction between Japanese and European imagery, one finds the first attempts to classify people in relation to geography. It is a construction of knowledge central to Jesuit aims.

¹⁴⁷Matsumoto, "Images of Westerners" 195.

¹⁴⁸Cosgrove, "Introduction" 4.

Being an encyclopedic informational source, the Kaerius' 1609 prototype has labeled illustrations of cities and peoples on the periphery. The illustrations of kings are even accompanied by their descriptions.¹⁴⁹ As noted above, in *World-Map* screen, geographical names were eliminated except for the names of the continents. Neither are there longitudes nor latitudes except for the equator and the north and the south tropic of Cancer.¹⁵⁰ As a result, the scientific world full of factual information was translated into a space of colorful continents decorated with "exotic" peoples to embellish lords' rooms.

6.3. Representation of the Islands of Japan

Another change that signals a shifting consciousness about the Self is the way Japan is represented in the screen (Fig. 2). In the prototype (Fig. 10), only the southwestern part of Japan is depicted at the periphery. Two significant alterations appear. First, the northwest coast of North America was moved to the right so that Japan would not be at the periphery of the world. Second, the small and hardly recognizable islands in the prototype are enlarged and occupy a very distinctive place in the screen. Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit's priest, produced maps in China from 1584 for the propagation of Christianity, and two 1602-editions are extant in Japan.¹⁵¹ In this edition, he placed China (and as a result Japan, too) in the centre, for the Chinese believed that politically

¹⁴⁹ For the descriptions, see Miyoshi "P. Kaeriusu" 44-46.

¹⁵⁰ This is actually a common feature of all world-map screens.

¹⁵¹ Vlam 136. One is in Kyōto University and the other in Sendai Municipal Library. According to Miyoshi, the second original copy is in "Miyagi-ken Toshokan." It is not clear if he meant by this Miyagi Prefectural Library or a library in Miyagi Prefecture. Since Sendai is the capital city of Miyagi Prefecture, I suspect that Vlam and Miyoshi are talking about the same 1602 original. See Miyoshi, *Zusetsu* 55. Ricci's 1602-edition world map was introduced to Japan for the first time in 1605. See: Nishimura, "Repanto" 14.

and culturally China was the centre of the world. Therefore, the placement of Japan in *World-Map* screen might also be instructed by the Jesuits, because the pair of *World-Map-and-City* screens was most likely produced in a Jesuits' seminary. The centralizing of one's own country in a world map is not unique to Europe or China.¹⁵² Nevertheless, whatever the intention was, the more centered representation of Japan might indicate the awareness of an identity.

In *World-Map* screen, Japan is separated into the eight geographical regions, with different colours distinguishing one from the other. According to Miyoshi Tadayoshi, Amakusa Islands in Shimabara Region, is depicted in green whereas light pink covers Kyūshū where Amakusa, a tiny local city, belongs.¹⁵³ He also states that *Battle-of-Lepanto-and-World-Map* screens also give a unique colour to Amakusa.¹⁵⁴ Why does this small Amakusa have its own colour? Amakusa had a long Christian tradition since Luis d'Almeida's visit in 1566.¹⁵⁵ The Christian population dramatically increased in 1577 when the lord Amakusa Shigehisa 天草鎮尚 (baptized Miguel in 1571, d. 1582) declared the wholesale Christianization of his subjects. They were told either to accept the faith or leave the islands. Under these circumstances, all of his subjects, "ten or twelve thousand souls," were said to be converted and baptized.¹⁵⁶ By 1592, there were as many as 23,000 Christians on the islands.¹⁵⁷ One figure claims that

¹⁵² Muslim geographers and India's Brahmans, for example, had done the same thing for self-glorification. See: Martin W. Lewis, and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critiques of Metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) 69.

¹⁵³ Miyoshi, "P. Kaeriusu" 37-38.

¹⁵⁴ Miyoshi, "P. Kaeriusu" 37-38.

¹⁵⁵ George Ellison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973) 218.

¹⁵⁶ John Whitney Hall, ed., *Early Modern Japan*, The Cambridge History of Japan 4 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 333.

¹⁵⁷ Ellison 218.

in 1581, 150,000 Christians were in Japan.¹⁵⁸ Although this figure is a decade earlier, 23,000 Christians on the tiny islands represent quite a large concentration of Christians. The seminary of painters was also located in Amakusa for about seven years in total.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, Amakusa was ruled by an important Christian lord, Konishi Yukinaga, for eleven years until his death in 1600 at the Battle of Sekigahara. The battle divided Japan into two, between the Toyotomi and Tokugawa clans, and Yukinaga was a main driving force of the Toyotomi clan. Under a new lord, Terazawa, Christians in Amakusa started to feel pressure. There was the Shimabara Rebellion in 1637 by the Christians, but as early as the first decade of the seventeenth century, historian George Ellison states that "[t]he ingredients for an *ikki* [(rebellion)] were present, in Amakusa as in Shimabara."¹⁶⁰

As we have seen, the city marker on the city of Rome in *World-Map* screen was the largest. Similarly the distinctive colour of Amakusa might indicate the importance of Amakusa to the Jesuits and Japanese Christians for its high concentration of Christians and as a location of the seminary. It could also be used to commemorate the execution of Yukinaga and affliction the Christians suffered after Yukinaga's death. Thus, the image of the islands of Japan not only indicates Japanese Self, but also the hardship of the Christian world in Japan. By giving a special place to Amakusa, the Jesuits might have wanted to encourage Japanese Christians. This could be another sign that the Jesuits used world maps to spread Christianity. Simultaneously, the different colour on Amakusa indicates Japanese first attempt to visually classify people within Japan, identifying Christians in Amakusa as Other as opposed to non-Christian Japanese. Or, since *World-Map* screen was painted by Japanese Christians, green coloured

¹⁵⁸ Okamoto, *Namban Art* 96.

¹⁵⁹ Bailey 67.

Amakusa might have signified "Us" and the rest the Other. Although Japanese Christians and Japanese non-Christians were equally Japanese, both groups realized the differences between them. The main criterion of Otherness changed from just peoples' looks, such as skin and hair colour, to inner thoughts. By realizing differences among themselves, the Japanese were defining themselves more finely and establishing Self more clearly. Therefore, this distinctive colour on Amakusa could indicate the Japanese further awareness about themselves. This idiosyncratic colour on Amakusa is ironical because in less than thirty years later, the Shimabara Rebellion bursted in 1637. It is said that 37,000 Christians, including women and children, in Amakusa and Shimabara perished.¹⁶¹

When the painters moved the location of the image of the islands of Japan to a more central area, how did they render the shape of the rest of Japan? Although the 1609-edition of the Dutch prototype was the most current geographical information on the world available at the time, their knowledge on Japan was very limited. Therefore, only a very small part of Japan is delineated in the prototype. On the other hand, there is a record which suggests when Lord Kakizaki of Ezo (present-day Hokkaidō, the northern island of Japan) went to Kyōto, his retainers had an opportunity to meet a Portuguese, Ignacio Moreira, in 1591. Moreira was in Kyōto as an attendant of Valignano, the Visitor of the Society of Jesus. Based on geographical information Moreira gained from Lord Kakizaki's retainers, he produced a map of Ezo in 1591 for the first time in the world. Although the map itself does not exist, the accompanying explanatory book is still

¹⁶⁰ Elison 210.

¹⁶¹ Elison 221.

extant.¹⁶² As Moreira's example clearly indicates, the Jesuits had more Japanese geographical information than Dutch mapmakers of the time. Consequently, it is logical to think that the Jesuits provided the painters with geographical information on Japan, and thus they could delineate the map of Japan much more accurately in the screen than the most current Dutch world maps at that time (Fig 29).¹⁶³

6.4. Consciousness of Self: *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People Screens*

Similar to *Bankoku Sōzu* (a set of the world map and illustrations of peoples made in 1645) (Fig. 30), a pair of world maps and peoples screens made in the late eighteenth century indicates more definite sense of self. It is called *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People* screens (Fig. 32-33).¹⁶⁴ Although the set was produced almost hundred fifty to hundred eighty years after *World-Map* screen, and the historical situation along with the socio-economic, political and religious situations are completely different, it is still useful to compare. That is because *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People* screens show how the world map and figures of peoples would look differently from

¹⁶² Okamoto, *Jūroku Seiki* 113.

According to Kimura Tōichirō, a geographer, Bartholomeu Velho made a world map in 1562. The map has a diamond-shaped island north of Honshū, and Kimura thinks that that is the island of Hokkaidō. However, we have to wait until 1650s in order to see a world map with an island clearly indicated IESO (old name of Hokkaidō). It was made by P. Mortier. See: Tōichirō Kimura, *Kinsei Chizushi Kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Kokon Shoin, 1987) 68-71. In Japan, *Ezotō no Zu* (map of Ezo, i.e. Hokkaidō) appeared for the first time in 1599. See: Takeo Oda, *Chizu no Rekishi: Nihon hen*, Kōdansha Gendai Shinso (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1974) 116.

¹⁶³ Kenneth Nebenzahl wrote an article in 1997 and claimed that the map he found might be the missing Moreira's map (Fig. 29). The world map has Hokkaidō in its entirety, almost as large as Honshū, the main island. Maltese crosses are sprinkled in many areas of the world showing Christian influences, but not in Japan yet. It also has the text which suggests how the Jesuits used world maps to propagate Christianity. See: Nebenzahl, Kenneth, and Alfredo Pinheiro Marques. "Moreira's Manuscript: A Newly Discovered Portuguese Map of the World - Made in Japan." *Mercator's World*. (July/Aug. 1997): 18-23.

¹⁶⁴ 世界四大洲図・四十八国人物図屏風. Kōbe City Museum. 164x 364 cm.

World-Map screen by indicating more sense of Japanese Self. When the former was made, there were no Jesuits in Japan, therefore there was no Christian influence. Also, the Japanese had more knowledge about the society and the civilization of the world through such people as the Dutch, Chinese and Koreans. As will be discussed in the following paragraphs, by contrasting with the screens made much later, I intended to show how *World-Map* screen was still in the making of Self through the world view created by the Jesuits and the Europeans. Although I used the screens made in 1645 as noted above and in the late eighteenth century for comparisons, I did not intend to show that the development of Japanese Self signified in the screens evolved smoothly. There are too many missing links in-between, and also it depends on the historical situation of the time and the circumstances where individuals resided.

Based on this common ground, let us examine *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People* screens. This pair of six-fold screens has maps of two continents on each screen, and twelve representative figures of each continent around the borders. Similar to *World-Map-and-City* screens, there was a prototype for this pair, and Miyoshi Tadayoshi discovered it.¹⁶⁵ It was made by a Dutch mapmaker, Gerard Valck (ca. 1650-1726) around 1695.¹⁶⁶ A comparison of the screens with their prototype reveals more developed expression of Japanese confidence in their own knowledge about the world than that found in *World-Map* screen. In the Valck's prototype, there are two illustrations of Chinese: Kanton and Honan which are completely "hybrid" Chinese (Fig. 28, 34).¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Tadayoshi Miyoshi, "Edo Jidai no Nihon e Tsutawatta Oranda-sei Kabechizu," *Kansai Daigaku Hakubutsukan Kiyō*, Sōkangō (Mar. 1995): 95.

¹⁶⁶ Hand colored copper plate. Asian Continent: 102.6 x 125.6 cm.

Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, *Eikō no Oranda Kaiga to Nihon = Glorious Past of The Netherlands and Japan* (Osaka: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1993): 197.

¹⁶⁷ Many figures in the prototype, including Kanton and Honan, is based on *The Town and Costumes of the Inhabited World* by a Dutch artist, Carolus Allard, published in 1695.

Although the Japanese painters carefully copied most of the original figures, they did not use the figures of Kanton and Honan in the prototype. Instead, they painted more "Chinese-like" figures along with pagodas and other Chinese-style buildings in the background. In other words, they adopted their own idea of Chinese people, "People of Great Ming 大明人." Although it is not clear if this Chinese scene came from another source, the painters' deliberate choice not to use the one in the prototype evidently signifies that the Japanese gave their preference to their own knowledge on China over the Europeans' knowledge. Compared to this, although the figure of a Japanese woman with curly hair in *World-Map* screen seems to show the painters' newly acquired knowledge of western women, it looks as if they were still trying to define Other as means of articulating their own cultural identity. Defining their own knowledge on Japan, China and Asia by contrasting with the Europeans, the Japanese defined their own identity as Japanese or as Asian in the world. As opposed to the adoption of the strange hairstyle of the Japanese woman in *World-Map* screen, the sense of Japanese Self could be detected more clearly in *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People* screens.

Another significant thing about *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People* screens is that there is no representations of Japanese people or scenery. There are figures of a Chinese couple, titled "People of Great Ming" and other Asian peoples around Asian continent, but there are no Japanese people. Equally, there are Chinese and Mongolian scenes above Asian and African continents, and a European battle scene¹⁶⁸ on the other screen, but no Japanese scenes. In other words, Japanese painters delineated

¹⁶⁸ According to Kees Zandvliet, the scene might represent the Four Days' Battle that took place in 1666 between English and Dutch ships, which was a popular theme of the European painters. See Kees Zandvliet, "Maps of the Early Tokugawa Era: Mirrors of Trade and Art," *Eikō no Oranda Kaiga to Nihon*

only Others. Even *Bankoku Sōzu* (Fig. 30), a set of world map and figures of peoples made in 1645, had a Japanese couple of *samurai* in armor and a woman in court style. What does this signify? It seems to me that they did not need to delineate their own figures or scenery any more, because they came to establish Japanese Self and had clearer idea about Japan, Asia and Europe

This Japanese Self based on the confidence of their own knowledge has been partly seen in the "People of Great Ming," as noted above, but it is also supported by the illustrations of scenery. The scenery indicates that they had a clear geographical idea of Asia as opposed to other continents, and that Japan belonged to Asia. The fact that half of the total strip represents Asia, and only one quarter represents Europe would signify the importance or awareness of Asia in the world. Comparison with the Valck's prototype also indicates the notions of Japanese painters' Self. The strips above each continent in the prototype has exactly the same pattern which includes the figures of peoples and animals representing all the world, and a banner indicating the name of each continent (Fig. 35).¹⁶⁹ However, in the screens, Japanese painters changed three quarters of the total strip and chose their own subjects, such as a rice planting and harvesting scene, a typical Chinese theme by Kanō school, a scene of grand Mongolian tiger hunt and a fierce European naval battle scene. They did not depend on the prototype, and delineated Asian scenes totally in Japanese traditional style.

= *Glorious Past of The Netherlands and Japan*, ed. Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan (Ōsaka: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1993) 211. Illustration: catalogue no. 203

¹⁶⁹ Josef H. Biller, "Jemniště ist eine Reise wert: Kostbarkeiten holländischer Kartographie und Vedutenkunst in Böhmen," *Speculum Orbis* 2(1985): 47, 49.

A sense of Self is even more evident in the map of Asia (Fig. 36), which is a meticulous copy of the prototype in terms of geographical features and names.¹⁷⁰ The prototype has big blocks of light pink, green and yellow all over the map (Fig. 37). Compared to the original, Japan in *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People* screen is painted in bright red, making it very prominent. Also in the screen, Siberia and the northern and eastern part of Asia, which are adjacent to Japan are not colored as in the original. Thus by eliminating the color conflict with the bright red of Japan, the emphasis on Japan was even more accentuated. Moreover, according to Miyoshi Tadayoshi, two Western ships are replaced with two Chinese ships¹⁷¹ giving prominence to China or Asia.

¹⁷⁰ There is a mistake, that is in the European section, the River Euphrates is depicted in Turkey. See: Zandvliet "Maps" 210.

¹⁷¹ Tadayoshi Miyoshi, "Oranda no Tamamono = Gifts from Holland." *Eikō no Oranda to Nihon = Glorious Past of The Netherlands and Japan* ([Ōsaka]: Asahi Shinbunsha Bunka Kikakukyoku Ōsaka Kikakubu, 1993) 173.

VII. Conclusion

Through this investigation, I hope it has become clear that *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City* screens are evidence of a cultural exchange between Europe and Japan. Various discourses that constructed the meanings of the screen were also revealed. The idea of the motifs of the screen came from the European sources, thus the painters inevitably transferred the components of the European notions of territorial expansion and cultural hierarchy as seen in the arrangement of the peoples, allegorical representations of four continents, and the display of cannibalism. The notion of Christianity was also emphasized because the Jesuits initiated the making of the screen, and brought with them Catholic world view. The insertion of the map of Rome from the biography of Ignatius Loyola typically shows their view. Simultaneously, glorifying the victory of the Battle of Lepanto over the Muslims was skillfully incorporated into the selection and arrangement of the representations of the kings and the cities. As well, another insertion of the map of Portugal and their crest signifies the Portuguese domination over the world. The comparison with *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens revealed a different concept of urban space: utopic and heterogeneous space. God's creation of an anonymous, idealized and decidedly unproblematic urban space in *Twenty-Eight-City* screens makes a sharp contrast with an energetic and sometimes chaotic space of everyday-life in *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens.

At the same time however, the screen incorporated Japanese visual vocabularies. The screens use a profuse application of gold foil and vivid colours for the pleasure of viewing, typical of the *Momoyama* style. The screens transformed the pragmatism of the scientific and geographical information of the monotone world map into magnificent screens to decorate a lord's castle or a wealthy merchant's mansion. These kinds of

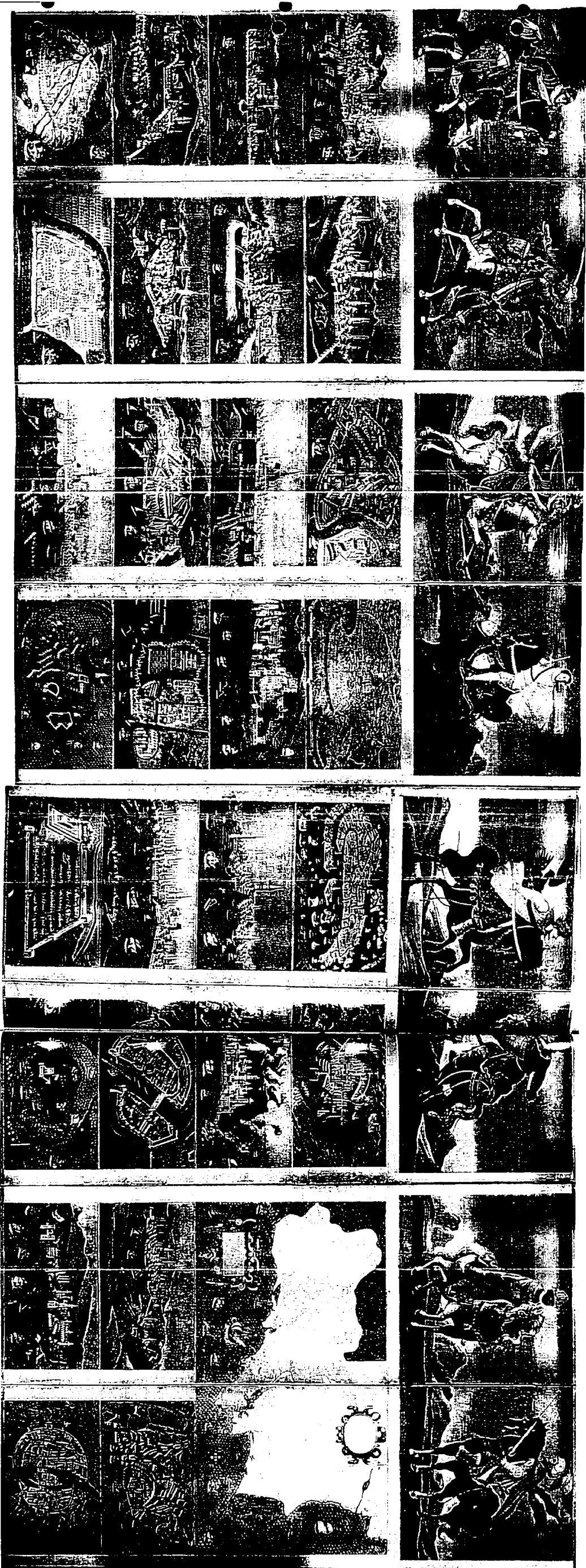
screens were also used as ideological gifts to better serve donor's purposes. Also the screens embodied the patrons' or the viewers' economic inclination by depicting international trade. Japanese tradition of asymmetrical visual language was also used to arrange unfamiliar western motifs.

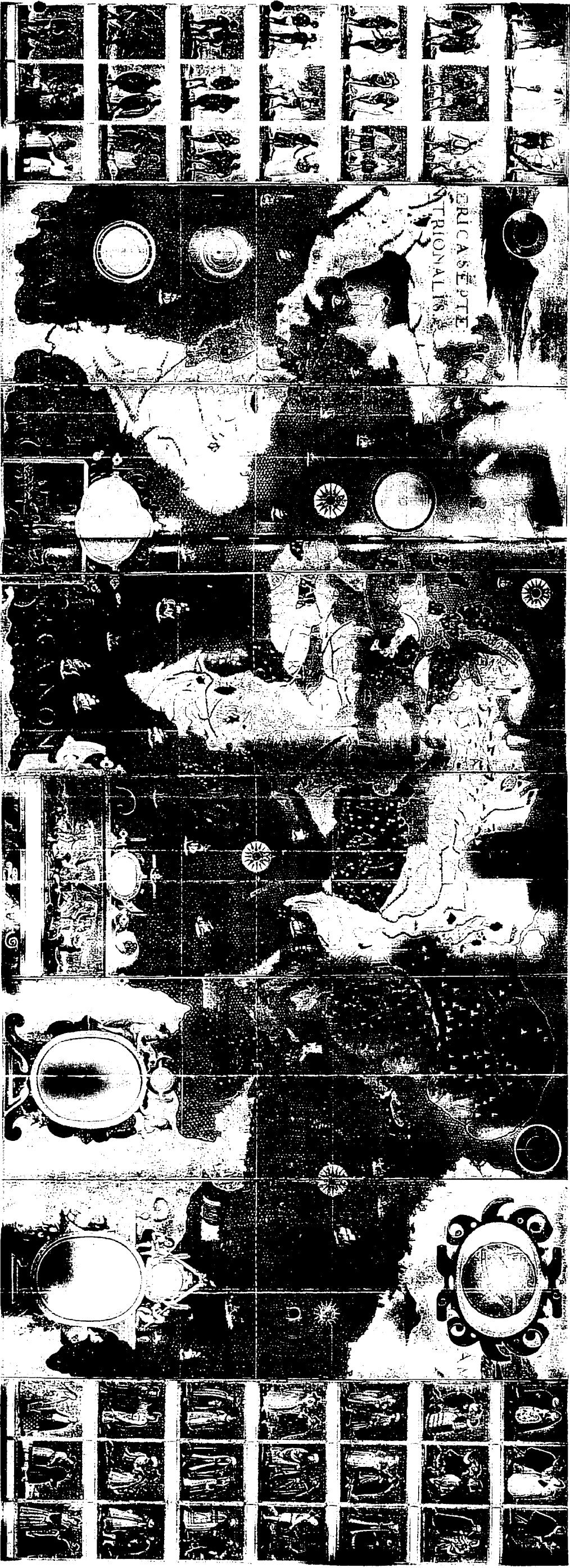
Through the comparison with *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-Peoples* screens, I detect the emergence of sense of Self, that was forged in relation to the Europeans. Moreover, although the screens give the impression of the orderly and peaceful world, it masks the unstable situation which the Jesuits and Portugal were experiencing at the time. That is that they were religiously, politically and economically threatened by the Muslims, by the Japanese government and by the rising Protestant countries. The concept of the world represented in the screens was not shared with everyone, certainly not with those in Japan who did not come into contact with Jesuit missionary work. Yet, *World-Map-and-City* screens are important, bringing together a geographical mode of knowledge with a decorative and seductive form of painting. While presenting an interesting cultural exchange between Europe and Japan, the screens nonetheless maintained the notion of a powerful Catholic world rather than articulating Japanese sense of Self.

Figures

Overleaf:

- 1 & 2. *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City* screens. Early 17th century.
Colour on paper. A pair of eight-fold screens. Each 179 x 490 cm.
The Royal Household Agency, Tōkyō.



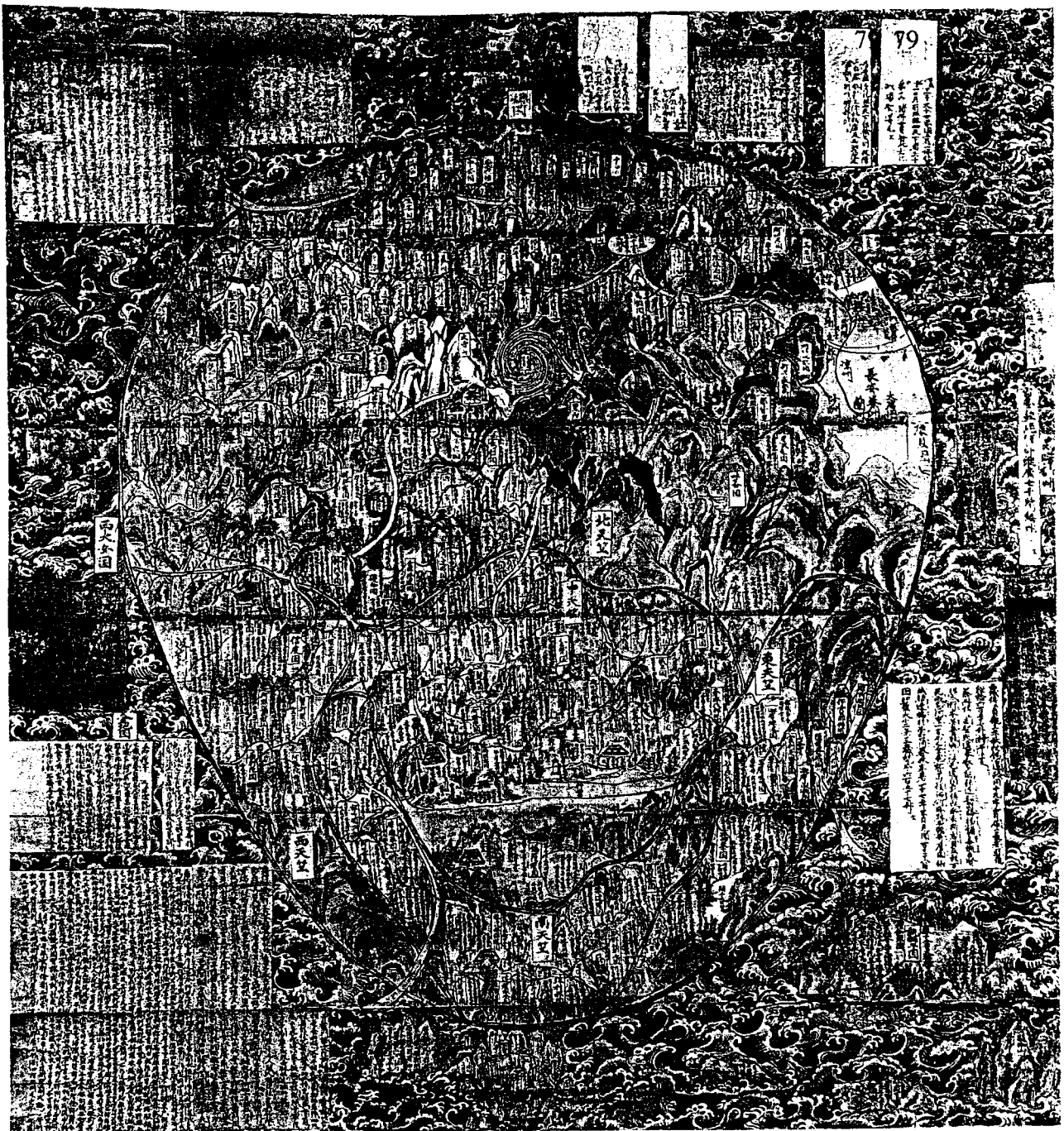




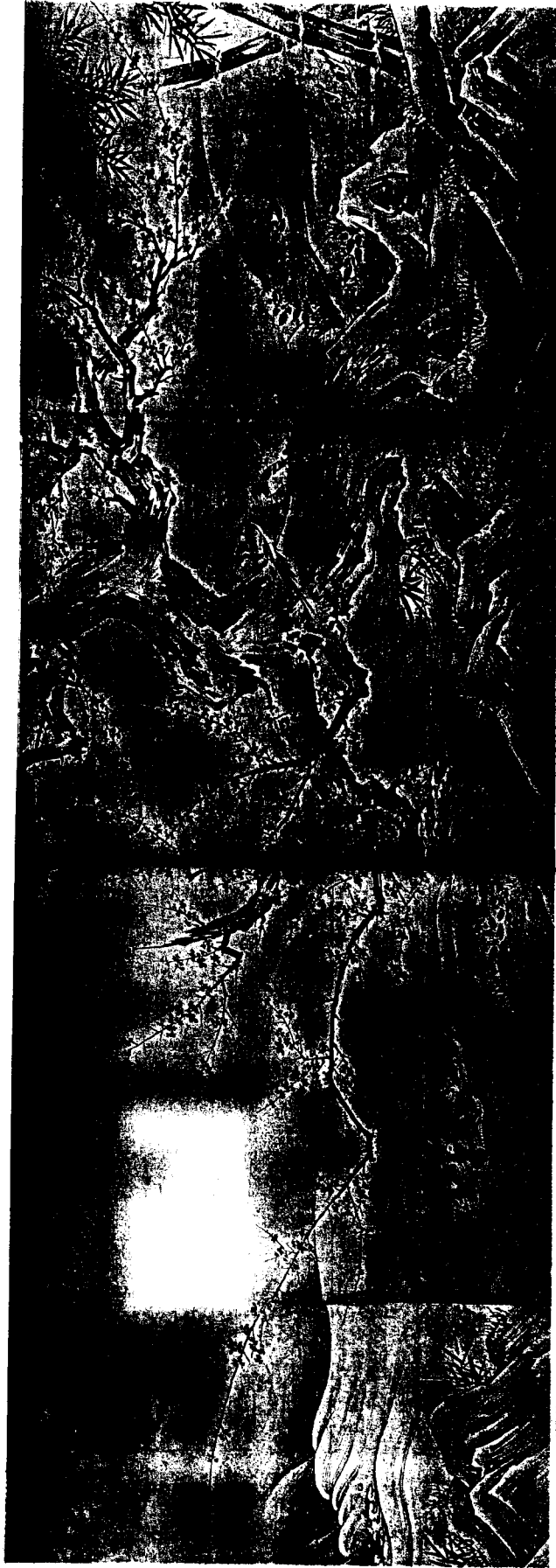
3. *Battle of Lepanto* screen. Kōsetsu Museum. Early 17th century. Colour on paper.
A pair of six-fold screens. 153.5 x 362.5 cm. Kōsetsu Art Gallery



4. *Map of the World*. A set with *Battle of Lepanto* screen. Kōsetsu Museum. Early 17th century. Colour on paper.
A pair of six-fold screens. 153.5 x 362.5 cm. Kōsetsu Art Gallery



5. *Gotenjiku zu* (Map of the Five Regions of India). Jūkai (b.1297). 1364.
Manuscript. Mounted as a scroll. 177 x 166.5 cm. Hōryūji, Nara.



6. *Plum Tree and Water Birds*. Kanō Eitoku (1543-1590). 16th century.
Paper sliding doors. Daitokuji, Jukōin, Kyōto.

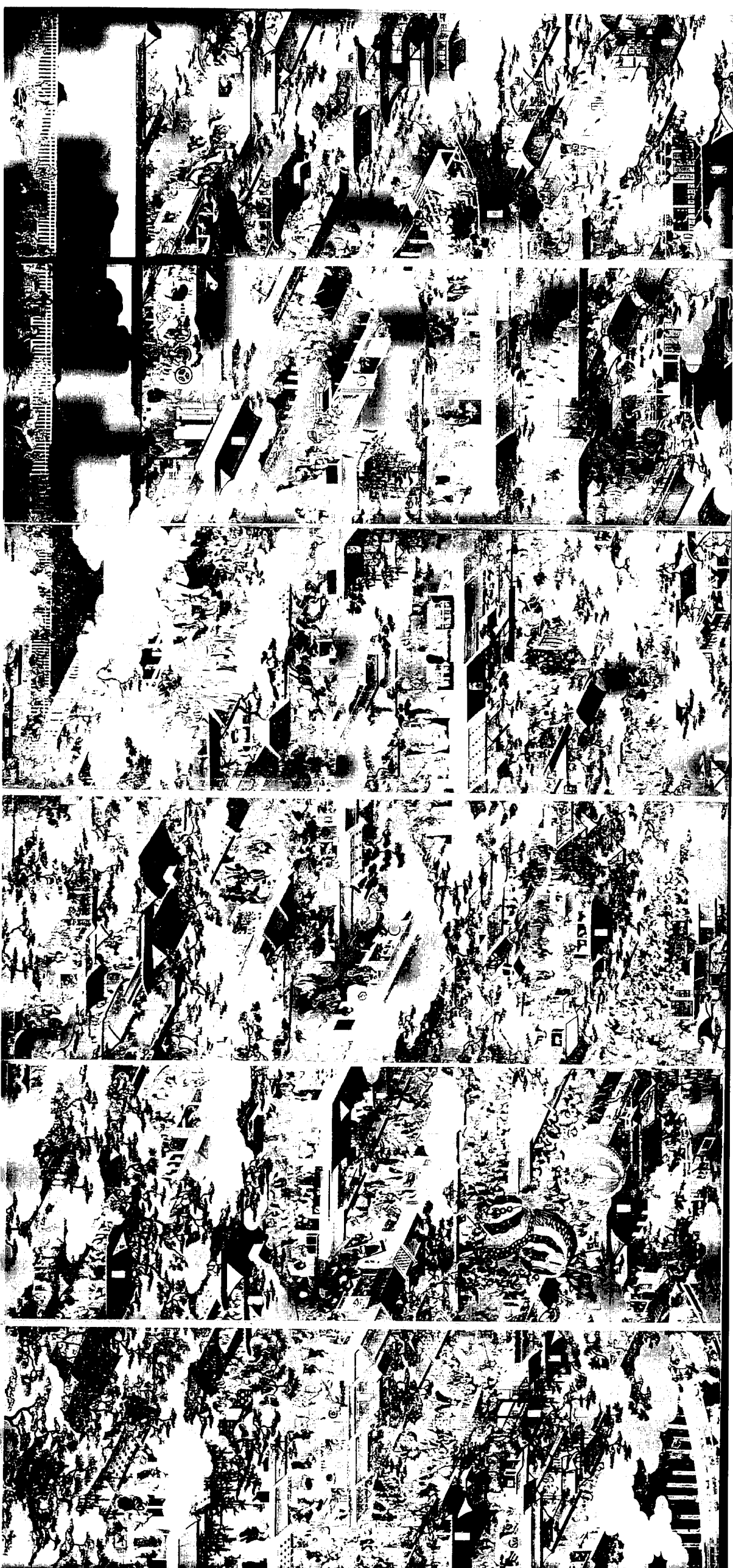


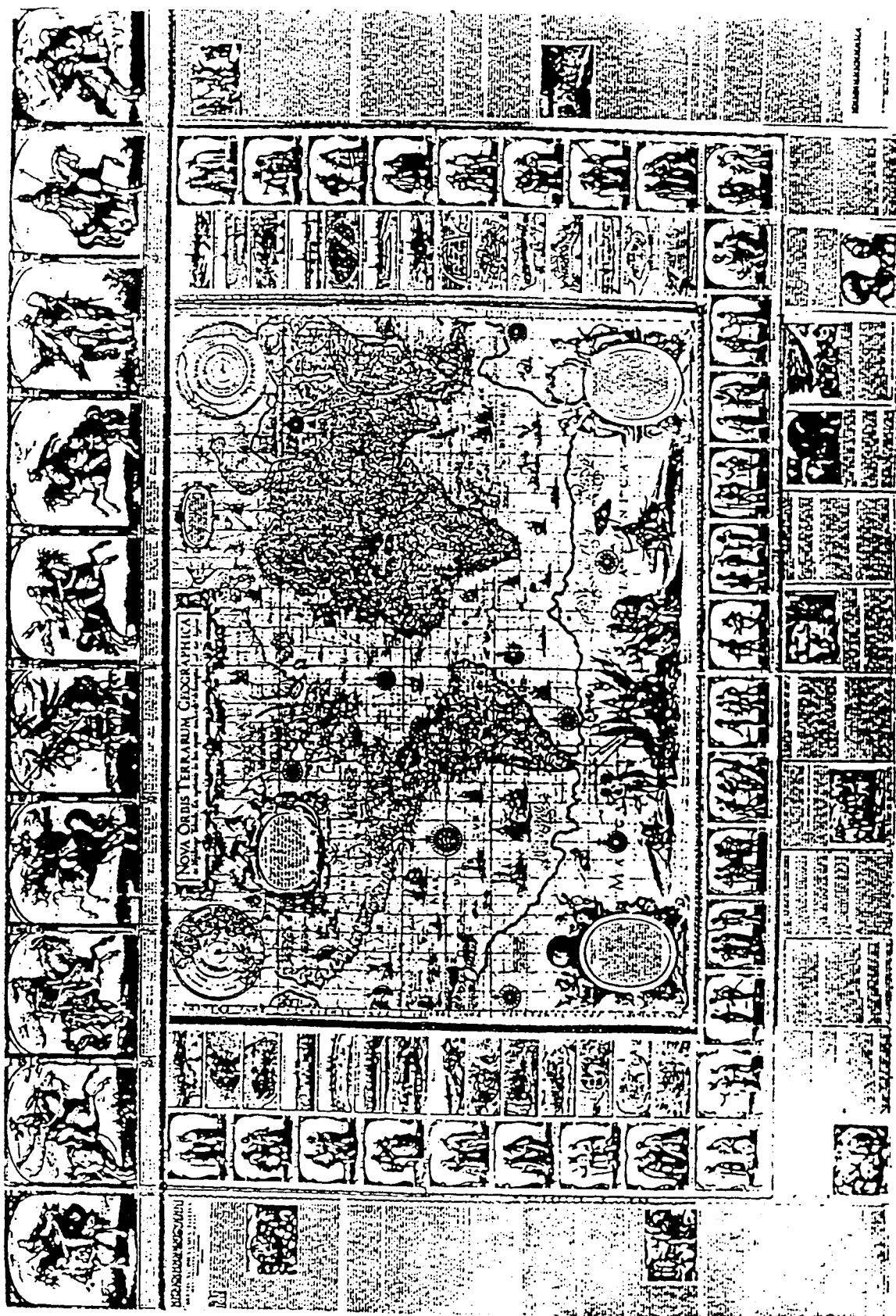
7. *Maple Tree*. Hasegawa Tōhaku (1539-1610). ca. 1593. Four paper sliding doors.
Each 174.3 x 139.5 cm. Chishakuin, Kyōto.

Overleaf:

8 & 9. *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens. Funaki-bon (Funaki Family edition).
Early 17th century. Colour on paper. A pair of six-fold screens.
163 x 351 cm. The Tōkyō National Museum, Tōkyō.





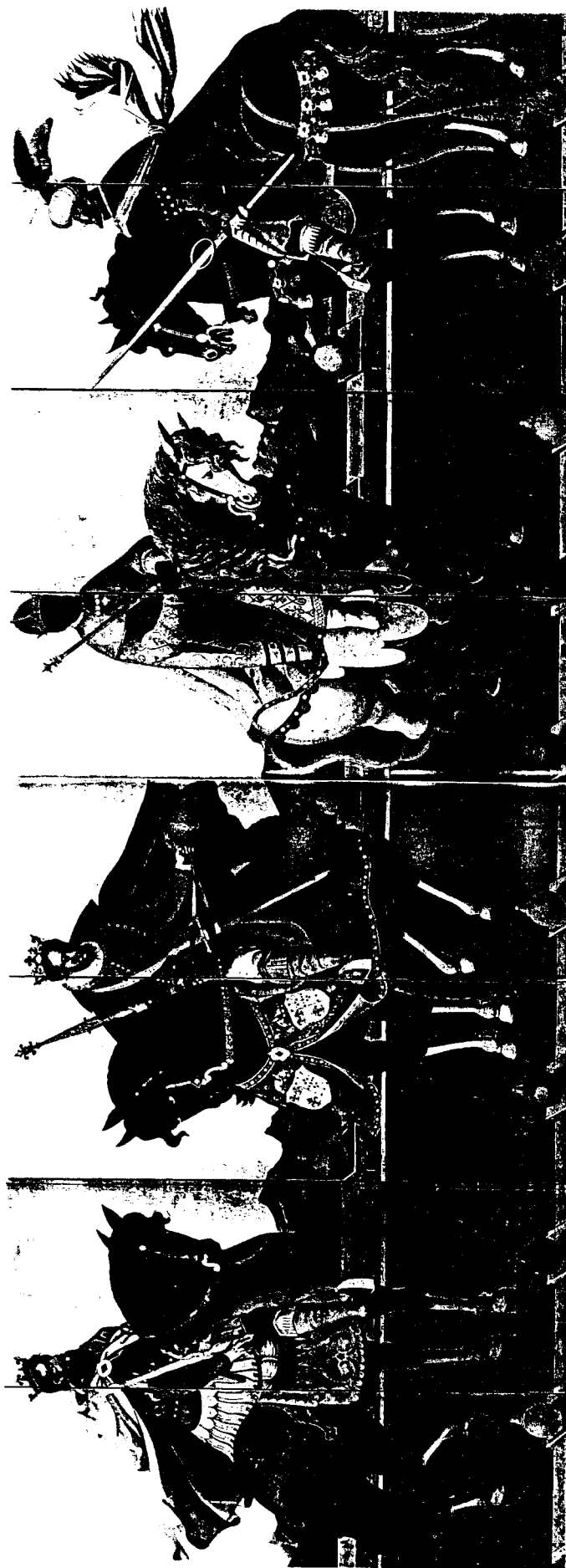


10. *World Map*. Willem J. Blaeu. Amsterdam, 1607. 84.0 x 111.0 cm. (map alone); 143.0 x 204.0 cm (with border).

Photograph. Maritime (Scheepvaart) Museum, Amsterdam.

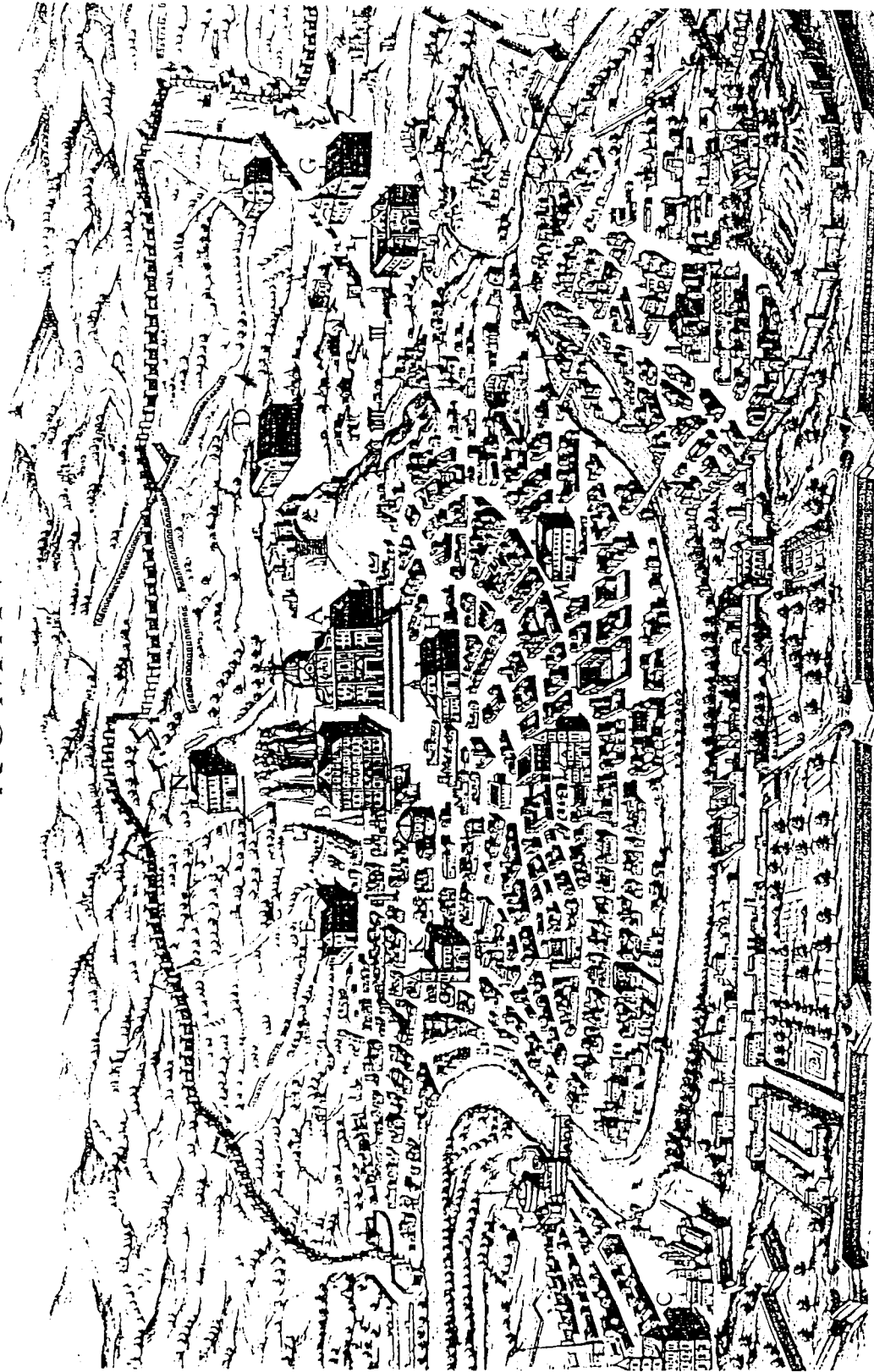


11. *European Kings on Horseback*. Early 17th century. Colour on paper. Four-fold screen.
166.2 x 468.0 cm. Kôbe City Museum, Hyôgo.

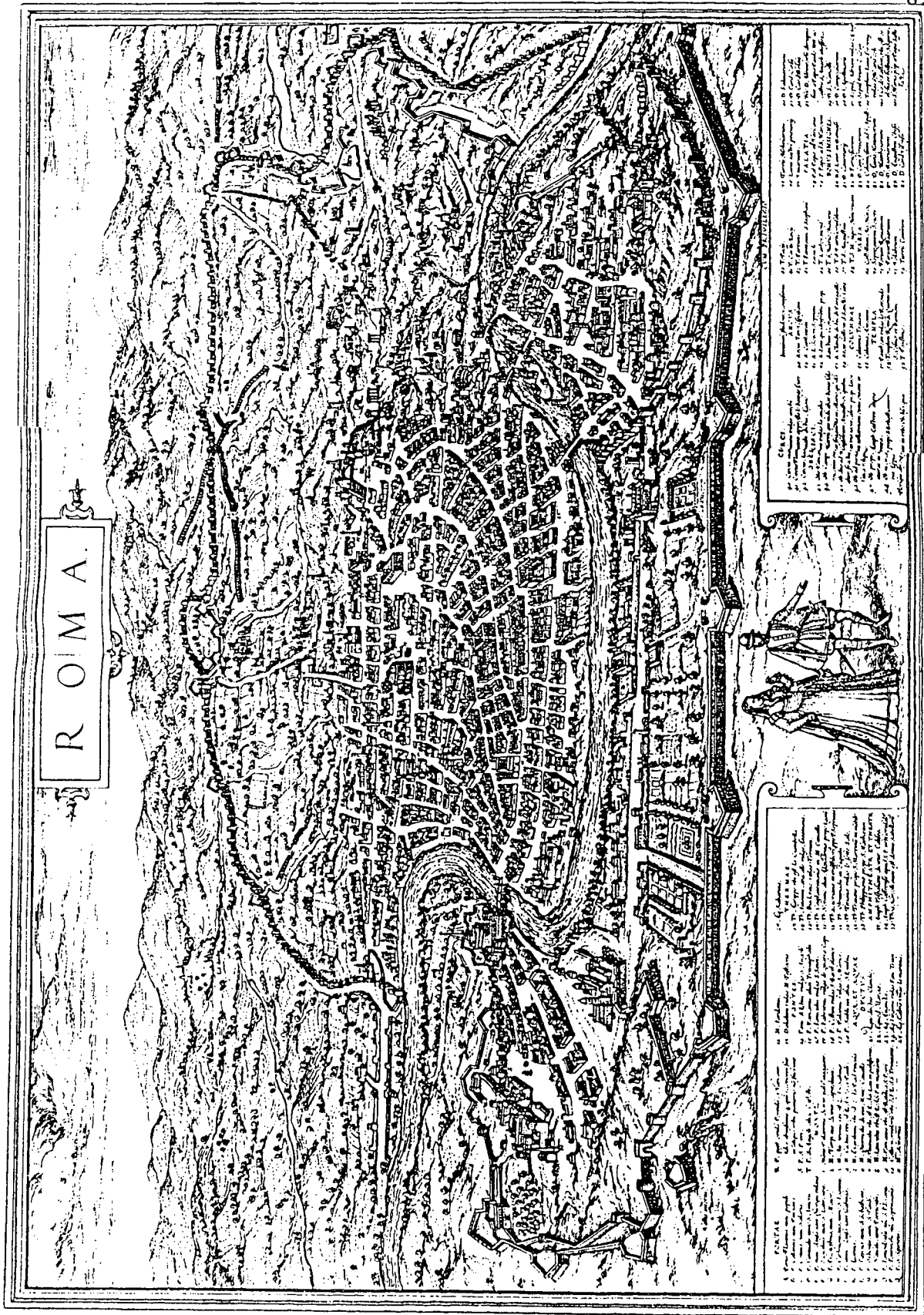


12. *European Kings on Horseback*. Early 17th century. Colour on paper.
Four-fold screen. 168.0 x 231.0 cm. Santory Art Gallery, Tokyo.

ROMA.



13. City Map of Rome. Attributed to Cornelis Galle. Engraving in: Pedro Ribadeneira, *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae*. Antwerp, ca. 1610. 27 x 36 cm. Rome, Archivium Romanum Societatis Iesu, Armadio 4.



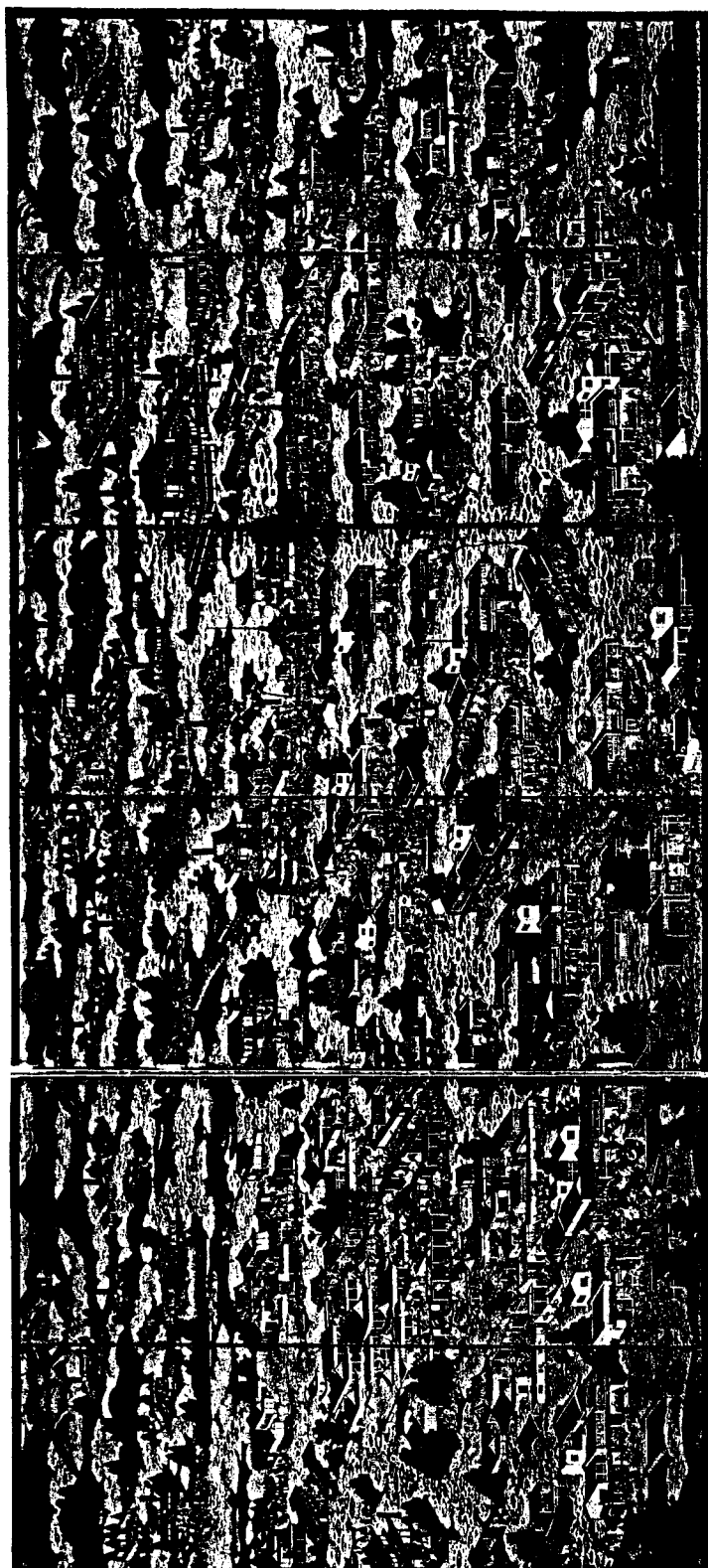
14. City Map of Rome. In: Georg Braun, and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* 1572-1618. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1965.



15. *Four-City-and-World-Map* screens: *Four-City* screen. Early 17th century. Colour on paper. Eight-fold. 158.7 x 466.8 cm. Kōbe City Museum, Hyōgo.

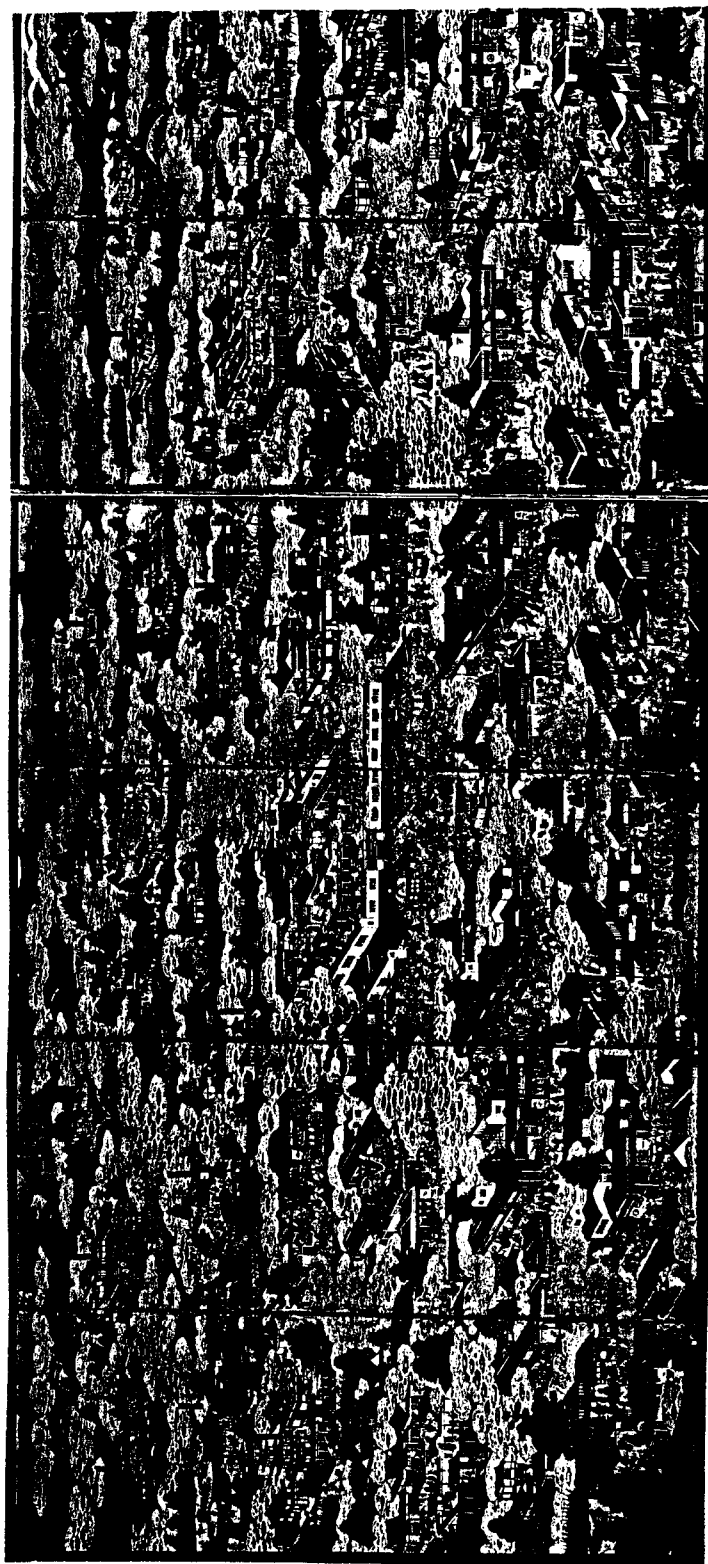


16. *Four-City-and-World-Map* screens: *World-Map* screen. Early 17th century. Colour on paper.
Eight-fold. 158.7 x 466.8 cm. Kōbe City Museum, Hyōgo.



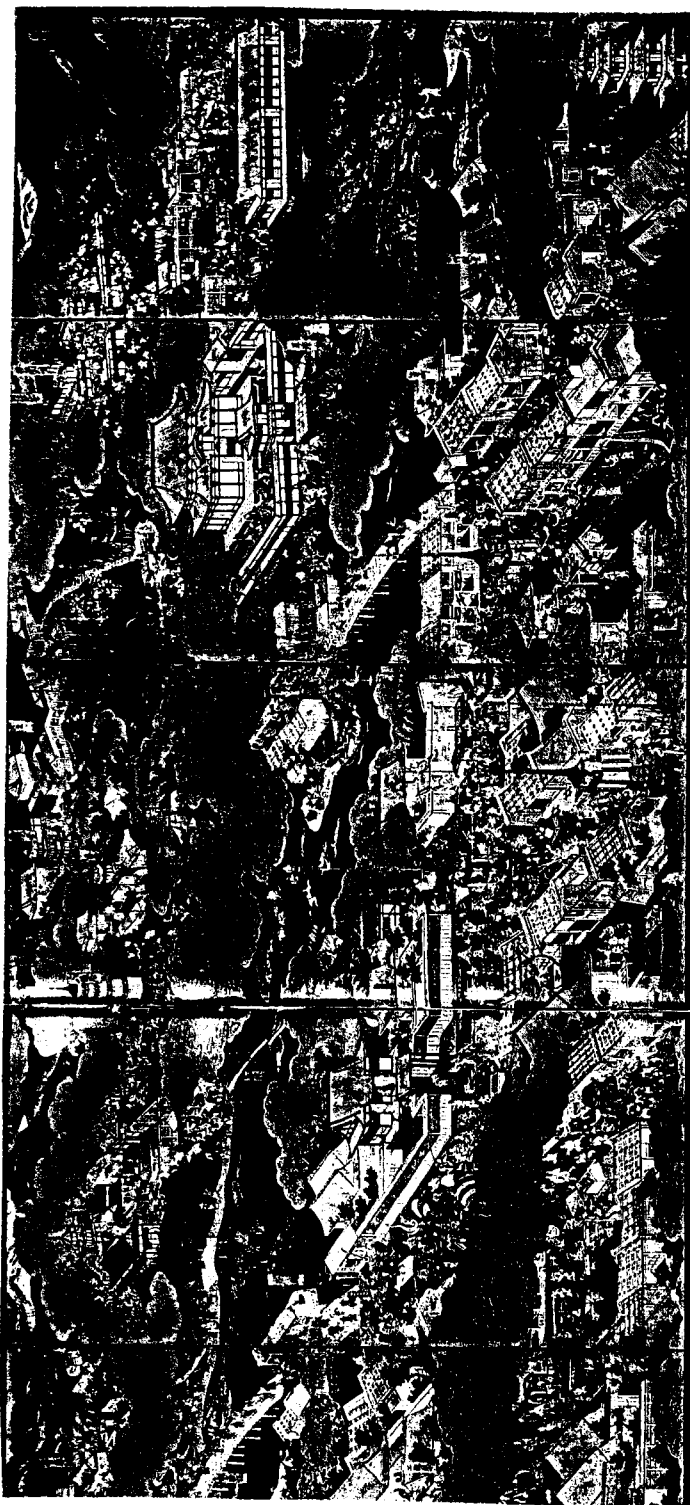
17. *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens (Former Ikeda Family edition). Early 17th century. Colour on paper.

A pair of six-fold screens. Right-side screen. 159.0 x 363.0 cm. Okayama Art Gallery.

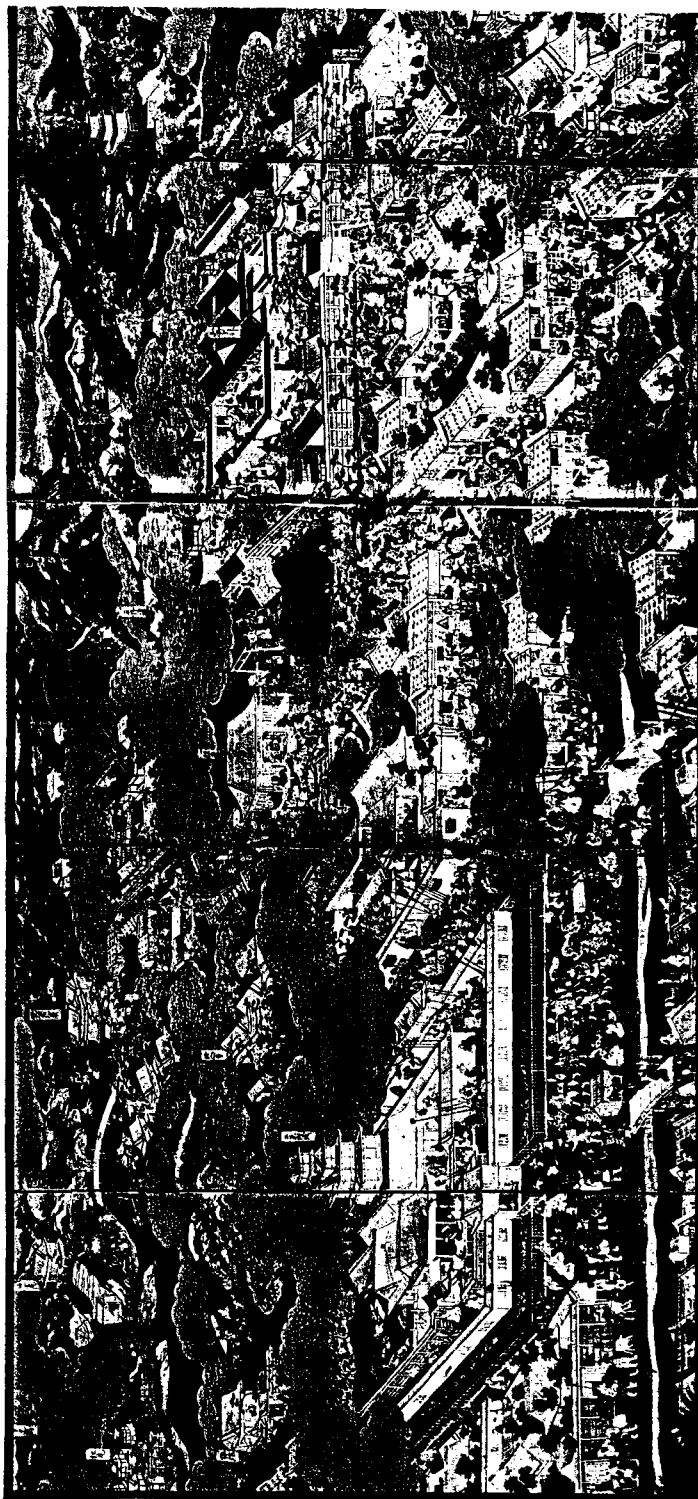


18. *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens (Former Ikeda Family edition). Early 17th century. Colour on paper.

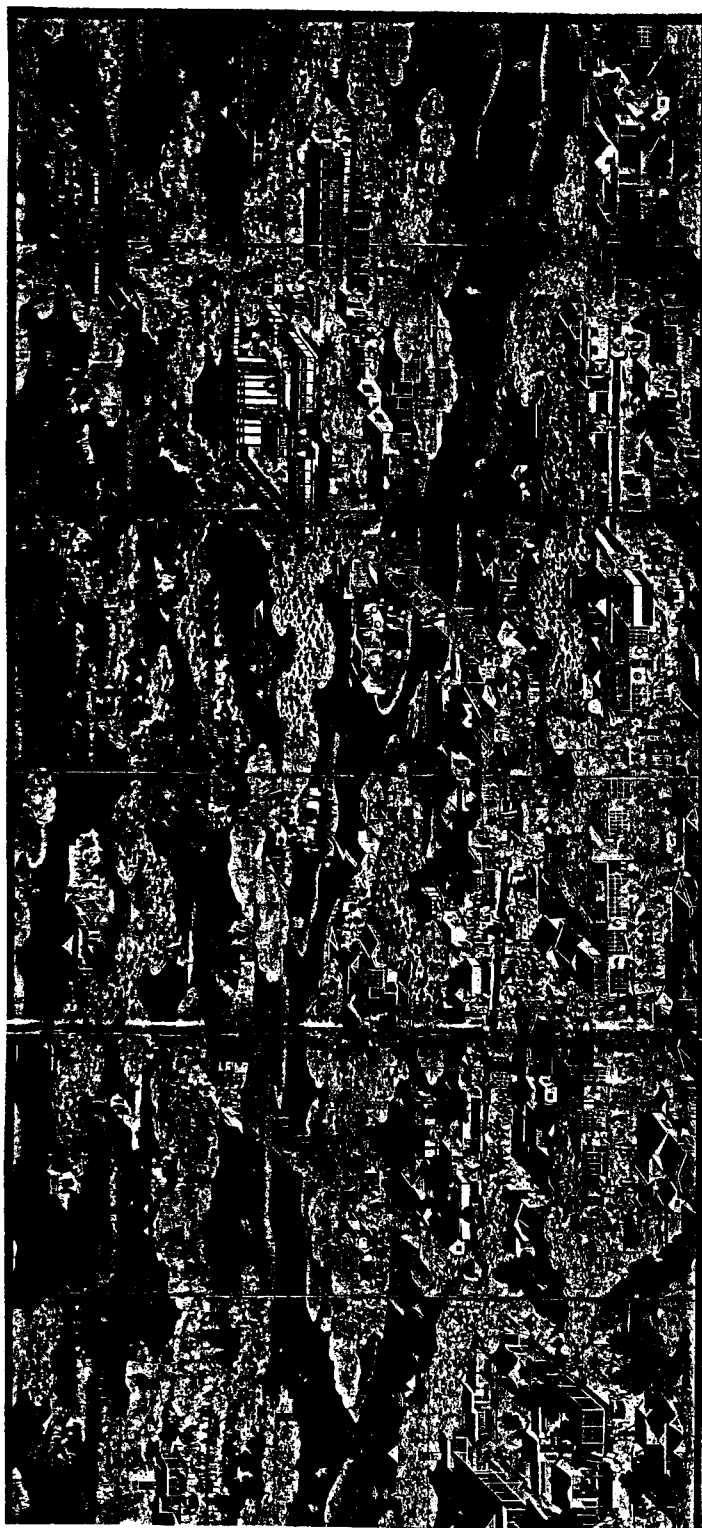
A pair of six-fold screens. Left-side screen. 159.0 x 363.0 cm. Okayama Art Gallery.



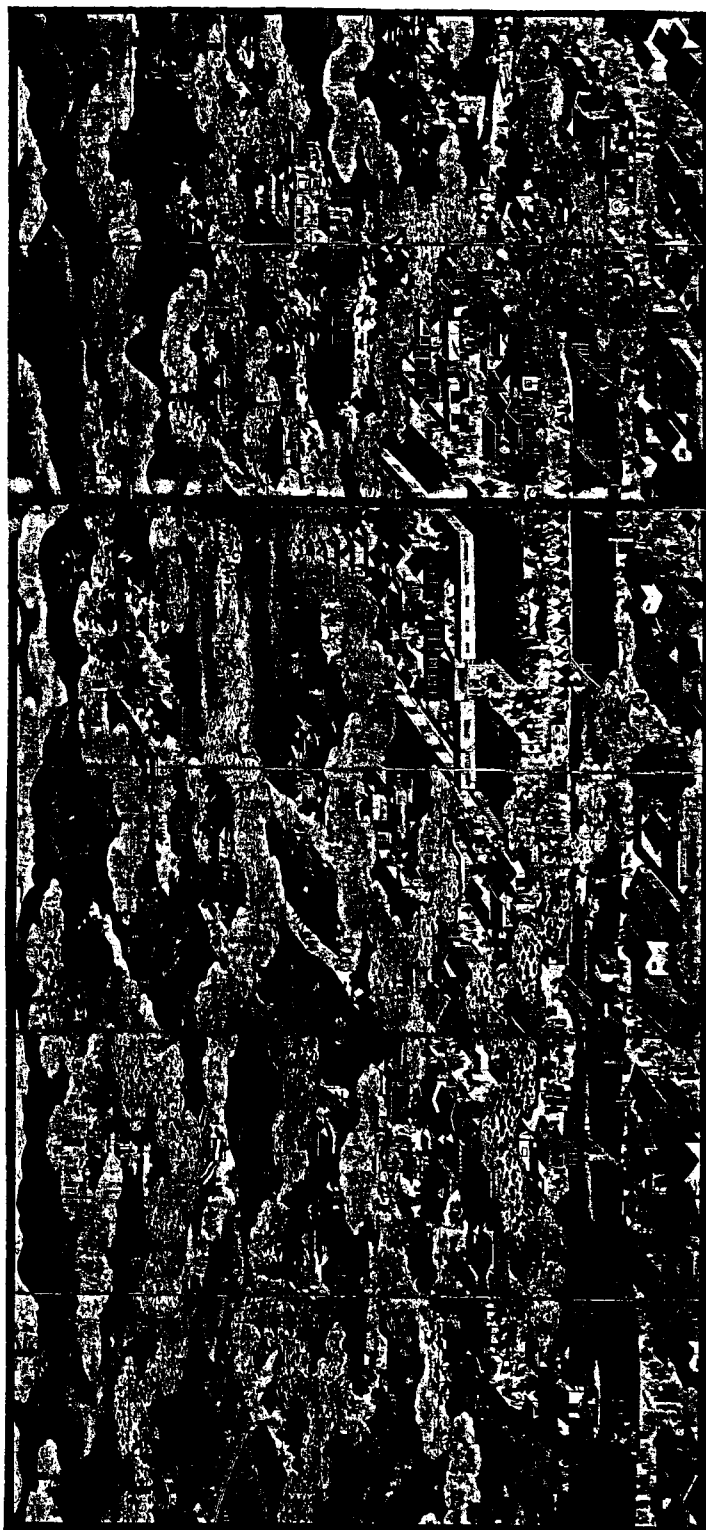
19. *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens. Early 17th century. Color on paper. A pair of six-fold screens.
Right-side screen. 94.0 x 272.9 cm. Ōsaka Nanban Bunkakan.



20. *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens. Early 17th century. Color on paper. A pair of six-fold screens. Left-side screen. 94.0 x 272.9 cm. Ōsaka Nanban Bunkakan.



21. *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens. Early 17th century. Color on paper.
A pair of six-fold screens. Right side screen. 152.5 x 333.0 cm. Private collection.



22. *In-and-Around-Kyōto* screens. Early 17th century. Color on paper.
A pair of six-fold screens. Left-side screen. 152.5 x 333.0 cm. Private collection.



23. Detail (Japanese and Chinese figures) from World map. Willem J. Blaeu. Amsterdam, 1607. 84.0 x 111.0 cm. (map alone); 143.0 x 204.0 cm (with border).

Photograph. Maritime (Scheepvaart) Museum, Amsterdam.

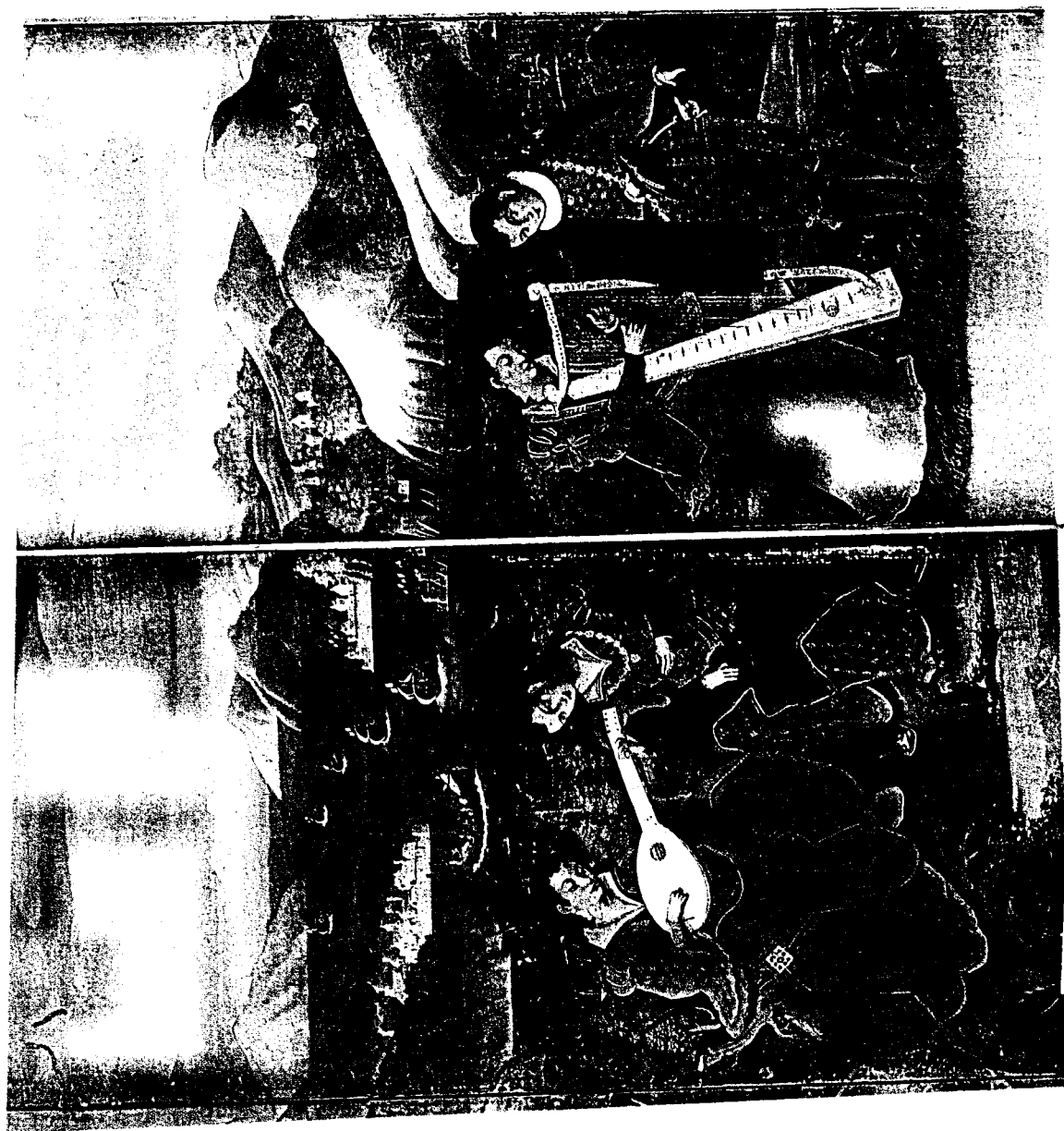
Source: Tadayoshi Miyoshi, "J. Burau no 1645/46-nenban Sekai Chizu ni tsuite"
(On the world map made by J Blaeu published in 1645/46), *Kōbe Shiritsu
Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Kiyō*, 11 (Mar. 1994): 58, Fig. 12.



24. Detail (figures of a Japanese couple) from *World-Map-and-Twenty-Eight-City* screens. Early 17th century. Colour on paper. A pair of eight-fold screens.
Each 179 x 490 cm. The Royal Household Agency, Tōkyō.



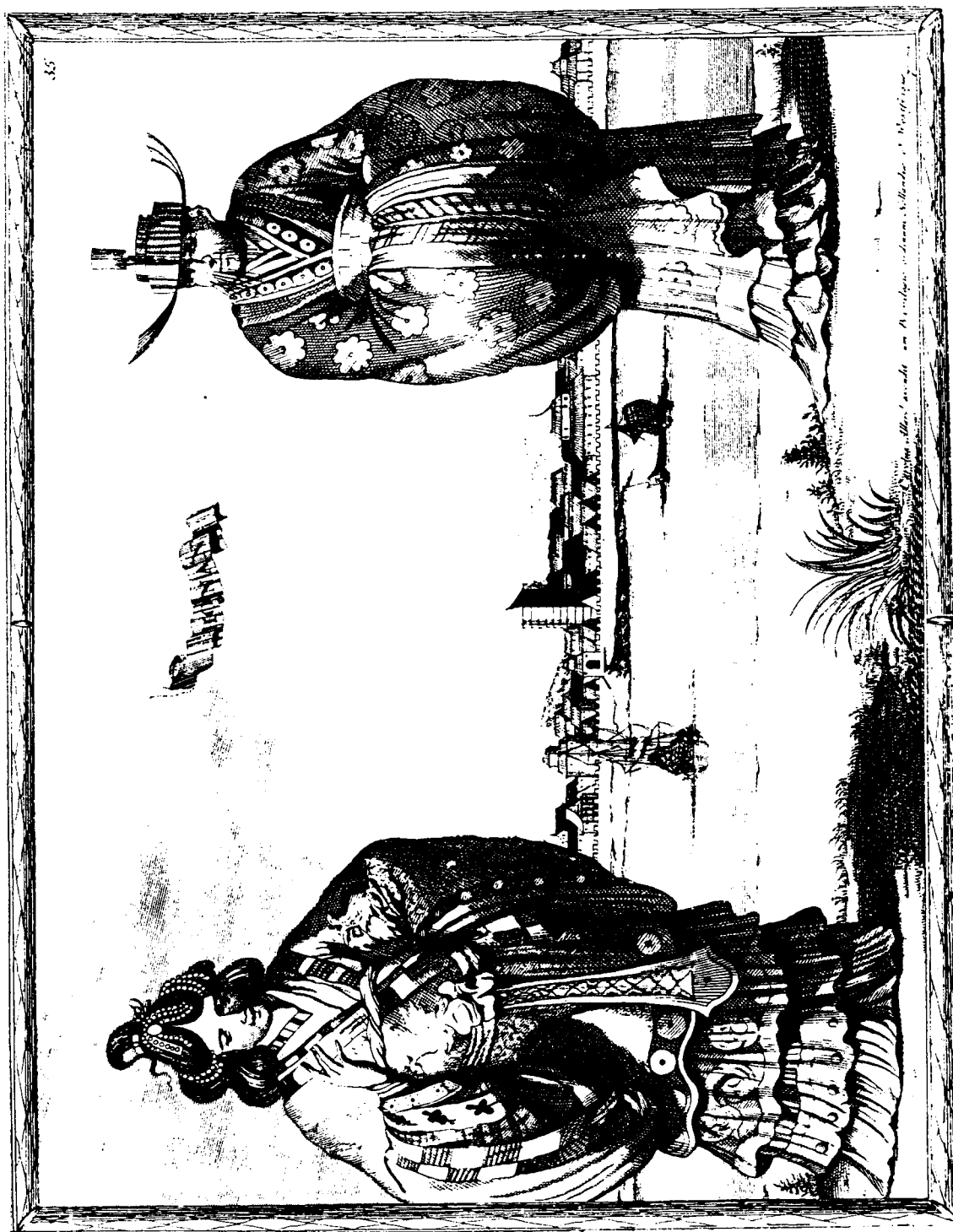
25. Detail (women with long hair) from *European Landscape with Musicians*. First half of the 17th century. Colour on paper. A pair of six-fold screens. 93.1 x 302.4 cm. Atami Art Gallery.



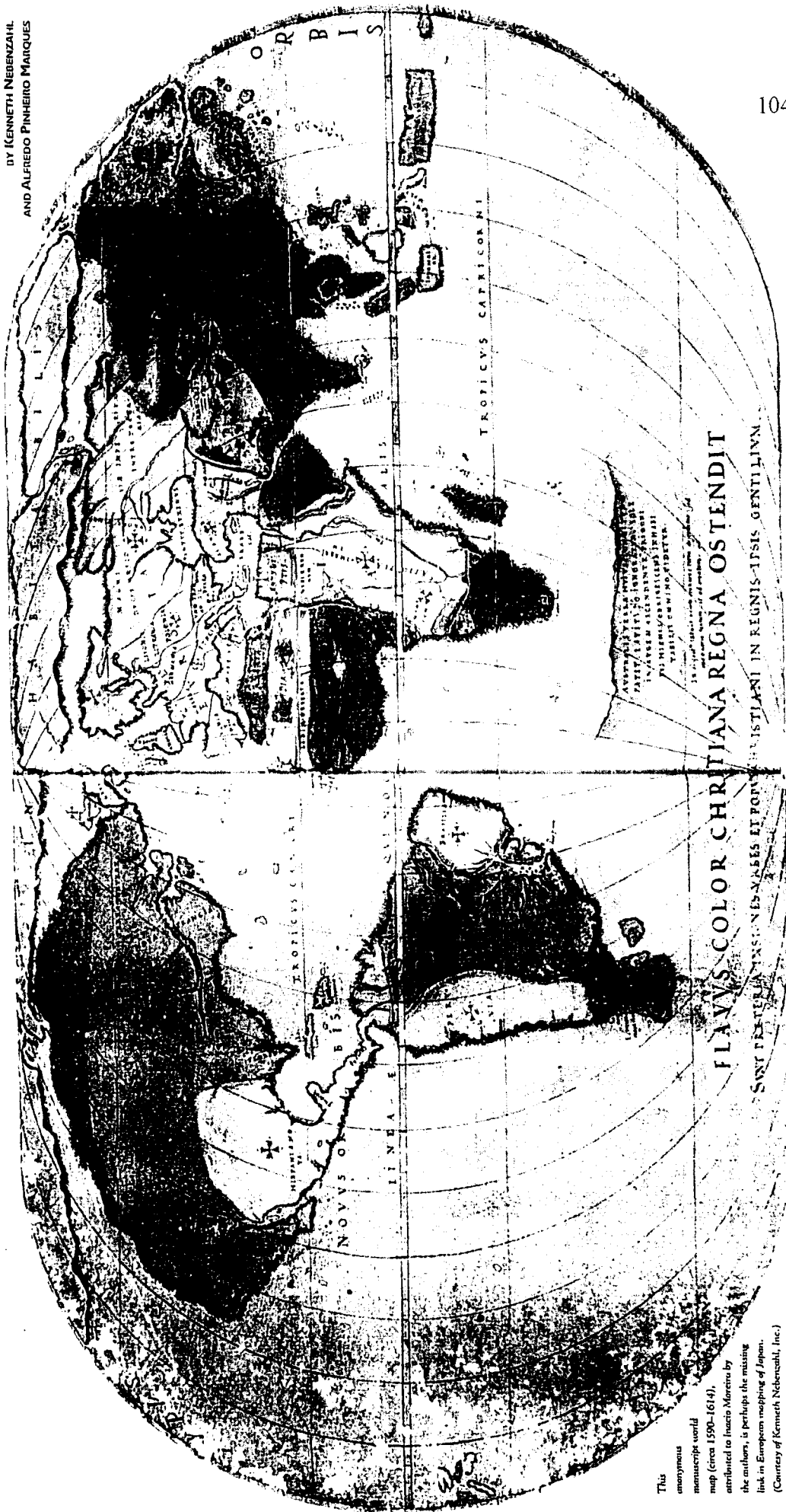
26. Detail (women with long hair) from *European Landscape with Musicians*. First half of the 17th century. Colour on paper. A pair of six-fold screens. 93.0 x 302.0 cm. Hosokawa Family.



27. Detail (woman with long hair) from *Woman Playing the Zither*. Attributed to Nobukata. First half of the 17th century. Colour on paper. 55.5 (H) x 37.3 (W) cm. Yamato Bunkakan, Nara.

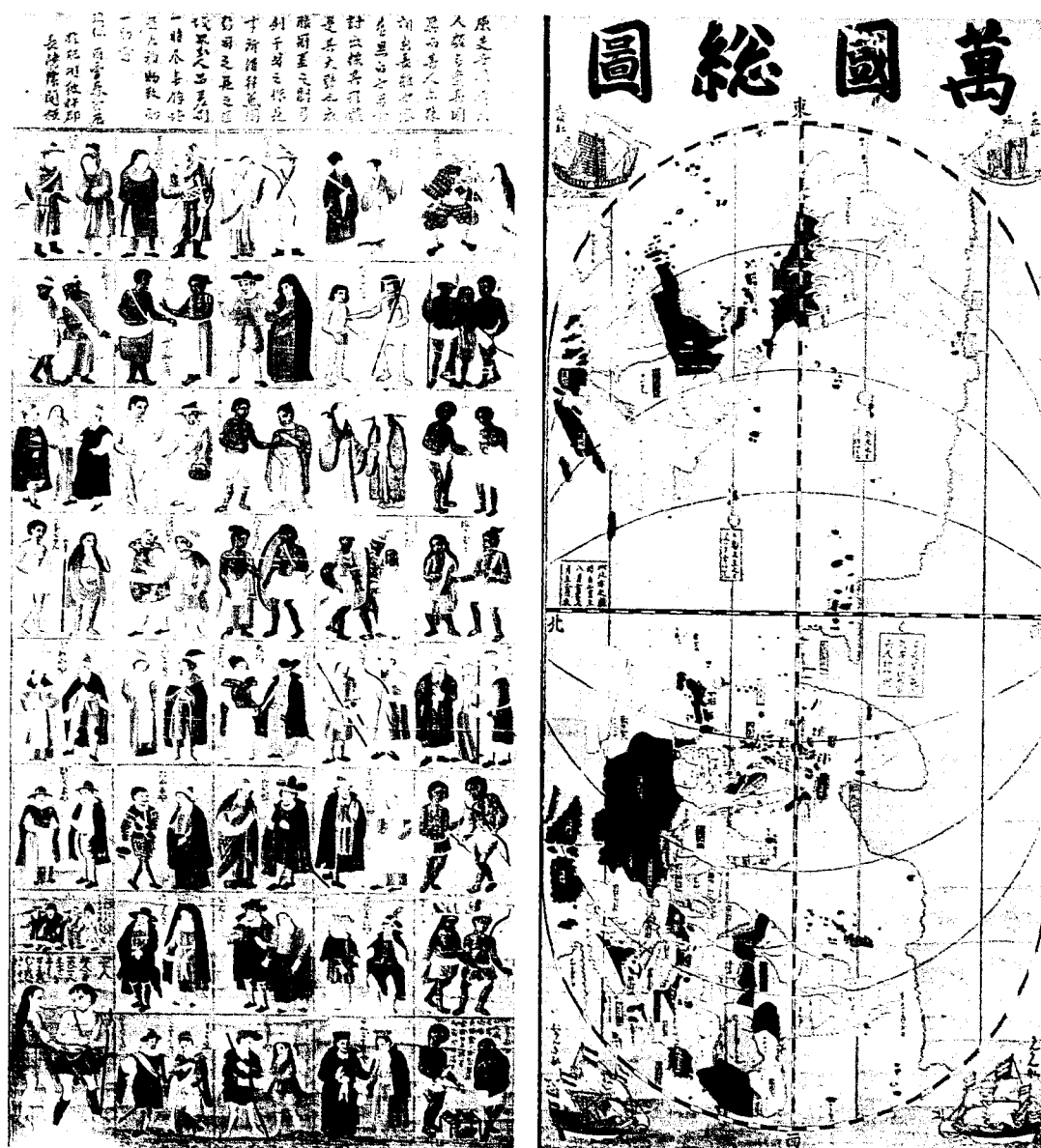


28. Honan. Carolus Allard. 1695. From his book: *Orbis Habitabilis Oppida et Vestitus*
 = *The Towns and Costumes of the Inhabited World*. Amsterdam, 1695. Fig. 35

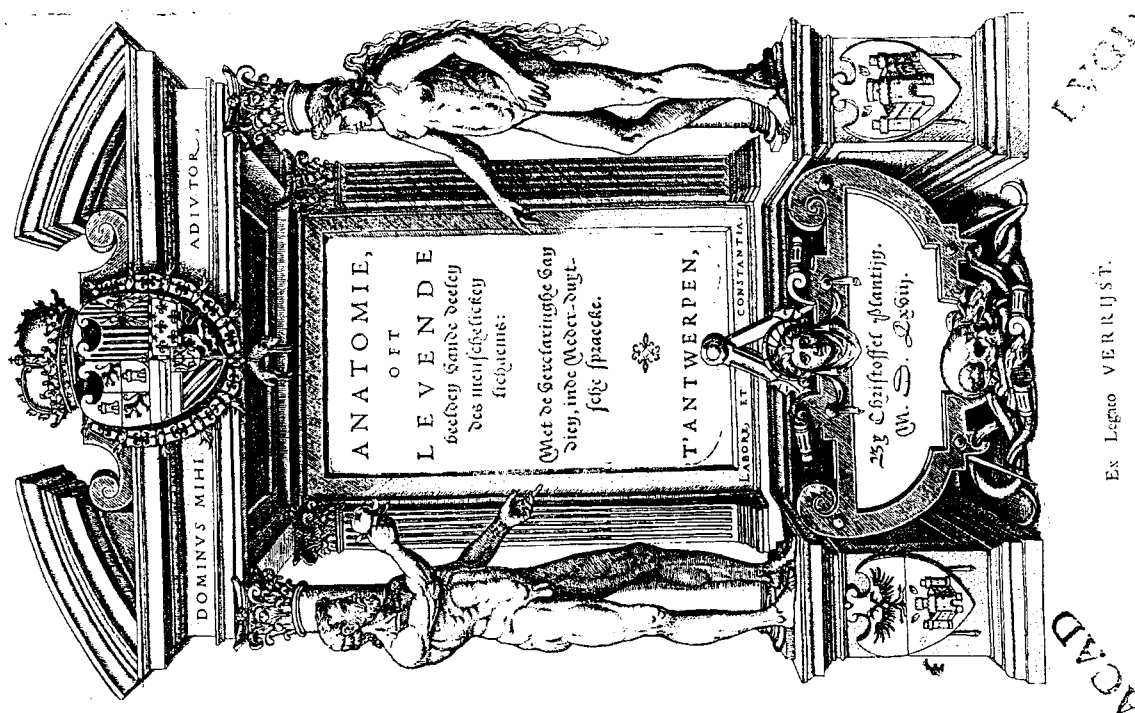
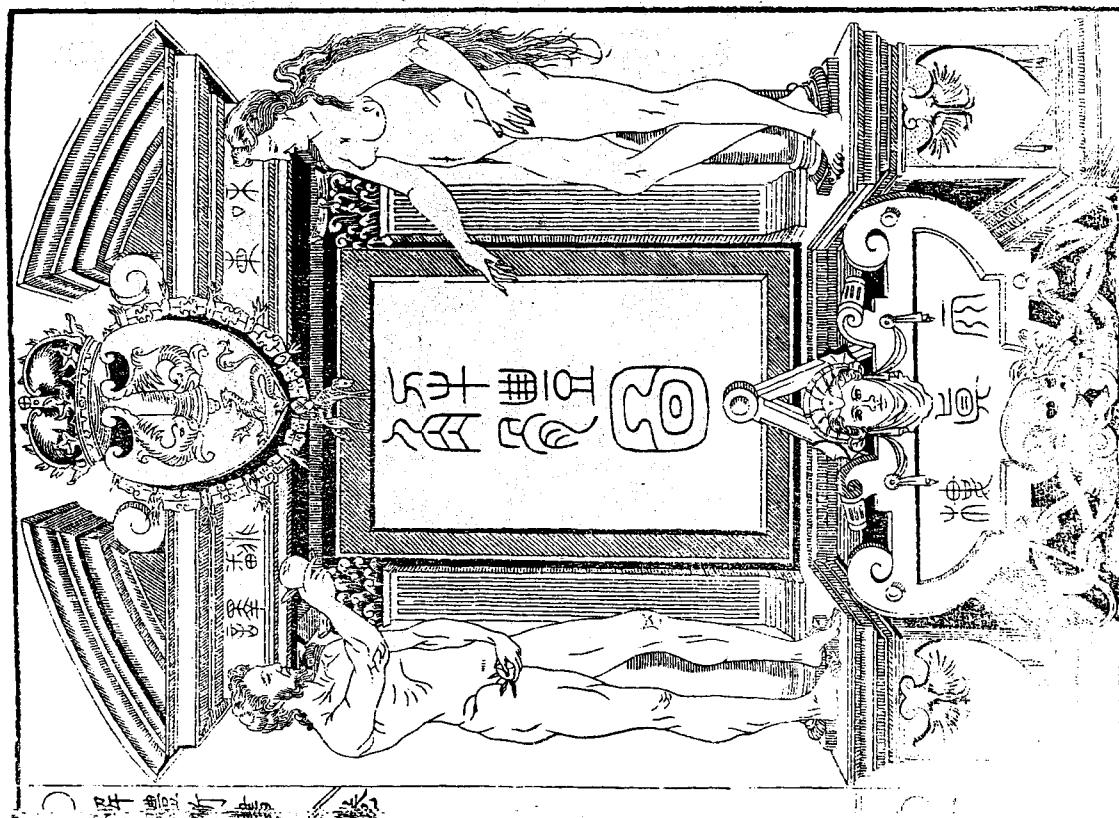


This
anonymous
manuscript world
map (circa 1590-1614),
attributed to Ignacio Moreira by
the authors, is perhaps the missing
link in European mapping of Japan.
(Courtesy of Kenneth Nebenzahl, Inc.)

29. World Map attributed to Ignacio Moreira. circa 1590-1614. Kenneth Nebenzahl, Inc.



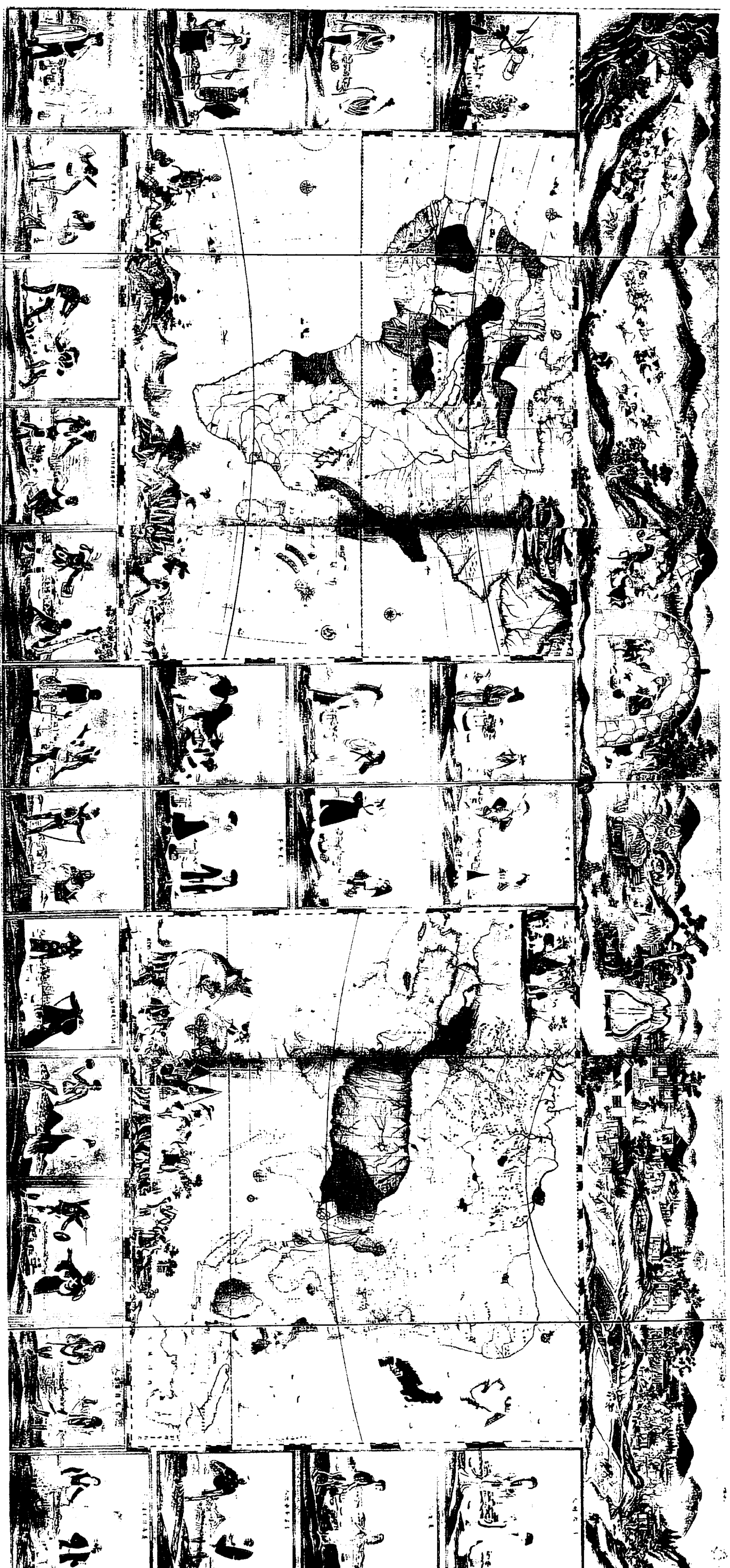
30. *Bankoku Sōzu* (map of the world). 1645. Manuscript.
Shimonoseki Shiritsu Chōfu Hakubutsukan.



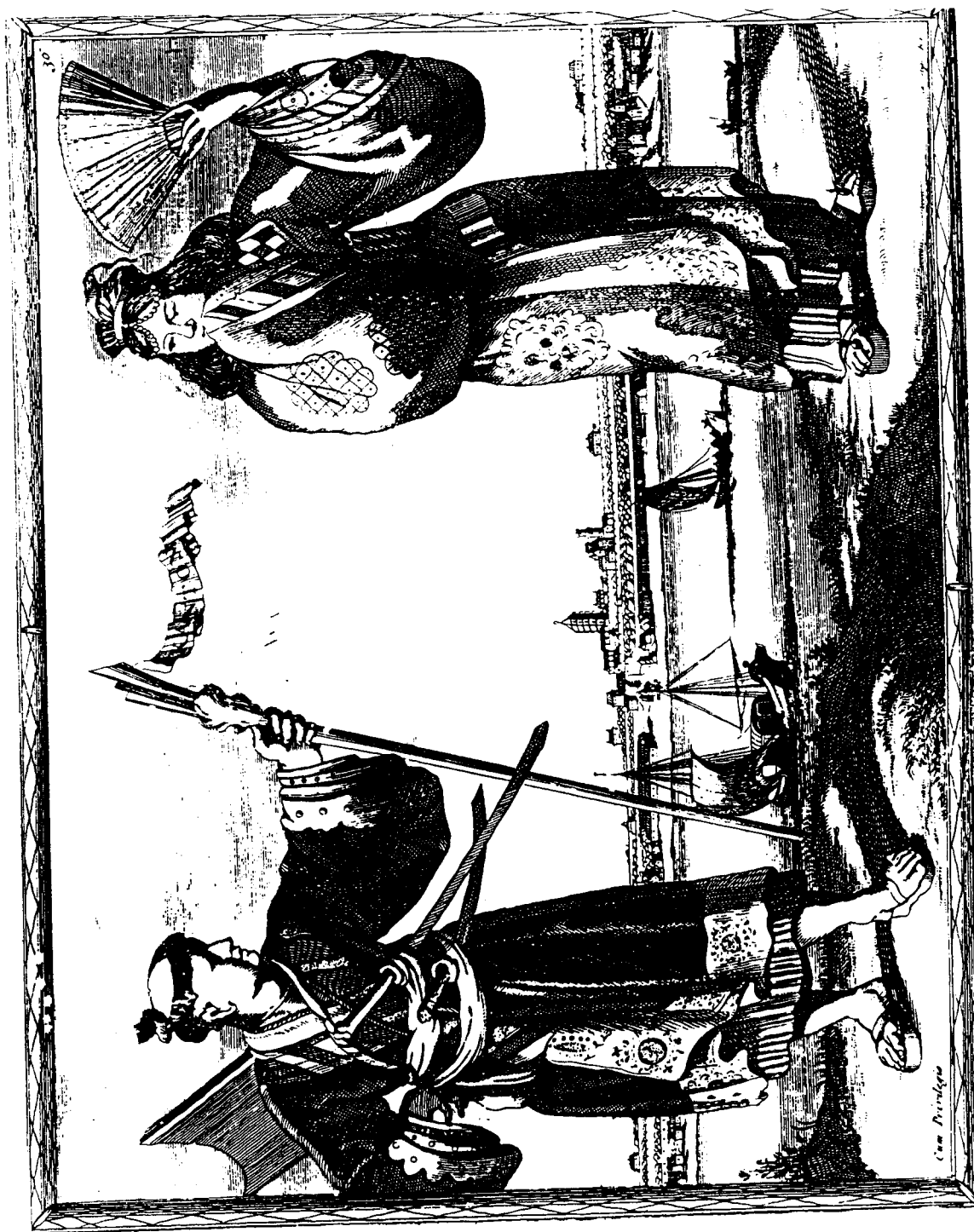
Overleaf:

32 & 33. *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People* screens.

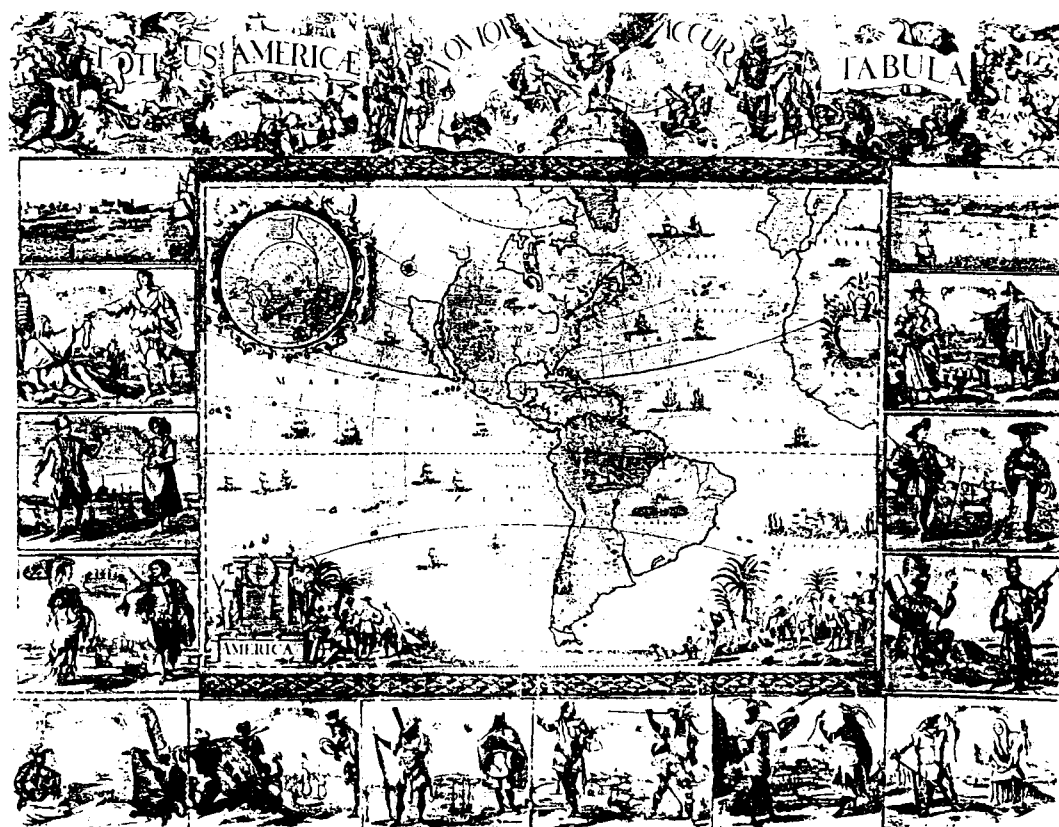
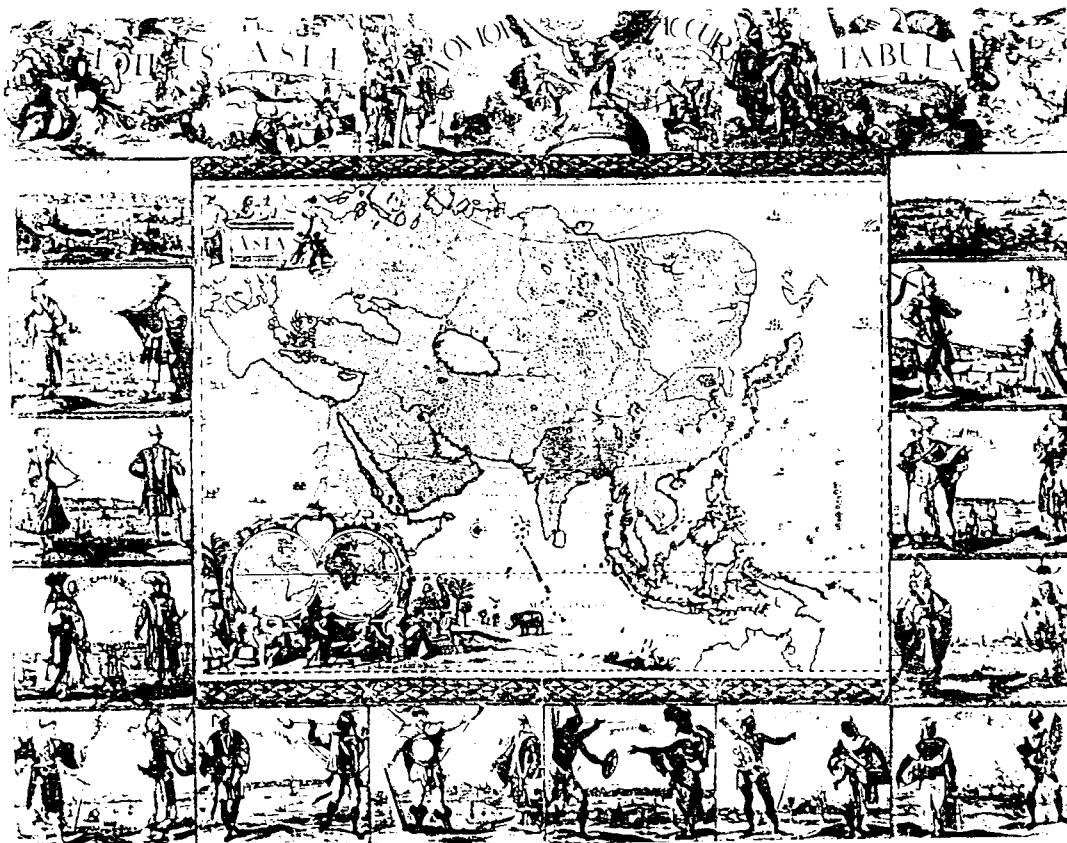
Late 18th century. A pair of six-fold screens. 164x 364 cm.
Kōbe City Museum, Hyōgo.



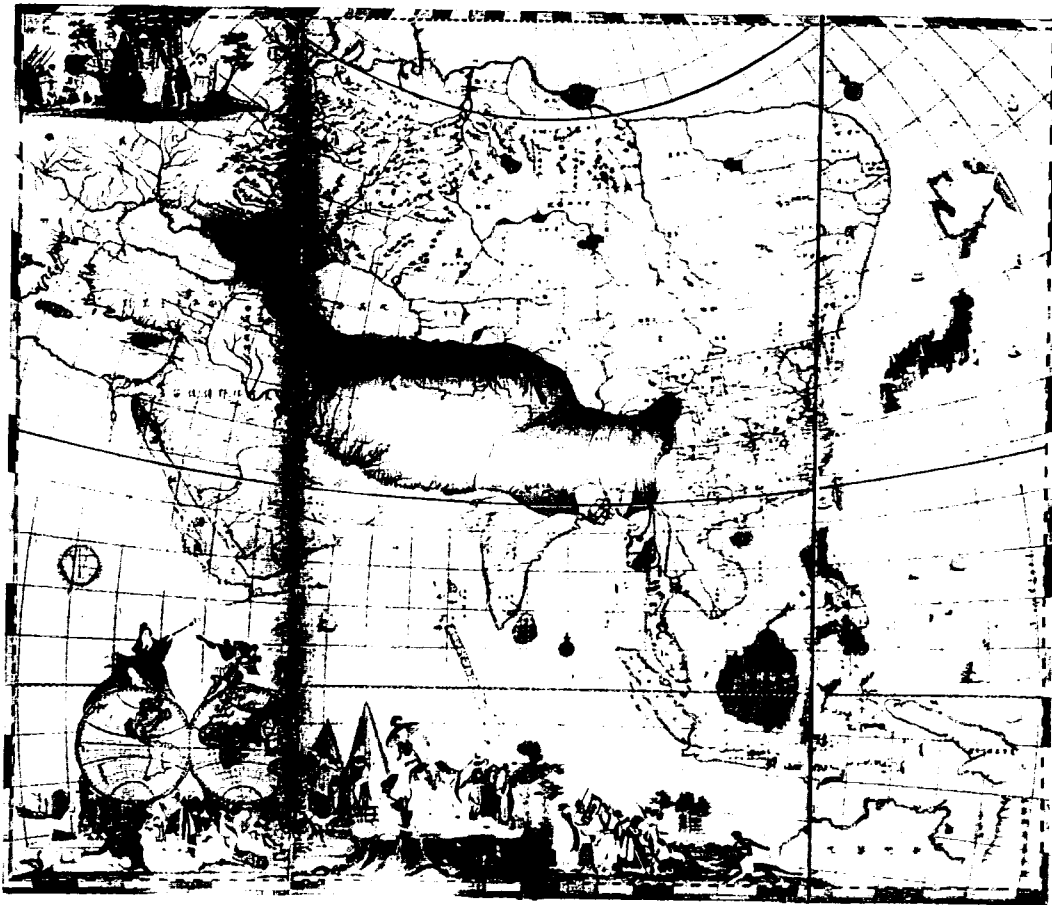




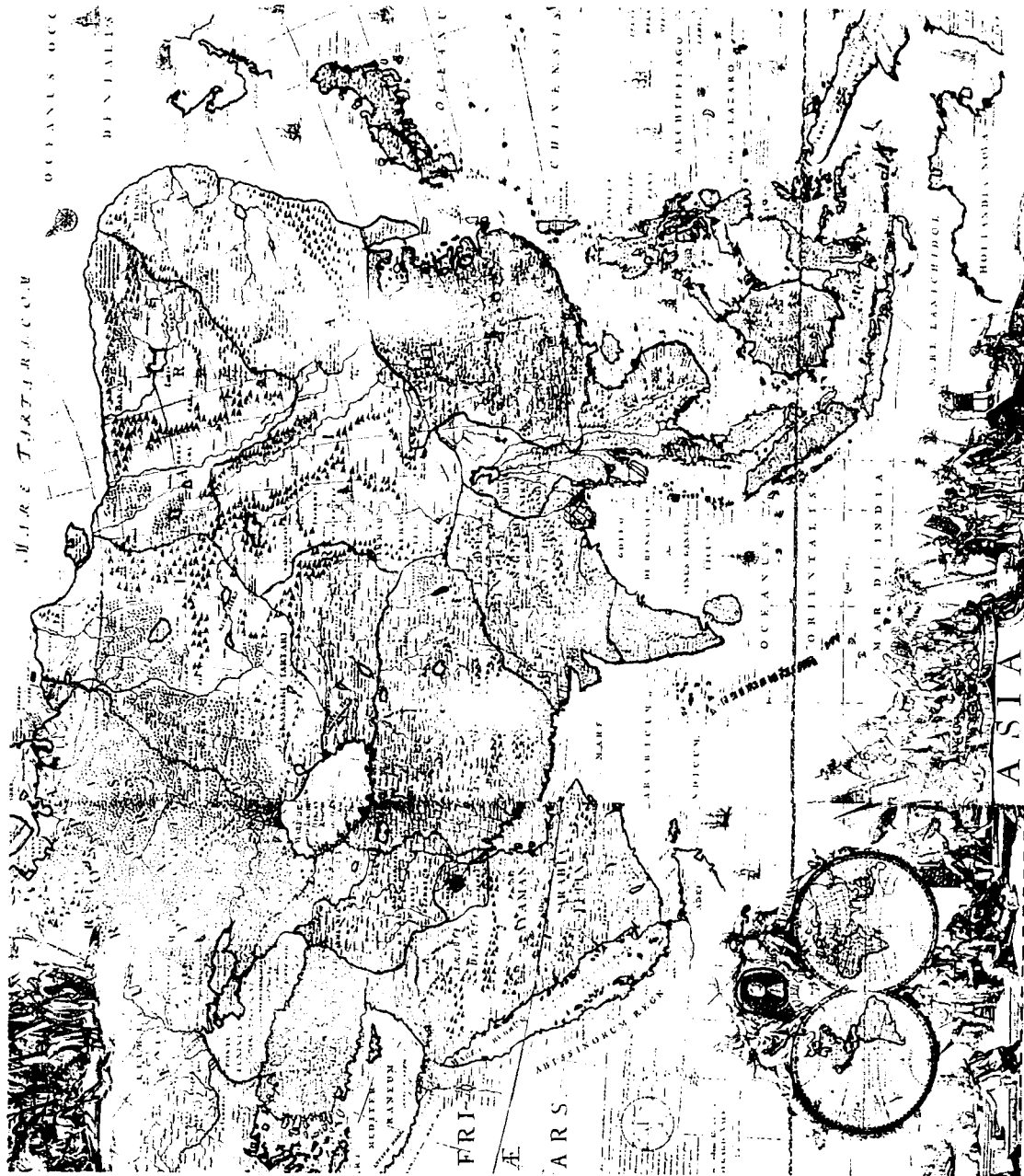
34. Kanton. Carolus Allard. 1695. From his book: *Orbis Habitabilis Oppida et Vestitus*
= *The Towns and Costumes of the Inhabited World*. Amsterdam, 1695. Fig. 36.



35. Detail (Asia and the Americas) from *Wall Map*. Gerard Valek. ca. 1695.
Source: Josef H. Biller, "Jemniště ist eine Reise wert: Kostbarkeiten holländischer Kartographie und Vedutenkunst in Böhmen" *Speculum Orbis*, 2(1985): 48.



36. Detail (Asia) from *Four-Continent-and-Forty-Eight-People* screens. Late 18th century. A pair of six-fold screens. 164x 364 cm. Kōbe City Museum, Hyōgo.



37. *Wall Map: Asia.* Gerard Valck. ca. 1695.

Bibliography

- Aihara, Ryōichi. "Ignacio Moreira's Cartographical Activities in Japan (1590-2), with Special Reference to Hessel Gerritsz.'s Hemispheric World Map." *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 34 (1976): 209-242.
- Allard, Carolus. *Orbis Habitabilis Oppida et Vestitus = The Towns and Costumes of the Inhabited World*. 1695. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1966
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread on Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Anesaki, Masaharu. Kirishitan Dendō no Kōhai [Rise and Fall of Christian Missions]. Anesaki Masaharu Chosakushū [Works by Masaharu Anesaki] 3. 1930. Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1976.
姉崎正治 『切支丹伝道の興廃』 姉崎正治著作集 国書刊行会
- Appadurai, Arjun. "The Production of Locality." *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. 178-199.
- Asao, Naohiro. *Tenka Ittō* [Unifying the Country]. Taikō Nihon no Rekishi = A New History of Japan 8. Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 1988.
朝尾直弘 『天下一統』 大系日本の歴史 8 小学館
- Baddeley, J. F. "Father Matteo Ricci's Chinese World-Maps." *Geographical Journal* 50 (July-Dec. 1917): 254-270.
- Bailey, Gauvin Alexander. *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Biller, Josef H. "Jemniště ist eine Reise wert: Kostbarkeiten holländischer Kartographie und Vedutenkunst in Böhmen." *Speculum Orbis*. 2(1985): 39-52.
- Birmingham, David. *A Concise History of Portugal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Boxer, C. R. *The Christian Century in Japan: 1549-1650*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.
- "Portuguese Influence in Japanese Screens: From 1590 to 1614." *Connoisseur* 98 (1936): 79-85.
- Braun, Georg, and Franz Hogenberg. *Civitates Orbis Terrarum 1572-1618*. Introd. R. A. Skelton. 6 vols. in 3. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1965.

- Brotton, Jerry. "Terrestrial Globalism: Mapping the Globe in Early Modern Europe." *Mappings*. Ed. by Denis Cosgrove. London: Reaction Books, 1999. 71-89.
- Bullock, Alan, and Oliver Stallybrass, eds. *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*. Ed. Alan Bullock and Staphen Trombley. New and rev. ed. London: Fontana Press, 1988.
- Burnchurch, Richard de. *An Outline of Dutch History*. Baarn: Wagner, [1981].
- Ch'en, Hua-hsin. *Chung-kuo li tai ti wang ta kuan*. [Canton] : Kuang-tung jen min ch'u pan she : Kuang-tung sheng hsin hua shu tien ching hsiao, 1990.
- Cochrane, Eric. *Italy 1530-1630*. Longman History of Italy. London: Longman, 1988.
- Cooper, Michael. "The Mechanics of the Macao-Nagasaki Silk Trade" *Monumenta Nipponica* 27.4 (1972): 423-426.
- , *Tsūji Rodorigesu: Nanban no Bōkensha to Dai Kōkai Jidai no Nihon, Chūgoku*. Trans. Matsumoto Tama. Tōkyō: Hara Shobō, 1991. Trans. of *Rodrigues, the Interpreter*. New York: Weatherhill, 1974.
『通辞ロドリゲス：南蛮の冒険者と大航海時代の日本、中国』 松本たま訳 原書房
- , ed. *The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan*. Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1971.
- , ed. *They Came to Japan: an Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965.
- Cortazzi, Hugh. *Isles of Gold: Antique Maps of Japan*. New York: Weatherhill, 1983.
- , "Kobe City Museum." *Arts of Asia*. 18 (Sept./Oct. 1988): 110-117.
- Cosgrove, Denis. "Introduction: Mapping Meaning." *Mappings*. Ed. Denis Cosgrove. London: Reaction Books, 1999. 1-23.
- , *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. London: Croom Helm, 1984.
- , ed. *Mappings*. London: Reaction Books, 1999.
- De Certeau, Michel. "Walking in the City." *Practice of Everyday Life*. Trans. Steven Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. 91-110.
- Elison, George. *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Falkner, Andreas, and Paul Imhof. *Ignatius von Loyola und die Gesellschaft Jesu 1491-1556*. Würzburg: Echter, 1990.

- Forsyth, Donald W. "The Beginnings of Brazilian Anthropology: Jesuits and Tupinamba Cannibalism." *Journal of Anthropological Research*. 39.2 (1983): 147-178.
- Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics* (Spring 1986): 22-27.
- Frois, Luis. *Nihon Shi* [History of Japan]. Trans. Matsuda Kiichi, Kawasaki Momota. Vols. 1 & 2. Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha, 1977-1980. 12 vols.
『日本史』 松田毅一 川崎桃太 訳 中央公論社
- Fujiki, Hisashi, ed. *Oda Seiken no Kenkyū* [Studies in the Oda's Political Power]. Sengoku Daimyō Ronshū [Anthology on Daimyō During the Warring Age] 17. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1985.
藤木久志 編 『織田政権の研究』 戦国大名論集 吉川弘文館
- Fujitani, Toshio. "Kirisutokyō to Hōken Shihai [Christianity and Feudalistic Governance]." *Iwanami Kōza Nihon Rekishi 9: Kinsei 1* [Iwanami Seminar on Japanese History: Modern Japan]. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1963. 211-250.
藤谷俊雄 「キリスト教と封建支配」 『岩波講座日本歴史 9：近世 1』 岩波書店
- Fukuoka Shiritsu Bijutsukan, ed. *Nihon Bijutsu no Naka no Seiyō: Azuchi Momoyama, Edo no Nyū Āto = Western Influence on Japanese Art - 16th Century - 19th Century*. Fukuoka-shi: Fukuoka Shiritsu Bijutsukan, 1995.
福岡市立美術館
編 『日本美術の中の西洋：安土桃山、江戸のニューアート』
福岡市：福岡市立美術館
- Girouard, Mark. *Cities and People: A Social and Architectural History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Grafton, Anthony, April Shelford, and Nancy Siraisi. *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Guth, Christine. *Art of Edo, Japan: The Artist and the City 1615-1868*. New York: H. N. Abrams, 1996.
- Hall, John Whitney ed. *Early Modern Japan*. The Cambridge History of Japan 4. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Hall, Stuart. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage Publications, 1997.
- Harada, Tomohiko. *Edo Jidai no Rekishi* [History of the Edo Period]. Tōkyō: San'ichi Shobō, 1983.
原田伴彦 『江戸時代の歴史』 三一書房

- Harootunian, H. D. *Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Hemming, Charles, with Mark Aldbrook. *The Folding Screen*. New York: Rizzoli, 1999.
- Hickman, Money. *Japan's Golden Age Momoyama*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Hino, Hiroshi. "Nanban Byōbu ni Arawareru Nanbanjin ni tsuite [On Nanban People Depicted in Nanban Screens]." *Bungaku* [Literature] 52.3 (Mar. 1984): 176-184.
日埜博司 「南蛮屏風にあらわれる南蛮人について」 『文学』
- Hisatake, Tetsuya, and Kōji Hasegawa, eds. *Chizu to Bunka* [Maps and Culture]. Kyōto-shi: Chijin Shobō, 1989.
久武哲也 長谷川孝治 編 『地図と文化』 京都市：地人書房
- Impey, Oliver. "The Western Influence on Japanese Export Art in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Nihon Bijutsu no Naka no Seiyō: Azuchi Momoyama, Edo no Nyū Āto = Western Influence on Japanese Art: 16th Century-19th Century*. Fukuoka-shi: Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan, 1995. 45-54.
『日本美術のなかの西洋：安土桃山、江戸のニューアート』
福岡市：福岡市美術館
- Iwao, Seiichi, ed. *Gaikokujin no Mita Nihon 1: Nanban Torai Igo* [Japan Observed by Foreigners: Since the Arrival of the Nanban]. Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō, 1962.
岩生成一 編 『外国人の見た日本 1：南蛮渡来以後』 筑摩書房
- Jacob, Christian. "Toward a Cultural History of Cartography." *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 191-198.
- Jacobs, Elisabeth Maria. *The Redhaired in Japan: Dutch Influence on Japanese Cartography (1640-1853)*. MA thesis. University of British Columbia, 1983.
- Kajiya, Kenji. "Visual Formation in the Nanban Screens of Maps." Unpublished essay, 1999.
- Kanazawa, Yasutaka. *Edo Keppatsushi* [History of Hairstyle During the Edo Period]. Tōkyō: Seiabō, 1968.
金沢康隆 『江戸結髪史』 青蛙房
- Kato, Shuichi. *Japan: Spirit and Form*. Rutland, Vermont: C.E. Tuttle, 1994.
- Kawahara, Hiroshi. "*Edo*" no Seishinshi: *Bi to Kokorozashi no Shinshin Kankei* [History of the Mind During the Edo Period: The Relationship of Body and Mind in Terms of Beauty and Ideal]. Tōkyō: Perikansha, 1992. [*Kokorozashi*=Ideal, see p. 7.]
河原宏 『「江戸」の精神史：美と志の心身関係』 ペリカン社

- Kawai, Masatomo, and Atsushi Wakisaka, eds. *Momoyama no Shōhekiga* [Screen and Wall Paintings of the Momoyama Period]. Nihon Bijutsu Zenshū [Collection of Japanese Art] 17. Tōkyō: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1978.
河合正朝 脇坂淳 編 『桃山の障壁画』 日本美術全集 17 学習研究社
- Kimura, Tōichirō. *Kinsei Chizushi Kenkyū* [Studies in the History of Modern Maps]. Tokyō: Kokon Shoin, 1987.
木村東一郎 『近世地図史研究』 古今書院
- Kish, George. "Some Aspects of the Missionary Cartography of Japan During the Sixteenth Century." *Imago Mundi* 7(1950):39-47.
- Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, ed. *Akioka Kochizu Korekushon Meihin Ten: Juzo Kinen Tokubetsu Ten* [Masterpieces of the Akioka Antique Map Collection: Special Exhibition to Commemorate the Donation of the Maps]. Kobe-shi: Kōbe-shi Supōtsu Kyōiku Kōsha, 1989.
神戸市立博物館 編 『秋岡古地図コレクション名品展：受贈記念特別展』
神戸市：神戸市スポーツ教育公社
- Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, ed. *Nitchū Rekishi Kaidō 2000-nen* [2000 Years of Marine Relationship Between Japan and China]. Kōbe-shi: Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, 1997.
神戸市立博物館 編 『日中歴史海道2000年』 神戸市立博物館
- Konvitz, Josef W. *The Urban Millennium: The City-Building Process from the Early Middle Ages to the Present*. [S.l.]: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985.
- Kramer, Irving I. "The Jesuit Impact on Japan." *Contemporary Japan* 21 (1952): 601-616.
- Kuroda, Hideo. *Kyōkai no Chūsei, Shōchō no Chūsei* [Boundaries of the Middle Ages, Symbols of the Middle Ages]. Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1986.
黒田日出男 『境界の中世・象徴の中世』 東京大学出版会.
- Kuwata, Tadachika. *Toyotomi Hideyoshi Kenkyū* [Studies in Toyotomi Hideyoshi]. Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1975.
桑田忠親 『豊臣秀吉研究』 角川書店.
- Lach, Donald F. *Asia in the Making of Europe*. Vol. 1, books 1-2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
- *Asia in the Making of Europe*. Vol. 2, book 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970..
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

- Lewis, Martin W., and Kären E. Wigen. *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Loh, Joseph F. *The Screens of the Shimabara Rebellion: Peasant Uprisings, Martyred Christians, Disputed Heroes, and Dissent in the Archive*. MA thesis. University of British Columbia, 1995.
- Lucas, Thomas M. ed. *Saint, Site and Sacred Strategy : Ignatius, Rome and Jesuit Urbanism : Catalogue of the Exhibition : Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1990.
- Marin, Louis. "The City's Portrait in its Utopic." *Utopics: Spatial Play*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanity Press, 1984. 201-232.
- Massey, Lee Gooding. "Jesuits and Indians: A Brief Evaluation of Three Early Descriptions of Baja California." *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly*. 10.1 (Jan. 1974): 1-12.
- Matsuda, Kiichi. *Nanban no Bateren: Tōzai Kōshōshi no Mondai o Saguru* [Nanban Priests: Issues on the History of the Relations Between East and West]. NHK Bukkusu [NHK Books] 122. Tōkyō: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1970.
松田毅一 『南蛮のバテレン：東西交渉史の問題をさぐる』 NHK ブックス 日本放送出版協会
- Matsumoto, Moritaka. "Images of Western and Japanese Art: Embodiment of Imagination and Pseudo-reality in Nanban Art." *Japan and the West: The Perception Gap*. Ed. Keizo Nagatani, David W. Edgington. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 1998. 13-48.
- "Images of Westerners in Namban Art." *The Walls Within: Images of Westerners in Japan and Images of the Japanese Abroad: Selected Proceedings*. Vancouver: Institute of Asian Research, UBC, 1989.
- McClain, James L., John M. Merriman, and Kaoru Ugawa, ed. *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Mignolo, Walter. "Putting the Americas on the Map : Cartography and the Colonization of Space." *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995. 259-313.
- Miki, Tamon. "The Influence of Western Culture of Japanese Art." *Monumenta Nipponica: Studies in Japanese Culture, Past and Present* 19 (1964): 146-167.
- Mitani, Hiroshi. "Ishin Nihon no 'Sekai' Kitei [Definition of the 'World' During the Meiji Restoration]." *Nihon Imēji no Kōsaku: Ajia Taiheiyō no Toposu* [Mixed Images of Japan: Topos of Asia Pacific]. Ed. Masayuki Yamauchi, Motoo Yoshida. UP Sensho. Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1997. 133-152.

三谷博 「維新日本の '世界' 規定」『日本イメージの交錯 : アジア太平洋のトポス』 山内昌之 吉田元夫 編集 UP選書
東京大学出版会

Miyoshi, Tadayoshi. "Edo Jidai no Nihon e Tsutawatta Oranda-sei Kabechizu [Dutch Wall Maps Brought to Japan During the Edo Period]." *Kansai Daigaku Hakubutsukan Kiyō*. Sōkangō (Mar. 1995): 93-103.

三好唯義

「江戸時代の日本へ伝わったオランダ製壁地図」『関西大学博物館紀要』創刊号

-----. "J. Burau no 1645/46-nenban Sekai Chizu ni tsuite" [On the World Map Made by J. Blaeu in 1645/46]. *Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Kiyō*. 11 (Mar. 1994): 23-58.

三好唯義 「J.

ブラウの1645/46年版世界地図について」『神戸市立博物館研究紀要』

-----. "Oranda no Tamamono = Gifts from Holland." *Eikō no Oranda Kaiga to Nihon = Glorious Past of The Netherlands and Japan*. Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan. [Ōsaka]: Asahi Shinbunsha Bunka Kikakukyoku Ōsaka Kikakubu, 1993. 170-174, 224-226.

三好唯義 「オランダの賜物」『栄光のオランダ絵画と日本』

神戸市立博物館. [大阪]: 朝日新聞社文化企画局大阪企画部

-----. "P. Kaeriusu 1609-nenban Sekai Chizu o Megutte [On the World Map Made by P. Kaerius in 1609]," *Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Kiyō* [Bulletin of Kobe City Museum] 13 (Mar. 1997): 15-43.

三好唯義 「P.

カエリウス1609年版世界地図をめぐる」『神戸市立博物館研究紀要』

-----. "Porutogaru Chizugakushijō ni Okeru Nihon Chizu no Hensen [Changes of the Maps of Japan in the History of Portuguese Cartography]." *Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan Kenkyū Kiyō* [Bulletin of Kobe City Museum] 1 (Mar. 1984): 3-24.

三好唯義

「ポルトガル地図学史上における日本地図の変遷」『神戸市立博物館研究紀要』

-----. "Screens with Maps of the World." *Daruma: Japanese Art and Antiques Magazine* 12 (Autumn 1996): 11-26.

-----. "Sekai Chizu Byōbu no Shūhen [On World Map Screens]." *Kobijutsu* [Antique] 101 (1992): 50-52.

三好唯義 「世界地図屏風の周辺」『古美術』

- , "Sekaizu Byōbu to Fune [World Map Screens and Ships]." *Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan Dayori* [Newsletter of Kobe City Museum]. 44 (1993): 6-7.
三好唯義 「世界図屏風と船」 『神戸市立博物館だより』
- , *Zusetsu Sekai Kochizu Korekushon* [Illustrated Antique World Map Collection]. Tōkyō: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1999.
三好唯義 『図説世界古地図コレクション』 東京：河出書房新社.
- Moran, J. F. *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Moriya, Takeshi. "Tenkabito to Kyōto [Man of the Realm and Kyoto]." *Fūzokuga: Rakuchū Rakugai* [Genru Painting: In-and-Around-Kyoto Screens]. Ed. Takeda Tsuneo. *Nihon Byōbue Shūsei* 11. Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1978. 130-135
守屋毅 「天下人と京都」 『風俗画：洛中洛外』 武田恒夫 編
日本屏風絵集成 11 講談社
- Morris, Jan. *The Venetian Empire: A Sea Voyage*. London: Faber and Faber, 1980.
- Nagahara, Keiji. *Daimyō Ryōgokusei* [Daimyo's Domain System]. Taikei Nihon Rekishi [History of Japan] 3. Tōkyō: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1967.
永原慶二 『大名領国制』 体系日本歴史 3 日本評論社
- Nakane, Chie, and Shinzaburō Ōishi, ed. *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan*. Tōkyō: University of Tokyo Press, 1990.
- Nakayama, Kiichirō. "The Western Influence on Japanese Art: Centered on New Dawn of Japanese Art at the Time of National Isolation." *Nihon Bijutsu no Naka no Seiyō: Azuchi Momoyama, Edo no Nyū Āto = Western Influence on Japanese Art: 16th Century-19th Century*. Fukuoka-shi: Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan, 1995. 33-38.
中山喜一郎 『日本美術のなかの西洋：安土桃山、江戸のニューアート』
福岡市：福岡市美術館
- Narisawa, Katsutsugu. "Namban Byōbu no Tenkai: Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan Tokubetsu Ten, Nanban Kenbunroku: Momoyama Kaiga ni Miru Seiyō to no Deai [Development of Nanban Screens: Special Exhibition of Kobe City Museum. Records of Nanban Experiences: Encounter with the West Depicted in the Momoyama Paintings]." *Kobijutsu* [Antique] 101 (1992): 10-43.
成澤勝嗣
「南蛮屏風の展開：神戸市立博物館特別展、南蛮見聞録：桃山絵画にみる西洋との出会い」 『古美術』
- Nebenzahl, Kenneth, and Alfredo Pinheiro Marques. "Moreira's Manuscript: A Newly Discovered Portuguese Map of the World - Made in Japan." *Mercator's World*. (July/Aug. 1997): 18-23.

- Nishimura, Tei. *Nanban Byōbu* [Nanban Screens]. Tōkyō: Dai Nihon Yūbenkai Kōdansha, 1958.
西村貞 『南蛮屏風』 大日本雄弁会講談社
- , "Repanto Sentōzu no Byōbu ni tsuite [On *Battle-of-Lepanto* Screens]." *Kokka* [National Flower] 766 (Jan. 1956): 2-22.
西村貞 「レパント戦闘圖の屏風について」 『国華』
- , "Taisei Ōzoku Kiba Gazō ni tsuite : Ge [On *European Kings on Horseback*: Part 2]." *Kokka* [National Flower] 746 (July 1954): 215-220.
西村貞 「泰西王族騎馬畫像について：下」 『国華』
- , "Taisei Ōzoku Kiba Gazō ni tsuite : Jō [On *European Kings on Horseback*: Part 1]." *Kokka* [National Flower] 746 (May 1954): 137-151.
西村貞 「泰西王族騎馬畫像について：上」 『国華』
- Nuti, Lucia. "Mapping Places: Chorography and Vision in the Renaissance." *Mappings*. Ed. Denis Cosgrove. London: Reaction Books, 1999. 90-108.
- O'Donoghue, Yolande. "Map-makers of Old Japan." *Geographical Magazine* 47 (1974): 40-47.
- Oda, Takeo. *Chizu no Rekishi: Nihon hen* [Hiatory of Maps: Japan]. Kōdansha Gendai Shinso. Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1974.
織田武雄 『地図の歴史：日本編』 講談社現代新書 講談社
- , *Kochizu no Sekai* [World of Antique Maps]. Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1981.
織田武雄 『古地図の世界』 講談社
- , Nobuo Muroga, and Kazutaka Unno, eds. *Nihon Kochizu Taisei: Sekaizu hen = The World in Japanese Maps Until the Mid-19th Century*. Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1975.
織田武雄 室賀信夫 海野一隆 編 『日本古地図大成：世海図編』 講談社
- Ōhira, Shūichi. "Nihon ni Okeru Minami Amerika Ninshiki no Gensho Keitai: Nanban-kei Sekaizu ni Mirareru Shojōhō o Megutte [Japanese Early Recognition of South America: On the Images Depicted in the Nanban World Maps] ." *Idemitsu Bijutsukan Kenkyū Kiyō* [Bulletin of Idemitsu Art Gallery] 2 (1996): 13-48.
大平秀一
「日本における南アメリカ認識の原初形態：南蛮系世界図にみられる諸情報をめぐって」 『出光美術館研究紀要』
- Ōji, Toshiaki. "Echizu ni Arawareta Sekaizō [World Represented in the Pictorial World Maps]." *Shakaikan to Sekaizō* [Views of Society and the World]. *Nihon no Shakaishi* [History of Japanese Society] 7. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1987. 299-338.

応地利明 「絵地図に現われた世界像」 『社会観と世界像』 日本の社会史
岩波書店

-----. "Nihon Zu to Sekaizu: Echizu ni Egakareta Chūsei Nihon no Iiki [Maps of Japan and the World: Primitive Regions Represented in Japanese Medieval Pictorial Maps]." *Ajia no Naka no Nihon Shi 5: Jiishiki to Sōgo Rikai* [History of Japan in Asia: Self Consciousness and Mutual Understanding]. Ed. Yasunori Arano, Masatoshi Ishii, Shōsuke Murai. Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1993. 287-319.

応地利明 「日本図と世界図 :

絵地図に描かれた中世日本の夷域」 『アジアのなかの日本史 5 :
自意識と相互理解』 荒野泰典、石井正敏、村井章介編 東京大学出版会

Oka, Yasumasa. "Shoki Yōfuga o Megutte [On Early Western Style Painting]." *Kobijutsu* [Antique] 101 (1992): 44-49.

岡泰正 「初期洋風画をめぐって」 『古美術』

Okamoto, Yoshitomo. "Iezusukai Shinsakuzu [New Maps Made by the Jesuits]." *Juroku-seiki ni Okeru Nihon Chizu no Hattatsu* [Development of Japanese Maps During the Sixteenth Century]. Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 1973. 146-151.

岡本良知 「イエズス会新作図」 『十六世紀における日本地図の発達』
八木書店

-----. *Jūroku Seiki ni Okeru Nihon Chizu no Hattatsu* [Development of Japanese Maps During the Sixteenth Century]. Tōkyō: Yagi Shoten, 1973.

岡本良知 『十六世紀における日本地図の発達』 八木書店

-----. *Kirishitan no Jidai: Sono Bunka to Bōeki* [Christian Era: Its Culture and Trade]. Ed. Kōichirō Takase. Tōkyō: Yagi Shoten, 1987.

岡本良知 『キリシタンの時代 : その文化と貿易』 高瀬弘一郎編
八木書店

-----. *The Namban Art of Japan*. Trans. Ronald K. Jones. Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art 19. New York : Weatherhill, 1972.

-----. "Nanban Byōbu no Ikokuteki Naiyō [Foreign Contents in Nanban Screens]." *Shigaku* [History] 19.3 : 82-110.

岡本良知 「南蠻屏風の異國的内容」 『史學』

-----, and Tadao Takamisawa. *Nanban Byōbu* [Nanban Screens]. 2 vols. Tōkyō: Kajima Shuppankai, 1970.

岡本良知 高見沢忠雄 『南蛮屏風』 鹿島出版会

Okuno, Takahiro. *Zōtei Oda Nobunaga Monjo no Kenkyū* [Enlarged Ed. Studies in the Primary Sources Related to Oda Nobunaga]. Jōkan [Vol. 1]. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1988. 3 vols.

奥野高広 『増訂織田信長文書の研究』 上巻 吉川弘文館

- Ōnishi, Shinzaburō, and Chie Nakane, eds. *Edo Jidai to Kindaika* [The Edo Period and Modernization]. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1986.
大西慎三郎 中根千枝 編 『江戸時代と近代化』 筑摩書房
- Ortelius, Abraham. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum = The Theatre of the World: Series of Atlases in Facsimile*. 1568. Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm, 1968.
- Reischauer, Robert Karl. *Early Japanese History: c. 40 B.C.-A.D. 1167*. Part A. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1967.
- Rietbergen, P. J. A. N., and M. E. Seegers. *A Short History of the Netherlands: From Prehistory to the Present Day*. Trans. M. E. Bennett. Amersfoort, Netherlands: Bekking Publishers Amersfoort, 1992.
- Ross, Andrew C. *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China 1542-1742*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994.
- Sakamoto, Mitsuru. "Nanban Bijutsu [Nanban Art]." *Nanban Bijutsu to Yōfuga* [Nanban Art and Western Style Painting]. Genshoku Nihon no Bijutsu [Primary Colour Japanese Art] 25. Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 1970. 161-196.
坂本満 「南蛮美術」 『南蛮美術と洋風画』 原色日本の美術 25 小学館
- , *Ōgon to Kurusu* [Gold and Crucifix]. Ningen no Bijutsu [Human Art] 8: Azuchi, Momoyama Jidai [The Azuchi-Momoyama Period]. Takeshi Umehara kanshū. Tōkyō: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1990.
坂本満 『黄金とクルス』 人間の美術 8 : 安土・桃山時代 梅原猛監修 学習研究社
- , Grace A. Vlam, and Yōichirō Ide. *Fūzokuga : Nanban Fūzoku* [Genru Painting: Nanban Genru Painting]. Nihon Byōbue Shūsei [Collection of Japanese Screen Painting] 15. Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1982.
坂本満、グレイス A フラム、井出洋一郎 『風俗画：南蛮風俗』 日本屏風絵集成 15 講談社
- , Tadashi Sugase, and Fujio Naruse. *Nanban Bijutsu to Yōfuga* [Nanban Art and Western Style Painting]. Genshoku Nihon no Bijutsu [Primary Colour Japanese Art] 25. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1970
坂本満 菅瀬正 成瀬不二雄 『南蛮美術と洋風画』 原色日本の美術 25小学館
- Sakayori, Masashi. "Kai Shisō no Shosō [Various Aspects of the Ideas of Civilized and Uncivilized]." *Ajia no Naka no Nihon Shi* [History of Japan in Asia] 5: *Jiishiki to Sōgo Rikai* [Self Consciousness and Mutual Understanding]. Ed. Yasunori Arano, Masatoshi Ishii, Shōsuke Murai. Tōkyō; Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1992. 27-58.
酒寄雅志 「華夷思想の諸相」 『アジアのなかの日本史 5 : 自意識と相互理解』 荒野泰典 石井正敏 村井章介 編 東京大学出版会

- Satō, Kazuhiko, and Mamoru Shimosaka, eds. *Zusetsu Kyōto Runessansu* [Illustrated Kyoto Renaissance]. Tōkyō: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1994.
佐藤和彦 下坂守 編 『図説京都ルネサンス』 河出書房新社
- Schütte, Josef Franz. "Ignacio Moreira of Lisbon, Cartographer in Japan 1590-1592." *Imago Mundi* 16 (1962): 116-128.
- Screech, Timon. *Ōedo Ijin Ōrai* [Foreginers Come and Go in Great Edo]. Trans. Hiroshi Takayama. Maruzen Bukkusū. Tōkyō: Maruzen, 1995.
『大江戸異人往来』 高山宏訳 丸善ブックス 丸善
- , *The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan: The Lens Within the Heart*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Shirley, Rodney W. *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps 1472-1700*. London: New Holland, 1993.
- Smith, Catherine Delano. "Why Theory in the History of Cartography?" *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 198-205.
- Soja, Edward W. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso, 1989.
- Stewart, Lynn. "Bodies, Visions, and Spatial Politics: A Review Essay on Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13 (1995): 609-618.
- Sueki, Fumihiko. "Bukkyōteki Sekaikan to Esunosentorizumu [Buddhist World View and Ethnocentrism]." *Ajia no Naka no Nihon Shi* [History of Japan in Asia] 5: *Jiishiki to Sōgo Rikai* [Self Consciousness and Mutual Understanding]. Ed. Yasunori Arano, Masatoshi Ishii, Shōsuke Murai. Tōkyō; Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1992. 59-87.
末本文美士
「仏教的世界観とエスノセントリズム」『アジアのなかの日本史 5 : 自己意識と相互理解』 荒野泰典、石井正敏、村井章介編 東京大学出版会
- Sugimoto, Isao. *Kinsei Nihon no Gakujutsu: Jitsugaku no Tenkai o Chūshin ni* [Scholarship in Modern Japan: Focusing on Practical Sciences]. Kyōyō Senshō 45. Tōkyō: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku, 1982.
杉本勲 『近世日本の学術：実学の展開を中心に』 教養選書
法政大学出版局
- Sugiyama, Hiroshi, ed. *Nihon kara Mira Ikoku* [Foreign Countries Viewed from Japan]. Tanbō Dai Kōkai Jidai no Nihon [Inquiry into Japan During the Great Navigation Era] 5. Tōkyō: Shōgakusan, 1978.
杉山博 編 『日本からみた異国』 探訪大航海時代の日本 5 小学館

Tabako to Shio no Hakubutsukan, ed. *Tokubetsuten Oranda Shumi = Hollandse Smaak: Sakokuka no Ekizochizumu* [Exoticism Under Isolation Policy]. [S.I.]: Tabako to Shio no Hakubutsukan, 1996.

たばこと塩の博物館編 『特別展阿蘭陀趣味：鎖国下のエキゾチズム』

Takahashi, Hirofumi. "Tenohira no Gengogaku: Nanban Bōeki Jidai, Nihonjin no Shōnin to Porutogaru no Shōnin ha Dō Yatte Komyunikēshon o Tottanodeshō ka [Short Linguistics: During the Era of Nanban Trade, How did Japanese and Portuguese Merchants Communicate?]." *Gengo* [Language] 28.5 (1995):54-57.

高橋裕史 「てのひらの言語学」

南蛮貿易時代、日本人の商人とポルトガルの商人はどうやってコミュニケーションをとったのでしょうか 『言語』

Takahashi, Tadashi. "Nanban Toshizu Byōbu kara Kaeriusu Sekaizu e [From Nanban City Screens to Kaerius]." *Ezu no Kosumorojī: Jō-kan* [Cosmology of Pictorial Maps: vol. 1]. Ed. Katsuragawa Ezu Kenkyūkai. Kyōto: Chijin Shobō, 1988. 248-264.

高橋正

「南蛮都市図屏風からカエリウスへ」葛川絵図研究会編『絵図のコスモロジー：上巻』京都：地人書房

Takase, Kōichirō. "Kirishitan Fukyō ni okeru 'Tekiō ni tsuite [On Catholic Priests' Adaptation to Japanese Culture During Their Propagation of Christianity]." *Dai Zabieru Ten = St. Francis Xavier : His Life and Times*. Tōkyō : Tōbu Bijutsukan, Asahi Shinbunsha, 1999. 222-230.

高瀬弘一郎 「キリシタン布教における「適応」について」『大ザビエル展』東武美術館 朝日新聞社

-----. *Kirishitan Jidai no Kenkyū* [Studies in the Christian Era]. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1977.

高瀬弘一郎 『キリシタン時代の研究』岩波書店

-----. *Kirishitan Jidai Taigai Kankei no Kenkyū* [Research on Foreign Relations During the Christian Era]. Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1994.

高瀬弘一郎 『キリシタン時代対外関係の研究』吉川弘文館

Takeda, Tsuneo [et al.]. *Fūzokuga: Rakuchū Rakugai* [Genru Painting: In-and-Around-Kyoto Screens]. Nihon Byōbue Shusei [Collection of Japanese Screen Paintings] 11. Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1978.

武田恒夫 『風俗画：洛中洛外』日本屏風絵集成 11 講談社

Tanaka, Takeo. "Shintai Imēji to Tasha Ishiki [Body Image and Sense of Otherness]." *Kyōkai no Nihon Shi* [Japanese History of Borders]. Ed. Shōsuke Murai, Makoto Satō, Nobuyuki Yoshida. Tōkyō: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1997. 292-304.

田中健夫 「身体イメージと他者意識」『境界の日本史』

村井章介、佐藤信、吉田伸之 編 東京：山川出版社

- "Sōgo Ninshiki to Jōhō [Mutual Recognition and Information]." *Ajia no Naka no Nihon Shi Shi* [History of Japan in Asia] 5: *Jiishiki to Sōgo Rikai* [Self Consciousness and Mutual Understanding]. Ed. Yasunori Arano, Masatoshi Ishii, Shōsuke Murai. Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1992. 205-242.
田中健夫 「相互認識と情報」 『アジアのなかの日本史 5 : 自意識と相互理解』 荒野泰典 石井正敏 村井章介 編 東京大学出版会
- Thrower, Norman J. W. *Maps and Civilization: Cartography in Culture and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Tōbu Bijutsukan, and Asahi Shinbunsha, eds. *Dai Zabieru Ten = St. Francis Xavier : His Life and Times*. Tōkyō : Tōbu Bijutsukan, Asahi Shinbunsha, 1999.
東武美術館 朝日新聞社 『大ザビエル展』
- Toby, Ronald. "Imagining and Imaging 'Anthropos' in Early-Modern Japan." *Visual Anthropology Review* 14.1 (Spring/Summer 1998): 19-44.
- "The 'Indianness' of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other." *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*. Ed. by Stuart B. Schwartz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. 323-351.
- "'Ketōjin' no Tōjō o Megutte: Kinsei Nihon no Taigai Ninshiki, Tashakan no Ichi Sokumen [Concerning the Encounter with the 'Red-Hair People': Recognition of Foreignness During Modern Japan, An Aspect of Otherness]." *Kyōkai no Nihon Shi* [Japanese History of Borders]. Ed. Shōsuke Murai, Makoto Satō, Nobuyuki Yoshida. Tōkyō: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1997. 254-291.
「「毛唐人」の登場をめぐる：近世日本の対外認識、他者観の一側面」
『境界の日本史』 村井章介 佐藤信 吉田伸之 編 山川出版社
- "Kinsei Nihonjin no Etonosu Ninshiki [Recognition of Ethos of the Modern Japanese]." *Nihon Imēji no Kōsaku: Ajia Taiheiyō no Toposu* [Mixed Images of Japan: Topos of Asia Pacific]. Ed. Masayuki Yamauchi, Motoo Furuta. Tōkyō: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1997. 122-152.
「近世日本人のエトノス認識」 『日本イメージの交錯：アジア太平洋のトポス』 山内昌之 古田元夫 編 東京大学出版会
- *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Tōyama, Mitsuo. "Kenzuishi wa Naze Hakensareta ka [Why Was Envoy Sent to Sui?]." *Shin Shiten Nihon no Rekishi* [New View Point, History of Japan]. Vol. 2: *Kodai Hen* [Ancient Japan] I. Taichirō Shiraishi, Takehiko Yoshimura, eds. Tōkyō: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1993. 308-315.
遠山美都男 「遣随使はなぜ派遣されたか」 『新視点日本の歴史 Vol. 2: 古代編 I』 白石太一郎、吉村武彦 編 新人物往来社

- Tsuji, Nobuo. "Funaki-ke Kyūzōbon Rakuchū Rakugaizu Byōbu no Kentō [Studies in the Former Funaki Family's In-and-Around-Kyoto Screens]." *Nihon Byōbue Shūsei* [Collection of Japanese Screen Paintings] 11: *Fūzokuga: Rakuchū Rakugai* [Genru Painting: In-and-Around-Kyoto Screens]. Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1978. 122-129.
辻惟雄 「舟木家旧蔵本洛中洛外図屏風の検討」 『日本屏風絵集成 11: 風俗画: 洛中洛外』 講談社
- Tsuji, Tatsuya. *Edo Bakufu Seijishi Kenkyū* [Studies in the Political History of the Edo Shogunate]. Tōkyō: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1996.
辻達也 『江戸幕府政治史研究』 続群書類従完成会
- Turner, Jane, ed. *The Dictionary of Art*. 34 vol. New York: Grove's 1996.
- Unno, Kazutaka. "Shōhō-kan 'Bankoku Sōzu' no Seiritsu to Rufu [Production and Dissemination of Shoho-edition 'World Map']." *Nihon Yōgakushi no Kenkyū* [Research on the History of Japanese Western Studies] 10 (Jan. 1991): 17-25.
海野一隆 「正保刊 '万国総図' の成立と流布」 『日本洋学史の研究』
- , "Cartography in Japan." *The History of Cartography*. Ed. J.B. Harley and David Woodward. Vol. 2, book 2, *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. 346-477.
- Vilar, Pierre. *Spain: A Brief History*. Trans. Brian Tate. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1977.
- Vlam, Grace Alida Hermine. *Western-style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan*. Diss. U. of Michigan, 1976. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1979.
- Waltner, Ann. "Demerits and Deadly Sins: Jesuit Moral Tracts in Late Ming China." *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. 422-448.
- Yamane, Yuzo. *Momoyama Genre Painting*. Trans. John M. Shields. The Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Arts 17. New York: Weatherhill, 1973.
- Yanai, Kenji. "Nanban Bōeki [Nanban Trade]." *Iwanami Kōza Nihon Rekishi 9: Kinsei 1*. [Iwanami Seminar on Japanese History: Modern Japan] Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1963. 85-114.
箭内健次 「南蛮貿易」 『岩波講座日本歴史 9: 近世 1』 岩波書店
- Yūki, Ryōgo. *Rōma o Mita: Tenshō Shōnen Shisetsu* [Have Seen Rome: Tensho Boys' Christian Mission]. Nagasaki-shi: Nihon Nijūroku Seijin Kinenkan, 1982.
結城了悟 『ローマを見た: 天正少年使節』
長崎市: 日本二十六聖人記念館

Zandvliet, Kees. "Maps of the Early Tokugawa Era: Mirrors of Trade and Art = Tokugawa Jidai Shoki no Chizu: Kōeki to Geijutsu no Kagami to shite" *Eikō no Oranda Kaiga to Nihon = Glorious Past of The Netherlands and Japan*. Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan. [Ōsaka]: Asahi Shinbunsha Bunka Kikakukyoku Ōsaka Kikakubu, 1993. 149-156, 206-212.

「徳川時代初期の地図：交易と芸術の鏡として」『栄光のオランダ絵画と日本』 神戸市立博物館 [大阪]：朝日新聞社文化企画局大阪企画部

-----. *Mapping for Money: Maps, Plans and Topographic Paintings and Their Role in Dutch Overseas Expansion During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International, 1998.