

# Asian Cities Depicted by European Painters

—Clues from a Japanese Folding Screen

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ヨーロッパ人が描いたアジアの諸都市

—日本の萬国図屏風を手がかりに

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東京の三の丸尚蔵館が所蔵する八曲一双の萬国図屏風には、制作当時の日本に知られていた最新の世界のイメージが描かれている。その主要な源泉は1609年のいわゆるブラウ＝カエリウスの地図だと考えられるが、タイトルに名前のあるブラウ（1571-1638）が1606年に制作し1607年に出版したメルカトル図法による世界地図が、本件と深くかかわっている。この地図は、その正確さ、地理的情報の新しさ、装飾の美しさなどの点で評判が高く、これを借用したり模倣したりする他の地図制作者も少なくなかった。カエリウス（1571-c. 1646）もそうした業者のひとりで、1609年に上述のブラウの世界地図を正確に模倣したブラウ＝カエリウスの地図を出版した。

カトリック圏のポルトガル人やスペイン人は、プロテスタント圏の都市アムステルダムで活躍していたブラウの地図をその市場で購入することもできたが、カトリック圏の都市アントウェルペンの出身であるカエリウスの方が接触しやすかったものと思われる。おそらくは彼らの要請により、自身も優れた地図制作者であったカエリウスが1606/07年のブラウの世界地図を正確に模倣し、そのことによる業務上の係争を避けるために、制作後ただちに同市から出帆する船の積荷に加えさせたのであろう。

ポルトガル人がこの地図を日本にもたらし、そのモチーフを使った屏風の制作に関わったことは明らかである。都市図のもっとも大きい区画をポルトガルの地図が占め、1606/07年のオランダの地図にはなかったカトリックの聖都ローマの都市図が上段の中心付近に置かれている。ポルトガル領内の第二の都市インドのゴアが、地図の装飾の配置から考えてほぼ中心にあるのは、インドを天竺として重視した仏教徒にアピールするためであろうか。こうすることで、日本におけるポルトガル人の存在を認めるよう日本の権力者に促す意図があったのかもしれない。ここではさらに、制作に関わったと思われる日本人画家の関心などを、アジアの都市図の描き方を手がかりに論じた。

A Japanese folding screen illustrated with twenty-eight cityscapes and portraits of eight sovereigns of the world [Fig. 1], the pair to a left-hand one depicting a world map and people of different nations [Fig. 2], preserved in the Sannomaru Shōzōkan, or the Museum of the Imperial Collections, Tokyo, is widely recognized as one of the earliest world imageries known to Japan at that time<sup>1)</sup>. It is said to have been a tribute pre-

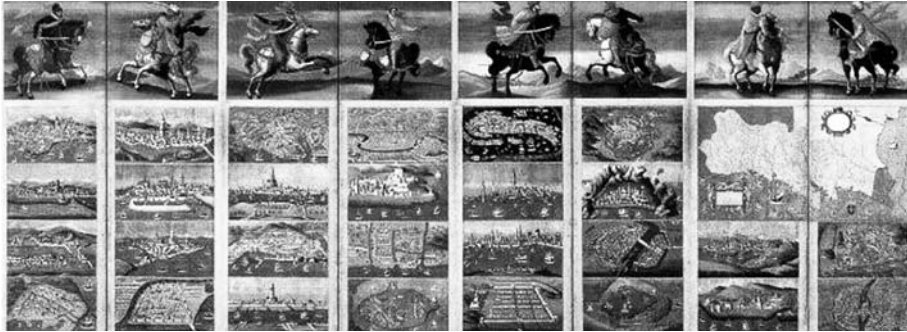


Fig. 1 *Map of Famous Cities* [Bankoku e-zu] (Right Screen)  
 Momoyama period (the late 16<sup>th</sup>-the early 17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 A pair of folding screens with eight-fold panels, color on paper  
 194.8 cm × 516.3 cm



Fig. 2 *Map of the World and the People* (Left Screen)  
 Momoyama period (the late 16<sup>th</sup>-the early 17<sup>th</sup> century)  
 A pair of folding screens with eight-fold panels, color on paper  
 194.8 cm × 516.3 cm

1) The folding screens belonged to national property in 1989 and the museum opened in 1993. The paintings were depicted after the Western style between the second half of the 16th century and around 1621—the year of the Great Martyrdom of Genna after several proscriptions of Christianity—in styles known as early Yōfūga (‘Western, or European-style painting’), Namban Bijutsu

sented around the time of the Meiji Restoration (1867–68) by the Tokugawa family of Sunpu (present-day Shizuoka Prefecture), which was related to the Edo *Bakufu* (Tokugawa ‘Shogunate’), or the military governor of Japan in the Edo era (1603–1867), to the Imperial family<sup>2</sup>). Some say the screen was commissioned by a Japanese nobleman during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, while some say it was commissioned by a Jesuit group trying to survive in Japan during the prosecution of Christians in Japan—mainly those prosecuted by the Edo *Bakufu* in 1612 and 1613<sup>3</sup>). A document of 1611 says that Ieyasu Tokugawa, a former shogun (1603–05) and a man of considerable power, invited two courtiers to discuss foreign countries in front of a *biombo* (a *byōbu*, or ‘folding screen’) with a world map on it<sup>4</sup>). Another document says that a *biombo* with a world map on it was imported and presented to the Sunpu family in 1611<sup>5</sup>). We have, however, no evidence that these documents refer to the folding screens in question as a lot of folding screens with world maps on them are known to have been made around the time<sup>6</sup>).

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(‘Art in the Portuguese or Spanish style’), and others. For example references in European languages, see Maria Helena Mendes Pinto, *Lacas Namban em Portugal. Presença Portuguesa no Japão*, Lisbon: Edições INAPA, 1990; and F.A. Baptista Pereira, *Arte Portuguesa da Época dos Descobrimentos / Portuguese Art at the Time of Discoveries*, Lisbon: CTT Correios de Portugal, 1996.

- 2) Yasumasa Oka, ‘Nijūhachi-Toshi Bankokuzu-Byōbu (‘Map of the World and Famous Cities Screens’), *Kōshitsu no Meihō* (‘The Imperial Treasures’), 9 [Sannomaru Shōzōkan 2], Tokyo: Asahi-Shinbunsha, 1999, pp.290–91.
- 3) For the former, see Mitsuru Sakamoto, ‘Namban-Byōbu to Yōfūga (‘Folding Screens with Portuguese or Spanish-style paintings on and Western, or European-style paintings’), in *Genshoku-Nihon no Bijutsu XXV* [Namban Bijutsu], Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1970, pp.30–35 and p.40. For the latter, see Oka, *Nijūhachi-Toshi*, pp.290–91.
- 4) See the document for 20 September 1611, in the *Sunpu Seiji-Roku* (‘Political Chronicle of Sunpu’) Vol.I (of 8 volumes), preserved in the Ryukoku University Library, Kyoto. The names of the courtiers are Hyōe = Fujihiro Hasegawa and Shōzaburō = Mitsutsugu Gotō, the latter of whom is reportedly the author.
- 5) *Tōdai-ki and Sunpu-ki* (‘Chronicle of Sunpu’), ed. by Zoku Gunsho-Ruijū Kanseikai, Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho-Ruijū Kanseikai, 1995. It is documented that the one is ‘imported’, but probably only the imagery was imported and the screen was made in Japan.
- 6) About eighty examples of Yōfūga are known, including portraits, maps, and others. For an example of another world map, see the *World Map and Four Large Cities in the World* preserved in Kobe City Museum, Japan. See also ‘An Essay of Catalogue Raisonné of Namban Art. Part One: Japanese Early European-Style Painting (written in Japanese)’, *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History*, Vol.LXXV, 1997, pp.98–111.

Taking about two years for transportation from Europe to Japan into consideration and the images depicted on it, the model of the world map would have been made in 1609 at the latest<sup>7)</sup>. Actually, the main source for this screen has been presumed to be the so-called Blaeu-Kaerius map of 1609, the current whereabouts of which is unknown<sup>8)</sup>.

Researching the details of the screen's image sources among old European maps would be a fascinating task, but it would need more space than currently allocated for my discussion. Instead, I will focus on the depictions of Asian cities in the right-hand screen, mainly two Indian ones: Goa and Calicut, which were copied after the cityscapes seen in the European map by Japanese painters, and discuss the changes in portraying cities. First, however I will briefly survey the model map of 1609 before turning to the two cities.

## 1 The so-called Blaeu-Kaerius map of 1609

As the title indicates, the map of 1609 belongs to the Dutch wall maps of the world created in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Reviewing the series of precursors, such maps—each printed on several sheets—were published in the Netherlands as early as the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the honor of being the pioneer in this field is bestowed upon the Antwerp scholar Abraham Ortelius (1527–98), who published a large map of the world in eight sheets in 1564 preceding his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570)<sup>9)</sup>. Five years

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7) The time span of two years is calculated based on the traveling data of Francisco Xavier. It took him about one year and one month to travel from Lisbon to Goa (from 7 April 1541 to 6 May 1542) and about four months from Goa to Kagoshima, the southern area of Japan (from 15 April 1549 to 15 August 1549). The transit connections were not always smooth and we have to factor in the time required for making the *Byōbu* after the engraving of the map. cf. Exh. Cat. *St. Francis Xavier-His Life and Times* (written in Japanese), Kawasaki City Museum *etc.*, 1999, p.12.

8) The only known copy is a second edition from 1619: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ge C 4931. The title along the upper edge of the map reads: 'NOVA ORBIS TERRARUM GEOGRAPHICA/AC HYDROGRAPHICA TABULA, EX OPTIMIS IN HOC OPERE AUCTORIB<sup>s</sup> DESUMPTA.' Günter Schilder, 'Willem Jansz. Blaeu's wall map of the world on Mercator's projection of 1606/07 and its influence', *Imago Mundi*, 31(1979), pp.36–54.

9) NOVA TOTIVS TERRARVM ORBIS IVXTA NEO= / [hereafter, this mark means that the line breaks here in the middle of the word on the map although it should be one word] TERICORVM TRADITIONES DESCRIPTIO. / [hereafter, this mark means that the line breaks here on the map] ABRAH.ORTELIO / ANTVERPIANO AVCT. / ANNO DOMINI / M. CCCC. LXIII. Eight cop-

later, the well-known geographer and cosmographer Gerard Mercator (1512–94) developed a new method of projection, which ushered in a new era in map-making, and was used in the creation of a much larger map of the world on 24 copperplate sheets in 1569<sup>10</sup>. Next, Petrus Plancius (1552–1622), the ‘Father of Dutch Cartography,’ produced his influential large map of the world in eighteen sheets in 1592, not by using Mercator’s method but by a simple cylindrical projection<sup>11</sup>. Thus, Ortelius, Mercator, Plancius and Waghenauer—who published his *Mirror of Navigation* in 1585—are the most important precursors for Willem Janszoon Blaeu (hereafter, his name is abbreviated as Willem Jansz.) (1571–1638), whose name is included in the title of Kaerius’ 1609 map<sup>12</sup>.

Willem Jansz. was born to a herring packer in the village of Alkmaar, or Uitgeest<sup>13</sup>.

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perplate sheets measuring 875 × 1500 mm. There are two known copies of this map, one in Universitätsbibliothek Basel, and the other in the British Library, Map Library, London. For the bibliography, see Günter Schilder, *Three Worldmaps by Francois van den Hoeye of 1661, Willem Janszoon (Blaeu) of 1607, Claes Janszoon Visscher of 1650*, Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1981, p.23.

- 10) NOVA ET AVCTA ORBIS TERRAE DESCRIPTIO AD VSVM NA / uigantium emendatè accommodate. There is a dedication to Wilhelm, Duke of Gulik, Kleef and Berg, Count of the Marches and Ravensburg, and Lord of Ravenstein in the top left cartouche. Twenty-four copperplate sheets measuring 1431 × 2111 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Universitätsbibliothek Basel. For further locations, variations and bibliography, see Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, p.23.
- 11) NOVA ET EXACTA TERRARVM OR= / BIS TABVLA GEOGRAPHICA AC HYDROGRAPHICA. ANTVERPIAE, APVD IOAN= / NEM BAPTISTAM VRIENT. There is a dedication to Archduke Albert of Austria, signed Johannes / Baptista Vrient, who was able to sell this map in the southern Netherlands, against which the northern Netherlands were then at the Eighty Year’s War (1568–1648). Eighteen copperplate sheets and two narrow strips measuring 1460 × 2330 mm. The title and dedication are printed separately and pasted on. The Amsterdam publisher Cornelis Claesz., in possible collaboration with Vrient, was granted the right to publish this map for a period of twelve years by the States General. The only known copy (bearing Vrient’s address) is in Colegio del Corpus Cristi, Valencia. For additional information, including reprinted versions, see Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, p.23.
- 12) Regarding the work of Lucas Jansz. Waghenauer, see Cornelis Koeman, *The history of Lucas Janszoon Waghenauer, and his Spieghel der Zeevaerdt*, Lausanne: Sequoia, 1964. Concerning Willem Jansz., as there are several members with similar name in the Blaeu family, his name is generally indicated in this way. J. Keuning, *Willem Jansz. Blaeu. A Biography and History of His Work as a Cartographer and Publisher*, rev. and ed. by M. Donkersloot-De Vrij, Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum B.V., 1973, pp.8–9.
- 13) According to P.J.H. Baudet, *Leven en werken van Willem Jansz. Blaeu*. Utrecht, 1871, p.121, he was born in Uitgeest near Alkmaar. But he called himself as ‘Alcmarianus’ on several of his globes and maps. It is not known which his right birth place is. Keuning, *Willem Jansz. Blaeu*, p.1.

At one point in his youth, he went to Amsterdam to work in the herring trade, however, he left there for the island of Ven, also known as Hveen or Hven, where Tycho Brahe—the famous Danish astronomer—had built his observatory with the help of King Frederick II of Denmark in 1576<sup>14</sup>. It was probably his inclination to mathematical, geographical and astronomical studies—which Willem Jansz. had shown since his early days—that impelled him to live on the island from the end of 1595 until 27 May 1596. But the reason he devoted his attention to the needs of navigation during his career could be found in his basic empathy with his family's occupation. After returning to his home in Holland, he moved to Amsterdam in 1598/99 to engage in trade in globes, seamen's instruments and maps<sup>15</sup>. His first dated work appears to have been a terrestrial globe of 1599<sup>16</sup>. His name first publicly appeared in the records of the States General for the year 1605, in a resolution proposing that a sum of money be granted to him for printing and publishing the *Nieuw Graetbouck*, which contained declination tables<sup>17</sup>. This event evidences his reputation for accuracy in making maps.

In addition to the publication of books, Willem Jansz. published three wall maps of the world in the first decade of the century. He published a large map of the world in cylindrical projection, taking as a basis the above-mentioned map of 1592 by Plancius, in twenty sheets<sup>18</sup>. Then, he published another one, first published in 1605, which consisted of twenty sheets and was drawn on a stereographic projection<sup>19</sup>. Last, he placed a third

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14) Edward Luther Stevenson, *Willem Janszoon Blaeu, 1571–1638. A Sketch of his Life and Work with an especial reference to his Large World Map of 1605*, New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1914, pp.11–16; Keuning, *Willem Jansz. Blaeu*, pp.1–7. The latter includes a short biography of Tycho Brahe.

15) Keuning, *Willem Jansz. Blaeu*, p.10

16) Stevenson, *Willem Janszoon Blaeu*, p.15.

17) Stevenson, *Willem Janszoon Blaeu*, pp.15–16. See also Keuning, *Willem Jansz. Blaeu*, pp.10–13. Günter Schilder, *The World Map of 1624 by Willem Jansz. Blaeu and Jodocus Hondius*, Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1977, p.3.

18) The twelve-year right granted to Cornelis Claesz. (see Note 11) expired in 1604. Willem Jansz. took commercial advantage of the situation, and had Josua van den Ende duplicate the Plancius map in engraving, adding the latest information to it. The only known copy is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Res, Ge DD 2974. Dimensions 1080 × 2310 mm. The title of the map is missing. Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, p.23.

19) NOVA UNIVERSI TERRARUM ORBIS MAPPA EX OPTIMIS QUIBUSQUE GEOGRAPHICIS

map, drawn on Mercator's projection, with text written in 1606 onto the market in 1607 (hereafter referred to as 'map of 1606/07')<sup>20)</sup>. Thus, Willem Jansz. showed his ability to handle all known methods of projection in order to meet the needs of all his customers.

The last work, which has a strong relation with our screen paintings, was the most influential Dutch map during the first decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century because of the high esteem in which it was held for its accuracy, the latest information on geographical features, and beautiful decorations. The complete map of 1606/07 is not known to have survived, except for the main map of four sheets preserved in Bern and a bottom left-hand sheet of the main map found in Nuremberg<sup>21)</sup>. Fortunately, a small photograph [Fig. 3] taken around the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and a description of the map of 1606/07 by F. C. Wieder shows that the main map was surrounded by text and decorative borders, in which Willem Jansz. writes in the dedication cartouche: 'For decorative purposes and pleasure, I have filled the borders with pictures of the ten most powerful sovereigns ruling the world in our time, the principal towns and a large variety of costumes of different peoples, which may please many curious observers.'<sup>22)</sup>

There seems to have been a great demand for maps in Mercator's projection by Willem Jansz. even before the publication of the map of 1607, he published scaled-down

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HYDROGRAPHICISQ, TABULIS SUMMÂ INDUSTRIÂ ACCURATISSIMÈ DELINEATA, ET DUOBUS PLANISPHAERIIS GRAPHICE DEPICTA À GULIEL JANSSONIO ALCMAR. 2440 × 1340 mm. The only known copy is preserved in the library of the Hispanic Society of America, New York. See Stevenson, *Willem Janszoon Blaeu*, pp.51-59; Schilder, *The World Map of 1624*, p.3, and Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, p.23.

20) The complete map is unknown except for a small photograph and a description left by F.C. Wieder, a Dutch scholar of cartography, on his death in 1943. According to these materials, the title strip reads NOVA ORBIS TERRARUM GEOGRAPHICA / ac Hÿdrogr. Tabula, Et optimis in hoc opera auctorib<sup>s</sup> desumpta auct. Gul. Ianssonio. Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, p.25, describes this strip as being held by two angels, but it is actually held by animals or satyrs. The overall dimensions, including the decorative borders and text, are 1430 × 2040 mm. The engraving is probably by Josua van den Ende, who during this period produced a number of highly decorative maps for Willem Jansz. The decorative borders were attributed to Claes Janszoon Visscher, as the 14 views or plans of major cities (each 55 × 124 mm) bear the well-known monogram of Visscher. Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, p.27.

21) A main map of four sheets is preserved in the Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek in Berne. A bottom left-hand sheet is preserved in the Germanisches National Museum in Nuremberg.

22) Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, p.25.

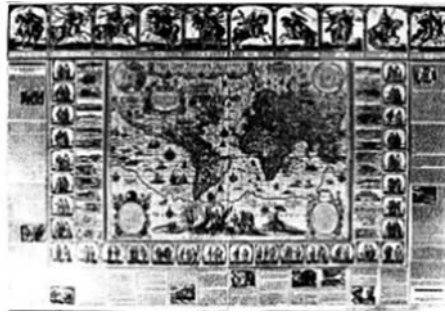


Fig. 3 A Photograph of the so-called *Blaeu-Kaerius map* of 1606/07

versions of this map and other versions, while other mapmakers adapted or imitated his maps in both printed and manuscript form<sup>23)</sup>. Among them we can find the existence of an exact copy of the 1607 map made by Pieter van den Keere (1571–c.1646), also known as Kaerius, in 1609<sup>24)</sup>. It is this map of 1609, the so-called Blaeu-Kaerius map, and which is known only through its second edition in 1619, that is considered to be the main source for our screen paintings<sup>25)</sup>.

A short description of Pieter van den Keere will help broaden our view of the enterprise of map-making at the time. He was born in Ghent in 1571, the son of Hendric van den Keere (c.1540–80), who was a well-known type cutter for the flourishing printing house of Christoffel Plantin in Antwerp<sup>26)</sup>. After the death of Hendric, his widow emigrated to London with her children, one of whom, his sister, Colette, was married in 1587 to the later famous cartographer, engraver and publisher Jodocus Hondius (1562–1612). Jodocus influenced Pieter to engage in the occupation. After making a contribution in map-making in England, he and his brother-in law moved to the newly flourishing

23) Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, pp.29–31. For example, before publishing the 1606/07 map, the publishing house of Willem Jansz. in 1606 produced a map of the world in folio format, which was dedicated to C.P. Hooft, the venerated mayor of Amsterdam.

24) See Note 8; Günter Schilder and James Welu, *The World Map of 1611 by Pieter van den Keere*, Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1980, p.8.

25) Tadamasa Tokita, 'On the prototype of kings on horses in early Western-style paintings (written in Japanese)', *Bijutsushi; Bulletin of the Japan Art History Society*, 108 (1980), pp.127–41.

The only addition to the geographical picture since the 1609 edition is considered to be the Le Maire Strait. Schilder and Welu, *The World Map of 1611*, p.8.

26) Schilder and Welu, *The World Map of 1611*, pp.4–5.



Amsterdam in 1593, where they established a high reputation for themselves in the field<sup>27)</sup>.

We do not know why Pieter made an exact copy of the Willem Jansz. map of 1606/07 in 1609, as he and his brother-in law published their own map of the world in Mercator's projection in 1608, and their circle seem to have been in rivalry with Willem Jansz. around this time<sup>28)</sup>. Although the Portuguese and Spaniards could buy the Willem Jansz. map on the market and would have kept strong connections with him as he might buy from them the latest information on other regions, especially Asia; Hondius' circle might have been far more accessible for them because of their traditional connection to Antwerp<sup>29)</sup>. They needed maps like the Willem Jansz. map of 1606/07, which had good accuracy for their navigational needs, decorations for attracting their clients, and information for appealing to their intellectuality. These demands led the engraver to duplicate exactly many details of the Willem Jansz. map of 1606/07. The prints of Blaeu-Kaerius map were probably taken on voyages departing Amsterdam soon after they were sold, which doubtlessly prevented a possible conflict between the two business circles caused by the duplication.

## 2 The Japanese folding screens

The pair of folding screens consists of the right-hand one with twenty-eight cityscapes and portraits of eight sovereigns of the world; and the left-hand one with a world map flanked by forty-two couples in costumes of various countries<sup>30)</sup>. The right-hand one has

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27) For example, Pieter engraved a series of marine atlases of Willem Barentsz. (c.1560-97), which were published by Cornelis Claesz. since 1595. The series had been without rival until 1618 when Willem Jansz. published the third volume of his *Licht der Zee-vaert*.

28) For the Hondius-Kaerius map of 1608, see Schilder and Welu, *The World Map of 1611*, p.8.

29) In the map of 1606/07, the representation of East and Southeast Asia is based on Portuguese geographical knowledge, and the northern part of the Indian Ocean is also based entirely on Portuguese sources. Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, p.28. However, we may suppose a kind of territorial agreement of the two circles just as Vrient could share the idea of the Plancius map in order to sell it in the southern Netherlands. See Note 11.

30) The twenty-eight cityscapes are as follows, from left to right in column and from top to bottom in section: Lisbon (v), Danzig (p), Bergen (v), Alexandria (fb)/ [Such a slash mark means the end of a column.] Seville (p), Hamburg (v), Stockholm (v), Moscow (fb)/ Constantinople (v), London

eight-fold panels, each of which is divided into five segments. The top of each contains a painting of a sovereign mounted on a horse, and each of the other four segments contains a cityscape or a city map—except for a map of Portugal, which occupies the upper four segments of two right-hand fields<sup>31</sup>. The cities depicted are not only European, but also African, American and Asian. The depictions are varied in their views, as often seen in maps of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Some are shown as bird's-eye views, some are flat plans, and some are profile or panoramic views<sup>32</sup>. Their diversity may reflect that of their models. It is difficult, however, to find any rule behind the selection and allocation of these views in the screen painting.

The main reason why not the Willem Jansz. map of 1606/07 but the Blaeu-Kaerius map of 1609 is thought to be the model of this world map lies in the shape of the upright oval cartouche seen in the right bottom of the map, the decoration of which is close to that seen in the map of 1609<sup>33</sup>. In addition, the map is not the second edition of 1619, because it lacks the depiction of the Le Maire Strait that is inserted in the second edition<sup>34</sup>.

It is a matter of certainty that the Portuguese imported the map and the arrangement of its motives into the folding screens. They put the map of Portugal conspicuously into the upper four segments as mentioned above. The Catholic centre of Rome, which was

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(p), Genoa (b), Antwerp (p)/ Rome (fb), Hormuz (v), Bantam (fb), Mozambique (b)/ Venice (fb), Amsterdam (p), Cologne (p), Cusco (b)/ Mexico (b), Aden (v), Frankfurt (fb), Sofala (b)/ [The left side of the Portugal map (f) occupies the upper two sections.] Prague (v), Calicut (v)/ [The right side of the Portugal map (f) occupies the upper two sections.] Goa (fb), Paris (fb). It is sometimes difficult to completely differentiate the style of views, but I tentatively put the following letters in parentheses: (b) = bird's-eye views, (v) = views, (f) = flat plans, (fb) = bird's-eye views close to a flat plan, which I call a quasi-flat plan (p) = panoramic views with lower horizon.

The eight sovereigns are as follows, from left to right: Roman Emperor (Rudolph II), Turkish Emperor, King of Spain (Phillip II), King of France (Henry IV), Grand Duke of Moscow, Grand Cham of the Tartars, King of the Abyssinians, King of Persia. In this paper, I have to skip the identification of the nationalities of the forty-two couples. Oka, *Nijūhachi-Toshi*, pp.290-91.

31) The shape of the country seems to derive from the Ortelius Map. Oka, *Nijūhachi-Toshi*, p.290.

32) See Note 29.

33) For comparison, see Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, p.40.

34) The discoveries of Jacob le Maire in the region of 'TERRA DEL FUOGO' were taken into account in the second edition of the world map of 1619, and the copperplates were altered. Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, pp.35-36.

not seen in the Dutch map of 1606/07, is placed around the upper centre, probably taking as its basis a guide map of 'the Jesuit institutions founded in Rome by Francisco Xavier for the Jesuits' inserted in the *Vita Francisco Xavier* published by Cornelius Gaur at Antwerp in 1610<sup>35</sup>). The representation of New Guinea differs completely from the map of 1609, information on which was only known to the Portuguese<sup>36</sup>). Goa, the second-largest city in the Portugal Empire, seems to be intended as the centre of the map as a small square painting with personifications of four continents, with Europe—which was centered in the map of 1609—located just below the position of Goa. For the Japanese, India (or Tenjiku in the Japanese of the time), was the most sacred place of Buddhism, so this arrangement seems aimed at persuading Japanese viewers to approve the presence of the Portuguese in Japan in spite of their religion of Christianity.

Later on, I will pay special attention to two Indian cityscapes or city views: Goa and Calicut, which are shown below the map of Portugal. The other two segments of the same fields are occupied by two European Catholic cities; Paris below Goa, and Prague above Calicut.

Curiously enough, Paris is continuously outlined in the same type of quasi-flat plan as first seen in a 1569 map by Sebastian Münster<sup>37</sup>). In the 1572 cityscape from the Brown-Hogenberg *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, the quasi-flat plan is maintained even for the accompanying figures in the foreground. In the map of 1606/07, as well as the one of 1609, the quasi-flat plan is still used but includes surroundings depicted in bird-eye view, so that we can see uniform small trees. The copyist emphasized the stereoscopic method even within this quasi-flat plan shape of the city and by the height in the left-corner foreground of the outskirt, as seen in the Brown-Hogenberg illustration, with the trees more naturalistically depicted. The city is just flatly outlined in a similar form as in

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35) DOMVS AC PIEATATIS, QVAE B.P. IGNATIVS ROMAE FRACIENDA CVRAVIT, QVAEO. SOCIETAS SVAE CVRAE COMMISSA HABET. M. Sakamoto (ed.), *The Early Yōfūga* (written in Japanese), Tokyo, 1966, p.66, Fig. 60 (Rome); Tokita, *On the prototype*, p.138; Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, p.40.

36) Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, p.40.

37) John Goss, *The city maps of Europe: 16th century town plans from Brown & Hogenberg*, [Japanese translation, by Akio Kobayashi], Kyoto: Dōhōsha-Shuppan, 1992, p.94.

the 1624 world map by Jodocus Hondius<sup>38</sup>). From this trivial comparison, we can note the eagerness of the Japanese copyist to learn stereoscopic depiction, which had not yet become fully established in Japan. On the other hand, Prague is shown from a view that is based on the left side of the city view from Brown-Hogenberg's *Civitates*, however, it is not from the version of 1572 but from a later one<sup>39</sup>). What is remarkable is that the copyist, who did not know the traditions of Western map-making, gave similar details in both maps—with small houses and buildings depicted three-dimensionally in a simple shadowing method. However, he paid scant attention to roads and streets, which are more conspicuous in European maps. From these features in the screens, we have a conviction that the copyists were surely not European but Japanese.

Concerning painting schools where Japanese could learn Western painting methods, ones for sacred paintings were founded within the seminaries at Arima in 1580 and at Azuchi in 1581 established by the instrumentality of Alessandro Valignano S. J. (1639–1606), a Jesuit known as *Grande Visitatore*<sup>40</sup>). A Jesuit painter called Giovanni Nicolao, or Cola, was sent to Azuchi by Jesuit headquarters in Rome in 1583<sup>41</sup>). The seminaries, however, had to move from place to place, lastly to Nagasaki. A seminary devoted to painting is thought to have been active at Hachirao from 1592 onward<sup>42</sup>). Nicolao trained many disciplines, including Pedro Joan and Leonard Kimura. However, Nicolao had to leave Japan for Macao, China, with his disciplines—including Jacob Niwa, who had played an active part vigorously in the art centres of Macao later on—in 1614, the year

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38) Schilder, *The World Map of 1624*, pp.4–12.

39) R.A. Skelton, *G. Braun & F. Hogenberg, Civitates Orbis Terrarium*, Vol.2 (reprint of IV–VI) [With a preface by C. Koeman; Japanese translation by K. Hasegawa], Tokyo: Kashiwa-Shobo, 1994, p.225.

40) A.C. Ross, 'Alessandro Valignano, The Jesuits and Culture in the East', in: J.W. O'Malley, S.J. (ed.), *The Jesuits Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000, pp.334–36.

41) He was born in Napoli and learnt painting under a local painter in his youth. After his entry into Jesuit service in 1577 and his elevation to monk, he moved to Rome and learnt engraving under Giovanni Bartolomeo Mazza from the school of Cornelis Cort (c.1533–78), the famous engraver from the Netherlands.

42) Midori Wakakuwa, *Seibo-zo no Torai [The arrival of the Madonna]* (written in Japanese), Tokyo: Seidosha, 2008, pp.163–64.

of the great oppression of Christianity<sup>43)</sup>.

Judging from the paintings attributed to Nicolao and his disciplines, they seem to have made few cityscapes, but if not them we have no idea as to who could have copied the world map and arranged the motives so impressively. Only Japanese painters, who had learnt Western techniques, could achieve the height shown in these magnificent folding screens. When they transcribed the monochrome image of engraving to colour painting, they might have referred to traditional Japanese decorative paintings, using their colourful arrangement.

The scientific examination conducted at the Centre for Conservation Science and Restoration Techniques of National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo, revealed several interesting facts about the painting materials. For example, the gold leaf used to represent the castles and fortresses scattered over the Europe area has a layer of vermilion underneath, probably to make the gold much brighter<sup>44)</sup>. This is a technique often seen in European paintings of the time<sup>45)</sup>. Concerning white pigments, not only white lead but also pigments with calcium carbonate are used within the same painting<sup>46)</sup>. Possibly, the artists simply used both imported and local pigments in their workshop rather than deliberately using different types of pigments for the difference in the nuances of white. Concerning the binding medium, gelatines, glues, drying plant oils and occasionally Japanese lacquer are used<sup>47)</sup>. Therefore, these screens can be said to be

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43) Wakakuwa, *Seibo-zo*, p.168.

44) Yasuhiro Hayakawa, 'Bankoku Ezu Byobu danpen no Ganryo Dotei Kekka (Identification of pigments in samples from the folding screen illustrated with twenty-eight cityscapes and portraits of eight sovereigns of the world)', *Report of Restoration*, pp.32-37.

45) For example, the fire in the fireplace was depicted with white and red painted flames, over which the artist applied gold leaf, in the right-hand interior panel of the diptych of Abbot Christiaan de Hondt (Antwerp, KMSK) by the Master of 1499, probably in an attempt to make the flames much brighter. J.O. Hand, C.A. Metzger and R. Spronk, *Prayers and Portraits, Unfolding the Netherlandish Diptych*, Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2006, p.288.

46) Sadatoshi Miura, 'Bankoku Ezu Byobu no Kagakuteki Chosa [The scientific examination of the folding screen illustrated with twenty-eight cityscapes and portraits of eight sovereigns of the world] (written in Japanese)', *Report of Restoration*, pp.28-31.

47) Tetsuo Miyagoshi, 'Bankoku Ezu Byobu no Kōchakuzai no Bunseki [Analysis of binding medium of the folding screen illustrated with twenty-eight cityscapes and portraits of eight sovereigns of the world] (written in Japanese)', *Report of Restoration*, pp.38-42.

a mix of oil painting and tempera painting. Japanese lacquer could have been used for giving a glitter to the painting surface, but in this case it seems to be used to make the medium stronger.

The iconography is absolutely Western, while the support system—a folding screen—is Japanese. But the materials and techniques are indeed eclectic. Then what about the style—especially of the cityscapes? The cityscapes of the map 1606/07 are known to be by Visscher, the most progressive cityscape maker at that time<sup>48</sup>. His cityscapes offered a wide range of views such as flat plan, bird's-eye view, panoramic view, and profile view. Only knowledge of accurate perspective could generate these views, namely, decide how to show a city and how to see it. In the next section, I will discuss the two Asian cities on the screen, focusing on these problems.

### 3 Two Asian cities depicted by European Painters

As mentioned above, the Indian cities of Goa and Calicut have specific iconographic meanings for Japanese viewers. Goa [Fig. 4] is shown in a bird's-eye view but close to a flat plan like Paris. It is, however, not modelled on the Brown-Hogenberg depiction, which is rendered as a bird's-eye view, but on an illustration from *Itinerario* (1596) by Jan Huygens A. Linschoten<sup>49</sup>. In his image of the Goan cityscape, only the elements near the seashore, including the elephants and shipwrights, are stereoscopic, but others seem flat—like map signs, and the surrounding mountains are also rendered in imaginary shapes. In a coloured version, the roads are emphasized by red outlines on both sides, which were not repeated on the screen painting<sup>50</sup>.

Jan Huygens A. Linschoten landed in Goa, the heart of the Portugal's trading empire, in 1583—the first Dutchman to do so. He went there as a secretary of the new archbishop of Goa, Vicente de Fonseca, and stayed there for five years to learn the manners

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48) For Visscher, see Schilder, *Three Worldmap*, p.27.

49) H. Kern, *Itinerario: voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten near Oost ofte Portugaels Indien 1579-1592*, 1e. stuk, 's Gravenhage, 1910-39 [1596]; a map between p.134 and p.135.

50) For the coloured version, which probably was done by a later hand, see Exh. Cat. *Namban, Tozai-koryu no seika [Westerns in Japan of the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries, Flowers from the Cultural Exchanges between the West and the East]* (written in Japanese), The Municipal Museum of Sakai (Osaka), 2003, p.79.



Fig. 4 Goa, from the *Map of Famous Cities* (Fig. 1)

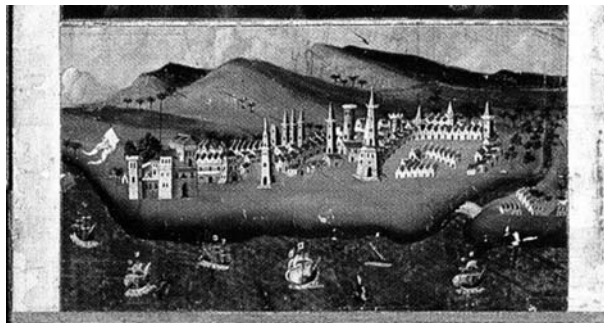


Fig. 5 Calicut, from the *Map of Famous Cities* (Fig. 1)

and customs of the people and the structure of the city, which were then not known to European countries other than Portugal<sup>51</sup>). After he returned to the Netherlands, he published his knowledge of the city in a book in 1596, which opened up the way to India for the Dutch powers, Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the like. The reason the roads of the city were emphasized with red outlines was that they showed possible routes to enter the city, showing they might have been more important than a detailed depiction of the city.

In a later copy [Fig. 6] by the Dutch mapmaker Johannes Vingboons, the red lines are duplicated and are more eye-catching because of the contrasting green colors in the surrounding areas, which were drowned by colors in the Linschoten version<sup>52</sup>). Johannes

51) Kern, *Itinerario*, pp.123-44; Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Voyages into East & West Indies*, Amsterdam, 1974 [London, 1598], pp.328-35.

52) M. Gosselink, *Land in Zicht, Vingboons tekent de wereld van de 17de eeuw*, 's Gravenhage:



Fig. 6 Goa, a map and view by Johannes Vingboons

Vingboons and other Dutch image-makers depicted Goa with the Dutch fleet shown attacking it in profile views, which are considered as more progressive. These images are, however, encomiastic rather than accurate, and the focus is not on the city of Goa, but on the Dutch fleet. Despite the attack of the Dutch fleet on this Indo-Portugal city, Portugal kept it as a colony until 1961. The Linschoten image was still in use in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in *Histoire Générale des Voyages* by Jean-François de la Harpe<sup>53)</sup>.

Another landscape of Goa appeared in the Brown-Hogenberg *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, which shows the city of 1509, when Portuguese Admiral Alfonso de Albuquerque attacked Goa at the behest of the local chieftain Thimayya (also referred to as Timoiji or Timoja)<sup>54)</sup>. However, judging from its style, this cityscape seems to have made much later in the Netherlands. It shows the city just prior to the attack of the Portuguese, whose squadrons seems to be blockaded at the mouth of canal. The city is completely fortified by high surrounding walls, whose appearance is utterly different from the image by Jan Huygens A. Linschoten. The reason Willem Blaeu and later editors adapted the Linschoten image—even if it gave only a primitive appearance—was that the image was more renovated than in the Brown-Hogenberg image.

Later, between 1632–35, Pedro Barreto de Resende provided illustrations of several city plans of fortified Indian cities for the *Book of the Plans of fortresses, cities, and boroughs in the State of Eastern India* by António Bocarro by order of King Phillip III of

Waanders Uitgevers, 2007, p.116.

53) Goa: 19 Mar. 2014 <<http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Goa>>

54) Skelton, G. *Braun & F. Hogenberg*, Vol.I (reprint of I–III), p.127.



Portugal<sup>55)</sup>. De Resende made no plan for Goa, but judging from other plans, for instance of Cochin, De Resende's style is more primitive than Linschoten's in terms of three-dimensionality—even if the technical survey was accurate. The Indo-Portugal government could not retain any landscape painter of the rank of the highly developed Dutch landscape painting schools of that time. Even in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, an anonymous painter of the Portuguese school rendered an encomiastic image in a bird-eye's view in *View of Goa and neighboring territory* (Lisbon, M. N. A. A)<sup>56)</sup>.

Calicut [Fig. 4], where Vasco da Gama first landed in 1498, has a different history of its views. On the screen painting in question, Calicut is depicted from a view as Prague is. The rendering is obviously based on the image from Brown-Hogenberg's *Civitates*<sup>57)</sup>. Differing from the empty image of Goa, the shore of Calicut is alive with people. From the right to the left, an elephant is being guided by a man standing on its back, while another elephant eats grasses in the middle distance; shipwrights are making rowing boats; a woman is walking with her child; a group of a dignitary and its attendants are moving around—probably on inspection; two men are fishing with a dragnet. On the sea, several large vessels are at anchor, from one of which a rowboat is pulling for the shore with four people in it. Such lively details are also seen in Linschoten's illustration of Goa, but have disappeared in the other above-mentioned images. For Calicut, Joan Blaeu, a son of Willem Blaeu, used a less lively version of the Brown-Hogenberg image, for example, from the Atlas of 1664 (actually made in 1617–1650). Johannes Vingboons added three vessels with Dutch flags [Fig. 7]<sup>58)</sup>. The Portuguese failed to secure any valuable treaty with the local powers of Zamorin and came into direct conflict with Arab merchants and Zamorin himself. A Dutch fleet led by Steven van der Hagen arrived in Calicut in November 1604, which marked the beginning of the Dutch presence on the Indian coast. The Dutch had a more favorable relation with Calicut and were awarded greater participation in ongoing trade.

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55) 436 pages and 48 hand-drawn watercolor charts, plotted on paper. Goa, 1635. Evora, B.P.A.D. Cod. CXV/2-1. Exh. Cat., *Via Orientalis*, Tokyo: Sezon Museum of Art etc., 1993, No.59A-59V.

56) Exh. Cat., *Via Orientalis*, no.34.

57) Skelton, G. *Braun & F. Hogenberg*, Vol.I (reprint of I-III), p.54.

58) Gosselink, *Land in Zicht*, p.122.



Fig. 7 Calicut, a view by Johannes Vingboons

## 4 Conclusions

The Japanese folding screens with twenty-eight cityscapes and portraits of eight sovereigns of the world were made probably in a seminary in Nagasaki around 1611, by Japanese painters who were trained there by Nicolao or others in European painting techniques. The paintings were arranged after the Blaeu-Kaerius map of 1609, in which Van den Keere duplicated the Willem Jansz. map of 1606/07 and sold it to the Portuguese. The arrangement was supervised by Portuguese missionaries, who felt threatened by the deportation of Christians from Japan and who were trying to curry favour with the Japanese governors by dedicating beautiful paintings containing a host of the latest information of the world. They arranged it also in order to show the power of the Catholic and Portuguese trading empire, emphasizing Indian cities that were sacred places for Japanese Buddhists.

I paid special attention to two Asian cityscapes on a Japanese screen painting. As the Japanese painter responsible for the work had never seen the cities with their own eyes, they followed the manner of European depictions, especially with respect to shadowing stereoscopic effects, but they paid no attention to roads, which seem to be meaningful for European image-makers. Even in Europe, there were not so many different types of Asian cities in the early modern ages. Established ones—through important publications—were continuously copied and adapted. It is not necessary so, but the intimate closeness of the image-maker might be reflected in the richness of imageries. Jan Huygens A. Linschoten might have had the intention to reveal the structure of the city of Goa to the Dutch people, but he had also an intimate feeling for it. For later

people the priority was on the structure of the city—for military purposes. So they adapted only the structure and emphasized the roads. For a Portuguese painter, the city was to be depicted as opening its body to the missionaries. As for Calicut, how the city was depicted depends on who wanted to approach it and with which purpose and intention. In the Japanese painting, this kind of connotation seems to be weakened for the sake of the denotation of three-dimensionality.