When Worlds Collide—Art, Cartography, and Japanese Nanban World Map Screens

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ABSTRACT

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A number of Momoyama (1573–1615) and Edo (1615–1868) period folding screens feature Western maps of the world as their subject. These map screens (sekai chizu byōbu 世界地図屏風) are among the earliest examples of Japanese visual culture to feature pictorial imagery shaped by European cartographic science, geographic knowledge, and overseas trade and exploration. In these works, anonymous Japanese artists adapted Western European maps and book illustrations, often making substantial changes of form and content.

This dissertation confronts many current assumptions concerning the nature of the map screens. The study argues that Japanese artists who produced the screens grappled with a complex tension between European pictorial cartographic representations of a newly introduced world and the world views that prevailed in Japan. It proposes that European map imagery and pictorial forms, through the process of reinvention for the Japanese format of the folding screen and for Japanese tastes and sensibilities, became vulnerable to alternative, and often unintended, interpretations by the Japanese political and social elite.

The present study considers various dimensions of the world map screens: the manner of their production; their meaning in relation to maps of Japan and other subjects; their
implications in regard to an established world view and cosmological order; their circulation in a changing political and cultural sphere; and their position within the modern history of Japanese maps and art.
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Dedication

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Introduction

The presence of Western Europeans in Japan from the 1540s to 1640s marked the introduction of new visual imagery and pictorial techniques into the repertory of Japanese artists. The result are works which historians have designated as *nanban* art (*nanban bijutsu* 南蛮美術) which is Japanese art, religious or secular in character connected to European sources through visual design, subject matter, or context of production.¹

*Nanban* art can be divided broadly into three categories.² In the first belong Christian works either introduced by missionaries or executed by Japanese artists under their direction. These include iconically and ecclesiastically themed paintings intended for devotional worship (Fig. 1 to Fig. 6) and liturgical accoutrements (Fig. 7, Fig. 8). The category includes other Christian-themed objects as well, such as ceramics featuring a cross motif (Fig. 9). Untold numbers of such works were created throughout the initial period of encounter. Sadly, huge numbers were confiscated, effaced, or destroyed during the anti-Christian persecutions that took place in the first half of the seventeenth century. As a result, limited examples of Japanese Christian works from the era have survived.

The second category consists of paintings, usually large folding screens, with the subject of the *Arrival of the Southern Barbarians* (*Nanban-jin torai- zu byōbu* 南蛮人渡来図屏風) (Fig. 10).
In these works, of which, since 2011, ninety-three are currently known to exist, artists often depicted a great Portuguese trading ship and European activity in a Japanese port town. The paintings, with the earliest extant dating to around 1600, illustrate Japanese and Western European interaction and capture a sense of the commotion and bustle of a fledging international commercial scene, focusing on the big-nosed European traders in their strange garb and the morose Christian missionaries who accompanied them, often worshipping in their Christian “temples” (Fig. 16).

The final category consists of eclectic secular works of Japanese artists who mixed Japanese and European techniques, pictorial styles, and formats for decorative objects and paintings (Fig. 17 to Fig. 26). Those paintings and folding screens that fall into this category include depictions of various European peoples, Western nobility on horseback, and pastoral scenes. Japanese artists, through European training or access to imported printed materials, applied linear perspective, chiaroscuro, and other Western European artistic techniques for the first time.

This dissertation focuses on one additional type of painting belonging to this last category—folding screens that feature painted images of Western European maps of the world. Arguably the most nuanced and complex of all objects epitomizing the brief initial encounter between Japan and the West during the 1540s–1640s, these screens are collectively known as nanban world map screens (nanban sekai chizu byōbu 南蛮世界地図屏風). In creating these paintings, Japanese artists, transposed printed European map and book imagery onto large multi-panel Japanese folding screens (Fig. 27 to Fig. 46). Twenty-two extant map screens from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remain as the earliest examples of Japanese art that display knowledge of European cartographic science, geography, and overseas exploration and trade.
While the *nanban* map screens appear to draw from European maps of the world as their main subjects, they vary greatly in composition, style and finish. Some are highly elaborate, covered with gold leaf, executed in rich pigments, and minutely detailed. Others are schematic interpretations that appear distant from any original Western source or prototype. In following conventional Japanese practice, artists paired their world map screens with companion screens. Themes and subjects of surviving accompanying screens also vary greatly, ranging from maps of Japan to European city and town views, to depictions of foreign battles. With access to a diversity of new pictorial sources and subjects introduced by the Jesuit missionaries and European traders, Japanese artists addressed the alterity of foreign peoples and lands and created curious yet powerful hybrid works of art without precedent in either Asia or Europe.

The study of these map screens in the past has paralleled, in many respects, the study of Asian cartographic history. As Chapter Two will discuss, the study of *nanban* map screens can be characterized as being part of a predominantly philology-driven enterprise in which historians have striven to discover the cartographic sources and early documentation of the screens. But in grouping *nanban* world map screens together, scholars may have fostered a distorted understanding by highlighting the assimilation of Western cartographic techniques and concepts into Japanese map and mapmaking history, and by emphasizing formal or technical achievements in certain works. While *nanban* map screens have long been recognized for their historical importance, there has been little scholarly interest in the socio-political or ideological ramifications of the adapted imagery, especially with regard to how these works of art required sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japanese viewers to reconsider their place in a new geographical reality.
The European Encounter

The emergence of Nanban map screens resulted from unprecedented trade, religious engagement, and cultural exchange between Japan and Europe that lasted approximately one hundred years, from roughly 1542 to 1641. Throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese established a broad network of junks that anchored in remote harbors and coves along the Asian coast, trading with local inhabitants. The Portuguese had initially encountered the Japanese in Malacca in 1511. However, not until decades later did they finally arrive in what they called Zipangu. On one storm-tossed trip to the port of Ningbo on the eastern coast of China, a number of Portuguese traders traveling on a Chinese junk were shipwrecked on the island of Tanegashima off the southernmost tip of Kyushu. The text Teppō-ki 鉄炮記 [Chronicle of the importation of firearms] dates this momentous event to September 23, 1543.

When news of the accidental “discovery” of Japan broke in Europe, Fernão Mendes Pinto (c.1510–1583), responding to the reckless scramble to this faraway and exotic land, wrote that it all seemed to be “against wind, against the monsoon, against the tide and against reason.”

The race to Japan came as the Portuguese were spearheading a four-hundred-year period of European exploration and discovery across the full expanse of the globe. Travelers and merchants through the fourteenth century strove to maintain overland routes and links between Western Europe and Asia. By the fifteenth century, with the Ottoman Empire threatening to sever these links, Western Europeans recognized that new sea routes to reach the Indian Ocean and beyond were required if international commerce was to continue to flourish. Beginning in 1434, Portugal began exploring uncharted oceans.

Portugal was ideally located to become a powerful maritime power. It was spared the chaos and destruction of the Hundred Years War and had, to a relative extent, avoided the impact
of the Black Death. The Portuguese overseas expansion succeeded, where others did not, because of the superiority of the nation’s ships, weapons, and commercial expertise, all of which were supported by pragmatic leadership. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese sailed around the tip of Africa and established trading bases linking Europe and Asia. This effectively cut out Arab middlemen and ensured enormous wealth by virtually monopolizing the European market in luxury goods from Asia.\

The European quest for Japan was also driven by the fervent desire to find the oriental paradise. By the sixteenth century, the glories of the island kingdom of Zipangu that Marco Polo (1254–1324) mentioned in *Il Milione* of 1298 were seared into the imaginations of European explorers and maritime traders. In his book of travels, Polo mentions the existence of a miraculous island empire of 7,448 islands located some 1,500 leagues from the eastern coast of China. While trade and Christianity were always practical motivations for exploration, the imaginary and the fantastic also propelled many travelers seaward on their dangerous journeys to undiscovered lands.

We can only imagine the shock of the Japanese who witnessed the arrival of the first of the black Portuguese trading ships, the *Nau do Trato*, to their shores in the 1540s. Carrying a motley crew of European mariners, traders, Christian missionaries, these ships, covered with tar for protection during prolonged periods at sea—hence their black appearance—initiated encounters that would change the history of the world. People from Japan and Western Europe, once on different historical and cultural trajectories, interacted directly for the first time. Until this encounter, the Japanese had little knowledge of the world beyond continental Asia, oblivious or wary of whatever lay beyond the perimeter of China, India, or Persia. For the next hundred years, these *nanban-jin* 南蛮人 (southern barbarians) captured and fascinated the elite and
When the first Europeans arrived to Japan, the country was unstable, socially fragmented and politically splintered. This period, roughly 1467 to 1568, known today as the Sengoku jidai (Warring States period), was an explosive time. With a marginalized imperial court and an exhausted and powerless shogunate, the Japanese were caught in incessant wars of attrition and political maneuvering conducted by various autonomous local military cliques. Internationally, Japan was a semi-isolated state, maintaining overseas commerce only with the Ryūkyū Islands and Korea. It maintained a problematic relationship with China, whose rulers had forbidden trade with Japan because of the persistent aggravation that the Japanese wakō pirates inflicted on Chinese mercantile trade. The newly arrived traders and Jesuit missionaries, witnessing a “tumbling politic,” exploited these circumstances to their advantage.

Starting in 1571, the arrival of the great Portuguese trading ships from Macao was an eagerly anticipated annual spectacle in Nagasaki, transforming the port city into a lively cosmopolitan center and site of international exchange. The journey for these three-deck caracks, which usually weighed between 500 to 800 tons, from Portugal to Japan was arduous and dangerous, lasting approximately two years. The nau trading ships required almost a year to reach India from Portugal. Leaving the Portuguese colony of Goa in India in April or May, and wintering at Macao, the ship departed the following May or June with the southwest winds for Nagasaki. The Portuguese called once every year for eighteen years between 1571 and 1588 with the exception of 1579 and 1582, when they went to the port of Arima instead. Until 1580, the ship remained berthed in Nagasaki harbour for three months from the time of its arrival in July until it set sail again in September or October. From 1580, the ship stayed for up to six to eight months until nearly the end of the northwest monsoons in February and early March.
In these late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century intercontinental journeys, Portuguese seafarers relied on few nautical instruments. What they had included a compass, an astrolabe, and Jacob’s staff (an instrument for measuring distances and height). However, they lacked telescope (earliest known not until 1608), sextant (1757), and accurate chronometers (ca. 1776–77). Their notes, compiled through experience and exchange, contained basic navigational instructions, coastline descriptions, and rudimentary information regarding anchorages, shallows, winds, currents, and other natural phenomena.  

Many Japanese daimyō lords worked to develop relations with Europeans for reasons of military advantage or personal prestige. Japanese involved in the silk, gold, and silver trade network throughout western Kyushu were keen for relations with Europe to expand. Japanese people of all social backgrounds were enthralled with the exotic crew of Europeans, supplemented by Africans and men from the Indian sub-continent, and strange and fabulous things that foreign ships also brought to Japan: lead, tin, camphor, sugar, pepper and other spices, Venetian crystal, mercury, woolen goods, Indian textiles, wine, Chinese silks, lacquer, incense, and the even stranger fashions of eyeglasses and pantaloons. In return, Japanese exported copper, iron, and sulphur, as well as swords, handicrafts, and art objects. In 1557, the Portuguese assumed an official status when they established a sanctioned trading post in Nagasaki. Portuguese traders were seen in the streets of Kyoto as early as 1568. While the Portuguese made huge profits selling Chinese silk to the Japanese in exchange for silver, with rising tensions between China and Japan, the Portuguese became the middlemen and shipping agents in trade between the two countries, ensuring the continuing importation of continental luxury goods. Because of the design and speed of their ships, the Portuguese monopolized competition by the 1570s and established themselves in the Kyushu port areas of Kagoshima, Funai, Hirado, and
Nagasaki. Over the next hundred years, the European presence in southern Japan flourished, peaking in the first decade of the seventeenth century.

A zealous Christian missionary community matched merchant activity in its success. Francis Xavier (1506–1552) arrived in 1549 at the port of Kagoshima with his Spanish companions Cosmé de Torres (1510–1570) and Juan Fernández (d. 1567), an Indian servant, and three Japanese Christians who had studied at Goa College. Contrasting with the passive approach preferred by many in the European trading community in southwestern Japan, the Jesuits aggressively extended their travels on foot and by boat, acquiring important knowledge about Japan and its people. It did not take long for the Jesuits, and later the Franciscan and Dominican missionaries who followed, to disseminate Christianity among every social rank throughout the southwestern parts of the country. Because of an institutionalized policy that promoted extensive and careful documentation, a number of European archives today are filled with detailed accounts of life in Japan at that time.

Christianity first spread among people in Kyushu and expanded into southern Honshu in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The Jesuit mission flourished as Oda Nobunaga grew in power and a few local lords led their entire populations into conversion, notably the lords of the Ōtomo, Ōmura, and Arima fiefs in Kyushu. Nobunaga encouraged the acceptance of the new religious movement, in part as a means of challenging Buddhist secular power, which he regarded as an obstacle to national unity. In 1580, the daimyō Ōmura Sumitada (1532–1587) granted the Jesuits legislative authority over the cities of Nagasaki and Mogi. With this act, Christianity appeared to be on the verge of gaining political and religious legitimacy in Japan.

The developments of the Japanese mission within the international Jesuit enterprise did not escape the attention of leading Jesuits. Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), the Visitator
(General Plenipotentiary), who came to Japan on three occasions between 1597 and 1603, stated in his “Summary” of 1583 that Japan was by far the most important mission in the Catholic Church. Pope Gregory XIII (1572–1586) personally financed colleges in Japan and, in 1585, received with great ceremony a group of Japanese envoys from Kyushu sent by Valignano. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits had established in Japan a college, one novitiate, two seminaries, ten residences, and 200 churches with an estimated 150,000 Christians served by about 500 mission personnel. By 1614, the number of Christians in Japan is believed by some to have reached approximately 300,000. Church leaders considered Nagasaki a new Christian capital—a New Rome—and European expectations were fuelled by glowing annual letters sent back to Rome that described the conversion of whole “kingdoms.”

The Japanese fixation on the Western Europeans was intensified by the lure of trading the strange and new fashions and objects introduced by the arrival of the Europeans. European clothing and accessories became high fashions of the time, especially after the return of the Japanese envoys in 1590. In that year, the four envoys sent by Valignano from Kyushu in 1582 on a tour of Portugal, Spain, and Italy to visit King Philip II and the Pope returned to Japan with great celebration. The trip served to promote the Japanese missionary cause abroad while also glorifying the success of the Catholic Church and the spread of European culture in Japan. Upon their return, the envoys displayed gifts they had received from many ecclesiastical princes and secular heads of state. These objects included Western-style secular oil paintings, religious and aristocratic clothing, tapestries, jewelry, armor, musical instruments, a printing press, and a variety of illustrated books including *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius and a volume with portraits of the Spanish royal family. In March 1591, Valignano led the envoys, accompanied by Portuguese officials, in a lavish procession through the streets of Kyoto to the
court of Hideyoshi. This event, like those which preceded and followed it, appears to have had a great impact on the Japanese imagination, and a fascination for things European appears to have persisted, especially among the ruling elite, for a number of years. In a letter dated September 29, 1594, four years after the return of the envoys, Organtino reported that everyone at Hideyoshi’s court wore Portuguese dress, carried handkerchiefs, and hung rosaries and crosses around their necks. He added that some non-Christians carried this taste for European fashions and customs further, and some even learning the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* in order to recite them in public as a form of talismanic chant:

… [Hideyoshi] has become so enamored of Portuguese dress and costume that he and his retainers frequently wear this apparel, as do all the other lords of Japan, even the gentiles, with rosaries of driftwood on the breast above all their clothing, and with a crucifix at their side, or hanging from the waist, and sometimes even with kerchiefs in their hands; some of them are so curious that they learn by rote the litanies of *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* and go along praying in the streets, not in mockery or scorn of the Christians, but simply for gallantry, or because they think it is a good thing and one which will help them to achieve prosperity in worldly things. In this way they order oval-shaped pendants to be made containing reliquaries of the images of Our Lord and Our Lady painted on glass at great cost…

The close attention paid to the missionaries by the Japanese was recognized early. In one letter recounting a procession to visit Kyoto in 1590, Valignano wrote that Japanese even likened the Portuguese to Buddhist deities with miraculous qualities who had come to earth:

The following morning (February 27) the Portuguese, clad in the finest clothing, formed ranks and moved out (from Toba). It was a wonderful sight to see the throng of people who had gathered from far and near to view the strange procession before it reached Miyako (Kyoto). As we neared the city, every street through which our procession passed was filled with countless people, and all who were observing the entry into the city of this orderly procession of exotic and unaccustomed persons decked out in resplendent garments, were most astonished and spoke to one another, saying that every one in the procession must be a Bodhisattva descended from the heavens. We were to them most amazing beings…

In another document, Valignano stated in 1591 that the ship’s crew were “all dressed up in brilliant clothing and all the streets were crowded with spectators. The Japanese thought each one
of the Portuguese a Buddha." In both these examples, the otherworldliness attributed to the foreigners arose from religious beliefs or folklore that attributed supernatural qualities to rare or exotic beings who came from afar.

During the time Christianity spread and trade developed in Japan, the country was moving from a state of dissolution and civil warfare to one of political unification, peace, and social consolidation. As rule passed in succession from Nobunaga to Hideyoshi and finally to Tokugawa leyasu (1543–1616), Japan’s leadership gradually changed its stance on the Western presence. At first, Hideyoshi continued to value the role of missionaries in Japan as a counterweight to the Buddhist sects and desired to extend trade with the Portuguese. However, his attitude changed after witnessing the extent of Christian influence during his 1587 campaign to suppress the daimyos of Kyushu, an area of strategic and tactical location for his invasion of Korea. Upon completing this campaign, Hideyoshi instigated the first of a number of edicts against Christianity while also hoping to maintain trade relations with the Portuguese.

A number of factors combined to turn the shogunate against the Christians and the European community. One has been attributed to the weaknesses of Christianity in which the religion advanced the notion of equality under God. This had repercussions in regard to other belief systems in Japan at the time and become a political issue because of the feudal structure of Japanese society. Another was the growing discord among the various Christian denominations and rivalries between the Spanish and the Portuguese. One incident involving the Spanish occurred in 1596, when the galleon San Felipe ran ashore. The pilot boasted about the aspirations of the Spanish king, of the power of Spanish military might, and of the missionaries whom he presented as the precursor to Spanish invasion. Alarmed by these tidings, Hideyoshi executed seven Franciscans and nineteen Japanese Christians in Nagasaki. When Osaka Castle, the last of
the Toyotomi strongholds, was destroyed in 1615, the Tokugawa shogunate came to dominate the political and social landscape. This regime maintained a state of peace and stability that endured for the next two hundred and fifty years. The state that the Tokugawa envisioned, however, could not accommodate Christianity, which the shogunate came to regard as a subversive and direct threat to its authority and new social order.

The Christian persecutions, beginning under Hideyoshi, who first tried to expel the missionaries in 1587, continued with the first martyrdoms in 1597 and escalated in severity and intensity through the early decades of the seventeenth century. Ieyasu upheld the program by prohibiting the entry of Catholic Europeans into Japan. In 1614, the Jesuit seminary moved to Macao, the fleeing missionaries bringing with them the bulk of the mission’s pictorial archives and collections of books and materials. The second Tokugawa shogun, Hidetada (1579–1632), and his successors continued the repression of Japanese Christians and European missionaries, staging massacres such as the “great martyrdom” of 1622 and devising elaborate torture procedures aimed at apostasy. This activity culminated in 1638 with the suppression of the Shimabara Rebellion, which the shogunate viewed as Christian-inspired. In 1640, with anti-Christian inquisitions at their peak, the Tokugawa concluded the program of censorship of Christianity. By this time, the bulk of Christian religious art was either confiscated or destroyed.

European expansion emerged from the forces of Catholicism, developing sciences, nautical techniques, and interests in trade and exploration. These sources coalesced in Japan to exert what Sugimoto Masayoshi has defined as “a single, overall cultural impact.” The extent to which this coalescence was intended, a convenience, or a complete accident continues to be debated. However, the perceived intimacy between the trading community and the Christian missionaries resulted in a devastating collateral effect. The Iberian traders, seen by the Japanese
ruling elite as inextricably tied to their Jesuit brethren, were expelled. As the only Europeans still allowed on Japanese territory, a handful of Dutch traders were sequestered at the post on the small artificial island of Dejiima in Nagasaki harbor in 1641. This isolation marked the end of the initial phase of the Japanese-European exchange and the beginning of a form of exchange that was closely controlled by the Tokugawa shogunate.

Anti-Christian and xenophobic trends in early Edo-period Japan likely affected how these Western-inspired map screens, and other objects relating to European interchange, were kept, documented, and passed down through generations. Grace Vlam has suggested that works relating to the European encounter, even of the most apparently innocuous of subjects, were quietly hurried “into hiding and from public consciousness,” reappearing only in the latter half of the nineteenth century. These circumstances may account for the dearth of information on the identities of artists and patrons and for the lack of more comprehensive texts and documents related to the production and original use of these map screens.

Persecuting Christian missionaries and severing open contact with the outside world ended direct study of European scientific knowledge in Japan until 1721. In that year, Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751) instigated a series of social and educational reforms that sanctioned limited study of Dutch materials, predominantly by a small group of scholars who specialized in rangaku (Dutch scholarship).

The European and Japanese encounter was a product of dramatic developments in the European socio-political sphere during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These included scientific and technological advances, the emergence of nation states, and a competition among various European powers to expand overseas and dominate international mercantile trade and colonization. The European push overseas was further fuelled by the Protestant Reformation
and the Catholic Counter-Reformation of the sixteenth century. The new religious fundamentalism was manifested perhaps most impressively through the zeal with which missionaries spread their faith to all corners of the known and unknown world. It was in this context in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth centuries in which printed map and book imagery were brought and introduced to Japanese artists who then transformed such into magnificent subjects for the format of the folding screen.

The present study examines nanban map screens from a variety of perspectives in order to better gauge their significance. This approach inserts them into the early-modern Japanese cultural sphere to measure the extent to which European maps of the world forced the Japanese to reconsider their place and the alterity of previously unknown foreign peoples and lands in a newly interconnected world. My argument presupposes that the types of knowledge made available to Japanese artists through Western European sources were founded on an entirely different intellectual, historical, and cultural heritage—a European heritage that could not be immediately assimilated in Japan. Severed from their original narrative contexts, cultural frameworks, and interpretative mechanisms, European maps and pictorial imagery circulated instead as source of motifs in a visual and interpretative system that was unique to late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Japanese culture and social life.

I approach the map screens as a study of ideas, not from the perspective of creating or revising a history of cartographic or artistic expression. Consequently, there is no attempt to chart or reconsider their technical development. The dissertation begins with a general description of the screens, their background and characteristics, and reviews what is known of their artists, patrons, and dates of production. It then provides a review of previous scholarship and presents a methodological approach intended to facilitate new insight into the interpretation and function of
the screens. The remainder of the dissertation examines the screens in relationship to Jesuit institutions and art-education in Japan, the impact of the persuasive power of medieval Japanese religious thinking and vernacular histories in shaping perceptions of the physical world, and the political and ideological role that *nanban* map screens may have played in the service of the Tokugawa state and in the appropriation of a new mode of pictorial expression that facilitated a shifting sense of cultural national identity in seventeenth-century Japan.

Throughout the dissertation, we encounter Japanese using these *nanban* map screens to express their sense of place in a newly discovered world. Some viewed them with the full conviction that the new picture of the world that these works provided confirmed existing beliefs and values. Others strove to use this knowledge of the physical world to support political and social agendas to assert their position in a changing society. Others simply delighted in being transported to wondrous and fantastical places by the power of their imaginations. All these stories—and numerous world views and values—are manifest within the painted forms of these works of art.
Notes


3 M. Izumi, “Saisho no nanban byōbu” in Kokubungaku Kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū 51, no. 11 (Oct 2006), 79-89.

4 The classification and description of this genre of screens were first outlined by Takmizawa Tadao in Y. Okamoto and T. Takamizawa, Namban byōbu (Tokyo: Kajima kenkyūjo, 1970). In 1970, 59 screens were known. As of the year 2012, 93 screens are known to exist. See Nanban byōbu shūsei. A previously unknown and unpublished pair of six-panel folding screens attributed to Kano Naizen (1570-1616) was sold to a private collector at auction at Christie’s in New York on March 23, 2011.

5 For general introduction into this type of painting, see K. Narusawa, “Nanban byōbu no tenkai: Kobe shiritsu hakubutsukan tokubetsu ten, nanban kenbunroku: Momoyama kaiga ni miru seiyō to no deai,” 10–43.


7 N. Sivin and G. Ledyard, “Introduction to East Asian Cartography,” in History of Cartography:


13 However, an account by García de Escalante Alvarado (d. ca.1555) notes the first Portuguese landing on Okinawa as occurring as early as 1542. See U. Pauly, “From Marco Polo to Siebold: An Overview,” in *Japan: A Cartographic Vision*, ed. L. Walter (Munich: Prestel, 1994), 22–23. Alvarado’s account, along with another by Fernão Mendes Pinto, are considered important because they are the earliest of European accounts of Japan by individuals not associated with the missionarites until the arrival of the Dutch a century later. See also D. Pacheco, “The Europeans in Japan, 1543–1640,” in *The Southern Barbarians: The First Europeans in Japan*, ed. M. Cooper (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1971), 99.


19 The term nanban (or namban), literally translated as “southern barbarian,” was adapted from the Chinese concept that all foreign peoples were inferior in comparison with their own. While originally designating people from South Asia and South-East Asia, it was now applied to the Europeans who came to Japan from the south. Given that the trading ships coming from Macao and Goa approached the Japanese archipelago from the south, this label came to be used then to describe the Europeans who had arrived during the late sixteenth century and seventeenth century. See I. Shinmura, “Nanban bungakau,” in Iwanami koza nihon rekishi (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1935), 3. However, it appears that the term nanban was not applied to European countries until near the end of the Edo period. In the document reviewing international relations between 1566 and 1825 known as “Tsūkō ichiran” (通航一覧), compiled by the order of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1853, “nanban countries” were listed as Macao, Goa, Portugal, Spain, Italy. Even though Macao and Goa is located in Asia, the Japanese still regarded them as part of the “nanban world.” See Nanban byōbu shūsei, 294.


23 H. Cortazzi, 18–9.


25 C.R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415–1825, 39–64, especially section “Shipping and Spices in Asian Seas (1500–1600).”
26 C.R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650*, 91–2. See also 107–121 for a description of the mechanics of trade that developed between the Portuguese and the Japanese, and the dynamic role that the Jesuits had in this process.


The Portuguese traders appeared interested only in business and profit, staying for a minimal time and limiting interaction with the Japanese to the port areas. According to Jesuit reports, the Portuguese traders seldom traveled away from the port areas for either private or commercial reasons, preferring instead to have their Japanese counterparts come to them. Given the prestige that the Portuguese traders held in the eyes of their Japanese counterparts, and the extent to which the Japanese were eager to engage in Western trade, the Portuguese succeeded without having to work too hard. See Okamoto, *Namban Art of Japan*, 32.


The early mission is characterized by a mission constantly on the move. It was first in Satsuma, and then moved to Bungo where feudal lord Ōtomo Yoshishige (1530–1587) became their most active supporter in the 1570s and 1580s. One reason for widespread conversion was the desire for closer ties to Portuguese trade and the lucrative market for feudal lords and their domains. See Elisonas, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, 28, and A. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542–1742* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 48. The development of the mission was always dependent upon the patronage of local lords which at times led to what amounted to a compulsory mass conversion. For example, this occurred in the domain controlled by the Ōmura in 1562. See T. Fujitani, “Kirisutokyō to hōken shihai,” in *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi* 9 (Tōkyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1963), 237–238.

M. Sugimoto and D. Swain, *Science and Culture in Traditional Japan*, 160. Nobunaga appears to have accepted Christianity favorably partly because he thought Christianity could be used to suppress Buddhist power, especially those monks at temples such as Enryaku-ji, Tōdai-ji, and Kōkufu-ji, which had gained considerable political and social clout and influence since the

35 Jesuit success drew its strength from a structure that featured lay organizations and confraternities that ordered the Christian community, created networks, sites for contact, and ensured close and careful social coordination. See Bailey, Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773, 57.


41 K. Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 63; Vlam, “Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan,” 138; see De Missione Legatorum, colloquia 1–6, 15, 33, 34. As cited by Vlam, 221n162.


50 It has been suggested that the importation of Dutch cartographic material contributed to Iemitsu’s decision to close Japan from the rest of the world. This is evident from the following extract from a 1641 report of the Dutch head of the trading station François Caron:

[Iemitsu] having ordered for three successive years, maps, globes and an explanation of the way to Europe, after investigating the size of the world, the multitude of its countries, and the smallness of Japan (which hitherto was otherwise believed), he was greatly surprised, and heartily wished that his land had never been visited by any Christians. (*Dagh Register Batavia in voce* 21.iv.1641.)

G. Vlam notes that works were not only “new” and unknown, but often shrouded in myth and mystery, “at least as far as their origins and meanings were concerned.” See Vlam, 34.

Once the Portuguese reached India in 1498, the global activities of Spain and Portugal prompted the founding of the East India Companies of England (1600), Holland (1602), and France (1604).

Chapter One—Nanban World Map Screens

Twenty-two late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Japanese folding screens depicting Western world maps are extant. Twenty screens feature maps of the world in various European cartographic projections, including marine chart, oval, equirectangular, or Mercator projections. The remaining two screens consist of paintings depicting a map of the Eastern Hemisphere or “Old World”—the continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia. A number of screens are acknowledged to be later copies.

The screens range in size from 68 cm to 204 cm in height and 226.5 cm to 447 cm in width and were constructed in four-, six- to eight-panel folded formats. Eighteen of the world map screens have companion screens to form a pair. Fourteen of these companion screens consist of maps of Japan, two are town views, one depicts a military battle, and one is a type of painting commonly known today as the Arrival of the Southern Barbarians (Nanban-jin torai-zu byōbu) that generally depict Europeans in a Japanese port. The remaining two world map screens are without a companion screen. Two pairs of screens, one in the collection of the Idemitsu Museum of Arts in Tokyo and the other in the Nanban Bunka-kan in Osaka, have the world map image spread across the two screens.
Studies have shown that the European map imagery found on nanban world map screens is drawn from a limited number of European prototypes. Books such as *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Fig. 47) by Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Fig. 48) by Georg Braun (1541–1622) and Franz Hogenberg (1535–1590) were central initial sources for pictorial and map imagery. Others included late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century maps produced by Gerald Mercator (1512–94) (Fig. 49), Petrus Plancius (1552–1622) (Fig. 50 and Fig. 51), Pieter van den Keere (1571–ca. 1646) (Fig. 52), Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571–1638) (Fig. 53), and brothers Arnold Floris van Langren (ca. 1571–1644) and Hendrik Floris van Langren (ca. 1573–1648) (Fig. 54). The Japanese paintings, while reminiscent of European models, should not be considered mechanical copies of these European maps. Rather, they are works of art in which Japanese artists confronted new subjects and themes, and a range of foreign ideas, and transformed them to suit indigenous artistic tastes and sensibilities. The results are pictorial displays of stunning invention, ingenuity, and experimentation.

Two pairs of map screens show strong visual evidence of European instruction or direct influence through printed source materials. *World Map* and *Twenty-Eight Cities of the World* 万国絵図世界図・二十八都市図 [Bankoku ezu sekai zu and Nijūhachi toshi zu] in the collection of the Imperial Household Agency (also often referred to as The Museum of the Imperial Collections or, in Japanese, Kunaichō Sannomaru Shōzōkan) in Tokyo *World Map* and *The Battle of Lepanto* 世界地図・レパント戦闘 [Sekai chizu and Repanto sentō zu] in the Kōsetsu Museum, Kobe, are two sets of nanban map screens celebrated for their design, beauty, and historical significance (Fig. 27, Fig. 28). Besides their principal subject matter of an image of a map of the world, both the Imperial Household Agency and Kōsetsu Museum screens feature full complements of decorative embellishments consisting of framed cartouches, wind and compass
roses, sailing ships, solar cycles, lunar eclipses, hemispheres, scale bars, and spouting whales. Many regard these two pairs of screens as exemplifying the pinnacle of the initial Japanese-European cultural exchange and as the finest examples of early seventeenth-century painting completed by Japanese artists working in a hybrid Japanese-Western style.\(^6\)

The eight-panel world map screen in the collection of the Imperial Household Agency in Tokyo is the largest among all map screens. Günter Schilder, through an analysis of cartographic forms and decorative details, has traced the Imperial Household Agency map image to a 1609 map by Pieter van den Keere (Petrus Kaerius) (Fig. 52).\(^7\) One curious detail of the screen is the placement of the panel that depicts the Western portion of the North American continent. Conservation work completed on the screens in the late 1990s revealed that the panels were originally arranged without the split.\(^8\) At some point in its history a remount was completed and, for whatever reason, the seventh panel was moved from its original position to the second panel position where it is remains today.

The composition of the map screen features many details and motifs. Rectangular and oval insets covering the region of Antarctica, labeled as *Magallanica*, are taken directly from the same Keere 1609 source. At the bottom of the fourth panel is a framed inset containing an allegorical representation of the four continents which follows contemporary European pictorial convention. Europe is personified as an enthroned queen holding the accoutrements of science and culture, flanked by the New World represented by indigenous peoples complete with feathered headdress. Asia is a figure with a camel, and Africa is personified as a figure with a parasol and crocodile. Another framed insert found at the bottom of the sixth panel is a cannibal scene. Historians have identified *Itinerario voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten near oost ofte Portugaels Indien, 1579–1592* as the source for this imagery.\(^9\)
*Itinerario* also contains many maps, including a small-sized edition of a Petrus Plancius world map (Fig. 50). The map is framed by outer panels consisting of peoples of the world in native dress from forty-two countries.\(^\text{10}\) Although a space for a label is provided below each pair of figures, no identification is provided. Among them, however, located at the bottom left of the first panel are people from Japan and China, who can be readily recognized by their dress.

The other screen in pair comprises of a top section depicting eight mounted figures in four opposing pairs.\(^\text{11}\) The third, fourth, seventh and eighth figures (from right to left) correspond directly with screen paintings in the *Emperors and Kings on Horseback*, in the Suntory Museum of Art and the Kobe City Museum (Fig. 21, Fig. 22).\(^\text{12}\) Below the row of mounted figures, twenty-eight city views are depicted.\(^\text{13}\) The descriptions of these cities are derived primarily from a map of the world by Willem Blaeu (1571–1638) published in 1606–07, while the four mounted figures on horseback matched images from an album entitled *Roman Emperors on Horseback* by artist Giovanni Stradano (or Jan Van der Straet) who lived from 1523 to 1605. The view of Rome comes from *Vita Beati patris Ignatii Loyolae*, a biography of Saint Ignatius published in Antwerp in 1610. The map of Portugal can be traced to *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Orelius (1527–1598), first published in 1570 and reprinted four more times by 1612.\(^\text{14}\)

The six-part panel Kōsetsu world map screen is believed to be derived from a printed map published by Willem Janszoon Blaeu in Amsterdam around 1605–1607 (Fig. 53), which likely was based on the 1592 *Nova et exacta Terrarum Tabula geographica et hydrographica* by Petrus Plancius (1552–1622), or another map from the early 1590s by this mapmaker (Fig. 50 and Fig. 51).\(^\text{15}\) Viewing from right to left, the islands of Japan appear on the first panel. However, the northeastern extremities, or the area of Mutsu or Matsumae (present-day Aomori, Akita, and Hokkaido), are shown on the left edge of the screen. Colors are applied to demarcate
various countries and regions. Vertical rectangular cartouches, a convention used in Japanese painting to label sites, identify various places of the world.

Along the bottom of the Kōsetsu map screen are fifteen insets featuring peoples of the world, each with place names, such as *Espanha*, *Roma*, and *Moscovia*, labeled in gold cartouches above.\(^{16}\) While the European printed source for this has yet to be established, the combination of map and peoples of the world imagery has its origins in Dutch cartography—Jodocus Hondius (1563–1611) being the earliest map-maker to include rows featuring coupled peoples of the world around a map. In the 1572 publication *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, figures were first shown in vignettes surrounding their cities. By the closing decade of the sixteenth century, the ornamentation of a map with such imagery had become standard practice among many European cartographers. As found on the Imperial Household Agency screens, the Kōsetsu screen also feature a cannibal scene in a framed vignette at the bottom of the fourth panel in the screen. The imagery was also adapted from the printed work *Itinerario voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten near oost ofte Portugaels Indien*, 1579–1592.\(^{17}\)

The companion screen depicts a dramatic battle scene, complete with elephants and soldiers in the foreground and sailing ships in the distance. This image likely represents a Japanese appropriation of a European print depicting the decisive victory of the forces of Philip II of Spain over the Turks at the battle of Lepanto in October 1571.\(^{18}\) The pairing of a world map and the battle scene found on the Kōsetsu screens as a single artistic expression is unique with no precedent in Europe.

The remaining *nanban* map screens appear to have been produced by Japanese artists with varying degrees of access to images from Europe or to training from Europeans in Japan.
These include screens in the collections of Hosshin-ji (Fig. 29), Ikenaga Hajime (Fig. 30), Myōkaku-ji (Fig. 31), Yamamoto Hisashi (Fig. 32), Jōtoku-ji (Fig. 33), Kobayashi Ataru (Fig. 34), Kawamura Heiemon (Fig. 35), Kawamori Kōji (Fig. 36), two sets in the Kobe City Museum (Fig. 37, Fig. 38), Shimonogō Kyōsai Library, Nagahama (Fig. 39), Nanban Bunka-kan (Fig. 40), Tokyo National Museum (Fig. 41), Mitsui Collection at University of California, Berkeley (Fig. 42), and Nanba Matsutarō (Fig. 43), as well as a six-part folding screen illustrating the Eastern Hemisphere in a private collection in Nagoya (Fig. 44), and a world map spread over a pair of screens in the Idemitsu Museum of Arts (Fig. 45). The Nanban Bunka-kan has an additional pair of world map screens in which the world map is spread over two screens (Fig. 46). Among these works of art, there is great variation in composition, treatment of subject, and painterly execution and finish. Throughout this study, many of these screens will be further described and discussed.

**Artists, Workshops, and Town Painters**

The mixed source imagery and patchwork fabrication has made it difficult for historians to accurately attribute and date the majority of *nanban* world map screens. Despite the absence of clear attributions, *nanban* map screens show pictorial evidence that artists who were involved in their production came from a diverse spectrum of backgrounds and training. The first group comprises of possible artists who received direct training or had close access to the Jesuit seminar active in Japan from 1590–1614. This group possibly includes the Jesuit artist Giovanni Niccolò or Nicolao (ca. 1558–1626), the first and most prominent instructor at the Jesuit art college. In 1583, prior to his arrival in Japan, Niccolò is documented to have painted a map of Italy. Two of his students, Jacobo Niwa (1579–1638) and Emanuel Pereira (1575–1633), appear to have assisted Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) in executing his 1603 *Liangyi xuanlan tu* 兩儀玄覽
[Map of the heaven and the earth as seen from obscurity] in China (Fig. 55). Consequently, it was certainly within the abilities of Niccolò and his charges to carry out a project involving painted maps on folding screens while he lived and worked in Japan. Another group consists of artists belonging to the Kano school, the influential painting school with origins to the fifteenth century. Located in mainly in Kyoto, and later Edo, members of of the Kano school have been shown to be involved in creating a wide range of nanban-related works for local feudal lords or wealthy merchants interested in foreign trade during the Momoyama and early Edo periods. Finally, anonymous town artists (町絵師 machi eshi), working independently, were also likely responsible for painting a number of world map screens.

The world map screens currently in the Imperial Household Agency collection and the Kōsetsu Museum are two pairs of screens which have been closely linked to the Jesuit community and seminary art school. Close visual stylistic analysis, combined with scientific research into material composition completed in the late 1990s, have revealed important insights into possible artist background and methods of production. In 2011, curator Ishida Yoshiya, building on earlier study completed in 2008 by Sakamoto Mitsuru, concluded that a number of nanban-themed Western-style screens, based on a close visual analysis and consideration of brushwork and application of Western techniques, were completed by Jesuit-trained painters who either worked within the seminary or closely with its members. The Imperial Household Agency and Kōsetsu screens both exhibit a close affinity with Western paintings in their distinctive quilted wave pattern to indicate ocean, in their careful rendering of ships and topography, as well as European style modeling of figures and clothing, the application of shadowing, and a delicate brushwork in richly applied pigment intended to simulate European oil painting. Through stylistic considerations, they established that the artists had received Western
instruction into art techniques and enjoyed the luxury of examining and choosing among a variety of contemporary European printed illustrations.

Conservation work completed on the Imperial Household Agency screens in 1998 and 1999 revealed important information concerning the material make up of the screens. Examination of paper used and on color pigments has established relationships to other Western nanban-style paintings. For example, the screens feature a bamboo-fiber-based paper, unique under this circumstances, that was also used in the painting *The Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary* (ca. 1640) in the collection of the Kyoto University National History Museum (Fig. 5). In another example, infrared photography revealed previously unknown ink underdrawings which spanned the entirety of this screen under the current surface. These preparatory sketches consisted of men on horseback based on etchings from an album entitled *Roman Emperors on Horseback* by artist Giovanni Stradano (or Jan Van der Straet) who lived from 1523 to 1605. This discovery is significant because the same images served as the foundation for the two other pairs of screens, both entitled *Emperors and Kings on Horseback*, which are in the Suntory Museum of Art and the Kobe City Museum. In painting the Imperial Household Agency screen, the artists appear to have changed their minds soon after their start and took the composition in an entirely different direction, replacing the four large horsemen with twenty-eight city views and a much smaller row of eight horsemen along the upper section of the screen. While the four horsemen do remain, they do so in much reduced size as the third, fourth, seventh, and eighth figures along the top portion of the screen (reading right to left). The interconnections of these screens to other works of art in the Kyoto University National History Museum, Suntory Museum of Art, and Kobe City Museum, show that the same circle of artists likely created a variety of painting types and genres, including both religious and secular-themed works, and in
During material analysis, conservators learned that the colored paint consisted of ganryō pigment (顔料) with a binder (kōchakuzai 膠着剤) made up of an animal glue (nikawa 膠) emulsified with oil, a preparation which was uncommon for Japanese artists practicing traditional forms of painting at that time. Electron radiography and X-ray radiography analysis of the white pigment revealed a mixture of lead white and gofun (calcium carbonate derived from shells), a combination which was also unique and inconsistent with contemporary paint preparation. In short, stylistic considerations and scientific analysis of materials and the under structure support the argument that the Imperial Household Agency screens were painted by artists who were part of the Jesuit community or had close ties to the seminary workshop.\textsuperscript{36}

Another set of screens which allow us to raise issues of attribution is currently in the collection of Jōtoku-ji temple located in present-day Fukui prefecture. As will be fully explored later in the dissertation, the screens, one of a map of the world and the other a map of Japan, exemplify how the Japanese reconciled with newly introduced pictorial imagery and knowledge concerning world geography and adapted it for works of art. On one screen, a colorful map of the world is enclosed by an elliptically shaped frame. The other screen shows the Japanese archipelago surrounded by golden clouds. Both screens feature oceans painted in blue and in the map of Japan the seas features carefully drawn schematic patterns for waves.

For many years, the Jōtoku-ji screens were central in the discussion of map screen attribution because the “tripod in circle” seal of the Momoyama-period painter Kano Eitoku (1543–1590) is found impressed on the lower section of the sixth-panel of the map of the world. Read as “Kuninobu” or “Shūshin” the seal (Fig. 56) appears in other painted works, including the rakuchū rakugai screens currently in the Yonezawa City Uesugi Museum (Fig. 57), and other
painted screens, paintings, and fans. Even as late as 1966, a number of historians still maintained that the Jōtoku-ji screens were painted by this important artist. However, the attribution was eventually dismissed owing to the recognition of place names on the screens connected with the arrival of Japanese troops in Korea in 1592 and 1597, which occurred after Eitoku’s death in 1590.

Exactly who painted the Jōtoku-ji screens remains open to conjecture, though evidence points to one of Eitoku’s sons or students or a later member of the Kano school. The Kano atelier had, by the early seventeenth century, established themselves as artists to the leading members of the warrior class and religious institutions, and had grown into an enormous enterprise, employing a great number of painters and assistants working for diverse clients, and producing paintings depicting nearly identical compositions through copy, same preparatory drawings, or compositional templates (funpon). Takeda Tsuneo and Matsuki Hiroshi have suggested that many works attributed to Eitoku belonged, in fact, to the circle of Mitsunobu (1565–1608) and Takanobu (1571–1618), sons of Eitoku who were active at that time. Takeda also states that a number of Kuninobu seals were in circulation and that the sons and atelier members could have easily applied seals to paintings completed after Eitoku’s lifetime.

Kano school artists were likely involved in the creation of a number of nanban world map screens because of their involvement with other types of nanban genre paintings. For example, Kano Soshū painted a fan with the image of the “nanban-ji” temple, or Christian church in Kyoto that is today in the collection of the Kobe City Museum (Fig. 16). The Kano school were also attributed to painting some of the earliest examples of the ninety-three Arrival of the Southern Barbarian screens which are known to exist. The set of Arrival in the Nanban Bunka-kan (Fig. 11) is attributed to Kano Mitsunobu. Another set in the Suntory Art Museum
(Fig. 12) is attributed to Kano Sanraku (1559–1635). Four *Arrival* sets—in the Kobe City Museum; the Agency of Cultural Affairs, Tokyo; the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon; and the collection of Tōshōdai-ji—have the seal of Kano Naizen (1570–1616) (Fig. 13 to Fig. 15). The Naizen screens belonging to Tōshōdai-ji and to the Agency of Cultural Affairs (presently kept at the Kyushu National Museum) are significant because each features a decorative motif comprised of a circular inset of a hemispheric map based on a European prototype. In the Agency for Cultural Affairs screen, the map is of southern polar region, painted on paper and adhered to the surface of the work, and believed to be derived from a 1592 Petrus Plancius world map. The Tōshōdai-ji screen has an image of the northern hemisphere painted directly as part of the composition.

Takamizawa Tadao argued in 1970 that a number of early *Arrival of the Southern Barbarian* screens were painted by artists who may have had direct and intimate access to the European community, as determined by the nature of the details and exactitude of the illustration. Kano Mitsunobu and members of his studio, for example, participated in decorating Hideyoshi’s Hizen-Nagoya Castle in Kyushu in 1592–1593 and may have had the opportunity to travel to Nagasaki to see the great Portuguese galleons firsthand and perhaps even interacted with the Jesuits and the Jesuit-trained Japanese artists. But such encounter has not been confirmed. Narusawa Katsushi reminds us that, except for those who actually lived in Nagasaki or in port towns where the Portuguese ship moored, few Japanese were able to see this for themselves and even fewer the opportunity to directly interact with Europeans. Given the number of inaccuracies in the depictions of European ships and their rigging, historians have concluded that many artists based their paintings from secondary or tertiary sources. Consequently, current scholarship no longer presumes that pictorial accuracy was a primary consideration when evaluating this genre.
of painting. This recognition has important repercussions for this study because later chapters of this study assert that nanban world map screens will be shown to be interpreted through a preexisting, multi-layered, Japanese symbolic system in which European printed maps served as a source of motifs rather than a new mode of cartographic representation.

Despite there being over ninety Arrival screens currently in existence, historians have identified only three broad iconographic categories: images combining Japan and China; images combining Japan and some imagined foreign country; and images only depicting only Japan. Within these three groups, ten screens which date from the Keichō period (1596–1615) have been found to form the basis for iconography and motifs for all later Arrival screens, with the majority of copies and derivatives created after 1614 when the Christian prohibitions came into full force. Historians who study Arrival screens at the present time work with a general classification paradigm of “early” and “succeeding” groups, though the date and chronological interrelationships remain obscure and unclear. When extant nanban world map screens are considered in this light, patterns of their production, in many respects, can also be generalized to follow a parallel developmental path in which a number of early map screens, created most likely by Jesuit-trained artists or those in the Kano school, inspired or “spawned” later copies by different artists in locations in Kyushu, Kyoto, and other cities or port areas.

Pictorially, it is possible to identify those later nanban world map screens which were painted by artists who worked outside the European community, who had little or no access to original source materials, and who worked in methods and approaches distant from the Kano school. Sakamoto has stated that for Arrival screens, Kano artists were generally more informed in their production, whereas later town artists copied and modified their works of art, adding and changing new details and ideas. Nanban map screens such as those in the Nanba Matsutarō
Collection, Hosshin-ji, and Myōkaku-ji, as well as the screen in the private collection in Nagoya, show evidence of artists basing their painted programs on already existing works, or even copies of copies, resulting in works of art distant from any original European source or prototype. These screens exhibit evidence that artists compensated for inadequacies in knowledge or attention to detail by relying more on established Japanese painting conventions. They applied bolder and more aggressive brushwork and used brighter pigments or gold leaf, exaggerated landscape features and details, increased (or de-emphasized) certain forms, or relied more on decorative devices, such as cloud patterning. These works share a similar subject of world map but vary greatly in quality, handling, and treatment of detail, likely owning to artists working from not from original sources or direct instruction but rather from notes or from compositions and information gleaned from painted screens available to them.

The subject of the European world map itself probably also accounts for much of the diversity found among the screens. Wealthy patrons in the growing urban centers, castle or port towns likely solicited any available artist, regardless of specialty or training, to paint them. Artists of all backgrounds could create world map screens because the subject matter of a European map of the world was unassociated with any particular school or lineage of Japanese painters. In other contexts, workshop artists, such as those in the Kano, Tosa, Hasegawa, and Maruyama schools, generally worked with a standardized set of literary, historical, religious, popular subjects or themes. Artists in these schools were apprenticed and trained to adhere to the dictates of a particular style and artistic method. In Kano workshops, for example, fledging artists learned to paint following established patterns of brush work and compositional formulae through the act of copying from existing works of art, books on techniques, and collections of under drawings to master standardization of painting techniques and forms. Through their
training, artists also learned how to narrate stories, depict didactic themes, and infuse landscapes with poetic resonances particular to their lineage or school. Consequently, paintings affiliated with the Kano, Tosa, or Maruyama schools were immediately identifiable through subject matter and painting style. Unburdened by strict conventions or formal precedent, the widest range of Japanese artists could paint the subject of a European map of the world. Of diverse training and background, and working at varying degrees of separation from original European sources or those early map screens, they approached the subject of a European map of the world with little inhibition. Production of these works consequently was not the exclusive domain of any particular painting school that defined itself by subject matter or established pictorial styles or craftsmanship. In virtually all cases of nanban world map screens which remain today, artists chose among cartographic projections, design elements, pictorial details, and decorative motifs. In creating nanban map screens, artists addressed European themes and subjects guided more by their imaginations than by European conventions or Japanese pictorial precedents. Being so new, and with patrons likely willing to pay handsomely for such works, the genre had no rules and few limits.

In regards to dating nanban world map screens, details gleaned from a number of works may provide crucial information about possible dates of their production and first circulation. Those screens in the collection of Myōkaku-ji (Fig. 31), Yamamoto Hisashi (Fig. 32), and Jōtoku-ji (Fig. 33) have the term “Orankai” over an area of present-day eastern Russia. This name of a nomadic tribe that lived around the region in present-day Manchuria north of the Korean Peninsula was not introduced to the Japanese until 1592, when Japanese invasion forces under Katō Kiyomasa (1562–1611) sent news of the Japanese incursion into Korea. Depictions of trade routes to and from Europe appear in the Jōtoku-ji, Yamamoto, Kobayashi (Fig. 34), and
Kawamura (Fig. 35) map screens. This visual information may have been derived from Portuguese sources, given that navigational and trade routes from the Iberian Peninsula are clearly indicated.\textsuperscript{47} These same screens also depict a protrusion along the western coast of South America just south of the equator and a straight coastline that points in a southeasterly direction. This pictorial detail is found in a number of post-1587 versions of Abraham Ortelius’s maps of the world which apparently were known in some way to the screen artists.\textsuperscript{48} As mentioned earlier, Günther Schilder has traced the Imperial Household Agency map image to a 1609 map by Pieter van den Keere.\textsuperscript{49} Given the time required for contemporary travel from Europe to Japan, this makes the earliest possible date of the Imperial Household Agency map screen approximately 1610 or 1611.\textsuperscript{50} With scientific research linking the screens directly to Jesuit-trained or influenced artists, these screens were created likely by 1614 when the seminary closed down and the anti-Christian prohibitions were in force.

The Jōtoku-ji screens have long been a focus of study given the appearance of Eitoku’s seal. Historians have dated the Jōtoku-ji screens to as early as the first half of the 1590s or as late as the mid-1630s through the appearance of place names and pictorial motifs. In the map of Japan, the explicit identification of the Kyushu ports of Hakata, Hizen-Nagoya, and Nagasaki is significant.\textsuperscript{51} While Hakata and Nagasaki were active trading centers throughout the period of European encounter, Hizen-Nagoya developed only in 1591 and flourished for ten years in conjunction with Hideyoshi’s invasion of Korea. The port town, however, declined rapidly once the campaign ended and soldiers returned to Japan in 1598. Miyoshi Tadayoshi has suggested that this map was produced prior to or around 1598 because, after this date, the port ceased to have any significance.\textsuperscript{52} Consequently a likely date for these screens would be between 1591 and 1598.
A different line of argument dates the Jōtoku-ji screens to the mid-1630s. In a 1988 exhibition held at the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., the screens were dated after the year 1632. Shimizu Yoshiaki, while acknowledging that the Jōtoku-ji screens could date as early as 1592, proposed this later date because of the appearance on them of both katakana and hiragana scripts that were not common until that time. More significant is the appearance of the term Nowafuransa (New France), inscribed at the upper right of the North American land mass. This earlier name for Canada was in circulation after 1632 when, following sporadic British control during the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), the French settlement was restored to France by the treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye. The term “New France” continued to be used until 1763, when the territory was ceded to Great Britain. If the inscriptions were written at the time the map was produced, the screens then must post-date 1632. While there is always the possibility that the inscriptions were added at a later time, Shimizu suggests that a Blaeu 1635 map of Asia was the model for the shape of the Japanese islands, and notes that the strangely shaped main Japanese island of Honshu and the “abstract shapes” of the islands of Shikoku and Kyushu resemble a map published by the Jesuits in the 1640s.

The ramifications of this forty-year difference in dating of the screens are immense. A date of the early 1590s, following Unno’s suggestion, corresponds to the time of Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s (1536–1598) consolidation of power. Edicts (the earliest being from 1587) restricting the practice of Christianity had yet to take full effect, and antagonism towards Christianity and the Portuguese community were only just beginning to fester in isolated pockets in southwestern Japan. If the screens were produced around this time, the artists who made them were thus at work when the European presence and cultural exchange with the West was still celebrated by many Japanese. This would coincide roughly with time in which the Kano school
artists were creating the first of the *Arrival of the Southern Barbarian* screens. The early dating also means that European traders or Jesuit missionaries could have exerted some influence on the artists of the Jōtoku-ji screens or influenced their interpretation. If the Jōtoku-ji screens date from the 1630s, however, it would place their production at the height of the Christian persecutions that were occurring throughout western Japan. Under these circumstances, the Jōtoku-ji screens would have to be seen as a product of a time when Christianity and the European presence were regarded in a fully antagonistic and wary light.

**Patrons**

Patrons of art during the late Momoyama and early Edo periods generally belonged to the ruling military elite, temples, court aristocrats, members of the imperial house, and to a rising merchant class in the growing cities, castle towns, and port cities.\(^{56}\) Historians have long regarded the wide variety of subjects, media, and formats that make up *nanban* works of art as embodiments of the dynamism of the Momoyama and early Edo periods, when political and social changes facilitated the emergence of new forms of visual culture.\(^{57}\) In such a context, it is easy to imagine how European objects and goods, fashions, and subjects for works of art came to fascinate Japanese people, especially those of wealth and power.

There is indication that some *nanban* world map screens were painted for Japanese feudal lords (*daimyō*), such as the Gamō, Kuroda, and Hosokawa families.\(^{58}\) Grace Vlam has noted that many of the secular objects associated with *nanban* culture in Japanese collections today were in the possession of leading feudal families. For example, two sets of *Europeans in Landscape Paintings*, one today in the Hakone Museum of Art, and the other in the Eisei Bunko, once belonged respectively to the Matsudaira and Hosokawa. According to an Edo-period inventory,
the Ikeda warrior family were in possession of an *Arrival of the Southern Barbarian* screen.\(^5^9\)

The *Battle of Lepanto* and *World Map* screens, now in the collection of the Kōsetsu Museum in Kyoto, belonged formerly to the Ōkubo family, vassals of a Christian feudal lord engaged in the Korean campaign.\(^6^0\) However, in each of these cases, it is not known whether these families obtained these objects through direct patronage, as gifts, confiscation, or later purchase.\(^6^1\)

Christian missionaries were documented to have commissioned elaborate screens to be presented to local daimyo in order to gain influence with them or to be sent home to Europe. They realized early on the benefits of using folding screens as lavish gifts—their monumental size, ease of transport, and their appropriateness for interiors in the residences of influential warlords and merchants. In the following except dated December 12, 1583, Valignano writes from Goa:

> It would be best if the Pope commissioned several screens in the manner of those which I am sending [“those” being those Nobunaga had given as a gift]. If they are gilded and painted in Rome with some brilliant designs and are well produced, they would be regarded as esteemed gifts by Nobunaga. And I would like others to be made for the use in our residences, since in Japan this has not yet occurred, and it will be greatly appreciated if such screens came from Rome. But so that what is painted will be appropriate for Japanese taste, it is necessary that Father Mesquita and the Japanese boys first see the sketches of what is to be painted, for in this manner one can proceed in a manner more assurred.\(^6^2\)

Such gifts helped Jesuit leaders like Valignano form alliances, gain influence, and cement personal relationships.\(^6^3\) A number of letters further show the popularity of secular themes and objects as presents. In a 1578 letter from Bungo in Kyushu, for instance, the Jesuit Antonio Prenestino wrote about the Japanese interest in drawings of knights in armor, horsemen, and land and sea battles. In another example, we learn that Valignano was able to bring about reconciliation with Hideyoshi, winning diplomatic clout with splendid European gifts at the time of the first of the prohibition edicts issued in 1587.\(^6^4\) Appealing directly to Hideyoshi’s warrior
background, gifts included Arabian horses, armor and arms, a small piece of ordinance, clocks, and a field tent. The first volume of the historical chronicle *Tokugawa Jikki* (compiled between 1809–1849) cites an inventory of missionary gifts presented to Tokugawa Ieyasu, among which was a “world map screen” (世界図屏風), though the screen is not identified. In addition, the early Edo period chronicle *Sunpu ki* (1611–15), attributed to either Gōto Shozaburō 后藤庄三郎 (1571–1625) or Hayashi Razan 林 羅山 (1583–1657), states that “in the ninth month of Keichō 16 (1611), Ieyasu saw a world map screen and talked about situations in other countries” with Gotō and Hasegawa Fujihiro 長谷川藤広 (1567–1617). At that time, Gotō was overseeing the production and distribution of gold, silver, and other minerals, and served as a consultant for budget and trade issues. Hasegawa, since 1606, was serving as the governor (bugyō 奉行) of Nagasaki who controlled the *nanban* trade. Even before the prohibitions of Christianity in 1614, he was instrumental in monitoring and controlling Christian activity in the Nagasaki and Kyushu area. We can imagine the three men, as they examined a map screen before them, discussing European presence in Japan and the foreign impact on security issues, trade, and economics, and the next steps to ensure that any relationship with the West remained in their best interests. Historians have proposed that they may have been looking at the screens currently in the Imperial Household Agency collection but it remains undocumented and uncertain. Currently in the collection of the Kobe City Museum, there is a set of *nanban* map screens which may have been given to European traders and taken abroad during the Edo period. In the possession of a Spanish collector, these screens did not return to Japan until the 1930s when the screens went on the market.

The emerging merchant class based in castle and coastal port towns and in growing metropolitan centers such as Osaka and Edo, appears to have played a significant role in the
development and spread of *nanban* world map screens in Japan in the Momoyama period and its flowering in the subsequent Edo period. A number of world map screens remain today in temple and private collections in port areas which were active in maritime trade during the seventeenth century. The Uchida 内田 family, in particular, is important for this study because they are directly linked to a pair of *nanban* map screens through their family temple (*bodaiji* 菩提寺). These screens, which belong to the temple of Jōtoku-ji, are the same screens were identified earlier to have Kano Eitoku’s seal impressed on the bottom corner of the screen illustrating a map of the world.  

The Uchida name is found along with other prominent and wealthy merchant families in published Edo-period lists (*nihon chōjashū* 日本長者集). These lists identified leading Edo period merchant families such as the Mitsui, Sumitomo, Kōnoike, or Matsubara of Osaka. In addition to the Kōnoike family, the Yajima, the Kiya of Kaga, Mikuni, and the Uchida family were based in or had close ties to the Fukui domain (Fukui han 福井藩), a domain controlled by the Matsudaira (松平氏) which had close ties to the Tokugawa family. These merchant families amassed great wealth and political clout through their individual business interests, and by lending of money to domain governments at low interest (*goyōkin* 御用金) in exchange for land rights (*chigyō* 知行) and rice allotments (*fuchi* 扶持). Consequently, leading merchant households, such as the Uchida, became closely tied to a domain’s financial and political well-being, and essential for a domain’s survival in the Edo-period economy.  

During the Edo period, the Fukui port area known as Mikuni Minato 三国湊 flourished as maritime center and a key stop on the Japanese commodity trade network. The Uchida family business, having been established in the seventeenth century, focused first on the rice and
fermented rice (kōji 麹) trade, and then expanded into shipping, and, finally, into finance. By 1760 the Uchida family and the Fukui domain were financially tied. The extent of their influence and importance to the domain was recognized in that the Uchida were instructed to establish family codes or rules, known as kahō (家法), that imposed a code of conduct and ensured regulations for proper business transactions and collaborations with branch families.

In addition to payments through land rights and rice allocations, feudal authorities awarded the Uchida family other benefits. These included honorary positions and titles, the privilege of carrying of swords (taitōkyoka 帯刀許可), the hosting of government officials in the family residence, and the right to use a family name (namae wo nanorukenri 名前を名乗る權利). The family also received numerous works of art and gifts. An 1873 copy of an Edo-period gift list (haishiki 拝賜記), still in the possession of the Uchida family today, mentions paintings by Kano Naganobu (1775–1828), hanging scrolls, fans, kimono, and textiles.

With vast wealth and influence, the Uchida family established themselves as patrons of Jōtoku-ji, making it their family temple sometime during the Edo period. Extant documents tie the family directly to the temple to 1809 but historians are certain that the relationship stretches back further into the late seventeenth century. According to both family and temple records, it is acknowledged that some time during the Edo period, the Uchida family donated the pair of nanban map screens to the temple where it still remains today.

While the story of the origins of the pair of Jōtoku-ji map screens is still unknown, and it is not clear when the Uchida family came to be in possession of them, we can hypothesize that either the Uchida family received the pair of screens as gifts from local or national authorities or that the Uchida family themselves commissioned artists to create them, which were kept and passed down through the family, and donated to their family temple of Jōtoku-ji at some point.
during the Edo period. These are plausible because there are other instances in which *nanban* world map screens were passed down through family and temple collections. The city of Obama, in present-day Fukui prefecture, for instance, was historically the capital of the domain of the same name. From the Muromachi period through the middle of the Edo period, Obama grew as a prosperous port city and served as an important link in domestic sea routes between northern Japan and the Sea of Japan coast, playing a significant role in the early pre-modern Japanese economy. Today, the city features four temple and family-owned *nanban* world map screens. These are those at Hosshin-ji and in the private collections of Kawamura Heimon, Kawamori Kōji, and Fukushima Kitarō.

As will be further elaborated in the following chapter, merchant families may have actively involved in the production of *nanban* world map screens because they also served as the primary patrons for the creation of *Arrival of the Southern Barbarian* screens. In a study of the fifty-nine screens known to exist in 1970 (presently over 92 are known extant), Takamizawa traced the provenance of forty of the *Arrival* screens, including information of their location. Of the forty screens, thirteen were located in the Osaka and Kyoto area, including the trading cities of Mita, Sakai, Moriguchi, Nara, and Otsu. Ten screens were in located in the port areas of Tsuruga, Mikuni, Kanazawa, and Takaoka in present-day Toyama, Others were further away in Matsue, Sakata and Yamagata in the Tōhoku region, and another in Matsumae in Hōkaido. In these locations, Takamizawa identified at least ten *Arrival* screens which were tied directly to wholesale or trading merchant families whereas only four belonged to families considered part of the ruling feudal elite. This signifies that *nanban*-based themes were especially popular among families whose livelihood centered on trade, finance or shipping, especially along port towns on the Japan Sea and Inland Sea coasts. One set of screens, once in the collection of Ikenaga Hajime
but now its location is unknown, features a pairing of a world map screen with an *Arrival of the Southern Barbarian* image (Fig. 30). Under these patronage patterns, we can assume that for the Uchida family, as well as other wealthy and influential merchant families involved in maritime trade and shipping in Japanese port cities, such as Mikuni Minato and Obama, found *nanban* world map and *Arrival* screens to carry significant and compatible meaning. Because of their opulence, innovative subject matter, references to exotic and previously unknown places, peoples, and their ability to acknowledge the Japanese merchant’s growing self-recognition of their importance in regional and national economy and politics, such screens were likely extravagant objects displayed with great pride in their merchant households.

_Nanban_ map screens were a product of a tumultuous time in Japanese history that saw the European community and Christian presence dramatically evolve and decline. The wide breadth and variety of extant works and the ambiguous modes characteristic of their production encourages reconsideration of these works of art in the context of their initial circulation and reception at the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, especially in the context of merchant class patronage. The remainder of this dissertation explores various possibilities for such a reconsideration—by placing the screens within framework of the Jesuit missionary enterprise; by examining them in the light of contemporary Japanese religious discourse; and, finally, by suggesting how their interpretation may have been affected by shifting political and social ideas brought about by the establishment of the Tokugawa shogunate. The following chapter will provide a literature review of scholarship on these works of art and will propose an alternative approach to allow for their interpretation.
Notes


2 Nanban map screens and folded maps featuring an image of the Eastern Hemisphere of Europe, Africa and Asia, with North and South America excluded or missing, include those in the collections of Mr. Kawamori Kōji, Myōkaku-ji Temple, Usuki City Library in Ōita, Saga Prefectural Library, Sōji Temple in Yokohama, Koga City Museum of History, Yamakuni Shrine in Kyoto, Yokohama City University Library, and the Yamaguchi University Library.


8 This was reported at a Tōhō gakkai conference by curator Ōta Aya in around 2011.


10 Y. Shimizu, Japan: Shaping Daimyo Culture 1185–1868, 181. Shimizu and Vlam state that the map screen imagery is formulated on a 1606 Blaeu map which features thirty countries. Later Blaeu maps of 1619 and 1645 show figures from forty-two countries.

11 They have been identified as the rulers of Persia, Abyssinia, Tartary, Moscow, France (Henry IV), Spain (Philip II), Turkey, and the Holy Roman Empire (Rudolf II).

12 Miyoshi has explored this work in a number of studies. Of the ten rulers and twenty-eight cities that border the original source map, eight horsemen and seventy-seven cities appear on the screen. The twentieth-eighth city is Rome, which replaced the Blaeu-Keere depiction of Gamma Lamma, the Portuguese spice-trading centre on Ternate Island. Miyoshi notes that a map of Portugal was not present in the Blaeu-Keere original. Despite the Dutch origins of the map on which the screens are based, Miyoshi, as well as Goto, stress that the key messages relate to Portugal, Christianity, and Tokugawa Ieyasu. See T. Miyoshi, “Japanese Map Screens,” in Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500–1800, ed. A. Jackson and A. Jaffer (London: V&A Publications, 2004); “J. Burau no 1645/46-nenban sekai chizu nitsuite,” Kobe shiritsu hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō 11 (March 1994): 23–58; and Goto, “Emergent Consciousness About the Self Depicted in the World Map Screens.”


Others include such places as Abyssinia, Senegal, Turkey, Sumatra, Brazil, France, Ireland, Tartar, Canaries, Magalanica. See T. Nishimura, “Repanto sentō zu no byōbū nitsuite,” 20.


24 See A. Ōta “Bankoku ezu byōbu no shūri ga motarashita seika to kadai,” in Nanban bijutsu no hikari to kage: Taisei ōkō kibazu byōbu no nazo, Santōri Bijutsukan, Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, ed. (Nihon Keizai Shinbun-sha, 2011), 202-04. This chapter provides a summary and review of conservation and scientific work completed on these screens.

25 A. Ōta, “Bankoku ezu byōbu no shūri ga motarashita seika to kadai,” 203.

26 Ōta suggests that the paintings may have been imported to Japan from the Asian continent because of the bamboo-fiber base of the paper and that nature of the pigment that was inconsistent with Japanese methods at that time. She states that it remains inconclusive at this time. See A. Ōta “Bankoku ezu byōbu no shūri ga motarashita seika to kadai,” 204.


30 K. Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 386. In the Kano school it was not uncommon for apprentices to use the seal of their masters.

31 One example of such a process are two Edo-period rakuchū rakugai zu screens in the temple of Shōkō-ji and the Kyoto National Museum. See M. McKelway, *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto*, 192; and S. Okudaira, *Rakuchū rakugai zu to Nanban byōbu*, 94.


34 M. McKelway, *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto*, 193.


39 K. Narusawa, “Kinsei shoki fūzokuga toshite no nanban byōbu,” in *Namban byōbu shūsei*, 300.

40 K. Narusawa, “Kinsei shoki fūzokuga toshite no nanban byōbu,” in *Namban byōbu shūsei*, 303.
See the Narusawa and Sakamoto essays in *Nanban byōbu shūsei*.

*Nanban byōbu shūsei*, 399.


G. Schilder, *Three World Maps by François van den Hoeeye of 1661, Willem Janszoon (Blaeu) of 1607, Claes Janszoon Visscher of 1650* (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1981). See T. Miyoshi, “P. Kaeriusu 1609-nenban sekai chizu o megutte;” *Kobe shiritsu hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō* 12/13 (March 1997), 26, for dating attributions. Goto argued the earliest dating is 1611 because of the two years of travel time between Europe to Japan at that time as raised in note 26. Debate continues about whether the screens were produced in Japan prior to the anti-Christian edicts of 1614. See T. Goto, “Emergent Consciousness About the Self Depicted in the World Map Screens,” (M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 2000). Other historians have suggested that they were made even in Macao and imported later.


suggested that it a half a century may have passed after the Portuguese first came to Japan that the Japanese began making use of European mapmaking knowledge. Hideyoshi’s Korean invasion plan was widely known, and it is reasonable to assume that the screen bearing such a line was produced before the dispatch of the expedition in before 1592. However, there is the possibility that the line simply meant the trading route between Japan and the continent that was occurring at that time. See Y. Okamoto, *Namban Art of Japan*, 93.


55 For example, Hideyoshi’s grand palace at Momoyama and a castle at Fushimi were completed in 1594.

56 The military autocrats were pragmatic in their outlook. With the civil strife of the sixteenth century, the Japanese architectural landscape was marked by the prodigious construction, and often later razing, of castles and great feudal residences, and imposing symbols of authority and monuments of self-aggrandizement. These included the castles of Azuchi (1579), Jurakutei (1587), Osaka (1598), Nijō (1603), Himeji (1609), and later Edo (1636). Paintings decorating these magnificent buildings were produced by Kano-school artists and featured themes that included Chinese landscapes, bird and flower subjects, and Confucian didactic scenes. The spirit of official art work was, in general secular, temporal, focused on didactic or philosophical themes. The Kano and Tosa schools of painters, as well as individual painters such as Kaiho Yushō (1533–1615) or Hasegawa Tōhaku (1539–1610), painted also for the ruling and religious elite. See M. Kawai and A. Wakisaka, ed., *Momoyama no shōhekiga. Nihon bijutsu zenshū* 17 (Tokyo: Gakushūkai, 1978); M. Murase, “Art in the Volatile World Furuta Oribe,” in *Turning Point: Oribe and the Arts of Sixteenth-Century Japan* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 19; “New Currents in Painting and Patronage after Hideyoshi,” in *Turning Point: Oribe and the Arts of Sixteenth-Century Japan* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003). See also: *Azuchi-Momoyama jidai*, vol. 8 of *Nihon bunkashi taikei* series (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1958); M. Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982); and B. Smith, “Japanese Society and Culture in the Momoyama Era: A Bibliographic Essay,” in *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. G. Elison and B. Smith (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1981).


68. A 1955 catalogue states that Ikenaga Hajime, who had previous owned the screens, had acquired the work from the dealer Tomita Kumasaku, who had purchased the work in Paris from a Spanish aristocrat in Paris. See K. Narusawa, “Two Streams of Namban Painting,” in *Japan Envisions the West: 16th–19th Century Japanese Art from Kobe City Museum*, ed. Y. Shirahara (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 2007), 73n3.

69. A 2006 exhibition held at the Fukui City History Museum explored the rise of seven leading merchant families in and around the region and their influence social and cultural life of the area, as well as their role in the economic well-being of the region. See *Fukui han to Gōshō*, ed. Fukui shiritusu kyōdo rekishi hakubutsukan (Fukui: Fukui shiritusu kyōdo rekishi hakubutsukan, 2006).
The Fukui Domain was a feudal domain in Echizen Province (present-day Fukui Prefecture) during the Edo period. It is also sometimes called Echizen Domain (越前藩). See Hanryō to daimyō, ed. M. Kimura (Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1997) and Hanshi daijiten (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1988-1990) by the same author for further background on domain history.

71 Fukui han to Gōshō, 2-3.
72 Fukui han to Gōshō, 44.
73 Fukui han to Gōshō, 46.
74 Fukui han to Gōshō, 47.
75 Fukui han to Gōshō, 68.
76 Fukui han to Gōshō, 45.
77 Fukui han to Gōshō, 68. See also K. Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 458–63. The original temple of Jōtoku-ji was destroyed in an air raid during the Second World War. According to documents, the screens narrowly escaped the bombing by being moved to another location. See H. Nakamura, “Chronicle,” Imago Mundi 20 (1966): 89.
79 See Y. Okamoto and T. Takamizawa, Namban byōbu.
80 See Namban byōbu, 193. This page features a map from which known screens in 1970 were discovered.
81 Namban byōbu shūsei, 306.
Chapter Two—Approaching World Map Screens

The appearance of *nanban* world map screens at the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries signifies a pivotal moment in the history of Japanese maps and cartographic activity. Through direct contact or exchange with individuals in the European community, access to European printed materials, or examination of other *nanban* map screens already completed, Japanese artists considered European maps and other imported printed imagery for the first time. *Nanban* world map screens are valuable in that they capture for the first time a Japanese comprehension of Western knowledge and demonstrate an acceptance of a new cartographic vision of the world through European maps.

Until the arrival of the first Europeans in 1543, Japanese knowledge of world was shaped primarily by Japan’s relationship to the Asian continent. Japan’s historical development, especially from the sixth century to the middle of the sixteenth century, was defined by intermittent consolidations of influence, most notably from Korea and China, in the form of imported religious or philosophical concepts, technical skills, and cultural forms. Whether transmitted by Buddhist monks, imperial ambassadors, artisans, or lowly immigrants, imported ideas were introduced to Japan and adapted to suit native needs. This process of appropriation from the Asian continent also characterizes the development of Japanese cartography from the earliest times.
Before the arrival of European maps, Japanese already knew and practiced various types of topographic depictions, producing maps of temple precincts, manorial estates (shōen-zu 荘園図) (Fig. 58), and religious maps or diagrams in the form of Buddhist and Shinto mandalas 曼茶羅 (Fig. 59, Fig. 60). Later map forms include the cityscapes called rakuchū rakugai zu 洛中洛外図 (Views in and around the capital), printed maps describing local and regional areas popular for domestic travel or pilgrimage, and official maps based on national surveying. As with their Chinese and Korean counterparts, the impetus for premodern Japanese mapping for much of the population remained domestic and localized, with a focus on serving political and fiscal administration, as well as travel and commerce. At present, approximately one hundred and seventy known Japanese manuscript maps dating from the earliest of times to the 1570s exist, virtually all focusing on domestic geography.¹

Aside from increased detail and the use of color, there was little innovation or technical advancement in cartographic development until Portuguese merchants and Jesuit missionaries arrived in Japan in the middle of the sixteenth century.² One reason for this may have been that Japan’s small size only required understanding of comparative positional or administrative relationships, local knowledge, and orientation, for extended travel. This was compounded by the fact that travel, commerce, and communication had developed and moved along well-established domestic road networks. In addition, Japanese political and military struggles until that time had been limited to the domestic realm, placing emphasis on regional and local relationships. Similarly, until the arrival of the Europeans, the Japanese had relatively limited international exchange or contact with peoples beyond Korea or China. As a result, there was little need for improved charts and maps for overseas travel. Despite the newly acquired knowledge of European maps, early Edo-period government surveys, such as those produced during the Keichō
(1596–1615) and Shōhō (1644–48) eras when Edo-period commerce and transportation accelerated and expanded, represented an overall decline in the quality of surveying. Maps from this time display considerable errors in measurement, surveying, and in mathematical calculation.

Japanese surveying and map making did not significantly improve until the mid-eighteenth century when the effects of the Rangaku (Dutch Learning or Studies) movement were felt. This was a transitional moment when a spirit of reform, combined with an improved domestic economy and the influence of Neo-Confucian rationalist thought, produced changes in education, most notably in medicine, science, astronomy, geography, and navigation. The introduction of Dutch books, globes, and maps, the concept of the heliocentric Copernican system, and translations of Dutch atlases and cartographic treaties into Japanese, contributed to improvements in Japanese understandings of the natural world. This inspired the creation of more technically accurate maps of the country and its surrounding areas. The first Dutch-inspired cartographic work was completed by Katsuragawa Hoshū (1751–1809) who made the Shinsei chikyū banoku zusetsu 新製地球万国図説 [Explanation of the new map of all the countries in the world] in 1786. His map was derived from an explanation which was attached to Joan Blaeu’s (1598–1673) world map of 1648, the Nova totius terrarum orbis tabula. The first printed Japanese map of the world to be influenced by the Rangaku movement is a copperplate engraving of 1792, the Yochi zenzu 余地全図 [Map of the earth] by Shiba Kōkan (1747–1818) (Fig. 61). This map was based on one of the Western and Eastern hemispheres dated to 1730 by Alexis Hubert Jaillot. Notable Japanese surveyors, explorers, and cartographers who emerged shortly after this included Ino Tadakata (1745–1818), Mogami Tokunai (1755–1836), Mamiya Rinzo (1775–1844), and Takahashi Kageyasu (1785–1829). Despite the introduction of
instruments and the potential of radical change in cartographic ideas introduced by the Portuguese and the Dutch there appears no wholesale transmission and acceptance of European scientific mapping in Japan until the nineteenth century.⁶

A Literature Review—Nanban World Map Screen Scholarship

In writing histories of Japanese cartography, historians have used a chronological paradigm organized around three historical periods: from the earliest prehistoric times to the civil wars of the mid-sixteenth century; from the reunification of Japan in the late-sixteenth century through the rule of the Tokugawa shogunate; and from the Meiji Restoration in 1868 onwards.⁷ Historians have classified and organized material to create a history of maps and cartography that was, in many respects, linear and teleological.⁸ In their scholarship, there is an emphasis on identifying cartographic refinement, especially regarding measurement, the application of mathematical techniques, the pursuit of geographical veracity in pictorial form, and, in the case of European-derived Japanese maps, adherence to original models.⁹

During the 1920s there was a “nanban boom” among poets and other cultural figures that led to interest in nanban material culture.¹⁰ Interest in Japan’s early Christian encounter during the sixteenth century coincided with the emergence of private collections of nanban art, such as those of Nagami Tokutarō (1890–1959) and Ikengaga Hajime (1891–1955) that later formed the foundation of the collection at the Kobe City Museum.

The earliest appearance of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century nanban map screens in academic publications came in the field of geography and surveying. Geographers and historians who conducted the initial studies of these screens emphasized their value as cartographic works.¹¹ A pioneer in the discipline of Japanese cartography was Kawada Takeshi, author of a
multi-part article on the official maps of the Edo Period, published from 1895 to 1905, and another broader multi-part article on cartography and geographical study published in 1905. Another was Takagi Kikusaburō who published a history of cartography and surveying in 1931. Later notable works included those by Ashida Koreto, Fujita Motoharu, Gokan Bunnosuke, Kurita Mototsugu, and Oda Takeo. The publications of these writers described and classified all manner of Japanese maps. Their approach to the history of Japanese cartography was modeled on, and amalgamated into, the general history of European and world cartography.

In 1930, Ashida Koreto established a criterion for classifying nanban map screens based on cartographic projection types and possible European sources. In 1958, Akioka Takejirō produced a more developed classification scheme. This classification was refined by Unno Kazutaka for a 1989 Japanese publication and was translated into English as his contribution to the authoritative The History of Cartography of 1994. Unno’s chapter has become the standard reference on Japanese maps, mapping, and cartography. Until The History of Cartography was published in 1994, the most significant source on Japanese cartography in the English language was Old Maps in Japan, published by Sōgensha in 1973. This work remains important for its large and colorful illustrations, figures, and informative essays by Muroga Nobuo and the collector Nanba Matsutarō. Among notable contemporary writers on Japanese maps are Miyoshi Tadayoshi and Onoda Kazuyuki.

Japanese historians have regarded the first appearance of Western maps in the middle of the sixteenth century as a significant watershed in the historical evolution of Japanese cartography. Their scholarship has sought to identify shared elements of European and Japanese form and design, to measure the accuracy of the geographic information provided each by Japanese maps, and to evaluate the treatment of particular geographic features or pictorial
details, such as the depiction of specific continents or coastlines. Historians of Japanese cartography have studied also the application of scale, the development of map symbols, signs, and nomenclature, and, most notably, the role of Western map projection types in shaping Japanese mapmaking practice. Interestingly, the system of categorization that emerged organized the screens according to similarities, variations, or anomalies in detail and composition found among them, regardless of their faithfulness to recognized original European sources.

While useful for reference and organization, scholarship on map screens has rarely addressed the function of map screen as objects circulating in cultural or social spheres. Studies of nanban map screens have focused on the Japanese assimilation of Western geographical knowledge and cartographic techniques during the initial period of cultural exchange that began in the 1540s. With knowledge of screen authorship, usage, manner of production or patronage being at best speculative, historians have focused on establishing correlations between the screens and possible Western prototypes, and on refining the system of classification. Not until the latter half of the twentieth century did art historians recognize the value of nanban map screens as works of art. In 1956, Nishimura Tei wrote the first art historical study of the set of the map screens World Map and the Battle of Lepanto, in collection of the Kōsetsu Museum in Kobe. His analysis—along with those by scholars such as Sakamoto Mitsuru and Makino Shinnosuke, and later Nakamura Hiroshi—focused exclusively on the application of cartographic projection, and explored possible sources for the subject imagery, dates of production, style, and attribution. During this early phase, it was uncertain whether nanban map screens were to be considered purely as maps or as painted works of art. This discrepancy hints at the rigid divisions of academic disciplines constricting scholars and researchers throughout the twentieth century in Japan.
Japanese art historians writing on *nanban* map screens have generally paralleled the approach and method favored by those working on other types of paintings. They addressed issues of attribution to a particular artist or workshop, proposed possible sources and precedents of the imagery, and placed the works into the larger art historical canon. Grace Vlam’s 1977 dissertation considered a number of map screens in relation to secular works produced in the Jesuit painting school. Among the range of objects in her study, she highlighted three map screens and argued that they fully embodied and expressed Jesuit aims and ambitions in Asia at the time. Goto Tomoko’s master’s thesis politicized the map screens in the Kōsetsu Museum and the collection of the Imperial Household Agency. In her work, she destabilized the Jesuit/Japanese dichotomy by introducing the idea of the Self and Other in analyzing theme and imagery. By doing so, she directly tied screen imagery to the politics and religious struggles of the time.

As introduced in the previous chapter, twentieth-century art historians were particularly interested in the pair of map screens in the collection of Jōtoku-ji because of their formal qualities, relationship to Western pictorial imagery, and the appearance of a seal that attributed them to the celebrated Momoyama-period artist Kano Eitoku. Interest in these screens, however, fluctuated according to whether art historians accepted this attribution. The pair of Jōtoku-ji screens had been designated as a *kokuhō* (national treasure) object in 1906. However, after scholars refuted the attribution to Eitoku in the 1930s, interest in the screens waned and they gradually disappeared from general histories of Japanese art and painting. After the Second World War, the pair of screens was officially downgraded to *jūyō bunkazai* (important cultural property) status.

*Nanban* map screens remain to a great extent a marginalized category in the history of
Japanese art as it evolved as a discipline since the nineteenth century. They are not regarded as examples of works of art that can be compared or classified with other examples of high art. Rather, historians have seen them as exotic hybrids placed into categories of their own: works of “nanban culture” 南蛮文化 (nanban bunka) or “nanban art” (nanban bijutsu 南蛮美術) of the “Christian Century” (kirishitan jidai キリシタン時代), under the rubric of “Art History of Foreign/Exotic Lands” (Ikoku no bijutsu 異国の美術) or “Western style” Japanese art (seiyō bijutsu 西洋美術). The map screens are seen as neither entirely Japanese nor fully Western.

A New Approach: Map Screens as Works of Art

Historians have found value in placing nanban map screens within the context of a broader history of Japanese cartographic achievements. They have charted the development of geographic or topographic pictorial representations and categorized the screens according to projection type or by connecting details in maps to possible European source materials. They did so for good reason—the appearance of nanban world map screens reflected the first instance in which the Japanese encountered Western maps and expressed a newly found knowledge of world geography. However, the screens have yet to be fully explored in the circumstances in which they initially circulated or through the eyes of the Japanese who first viewed them. In studying nanban map screens, the relationship between the visible pictorial attributes of the world maps and the meaning inferred from the subject and conveyed to the viewer require further attention and exploration.

Contemporary sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japanese viewers engaged with and interpreted nanban world map screens, their compositional layouts and illustrative details
appropriated from European maps, books, and other printed sources with mindsets, viewpoints, and values particular to the time in which they lived. To better explore nanban world map screens in this light, and to broaden the possibilities of interpretation, the dissertation adopts two basic premises. It first assumes that any form of interpretation is shaped by established practices, ingrained or learned strategies, and indigenous world views. Despite their European-inspired subject matter and the tendency for us to read them from viewpoints that are shaped by European colonial or Christian discourses, nanban map screens are, ultimately, Japanese works of art in conception and execution. In this regard, recent studies concerning intercultural exchanges and hybrid expressions found in works of art are useful in providing models for explaining what happens when pictorial imagery from one culture slips into another and how the nanban map screens can be interpreted from Japanese points of view. The second premise is that the map screens are works of art rather than cartographic artifacts. This means that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japanese viewers appreciated these screens and interpreted their subject matter through established modes and practices used for viewing and reading painted landscapes and other related genres. This premise appears especially fitting because the paintings were conceived for the Japanese folding screen format and intended for formal display in Japanese interiors by wealthy merchants and other members of the ruling social and political elite.

Nanban world map screens and Arrival of the Southern Barbarian screens can be closely aligned in a number of ways. As indicated in prior chapter, they share patterns of patronage through the wealthy merchant class. However, similarities can be extended to the treatment of subject matter, how their pictorial depictions evolved over time, and shared manners of production. As was mentioned earlier, the two subjects were directly linked through the pair of screens which was once in the Ikenaga Hajime collection (Fig. 30). Recent studies concerning
Arrival of the Southern Barbarian screen imagery help broaden the interpretative potential of many nanban world map screens in light of the artistic reinvention European map forms and book illustrations for Japanese tastes and sensibilities and the format of the folding screen.

Prior to the late 1980s, it was generally accepted that the main subject of the Arrival of the Southern Barbarian screens was Europeans interacting with Japanese and their activities in port town. This was expressed in a categorization types based pictorially on the placement of the Portuguese trading ship in the composition and the nature of the presence and activity of foreign missionaries and traders. More recently, however, scholars interested in Arrival screens have proposed a revised classification scheme that emphasizes a perceived location of setting. The three basic types include: images combining Japan and China; images combining Japan and some imagined foreign country; and, images depicting only Japan. This shift is a result of an acknowledgement that the compositional and pictorial origins of these Arrival paintings are founded, instead of direct or documentary observation of European and their activities, on precedents which had already been in circulation in Japan since at least the turn of the sixteenth century.

In a 1988 publication, Izumi Mari established that by the end of the Muromachi period Japanese artists already had a visual precursor for depicting Chinese trading ships in painting (唐船図 tōsen zu or karafune zu). Izumi has located Japanese textual references of screens with Chinese ships depicted in diaries but, unfortunately, no work of art predating 1600 fitting this description has been passed down to our time. She has found documentation describing Chinese ships appearing as subjects on screens, sliding door panels, and clothing, and that paintings were owned by important figures such as the sixth Muromachi shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394–1441) and Prince Fushimi Sadafusa (1372–1456). Later screens in the Kyushu National
Museum (Fig. 62) and the Tōshōgū Shrine collection in Nikko display both Chinese and Western ships within the same composition and these may give indication of how those early seminal Japanese paintings may have appeared.

The imagery of foreigners in procession that are common to Arrival screens was also likely already in the minds of artists prior to the arrival of the Europeans in the middle of the sixteenth century. Both Izumi and Sakamoto agree that the “things foreign” depicted in Arrival screens are, instead of proper European forms, actually the appropriation of traditional Asian concepts, linked in the cultural imagination with Sino-Japanese diplomatic and trade missions, primarily from China. A Tang-period (618-906) example of a painting showing foreigners in China include a handscroll attributed to Yan Liben (c.600-673) titled Tribute Bearers (Zhigong tu 職貢圖) in the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei (Fig. 63). This scroll depicts people of foreign lands in procession with tribute to give to the Chinese emperor. One scene focuses on a foreign-looking figure on a horse, surrounded by others with a wide assortment of presents and gifts. These include elephant tusks, various horned animals in tow, precious stones, vessels containing precious goods, and animals in cages. Izumi and Narusawa have found a strong compositional similarity and correlated details which appear in later Arrival paintings showing Europeans in foreign lands or interacting with the Japanese. A handscroll attributed to Sesshū Tōyō (1420–1506), Figures from the Various Countries (Kuniguni jinbutsuzu 国々人物図), in the Kyoto National Museum, is another example showing how an established visual pictorial vocabulary was likely already in circulation in Japan and likely later served as the underlying basis for the creation of Arrival screens that featured trading ships and foreigners in the late Momoyama and early Edo periods (Fig. 64). In this work, peoples of foreign lands are depicted in procession, along with an elephant, camel, boar, and other animals. At the end of the
scroll, a single three-masted Chinese trading ship is shown in full sail. Such imagery could have been derived from Chinese tribute missions to Japan. During the Muromachi period, there were nearly twenty missions from Japan to Ming China, sponsored by the Ashikaga shogunate. Involved were warlords and merchants based in coastal port cities such as Sakai and Hakata. Chinese reciprocity brought envoys to Japan with entourages that numbered occasionally over a thousand members. Medieval diaries chronicle the widespread attention and excitement as these processions passed through Japanese towns and villages. Narusawa states it is unknown why Sesshū painted this work or whether he had referenced a Chinese source to create this handscroll. However, the scroll confirms painted imagery of various peoples of the world and animals in procession were already in circulation in Japan by the time of Sesshū’s death in 1506.

Through the late twentieth century, it had been assumed that Arrival of the Southern Barbarian screens served as documentary or journalistic accounts of European traders, missionaries, and their activities, and that the pictorial iconography may have been the product of direct observation. However, studies today show that this was not the case. Sakamoto notes that among the currently known Arrival screens, there is no pictorial reference to the great hardships, physical and psychological challenges, or suffering endured by those on board the Portuguese ships during their long voyage across the seas. Except for a few instances, there are no other images of European ships under sail. Artists did not seem to see the need to capture or express the hardship of travel during that time, presenting instead representations which were static and highly idealized. Izumi and Narusawa have shown that the pictorial composition and many of the details and forms that appeared on these screens were adapted from earlier Chinese and Japanese ship paintings and re-purposed in the seventeenth century. Throughout the Muromachi period, Chinese junks at Sakai and other port cities were associated with the circulation of
continental luxury goods, such as silk, porcelain, lacquer, paintings and calligraphies. He adds that folklore suggests that another use for such screens and their inherently exotic “foreignness” may have been as a charm for happiness, auspicious tidings, and prosperity. It has also been generally assumed that Arrival screen production ended with the Christian prohibitions which reached their height in the middle of the seventeenth century. More recent research has established, however, that the majority of Arrival screens were produced after 1587 edicts, with the earliest dating of many more being after 1614, with the most number of screens dating to the Kanei era (1624–44). In short, the prohibition of Christianity, the expulsion of the Europeans, and the production of Arrival screens are unrelated.

Through the first half of the seventeenth century, as Christian persecution policies progressed, specific Christian motifs and elements, such as missionaries, churches, and proselytizing activities, began to disappear from many Arrival screen compositions. Focus turned fully to merchant activities in port settings, transactions and trade with foreign peoples, and on goods which the Portuguese ships brought, not only those European but also things which were picked up en route throughout South East Asia and China. This shift has been attributed directly to the interests of the emerging merchant class who served as main patrons. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the distinctiveness in which Europeans had been imagined in works of art had become blurred and that the “iconographies of foreignness” soon became inclusive and generic.

As part this transformation, the Portuguese nao vessel was re-figured to accord with the traditional Japanese image of a treasure ship known as takarabune, and European figures were re-positioned as to represent the seven gods of fortune (Shichi Fukujin 七福神), among them feature the likes of Daikokuten 大黒天 (god of wealth, commerce, and trade), Ebisu 恵比寿 (god
of fishermen and merchants), and Fukurokuju 福禄寿 (god of happiness, wealth and longevity). The subject matter found on Arrival screens appear to reflect a popular sentiment grounded in folklore concerning foreign countries, peoples, and their things, as representing good fortune and prosperity. The popularity of both takarabune and the Seven Gods of Fortune arose at the end of the Muromachi period and was widespread by the middle of the Edo period in the form of subject matter for New Years greeting cards. While Sakamoto has suggested that Arrival screens could be read as large versions of these good luck charms, where the Portuguese ships stands for treasure being brought in from far away, he says that such a relationship is tenuous until more textual documentation is found. Yet he has identified pictorial details and motifs that underscore this idea in his book published in 1977. In Arrival screens by Kano Naizen, sailors do acrobatics between the top masts and among the rigging. Sakamoto notes that such imagery does not appear in European painted or printed imagery and must be unique to the Japanese context. In the Arrival screen in the collection of the Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation, Europeans are depicted full from feasting with others holding containers with food. There are others in small boats playing board games. This focus on festivity and festive occasions, as well as safe passage and business prosperity, is consistent and recurs often among the majority of Arrival screens and likely reflects a common approach to the genre and expected by the patrons, many of whom were wealthy merchant families involved in shipping and trading and who served as primary patrons to artists for commissions.

The Arrival of the Southern Barbarians and nanban world map screens were extremely popular with merchants in the growing urban centers and in cities and port towns involved in trade and shipping. Images of Western European traders were disassociated from the realities of actual encounter and syncretically conflated with established traditional Japanese concepts to
transform the semantics of these paintings into auspicious and publically acceptable subjects.\textsuperscript{53}

In many respects, Japanese artists were looking to Europeans for a source of motifs to suit existing iconographies, preexisting symbolic systems, and accommodating them to conventions of art production active during that time.\textsuperscript{54}

Undoubtedly, like the \textit{Arrival} screens, Japanese artists also appropriated European map and print motifs and incorporated them into a preexisting symbolic system. While the studies of \textit{Arrival} screens have shown that they were based on Chinese or Japanese prototypes, \textit{nanban} map screens differ in consideration because they adhere more directly to pictorial forms derived from European sources. Consequently, if alternative significations are to be identified, we must account for the process of how new meanings can be applied as European map forms and information were appropriated and adapted by Japanese artists for the purpose of painting their Japanese folding screens.

Scholars in the fields of anthropology, postcolonial theory, mission history, and cultural studies have provided a range of strategies for interpreting images produced through intercultural convergence or transcultural encounters.\textsuperscript{55} Their work have accounted for fluidness in the context of imagery flowing between two or more disparate cultures.\textsuperscript{56} This fluidness accounts for a slippage of meaning in \textit{nanban} world map screens as Japanese artists appropriated and adapted imagery and motifs from Western sources and applied them to their painted works which circulated in the context of late Momoyama- and early Edo-period Japan.\textsuperscript{57}

In his study of Jesuit missionary art produced during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, Gauvin Bailey outlined a number of conditions and processes which affected interpretation and meaning. Especially significant for this study is his discussion on convergence and syncretism, two conditions that affects interpretation of subject matter that is absorbed from
one cultural context into another. Convergence can be defined as the bringing together of previously separated cultures in which disparate artistic traditions, pictorial vocabularies, or subjects are conflated together. Syncretic images have the potential to carry disparate meanings for viewers of different cultural backgrounds. Under these circumstances, forms and meanings are fused, become convoluted, and are often difficult to discern.\textsuperscript{58}

Highlighting some Japanese examples, Bailey provides a painting of \textit{Salvator Mundi}, a work in oil on copper panel (Fig. 65). This image of the head of Christ displays flattened features rendered in what appears to be deliberately crude brushstrokes, and the large staring eyes give the work a frightening and imposing aspect. He argues that this exaggeration and roughness was intended to fit the image into a Buddhist tradition of religious portraiture, such as that of the Zen master Daruma (Fig. 66). Another example is the painting, \textit{The Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary} (ca. 1640) in the collection of the Kyoto University National History Museum (Fig. 5). In this work, the Japanese artist depicts the Madonna and Child being honored by Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier. This central image is encircled by a panel of fifteen smaller images that depict scenes of the mysteries of the Holy Rosary. This composition follows, in many respects, the layout of a Japanese Buddhist Mandala, namely that of the Taima Mandala (Fig. 67). While it is difficult to gauge artistic intent in these cases, this imagery likely was intended to appeal to contemporary viewers, who would have recognized the compositional layout drawn from Buddhist religious iconography and would have grasped the sacred nature of the unfamiliar iconography. These examples illustrate how a pictorial ambivalence can result in multiple readings according to the conditions and extent of encounter between or among the cultures involved.\textsuperscript{59}

The field of cartography has also offered an additional useful theoretical model for
considering cultural exchange and effects on interpretation. J.B. Harley and David Woodward proposed the idea of cognitive transformations as an approach to understand intercultural exchange in mapping and map forms. Their model depends on two crucial elements. The first is a recognition and acceptance that maps record and structure human experience of space. The second element concerns the historical process by which maps become “deliberately designed graphic artifacts with distinctive geometrical structures and arrays of signs recognizable to the intended viewers.” These transformations revolve around the principle that different peoples living in different regions at different historical moments conceive of and use maps in different ways. Their model presumes a reciprocal relationship between human experience and cartography in which “both perception and representation become increasingly structured by different map models”—a relationship clearly influenced by and filtered through indigenous cultural and social forms and practices.

In the light of the idea of syncretism and cognitive transformation, we encounter numerous instances of Japanese artists adopting and transforming Western map and printed imagery to suit their painted monumental compositions. In many examples of nanban map screens, Japanese artists reworked and mixed European pictorial components to create entirely new compositions, often relying on existing Japanese artistic traditions and techniques to complement their painted works. The results are Japanese works of art created through sophisticated stylistic transformation of foreign models.

A consistent characteristic found among all the nanban map screens that illustrate the Japanese syncretism of European subject matter is the magnification of European monochrome printed works into large, richly colored forms in bright pigments and gold leaf. Often, the Japanese artists simplified the geographic forms into vividly colored shapes. Some areas of the
World Map and The Battle of Lepanto in the Kōsetsu Museum, Kobe, and World Map and Twenty-Eight Cities of the World in the collection of the Imperial Household Agency, share the same color scheme. In other areas, however, the color appears to have been freely chosen by the artist without reference to any pre-existing source. The use of gold leaf found in the nanban map screens is consistent with screens of other subjects and themes in Japanese art at that time. Particular screens which show the use of gold leaf to great effect include those in the collections of Hosshin-ji, Kobayashi Ataru in Tokyo, Shimonogō Kyōsai Library in Nagahama (Fig. 39), and Nanba Matsutarō (Fig. 43). In these works, besides serving to highlight, obscure, or isolate specific geographical areas, the application of gold leaf also signified the wealth of its owner. In the nanban world map screens, artists used gold in depicting floating clouds, in the creation of the static oval of a cartographic projection, or as part of a decorative border. The Jōtoku-ji screen, for example, features a lavish use of gold leaf for decorative effect and framing. Billows of golden clouds rendered in gold leaf surround and frame the Japanese archipelago. Interestingly, the artist appears to have used this decorative technique to obscure what was in fact a lack of knowledge about the area of present-day Hokkaido.

The screen depicting the map of the world in the collection of Hosshin-ji (Fig. 29) is also indicative of a process of cultural convergence at work. This work of art is visually jarring in its combination of a European map theme and Japanese artistic and decorative elements. Golden clouds, a Japanese artistic device common in landscape paintings to demarcate place and time, as well as to punctuate breaks in historical or literary narratives, frame a map of the world. While the continents are immediately recognizable, the land masses are deeply incised with rivers and estuaries. This is especially evident in the regions of South America and Africa. A similar treatment of landforms appears in the Myōkaku-ji screen (Fig. 31) depicting the Eastern
Hemisphere and in the screen illustrating the map of the world in the collection of Yamamoto Hisashi (Fig. 32). In these works, the Japanese artists demonstrate the concept of intercultural convergence through the combination of using the subject of a European map of the world expressed through the brush technique and handling rooted in Japanese calligraphic and painted traditions.

A number of screens demonstrate artists freely mixing and matching map forms and projection types and decorative details, which were collected from a variety of sources to create entirely new compositions. Screens that display a mishandling, deliberate or otherwise, of Western cartographic forms and pictorial details, as well as evidence of an amalgamation of parts drawn from various European sources and Japanese works, include those in the Kobe City Museum (Fig. 38), Nanban Bunka-kan (Fig. 40), Tokyo National Museum (Fig. 41), and the University of California, Berkeley (Fig. 42). These works exemplify a form of convergence in that the Japanese artists did not adhere to established modes of European pictorial or cartographic expression. Rather, they appropriated and mixed otherwise incongruent pictorial components to create entirely new compositions to suit their painted projects.

The Kobe City Museum *Map the World* and *Views of Four Cities*—a pair of screens that until the 1930s was owned by a family in Seville—is the work of an artist who freely gathered and reinterpreted contemporary European map compositions and decorative motifs. The views of the four cities are of Lisbon, Seville, Rome, and Constantinople (Istanbul). Along the top portion are images of aristocrats in fancy dress and noblemen on horseback. The view of Rome is based on the 1610 *Vita Beati patris Ignatii Loyolae*, with likely sources for the other three cities coming either from an edition of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg or the 1609 map by Pieter van den Keere. Important to note is that these European sources are
also linked to similar imagery found on the Imperial Household Agency screens, and the artists of the Kobe screens may have based their screen compositions from this work instead of from original printed sources.

The world map screen features a flattened landscape and sea, abstracted coastlines, and a simplified color palette. The mixing of various European elements taken from a number of sources is evident in many details found in this work. The Kobe map screens share so many pictorial similarities with the Kōsetsu screen that some historians have suggested that this was its original source. However, the Kobe screen features a map of the world painted in an oval cartographic projection whereas the Kōsetsu map screen is presented in an equilateral one. Also, the Kobe screens lack the addition of figures of people of the world which appear in the Kōsetsu screens at the bottom of the composition while featuring many additional decorative spherical insets and a compass rose. The artist of the Kobe map screen, if having employed the Kōsetsu screen as an initial source, subsequently elaborated on his composition with additional information or pictorial inspiration drawn from at least one other European source and/or Japanese screen of a similar subject. The Kobe screen captures the apparent ease and freedom by which the Japanese artist re-conceived imagery to suit their design and compositional needs. Because of the mixed nature of the subject matter found on this pair of screens, they should be dated relatively later than many other extant works.\textsuperscript{64}

Other examples of European-Japanese convergence concern the application and treatment of titles and labeling. The map screens in the Nanban Bunka-kan and Tokyo National Museum have the Latin title TYPVS ORBIS TERRARVM, taken from Ortelius’s \textit{Theatrum Orbis Terrarum} (Fig. 47) which is known to have been in circulation in Japan after 1590. Interestingly, the Japanese artist applied this label in their re-presentation of a printed Plancius
world map of the early 1590s, resulting in a composite image drawn from two European map sources that were formulated on different cartographic projections. These map screens, along with that in the University of California, Berkeley, also have circular insets in the corners of the work depicting the Polar Regions and lunar or celestial orbits. Where such insets are usually found within the decorative border frame of European map compositions, such as in the Blaeu and Keere maps, the Japanese artists have instead placed these insets outside the map portion to help fill space in the expansive folding screen format and to anchor the composition. Another interesting characteristic of this pair of screens is the application of the thirty-nine pairs of peoples of the world. Instead of decorating only one of the pair as is the case in other examples of nanban world map screens, the pairs are distributed over both screens. This illustrates that the artists behind the screens currently in the Nanban Bunka-kan were willing to improvise on a pictorial composition which was likely already established in other screens. Through this appropriation and reorganization of forms and motifs, the Japanese artist has again demonstrated the ability in which they could adapt European printed imagery, and those from screens already created and in circulation, to best serve the format and compositions of their own projects and their design concepts.

The pair of screens in the temple of Jōtoku-ji presents another example of innovative Japanese artistic convergence with European pictorial forms (Fig. 33). In creating the screen painting of a map of the world, the artist combined a post-1587 version of the Ortelius map with another European map featuring an oval cartographic projection that is now lost or unknown. The map of the world screen also has a number of geographic omissions and peculiarities, including the truncation of Hokkaido and the absence of Australia. Sailing routes, indicated by reddish brown painted lines, connect the continents, over the sea from Japan to China, around the
Malay Peninsula to India, then around Cape Horn leading to the Iberian Peninsula and the city of Lisbon. Unno Kazutaka, noting that all nanban world maps screens incorporating the oval projection depict navigational routes from Portugal and Spain to Asia, believes that the map providing the oval projection, or even a third map, derived from a Portuguese source must have once existed. Historians have proposed a number of other possibilities for pictorial sources behind this world map painting, among them are again Mercator or Blaeu maps. This demonstrates the extent to which the Japanese artist was willing to combine ideas, forms, and motifs, drawn from various sources for their compositions.

The marking of place and the placement and treatment of text cartouches varies greatly among the nanban map screens, indicating another aspect of intercultural convergence. The Jōtoku-ji screens are consistent with most works in that the artist combined transliterations of European place names with designations used commonly in Japan at that time, with updated or additional information on locations drawn from Japanese and Chinese sources. In these screens and others, such as the Kōsetsu screens, Chinese characters are used to mark Asian place names and regions. For the rest of the world, hiragana and katakana script are used for place names. Examples include the names Inkiresu (England), Furansa (France), Hatagonun (Patagonia, the southernmost region of South America); and Nowakineya (New Guinea), all of which are rough Japanese transliterations of place names in Portuguese or Spanish. North America has three inscriptions on the fourth panel: Furorita (Florida), Amerika (America), and Nowafuransa (New France). In the Jōtoku-ji screens, place names were inscribed directly onto the map. In the screens in the Kōsetsu Museum of Art and in the Jingū Library, Ise, these place names appear in individual cartouches. Rather than identifying place locations with written text, the artists of the screens in the Imperial Household Agency and the Kobe City Museum used golden markers in
the shape of buildings, palaces, and, arguably, Christian churches and structures. The Jōtoku-ji screens also feature clusters of detailed buildings and palaces, which dot the landscape at apparently the most random and surprising of places: present-day central Russia, Chile, India, Ontario and Quebec along the St. Lawrence River, and the banks of Nile River. Yet no such markers are visible anywhere in Western Europe, in Japan, or in the remainder of Asia.

The Imperial Household Agency world map features the original Romanized names of the continents, AMERICA SEPTEPTENTRIONALIS, AMERICA, EVROPA, ASIA, and MAGALLANICA found in the Blaeu-Keere printed originals. The same screen also features many of the large elaborate cartouche shields found in the original European maps that contained the preface, texts, and explanations. However, in this screen, the Japanese artists left them dramatically empty, void of text and explanation. This indicates that such shields, so prominent in Western maps to frame and highlight background text, commentary, and cartographic explanations, were incorporated for their purely decorative aspects. The Imperial Household Agency world map also features ten decorative inserts comprised of hemispheric maps depicting the Polar Regions, celestial orbits, details of geographic regions or various compasses. Such motifs also appear on map screens in the Tokyo National Museum, Nanban Bunka-kan, and the Kobe City Museum. Given their profusion and prominence on these screens, Japanese artists likely regarded compasses, hemispheric maps, and other secondary or decorative motifs as crucial design features in their own right and featured them as such in their painted compositions.

In a number of screens, such as those in collections of Myōkaku-ji, Usuki City Library, Saga Prefectural Library, Sōji temple in Yokohama, Kawamori Kōji (Fig. 36), Tokyo National Museum, and the private collection in Nagaoya (Fig. 44), large inset tables surround the central map subject. This compositional convention corresponds to no European original but likely was
adapted from long-established Japanese practice of inserting colophons or supplemental literary
text or descriptions onto painting compositions. These tables, in almost all cases, were used to
describe Japanese administrative divisions, demographic information, and information
concerning trade or exports. In stark contrast, the Hosshin-ji and Yamamoto Hisashi screens
feature a minimum of textual information and labeling, and no text panels or tables. The artists of
these works have deliberately chosen to recast a European printed map of the world essentially
unadorned.

Perhaps the most explicit expression of intercultural convergence of Japanese artistic
approach and execution in re-presenting a European map of the world concerns the treatment and
placement of Japan found on the nanban map screens. In many examples, the artist altered the
European map layout in order to heighten Japan’s prominence, changing significantly the focus
of the composition. This was accomplished by increasing the size of Japan in proportion to both
Asia and the rest of the world, by rendering the Japanese archipelago in greater detail, or placing
Japan in a more centralized position.

Japan is particularly prominent in the screens in the Kōsetsu Museum of Art, Kobe City
Museum, and the Shimonogō Kyōsai Library. This is taken to an extreme in one six-part folding
screen in the private collection in Nagoya. In this fantastical representation, Japan is rendered
larger than the entirety of the Eastern Hemisphere and is shown with multicolored renderings of
individual provincial areas. This is in contrast with the relatively plain depiction of Europe,
Africa, and central Asia which, at best, conveys a sense of barrenness and desolation.

The most intriguing reworking of European map imagery to give Japan more prominence
can be found in those screens that feature Japan in the centralized position of the composition.
The Japanese artist accomplished this by flipping the physical placement of the Western and
Eastern hemispheres. This configuration finds the Pacific Ocean, Asia, and places Japan at the
dramatic focal point of the composition, and by extension, at the center of the world. Screens
with this characteristic can be found in Hosshin-ji, Nanban Bunka-kan, Tokyo National Museum,
Mitsui Collection at the University of California, Berkeley, as well as in the private collections
of Ikenaga Hajime, Fukushima Kitarō, and Nanba Matsutarō. The implication of such a world
configuration is the central focus in Chapter Five.

The variety of their artistic treatment of European maps and pictorial sources attests to
the ability of Japanese artists to re-present pictorial subjects in an accessible and coherent
manner to contemporary viewers. Where examples of Japanese-European convergence are
readily identifiable through a visual survey of the nanban map screens, recognizing the effect of
the conditions of syncretism and cognitive transformation on contemporary interpretation of the
subject matter is less straightforward. In order to better understand how the pictorial theme of the
European map of the world slipped and triggered alternative readings when absorbed into the
Japanese cultural sphere, we must go beyond the screens themselves and insert these works of art
back into the historical context of their creation and initial circulation. Since late sixteenth- and
early seventeenth-century Japanese artists and viewers were encountering Western European map
forms and new a geographic reality for the first time through the medium of Japanese folding
screens, without the benefit of Jesuit explanation or European contextual filters in most cases,
they likely applied prevailing Japanese ideas and presumptions to engage with the map imagery
in ways in which map and print makers in Europe could not ever have imagined. Behind the
façade of Western map compositions and minutiae of details found on nanban world map screens
lay sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japanese interpretative strategies, art appreciation, and
world views that shaped their understanding of the world in physical and symbolic terms.
Consequently, similar to the transformative and adaptive approach used by the Japanese artists to create these works of art, arguably contemporary viewers of the map screens only accepted remaining traces and symbols of European culture seen on the map screens after indigenous interpretative processes filtered and affected their meaning.

The ability of late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japanese viewers to comprehend and make sense of nanban map screens, and to appreciate them as works of art, was likely shaped by a wide range of Japanese influences working in combination. These included, among other things, the interpretive habits used to read Japanese maps and similar diagrams, those interpretive mechanisms connected to Japanese art or literature, and the presence of other influences emanating from Momoyama- and early Edo-period visual culture.

Many twentieth-century historians have noted that premodern Asian maps in comparison with maps in Western Europe were consistently inaccurate with regards to actual geography and topography. Often overlooked is the fact that Asian maps were often intended to be used as pictorial references in conjunction with texts or verbal descriptions. In this respect, pre-modern Asian maps must be regarded as embodying an alternative relationship between representation (what is seen in the image) and allusion (that which is signified) when compared to maps produced in the European context. As was established earlier this chapter, Arrival of the Southern Barbarian screens also embodied this disconnect. Neither direct observation nor reality had much to do with what the subjects on these screens were supposed to indicate or the meaning they were to convey.

In a discussion of Asian maps and mapping history, Cordell Yee emphasizes that in premodern China and Japan geographic fidelity was not an overarching aim of cartography, and maps often served to complement textual presentations or verbal descriptions of geographic
knowledge. Subsequently, accurate scale was never a priority or requirement and mapmakers intended that their maps serve as shorthand renderings of spatial relationships to be supplemented by accompanying literary texts that provided written details of distances, descriptions or directions. Yee provides numerous Chinese examples, including maps in the *Lidai dili zhizhang tu* [Easy-to-use maps of geography through the dynasties] (1098–1100, and supplemented in 1162), the earliest detailed work of Chinese administrative geography to have survived (Fig. 68). In these maps, images do not adhere to geographic reality. Rather, explanatory notes and descriptions serve to provide information on distance, topography, and geographical features. Yee writes that the ratio of image to text in traditional Chinese geographic works varied and that it was common to have a disproportionate amount of text. One particular extreme example he highlights, the 1555 *Guang yutu* 廣與圖, by Luo Hongxian (1504–1564), is a book consisting of 100 pages of maps and approximately 300 pages of textual notes (Fig. 69). This relationship between text and image in premodern Japanese maps is consistent with reading patterns associated with other forms of contemporary Japanese visual culture. Early Japanese examples of similar maps include eighth-century maps seen earlier describing the holdings of Tōdai-ji in Etchū province in which textual explanations play a dominant role. Together, the verbal and graphic modes of representation, much like painting and poetry, contributed to what Yee terms “a unified conception” of the arts, of which the practice of cartography was a part. Consequently, viewing Asian maps often required considerable interpolation and interpretive support in the form of text and narrative, and pictorial accuracy was not intended as underlying characteristics of pictorial imagery. We have already encountered *nanban* world map screens in Myōkaku-ji, Usuki City Library, Saga Prefectural Library, Sōji temple in Yokohama, Kawamori Kōji, Tokyo National Museum, and the private collection in
Nagaoya, that feature significant bodies of textual information in the form of surrounding text boxes that find their direct precedent in Asian painting traditions. In this regard, viewers of *nanban* world map screens likely required or expected interpolation or narrative to be provided by an authoritative textural or oral complement.

The *Nihon Bunkei-zu* 日本分系図 [Atlas of Japan] (Fig. 70), compiled by an unknown cartographer and first published in 1666 by two different publishers in Kyoto, Nakano Shozaemon, and Yoshida Tarōbei, offers many features and details that allow us to gain stronger insight into some sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century interpretative filters that likely affected the reading of *nanban* world map screens during their initial circulation. While this work is important in the history of Japanese cartography because it is the first printed atlas of the country, the atlas is important to this particular study because it highlights the full breadth of assumed knowledge and the specific learned cognitive abilities required for the mid-seventeenth-century Japanese viewer to decipher the pictorial codes and patterns contained within the atlas.

The *Nihon Bunkei-zu* consists of sixteen maps with separate textual sections explaining the rice output of each province, distances between towns on land and by sea, and other information. The maps cover Japan from north to south, and several provinces are joined together to form one map. The detail of the Kantō region, for example, highlights the capital of Edo and Odawara. Mt. Fuji, one of the iconic symbols dominating virtually all Japanese maps including this region, is absent. Rather, Mt. Nikkō, site of the Tōshōgū Shrine built in 1617 as the mausoleum of Tokugawa Ieyasu, is indicated. This suggests that by 1666 the programs of Tokugawa symbolic authority had fully encroached upon the production of this comprehensive atlas, while the conventions and applications of Western maps and mapping of marking and identifying significant topographical features had not. This reiterates the power of selection that
Japanese artists had at the time to choose among locations and geographic features and details to include and emphasize in their works.

The Bunkei-zu atlas also exemplifies the unique relationship between pictorial image and written text and, for those removed from the cultural setting, the imagery in the Bunkei-zu may be difficult to decipher. The maps within the volume are constructed following a simplified pictorial formula, with shorelines, river ways, and transportation routes on both land and sea executed in monochrome lines, and coastal islands appearing undefined. The atlas does not stress geographic fidelity or rely on accurate scale. Instead, the maps within the volume served as abbreviated impressions of spatial relationships with accompanying literary text providing comprehensive details of distances, descriptions, or directions. Distances, while presented in accompanying columns in 里, are pictorially inaccurate, and the Japanese landscape is often presented as being stretched and deformed to conform to the dimensions of the printed page. Consequently, the maps within the Bunkei-zu require a reader well-versed in a pictorial language based on shared understanding of spatial and comparative relationships in pictorial diagrams, fully accustomed to the close relationship between image and text and narrative, and cognizant of the specific role that the maps fulfilled in this particular volume. This idea of particular spatial and comparative relationships is expressed through the idea that the Bunkei-zu presents maps of local regions and provinces as if one were traveling along a 線—the string or line or route—instead of surveying geography or topography of a general region or accuracy in distance as occupying a place on a surface or plane 面.

This conception is consistent with numerous maps produced through the end of the Edo period, such as the Tōzai Kairiku no zu [Map of the sea and land routes of Edo to Nagasaki] published by Nishida Katsubē (1672) (Fig. 71) or Tōkaidō Bungenuzu 東海道分間絵.
[Route map of the Tōkaidō] by Ochikochi Dōin (1690) (Fig. 72). Many maps published well into the middle of the nineteenth century still maintained this emphasis on the string or line of positional relationships. The printed folding book travel map *Kaisei zōho Dai-Nipponkoku Junro Meisaiki Taisei* [A revised and expanded comprehensive detailed route of Great Japan] published in 1850 by Yamazaki Kyūsaku (or Yoshinari) (1796–1856), for instance, features strings of travel routes between towns, cities, and regions and their distances throughout Japan (Fig. 73). Appendixes provide information on a wide range of topics, including suggested travel accessories and goods; wind, precipitation, and tidal information, and warnings during mountainous travel, and how best to avoid the predicament of sea sickness and falling off horses. The map is set in the single continuous *tan-orihon* [single-fold accordion book] that extends nearly 50 folds, compressing and elongating Japan so that the archipelago conforms to the long and narrow printed format. Rest points, towns, cities, and major family domains, identified by their family crest motifs, are labeled along major roads at regular intervals, interspersed and punctuated with distances written in *ri*. The map begins with Ezo, or present-day Hokkaido and extends through the entirety of Japan to Korea. As with the other examples provided here, the physical realities of topographical and geographical features and any attempt for accurate scale in this map are entirely subsidiary to the layout needs of artist and the dictates of the printed format.

Despite the information found in the works, the *Tōzai Kairiku no zu, Tōkaidō Bungen ezu, Kaisei zōho Dai-Nipponkoku Junro Meisaiki Taisei*, and *Bunkei-zu* are maps that were impractical for logistics of actual travel or voyage. These maps, especially those of the handscroll format, focus on the sites and locations encountered en route during travel, laid out and organized in an accessible and entertaining manner, transforming the landscape into a
diagrammatic representation for imaginative adventures to be held in a study room. In order to make the most of these works, the viewer must accept that they focus on local or regional geographical knowledge, that they stress positional relationships, and that they must turn to extensive textual or spoken complement which often accompany them for explanation and understanding.

In this respect, it is unlikely that the artists who created the *nanban* world map screens intended their monumental, elaborate, and expensive paintings to serve as proper maps or to be used anywhere outside the confines of an official reception space or a room where other works of art would be displayed and admired. In this light, *nanban* world map screens should be regarded as works of art, in the form of painted landscapes, which were placed on display to delight and impress viewers as elaborate centerpieces for conversation in carefully controlled display environments and social situations.

*Nanban* world map screens consequently may have been misconstrued as cartographic artifacts in scholarship when they should have been considered more as painted landscapes and intended as special made-to-order works of art. Approached as painted landscapes, we can explore *nanban* map screens with a much broadened understanding for range of interpretative possibilities and unifying factors, especially when placed in relation to other related painted subjects and genres popular in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japan.

One of these possibilities concerns the role and use of referential devices in the marking of place. Numerous painted folding screens dating to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries are today classified as *meisho-e* 名所絵 (views of famous places), a category of painting that centered on specific geographic locations, often imbued with symbolic, literary, or religious significance. Artists and contemporary viewers identified the *meisho* less through topographic
accuracy and more through recognition of a single distinctive pictorial element, or subtle pictorial elements working in combination. Such recognition was triggered by allusion or association through textual references found in poetry, historical narratives, or literary prose.

One example that comes to mind of such a geographic presentation is with a pair of six-fold screens, known as the *Landscape of the Four Seasons* (Fig. 74), in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. This painting features stock elements that constitute the pictorial vocabulary for the scenes of the Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers, a popular Chinese Song dynasty (960–1279) poetic theme and a common subject for Muromachi ink painters. The artist Sōami (d. 1525) combined eight pictorial elements to situate the scene at the confluence of these two rivers in China. These elements include imagery of geese descending, returning boats, evening glow over a fishing village, sky clearing after a storm, autumn moon, and snow on the river. Through the application of the specific visual cues associated with the location—in which their placement and arrangement in the pictorial composition appears entirely arbitrary—an informed sixteenth-century viewer identified the Xiao and Xiang Rivers. Like many Muromachi-period painters, Sōami depicted an entirely recognizable landscape and location that existed only in the imagination through shared literary references or shared cultural knowledge. Similarly, the informed Momoyama or Edo period viewer too was expected to recognize an array of referential codes—cherry blossoms on a large soft mountain form punctuated with smaller hills layered in soft peaks, long grasses and a hanging moon with Mount Fuji in the distance, a curving bridge with boats and a waterwheel, craggy pine trees by rough-tossed waves, or elevated Shinto shrine platform above water. From these they would decipher and identify the locations respectively as Yoshino (Fig. 75), the Uji River (Fig. 76), the plains of Musashino (Fig. 77), the island of Matsushima in northern Japan (Fig. 78), or Itsukushima Shrine, near present-
day Hiroshima in the Inland Sea (Fig. 79).

A final example of a meisho-e can be tied again to Arrival of the Southern Barbarian screens that portray the ship which brought the traders and missionaries to Japan. With the European community generally centered in Nagasaki, the appearance of the nau ship and the European community came to refer to that town, the epicenter of the Japanese-European encounter. As news spread of the cosmopolitan nature of the city, one that grew in population from 5,000 to 30,000 over the span of twenty years, Nagasaki as a powerful meisho gained stature in the imaginations of individuals in other regions. No longer was Nagasaki simply a small port town on the southwestern tip of Kyushu. It was now a portal where the real and imaginary, the fantastic and the everyday, and the known and unknown, converged and intersected. Unsurprisingly, Nagasaki, along with other port towns in the Kyushu area, is often highlighted in nanban map screens, while other cities and locations were left unmarked.

Premodern Japanese viewers took great pleasure in deciphering and identifying painted subjects and locations, and applying complex stories to apparently simple or innocuous pictorial motifs or themes. In the examples of meisho-e described above, Japanese artists depicted locations as subjects in which symbolic or emotional evocations of place, expressed through subtle literary references, poetic associations, or a shared body of cultural knowledge, had clear priority over any geographic or topographic relevancy. Neither painter nor viewer may have known these sites outside of poems exalting their beauty or literary texts describing their historical or cultural importance. While failing in providing accurate renderings of topography, scale, and geographic attribute, these paintings served to bring delight and pleasure to the viewers who engaged with them, without any diminishment of artistic or interpretative value.

It is important to emphasize again that the premodern Japanese marking of location and
place operated on different terms than in Europe. Only after the Meiji Restoration, when Western science finally made true inroads through educational reforms, was the intimate relationship in concept and pictorial execution between map production and traditional painting practice severed. The established interpretative methods used during the premodern period to read many Asian maps and arguably all painted depictions of landscape—such as visual and verbal, cartographic and pictorial, mimetic and symbolic representation—thus must be given a central place when considering nanban map screens. Recent studies into *Arrival of the Southern Barbarian* screens have revealed that accurate representations were never an aim with the subject matter and the Europeans who came to Japan may have simply presented themselves as additional novel motifs to be inserted into a preexisting symbolic and pictorial system associated with auspiciousness, prosperity, and good fortune.

Early scholarship concerning the *nanban* map screens contributed to creating a philological history of Japanese cartography, in which the improvement of surveying practices and the impact of European maps, techniques, and information on representations of Japanese geography or topography were identified. In this context, historians regarded *nanban* map screens as geographical maps or topographical depictions rendered on a folding screen format. In the first half of the twentieth century, scholars viewed these screens as important markers encapsulating the initial appearance of European scientific and geographic knowledge in premodern Japan. By mid-century, historians were working to classify map screens according to formally-prescribed “types” for purposes of organization and comparison. Scholarship generally confined the screens to the realm of maps, as a marker in the progress of Japanese cartography, or as objects that illustrated or exemplified the novelty of Western and Japanese cultural or artistic exchange which took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
While the chapter began with a brief background of Japanese maps and mapping, it concluded, however, by presenting *nanban* world map screens as Japanese painted works rather than simply cartographic artifacts by present-day Western definitions. This dissertation sees the screens as painted landscapes in which Japanese viewers regarded the subjects from within an established and varied Japanese interpretative visual system and contexts of social exchange and reception with the map screens on display that required viewers to be in constant interpretative dialogue with the works. As we have seen in the examples discussed, aspects of this system operated around the appearance and/or combination of specific visual cues—a particular motif or set of motifs, organization of composition, a close relationship between image and text, or the particular use of brush stroke or stylistic language—which elicited associations in a sophisticated referential system formulated on a shared literary or cultural knowledge base at the expense of accurate rendering or precise of scale, topography, geography, or other physical attributes. This helps in framing the imposition of new or alternative interpretative possibilities of the *nanban* map screens and what they may have represented to contemporary viewers.

*Nanban* world map screens are objects that likely first embodied a contemporary Japanese fascination with the exotic which required Japanese viewers to reassess their perceptions of newly discovered races and peoples of far-away places. As Ronald Toby points out, European trading and Christian communities established in southwestern Japan required the Japanese to both accept the presence of new peoples on their shores and to adjust their perceived place in relation to the greater Asian sphere. A multidimensional perspective that accounts for broader interpretative processes particular to Momoyama and early Edo-period Japanese culture permits us to consider unexplored aspects of *nanban* world map screens, namely in regards to prevailing Japanese religious and folkloric discourses and early seventeenth-century Japanese
Before we can consider the extent to which conditions of syncretism or cognitive transformations affected the interpretation of nanban world map screens, however, the following chapter outlines the role that the Jesuit missionaries had in introducing European art methods, Western knowledge, and map imagery to the Japanese. It considers, in particular, their likely influence on creation of the Imperial Household Agency Collection and Kōsetsu Museum map screens. It also explores the affect of the demise of the Christian community in Japan on any interpretation of nanban world map screens.
Notes


7 N. Muroga, “The Development of Cartography in Japan,” in *Old Maps in Japan*.


12 T. Kawada, “Honpō chizukō,” *Shigaku zasshi* 6 (1895): 268–77, 349–58, and 507–18; and “Nihon chichi gen’i wo ronzu,” *Rekishi chiri* 7 (1905), 821–27, 916–21, 1038–45; and K. Takagi, *Nihon chizu sokuryō shōshi* (Tokyo: Kokon shoin, 1931). Takagi’s early work is considered as significant but, as a government employee in the Department of Land Survey, he focused on aspects concerning surveying after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. His work has come to be regarded as “too fragmentary to be considered a proper history.” See Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 350.


In the History of Cartography, Unno provides appendix tables classifying all manners of maps, identifying dating, location, format, and function. Among these tables, “Appendix 11.4” concerns specifically the nanban map screens known in 1994. Known screens are categorized and assigned letter and number sequencing codes and designations based on “projection type.” To supplement the History of Cartography publication, S. Potter has authored several essays concerning problems inherent in the translation of map titles and cartographic terminology. He argues for the invention of a new Japanese term that conveys the same nuance as “map” in English, since no equivalent exists in Japanese. See: S. Potter, “The Elusive Concept of ‘Map’: Semantic Insights into the Cartographic Heritage of Japan,” Geographical Review of Japan 74, B1 (2001): 1–14; “Mappu nitsuite Nihongo no bokyaberari–,” Saitama daigaku kiyō: Kyōyōgakubu 36 (January 2000): 123–162; and “Japan as a Cartographic Heritage with a Word for ‘Map’,” in Tsudajuku daigaku kiyō 33 (2001): 169–200. He argues that in the History of Cartography, as well as many other English publications currently in circulation, the word “map” is apparently indiscriminately assigned to a wide variety of Japanese image types. In Japanese, such terms as—zu, ezu, chizu, zushiki, zukai, kaizu—carry subtle lexical differences
similar to map, chart, plan, picture, drawing, chart, illustration, etc.—in English. Potter provides lists of revised names and titles in translation.


21 See K. Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 461–63. In this appendix, Unno classifies twenty-one map screens known to exist in 1994 according to classification: marine charts or projection type of oval, equirectangular, or Mercator projection, as well as a marine chart type. Note there are also folded maps in existence which are not discussed in this dissertation.


23 See Unno, "Cartography in Japan," Appendix 11.4. For example, map screens displaying an equirectangular projection of the world—those “Types A, B1, and B2”—have been linked to a 1592 world map by Petrus Plancius. See T. Akioka, “Momoyama jidai Edo jidai shoki no sekaizu byōbu tō no gaihō,” Hōsei daigaku bungakakubu kiyō 4 (1958), 263–311; T. Tokiya, “Nanban sekaizu byōbu gensu kō,” 32–61. See Unno, "Cartography in Japan," 380n134, for listing of reproductions. Those of “type C” were likely derived from the revision of Plancius’s map made about 1598 by Hendrik Floris van Langren. Some parts of Plancius’s map revised by van Langren are reproduced in F. Wieder, Monumenta Cartographica (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1925–33), vol.2, pls.39 and 40. Maps of “type D1” and “type D2” that show only the Eastern Hemisphere appear to have also used Langren’s map as a model. See Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 380n136, for information on collections and listing of reproductions. The maps using the Mercator projection are believed to have been derived from a 1609 world map by Pieter van den Keere (1571–c.1646). See Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 380n138. On van den Keere’s map and its connection to Willem Janszoon Blaeu’s map see Günter Schilder, “Willem Jansz. Blaeu’s Wall Map of the World, on Mercator’s Projection, 1606–07, and Its Influence,” Imago Mundi 31 (1979), 36–54; Three World Maps by François van den Hoeve of 1661, Willem Janszoon (Blaeu) of 1607, Claes Janszoon Visscher of 1650 (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1981); and T. Takahashi, “Nanban toshizu byōbu kara Kaeriusu sekaizu e,” in Ezu no kosumorojii, vol.1, ed. Katsuragawa ezu kenkyūkai (Kyoto: Chijin shobō, 1988), 248–64.


26 Makino argues that the screens should be regarded as maps than as a painted work. See S. Makino, “Sekaizu byōbu kō,” 567–583. K. Kajiya investigated the nature of research concerning nanban map screens as a studied subject. Kajiya believes Makino was influential on later cartographers, such as Hiroshi Nakamura. See H. Nakamura, “Nanban byōbu sekaizu no kenkyū,” 24; and K. Kajiya, "Visual Formation in Nanban Screens of Maps" (Unpublished manuscript, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1999).

27 Kajiya outlines the nature of the bibliography up through to the early 1990s, dividing the studies into four distinct chronological periods: 1900–1920; 1930s; 1950–60s, and that of the 1970s to present.


29 G. Vlam, “Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan.”

30 T. Goto, “Emergent Consciousness About the Self Depicted in the World Map Screens.”


33 Even in English sources, it was acknowledged by the late 1930s that the screens were unlikely painted by Eitoku because the manner in which the islands were depicted and the mention of Ezo (present-day Hokkaido) point to a much later dating. See Ramming, “Evolution of Japanese
Cartography,” 19. However, important Japanese map historians, such as H. Nakamura, maintained the screens were completed by Eitoku even as late as 1966. See H. Nakamura, “Chronicle,” 89.

34 See the introduction by Sakamoto Mitsuru in Nanban byōbu shūsei (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan), 2008), 320. This publication serves as the most current catalogue raisonné of nanban Arrival of the Southern Barbarian screens available at this time.

35 Most common are works by Okamoto Yoshitomo, Juroku seiki sekai chizu-jo no Nihon (Tokyo: Kobunso, 1938). Other Okamoto works include: Juroku seiki nichō-o kotsu-shi no kenkū (Tokyo: Kobunso, 1936); Momoyama jidai kirisuto-kyō bunka (Tokyo: Toyodo, 1947); Kirishitan kenkyū Vol.III (Tokyo: Toyodo 1947), 225–319. See also Y. Okamoto, Nanban Art of Japan; and Kobe shiritsu hakubutsukan, ed., Ikokue no bōken (Kobe: Kobe shiritsu hakubutsukan, 2002).


37 K. Harada, Umi no shiruku rōdo, ed. Kobe shiritsu hakubutsukan (Kobe shiritsu hakubutsukan, 1982), 231.


39 Y. Lippit, Y. “Japan’s Southern Barbarian Screens,” 248. See also Izumi, “Tōsen zu no keishō,” 114.


44 These have been identified as screens by Kano Naizen. See M. Sakamoto, “Ibunka ni taiō suru kyōgen,” 306.

46 K. Narusawa, “Kinsei shoki fūzokuga toshite no nanban byōbu,” 303.

47 K. Narusawa, “Kinsei shoki fūzokuga toshite no nanban byōbu,” 303.

48 Y. Lippit, “Japan’s Southern Barbarian Screens,” 244.

49 For further elaboration on takarabune and the seven gods of fortune see Shichi fukujin shinkō jiten, ed. N. Miyata (Tokyo: Ebisu Kōshō Shuppan, 1998).


53 Two sets of screens, Merrymaking under the Cherry Trees in the Suntory Museum of Art and Dancing under the Cherry Blossoms in the Kobe City Museum, exemplify this transformation. Both pairs, indential in basic composition, feature figures dressed in costumes of the gods of good fortune on one screen and on the other screens figures promenading in Nanban costumes. Studies have implied that the gods of good fortune and the “nanban” were seen at the same exalted level and possessed other-worldly qualities. See Yamane Yuzō, kinsei fūzoku zufu 2 (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1983) and Nanban bijutsu no hikari to kage: Taisei ōkō kibazu byōbu no nazo, Santorī Bijutsukan, Köbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, ed. (Nihon Keizai Shinbun-sha, 2011), catalogue entries 99 and 100.

54 Y. Lippit, “Japan’s Southern Barbarian Screens,” 245.


56 Bailey, in his study of mission art, notes that since the 1940s, Latin American scholars pushed for a two-way approach that has produced the term “transculturation.” See Bailey, Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773, 22–23. There are numerous terms used, such as “acculturation” or “inculturation,” for situations of continuous and prolonged contact between people of different traditions. See also P. Drucker, The Native Brotherhoods: Modern Intertribal Organizations on the Northwest Coast (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1958); G. Foster, Culture and Conquest: America's Spanish Heritage (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960); T. Glick and O. Pi-Sunyer, “Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History,” in Comparative Studies in Society and History 11 (1969), 136–54. See also C. Farago, ed., Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995). Essays in this volume define cultural exchange as a “dialogue” rather than as a
hegemonic application. The authors show the appropriateness of the term “transculturation,” which acknowledges and accommodates reciprocity in cultural exchange at a variety of levels and divisions within society.


58 This is complicated by Kubler’s term “accidental convergence” where form and meaning is produced through accident or coincidence. Kubler, The Art and Architecture of Ancient America, 37.


62 G. Vlam, “Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan,” 139–41. A number of sets of screens were known to have been sent by Valignano to Europe, and there is a possibility that this may have constituted one of those screens.


64 Nanban bijutsu no hikari to kage: Taisei ōkō kibazu byōbu no nazo, 225.

65 K. Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 378. See fig.11.22.


68 Y. Shimizu, Japan: Shaping Daimyo Culture 1185–1868, 180.


In Chinese aesthetic theory, representation in painting ultimately serves a dual function similar to that of literature. Formal resemblance was an important aim in the visual arts. But as an artistic standard, it was often paired with another qiyun, or “breath-resonance.” The use of this compound dates back to at least the sixth century when the critic Xie He (active c.500–535) used it to refer to personal and representational vitality, or breath and harmonious “resonance” of execution. By striving for “qiyun” a painter could achieve the purpose of painting. See Yee, “Chinese Cartography among the Arts: Objectivity, Subjectivity, Representation,” 135.

K. Unno, Chizu ni miru Nippon: Wakoku, Zipangu, Dainippon, 101. This concept will be further developed in Chapter Four.


See T. Kobayashi, “Nihon fūkeiga shōshi (kodai)” in Edo no kaiga (Tokyo: Geika, 2010), 95. He argues that artists generally arranged their space in folding screens in accordance to the changing seasons (shiki 四季), events associated with months of the year (gyōji 行事), birds and flowers (kacho 花鳥) or by natural phenomena like the wind and moon (fūgetsu 風月), and location (nadokoro 名所).


M. Murase, Masterpieces of Japanese Screen Painting, 88.


M. Murase, Masterpieces of Japanese Screen Painting, 128–9.


Chapter Three—The Jesuit Enterprise and Nanban World Map Screens

Two sets of nanban map screens, World Map and Twenty-Eight Cities of the World in the collection of the Imperial Household Agency and World Map and The Battle of Lepanto in the Kōsetsu Museum have been directly associated with the Jesuit community that was active in Japan from the 1560s to the 1630s. Early scholarship proposed that these works of art were derivative of Jesuit ambitions to propagate Christianity and promote European interests in Japan. This point of view has been further reinforced by Jesuit primary documents and source materials. It may be argued, however, that nanban works of art, such as these screens featuring secular themes and subjects, and despite any relationship to Jesuit artists or the art workshop, were vulnerable to alternative indigenous interpretations because of Jesuit institutional limitations and the manner in which the screens initially circulated. In this context, any Christian symbolism or Jesuit political expressions that the screens may have carried became overlooked, misconstrued, or entirely denied by the initial viewers of the works.
A Jesuit Education: The Seminary and Art Workshop

The Imperial Household Agency collection and Kōsetsu Museum screens encapsulate, in impressive subject matter and bold articulation, many of the underlying aims and ambitions of missionary educational activity in Japan. As was established in the first chapter through stylistic analysis and scientific examination, the artists behind these screens likely worked closely with Jesuit artists or had received training within the Jesuit art workshop which was active from 1590 to 1614. From the earliest days of their activity in Asia, the Jesuits regarded education, and art education, as the keystone of their religious mission. Along with teaching the catechism and Christian doctrine, the Jesuits introduced Western systems of learning to the Japanese. Western science and technology, as exemplified by navigational implements such as astrolabes, charts, maps, diagrams, and illustrated treatises, served as powerful evidence of a superior European civilization.

Francis Xavier, following the precedent established by other sites of missionary activity around the world, called for the founding of a college in the cultural center of Yamaguchi soon after arriving in Japan in the summer of 1549. Cosmé de Torres (1510–1570), superior of the Japanese mission from 1551, established the first Christian primary schools in Kyushu. He based the curriculum and organizational structure on Jesuit precedents established in educational centers in Europe, such as the Roman College and German College in Rome. Other influential figures in the early Japanese mission included Genecchi Soldo Organtino (1533–1609) and Francesco Pasio (1554–1612).¹

The true shaping of Japanese mission education can be traced to Alessandro Valignano, who agonized over finding the right approach for the mission in Japan.² Under his leadership, the 1570s and 1580s witnessed a transformation in the Japanese mission. In these decades, the
Jesuits stressed higher education and learning in the arts for their Japanese students while they themselves focused on learning the Japanese language and culture. Valignano first established a Jesuit school in Funai in northeast Kyushu in 1580, and then two seminaries, one at Arima, the site of the first Christian seminary in 1581–1582, and the other in Azuchi. They were amalgamated in 1587. The seminary, and later the art school, changed locations in the early years on Kyushu. It moved from Arima to Amakusa to Katsusa, before finally settling in Nagasaki.

The Jesuit seminary and college system in Japan proved dynamic. It exposed the Japanese to Western humanities, sciences, and the arts. Instruction included Latin, etiquette, medicine, music, natural history, and the physical sciences, geography, cosmology, astronomy, and navigation. The system put in place was so encompassing and rigid, however, that a number of historians have critiqued it as being a restrictive program of indoctrination rather than one intended to promote higher learning based on open inquiry or critical thought.

Valignano is credited with the idea of adding an art training school to the seminary structure in order to meet the growing needs for religious art, namely for religious icons, paintings, and devotional prints, as Christianity spread in the latter half of the sixteenth century. In his instructions concerning Japan, Francis Xavier reiterated the importance of using pictorial imagery for missionary work. As with Jesuit practice in Rome and in other missions around the world, he employed pictures when he preached and believed that they possessed miraculous properties. On his initial arrival in Japan in 1549, Xavier had himself brought oil paintings—images of the Madonna and Child, the Annunciation, and an illustrated bible. Large oil paintings of various religious subjects were paraded in processions, and monumental crosses were erected to mark the establishment of new missions. With the rapid proliferation of churches and the
persistence of language barriers in the early mission, demand for devotional images grew. A Japanese art seminary and workshop proved vital in meeting the demand for religious images in Japan and in other areas of Asia.

Little is known about the nature of Jesuit art instruction and art production in Japan prior to 1590, except that art classes were part of the standard missionary curriculum. Japanese artists are believed to have copied European religious paintings as early as 1565, but not until the summer of 1583 did Giovanni Niccolò arrive in Japan. Due to illness suffered by this missionary artist, however, the art school did not become fully operational until seven years later in 1590. Regardless of this early setback, it was Niccolò who most influenced the development of European-style religious and secular art during this period of cultural exchange in Japan. The year 1590 also marked the arrival in Japan of a European printing press, which facilitated the production of printed literature and engraved images. The press stayed in use until it was removed to Macao in 1614 due to Christian persecutions and prohibitions.

For nearly twenty-five years, beginning in 1590, the art workshop, led by Niccolò, instructed students in the creation of religious works of art. In a letter dated 1601, Niccolò’s prominence was acknowledged among the Christian community in Nagasaki, as was the quality of paintings and altarpieces created by his students:

In this city are the students who study painting, who live in a separate house in the manner of a seminary under the apprenticeships of two of ours. One [Niccolò] of these came from Rome a few years ago and is now a priest. He has trained such capable disciples in this art that the churches of Japan are adorned with retables of such richness and quality that truly they are comparable to those of Europe. With these, and other images printed in great quantity and distributed among the Christians, Christian devotion and piety expand greatly.

While the workshop is known to have produced a significant number of lacquered items for the European export market, none of Niccolò’s work survives, except for an attributed oil painting of
the *Madonna and Child* on wood currently in the collection of the Nanban Bunka-kan in Osaka (Fig. 80).\textsuperscript{16}

Missionary teachers taught Japanese students Western linear perspective and chiaroscuro modeling, and they provided access to printed maps and illustrations imported from Europe. The seminary also facilitated Western art instruction and access to Western materials for Japanese artists who worked outside the missionary community, such as those in the Kano school.\textsuperscript{17} However, it is surprising to discover that the exact number of full-time seminary artists between 1590 and 1614 remains unknown. Jesuit sources identify only nine names of painters in addition to Giovanni Niccolò.\textsuperscript{18} In the twentieth century, Japanese scholars have assigned a number of works to Japanese Christian artists “Nobukata” (active 1591–1608), whose seal appears on five paintings, and Yamada Emonsaku (ca. 1570–1650), both most certainly graduates of the Jesuit seminary.

Extant *nanban* Christian religious works of art—generally oil paintings on copper, wood panel, and canvas, watercolors, ink paintings, retables, bronze plaques and sculpture—are unattributed. However, they can be tied directly to seminary students and workshop artists through subject matter, stylistic qualities, and materials.\textsuperscript{19} The methods used in the Japanese Jesuit seminaries to produce devotional religious works of art, especially paintings, prints, and sculpture, was based on close copying of European models. In teaching Japanese students to produce images of the Madonna and Child, Christ, and various saints, for instance, Niccolò and the other mission teachers focused on modeling bodies, using linear and aerial perspectives, and in the techniques of drawing and sketching. Jesuit teachers had their students paint over engravings or trace with the help of ocular devices, pouncing, or translucent paper.\textsuperscript{20} Beyond a rudimentary education in art theory, copying remained the main form of pedagogy, as it was in
Japanese Kano or Tosa painting schools and workshops, as well as in every Franciscan, Dominican, Mercedarian, and Augustinian mission around the world.

From the outset, the art school and workshop were valuable additions to the Jesuit community and its religious program. Numerous Jesuit letters and reports provided intimate and celebratory details about art instruction and the quality of student work. For example, in 1592, missionary Luis Fróis (d. 1597), who lived in Japan from 1563 to 1597, and recorded reports during the important years of political transition between Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, wrote that many seminary students were fully engaged in painting, printing, and copper plate engraving. He noted that they were producing exquisite oil paintings and engravings for use in the decoration of missionary churches:

… [the students] learn to paint and engrave plates with burin for printing images, it follows that we have much cause for admiration to see what skillful hands they have and with what facility they learn, and when Your Paternity sees some of these works and realizes that they are the work of mere boys who are only beginners, it will console you indeed.

In another letter dated 1596, Fróis described engaged life at the seminary and the role of art education in the regimen of the students in Arima:

… The seminary is divided into four classes, and one school for reading and writing. In one of these they read facts about Japan to those who have already begun their study of Latin, which is a very important matter here for those who are going to preach and deal with the gentiles who know Japanese characters. The other three classes are for the purpose of other dōjukus (lay assistants) who occupy themselves in painting images in oils, in watercolors, and in ink, with such exactitude and beauty… or they are busy engraving plates with the burin, in which they draw and copy very well various prints which come from Europe.

Extant paintings and Jesuit sources clearly indicate the extent to which Japanese painters and craftsmen mastered the copying of European prototypes. In one letter dated 1594, for example, missionary Pedro Gómez wrote that student work was so exemplary that other missionaries were
apparently unable to distinguish between Japanese copies and European originals brought back to Japan by the Kyushu envoys in 1590:

… Some of [the students] make no less progress in painting, for example in engraving plates for printing, since eight of them were executing images in watercolors and others in oils, and five of them were engraving plates, and these and other [pupils] show such aptitude that causes us great admiration, because some of them draw most naturally paintings of the finest quality which the Japanese [envoys] brought from Rome, with such perfection both in colour and form, that when afterwards, among our own fathers and brothers, many could not tell which were the ones they made and which had been done in Rome. And some declared that those made by the Japanese were the ones which had come from Rome.25

Through copying, continuity with contemporary European modes of Christian devotional imagery was maintained, ensuring clear and explicit religious iconography. Copying became so pervasive, in fact, that Jesuit commentators occasionally complained about the lack of originality among Japanese students. However, it remained the most sensible, effective, and productive method to fulfill the demand for images required for mission activities.

In his examination of Japanese-produced Christian imagery from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Gauvin Bailey identified some general pictorial qualities—a slight lack of understanding of European conventions of shading, flattened foreshortening, figures with facial features more Asian in character, the blending of European realism with Japanese draughtsmanship, painting conventions, and color application—that marked many Japanese-produced Christian religious paintings from this time.26

One work which Bailey identifies as indicative of Japanese-European convergence is the Madonna of the Snows in the Museum of the Martyrs in Nagasaki (Fig. 1). Possible sources for this image have been traced to a number of works, including an oil sketch by Niccolò and a print of The Virgin Adoring the Child published in Japan in 1591. The painting features typically Japanese bright colors on a gold background, and the Virgin has high arched eyebrows, narrow
eyes, double chin, and the “bee-stung” lips. Other examples are the portrait of St. Francis Xavier in the Kobe City Museum (Fig. 3), *Hanging Oratory with Design of Flowers and Birds* (ca. 1597) (Fig. 7), and two *Madonna and Child* paintings that both date to roughly 1597.\(^{27}\)

Historians have traced source imagery of the Xavier painting to at least two Tursellini book illustrations in *De Vita Francisci Xaverii* (1597) and *De Vita B. Francisci Xaverii* (1604) (Fig. 80). As in the other cases, when compared to the European models, the Japanese painting is more schematic, simplified, and awkward in modeling, especially in the facial area and the hands. It is further transformed through the application of flat planes of color and the use of gold paint. Other aspects of changes from European sources include an inconsistency in foreshortening and awkwardness of shading and proportions.\(^{28}\)

Despite any shortcomings on the part of the seminary-trained Japanese artists, the art seminary was highly successful in terms of sheer output of production, which was greater than that of any other location in Asia at that time. Regarded as a model for missions in other regions, the Japanese art seminary supplied religious works for churches and confraternities in China and India, and a number of works were even sent to Rome to impress the authorities on at least two instances in 1592 and 1595.\(^{29}\)

**Introduction of European Maps and Cartographic Ideas**

As we have seen, the period of encounter between 1543 and 1639 was unprecedented in terms of cultural exchange between the Japanese and Europeans. While the Jesuit enterprise exposed many Japanese to Western education, ideas, and art, it was also a critical juncture in the history of Japanese mapping as Europeans introduced Western printed maps and marine charts
for the first time. As early as 1542 or 1543, when the first Europeans arrived on Japan’s shores, and for the next hundred years, Jesuit missionaries and European traders showed maps, charts, globes, and navigational and survey instruments to feudal lords, including Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu, who also listened to foreigners tell of their homelands and their travels. It is also known that these leaders conversed with foreigners who related stories of their travels, conditions abroad, and their homelands. Numerous historical records note that missionaries and traders also showed world maps brought from Europe to Japanese of all social classes.

Xavier was known to have brought with him either a map or a globe, and the Jesuit baggage list of 1554, *Documenta Indica* III (1553–1557), lists two world maps that were taken to Asia. In a letter of September 13, 1563, the daimyo of Bungo, Otomo Yoshishige (1530–1587), asked for a globe to be sent to replace one lost in a shipwreck. Jesuits reported that Nobunaga owned a Western globe in 1580. In the same year, Nobunaga also met with Genecchi Soldo Organtino and a Japanese convert and catechist named Lourenço (1526–1592), who, nearly blind, had received this Christian name from Xavier during baptism in 1563. During their audience, Nobunaga questioned them about cartographic materials as well as about their route from Europe to Japan. In the following year, Nobunaga used a map of the world to question Valignano about routes of travel from Europe to Japan. One Japanese Jesuit apostate, Christovão Ferreira (Sawano Chūan 1580–ca. 1650), is credited with writing two or three treatises that explained the principles of European astronomy. Beginning in 1583, Pedro Gómez gave a series of lectures to Jesuit students on cosmological philosophy and natural phenomena.

One of the most significant introductions of European map imagery occurred in 1590. In that year, the Kyushu envoys, as mentioned earlier, sent by Valignano to Europe in 1582 returned to Japan. Among the presents they brought with them were Ortelius’s *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. 
and the first three volumes of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572, 1575, 1581) by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, given to them by German botanist Melchior Guilandini (1520–1589) in 1585 in Padua. Historians have long believed that the maps in these two massive volumes served as an important source for artists of *nanban* map screens. It is also documented that the envoys brought with them a map of the world that was presented as a gift to Hideyoshi. Other items in their possession were sea charts, an astrolabe, and a terrestrial globe.42

Lay travelers and those unrelated to the Jesuit community also played a role in introducing maps, surveying, and other new ideas, especially regarding ship building and navigation.43 On some occasions maps were confiscated from European ships which had floundered in Japanese waters. In October 1596, for instance, when the *San Felipe* ran ashore, Hideyoshi sent officials to acquire a chart found on board and bring it back to Kyoto.44 In another celebrated case in April 1600, a group of Dutch seafarers and traders on the ship *De Liefde* were shipwrecked in Beppu Bay in Kyushu. The English pilot of the ship William Adams (1564–1620) developed ties to the court of Ieyasu.45 Adams showed maps and globes to Ieyasu, explaining the topographic features of the world, locations of European countries and cities, as well as the rigors of travel on the high seas.46 The Japanese interest in maps, time pieces, and other related materials and instruments is clearly expressed in an excerpt of a letter written by Adams to his wife on November 1, 1613:

> The people in Japan want compasses, hour glasses, globes for demonstration, and charts or maps containing the whole world.47

After Ieyasu’s death, three Western maps were found among his possessions, and an unidentified *nanban* world map screen is listed among the gifts presented to him in 1611.48 Unfortunately, we do not know which screen was presented to him at this time.

The Jesuits also introduced new knowledge and exposed the Japanese to techniques in
related fields such as surveying and navigation. Ignacio Moreira, who lived in Japan from 1590 to 1592, and accompanied Valignano to the court of Hideyoshi in 1591, for example, took accurate readings of latitude wherever he traveled and made inquiries about the position of other places in order to make one of the earliest surveys of Japan.\(^{49}\)

This introduction of Western maps to Japan occurred during a significant period in the development of European cartography. It was no coincidence that changes in European cartography occurred simultaneously with the first cultural exchanges between Europeans and the Japanese. In fact, both were the product of the same elements: the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation in the sixteenth century, the emergence of the European nation state, European expansion overseas through trade and colonization, and the rise of modern Western science and technology.\(^{50}\)

The spread of European trade networks brought about by exploration required precision in distance and direction. The dominant form of Western mapping by the end of the sixteenth century was based on description, experience, and close analysis by the naked eye and less on symbolic abstractions of primal concepts and medieval religious theology. The marine chart, commonly known as the “portolan,” is a map form that emerged in the Mediterranean around the thirteenth century.\(^{51}\) These charts evolved from private navigational notes and were initially non-pictorial in nature. Expanded and refined through local and passed-down knowledge, portolans served as sailing directions that featured well-known landmarks, wind direction, and other reference points. Two early extant portolans are the *Carte Pisane* that dates to the second half of the thirteenth century and Catalan Atlas of 1375. Both works are currently in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

The advent of the printing press in the middle of the fifteenth century had profoundly
affected the circulation of printed maps and imagery throughout Europe. By the sixteenth century, the printing industry adopted copper engraving over wood as the preferred technique to print book illustrations and maps, with the center of the engraving and printing trade in Antwerp until 1585. It was in this context that important figures in map production and engraving, such as Abraham Ortelius, Gerard Mercator, and Frans Hogenberg, worked, collaborated, or competed. One major problem was solved in 1569 when the Mercator-projection maps allowed the depiction of the spherical earth on a flat surface. With such advancements in cartographic theory and practice, maps evolved to feature lines of latitude and longitude, information on tides and wind, and compass points, which were common features found on portolan navigational charts. Despite the popular movement towards printed maps, the Portuguese navigators continued to adhere to the tradition of the manuscript portolan through the seventeenth century. The overlords of Portuguese trade and mercantile expansion had established a program in which their navigators were required to carefully document discoveries. Portuguese maps were rarely published, and information which was gathered on sea-going voyages was closely and jealously guarded. While they may have dominated international exploration and expansion of trade, the Portuguese did not contribute directly to the development of printed cartography.

Despite Portuguese intransigency, from the knowledge gained from discoveries, explorations, and from the ever-widening trade and mercantile networks, the image of the earth changed. With trade and navigation requiring maps of reliable quality, the geographical experience and knowledge of merchants and mariners ensured that maps were increasingly reliable. The result was an ever increasing demand throughout Europe for the latest maps for those who wanted to follow geographical progress. Ortelius, in particular, played an important role in the rapid dissemination of contemporary knowledge of world geography. His *Theatrum
Orbis Terrarum, first published in 1570, and republished in dozens of editions in various languages through of the remainder of his life until his death in 1598 and beyond, ensured that anyone who could afford it could possess the most recent map and images of the world.

In the seventeenth century, the center of map-making and the map-trade moved to Amsterdam where there was an unprecedented map and book trade. Dutch prosperity in shipping, international commerce, and economic expansion, especially during the period of the Twelve-Year Truce (1609–21) between Spain, the Southern Netherlands, and the Dutch Republic, made Amsterdam the center for the collection and processing of geographical information and the development of cartography as a science and art. Maps in the early seventeenth century became central in regional and provincial administration, in the expansion of towns, the construction of fortifications and civil engineering works, not to mention in the tracking of trade along the European coasts and further afield with the East Indies, Africa, America, and Asia. The Amsterdam publishers catered for the burgeoning need for accurate navigational aids and became the principle suppliers of sea charts to the European market. They offered as broad a selection as possible, catering to the increased use of maps among all social classes for information as well as for decoration and for enjoyment. Driven by the forces of commercial cartography, they freely and unabashedly copied and compiled maps from whatever sources, texts, and maps already in circulation were available to them, with new information being added in the process, producing a wide array of cartographic documents, ranging from single-sheet to large multi-sheet maps, land and sea atlases, pilot guides, shipping routes, books on travel and travelogues. Supplied through an extensive marketing network, maps were not only used for official purposes or found in the offices or homes of wealthy merchants but also in the taverns and gathering places of the working classes.
Engraving and printing emerged as the most important, and affordable, forms of artistic expression in Amsterdam from the end of the sixteenth century. Engravers such as Pieter van den Keere and Claes Janszoon Visscher (1587–1652) collaborated with publishers such as Cornelis Claesz (ca. 1551–1609), Jodocus Hondius, and Willem Janszoon Blaeu to create and publish maps and atlases of highest quality and beauty. Maps evolved to feature intricate cartouches and decorative borders, showing a rich assortment of costumed figures along with town plans and views, enlivened by perspective drawings, and elaborated by images of ships, biblical episodes, allegorical figures, monsters, historical vignettes, and by heraldic detail.  

In the opening decades of the seventeenth century, publishers such as Claesz, Hondius, and Blaeu were behind the most prominent publications in cartography, description of foreign lands, seaborne navigation and books on the voyages of discovery and trade missions into all parts of the globe. Among them were maps by Keere and Blaeu which European traders and missionaries brought to Japan at the end of their long voyage eastward. Keere and Blaeu maps, like those by Ortelius, Mercator, or Petrus Plancius, would be shown to Japanese artists who would use them as source designs and inspiration for the creation of their works of art.  

Through their experience in China and in other missions, the Jesuits recognized the importance of combining science and the humanities to bolster their aim of religious propagation and indoctrination, to fully establish the Christian idea of an omnipotent God, and to win over the Japanese intellectual and social elite. They perceived the science of cartography, along with other fields in the liberal arts and natural sciences, such as mathematics, geography, and astronomy, as being essential parts of a larger humanist curriculum.

Despite whatever commercial ambitions map engravers and publishers had in Antwerp and Amsterdam, Christian theologians had carefully integrated Christian cosmology with the
geocentric Ptolemaic system of map construction, and the Jesuits used maps to elucidate theological concepts of God as Creator just as they used them to convey geographic information. In around year 1550 Francis Xavier himself introduced the Ptolemaic geocentric cosmological theory to the Japanese. In a letter of 1552 from Cochin, sent to European Jesuits and Father Ignatius de Loyola in Rome, Xavier recorded his evaluation of the Japanese people, the role of the natural sciences, and the power of debate and engaged discourse:

The Japanese have the characteristic of being better versed in reason than other peoples. However, even if one prizes their learning, there is as yet no one who knows of the shape of the earth and its movement; therefore when we explained the reason why [the earth is round] and the source of wind, thunder, etc., they came with enthusiasm to hear these truths. The sophisticated scholars especially respect us, and rejoice of our religion in the hearts of the general public by the convenience of various scholarly skills.

In their letters and reports, Jesuit writers carefully reported on occasions of Japanese leaders seeing European clocks or similar objects. A letter in 1601 describes how Niccolò produced mechanical devices in Nagasaki and the reaction of the Japanese:

Thanks to the industry of this father, many organs and musical instruments are made for the principal churches, and many mechanical clocks, some of them very curious, showing the movement of the sun and the moon.

The same Jesuit letters that reported the daily activities of the missions also noted important encounters with prominent Japanese and conversions of prominent Buddhist priests. These letters state that such conversions were attained through discussion and rigorous debates about the earth, the solar system, the movement of stars, and geography, as well as the customs of people in other countries. One especially celebrated Jesuit was the Italian priest Carlo Spinola (1564–1622), a mathematician who studied at the Rome College and worked at the academy that operated from 1605 to 1612 in Kyoto. During his time in Kyoto, he met the shogun Tokugawa Hidetada and various daimyo. He is known to have refuted Buddhist monks in discussions on
astronomy with a terrestrial globe and various astronomical instruments. Apparently even the emperor Go-Yozei (r.1586–1611) summoned Spinola to demonstrate and explain the instruments. In 1611, the Kyoto academy was closed and he was transferred to Nagasaki, where Spinola oversaw the building of an observatory. There, in February, 1612, Spinola made the first scientific observation of a lunar eclipse in Japan. He was able to calculate the latitude of Nagasaki within a margin of error of less than three minutes. Spinola remained in the port city until his martyrdom in 1622.67

While many conversions described in Jesuit letters are questionable, it is beyond doubt that the Jesuit missionaries employed maps and charts to argue against the standard Buddhist discourse on the workings of the physical and spiritual universe. The Jesuits deliberately imbued clocks, globes, charts, survey instruments, and maps with religious significance to substantiate their theological and scientific discourse.68

A Jesuit Policy of Accommodation

A Jesuit policy of accommodation likely influenced the manner in which Western maps were received and adapted for the production of nanban map screens. Accommodation shaped the Jesuit approach of religious and cultural indoctrination of non-European peoples by encouraging the adaptation of Christian ritual to the traditions of different societies through indigenous ways.69 Today, this policy remains active and is expressed in present-day theological terms as “inculturation.” Curiously, it may have been the policy of accommodation that led to Japanese viewers interpreting nanban map screens in unexpected and unintended ways during the period of their initial circulation.
In both sixteenth- and seventeenth-century China and Japan, Jesuit mission leaders believed that accommodation was the best approach because of the perceived superior quality and higher nature of the Asian races. Francis Xavier himself had written that the Japanese were “the best [race] that has as yet been discovered.”

Xavier proposed that missionaries engage the Japanese in intellectual debate to fully demonstrate the worth of Christianity to them:

It is also necessary that they be learned in order to reply to the many questions which the Japanese ask. It would be very useful if they were good artists as well, and it would not come amiss if they were also good sophists so that they could hold their own in debates with the Japanese. They should know something of the globe, because the Japanese very much like to know about the movement of the heavens, the eclipse of the sun, the waxing and waning of the moon, as well as the origin of rain, snow, hail, thunder, lightning, comets and other natural phenomena. The explanation of these things is very useful in winning over the people.”

From this passage, we see that Xavier encouraged interaction with the Japanese through high culture and learning. In securing a Jesuit foothold in Japan and China, Valignano and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) then worked, respectively, to win local converts to Christianity through indirect means, rather than by a direct challenge to indigenous values and beliefs. This accommodative approach was, in many ways, considerably different from methods in Central and South America, where the Jesuit leadership perceived indigenous peoples of cultures to be unsophisticated and backward.

Four general elements characterized the Jesuit missionary strategy in Japan and China. These included an accommodation to indigenous culture, the propagation and evangelization “from the top down,” an indirect propagation of Christianity using European science and technology, and, to the extent to which it was beneficial to their interests, openness to and tolerance of indigenous values and cultural forms. European-style works of art produced in Japan—both religious and secular themed—were ideal vehicles because all four conceptual
elements could be expressed in visual form.

With accommodation a cornerstone of their approach to the arts, the Jesuits encouraged their charges to blend Western religious and secular subjects with local traditions when it was appropriate. Valignano devised concrete methods to implement this policy by adopting, for instance, Japanese customs, dress, traditions, and language. Given the rapid dissemination of Christianity throughout the country, increasing the numbers of Japanese converts, and the success of the seminary in attracting and teaching students, the accommodative program clearly met with considerable success. Consequently, we see Christian devotional images such as *Madonna of the Snows* in the Museum of the Martyrs in Nagasaki (Fig. 1) or St. Francis Xavier (Fig. 3) in the Kobe City Museum appearing on hanging scrolls or in a manner of execution reminiscent of Japanese ink painting. The celebrated hybrid stylistic quality apparent in the genre of *nanban* religious-themed art, usually characterized by Japanese adaptations—calligraphic brushwork, an awkwardness in the application of European modelling or linear perspective, or the use of gold backgrounds or mounting formats—has been regarded as a by-product of a Jesuit policy of accommodation intended to promote the spread of Christianity. While copying remained the preferred method of art instruction, the spirit of improvisation and experimentation was not suppressed.

This spirit of improvisation and experimentation of this European and Japanese artistic amalgamation is exemplified by the six- and eight-part folding screens in the collections of the Imperial Household Agency and Kōsetsu Museum. In these works, Japanese artists created compositions by choosing among map layouts, pictorial subjects and forms, and decorative motifs from a range of European printed sources and freely combined them for maximum visual effect.
Valignano’s crucial policy decision to stress the principle of accommodation in Jesuit activity in Japan increased the potential of the art seminary and workshop to serve as crucibles for the convergence of European subjects drawn from religious sources, maps, cartographic or scientific materials with Japanese artistic ideas, formats, and themes. It also profoundly affected how the Japanese regarded European visual culture and the extent to which it could be adapted, or reinvented, into Japanese modes of expression resulting in the screens being syncretically interpreted in unintended and unexpected ways. It was under these conditions that the sets of screens that are today in the collection of the Imperial Household Agency and the Kōsetsu Museum must be positioned and understood.

**Imperial Household Agency and Kōsetsu Museum Screens Reconsidered**

The two sets of *nanban* map screens currently in the Imperial Household Agency and the Kōsetsu Museum are, in visual terms, secular compositions in which Japanese artists appropriated a variety of prototypes from European books and printed materials. The process of design and creation behind these screens differed from that of Japanese-produced Western-style paintings featuring Christian images intended for devotional worship. Contrasting the production of the *nanban* Christian art and map screens provides a better indication of their function during the time of their initial circulation.

We have already identified Japanese-European hybrid characteristics in a number of *nanban* religious works of devotional art, such as *Madonna of the Snows* in the Museum of the Martyrs in Nagasaki, St. Francis Xavier in the Kobe City Museum, or the hanging oratory with an image of the holy family with an angel. The transformation of European sources seen in these works was not intended to affect the explicit iconography or underlying religious signification.
Rather, the hybrid quality was a product of the uniform nature of Jesuit art instruction centered on copying, which was offset by a principle of accommodation that facilitated Japanese aesthetic tastes and artistic qualities, especially in the treatment of facial features, calligraphic brushwork, or use of golden or decorative motifs. Under these circumstances, we can imagine Jesuit leaders permitting Christian works to take on Japanese characteristics because, in their eyes, the iconography and symbolism remained clear and unaffected, and such works had proven to have favorable impact on their Japanese constituents.

The Imperial Household Agency and Kōsetsu Museum map screens, however, are more difficult to interpret. The artists who made them followed neither a prescribed iconographic formula nor employed consistent and explicit narratives. Rather, they freely combined subjects and pictorial forms lifted from various European secular printed sources. What exact meaning they were intended to convey is open to conjecture.

Grace Vlam, in proposing one interpretative framework, argued that folding screens featuring nanban landscapes as their subject should be considered through a Christian filter where theological meaning is combined with scientific knowledge. She believed that Jesuit-trained Japanese artists produced works of art, even those most apparently secular in subject matter, with the intention of mixing geography, history, and culture with symbolic meanings in accord with contemporary Christian theological doctrines. Vlam argued that pastoral landscapes and genre scenes, such as those in the Eisei Bunko Museum (Fig. 24), Fukuoka City Museum (Fig. 25), and the Kobe City Museum (Fig. 26), expressed specific sacred or profane meanings and were intended to have religious, ecclesiastical, or didactic function. In support of this argument, she listed a number of mystical and spiritual writings among the imported books that were known to have circulated among Japanese Christians. These included Contemptus
*mundi*, first brought to Japan in 1554, from which over 1,300 additional copies were made after its first printing in Japan in 1596. Other books in circulation in Japan at the time included *De Imitatio Christi* (ca. 1418), *Pasio duorum stimulus divinni amoris* (ca. 1260), and Paleotti’s Tridentine *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* (1582). Themes common among all these books were the emphasis on study and meditation as the means for better appreciating the profane love of God and fulfilling the promise of paradise.

Vlam consequently sees these apparently secular pastoral landscapes or genre scenes or portraits of imaginary musicians as being charged with deeper mystic, sacred or profane meanings. These landscape screens may have even taken on greater significance for the missionaries and their Japanese converts after Hideyoshi issued the first of the expulsion edicts in 1587. She suggests that a “Love for God” was being put to the test and many Christians were already preparing for martyrdom at the same time that the first Christian books were being printed. Consequently, mystical and spiritual writings and pictures of a pastoral paradise may have played important roles in preparing believers for the afterlife.

It is difficult to dispute the potential that the importation of books, music, and art had for the purpose of promoting Christian spirituality and Western European humanistic culture in Japan. However, Vlam admits that such visual representations of profane love are hard to document, and that Jesuit adherence to Tridentine precepts on didactic art is “not always intelligible today.” Whether *nanban* pastoral, genre, or map screens carried religious symbols or profound meanings has yet to be confirmed. Until there is more documentation regarding artists, patrons, and intended usage, there is little to support the presence of religious symbolism in *nanban* screens featuring landscapes, pastoral scenes, or maps and peoples of the world.

Another interpretation of *nanban* map screens sees them as deliberate expressions of
European hegemony. Goto Tomoko argued that the Kōsetsu Museum and Imperial Household Agency screens promoted Christian ideas as well as a notion of Japanese-ness in which the Other now was expressed in map form. She argued that the artists who painted the screens aimed to glorify Christendom and Portuguese colonial might. She found evidence of this in the screen featuring an image of the battle of Lepanto in which the Christian army defeated the Turks, in the depiction of figures which expressed European cultural superiority, and in pictorial details that suggested European power. Goto argued that this agenda was subtly incorporated into the pictorial representation because of the precariousness of the opening decades of the seventeenth century when cycles of anti-Christian persecutions were escalating in severity and scope. Like Vlam, however, Goto acknowledged that reading the screens symbolically in religious terms is difficult and, it is likely that, over time, many of the Christian associations became unintelligible.

Nanban religious and secular works of art, given their subject matter and conception, should be approached differently. Japanese Christian religious works were created through close copying and were intended to embody specific iconography and were to produce devotional responses. Secular nanban works, however, were forms in which Japanese artists freely adapted, improvised, and rearranged subjects and pictorial motifs to suit the format of large multi-part folding screens. They were mixed and varied in their subject matter, had great decorative appeal, and highlighted the novelty of encounter and exchange with the Europeans. Consequently, the meaning of the Imperial Household Agency and Kōsetsu Museum screens in the eyes of contemporary viewers were inherently much more complex, especially in light of what has been discussed of recent scholarship regarding Arrival of the Southern Barbarian screens and the manner in which European subjects and themes were likely inserted into pre-
existing symbolic system that was already in circulation.

This ambiguity in interpretation was further amplified when the tide turned against Christianity and its followers in the opening decades of the seventeenth century. In 1614, the seminary was relocated to Macao where Niccolò continued to work until his death on March 16, 1626.\(^9^0\) Exactly how many Japanese artists travelled with him there is unknown. Bailey has suggested that only the instructors were able to escape, leaving behind in Japan seminary-trained Japanese artists.\(^9^1\) Others believe that some of Niccolò’s Japanese students may have gone on to create Christian art in China, and perhaps in the Philippines and Peru. What is certain is that the production of Christian art in Japan was curtailed with the prohibition of the religion. Members of the Christian community who escaped death were chased out of Japan or driven underground. Christian religious art and books, as well as other Western style paintings and objects directly associated with Christian culture that they did not take with them, were systematically destroyed by the Tokugawa overlords. The priests and clergy were ultimately the key to any Jesuit success in Japan. If Jesuit painting instructors and their students intended the Kōsetsu Museum or Imperial Household Agency screens to extol religious or symbolic meanings, it certainly must have escaped most, if not all, contemporary viewers, especially those ranking daimyo removed from Christian areas or sources of Jesuit discourse.

Despite the plight of Christians and Christianity in Japan, nanban screens featuring pastoral landscapes, kings and princes of foreign lands, or of maps and peoples of the world, avoided destruction and were preserved, likely due to a large extent to their subject matter.\(^9^2\) Whatever Christian symbolism these works displayed, if they were not kept in hiding, must have remained unintelligible to the persecutors and inspectors, who probably regarded them as innocuous decorative objects, or paintings which represented auspiciousness, good fortune, or
prosperity, especially if they were already in the possession of their feudal overlords or wealthy merchant families. Perhaps they even interpreted the screens as fitting tribute from a subjugated people whose religion their leaders had proscribed.

The ambiguity that exists in interpreting *nanban* landscape, pastoral, and map screens exemplifies the cognitive transformation model outlined by J.B. Harley and David Woodward that was introduced in the previous chapter. In their model, viewers must fully recognize visual structures and a given array of signs to ensure that a map, or any diagrammatic imagery, can be deciphered for its information and intended purpose. In the case of *nanban* map screens, especially those in the Imperial Household Agency and Kōsetsu Museum collections, the images of the world map and their accompanying pictorial programs were severed from Jesuit or European discourses, if they were ever intended to be placed within them at all. Presuming that a reciprocal relationship exists between human experience and cartographic form, Japanese perception of these *nanban* screens was shaped instead by a prevailing seventeenth-century Japanese worldview and value system.

It is entirely likely that the folding screens *World Map* and *Twenty-Eight Cities of the World* in the Imperial Household Agency collection in Tokyo and *The Battle of Lepanto* and *World Map* in the Kōsetsu Museum were created for the purpose of serving as spectacular gifts for the feudal elite by Jesuit missionaries. The possibility for multiple interpretations was enhanced by Japanese artists who deliberately transformed, mixed, or omitted, details and motifs in creating their monumental collage-like compositions. This contradicted the usual Jesuit art seminary pedagogy and practice for producing religious art, which dictated close copying as a method to maintain Christian iconography and symbolism. Given the plight of the Jesuit institution during the early Edo period, and the Jesuit failure to establish Christianity as a major
religion in the short time they had influence in Japan, any possible European political, ideological, or sacred Christian meanings that may have been associated with the Imperial Household Agency and Kōsetsu Museum map screens, and their accompanying imagery and pictorial details, were quickly suppressed or lost.

The effect of established Japanese values and world views in the interpretation of nanban map screens are more fully explored in the final two chapters. The next chapter considers sets of screens that pair an image of a European map of the world with a distinctly Japanese form of map known as the Gyōki-zu. It proposes that Buddhist concepts and traditional histories may have had a greater role in shaping the interpretation of the subjects found on these nanban map screens than previously acknowledged. Examining a number of these screens in this light contributes to a better understanding of one aspect of Momoyama- and early Edo-period Japanese thinking, especially in regard to how the Japanese may have reconciled and justified newly realized understandings of the physical world with an established Japanese mindset and cosmological system.
Notes


21 For more on the world of Luis Fróis, see M. Kawasaki, *Furoisu no mita senkoku nihon* (Tokyo: Chūō kōron shinsha, 2003).

22 ARSI, Japan/Sin 51, f.362a. Op. Cit. Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773*, 68. Fróis’s *História do Japão*, in which he reports on Japan from 1549 to 1589, is considered by historians as one of the most important contemporary Western sources in Japan.


26 G. Bailey, Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773, 72–79.

27 See G. Bailey, Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773, 72 for a discussion of precedents and examples.


36 Specific studies that address the role of the missionaries in disseminating Western cartography in Japan include: G. Kish, “Some Aspects of the Missionary Cartography of Japan During the Sixteenth Century;” J. F. Schütte, “Map of Japan by Father Girolamo de Angelis,” Imago Mundi


44 Y. Okamoto, *Namban Art of Japan*, 139.


47 Op. Cit. G. Vlam, “Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan,” 221n163; and


61 In letters sent in 1552 to Rome from Cochin and to Ignatius de Loyola in Rome from Goa in 1552, Xavier noted that European astronomy and meteorology were known in Japan. Unno states that Xavier had explained the theory of a spherical earth but it is not confirmed whether he carried with him a globe or a map of the world. See Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 377n123. For discussion of theses letters, see G. Schurhammer and J. Wicki, ed., *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii allaque eius scripta*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1944–45). For further information see K. Unno, “Seiyō chiyūsetsu no denrai,” *Shizen* 34/3 (1979): 60–67; and no. 6, 62–69.


65 G. Vlam, “Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan,” 137.


Valignano and the council in Bungo unanimously approved the article referring to the need of adaptation. See D. Pacheco, “The Europeans in Japan, 1543–1640,” 56.


G. Vlam, “Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan,” 140, 163.

G. Vlam, “Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan,” 10, 149.


G. Vlam, “Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan,” 10. For more on the background of spiritual and mystical literature and appropriate references to contemporary literature, see G. Vlam, 26n20 and n21.

G. Vlam, “Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan,” 10, see also 25n19.

G. Vlam, “Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan,” 67–74, 204n23; and M.

83 G. Vlam, “Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan,” 47.


85 G. Vlam, “Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan,” 49.

86 T. Goto, “Emergent Consciousness About the Self Depicted in the World Map Screens.”


90 See G. Vlam, “Western-Style Secular Painting in Momoyama Japan,” 32n50, and her Appendices A and C, for a complete listing of known artists working in Japan and later Japanese artists working in Macao. Some better known artists include Pedro João (c.1566–c.1620), Mancio João Thadeu (1568–1627), Mancio Taichiku (1574–1615), and Jacobo Niwa (1579–1638), who had been sent to Macao in 1601.


94 For discussion on socially constituted “frames” by various discursive practices, institutional arrangements, systems of value, and semiotic mechanisms, etc., that produce meaning for a specific audience, see, for example, M. Bal and N. Bryson, “Semiotics and Art History: A Discussion of Context and Senders,” *Art Bulletin* 73, no. 2 (1991): 175.
Chapter Four—Gyōki-zu and Maps of the World

Ten pairs of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *nanban* world map screens feature a companion screen with the subject of a map form known as the *Gyōki-zu* (Gyōki picture/map) or *Gyōki shiki nihon-zu* (Gyōki-type picture/map of Japan), or a variant of the Gyōki-zu referred in Japanese scholarly literature as the *Jōtoku-ji shiki nihon-zu* (浄得時式日本図) [Jōtoku-ji-type map of Japan].

The Gyōki-zu, associated with the monk Gyōki (ca. 688–749), is a stylized map of Japan that presents Japan in a simplified arrangement of the provinces, usually organized around main travel routes. It portrays the Japanese archipelago in indistinct terms, often showing little concern for geographic or topographical information, a general disregard for proportions of size, with no attempt to pictorially render accurate distances or major landmarks. Coastlines in early Gyōki-zu are rounded, resembling curving arcs, and, if included at all, the outlines of major river systems and peninsulas were often intentionally exaggerated for dramatic emphasis. Early Chinese and Japanese historical texts note that a conception of Japan as a place was already well-established by the seventh century, although the exact shape of Japan and distances were not yet defined or even fully comprehended—a state of cartography or geographical knowledge reflected in the Gyōki-zu.

Four sets of *nanban* screens pair a Gyōki-zu image with a map of the world. These
include those at Hosshin-ji (Fig. 29), the Tokyo National Museum (Fig. 41), the collection of Fukushima Kitaro, and set that was formerly in the collection of N.H.N Mody, Kobe, in the early twentieth century, but is now unknown. Two single early seventeenth-century screens featuring the Gyokuzu as their subject are in the collections of Okazawa Sagenta, in Nishikawa, and the Ishikawa Prefectural Gallery, in Kanazawa. An additional single screen in the private collection in Nagoya features an image of a Gyokuzu-type map incorporated into a broader map of the Eastern hemisphere of Europe, Africa, and Asia (Fig. 44).

Japanese historians, in an effort to organize individual nanban map screens into coherent categories for study, and to trace various map screens to possible European sources, created a classification used in scholarly literature known as the “Jotoku-ji-type map of Japan,” named after a screen in Jotoku temple which is regarded as the most characteristic example (Fig. 33). The Jotoku-ji-type map can be broadly defined as a Gyokuzu image elaborated by Western cartographic concepts, namely in the emphasis on geographic details, topographic motifs, provincial demarcations, textual labeling, and carefully indicated coastline. Besides the screen in Jotoku-ji, six other screens belong to this group. Five have for their companion a world map screen. These are in the private collections of Kobayashi Ataru (Fig. 34), and Kawamura Heiemon (Fig. 35), and Kawamori Koji (Fig. 36). Other examples include a two-fold Jotoku-ji-type screen in the Nanba Matsutarō Collection at the Kobe City Museum (Fig. 37), the Nanban Bunka-kan (Fig. 40), and the Mitsui Collection at the University of California, Berkeley (Fig. 42).

Each nanban screen having a Gyokuzu for its subject features a different approach to elaboration. On the Gyokuzu screen in Hosshin-ji, for instance, the unknown artist rendered Japan as comprised of shapes spread over six panels resembling soap-bubbles or simple amoebic
forms that represent provinces connected by indications of travel routes in a southerly orientation. The screen in the Tokyo National Museum with the title *Nansenbushū Dainihonkoku shōtō-zu* 南贍部洲大日本国正統図 [Orthodox Map of Great Japan in Jambūdvīpa] embeds a Gyōki-zu in the center of the second and third panels of the six-panel work. This image is surrounded by lengthy text inserts that provide information on provincial distances from the capital region, names of regional and administrative divisions, household and demographic information, and a record of major historical events. The depiction of Japan, as in the Hosshin-ji screen, has similarly rounded forms with indistinct coastlines. This screen, however, features major travel ways painted in red, creating an effect that could be likened to main arteries coursing through a living organism. The screen in the private collection in Nagoya provides an interesting variation. It presents a slightly expanded Gyōki-zu (with the addition of islands around Kyushu and other details) with a European map of the Eastern Hemisphere on the same screen. The unknown artist enlarged Japan, which is comprised of a vibrant patchwork of provinces in bright colors, so that it rivals Europe and Asia in size and prominence. The lavishness of this screen is further heightened by explanatory texts of distances and agricultural yields in gold cartouches surrounding the main image.

As we have already seen, an important characteristic of the Jōtoku-ji map type is the particular treatment of the shape of Kyushu, which appears as a long upright rectangle running north to south rather than following the often elongated shape found in surviving Gyōki-zu images. Also particular to the screens in this classification is that southern Kyushu feature unrealistic protrusions on its east and the west sides, often with the tips of the Satsuma and Ōsumi peninsulas flattened. The other important characteristic is the improved nature of coastline, especially around the area of southwestern Japan. The Jōtoku-ji screen, for instance,
features an exceedingly accurate rendering of Kyushu in relation to the geographic features found on the rest of the map. Especially detailed are Kagoshima Bay, the peninsulas and inlets around present-day Nagasaki and Saga prefectures, and Lake Biwa and the Yodo River system. This depiction of Kyushu varies among the other Jōtoku-ji-type maps and reveals the knowledge and varied interests of the artists who made them (Fig. 82). Unno adds, however, that despite the improved accuracy of the coastline of Kyushu and the areas facing the Inland Sea, elaboration of the majority of the remaining stretch of Japan’s coastline in the Jōtoku-ji screen was completed “without regard to reality.” This is the case with the other Jōtoku-ji-type screens as well.

Two additional screens characterized as “revised” Jōtoku-ji-type maps are in the collections of the Nanban Bunka-kan and the Mitsui Collection at the University of California, Berkeley. These appear to be the work of an artist working with secondary or tertiary sources. In general, they exhibit a more misshaped and distorted treatment of the geography, especially around Kyushu. In and around this area, the artists of these two works, in an attempt to achieve apparent accuracy of topographical features, over-compensated in their depiction of Kyushu by exaggerating the shapes and size of harbors and inlets.

As with the Gyōki-zu map screens, there is also great variation found among the nanban map screens within the Jōtoku-ji-type map group. Perhaps the most noteworthy lies in the amount of extraneous textual information provided by the artist. In the screens in the collection of Jōtoku-ji and the Kobayashi Ataru Collection, for instance, the artists provided limited labelling of locations, showing only the place-names for the Kyushu cities of Hakata (present-day Fukuoka), Nagoya, and Nagasaki. The Kawamori Kōji screen, however, provides approximately 160 place names other than the provinces, including two unique names, those being Hanaerasu and Santakarara. These are derived from Pannellas and Santa Clara, which were
European designations for two islands off the western coast of Japan. This indicates that the artist had some interaction with Europeans or access to their materials during the production of the work. This screen is also unique in that the artist included tables listing the distances between Japan and its trading partners and explanations of exports to Japan. Information on details concerning the island that is present-day Taiwan dates the screen to roughly 1627. The two-part single Jōtoku-ji-type screen in the Nanba Collection in the Kobe City Museum records land productivity yields. In this screen, the artist identifies each of the provinces by name and includes four additional names of the town of Arima, and the Gōto, Amakusa, and Koshiki islands off the coast of Kyushu. These locations were particularly important in the Christian missionary enterprise, and Arima, as mentioned in Chapter Three, was the site of the Jesuit seminary until 1614. Consequently, historians have dated the screen to between 1590 and 1614. However, there may be the possibility that the screen was produced after 1638, the year in which the Shimabara Rebellion was suppressed.

For many historians of cartography, the pairing of a Gōki-zu or the Jōtoku-ji-type map of Japan with a Western map of the world on late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century folding screens is highly significant. To Muroga Nobuo, the appearance of nanban map screens was irrefutable evidence that Japanese mapping had turned progressively Western and scientific:

The appearance of maps of Japan made in new styles and with new techniques corresponded with the first Japanese exposure to Western-made world maps and symbolized the liberation of the Japanese from the ancient image of their country that had been long sustained by the Gōki maps.

The Gōki-zu was regarded as traditional or, as Muroga notes above, an “ancient image” of Japanese landscape before “liberation” by the European introduction of more advanced or modern modes of mapping. Conventional histories of cartography regard the Gōki-zu as a
genre typical of a conservative element in Japanese culture, representing the standard pictorial representation of Japan until the introduction of European maps. Historians have subsequently placed nanban map screens, which combined elements of both Japanese and Western mapping concepts, at a crucial juncture in the history of Japanese cartography. For them, the screens marked the initial assimilation of European concepts of mathematics and cartographic science complemented with an assumption that Western maps and cartographic ideas, after their introduction, made Gyōki maps quaint vestiges of the past or entirely redundant. Historians consider nanban screens featuring the Jōtoku-ji-type map as their subjects as important because they are regarded as marked the transition in which Japanese map making shifted from traditional to modern, and more Western through the addition of coastline contouring and heightened emphasis on international trade routes.

When the history of Japanese maps is considered in a more critical light, however, the positivistic model of Japanese cartographic development appears somewhat problematic because it does not fully account for the persistence of the Gyōki-zu. Despite advances in topographical knowledge and the appearance of advanced forms of Western mapping, the Gyōki map continued to be popular into the nineteenth century. The Gyōki-zu appeared in calendars, fortune-telling books, incorporated into designs intended as talismans against earthquakes (Fig. 83), book covers, and on accessories such as mirrors, tsuba (sword guards) (Fig. 84), porcelain pieces (Fig. 85), and lacquer objects (Fig. 86). Examples of printed maps featuring derivations of the Jōtoku-ji-type image continued to be produced well into the eighteenth century (Fig. 87 and Fig. 88) and beyond. Through the pervasiveness of print media and popular culture, the Gyōki-zu and the Jōtoku-ji-type map of Japan spread from the exclusive realm of elaborate custom-made sixteenth- and seventeenth-century decorative screens to all ranks of Japanese society.
Many of the same factors described earlier that likely slowed the development of Japanese cartography and map production probably kept the Gyōki-zu relevant as a map form throughout the premodern period. These included Japan’s small size and the pattern of economic, communication, and travel networks all of which were characterized by a local or regional emphasis. The impact of Western science and technology has been shown to have also been contained because of Jesuit institutional inadequacies and reactions against Christianity and the Europeans in the first half of the seventeenth century. There is evidence to further support the idea that the Japanese specifically chose not to provide in their maps clearer definitions of geographic or coastal detail. Unno, citing examples in which Japanese navigators had recorded the names of islands that lay along their sailing routes to and from Japan, notes that many Japanese were fully aware of the contour of the Japanese coastline, especially western Kyushu and the adjacent islands, before the introduction of European maps and cartography.¹⁵ For example, a sixteenth-century Gyōki-zu in Tōshōdai-ji (Fig. 89) depicts a large number of islands off western Kyushu, the Ryūkyū islands (present-day Okinawa), and Korea. Japanese map-makers were fully capable of including detailed visual information showing the coastline or smaller islands. Yet it appears they were not in the practice of doing so until Portuguese traders and Jesuit missionaries introduced European navigational charts and printed maps.¹⁶ As a result, the improved geographic and coastline details that characterize Jōtoku-ji-type map screens, rather than expressing a revolutionary change of Japanese mapping practices and cartographic science, may be the product of Japanese artists exploring a known, but now novel, decorative concept associated with one particular aspect of nanban culture which was in vogue at that time.

The tenacity with which the Gyōki-zu persisted through the nineteenth century, however, indicates that it exercised much more significant power over the Japanese imagination than
generally acknowledged. Exploring the background of the Gyōki-zu and the biography of the monk Gyōki reveals that the Gyōki-zu, as pictorial form, encapsulated concepts of Japan as place in a broader religiously-charged cosmological and symbolic system, especially from the thirteenth century through the early seventeenth century. This presents new possibilities for re-interpreting nanban map screen sets, such as those in Hosshin-ji, the Tokyo National Museum, Jōtoku-ji, or the private collections of Yamamoto Hisashi, Kobayashi Ataru, and Kawamura Heimon, which pair a Gyōki-zu or Gyōki-zu derivative type map with a European map of the world for its main subjects.

Gyōki-zu: Forms and Functions

The origin of the Gyōki-zu is unclear and literary documentation suggests that it may be dated to as early as the eighth century. Currently, there are approximately eighteen extant manuscript Gyōki-zu-type maps that date from the second half of the thirteenth century through to the second half of the eighteenth century in a variety of formats (Fig. 90 to Fig. 93).¹⁷ These formats include single sheet maps, handscrolls, illustrations in books, large folding screens, and a fan which was owned by Toyotomi Hideyoshi (Fig. 94). Perhaps the most striking aspect of these Gyōki-zu examples is the arbitrary orientation of Japan, which, apparently, was left entirely to the discretion of the artist and the dictates of format. Of these eighteen maps, seven have a southern orientation, seven have a northern orientation, two have an eastern orientation, and two have a western orientation.

Gyōki-zu, despite being a simple pictorial diagram, was often tethered visually to a political, economic, and social reality. This was accomplished through the addition of the geographic division of Japan based on the Ritsuryō period system, based on the philosophies of
Confucianism and Chinese Legalism in Japan that were first created and enacted during the late Asuka and early Nara periods, known as the *gokishichidō* 五機七道 (five administrative regions—Yamashiro, Yamato, Kawachi, Izumi, and Settsu—and the seven outer areas or “roads” of Tōkaidō, Tōsandō, Hokurikudō, San’indō, San’yōdō, Nankaidō, and Sakikaidō), or on the display and identification of all sixty-six provinces *kuni* or *koku* 国.¹⁸ Many examples of Gyōki-zu also included travel information, distances, demographic notes in text boxes, and occasionally information about *gun* 郡, which are smaller administrative units within each province. Oda Takeo and other scholars have stated that the identification of administrative units was necessary for taxation and tribute purposes, as well as for charting travel and transportation times to and from the capital.¹⁹

Extant examples of Gyōki-zu-type maps are ingenious for their variation. The earliest is in the collection of Ninna-ji in Kyoto and bears the date 1305 (Kagen year 3) (Fig. 90). The western half of the Japanese archipelago, including most of Kyushu, Shikoku, and part of western Honshu, is missing, and the image shows additions made at a later time. The provinces are rendered in irregular curvilinear forms with their names written in Chinese characters along with *kana* equivalents. This map features South at the top of the map with China and Korea shown on the right of the image. On the left of the image is the oversized province of Mutsu, the area of the present-day Tōhoku region. The eight main travel routes from the capital are shown in faint red lines. A colophon accompanying the map lists the names of those routes, the provinces they cross, and the population of the country.²⁰

Other early examples of Gyōki-zu are found in the ten-volume set of the thirteenth-century *Nichūreki* 二中歷 [Two Guides] (Fig. 91) and in a map in the Kanazawa Bunko Museum (Fig. 92). The *Nichūreki* was one of several standard references used by the court nobility in
Kyoto and may have originated as early as 1128. This version of the Gyōki-zu is unique in that Japan is reduced to a simple string of province names in diagrammatic form with no provincial boundaries or coastal shoreline. With North at the top of the diagram, the provinces are connected by a network of roads. Next to the name of each province, information regarding travel time is provided. A combination of *ue* 上, *ge* 下, and *umi* 海 and a number indicates the days required for travel over land, or if necessary, by sea, between the capital region and a particular province. For example, given the mountainous terrain, travelling on the Tōkaidō from Yamato 大和 to Ise 伊勢 required two days (上二) going and one (下一) returning, while from Yamato to Suruga 駿河 required seventeen days (上十七) going and only nine days (下九) on the return portion. Historians have traced this travel information to the 927 compendium of rules and procedures called the *Engishiki 延喜式 [Regulations and Laws of the Engi Era]* which outlined the number of days required for bringing tribute to the capital from various locations in Japan. They have also postulated that the lack of boundaries in this map was due to its inclusion in a small book format and to the fact that its layout was sufficient to express the relative relationships of place.

By no means was this form of map particular to this time or book. Such presentations of Japan continued to be made through the seventeenth century and beyond in print form (Fig. 95).

The *Nichūreki* is also important because it reveals much about the conceptualization of Japanese geography. The map is a pictorial scheme of the main thoroughfares and trade routes that branch out from the central province of Yamashiro 山城, the region in which Japanese capital cities were located until Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–1199) established his new capital in Kamakura in 1180. The importance of relative position is expressed in the names of many provinces in the use of the characters *mae* 前 (before) or *ushiro* 後 (after). Place names such as
Hizen 肥前, Higo 肥後, Eichizen 越前, or Echigo 越後 express their relative positions on the main or national thoroughfares vis-à-vis their relationship to Yamashiro or the other four administrative regions 機 (ki). Unno notes that Hizen was read in premodern times as “hi no michi no kuchi” (the entrance to the route towards the place called Hi) and that Eichigo was read as “koshi no michi no shiri” (the end of the route to Koshi). As we have seen with other later route maps (Fig. 71 to Fig. 73), location was not seen as occupying a place on a surface or plane (men), but instead as being along a particular string or a line (sen). In these maps, place was relative to a center nexus or clearly defined with beginning and end points.

The Kanazawa Bunko Museum Gyōki-zu dates to the opening decade of the fourteenth century (Fig. 92). This map, originally in the temple Shōmyō-ji, features a southern orientation. It is an incomplete pictorial depiction of Japan with the Eastern portion of the country missing, most notably Mikawa and a portion of Etchū. In this map, the provinces are elongated westward. While no transport routes are depicted, the provinces are named and ranked by the indicators dai 大, jō 上, chū 中, and ge 下. Information regarding the number of agricultural fields is also provided. This map is one of the earliest Japanese maps to feature the perceived relationship between Japan and other places, both real and imagined. Locations shown include Tsushima 津島 and Oki islands 隠岐諸島, the Ryūkyū koku Ūjima 龍及国宇嶋 (described as a land where people have heads of birds and bodies of humans), Mōkokoku 蒙古国 (Country of the Mongols) and the islands of Shika no shima シカノ嶋 and Takeshima 竹嶋—two islands where battles against the Mongols occurred in 1274 and 1281—in the lower right of the middle area. The imaginary and much-dreaded realm of Rasetsukoku 羅刹国 (Land of Female Demons) is described as “where women dwell and from which men who go never return” appears at the
upper left, opposite Tang China 唐土 (Tōdo) and Gandō 胜道 (or Kari no michi, or “Land of the Geese”) where “a castle exists that no one inhabits” to the right. The Korean kingdoms (Kōrai 高麗 and Shiragi-koku 新羅国) sit at the bottom border of the map. A similar map in the collection of Harvard University dated to 1402 is similar to the Kanazawa Bunko map, except that it features a northern rather than a southern orientation (Fig. 93).

The Kanazawa Bunko Gyōki-zu also features the prominent addition of a dragon body to frame the country. Symbolizing the deity of water, rain, clouds, and earthquakes, the dragon connotes protection. Given the importance of the island Shika no shima, which appears in this map, in the attempted Mongol invasion of Japan, historians believe that this map may have been used in state or religious rituals or as an offering to protective spirits, likely with the body of the dragon separating Japan from the foreign, hostile, and the unknown. This unique image persisted through the centuries, most notably in the Dainihonkoku jishin no zu 大日本国地震の図 [Earthquake map of Great Japan] of 1624 introduced earlier (Fig. 83). This was the earliest-dated printed map produced independently of a book and was employed as a fortune telling charm. As will be discussed below, the Gyōki-zu map also decorated and illustrated many other examples of calendars and books related to fortune-telling throughout the Edo period.

A Gyōki-zu-type map called the Dainihonkoku-zu 大日本国図 [A Map of Great Japan] listing the provinces and major roads also appears in the Shugaishō 拾芥抄 [literally, Collection of Dust]. The Shugaishō is a three-volume encyclopedia that divides information into ninety-nine categories and is believed to have been first compiled and originally published by Tōin Kinkata (1291–1360) to provide court aristocrats with information about etiquette, customs, official ranks, and other topics. The map in the 1548 and 1589 versions in the Tenri Central Library (Fig. 96) is consistent with all the traits and characteristics of other Gyōki maps but is oriented
with West at the top of the page. The original source map, now lost, has been traced to as early as
the 1120s and may have contained much more information. In the version shown here,
information is limited to the identification of provinces along with the main transportation routes
leading from Yamashiro, the ranking of agricultural lands, and the number of travel days between
the capital region and various provinces. With the legend written in one orientation and the
characters identifying the provinces oriented in another, the map appears to be intended to be
read from different directions simultaneously by different people. The Shugaishō was much
copied and later appeared in print form during the Edo period. Seventeenth-century print editions
of the Shugaishō are in the Tokyo National Museum (Fig. 97) and the British Library.

The mid-sixteenth century manuscript Nansenbushū Dainihonkokushōtō-zu [Orthodox
map of Great Japan in Jambūdvīpa] in Tōshōdai-ji, Nara, further illustrates the rich potential of
the Gyōki-zu pictorial form (Fig. 89). Like the image in the Shōgaisho, this version of the
Nansenbushū Dainihonkokushōtō-zu features a Western orientation with Kyushu and Shikoku
placed at the top of the map. The provinces are named and ranked according to the dai, jō, chū,
and ge delineation described earlier. As with other Gyōki-zu, the main roads from Yamashiro are
also shown connecting the provinces. Across the ocean sit Rasesukoku and China.

There is no indication of date found on the Tōshōdai-ji Nansenbushū Dainihonkokushō
Shōtō-zu, but historians have noted that the information found in the surrounding text panels
corresponds with information found in the 1548 text Unpoirohashū運歩色葉集 and that the
style of the written script is that of the end of the Muromachi period. The text panels contain
information related to gokishichidō administrative regions, including gun divisions and
agricultural yields. Historians have noted that the maker of the map clearly intended to provide
more information than that the pictorial map itself could encompass. With subject and verb usage
consistently unclear in the text panels, Unno argued that the text panel information was meant as an extension of descriptions written on the map of each province and would have appeared on the map proper if there had been more space. Intriguingly, the *Nansenbushū Dainihonkoku Shōtō-zu* shows regions and administrative areas laid out according to an outdated Ritsuyō period administrative configuration instead of the contemporary sixteenth-century Muromachi political reality. This implies that this map may have been contrived by a government administrator to promote, as the title of the map suggests, an “orthodox” 正統 (shōtō) or “correct” view of Japan during a period of civil unrest and the re-emergence of independent territorial areas. One final example of an image bearing this name is an interesting variation from the 1630s currently in the collection of the Tokyo University Library (Fig. 98). While sharing attributes with Tōshōdai-ji *Nansenbushū Dainihonkoku Shōtō-zu*, this map features a Gyōki-zu with a southerly orientation. *Nanban* screens having the title of *Nansenbushū Dainihonkoku Shōtō-zu* include *nanban* folding screens in the Nanban Bunka-kan (Fig. 40) and Tokyo National Museum (Fig. 41), and in the private collections of Okazawa Sagenta and Fukushima Kitarō. The title *Nansenbushū Dainihonkoku Shōtō-zu* and its accompanying inscription however also link the map directly to a medieval religious discourse. This is discussed later in this chapter.

Gyōki-zu and Gyōki-zu-type maps were carried abroad and appeared in manuscript and printed versions in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Korean and Chinese maps and texts. These include the 1471 Korean *Haedong cheguk ki* 海東諸国紀 [Chronological of the Countries in the Eastern Sea] by Sin Sukchu (1417–75) (Fig. 99), a map of Japan in the *Jih pen Kuo K’ao Lueh* 日本国考略 [Examining the country of Japan] (1523) by Xie Xun (act. 16th century) (Fig. 100), and the manuscript *Riben xingji tu* 日本行基圖 [Map of Japan by Gyōki] by Cheng Shun-kung dated 1564 (Fig. 101). Europeans also had access to the Gyōki-zu, and a number of late
sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century European Gyōki-zu-type maps, such as that in the Archivio di Stato in Florence, remain extant (Fig. 102).

**Gyōki: Man, Monk, or Myth**

The process through which the pictorial map form of the Gyōki-zu was transformed to suit various needs and contexts paralleled the transformations of legends concerning the Nara-period monk Gyōki. Said to be the designer of the map, he came to hold a special place in the hearts and minds of most Japanese. Gyōki is believed to have lived from around 688 to 749. Historians have proposed a number of locations for his birthplace—from a village in Kawachi Province (today part of Osaka Prefecture) to another in Korea. Gyōki is recorded as a monk of the Hosso sect at the temple Yakushi-ji in Nara, which exerted great influence on the court of the Emperor Shōmu (r.724–48). Although much of Gyōki’s background remains obscure and open to speculation, his dates place him in Japan when Buddhism was still a relatively new religion and one primarily confined to the elite and literate classes.

Standard histories portray Gyōki as a wandering shaman and missionary who took the lead in numerous social welfare projects, including the building of dams, canals, and bridges. He is also depicted as a great inventor, innovator, engineer, and a builder of numerous temples, including, in part, the important imperial project of Tōdai-ji in Nara and Sugimoto-dera in Kamakura. Some legends propound that it was Gyōki who introduced the potter’s wheel to Japan, and numerous early Buddhist sculptures have until recently been attributed to him.

During his lifetime, Gyōki apparently gained great popularity among the common people. This popularity may have landed him in trouble with the Imperial Court and leaders of the Buddhist hierarchy. In the year 717, when he would have been in his late-forties, Gyōki appears
to have been imprisoned for his activities. However, this did not affect his later fortunes when, in 745, Shōmu made him a *daisōjo* or *daisōzu* (“great bishop” or “archbishop”) for his public service. Scholars have postulated that this decision stemmed from an imperial effort to generate public support for national and ecclesiastical projects, most notably the casting of the great Buddha at Tōdai-ji. For this project, the emperor is believed to have enlisted Gyōki to build support among people through the country. However, Gyōki may have died prior to the dedication of the image at the “eye opening” ceremony in 752.

Despite Gyōki’s fascinating biography, there is no evidence that he produced any maps himself. In fact, there is also no evidence of a Gyōki-zu-type map from the Nara period, the earliest extant dating from the 1305 map in Ninna-ji. Today, only inscriptions found on a number of Gyōki-zu attribute the origins of the map to Gyōki. This raises the possibility that the Gyōki-zu was a fabrication by an artist or mapmaker of a later time. The *Gyōki nenpu* [Chronological history of Gyōki], for example, written in 1175 by Izumi no Takachichi (ca. 12th century) and regarded as his most reliable biography, does not mention mapmaking among Gyōki’s many activities.

A number of Japanese historians, however, are convinced that an eighth-century map must have existed during Gyōki’s lifetime that was copied and passed down over time. Unno postulates that the Gyōki map form may have been in existence as early as the 738 and 796 imperial decrees for provincial surveys, with which Gyōki may have been involved. Although no evidence proves that Gyōki created the original model, his name is now inseparable from this type of map.

Regardless of issues concerning Gyōki’s biography, the authority that the Gyōki-zu commanded as a pictorial image through the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries
cannot be disputed. The power of the map was not derived from the purely pictorial characteristics, the visual appeal of the design, or whatever it may have expressed in geographical terms. Rather, the Gyōki-zu was significant because it represented and embodied a premodern world view of Japan as place in symbolic terms. This world view, or territorial consciousness, was closely associated with specific ideas developed by Japanese theologians in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to accord Japan a more dominant place in the Buddhist cosmological universe.

The association between Buddhism and the Gyōki-zu can be established by the appearance of attributions to Gyōki on a number of manuscript Gyōki-zu maps. The following two lines excerpted from the Ninna-ji map colophon (Fig. 103), for example, are especially revealing:

行基菩薩御作…
嘉元三年大呂謝寒風写之不可及外見

The line 行基菩薩御作 states that the “bodhisattva Gyōki was the creator of the map.” The segment beginning the next line 嘉元三年大呂 dates the map to the “twelfth month (January/February) of year of Kagen 3” (1305). The middle segment 謝寒風写之 translates to “the author copied this map despite cold winds.” This has tied the map to the annual winter ritual of Tsuina (Banishing of the Demons) with which Gyōki has been directly associated. This ritual, which continues to be held to this day, is performed on the last day of the Chinese lunar calendar to drive evil spirits to beyond the boundaries of the country. Through records of Hōshaku-ji in Yamazaki, Unno argues that Gyōki may have been associated with this ritual by advising Emperor Mommu (r.697–707) of its necessity in 706. The line of the inscription ends with 不可及外見, a declarative phrase: “Do not permit outsiders to view this map.” Unno postulates that
this or a similar map depicting the boundaries of the country may have been central to the
performance of ceremonial rites—rites first performed at the imperial court and later copied and
performed at any number of shrines and temples throughout Japan. This suggests that a map,
such as that at Ninna-ji, was created for a state ceremonial or religious purpose.

The symbolic relationship between Buddhism and the Gyōki-zu becomes clearer when
other colophon excerpts are examined as well. The inscriptions found on Gyōki-zu in the
numerous editions of the Shūgaishō, Nansenbushū Dainihonkoku shōtō-zu in Tōshōdai-ji, and
the nanban Gyōki-zu screen in the Tokyo National Museum, each has, in part, a phrase
identifying Gyōki as the original maker of the map:

From the Shūgaishō (Fig. 104):

行基菩薩取圖之

From the Nansenbushū Dainihonkoku shōtō-zu in Tōshōdai-ji (Fig. 105):

行基菩薩圖書之
行基生緣大和丹大島

From the Tokyo National Museum screen (Fig. 106):

行基菩薩圖書之
行基生緣大和洲大島

Then common among all the inscriptions, resonating like a tantric litany, are the following lines
that exalt Buddhism and extol Japan through Buddhist terms and references:

此土形如獨鈎頭
仍佛法滋盛也
其形如宝形
故有金銀銅鉄等珍宝
五穀豊稔也

This translates to:
The shape of the land is like the point of the tokko
Consequently Buddhism continues to prosper ever more vigorous
The shape is also similar to a hōgyō
Consequently the country is blessed with rare treasures of gold, silver, copper, and iron
The five grains are harvested in great abundance.

The inscription describes Japan as being in the shape of a tokko or dokko (Sanskrit: vajra), a Buddhist ritual implement symbolizing strength (Fig. 107). The Hōgyō, or Hōju (Sanskrit: mani) refers to the jewel section of the major esoteric mandala of the diamond world 金剛界曼荼羅 [Kongōkai mandara]. Lucia Dolce, in her research on the construction of sacred geography in medieval Japan, explains how diagrams of vajra found in medieval texts were used to define Japan as a sacred space through a “mandalization” of the country. In her study of the Keiran Shūyōshū 溝崎拾葉集 (1317), a compendium of mythological, ritual, and doctrinal traditions of the Tendai school, she examines how the author Kōshū mapped essential Japan religious sites onto the shape of the vajra, the ritual implement that “more than any other represents Tantric Buddhism and its power.”

These diagrams, which had no connection to geographic reality, were used to locate essential Japanese religious sites and their corresponding resident Shinto deities. These included the Sea of Ise and Shinmei, Tsuruga bay and Kehi, and Lake Biwa and the Sannō kami. Through this process, Kōshū expressed a rationalization of space, and subsequently the concept of a sacred geography, through the reconciliation of Buddhist cosmological doctrine and Shinto mythologies.

Moerman also notes that the internal structure and ancient divisions of the country in the gokishichidō system, often referenced and mentioned in accompanying texts found on Gyōki-zu images, also were imbued with a Buddhist reading.

One passage from the fourteenth-century Keiran Shūyōshū decrees:

Our country of the Great Japan is divided into five provinces and seven major roads. It is also patterned after the nine-level Pure Land, which like the nine stories of a castle
denote the nine divisions of the Diamond Mandala. The five-fold division of the provinces denotes the dharma nature of the five great elements in the Womb Mandala. The seven roads are the seven forms of consciousness of perfect enlightenment producing the subtle attainment of non-duality.\textsuperscript{55}

As it will be further elaborated, this amalgamation of Buddhist and Shinto concepts was central to the development of the idea of a “divine” or “sacred” Japan (\textit{shinkoku} 神国). The inscription found on the \textit{Shūgaishō, Nansenbushū Dainihonkoku Shōtō-zu} in Tōshōdai-ji, the Jōtoku-ji-type map of Japan featured in the \textit{nanban} map screen set in the Kawamori Koji collection (Fig. 36), and the \textit{nanban} Gyōki-zu screen in the Tokyo National Museum (Fig. 41), tie the maps faithfully to a Japanese medieval religious sensibility and invest the image with a combination of Buddhist presuppositions and Shinto mythologies.

The title \textit{Nansenbushū Dainihonkoku Shōtō-zu} [Orthodox map of Great Japan in Jambūdvīpa], which we have already encountered on a number of Gyōki-zu, provides another direct reference to Japan’s place within a classical Buddhist geography.\textsuperscript{56} It appears on a number of Gyōki maps and screens, including the 1548 map in Tōshōdai-ji, the seventeenth-century \textit{nanban} folding screens in the Kawamori collection, Tokyo National Museum, Nanban Bunkakan (Fig. 40), and the collections of Okasawa Sagen Ta and Fukushima Kitarō. \textit{Nansenbushū Dainihonkoku Shōtō-zu} directly references the continent or realm of the terrestrial world Jambūdvīpa (Japanese: \textit{Embudai} 閻浮提 or Senbushū 南瞻部州), located south of the central world mountain Sumeru 須彌 (Japanese: \textit{Sumi} or \textit{Shumi}), as envisioned in the cosmology of Buddhism where ordinary human beings live.

This particular construction of the world was first conceived and elaborated in India and later introduced through China.\textsuperscript{57} Adapted from the fourth-century Buddhist ritual text \textit{Abidatsuma kusharon} [阿毘達磨倶舎論倶舎論 Sanskrit: \textit{Abhidharmakośa}], the original concept
of Jambūdvīpa was in circulation in Japan as early as the seventh century. Two pictorial examples of this configuration, known in Japan as Gotenjiku-zu 五天竺図 [Map of the Five Indias], are the 749 drawing on a lotus petal that is part of the pedestal of the great Buddha at Tōdai-ji (Fig. 108) and a manuscript map dating to 1364 in the collection of Hōryu-ji (Fig. 109). Such Buddhist map imagery would continue to be produced in large numbers through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Fig. 110).

Later Heian- and Kamakura-period Japanese theologians often referred to Japan as henchizokusan 辺地粟散 or zokusan hendo 粟散辺士 (the “petty kingdom on the periphery” of Jambūdvīpa). This unflattering designation was likely made in a perceived recognition of the belief that humans had entered Mappō 末法, the "degenerate" third age of Buddhism, in which enlightenment was impossible and society was morally corrupt. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, there emerged a reassessment of Japan’s place within the Buddhist framework. Medieval histories and geographies of Buddhism, such as the Shōhōgenzō 正法眼蔵 (1253) by Dōgen (1200–1253), Sangoku buppo dentsū engi 三国仏法伝通縁起 (1311) by Gyōnen, and Sangoku denki 三国伝記 (1431) by Gentō, expounded a symbolic and ideological sangoku 三国(three countries) world view which bought Japan to the center and into greater prominence of the Buddhist world.

In the sangoku world view, Japan (Honchō) was placed in a close comparative relationship with Tenjiku (India) and Shintan/Tō (China) in respect to their placement on Jambūdvīpa. Complemented by theories such as Honji suijaku 本地垂迹 (true view of the cosmos), writers reinterpreted the marginalized position of Japan within the Buddhist and geographical world by promoting the idea of Japan as “divine” or “sacred” (shinkoku), or a
“Buddha Land,” empowered and protected by both Shinto and Buddhist deities collaborating in harmony (Shinbutsu shūgō 神仏習合).\textsuperscript{61}

The following passage from Kōshū’s fourteenth-century compendium, Keiran Shūyōshū, for example, captures with full clarity how many medieval Japanese thinkers perceived Japan’s place within the sangoku and the manner in which they carefully constructed the relationship among Buddhist deities and Shinto kami:

Japan is called the country of the kami (shinkoku). India is the country where the Buddha was born. China is the country of the Buddha Amida. Because Japan is the country of the kami therefore this is the country where the kami lead people in the Buddhist path.\textsuperscript{62}

It is what Dolce terms this “double investiture” of Buddhist and Shinto power that empowered Japan’s perceived superiority \textit{vis-à-vis} the other main Buddhist countries.\textsuperscript{63} Consequently, referring to their country as Nansenbushū Dainihon or “Great Japan in Jambūdvīpa,” the Japanese expressed a self-conscious desire to clearly define their place in a symbolically-charged framework of Buddhist history and geography.\textsuperscript{64} The title for the 1568 Nansenbushū Dainihonkoku shōtō-zu and the three seventeenth-century world map screens in the Tokyo National Museum and the private collections of Okasawa Sagenta and Fukushima Kitarō, consequently, associates and imbues the works directly with these values. While the term shōto in the title was shown earlier to suggest a reference to an orthodox or correct political or administrative view of sixteenth-century Japan, the use of shōto extends to encompass Japan’s self-perceived true or correct place in religious and cosmological worlds as well.

Through to the nineteenth century, various images depicting the sangoku remained popular among the public. The Sekai Sangoku ki 世界三国記 [Map of the Three Countries] (Japan, China, and India) from the early nineteenth century, for example, demonstrates how
Japan as a physical entity had gained in size and stature in relation to China and India (Fig. 111). By this time, Japan was no longer on the periphery. Rather, conceptually, it was drawn to the center with China and India relegated to the extremities.

The visual allure and persuasive power of Western scientific cartographic techniques and concepts did not diminish the popularity of the Gyōki-zu map form in Japan after their introduction. From the seventeenth century onwards, due to the rapid expansion of print culture in Japan, Gyōki-zu-type maps came to be widely distributed (Fig. 112, Fig. 113). One of the most popular forms was based on the Gyōki-zu-type map surrounded by a dragon or another animal that can be traced back to the Shōmyō-ji map that is in the collection of Kanazawa Bunko Museum. Such imagery, as we have already seen, served as charms against earthquakes (Fig. 83). Similar imagery was also used for fortune telling and to illustrate almanacs such as *Ise Koyomi* [Ise Almanac] and the *Aizu Koyomi* [Aizu Almanac]. Unno notes that by this time, and in renderings of the Gyōki-zu, the shapes of the Japanese archipelago are rough and the routes from Yamashiro Province are discontinuous and unrealistic. The representation is no longer thought of as a map “but merely as a decorative eye-catching picture.” From the late seventeenth century through the nineteenth century, earthquake maps continued to appear in *Ōzassho* 大雑書 (books of calendar divination and fortune telling) publications. An intriguing variation is the *Chitei Namazu no zu* 地底鲶之圖 [Drawing of a catfish under the earth] in the *Ōzassho Sanzesō* 大雑書三世相 [Calendar divination and fortune-telling by physiognomy and birthday], 1852 (Fig. 114). The symbolic reading of an Gyōki-zu type map of Japan engulfed by a protective serpent as a talisman against natural disaster synchronizes with other imagery that had been absorbed into preexisting symbolic systems, most notably, the pictorial image found on *Arrival of the Southern Barbarian* screens which were
likely regarded as charms for auspiciousness, prosperity, and good luck. This opens the pairing of a Gyōki-zu type and a map of the world to powerful new interpretative possibilities.

Gyōki-zu and a View of the World

The symbolic power that the Gyōki-zu had in shaping a pictorial conception of the territorial space of Japan was buttressed by the evolving narrative of Gyōki’s biography and a perceived relationship of the map form to early Buddhism in Japan. Edward Kamens has studied the role that premodern Japanese religious and literary concepts, narrative tropes, and archetypical structures played in influencing Japanese concepts of place and space. His work has shown that premodern Japanese consistently defined boundaries that were based on cultural constructs and tropes, which, in turn, were shaped as much by social and ideological forces as by physical attributes or measurable geographical definitions. While Gyōki’s biography has been well studied, the role of the monk as a literary or religious figure has not been considered in regard to the reception of imported European maps and cartographic ideas.

Among all the sixteen known historical texts that provide biographies of Gyōki, from the Shoku Nihongi 続日本紀 (797) through the Gyōki Bosatsu Engizu Ekotoba 行基縁起絵言葉 (1316), the text that perhaps reveals most about Gyōki’s place in the early Japanese mindset is the Nihonkoku genpō zen’aku ryōi-ki 日本国現報善悪霊異記 (shortened usually to Nihon ryōi-ki 日本霊異記 and also known as the Nihon reiiki). This early Heian work by Kyōkai (or Keikai), a Buddhist priest of the temple Yakushi-ji in Nara, was compiled around the turn of the ninth century. It is an invaluable late-Nara, early-Heian document that stands among the earliest examples of Japanese Buddhist legendary literature, consisting of one hundred and sixty
instructional *setsuwa* (moral tales) that recount the intervention in human affairs of supernatural elements.\(^{73}\)

In the *Nihon ryōi-ki*, Kyōkai argued for the wholesale adoption of the Buddhist concept of reality at a time when ideas of karma and transmigration were still unfamiliar to many Japanese. In compiling this body of moral narratives that propagate the Buddhist message of cause and effect—the major theme and source of unity in the work—Kyōkai provided contemporary readers and listeners with their first coherent Buddhist explanation of the workings of the world. He relates tales and events within the framework of the workings of karma and transmigration among the incarnations of the rōkudō, or the six realms of incarnation. Featured prominently in the *Nihon ryōi-ki* are tales describing the virtuous life and extraordinary deeds of Gyōki, who is portrayed as the most admired figure throughout the entire work.\(^{74}\) From this source, it is likely that Gyōki’s legendary and hagiographic status took root in the Japanese popular imagination.

Scholars such as Taketori Masao, William LaFleur, and Kurosawa Kōzo see the compilation of the *Nihon ryōi-ki* as a key vehicle in disseminating Buddhism in early Japan and as a direct avenue into the Nara- and early Heian-period mindset.\(^{75}\) They qualify Kyōkai as neither the most erudite of his age (especially in relation to Kūkai (774–835), his contemporary and a founder of the Shingon sect of Buddhism), nor particularly clear in his knowledge of Buddhist sutras and contemporary literature. LaFleur regards the *Nihon ryōi-ki* as a watershed document, however, and one that initiated a crucial shift in Japanese thought. He argues that it triggered the emergence of a medieval world view based on Buddhist concepts of karma and transmigration that would persist through the middle of the Edo period.\(^{76}\)
In the *Nihon ryō-ki*, Kyōkai portrays Gyōki as an archaic shaman and a mystic seer. In Kyōkai’s particular form of Buddhism, superior beings such as Gyōki were not confined to a single state of existence. Rather, as a *keshin* (incarnation), they had the ability to incarnate into the forms of other species and assume their behavioral characteristics. Kyōkai also described Gyōki as having the ability to peer through the entire *rokudō* system and assess any individual’s status within the karmic cycle of transmigration and karmic relations to immediate events. In Tale 30 from Volume II, entitled, “On the Extraordinary Sign of the Most Venerable Gyōki Who Perceived a Woman with a Child Loaded with Past Enmity and Made Her Throw the Child in the Stream,” for instance, we have an indication of Gyōki’s power. In the following passage, he instructs an impoverished woman who was attending his sermons, along with “clerical and lay, high and low,” to throw her wailing baby, who was distracting the other members of the audience, into a stream. What followed was miraculous:

… and the child again cried so loudly that the audience could not hear. Accusing the mother, the venerable master [Gyōki] said to her, “Throw the child into the stream!” Though troubled by doubts, the mother could not stand the loud cries and threw him into the deep stream. The child rose to the surface and, treading water and rubbing his hands together, he stared at her with big shining eyes and said with bitterness, “What a pity! I planned to exploit you by eating for three more years.” Bewildered, the mother came back to her seat to hear the preaching. The venerable master asked her, “Did you throw away your child?” Whereupon she told him the whole sequence in detail. Then he explained, “In your previous existence you borrowed his things and did not return them, so he became your child and to get back what you owed him by eating. That child was your creditor in your past life.”

What a shame! We should not die without paying off our debts. Otherwise we reap the penalty without fail in our future life.

This super-human and transformative ability contributed to legitimizing Kyōkai’s Buddhist system, ensuring that it could be accommodated to Shinto, in which spirits already possessed such powers.
In the *Nihon ryō-ki*, Gyōki’s fundraising activities further legitimized the syncretization of Shinto and Buddhism. Kyōkai recounts how Gyōki, the shaman-turned-archbishop, traveled to Ise Shrine, carrying a Buddhist relic as an offering to Amaterasu, the Shinto goddess of the imperial clan. After receiving a favorable oracle for the construction of the giant Buddha at Tōdai-ji, Gyōki continued through the countryside to collect offerings and recruit labor for Shōmu’s national project. Only through this combined initiative of Emperor Shōmu and Gyōki could the great image of the Lochana Buddha be completed in 749 and dedicated in the year 752. Gyōki’s connection with this event only serves to enhance Shōmu’s project because of his mythic, otherworldly, power. Gyōki’s participation in this national project, however, also further entrenches his status in cultural lore as a man of the common people.\(^{81}\)

Shaping Gyōki’s biographical narrative in this manner, Kyōkai worked to validate the *rokudō* system and the concept of karma, while simultaneously precluding institutional friction among Buddhism and forms of Japanese religious thought and practice already in circulation at that time.\(^{82}\) In endowing Gyōki with special all-seeing and transformative powers, and by having him embody the relationship between Buddhism and Shinto in the cause of constructing new national monuments, Kyōkai created a powerful and memorable figure. Given Gyōki’s role in Japanese religious and popular history, it is no coincidence that many Gyōki-zu have been preserved as treasured objects in various temple locations around Japan.

As we have seen, the fourteenth-century figure of Gyōki was the product of contemporary theologians and writers using him to legitimize a new awareness of Japan both as an entity and in relation to other countries in Asia and beyond.\(^{83}\) In revisiting the *Keiran shūyōshū*, we find that the author Kōshu, writing in a question-answer format common to many Buddhist writings, portrayed Gyōki as pivotal intercessor:
Question: Why is our country said to have the shape of a single-pronged vajra?

Answer: In the *Gyōki bosatsu-ki* it is stated: “... The Bodhisattva Gyōki wandered around Japan, determined the boundaries of the country, and opened up fields.... At that time he drew what he saw. The shape [of the country] was the shape of a vajra.”

The three places of Ise, Lake [Biwa] and the northern Sea are the goblins’ eyes (*kimoku*) of the vajra. Ise is the deity of the Jewel section (*hōbu*) [of the mandala] and therefore its abode is a wish-fulfilling jewel. Kehi, since he is the deity [protecting] ventures in the Northern direction, makes of the double vajra (*katsuma*) its abode. The Sannō *kami* are the deities [who embody] the non-dual middle path, hence they have the moon disk as their abode.84

This passage credits the itinerant monk Gyōki with producing the first national map of Japan. He determined the boundaries and defined the country as he saw it—in the form of the vajra. Where Kyōkai in the ninth century employed the figure of Gyōki to legitimize his Buddhist system and to validate the *rokudō* system and the concept of karma, in the fourteenth century, Kōshū transformed Gyōki into the progenitor of a map that substantiated an emerging medieval Japanese world view drawn from both Buddhist doctrine and Shinto mythology and that placed Japan at the nexus of an orchestrated cosmological structure.85 In fact, many contemporary texts from the time, including the *Keiran shūyōshū*, fully equated Gyōki with Amaterasu, the imperial ancestral *kami*, and with Dainichi Nyorai, the ultimate Buddha of esoteric Buddhism.86 It is no surprise that the excerpted passage above is closely similar to the inscription later found on the four examples of *Nansenbushū Dainipponkoku Shōtōzu*-titled Gyōki-zu maps from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Undoubtedly, texts such as the *Keiran shūyōshū* were still influential in shaping contemporary thinking regarding Japan and Japan’s place within the Asian sphere and beyond a century or two later, when *nanban* map screens were produced.

Through the Edo period, Gyōki’s biographical narrative continued to evolve and transform. This reveals the symbolic power that Gyōki continued to carry in the minds of many
Japanese through the premodern period. One example can be found in the famous poetic travel diary *Oku no hosomichi* おくのほそ道 [Narrow road to the deep north] (1694) by the poet Matsuo Bashō (1664–94). Leaving the capital of Edo in the spring of 1689, Bashō undertook a journey to northern Japan and traveled some 2,400 kilometers over six months. During this time, he formulated and wrote *Oku*. Presenting himself in the tradition of wandering poet-priests such as Saigyō (1118–90), Bashō visited the great poetic sites of the Japanese collective literary imagination. One important characteristic is that *Oku* takes on a spiritual tone, with references and allusions to Chinese and Japanese classical literature. For example, in this excerpt from *Oku no Hosomichi*:

> Not far from this post-town a monk who had turned his back on the world was living in the shade of a great chestnut tree. The tranquility of the scene made me wonder if Saigyō’s “deep mountains where I gather chestnuts” were like this, and I dashed off these words on a scrap of paper:
>
> The character for chestnut is written “west” and “tree,” an indication of its connection with the paradise to the west. They say that Gyōki Bosatsu all through his life used wood from this tree for his walking-stick and the pillars of his house.
>
> Yo no hito no  Blossoms unnoticed
> Mitsukenu hana ya  By people of this world—
> Noki no kuri  Chestnuts by the caves
>
In his references to Gyōki, Bashō does not present him as an ascetic, a Kegon sect archbishop in the imperial church hierarchy, or an esoteric intercessor, but rather as a devotee of the Pure Land and Amida Buddha.\(^8^8\) This change in Gyōki’s sectarian affiliation was likely the result of the widespread rise in popularity of the Pure Land in Japan, which had surged since the twelfth century thanks to Honen (1133–1212) and his disciples. In his analysis of *Oku*, LaFleur identifies Bashō’s engagement with landscape through Gyōki and Saigyō as historical and symbolic references, charging specific geographical sites with poetic, spiritual, and religious metaphors.\(^8^9\) While Bashō was born at least forty or fifty years after the last of the *nanban* world map screens
were likely created, Bashō, in clearly seeing in Gyōki significant spiritual, religious, and legitimizing power, demonstrates the manner in which Gyōki resonated in the minds of Edo-period Japanese.

The reasons for Gyōki’s popularity throughout Japanese history are still being debated by historians. During Kyōkai’s time in the early-ninth century, Gyōki was used to propagate the virtues of karma and the joys and perils of transmigration as new religious concepts. He was endowed with super-human powers, with the ability to see into the past as well as the future, and into the realms of both the living and the dead. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Gyōki was drawn into a process to substantiate the premise that Japan was a divine country and first among equals in a geographical and symbolic world. By the Edo period, Gyōki’s stature was strengthened by his association with important religious and literary figures such as Saigyō and Bashō. Over time, writers such as Kyōkai, Kōshū, and Bashō had adapted Gyōki to their contemporary contexts to suit him to their personal agendas and projects. Through adaptations and transformations of his biographical narrative, Gyōki has remained relevant to the present day.

The evolutionary transformation of Gyōki paralleled the manner in which specific Buddhist doctrinal assumptions influenced the Japanese understanding of landscape and of Japan’s place in broader geographic and symbolic realms at different points in time. Consequently, the medieval period incarnation of the figure of Gyōki cannot be separated from the Gyōki-zu pictorial form, the earliest of which can be dated to around this time. By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the figure of Gyōki carried great legitimizing power that derived from folklore, cultural memory, and a contemporary religious discourse. Western modes of mapping probably had little effect on changing established meanings associated with
the Gyōki-zu because Japanese interpretative frameworks based on Buddhist cosmology, mythology, fundamental systems of knowledge, and a particular world view, were fully maintained. This would greatly affect the interpretation of a nanban world map screens, especially those which converge a Gyōki-zu or Gyōki-zu-type image with a European map of the world, such as those in the Jōtoku-ji, Hosshin-ji, Tokyo National Museum, Nanban Bunka-kan, or the collections of Kobayashi Ataru, Kawamura Heimon, or University of California, Berkeley. Many seventeenth-century Japanese likely regarded these painted folding screens featuring a map of the world as a rationalization, and affirmation, of Japan’s divine place in a newly discovered geographical reality that was introduced by Western maps, cartographic ideas, and encounters with the world beyond East Asia. The convergence of the Gyōki-zu and an image of a European map on the folding screens and in painting techniques using Japanese materials unified the compositions and facilitated a syncretic interpretation that supported an understanding based directly on Japanese experience and derived from their contemporary views and values.

The Gyōki-zu, as a pictorial form and subject, continued to flourish after the introduction of European map forms and ideas. In 1687, Ishikawa Ryūsen (active 1686–1713), one of the most successful of Edo-period map-makers and recognized for a number of important printed maps, produced a woodblock map called the Honchō zukan kōmoku [Outline map of Japan] (Fig. 87). This map established a model for woodblock maps throughout most of the eighteenth century and beyond, and provided a wide range of information for administrators and travelers, including names of feudal lords, land productivity, and important and scenic spots along various routes. Each new edition that followed expanded both the informative and decorative aspects of the design. Moerman notes that Ryūsen, however, like so many of his predecessors, explicitly
situated Japan within a Buddhist world and tied his image directly to Gyōki. This is invoked in the preface of his map:

The *Nansenbushū Dai Nihon shōtōzu* is said to be derived from [the map of] the Bodhisattva Gyōki. Though I have followed it, I have corrected its errors and added highways, and now publish it.

Through the nineteenth century, artists continued to inscribe, print, and paint Gyōki-zu in a variety of media and formats. Despite the rapid growth and urbanization of the great cities of Osaka and Edo, and a gradual secularization of Japanese society throughout the period, Gyōki remained a powerful legitimizing figure in the eyes of everyday Japanese.

Among sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *nanban* map screens, some of the most captivating are those pairing a European map of the world and a Gyōki-zu or Gyōki-zu map of Japan that has been enhanced with topographical or coastal details. In this combination, seen in such screens as those at Hosshin-ji, Jōtoku-ji, the Tokyo National Museum, and in the Mitsui Collection at the University of California, Berkeley, Japanese artists reconciled and converged two mapmaking traditions—the newly introduced, detail-oriented approach found with European maps and the long-established Japanese conceptual form of mapping. Historians have viewed the creation of these works of art as a seminal moment in which Japanese cartography was transitioning from primitive to modern and from Asian to Western.

The Gyōki-zu continued to persist, however, despite the introduction of European maps and cartographic ideas. As we have seen, the map as a decorative motif appeared on a wide variety of objects ranging from sword guards to porcelain plates to printed covers for calendars and fortune telling books. Its resiliency can be attributed to the evolving nature of Gyōki’s biographical narrative and the power that the Gyōki-zu image held over the popular imagination.
At different points in Japanese history, religious and literary figures, such as Kyōkai, Kōshū, and Bashō, adapted Gyōki’s biography for their own individual projects. This kept Gyōki alive and relevant in the popular imagination.

Contemporary late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century viewers regarded nanban map screens, especially those featuring an image of the Gyōki-zu or its derivative, the Jōtoku-ji-type map, through a multi-layered interpretative system. This system was charged by symbolism syncretically drawn from a religious discourse which was sustained by a long legacy of cultural memory and vernacular narratives. Despite the additions of improved geographic or coastal details inspired by European maps that made Jōtoku-ji-type map screens visually novel for their time, for the patrons of these works and contemporary viewers these screens must not have been so far removed from other Gyōki-zu that featured additions such as engulfing dragons, layouts facilitating viewing from any direction, or surrounding text panels which informed of travel distances, agricultural yields, or demographic information. An established cosmological world view, driven by Buddhist and Shinto concepts, and traditional geographies and histories, played as much a role in constructing a Japanese understanding of their place within Japan’s shores, in Asia, and beyond, as did compass orientation, measured distances, marked locations, or acknowledgement of topographic contour. It was into aspects of this world view that the European cartographic expression that arrived to Japan as a printed image of a map of the world was absorbed.

In this chapter I argued that in the social and historical context of early seventeenth-century Japan, Western cartographic forms and details found on nanban map screens were vulnerable to the imposition of established Japanese interpretative patterns and values. Even as late as the nineteenth century, many Japanese mapmakers were apparently still grappling with
merging the reality of world geography introduced by the Europeans with long-established Buddhist cosmological concepts. Two maps, the *Embudai zu tsuketari Nikkyū-zu* 阿育王附日宮図 [Buddhist map of the world, with an illustration of the sun] (ca. 1829) (Fig. 115) and *Nan-embushū Saiken zusetsu* 南閻浮州細見図説 [Buddhist map of the world] (1845) (Fig. 116), capture the inherent struggle in the visual reconciliation of the symbolic with the real. In both these works, the artists show an uneasy compromise in conflating a representation of the physical geographic world with a religious or cosmic world view.

In order to better understand the true significance of *nanban* map screens and how they functioned in the time of their making and first circulation in the decades surrounding the turn of the seventeenth century, more emphasis should be placed on the analysis of the appropriation of European map details into a distinctive Japanese visual and symbolic system rather than on the Europeanization of Japanese map science and cartographic practice. In this regard, the next chapter considers one particular configuration of a European map of the world that is found on a number of *nanban* map screens. This simple but elegant change in presentation transformed a mundane depiction of a European map of the world into a profound and convincing expression of Tokugawa political ambition that was quickly solidifying in the seventeenth century.
Notes


2 K. Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 366. The Japanese first appear in written history as the people of Wō (Japanese: Wā), in China’s *Book of Han*, completed in 111 C.E. The *Book of Later Han*, composed in the fifth century by Fan Ye and covering the Eastern Han period from 25 C.E. to 220 C.E., relates that in 57 C.E. the “state of Nu in Wo” sent emissaries to the Later Han court.


16 K. Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 390. European navigators also provided evidence of several uninhabited islands off the coast of western Kyushu shown on the Jōtoku-ji-type maps of Japan.


21 Scholars have doubted the authenticity of the 1128 date of the image from in the Nichūren but rather believe it is comes from around the fifteenth century. See Muroga, “The Development of Cartography in Japan,” 168.


26 Ino Tadataka to Nihonzu, Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan (Tokyo: Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2003), 118.

27 See D.M. Moerman, “Demonology and Eroticism: Islands of Women in the Japanese Buddhist Imagination” for a full description and tracing of this female realm in the Japanese literary and visual culture.


30 K. Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 370. See also 370n99.


33 K. Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 369. Unno lists that one edition from the Keichō era (1596–1614) with no colophon; three others with dates and Kyoto publishers are 1642 by Nankyōshōdō, 1642 by Nishimura Kichibee, and 1656 by Murakami Kanbee. See 369n96 for more information and listing of versions and printings.


43 The 1175 *Gyōki nenpu* by Izumi no Takachichi does not mention mapmaking among his varied


45 See L. Dolce, “Mapping the ‘Divine Country’: Sacred Geography and International Concerns in Mediaeval Japan,” 300. She argues that Gyōki-zu likely were a medieval construction when actual chartings of Japan took place. Gyōki emerged to be associated with this.


47 N. Muroga, “The Development of Cartography in Japan,” 146.

48 T. Akioka, Nihon chizushi, 3n7 and Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 346.


51 Ino Tadataka to Nihonzu, 118; see also K. Unno, “Maps of Japan Used in Prayer Rites or as Charms,” 68.


54 D.M. Moerman, “Demonology and Eroticism: Islands of Women in the Japanese Buddhist Imagination,” 357


65 K. Unno, “Maps of Japan Used in Prayer Rites or as Charms,” 68–81.

66 See K. Unno, “Maps of Japan Used in Prayer Rites or as Charms,” 76 for full listing of almanacs illustrated with earthquake maps in Japan from 1664 to 1685. See also Y. Okada, Nihon no koyomi (Tokyo: Mokujisha, 1972); and T. Watanabe, Nihon no koyomi (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1976) for more background on Japanese almanacs.

67 K. Unno, “Maps of Japan Used in Prayer Rites or as Charms,” 75.

68 See See K. Unno, “Maps of Japan Used in Prayer Rites or as Charms,” 79 for listing of known Ōzassho including maps of Japan from 1693 to 1856.


72 For an outline of the development of Gyōki’s biography, see J. Morris Augustine, *Buddhist Hagiography in Early Japan: Images of Compassion in the Gyōki Tradition*, 9. This publication provides full discussion of the reception of Gyōki, how he fit into the bodhisattva tradition in Japan, his relationship to Nara court politics, and other information related to his biography.


76 See M. Taketori, Nihon Bukkyō-shi I, 164. LaFleur proposes that, beginning in the eighth and ninth centuries, Buddhism offered to the Japanese a new map of reality, an episteme, an era during which there was wide assent about the view of reality offered by Mahayana Buddhism. See W. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan*, 30–31.

Buddhist intellectual hegemony would continue into the Edo period until it would be undercut by the rise of **kokugaku** (National Learning based on Neo-Confucian tenets) and other social and religious movements in the Tokugawa era.

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82 W. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan*, 46. Buddhist intellectual hegemony would continue into the Edo period until it would be undercut by the rise of **kokugaku** (National Learning based on Neo-Confucian tenets) and other social and religious movements in the Tokugawa era.


89 This comes from the **uta makura** tradition. **Uta makura** are place names appearing in classical Japanese poetry in connection with traditional associations and wordplays. The term **uta makura** originally referred to compendiums of poetic lore that served as handbooks for aspiring poets. See W. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan*, 156. See also S. Yamada, *Chūsei bungaku no tenkai to bukkyō* (Tokyo: Ōfū, 2000) and *Saigō no waka*...
to bukkyō (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1987) for further discussion on the relationship between the role of topos in literature and religion.


Chapter Five—Japan and the Centering of the World

Many nanban world map screens survived the religious persecutions of the seventeenth century in Japan, even though so many Christian devotional works of art associated with the Jesuit missions were confiscated and destroyed. According to historical records such as the Nagasaki ki [Records of Nagasaki] and Nagasaki Oboegaki 長崎覚書 [A Memorandum on Nagasaki] of 1668, the Tokugawa authorities regarded world maps as exempt even though other navigational charts and maps were listed as prohibited items.¹ Given the paucity of primary materials, however, we do not fully understand why exactly world maps and world map screens were considered useful or what significance they had when contact with the outside world was carefully controlled and international travel was curtailed. There is a possibility that they were regarded in a similar vein as Arrival of the Southern Barbarian screens, in which merchants read them as objects of auspiciousness, wealth, and prosperity in trade or business. Another possibility is that the exoticism of Europeans or the “otherness” of foreigners may have been one factor that guaranteed the perpetuation and preservation of Arrival screens even after Europeans disappeared from the Japanese landscape.² One group of map screens, however, may add another layer of understanding in how nanban world maps were valued.

As we have already seen, a number of nanban world map screens feature deliberate variations in the placement of Japan and Asia. In several works, the placement of the Western
and Eastern Hemispheres is reversed. Instead of having the Atlantic Ocean in the middle of the composition, as found in European printed maps, these screens have the Pacific Ocean as the central focus. This places visual emphasis on Asia, China, and Japan. This disregard for the original European composition suggests that Japanese artists freely adapted Western imagery, kept what they found desirable, changed the overall emphasis, and unhesitatingly invented new designs as they felt necessary. The *nanban* screens featuring this world geographical configuration with Asia at the center of the composition are those in the collections of Hosshin-ji Temple (Fig. 29); Ikenaga Hajime (Fig. 30); the Nanban Bunka-kan (Fig. 40); the Tokyo National Museum (Fig. 41); the University of California, Berkeley (Fig. 42); Fukushima Kitarō; and Nanba Matsutarō (Fig. 43).

The conditions that prompted this change are unclear. Chapter Three explained that Alessandro Valignano had sought to propagate Christianity by establishing a workable synthesis of European and Japanese customs through a policy of accommodation. Through the institution of the seminary and art workshop, the Jesuits had hoped to spread Western science and knowledge by means of education and art instruction. Perhaps Japanese artists working in the seminary workshops were encouraged to be more experimental, leading to this alternative composition. In reference to the previous chapter, artists who brought Japan to the center may have been prompted by the *sangoku* (three countries) world view based on medieval Buddhist presuppositions. With regard to the idea of Japan as a divine country, a map image that prioritized Japan within the new reality of world geography certainly made sense. However, there is also the possibility that this composition was entirely the product of a misunderstanding, a case of something lost in translation, so to speak. If this is the case, Matteo Ricci, a Jesuit missionary working in China, may have had an influence in shaping Edo period mapping and an
emerging Japanese world view in ways that he and no one else at that time could have imagined.

Matteo Ricci and the Shanhai yudi quantu

Matteo Ricci (Chinese: Li Madou 利瑪竇; Japanese: Ri Matō) (1552–1610) is one of the most important figures in early Chinese-European intellectual and cultural exchange. His letters and other writings were central to the transmission of information about China and Asia to Europe. He entered China at Macao as a Jesuit missionary in 1582 and spent his initial period in southern China. Near the end of 1584, Ricci created a Chinese version of a European world map that the mission possessed. Ricci’s map, known as Shanhai yudi quantu 山海輿地全圖 [Complete geographic map of the mountains and streams], and a second version, produced in Nanking in 1600, are the earliest European maps produced for a Chinese audience. Although both are now lost, the 1613 Tushu bian 圖書篇 [Compilation of illustrations and writings] (Fig. 117), compiled by Zhang Huang (1527–1608), who met Ricci in 1595, is believed to embody many aspects of the 1584 Ricci work. A printed third version known as the Kunyu wangguo quantu 坤輿萬國全圖 [A Map of the Myriad Countries of the World], spread over six separate sheets, was published in Beijing in 1602. Six complete sets are known to exist today. One belongs to the Miyagi Prefectural Library in Sendai (Fig. 118). Another set, with the three crests of the Jesuit society cut out, belongs to Kyoto University Library. The map at the National Archives, Tokyo, is trimmed to the primary map section and is missing the surrounding text panels, supplementary maps, and the illustrations on astronomy. The three remaining sets are in collections of the Vatican Library, Claremont College in Paris, and the James Ford Bell Library at the University of Minnesota.
Ricci’s maps had the potential to overturn long-established Chinese perceptions of the physical and geographical world. Displaying the latest contemporary cartographic conventions, the 1602 map illustrated the division of the earth into its five celestial features: the equatorial zone, the two Tropical zones, and the two Polar zones, with the equator distinguished from the other parallels by its thickness. The maps illustrated terrestrial features as five continents—Europe, Africa, North and South America, Asia plus Magellanica. By means of a latitudinal and longitudinal layout, position could be calculated more precisely than the checker-board divisions found on Chinese maps up to that time that represented only approximate distances. Ricci derived and built his map, place descriptions, and commentaries on various editions of Abraham Ortelius’s *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* and the maps of Gerard Mercator. For the third version of the world map from 1602, Ricci supplemented information from the large map by Petrus Plancius of 1592, the writings of Marco Polo, as well as other European and traditional Chinese sources.⁷ Despite its overall increased accuracy, however, Ricci’s map represents China incorrectly as being comprised of two large islands and part of the larger Asian continent.⁸

Ricci’s map displayed two revolutionary characteristics. The first was the translation or transliteration of place names into the Chinese language and script. Prior to this time, information on European maps was inaccessible to Chinese who did not know foreign languages.⁹ Now presented to them through the Ricci map was a new world of fact and fantasy. Many places previously unknown to the Chinese include those in South America—“Wa-ti-ma-la (Guatemala) and “Yu-ho-t’ang” (Yucatan), “P’o-lu” (Peru), “Chih-Li” (Chile) and “Pa-ta-wen” (Patagonia). In Africa a description of the Nile:

… the longest river in the world. It flows into the sea through seven mouths. In this country there are no clouds or rain all the year round, hence the inhabitants are skilled in astronomy. Every year the river overflows, which makes the land very fertile, as though the fields had been manured; so that when the natives sow their crops they reap a
hundredfold. The country is renowned for its wealth and abundance.

In Africa we also find Mount Atlas, the “highest mountain in the world,” described as a place where:

When the sky is clear and cloudless, those who are halfway up cannot see to the summit. Men call it the axis of heaven. The inhabitants sleep without dreams, which is very strange.

The Holy Land is labeled the place as where “God came down from heaven and was born in this country; therefore men call it the Holy Land.” In Kanata (Canada), Ricci writes, “inhabitants are kindly and hospitable to strangers” and “make their clothes out of skins, and are fisherman by occupation” but

the people living in the mountains kill one another all year round and spend their time in fighting and robbery. They feed exclusively on snakes, ants, spiders, and other creeping things.

In the Caucuses there is a dreadful country of dangerous women, similar in spirit to the island of Rasetsukoku found on many Japanese maps. This country “also has male inhabitants; but if too many are born, they are put to death.” Northern Russia hosts a “Country of Dwarfs” in which … the inhabitants, both male and female, are only about one foot high. At the age of five they have children, and at eight they are already old. Being constantly devoured by cranes, they have to live in caves in order to escape. Here they wait until the third month of summer, when they come out and destroy the eggs of their enemies, riding on goats.

The arctic region is composed of fantastic lands, imaginary islands, and strange tribes, such as “Vagrant Spirits” and “Nocturnal Devils.” There, “Disembodied Spirits” also function to … go abroad by night and conceal themselves by day. They flay deer and clothe themselves in the skins. Their ears, eyes, and noses are like those of other men, only their mouths are on the top of their heads. They feed on deer and snakes.

In addition to geographical information relating to places, products, and customs that
cover a great deal of the map surface, there is an extended preface and text panel explanations which are consistent with the Jesuit discourse on the Japanese front. Ricci’s annotations, all written in Chinese, offer declarations that all Europeans were “reverent adherents of the holy Christian religion,” that “all are versed in the elements of astronomy and philosophy,” and that its princes and subjects were all wealthy. Ricci explicates on a range of topics, including elements of astronomy, cosmology, the shape and size of the earth, its continents, the four elements, and explanations of parallels, meridians, and eclipses. There are also diagrams representing nine celestial spheres and a table of the number of minutes and seconds of the equator contained in one degree of longitude under each parallel of latitude, and an astronomical proof of the sun being greater in size than the moon. There are also directions for constructing a basic astrolabe.

The second important characteristic of the Ricci map was the centering of the world on the meridian of 170 degrees east, which passes just east of present-day New Guinea. This change produced a profound effect, as China and Asia now appeared at the center of the map, instead of the Atlantic Ocean and European continent, as evident in European maps introduced to Asia up to that time. Exchanging the position of the hemispheres— thereby placing emphasis on the Pacific Ocean, Asia, and China, in particular—has been interpreted as Ricci’s concession to his Chinese readers and their traditional notions of China’s geographic and cultural supremacy. As Ricci himself wrote, the Chinese “firmly believe that their empire is right in the middle” and they disliked “the idea of our geographies pushing their China into one corner of the Orient.”

Despite the wide circulation of Ricci’s maps in Chinese editions and reproductions, and the comprehensiveness of information presented, European mapping, and this map in particular, had little influence on changing the Chinese world view or indigenous cartographic techniques.
Cordell Yee writes that, apart from the direct reproductions of Ricci’s maps, Chinese maps through the late Ming and Qing did not adapt the graticule or another analogous coordinate system. According to Kenneth Ch’en, there were four main reasons for Ricci’s failure: the Chinese believed they could learn nothing from the West; there was a perceived connection of Ricci’s world maps with Catholicism; the undeveloped state of Chinese science; and, finally, the careless reproduction by Chinese copyists that resulted in misguided and incomplete maps.

A wider acceptance of Ricci’s maps in China would have required radical shifts in Chinese thinking. One particularly difficult idea for the Chinese to accept was the conception of the world as being round. This directly challenged a school of cosmographical thinking that viewed the world as a flat square surface (Fig. 119). According to Ricci’s journal, the “Chinese could not comprehend the demonstrations proving that the earth is a globe, made up of land and water, and that a globe by its very nature has neither beginning nor end.” Even more difficult for the Chinese to accept was a representation of China as one small country among many in a world that consisted more of water than of land. In some accounts, the Chinese looked upon the distances that the Jesuits claimed to have traveled as deceptions and exaggerations. The Chinese literati who encountered a Ricci-derived map consequently saw little that they could offer and, in some cases, regarded them as backward and barbaric.

The New World Ordered

The circulation of Ricci’s maps in Japan, however, appears to have produced very different results. Historians believe that Jesuits brought the 1602 version of Ricci’s map to Japan soon after its publication in China. By as early as 1605, copies of it may have been used for instruction in geography and astronomy at the Jesuit academy in Kyoto. While Ricci’s maps
failed to exert tangible influence in China, the same map made significant inroads in Japanese intellectual and artistic circles for a number of reasons. The first was the use of Chinese script throughout the map. The Chinese characters familiar to the Japanese made the maps far more accessible and useful. It has been speculated that Ricci’s maps were even mistakenly regarded as being Chinese in origin and unrelated to any European source. Consequently, Ricci’s maps may not have been censored in the same manner as European books, manuscripts, and other materials during the Christian persecutions of the first half of the seventeenth century. The Ricci world map image could be accepted syncretically as a Chinese product and as a pragmatic source of information divorced from the ideological conflicts that involved Christianity and Europeans in Japan.

Many of the nanban map screen artists, especially those who had close relationships with the Jesuit seminary, were probably aware of the 1602 Ricci map, and, after seeing a copy of it, became inspired to create world maps that flipped the Western and the Eastern Hemispheres. Those artists without direct access to the 1602 map probably based their compositions on Japanese copies of the Ricci maps, now edited and filtered, or on those nanban world map screens already produced.

In light of what we have learned of the Gyōki-zu, and its effect on the reception and reading of nanban screens, there is the possibility for yet another layer of Japanese interpretation in addition to that of a Buddhist discourse introduced in the prior chapter. The image of Japan at the center of the world fit perfectly with emerging Tokugawa domestic and international policies and moral concepts being espoused at that time and in full synchronization with the role and rise of the merchant class within the Edo period economy and Japanese society. Rather than serving to promote Christian ideals, notions of European supremacy, or extolling the advanced state of
Western knowledge and science, as Ricci had originally intended, the pictorial world map configuration with the Pacific Ocean in the center of the composition may have been adapted in Japan to produce the entirely opposite effect.

The years of *nanban* world map screen production—roughly 1590 to 1645—coincided with dramatic political and social changes in Japan that witnessed the establishment and consolidation of the Tokugawa regime, the defeat of Jesuit ambitions, the expulsion of the European community, and a broadening of the domestic economy. The circulation of folding screens adorned with Western maps of the world in the first half of the early seventeenth century undoubtedly played a role in forcing many contemporary viewers to reconsider existing notions of their place in both the physical world and in conceptual terms. The Confucian philosopher Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685), in arguing the greatness of Japan’s national history and culture, stated in *Chucho jijitsu* 中朝事実 [Actual Facts about the Central Realm] (1669) that Japan was at the center of the world, enjoying climates that avoid the extremes of cold and heat. Unno and other historians believe that he was influenced directly by Ricci’s map which objectively placed the Pacific Ocean at the center of the composition.

To ensure their power, the Tokugawa shogunate in the opening decades of the seventeenth century instituted a number of policies with the intent of establishing a rigid stratification and hierarchical Confucian social structure within Japan. Their policies included establishing a system of indirect rule, which meant the careful assignment of domains, an effective system of surveillance of vassals through *metsuke* (inspectors), controlled contract marriages, and, after 1634, the *sankin kōtai* system of alternative residence that required domain lords to leave hostages in the capital of Edo. This was supplemented by restrictions on travel and policies of mutual surveillance.
Tokugawa ideologues emulated ancient Chinese rulers by emphasizing education, filial piety, and frugality, as opposed to violence, to legitimize their mandate of heaven 天道 (tennō). They also further strengthened their power through the awarding of court rank and marriage into the imperial family, as well as by subjugating Buddhist temples and sects and turning them into institutes of ethical instruction and vehicles for the aggrandizement of the government. This mandate was channeled through the shogunate and projected onto the Japanese social and physical landscape through art and architecture.

Using cultural production to express political ideology was nothing new or revolutionary in Japan. Since the Kamakura period, for example, the military and social elite had mixed art with politics, often to spectacular effect. Through castle architecture or monumental painted programs, Confucian, Daoist, or Buddhist symbols and themes were appropriated for doctrinal ends and were explicitly employed for legitimizing and maintaining power. During the Momoyama and early Edo periods, rulers expressed and consolidated their hegemony in cities. Nobunaga consciously distanced himself from the ancient capital of Kyoto by placing his symbolic architectural monuments in Azuchi. Hideyoshi then worked to re-establish the prestige of Kyoto as the political and cultural heart of the country and to raise the status of the Toyotomi clan as great builders and patrons. The results were large and costly projects such as Jurakutei Palace and the Great Buddha Hall. The Tokugawa family also sponsored monumental projects. With the new locus of power now in the upstart city of Edo, the construction and pictorial decoration of monumental buildings there, as well as in Kyoto and other locations, remained the most visible and explicit affirmation of the Tokugawa right to rule. Notable projects included Nijō castle, Nagoya castle, Nikkō Tōshōgū, and Edo castle. In these buildings, artists, such as those belonging to the Kano school, painted a range of subjects and didactic stories.
focusing on exemplary historical figures as central themes. In one particular study of Nijō Castle in Kyoto, for example, Karen Gerhart explains the manner in which the Tokugawa orchestrated architectural forms, gardens, and painted programs to create a unified iconographic expression of political and ideological concepts. At Nijō, the design of the garden carried symbolism drawn from classical Chinese Confucian and Daoist themes and stories with references to such legendary places as Hōrai (Penglai) where immortals, sages, animals, and plants lived in perfect harmony linking the Edo period and its rulers with auspiciousness and immortality.30

Similarly, the artists who painted *rakuchū rakugai zu* (Views In and Around the Capital), the expansive painted works which offer encyclopedic and panoramic visualizations of Kyoto, have been shown to have encoded and charged urban landscapes with political symbolism, legitimized the ruling elite, and emphasized the appropriation of pictorial representation for the benefit of those who patronized the works. *Rakuchū rakugai zu*, while aesthetically beautiful as landscapes and spectacular in their display of city and social life, are also revealing because they capture how artists legitimized and expressed the interests of the powerful elite who commissioned them through depictions of homogeneous and idyllic images of buildings, temples, and shrines, as well as human activity, whereby giving order to the physical landscape they governed. This was accomplished, as Matthew McKelway has shown, through a particular and deliberate process of state appropriation and symbolism—that is, depictions of specific palaces, castles, specific individuals, seasonal or historic events, secular and sacred monuments—to propagate state rule and legitimacy.31 Consequently, art, architecture, and depictions of the urban landscape served, as Karen Gerhart writes, “as a tectonic means of affecting power by every means possible, from overt physical coercion to subliminal psychological persuasion.”32 *Rakuchū rakugai zu*, comprehensive in their presentation, operated
as powerful pictorial representations articular ideological and political programs with direct reference to the times in which they initially circulated.

In nanban world map screens, through the vehicle of an appropriated European map of the world, as philosopher Yamaga Sokō argued, Japanese primacy. Thus Tokugawa authority could now be syncretically mapped out on a global scale. Nanban world map screens can be included among the persuasive means that Gerhart outlines because they offered a new and ideal representation of the physical world geography that complemented the vision of the Tokugawa world. The screens offered representations of the world entirely disassociated from earlier forms of mapping in a presentation and form that was pragmatic, immediately comprehensible, and rational. For the Tokugawa ideologues, the Ricci world configuration expressed ideally a reconciliation of heaven, earth, and man, in which filial piety resonated through secular (Tokugawa) rulership outwards from the center (Japan) through the perceivable world (map of the world) and universe and heaven beyond.

Leading merchant households that may have commissioned or received these works of art would have regarded them with great prestige. They would have viewed the screens as acknowledgement of their importance in light of their support to local and national economies as well as their influence within society. Circulating in the two different cultural and intellectual contexts of China and Japan, the Ricci map design served two very different ends. In China, it failed as a didactic vehicle intended to convince the Chinese ruling elite to convert to Roman Catholicism or to prove the greatness of Western civilization. There, it was quickly dismissed. In Japan, however, the image could be fully absorbed into the Japanese Edo-period discourse that was solidifying in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Like architectural monuments and their painted interior projects featuring Daoist or
legendary Chinese Sages, *nanban* world map screens exemplified a vision of Tokugawa political and social agendas. These works of art provided the Tokugawa authorities with a world configuration and cartographic image they could claim as their own, one different from earlier maps that had emerged from the Buddhist or Shinto mandala (Fig. 59, Fig. 60), the Gotenjiku-zu or Embudai-zu (Fig. 109, Fig. 110), or even the Gyōki-zu map.\(^{33}\) Despite their grand scale, global breadth, and origins in Western sources, *nanban* world map screens coincided with an emerging broader ideological program to bolster Tokugawa claims to being the sole source of social and cultural authority in Japan. The ambitions that Matteo Ricci had for his map to impress the Chinese and to convince them of the superiority of Western civilization and the glory of Christianity were syncretically replaced by an emerging Tokugawa world view and agenda and a vehicle to solidify Japanese cultural identity and positioning in a manner that other established pictorial forms could not. Convincing as they are as visual expressions of Tokugawa and merchant domestic ambitions, the *nanban* world map screens are equally potent when viewed in light of Japanese ambitions in international relations.

The Japanese perception of China from the earliest times was complex and paradoxical.\(^{34}\) This unease in Japan’s relationship with China can be traced as far back as the eighth century when the *sangoku* world view was first formulated.\(^{35}\) During the Heian period, the Japanese ruling and cultural elite attempted to maintain a clear vision of Japan as a separate and independent entity, one indebted to but not enslaved by Chinese cultural and philosophical influence.\(^{36}\) Through the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, India, as the source for Buddhism, provided a symbolic buttress against Sino-centric thinking.\(^{37}\) However, owing to distance and the diffusion of influence, India could not dominate the Japanese cultural psyche as did China, which had much closer relations with Japan.\(^{38}\) With the gradual secularization of Japanese society,
Korea came to supplant India in this world view. The concept of sangoku, as a result, lost some of its explicit religious overtones and was evolving to imply the known, or the civilized, world. By the seventeenth century, despite the shogunate’s acknowledgement that it was the historical cultural center of East Asia, China had become a static metaphor for the Other through which the Japanese Self could be defined.

Despite official edicts against foreign trade, anti-Christian measures, and apparently restrictive isolationist sakoku policies, Japanese merchants continued to pursue overseas trading and diplomacy. Ronald Toby regards the expulsion of the Portuguese and prohibitions against Christianity not as a declaration of seclusion. Rather, it was a part of a program to balance political and security needs of the Tokugawa state with the expansion of foreign trade. Through careful orchestration, the Tokugawa shogunate manipulated to utmost effect the ritual aspects of diplomacy with other states and buttressed their claims to authority at home and in the eyes of the foreign community.

For the Tokugawa shogunate, China was a traditional model of statecraft, as well as Japan’s chief protagonist, against which Japan defined its sense of place in geographical and symbolic terms. In this regard, the Tokugawa diplomatic protocol with foreign countries—most notably China, Korea, and the Ryūkyū Islands—was dictated by two crucial elements. The first stressed a policy of national autonomy characterized by non-participation in the Chinese world order. The second was a hierarchy of nations in which the Japanese perceived themselves as equal to or perhaps superior to China in matters of diplomacy and moral achievement. In their writings, Hayashi Razan and Yamaga Sokō (1622–85) claimed Japanese supremacy over China simply because their country alone maintained a single dynasty from antiquity. By contrast, China suffered the ignominy of ethical failure in leadership and the barbarian conquests of the
Mongols.  

The underlying themes that governed Japan’s system of international relations came in a number of forms. These included the shogun’s assertion of his identity as the Nihon-koku taikun (Great general of the Japanese state) and the claim for the primacy of Japanese era names over Chinese ones. Korean, Ryūkyū, and Dutch embassies provided the Tokugawa state with spectacular opportunities to demonstrate its wealth and power before its own people through lavish processions. On at least twelve occasions, Japanese hosts escorted Korean envoys with the greatest of pomp and ceremony from Kyushu to perform in tightly scripted and choreographed audiences with the shogun in Edo.

The success of this Tokugawa system, however, required formal diplomatic arrangements in which Korea, Ryūkyū, China, and the Dutch factory at Dejima, were to act as willing participants. While the Tokugawa engaged and manipulated relations with Dutch, Korean, and Ryūkyū representatives and emissaries, the Japanese were not in communication with the Chinese. This was due to the Japanese campaign of Korea during 1592–1598 which led to China severing relations with Japan. In 1621, Tokugawa officials attempted to reopen direct communication with the Ming court but with no success. For the new Tokugawa Japanese world order to have any validity, an effective strategy to account for China in its transitioning world view was required. In this regard, Matteo Ricci may have inadvertently provided the ideal solution.

Nanban world map screens are significant in this context because they expressed visually a reduction of China’s importance as the symbolic center of the Asian world order. Through these newly introduced depictions of the world, artists rendered China as simply one country and one geographical entity among many. Until the appearance of these European-based
world maps in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the Gotenjiku-type map and other Buddhist or Shinto diagrammatic images were the main Japanese pictorial expressions of world geography. Given their origins, these representations focused on China and India and placed Korea and Japan on the periphery. *Nanban* world map screens, however, offered a visual representation of the earth that was immediately convincing, powerful, and stark in its unadorned objectivity. This intention, in fact, is expressed by Ricci himself in the preface of his 1602 map:

For greater convenience of the spectator, I made the map in the form of a large screen with six leaves, thus enabling him to travel about, as it were, while reclining at ease in his own study. Lo! To be able to scan all the countries of the world in turn without going out of doors must mean some small addition to one’s faculties of sight and hearing.

Ricci had hoped that an individual would engage his vision of the world “while reclining at ease in this own study,” as he states. Yet when his vision is placed in the Japanese context, China no longer held the privileged or symbolic center that it once held, as in Gotenjiku or Sangoku-type images. Instead, this new world view presented China with no special place or particular focus, and the country that had held such sway over the Japanese psyche for so long now was regarded as just one place among many.

Consequently, through this pragmatic new regard of geographic reality, Japan and China became co-participants in a cosmological arena governed by principles in accord with the Will of Heaven and justified through observable phenomena and events. For the Japanese, the list defining their superior state seemed endless: successful Tokugawa suppression of Christianity; shogunal control of international trade and travel in and out of Japan; the creation of the island of Dejima in 1645 that rigorously restricted European presence in the country; and a projection of influence over a circle of countries such as Korea and the Ryūkyū Islands through the careful crafting of diplomatic protocol. And what did the Chinese have to offer? The Chinese offered the decay of the Ming Dynasty through the early seventeenth century, which led to its ultimate
overthrow in 1644 by the Manchus. In this, Japanese ideologues found the main justification to validate Japan’s growing primacy in Asia and in the world community. Most significantly, this conceptual system required neither Chinese participation nor acquiescence.

For seventeenth-century Japanese who could not travel abroad and whose exposure to foreign peoples was closely circumscribed, *nanban* world map screens provided a glimpse of the outside world and signified Japan’s new importance. On world maps such as those in the Nanban Bunka-kan, Tokyo National Museum, University of California, Berkeley, or that in the collection of Nanba Matsutarō (Fig. 43), Japan, now prominently centered, was equal in stature with China and other countries. This effect is dramatically highlighted in the map screen from the private collection in Nagoya (Fig. 44). In this single screen, the artist rendered an enormous Gyōki map of Japan painted entirely out of proportion in relation to a map of the Eastern Hemisphere. Japan is shown larger than Europe and Africa combined. In other screens, such as those in Myōkaku-ji (Fig. 31), the Kawamori collection (Fig. 36), Usuki City Library, Saga Prefectural Library, or Sōji Temple, Yokohama, artists included information about flourishing trade, fabulous rice quotas, and growing populations. In the screens at the Nanban Bunka-kan, Imperial Household Agency, and Idemitsu Museum (Fig. 45), rows of figures adorn their borders. They depict a cornucopia of peoples of the world, including representatives of China, Japan, and India, as well as imaginary lands. Together they display a diversity that characterized this new-found world. Artists assured seventeenth-century Japanese viewers of their place in the world by ethnographically categorizing and ordering such imagery. Japanese figures, in all cases, are shown front and center and shoulder to shoulder with their Chinese counterparts.

*Nanban* world map screens based on the Ricci configuration offered the Japanese a globalized view of the world. The Western map reduced the relevancy of China and India while
allowing for a repositioning of Japan in physical and conceptual terms. With Western contact controlled entirely on Japanese terms through the island of Dejima, and diplomatic relations with Korea and the Ryūkyū islands carefully orchestrated, the world as the Japanese knew it was now tamed and subordinated. *Nanban* world map screens provided a crucial pictorial instrument that could legitimize Tokugawa domestic policy and substantiate claims for Japanese global primacy, despite the Tokugawa shogunate having limited contact with people from other countries or lands. The significance of *nanban* world map screens is broadened through the eyes of those merchants who may have commissioned or were given these types of screens. They would read them as statements of heightened influence, social status, and an open acknowledgement of their role in the well-being of their feudal overlords and the local and national economies with which they were inextricably tied. The world map screens presented to them a view of the full potential of their trade prowess and an indication of international possibilities.
Notes

1 Y. Kimiya, Nikka bunka kōryūshi (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1955), 690–91. See also K. Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” in History of Cartography, 379n130. Unno notes that world maps were exempt from a 1668 law prohibiting the import of luxuries.

2 M. McKelway, Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006), 211.


6 H. Wallis, “The Influence of Father Ricci on Far Eastern Cartography,” Imago Mundi 19 (1965): 38–9. See also D. Crouch, “The ‘Ricci’ Map – the ‘impossible black tulip’ and ‘one of the most important cartographical documents ever produced’,” unpublished document accompanying a 2009 auction. Crouch, the map specialist at Bernard J. Shapero Rare Books in London, helped handle the map’s purchase and wrote an informative essay for the sale that was not published.


10 As quoted in China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matteo Ricci, 1583–1610, trans. Louis J. Gallagher from the Latin version of Nicolas Trigault (New York: Random House, 1953), 167n3. Trigault was a missionary in China, who translated and added to Ricci’s own account of
his activities. Trigault’s translation was originally published in 1615.


15 See J. Needham, Science and Civilization in China (Cambridge, 1959), Vol 1. Chapter 22. Numerous Chinese maps produced through the twentieth century demonstrate the resiliency of Chinese modes of geographical perception. As Helen Wallis writes, distortions convey “a true psychological picture of the world as it impinged on the Chinese, a self-sufficient people living in isolation. It is difficult to tell whether Chinese maps were intended to be maps of China, maps of the Chinese empire, or maps of the world, is significant.” Wallis, “The Influence of Father Ricci on Far Eastern Cartography,” 43.


19 In later years Ricci was often mistakenly regarded as being Asian but this misconception had its origin in *Sairan Igen*, a book on world geography written in 1713 by Arai Hakuseki. See Wallis, “The Influence of Father Ricci on Far Eastern Cartography,” 43; and M. Fujita, “Arai Hakuseki to Ri Matō fu sekai byōbu zu kō,” *Shirin* 16 (1931): 203–224; 446–447.

20 After the prohibition of Christianity and the exclusion of all foreigners except Dutch and Chinese by the Shogunate in 1638, works such as Alei’s *Chih-fang wai-chi* of 1623 and Ricci’s religious writings were on the list of prohibited books, but no restriction was placed on world maps because they were “convenient and useful.” See “Nagasaki Oboegaki” quoted by Yasuhiko Komiya in *Nikka bunka kōryūshi* (Tokyo: 1955).


25 This was nothing new to the Chinese either, who had employed similar strategies in their constructed and painted programs. See Wu Hung, “Inner and Outer Worlds,” in *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 134–99.

26 Perhaps the most obvious and well-studied is the use of Confucian themes and symbols by the Kano school or depictions of monuments in cityscapes. For one example, see C. Wheelwright, “A Visualization of Eitoku's Lost Paintings at Azuchi Castle,” in *Warlords, Artists, and Commoners*, ed. G. Elison (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1981), 87.


28 Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 146 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982). These Toyotomi building projects continued even after Hideyoshi’s death in 1598. Under Hideyori and his mother Yodo-dono (1567–1618), numerous temples, shrines and palaces that had been damaged in the great earthquake and aftershocks of 1596–97 were reconstructed. These included Fushimi Castle, Hōkō-ji and the Great Buddha Hall, and the Hōkoku Museum, dedicated in 1599 to the posthumously defied Hideyoshi. McKelway notes
that the Toyotomi concentration on sacred sites is significant for its demonstration of the spiritual authority the clan sought for itself and laid further claim to with the cult of Hideyoshi after his death. M. McKelway, “The Partisan View: Rakuchū Rakugai Screens in the Mary and Jackson Burke Collection,” Orientations 28, no. 2 (1997): 50–51.

29 For discussion on Tokugawa cultural forms, see S. Hirakawa, Bunmei to shite no Tokugawa Nihon (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1993).


31 M. McKelway, “The Partisan View: Rakuchū Rakugai Screens in the Mary and Jackson Burke Collection,” 52–56. See also M. McKelway, Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006).


33 See N. Muroga and K. Unno, “Nihonde okowareta bukkyōkei sekaizu nitsuite,” 67–141, for examples and discussion of Buddhist maps and diagrams.


41 R. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 9. In her analysis of Edo period foreign relations, Tashiro Kazui points out that of all these various contacts, the exchange with Korea was by far the most important because Korea was the only partner Japan considered as an equal. She also demonstrates that the trade between Tsushima and Korea may at times have surpassed even the Nagasaki silk trade in volume and that the profits would have been sufficient to feed the entire population of Osaka. See K. Tashiro, “Foreign Relations during the Edo Period: Sakoku Reexamined,” *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 8/2 (283–306). Toby also stresses the importance of the Korean embassies to Japan as a matter of legitimization for the bakufu. See R. Toby, “Reopening the Question of Sakoku: Diplomacy in the legitimating of the Tokugawa Bakufu,” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 3/2 (1977), 323–63; see also G. McClune, “The Exchange of Envoys between Korea and Japan During the Tokugawa Period,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 5 (1945/46): 308–25; and B. Jungmann, *Painters as Envoys: Korean Inspiration in Eighteenth-Century Japanese Nanga* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 25–28.


44 Contention between China and Japan lay in status and the recognition of the primacy of position. The Chinese imperial court did not permit any relationship other than a hierarchical one—with China as the supreme “Middle Empire” surrounded by their perceived “barbarian” neighbors. See R. Toby, “Contesting the Centre: International Sources of Japanese National Identity,” 347–363.


48 See R. Toby, “The Carnival of Aliens,” 416–23. Kazui Tashio, in “Foreign Relations during the Edo Period: Sakoku Reexamined,” similarly argues that the Bakufu in its diplomacy placed other nations not above but below itself, as seen in the cases of the Ryūkyūs and Holland, from both of which it demanded and received tributes.

49 For discussion on “boundary creation” during this time, see H. Kuroda, *Kyōkai no chūsei, shōchō no chūsei* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1986).

Conclusion

The 1645 map known as the *Bankoku Sōzu* 万国総図 [The general map of the countries of the world] has the distinction of being the first European-derived map to be widely published in Japan.¹ This printed map, of which examples can be found in the collections of the Kobe City Museum and in the Shimonoseki City Chōfu Museum (Fig. 120), features a general outline of a world map that also has the Pacific Ocean at the center of the composition. The *Bankoku Sōzu*, first produced after the majority of *nanban* world map screens were already completed, is significant because it represents how quickly European map imagery, by the middle of the seventeenth century, had been adapted by Japanese artists for popular audiences.

A number of significant changes characterize the *Bankoku Sōzu*. The first is to physical size and the directional orientation of the map. The artist reduced the map from the broad expanse of the original Ricci map or Japanese folding screen format to a single sheet. This reduction allowed the print to be mounted as a single picture scroll and be hung vertically. Thus, the work became much more accessible and appealing to people of all social and economic backgrounds. This change in scale was accompanied by a 90-degree counter-clockwise turn in directional orientation. The result is that the Western Hemisphere appears at the top of the image and the Eastern Hemisphere at the bottom. As we have seen in many instances, such a rotation would not have been strange to contemporary eyes accustomed to Gyōki-type maps, such as
those in almanacs or fortune telling books, circulating at the time that placed the Japanese archipelago in different orientations. The significant reduction in size also facilitated a pairing with other works, and a print illustrating peoples of the world was produced as a companion print. This imagery likely was drawn from a flanking decoration found on a number of nanban world map screens, including those in the Imperial Household Agency, Nanban Bunka-kan, and Idemitsu Museum. The artist of the Bankoku sōzu, however, removed all extraneous information and details found in the Ricci maps and the Japanese copies, and instead emphasized the general forms of the countries and continents, as well as its decorative appeal—large sailboats, both Japanese and non-Japanese, adorn the top corners of the work.

The Bankoku Sōzu clearly was intended as a popular decorative work rather than a source of reliable cartographic information. After its publication in Nagasaki in 1645, the image was exploited by a publishing market that capitalized on its initial popularity, which likely was due to the rapid emergence of a new geographical consciousness taking hold at that time in Tokugawa Japan. As many as five editions were published as early as 1652. Smaller versions with illustrations of people appeared in books and encyclopedias for the general reader with at least eight versions of the map appearing in between 1693 and 1713 alone. Consequently, the transformations made to the Bankoku Sōzu can be attributed to the influences and requirements of a developing print and publishing culture, and the need to cater to the most diverse of audiences.

Ishikawa Ryūsen produced two versions of the Bankoku Sōzu in 1688 (Fig. 121) and 1708, which contributed to transforming this particular map form into a popular consumer product. In Ryūsen’s interpretation, re-titled the Bankoku Sōkai-zu 万国総会図 [Map of all countries of the world], the map presented a further simplified and stylized version of the
original. Its visual impact was further heightened by the addition of bright color and the transformation of European and Western Hemisphere countries into individual islands with a fanciful emphasis on fantasy lands and peoples.

In elaborating on the Ricci-map configuration, artists such as Ryūsen made a number of changes, including the addition of Kinshima 金島 and Ginshima 銀島 (Islands of gold and silver) and cartouches for Ezo 蝦夷 (present-day Hokkaido) on the map. Some scholars have proposed that Jesuits may have been involved on the Japanese side in reading and translating of Ricci’s maps, given that a number of place-names on the Japanese copies were rendered in the Japanese kana syllabary used for the transliteration of foreign words.

The 1708 version of the Bankoku Sōkai-zu in the British Library, in fact, shows information and place names from a combination of from Chinese, Japanese, and European sources. European-source examples include Ribiainderiyoru (In Dutch, “Libya interieur”) in Northern Africa and Kabotebowaesuperanshiya (Cabo de Boa Esperança) for the Cape of Good Hope written in katakana. Moreover, there is a pronounced conflation of the imaginary and the real. This is evident in the placement of Kinshima and Ginshima next to Japan, as well as in the labeling of such places as Chōjin shima 長人島 (Island of Giants), Shōjin-shima 小人島 (Island of “Small” People), Yakoku 夜国 (Land of Perpetual Night), Rasetsu koku, and Daiin-shima 大冤国 (Island of Great Injustice or, perhaps, depending on the translation, “The Really Wrong Island”) that did not appear on the original Ricci maps. The inclusion of additional legendary and fantastical sites contrasts with the corrections of mistakes made in labeling Japanese islands. Chinese geographical books in circulation in Edo Japan, such as the Shanhaijing 山海經 [Classic of mountains and seas], the fabled geographical and cultural account of pre-Qin (221–206 BCE) China, as well as a collection of mythology, or the Sancai Tuhui 三才圖會...
[Collected compendium of the three realms] (1609), a Chinese illustrated encyclopedia of 106 chapters in fourteen categories, compiled by Wang Qi and Wang Siyi featuring illustrations of subjects in the three worlds of heaven, earth, and humanity, popularized descriptions of strange and wondrous places populated by monsters and fantastic peoples and beings.\(^\text{11}\) Emulating the *Sancai Tuhui*, Terajima Ryōan compiled and published the *Wa-kan Sansai Zue* (和漢三才図会) [Illustrated book of the three realms in Japan and China], the first Japanese illustrated encyclopedia consisting of 105 volumes in 81 books in 1712. It describes and illustrates various activities of daily life, such as carpentry and fishing, as well as plants and animals, and constellations, and among the entries are fantastical descriptions for places such as the Country of the Immortals 不死国 and the Country of the Long-legged people 長脚国. Further research is required to determine the extent to which Ryūsen drew his descriptions from Chinese or Japanese publications in circulation at the time or from the Ricci 1602 maps through its copies and later derivatives.

It is clear, however, that Ryūsen, in producing the *Bankoku Sōkai-zu*, did not differentiate between Western or Asian sources, nor does it appear that he cared much about the accuracy of the information his map conveyed. Unno Kazutaka has commented that Ryūsen’s map represented a decline of cartographic quality from the 1602 Ricci map and even the 1645 *Bankoku sōzu*.\(^\text{12}\) Yet it appears that geographic fidelity was not Ryūsen’s aim. Indicative of many popular maps produced in the 1700s and 1800s, Japanese artists freely combined European elements with those drawn from Chinese and Japanese sources in order to create imaginary worlds that would fascinate their audiences.\(^\text{13}\) Consequently, Ryūsen’s *Bankoku Sōkai-zu* embodies another reinvention of this pictorial map composition and reveals the apparent ease with which artists drew from the widest range of sources—Japanese, Chinese, European, real and
the imaginary. The quickness with which and degree to which the *Bankoku Sōzu* was developed into the eighteenth century demonstrates how market forces compelled artists and publishers to cater to the delight and disposable yen of a popular audience. Such a phenomenon was by no means limited to maps but characterized the entire range of popular literature and print culture.\textsuperscript{14}

By the turn of the eighteenth century, the image of the map of the world introduced by the Europeans and first expressed in Japan on *nanban* world map screens was widely available throughout Japan. The *Bankoku Sōzu* and the Ricci world configuration appeared throughout the Edo period in countless spinoff versions.\textsuperscript{15} These include *Yochizu 契地図 [Map of the earth]* World (1720) by Harame Sadakiyo (Fig. 122) and *Chikyū ichiranzu 地球一覧図 [Map of the world at one glance]* (1783) by Mitsuhashi Chōkaku (Fig. 123). Nagakubo Sekisui produced the best-seller of all world maps of premodern Japan in the *Chikyū Bankoku zenzu 地球万国全図 [Complete map of the world]* which appeared in several versions in rapid succession in the late 1780s (Fig. 124). Nineteenth-century examples include *Konyo Zenzu 坤輿全図 [Complete map of the world]* by Inagaka Shisen (1802) (Fig. 125) and *Bankoku Yochi zenzu 万国余地全図 [Complete map of the earth]* (1853) by Abe Yasuyuki (Fig. 126).\textsuperscript{16} A number of nineteenth-century printed maps are particularly revealing (Fig. 127 to Fig. 129). In these works, the mapmakers continued to emphasize the centralized position of Japan and demonstrated ambivalence towards accurate world geography, despite all the information gained through European contact with the Spanish and Portuguese, and later the Dutch, as well as all the other maps that were in circulation at the time. This illustrates the spirit that late Edo-period mapmakers retained in creatively adapting the map image of the world to suit their designs and specific purposes.

The appearance of the *Bankoku Sōzu* in 1645 is important for gauging the place and
influence of nanban world map screens in the middle of that century. Prior to the publication of the Bankoku Sōzu, the only other visual evidence of Ricci’s map composition appears on these map screens. It should not be surprising that all folding screens featuring a Western map of the world probably predated the publication of the Bankoku Sōzu in 1645. We can surmise that once the European image of the world entered the Japanese public realm, and became available and accessible to everyone, the subject became a less novel or desired pictorial subject for high art patrons, namely powerful feudal lords or wealthy merchants.

The empiricist claims of nanban world map screens, especially those featuring the Pacific Ocean at the center of the composition, carried great legitimizing power in their time of initial circulation in Japan. Prior to the arrival of the first Europeans in 1543, the Japanese conception of their place in relation to the rest of the known world was formulated predominantly on Buddhist ideas manifested in the sangoku world view that privileged China and India. Confluences of Shinto cosmologies, folk religions, and vernacular literary narratives fortified this world view, with which the Tokugawa regime had to contend in promoting the tenets of Neo-Confucianism as socio-political orthodoxy in the first half of the seventeenth century. While a medieval world view continued to resonate through the Edo period and shaped significant portions of Japanese social and cultural life, the Tokugawa regime worked methodically to eliminate any traces of political dissidence. The variation of the nanban world map screen that featured the Pacific Ocean at the center of the composition stood then as a convenient and powerful visual platform for the Tokugawa regime that could reconcile existing Buddhist pictorial representations of the earthly or heavenly realm into a world view which they could call their own. In the possession of merchant families, such as the Uchida we encountered in the first chapter, such a depiction also synchronized perfectly with a self-recognition of place
and responsibility in a rapidly expanding Edo-period economy. As objects of high culture, serving as dramatic backdrops in feudal office or merchant house reception spaces, these screens could simultaneously legitimize domestic political authority, express a vision of Japanese primacy in international affairs, and acknowledge the Japanese merchant’s role in regional and national economy and politics.

Through this study, the artists of the nanban world map screens were shown to have been influenced by the demands of lavish patronage, ostentatious display, and explicit or subtle expressions of religious ideas and power politics. The critical and multi-disciplinary approach that this dissertation adopted was intended to lay groundwork for future studies, especially in those areas concerning the role of institutions in art production, the creation of multiple narratives and meanings, the underlying structures that shape interpretative practices behind map and painted culture, and influences that form conceptions of spatial frameworks and place, especially those concerning the alterity of foreign peoples and lands. It stressed that the screens were artistic and cultural artifacts rather than cartographic or scientific ones. The study emphasized that the screens were not a measure of a Japanese mastery of European knowledge but rather they represented an appropriation of new pictorial modes to create meanings and to make statements about Japanese identity.

The significance and visual allure inherent in this world map form was likely the primary reason for its incarnation as the Bankoku Sōzu. This map of 1645 was not only the first Japanese printed image of the modern world, but one that literally showed the world—now much reduced in size and simplified and abstracted in form—turned on its side. In turn, other Edo-period artists and designers, print makers, and publishers, who, driven by commercial agendas, further transformed the image to cater to the widest range of clientele. This directly paralleled, in many
respects, the phenomenon that had taken hold in publishing circles in Antwerp and Amsterdam with the rapid development of the printed map trade in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The subsequent versions of the Bankoku Sōzu, such as those by Harame Sadakiyo, Mitsuhashi Chōkaku, and Nagakubo Sekisui, attest to the influence of a burgeoning publishing industry that developed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Japan. Circulating in the plebeian world of Japanese popular culture, the map of the world that was featured on magnificent late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century folding screens was no longer the exclusive and privileged reserve of the social, political, and merchant elite. Having been fully absorbed into the broader Japanese culture sphere in the middle of the seventeenth century, the European map of the world that brought a new geographical reality and global awareness to the Japanese would continue to mutate as artists and mapmakers responded to social and market forces as they continue to do so today.
Notes


2. The map at the Nanban Bunka-kan in Osaka and the map at the Idemitsu Museum of Arts in Tokyo are each accompanied by an illustration showing forty types of people from throughout the world. See Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 405n237 and Appendix 11.4.


7. Although Japanese experts at the time could read the Chinese characters, they could not yet transliterate place-names from the Roman alphabet to the Japanese syllabary. They would have required the help of informed Jesuits.

8. Some labeling was added post-printing. This suggests that the map was incomplete at the time of printing and that the artist finalized the work through the writing of additional place-names and coloring tinting by hand. Locations in China, however, remain in Chinese characters. The translations for the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn differ from those on the 1602 Ricci original. Unno, “Cartography in Japan,” 405.


Table 1: *Nanban* World or Old World Map Screens Referenced in this Study

This table references screens in order of their figure number.

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<th>Collection or Location</th>
<th>Format/Size</th>
<th>Cartographic Projection</th>
<th>Companion Screen type</th>
<th>Figure</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kōsetsu Museum of Art, Kobe</td>
<td>Pair of six-fold screens, color and gold on paper, each 153.5 x 379.0 cm</td>
<td>Mercator</td>
<td>Depicting the Battle of Lepanto</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperial Household Agency, Tokyo</td>
<td>Pair of eight-part folding screens, ink, color, and gold leaf on paper, each 177.0 x 483.0 cm</td>
<td>Mercator</td>
<td>Views of twenty-eight cities</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hosshin-ji, Obama</td>
<td>Pair of six-part folding screens, ink, color, and gold leaf on paper, each 154.0 x 352.0 cm</td>
<td>Marine Chart</td>
<td>Map of Japan</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formerly Ikenaga Hajime, now lost</td>
<td>Pair of six-fold screens, ink, color, and gold leaf on paper, each 156.9 x 345.0 cm</td>
<td>Marine Chart</td>
<td><em>Arrival of the Southern Barbarians</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Myōkaku-ji, Okayama</td>
<td>Six-part folding screen, ink, color and gold leaf on paper, 97.0 x 273.3 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yamamoto Hisashi Collection, Sakai</td>
<td>Six-part folding screen, ink, color, and gold leaf, 135.5 x 269.5 cm</td>
<td>Oval</td>
<td>None</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jōtoku-ji, Fukui</td>
<td>Pair of six-fold screens, color and gold on paper, each 148.5 x 364.0 cm</td>
<td>Oval</td>
<td>Map of Japan</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kobayashi Ataru Collection, Tokyo</td>
<td>Pair of six-part folding screens, ink, color, and gold leaf on paper, each 158.0 x 368.0 cm</td>
<td>Oval</td>
<td>Map of Japan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kawamura Heiemon Collection, Obama</td>
<td>Pair of six-part folding screens, ink, color, and gold leaf on paper, each 117.0 x 375.0 cm</td>
<td>Oval</td>
<td>Map of Japan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kawamori Kōji Collection, Obama</td>
<td>Pair of four-fold screens, ink, color, and gold leaf on paper, each 109.5 x 273.0 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>Map of Japan</td>
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1 For list of extant screens and elaboration of their cartographic characteristics, see Ed. J.B. Harley and D. Woodward, Appendix 11.4 “Classification of the Nanban-Style World Maps” in *The History of Cartography* (Volume 2, Book 2, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994).
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<td>Kobe City Museum</td>
<td>Pair of eight-fold screens, ink and color on paper, each 159.0 x 478.0 cm.</td>
<td>Mercator</td>
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<td>Shimonogō Kyōsai Library, Nagahama</td>
<td>Pair of six-part screens, ink, color, and gold on paper, each 105.0 x 262.0 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>Map of Japan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nanban Bunkakan</td>
<td>Pair of six-part folding screens, ink, color, and gold leaf on paper, each 155.0 x 356.0 cm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tokyo National Museum</td>
<td>Pair of six-part folding screens, ink, color, and gold leaf on paper, each 156.3 x 316.3 cm</td>
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<td>University of California, Berkeley</td>
<td>Pair of six-fold screens, ink, color, and gold on paper, 68.0 x 226.5 cm.</td>
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<td>Nanba Matsutarō Collection, Nishinomiya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Private collection, Nagoya</td>
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<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>None</td>
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<tr>
<td>Idemitsu Museum of Arts</td>
<td>Pair of six-part folding screens, ink, color, and gold leaf on paper, 166.7 x 481.4 cm (world map); 163.5 x 216.4 cm (part of the foreign peoples).</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>World map spread across both screens</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanban Bunkakan</td>
<td>Pair of six-part folding screens, ink, color on paper, each 143.2 x 234.0 cm.</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>World map spread across both screens</td>
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Table 2: Remaining Extant Nanban World Map Screens and Maps

Grouped by cartographic projection

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<th>Format/Size</th>
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<td>Formerly N.H.N. Mody, Kobe</td>
<td>Pair of six-fold screens, 204 x 447 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>Map of Japan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jingū Library, Ise</td>
<td>Single folding map, 85.3 x 156.8 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>None</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fukushima Kitarō, Obama</td>
<td>Pair of four-fold screens, 96.5 x 247 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>Map of Japan</td>
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<td>Masuda Tarō, Odawara</td>
<td>Pair of six-fold screens, 105 x 266 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>Map of Japan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gokōin-ji, Nikko</td>
<td>Pair of six-fold screens, 86 x 239 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>Map of Japan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Usuki City Library, Ōita</td>
<td>Folding map, 117 x 137 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saga Prefectural Library, Saga</td>
<td>Folding map, 87 x 160 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōji-ji, Yokohama</td>
<td>Hanging scroll, 130 x 140 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Koga City Museum of History, Koga</td>
<td>Folding map, 118.5 x 117.5 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yamakuni Shrine, Kyoto</td>
<td>Folding map, 118.8 x 120.5 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yokohama City University Library</td>
<td>Folding map, 116 x 121.5 cm</td>
<td>Equirectangular</td>
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<td>Yamaguchi University Library, Yamaguchi</td>
<td>Folding map, 114 x 120 cm</td>
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Fig. 32 Map of the World, 16th–17th century. Six-part folding screen, ink, color, and gold leaf, 135.5 x 269.5 cm. Yamamoto Hisashi Collection, Sakai
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