

PORTUGUESE SHIPS ON JAPANESE NAMBAN SCREENS

A Thesis

by

KOTARO YAMAFUNE

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

August 2012

Major Subject: Anthropology

Portuguese Ships on Japanese Namban Screens

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Approved by:

Chair of Committee,	Luis Filipe Vieira de Castro
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ABSTRACT

Portuguese Ships on Japanese Namban Screens. (August 2012)

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Namban screens are a well-known Japanese art form that was produced between the end of the 16th century and throughout the 17th century. More than 90 of these screens survive today. They possess substantial historical value because they display scenes of the first European activities in Japan. Among the subjects depicted on Namban screens, some of the most intriguing are ships: the European ships of the Age of Discovery.

Namban screens were created by skillful Japanese traditional painters who had the utmost respect for detail, and yet the European ships they depicted are often anachronistic and strangely. On maps of the Age of Discovery, the author discovered representations of ships that are remarkably similar to the ships represented on the Namban screens. Considering the hypothesis that ships of some of the Namban screens are copies of ships represented on contemporary European cartography, the author realized that one particular historical event connecting Europe and Japan may be the source of these representations. This was the first visit of the Japanese Christian embassy, the Tensho Embassy, to Rome, in 1582. Its journey to Europe and its following visit to the *Taiko*, or first effective leader of Japan, Hideyoshi Toyotomi, may have been a

trigger for the production of one of the most well-known Japanese artworks, the Namban screens.

DEDICATION

To my father and mother, who always trust and encourage me.

Without their support, I could not finish this research.

I hereby present this thesis to my loving parents to be apprised that they are the best
father and mother in the world.

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I would like to acknowledge the editors and authors of *Namban Byobu Shusei*: Mitsuru Skamoto, Katsuhiko Narusawa, Mari Izumi, Kaoru Hidaka, Kazuto Sawada, and Mamiko Nakano. Without this beautiful inventory book of Namban Screens, I could not have finished this research.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Preface; Marco Polo and Legendary Island “Zipangu”

From *The Travels of Marco Polo*, Edited and with an introduction by Milton
Rugoff (1986:205-206):

Of the Island of Zipangu and the Great Khan's Attack against It

ZIPANGU is an island in the eastern ocean about fifteen hundred miles from the mainland, or coast of Manzi.

It is of considerable size; its inhabitants have fair complexions, are well made, and are civilized in their manners. Their religion is the worship of idols. They are independent of every foreign power and governed only by their own kings. They have gold in the greatest abundance, its sources being inexhaustible, but as the king does not allow it to be exported, few merchants visit the country. Nor is it frequented by much shipping from other parts.

The extraordinary richness of the sovereign's palace, according to those who have access to it, is a wonderful sight. The entire roof is covered with a plating of gold, just as we cover houses, or more properly churches, with lead. The ceilings of the halls are of the same precious metal; many of the apartments have small tables of pure gold of considerable thickness; and the windows also have golden ornaments. So vast indeed are the riches of the palace that it is impossible to convey an idea of them.

On this island there are large quantities of pearls, pink, round, and huge, and worth as much as if not more than, the white kind.

It is customary for one group of the inhabitants to bury their dead and for another to burn them. The former make a practice of putting one of these pearls into the mouth of the corpse. A number of precious stones are also found there.

So celebrated was the wealth of this island that the Great Khan Kublai, now reigning, conceived a desire to conquer and annex it. To do this, he fitted out a great fleet and sent a large body of troops under the command of two of his principal officers, Abakan and Vonsancin. The

This thesis follows the style of *Historical Archaeology*.

expedition sailed from the ports of Zaitun and Kinsai, and crossing the sea, reached the island safely.

However, jealousy developed between the two commanders, as a result of which one of them treated the plans of the other with contempt and resisted his orders. Because of this they were unable to capture any city or fortified place, with one exception which was carried by assault when the garrison refused to surrender. Orders were given to put everyone to the sword. As a result, the heads of all the inhabitants were cut off, excepting eight persons who, by means of a magic charm consisting of a jewel or amulet inserted under the skin of the right arm, were rendered safe from any weapon made of iron. When this was discovered, they were beaten with a heavy wooden club, and soon died.

It happened after a time that a north wind began to blow with great force, and the ships of the Tartars, which lay near the shore of the island, were driven foul of each other. It was decided in a council of the officers that they ought to get away from the land; and accordingly, as soon as the troops were re-embarked, they stood out to sea. The gale, however, increased to such a degree that a number of vessels foundered. By floating on pieces of wreckage, some men reached an island lying about four miles from the coast of Zipangu.

The other ships, which (not being so near the land) did not suffer from the storm, and in which the two chiefs and all the principal officers were, returned home to the Great Khan.

Introduction

In the early 14th century, Japan was introduced to the European world as an Island of Gold by the Venetian Explorer Marco Polo. It is not difficult for us to imagine the excitement of contemporary Europeans when reading the story of this most distant legendary island. Indeed, many of explorers of the Age of Discovery dreamt of it and some of them actually tried to reach it; Christopher Columbus, who sailed westward from Europe, was one of those Europeans. Portuguese sailors finally reached the most distant civilization on the earth in 1543, more than 200 years after Marco Polo's first publication and the introduction of Zipangu. In the following a century, as pioneers of the European Age of Discovery, Portuguese merchants enjoyed the lucrative Japan trade.

Today, we know a lot about this first interaction between the Europeans and Japanese, from both contemporary Latin and Japanese chronicles and journals; however, among all primary sources, the most intriguing and visually-pleasing information appears on Namban screens, a famous Japanese art form, which was produced at the end of the 16th century and throughout the 17th century in Japan (Figures 1-1, 1-2, 1-3, 1-4, 1-5).

Namban screens are regarded as the first Japanese artworks that depicted Europeans and their ships visiting Japan. Today, we can enjoy a considerable number of these screens in various museums around the world. The original goal of the author's Master's thesis was to identify the Portuguese ships that voyaged to the Far East and to illuminate their nature and the details of their upper structures, based on the known care Japanese artists took to represent what they saw as accurately as possible. However, during this research, the author recognized that the ships that were depicted on many of the screens were implausible representations of oceangoing ships, and that some of the ships represented on the screens looked very similar to the ships represented in contemporary European art. While considering these facts, the author realized that one important historical event might be the 16th century link between Japan and Europe. In this thesis the author will discuss the composition of Namban screens and extant information regarding their making, the Portuguese and Japanese trade and its historical background, and the implausibility of the ships on the screens.



FIGURE 1-1. Namban Screen: Osaka Castle Museum Version (Important Cultural Property). On the inventory that served as a base for this study, the word “version” indicates “each particular version of the existing Namban Screens” (Sakamoto 2008:2-5,324-325,386,396-397). Top is Right Panel and bottom is Left Panel (159.0 X 375.0 cm each).



FIGURE 1-2. Namban Screen: Version A of Kyushu National Museum (Important Cultural Property) (Sakamoto 2008:12-17,327-328,389,396-397). Top is Right Panel and bottom is Left Panel (154.5 X 363.2 cm each).



FIGURE 1-3. Namban Screen: Suntory Museum of Art Version (Important Cultural Property) (Sakamoto 2008:24-29,328-329,386,396-397). Top is Right Panel and bottom is Left Panel (Right screen, 166.5 X 363.2 cm; Left screen, 166.4 X 358.4 cm).



FIGURE 1-4. Namban Screen: Version A of *Namban* Bunkakan (Important Cultural Property) (Sakamoto 2008:30-35,329-330,386,396-397). Top is Right Panel and bottom is Left Panel (163.2 X 361.2 cm each).



FIGURE 1-5. Namban Screen: Private collection-K family Version (Important Cultural Property) (Sakamoto 2008:44-49,332-334,386,396-397). Top is Right Panel and bottom is Left Panel (Right screen, 154.4 X 363.2 cm; Light screen, 154.4 X 362.4 cm).

Finally, the author will introduce his hypothesis and explain his supporting evidence in order to propose a better interpretation of the dubious quality of some of the ships on the Namban screens.

CHAPTER II

NAMBAN SCREENS

Namban Screens

Namban screens were produced by various artists from the end of 16th century and throughout 17th century (Sakamoto 2008). Today, 90 screens are known survive, although the inventory is still growing. They can be enjoyed at museums in Japan and around the world. As mentioned above, depictions on the screens are historically important because they display scenes of European activity in Japan around 400 years ago. The word “*Namban*” was derived from the old Chinese worldview. In ancient China, its inhabitants considered their country to be the center of the world, and the only civilized nation on earth. Chinese people called surrounding regions “*Hokuteki*”, “*Toui*”, “*Seikai*”, and “*Namban*”; or Northern Savages, Eastern Savages, Western Savages, and Southern Savages (Sakamoto 2008:294). The Japanese population was called *Toui*, or Eastern Savages. These terms did not describe specific countries, but designated the foreigners who lived in each direction. By the 16th century, these terms were also in use in Japan, and the Europeans who came to Japan from the southern sea were called Namban people. It is not clear whether at this time the term Namban had any special negative connotation. The Portuguese and Spanish people who visited Japan at the time were designated as Namban people, together with the Africans and Indians who came along with the Portuguese and Spanish. According to the official record by *Tokugawa-Bakufu* (1603-1867), Portugal, Spain, Italy, Goa, and Macau, were all regarded as

Namban countries (Sakamoto 2008:294). Although Goa and Macau are located in Asia, since they were colonized by the Portuguese, they were also identified as Namban cities. Consequently, people and ships from those counties were indiscriminately designated as Namban people and Namban ships. A screen is considered Namban if it represents at least one of three special features: a Namban temple, Namban merchants and missionaries, or Namban ships.

The Namban people first met the Japanese in 1543, when three Portuguese merchants drifted into one of the southwestern small islands of Japan on a Chinese junk. This event happened half century after Columbus's discovery of the New World.

The encounter of 1543 was the first Europeans experience with the samurai world of Japan. This event was not only historically but technologically important because the three Portuguese merchants brought *arquebuses*, or early firearms, into the middle of the Japanese conflict. That was the first introduction of a practical gunpowder weapon into the samurai world. Soon after the discovery of Marco Polo's legendary islands, European merchants and missionaries began to visit Japan an a regular bases. This interaction with the Western World caused cultural changes far beyond the introduction of firearms. One important realm where European influence can be observed is that of the Japanese art. New trends in Japanese art appeared at the end of the 16th century and throughout the 17th century (Sakamoto 2008:297-300). In addition, many Japanese artists drew Portuguese people and ships in their paintings. Namban screens were a part of this artistic movement.

Specifically, Namban screens are paintings generally comprising from two to six articulated panels, displaying European activities in Japan. They were produced by Japanese artists who painted the images onto screens. Screens were traditional Japanese furniture believed to have been introduced in the 7th century from China (Pint and Hino 1993:5). Screens soon became common in Japanese house. They were used to divide a room into two parts and to prevent wind from blowing into or through a room. In other words, screens were used as movable walls. By the 15th century, screens often became a canvas for painting, consequently the screens themselves featured a style of Japanese painting. Screens have various sizes and shapes. Many artistic screens are paired because two canvases can show a continuing story. Screen size can be subdivided into three categories. Large size is between 1.70m and 1.90m in height; Medium size is between 1.30m to 1.50m; and Small size is between 0.9m to 1.20m (Pint and Hino 1993:6-7). These different sizes were chosen based upon intended usage and the preference of owners. After the establishment of trading relations with Japan, screens must have been exported to Portugal and acquired certain importance, because the general word to designate screen in that country since that time is *biombo*, from *byobu*, the Japanese word for screen (Pint and Hino 1993).

In the end of the 16th century, depictions of Europeans and their activities suddenly appeared in traditional Japanese screen paintings and such works are now called Namban screens. As mentioned above, more than 90 screens survive, produced primarily between the end of the 16th century and throughout the 17th century. Some of the earliest screens were painted by well-known artists, known as the Kano-school

(Sakamoto 2008: 324-382). These screens have become an important category in Japanese art history. Moreover, they are also historical witnesses of the first interactions between Japan and Europe. Five of the earlier Namban screens in existence are registered as Japanese Important Cultural Property. In 2008, the most complete inventory so far was published in a book, *Namban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008).

Three Types of Scenes Depicted on the Screens

Most Namban screens are composed of two pieces: a right panel and a left panel. Each panel displays different scenes. In 1932 and later, in 1968, Japanese art history scholars Ichitaro Kondo and Kayoko Harada, respectively, categorized the known Namban screens. Their work was followed by that of Katsunori Narusawa, who succeeded their research and completed a research on all 90 surviving screens found so far (Sakamoto 2008:294-304). Based upon differences in the depicted scenes, the screens were divided into three categories: Type I is a combination of scenes of China (left) and Japan (right), Type II is a combination of imagery of foreign countries and Japan, and Type III shows both panels depicting scenes of Japan. Only five screens were categorized as Type I. There are 23 screens that are Type II. The differentiation of Types I and II is difficult, however, because both types depict Japan and a foreign country. In Type I, the foreign country is China. We can see traditional Chinese buildings and people on Type I screens. On the left panel of Type II, the scenery may be of China or of hypothetical European countries. Those places were produced by the artist's imagination of a European port in Asia. From history, we can assume that this place was perhaps

Macau, Malacca, or Goa, where the Portuguese had their trading centers (Sakamoto 2008:301-302). There are 48 screens classified as Type III. Types II and III are the most common types of Namban Screens. The remaining 15 screens, which were produced somewhat later than other screens, are devoid of two important Namban screen features, the Namban Temple and a march of the *Capitão-mor*, a traditional subject that consists of a representation of European clerics and merchants. Because of this, they were not placed into any of the three types defined above, and are generally designated as *Namban Koeki-zu* (scenes of Portuguese trade). As Narusawa and other scholars have discussed, however, Namban screens are characterized by at least one of three important factors, and these screens are included in the Namban art category.

Three Important Features of the Screens

Most Namban screens, as Narusawa discussed, have three important features: the Namban Temple, Namban Ships, and a representation of the march of *Capitão-mor*, including missionaries, the members of the Tensho Embassy, and Portuguese merchants with Arabian horses (Sakamoto 2008: 298-300).

The Namban Temple

On the right panel of most of Namban screens we can see a building that bears a Christian cross on the rooftop. This building, the Namban temple, seems to be the destination of the march of *Capitão-mor*. A Namban temple existed in Kyoto, which was the capital of Japan until 1604, when *Shogun* Ieyasu Tokugawa moved the capital to Edo, which is modern Tokyo. The Namban temple was constructed under the permission

of Nobunaga Oda in 1576 (Sakamoto 2008:298-299). Nobunaga is considered to be the strongest *Sengoku-Daimyo*, or feudal warlord, in Japanese history; before he could completed his hegemony in Japan; however, Nobunaga was assassinated by his subordinate Mitsuhide Akechi in 1582. Nobunaga loved European goods and culture, and he was very benevolent toward Christianity (*Shukan Nihon no Bi wo Meguru* 2002). After his death, the Namban temple was destroyed by *Taiko* Hideyoshi Toyotomi. Hideyoshi had been Nobunaga's subordinate and became the first effective leader, *Taiko* of Japan after his defeat of Mitsuhide. Hideyoshi disliked Christianity and enacted the *Bateren-Tsuihou-Rei* (Christians Deportation Order) in 1587. In the same year he destroyed the Namban temple that had been the center of the European mission in Japan (Sakamoto 2008:298).

It should be noted that besides the temple, around this time there were several Christian buildings in Kyoto, Osaka, Nagasaki, and other places in western Japan (Okamoto 1955:58-72). These buildings were used as seminaries, colleges, and churches. Partly due to the small size of the European community, and partly for political reasons, all of these buildings were constructed in the Japanese traditional manner. This fashion was advised by the Italian missionary Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), who landed in Japan in 1579. He wrote guidelines for other missionaries about how they could make proselytizing more efficient. Valignano advised (Okamoto 1955: 59-60):

When we build new buildings, we have to ask Japanese architects and follow their advice. Since their tradition of architecture is different from the European one; moreover, their tradition is largely derived from how house-owners treat visitors, and this custom is also significantly

different. Therefore, it is impossible for us to build structures which are accepted by Japanese customs and people. And we know this from our experience.

Portuguese missionaries followed a fundamental rule when constructing Christian buildings: to build them in the style of Japanese traditional buildings, at least after the Tensho Era (1573-1592). In 1612, the Jesuit missionary Francisco Pacheco left an account that noted that all the Christian buildings in Japan were built in Japanese style following the Valignano guideline (Okamoto 1955: 61-62). From these accounts we know that there were Portuguese buildings that were seemingly Japanese traditional buildings but were used by European missionaries. These were probably similar to the Namban Temple represented on the Namban screens.

A March of the Capitão-mor

The senior authority over the Portuguese East Asian Trade was known as the *Capitão-mor*. The Portuguese king appointed a nobleman as *Capitão-mor*, the commander of the East Indian fleet, to ensure that the lucrative Asian trade was monopolized by the central government (Toko 1998:60-61). The *Capitão-mor* had great authority and managed all of Portugal's East Asian trade, which included commerce with India, Indonesia, China, and Japan. On Namban screens a *Capitão-mor* was typically depicted with a parasol held over his head by a servant. This march of the *Capitão-mor* is probably based on an actual historical event: the 1593 visit of Jesuit missionary Alessandro Valignano, the Tensho Embassy, and Portuguese merchants, to *Taiko* Hideyoshi (Sakamoto 2008:299-300; Okamoto 1955:40-58). The Tensho Embassy to the Vatican was composed of four Japanese Christians. In 1582, they were dispatched

to Rome by the Christian *Daimyo* who governed the Kyushu area. The Tensho Embassy was the first Japanese delegation to officially visit Rome and the Vatican (Wakakuwa 2008a, 2008b). This was also a significant event for Europeans, as these visitors represented the spread of Christianity to the eastern edge of the earth. After being welcomed in many cities in Europe, the Tensho Embassy returned to Japan in 1590. On earlier screens, the four young Japanese Christians were depicted as short figures that looked to be in their early teens, and had flat noses with no mustaches. As far as the author knows, all scholars agree that those conspicuous children on the early screens are the members of the Tensho Embassy, mostly because it is known that they later accompanied the march of the *Capitão-mor*, in 1593. Other than the members of the march of the *Capitão-mor*, there is another important European group represented on many of the screens. These are Jesuit missionaries, wearing their traditional black robes and seeming to lead the march into the town.

The marchers presented themselves as ambassadors of the Viceroy; however, their actual purpose in going to Kyoto was to persuade *Taiko* Hideyoshi to reverse his decision to deport all the Christians and annul the *Bateren-Tsuihou-Rei* (Sakamoto 2008:298-299).

Another interesting feature appearing in many of the screens are Arabian horses. *Taiko* Hideyoshi was very fond of Arabian horses and historical accounts mention several of them among the Portuguese gifts of this embassy (Sakamoto 2008:299). Narusawa remarked that Arabian horses were bigger than Japanese horses, and that horses were important to the status of *Samurais* since they stood for military power. This

might be the reason why Arabian horses became Hideyoshi's favorites. All the marches on Namban screens are colorful and extravagant, much like circuses. This is also corroborated by historical accounts. As mentioned above, Hideyoshi disliked Christianity. His main reason was its doctrine, which taught that everybody was equal in God's eyes, a dangerous idea that could jeopardize his position in his newly established reign. Despite this, he wanted to maintain trade relations with Portugal. His interest on Portuguese trade is clear on the text of his *Bateren-Tsuihou-Rei* (Sakamoto 2008:299).

Bateren-Tsuihou-Rei in 1587

Act 1 Japan is a country of Gods (Shintoism); therefore, missionaries from the Christian countries should be deported. (This order forced all Christians in the country to leave Japan within 20 days)

Act 4 Merchants of Black Ships (Portuguese Ships) are the exception and are allowed to stay in Japan. They may stay as long as they want and are encouraged to conduct their business.

Act 5 As long as Portuguese merchants do not intervene in the teaching of Buddhism and Shintoism, they are allowed to conduct business in Japan. However, both merchants and missionaries are from a Christian country. Therefore, Japanese people must pay maximum attention to their behaviors.

The primary purpose of this decree was to separate Portuguese trade from Christianity. This was not an easy situation, as Portuguese traders were subordinated to the clergy and the emperor did not manage to separate mercantile activity from religion. In this context, the *Bateren-Tsuihou-Rei* made it difficult for Valignano and the Tensho Embassy to go to visit *Taiko* Hideyoshi. The Christian local governors, or *Daimyos*, Yoshitaka Kuroda and Yukinaga Konishi gave advice to Alessandro Valignano:

You have to minimize the number of Jesuit missionaries [in the embassy] and maximize the number of Portuguese merchants, so that the parade will seem to represent a Portuguese embassy for businesses, not an embassy of Jesuits. Additionally, you have to make the march as extravagant as possible. Since the Jesuits' ordinary appearance is

miserable, other members of the march should wear flashy and gorgeous clothes, to display the authority and richness of the Portuguese Empire and also of Christianity (Wakakuwa 2008b:332-340; Sakamoto 2008:299-300).

Contemporary Jesuits always wore humble black coats, and therefore the march was to include many merchants in order to impress Hideyoshi. Following this advice, the march consisted of the four people from the Japanese Tensho Embassy, their servants, one Portuguese ambassador, 14 Portuguese merchants, the principal of the Christian School in Nagasaki, and several missionaries (Wakakuwa 2008b:331-332). Luis Fróis (1532-1597) was a one of these missionaries. A member of the Jesuit Order, Fróis kept a journal, *Nihon-shi*, which was translated into Japanese. Today, his journal is one of the most important primary sources for Japanese history of this period (Fróis et al. 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2000d, 2000e, 2000f, 2000g, 2000h, 2000i, 2000j, 2000k, 2000l). Fróis described this this march in his journal:

On the way to the capital, countless numbers of Japanese came from everywhere to see our parade. Everybody was so surprised and said that the Portuguese seemed like incarnations of Buddha. Japanese people usually dismissed the Portuguese, so that the parade was astonishing to them (Wakakuwa 2008b:335-341; Fróis et al. 2000e:79-108; Sakamoto 2008:299).

Emperor Hideyoshi was informed of this parade and welcomed the Portuguese into his castle. This may be the reason why the Portuguese marches on Namban screens are shown so flamboyant and colorful.

As mentioned above, the Namban screens that were not categorized as Type I, II, or III did not show the Namban temple or the march of the *Capitão-mor*. These 15 screens display only the Portuguese as merchants and their trading activities in a

Japanese port and market. For this reason, these screens are generally known as *Namban Koeki-zu* (scenes of Portuguese trade). Nonetheless, they are still regarded as part of the family of Namban screens because they display Namban motives, especially ships.

Namban Ships

The third element relevant to this study that can be seen on Namban screens are the European ships, the main subject of the present research. Depictions of these vessels are important because they are the first representations of European vessels in Japan. The ships on the screens represent Portuguese merchantmen; Portuguese *naus* and *navios* – as smaller *naus* were referred to – were probably the most common type of European merchant ship to sail in Asia, and were employed in the China and Japan trade (Okamoto 1955:25-40; Sukeno 1960:66-69). In Portuguese, the larger ships were called *naus* – literally *vessels* – both in Portugal and Spain (in Spain spelled *nao*), and designated as carracks in English after the Italian word *caracca*. *Naus* gradually grew in size over the course of the 16th century, especially those engaged in the lucrative Asian trade. Most historians believe that the Portuguese used this type of ship in the trade with Japan, and thus that the ships represented in the Namban screens are Portuguese *naus*. This assumption may be wrong, as we intend to discuss in chapter IV.

Of the 90 screens that survive today, most were produced between the end of the 16th century and throughout the 17th century. Besides the types and the components, it is obvious that earlier screens are more valuable, accurate, and produced with more care and meticulous attention to detail. Many earlier screens are known to be produced by skillful artists, such as the Kano-school artists. Alternatively, toward the end of the 17th

century, the screens became less accurate and less meticulously rendered. Those later screens were perhaps closer to what European would call mass-produced products, rather than created as individual artistic pieces.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY

The Dawn of the Age of Discovery and Portuguese Adventure to the East

Many different factors made the Age of Discovery possible, two of which were notably important: Portugal discovered the maritime route around the African continent that led to rich Asian resources, while Spain explored the New World and conquered the Aztec and Inca empires in the Americas. This period is significant in the history of mankind. While Europeans had heard of the fabulous eastern civilizations, or the Chinese dynasties, that world was enshrined in mysteries and fables, and few Europeans had visited Asia or encountered Asians directly. Moreover, at the dawn of the 16th century, no one in Europe or in Asia knew what vast continents existed beyond Europe, Asia, and Africa. The European Age of Discovery is the period in which the long isolation of peoples and cultures that began with the diaspora out of Africa perhaps 70 thousand years before, came to an end, and for the first time most of the world's far-flung civilizations became aware of each other.

The foundation of the Age of Discovery was laid in the 14th century. Marco Polo and later explorers introduced Europe to intriguing Asian cultures; the restoration of wider trade networks during the late Middle Age gave Europe a taste for spices and Asian luxury goods, and the economic growth experienced in several maritime cities around the Mediterranean stimulated the demand for these imports. By the late 14th

century, Ottoman Turks defeated the Mongol Empire and Muslim merchants monopolized trade between the East and the West. The Eastern markets opened to Europe through a number of maritime republics during the Renaissance. Islam experienced a new golden age under the wise administration of the Seljuk Turks. However, the rise of the Muslim world rekindled old animosity in Christian countries against Muslims (Love 2006:7).

On the other hand, Arabic scholars around the Mediterranean brought ancient knowledge back to the European world. Lost Greek and Roman texts on geography, mathematics, philosophy, medicine, astronomy, and many other subjects of the Classical World were reintroduced by Arab scholars; some of this knowledge was vital for scientific navigation during the long intercontinental voyages of the 15th century (Love 2006:7; Russell-Wood 1998:17-18).

Situated on the edge of the European continent, Portugal developed the idea of expansion overseas and started a period of long sea navigations that is known as the Age of Discovery. A tradition of pillaging and taxing the Iberian Muslim population encouraged the Portuguese to expand their expeditions across the ocean, into the African continent, once the country's frontiers were defined, around 1250, and future Spanish territories to the east of Portugal were placed out of range by the papacy (Love 2006:10-11). Unlike Spain, Portugal completed its *Reconquista* – the process of invasion and occupation of Muslim Iberia that started in the beginning of the 11th century – by 1249. Most historians believe that the Portuguese had two main motives for this expansion, namely religious zeal and greed. There is an unequivocal sense of crusade against Islam

in the northern Africa expansion, helped by tax exemptions granted by the popes for that specific purpose. On the other hand, an avowed component of this movement was to seek access to African resources, such as wheat, fish, seals (for their blubber, meat, and hides), and later ivory, gold, slaves, and a number of spices that could be purchased in African kingdoms (Love 2006:10-11).

Expanding the Christian faith and obtaining wealth were thus Portugal's primary motives for sending their ships into the unknown. This venture, which required ships, men, and money, needed a national sponsor and strong leadership. Prince Henry (1394-1460), the third son of the Portuguese monarch John I (1358-1433), adopted this task after he organized the supply of the crown's expansion into the north of Africa. Moving to the south of Portugal, where he enjoyed a considerable rent from large estates, Prince Henry pushed the Portuguese exploration of the African Atlantic coast and he is known to history as a father of the European Age of Discovery (Love 2006:11-13). After the 19th century, he is recognized by many students of history as Henry "the Navigator." A man of the medieval era, he possessed a crusading spirit and violent anti-Muslim leanings. In 1420, at the age of twenty-six, he was appointed Grand Master of the Order of Christ.

In 1441 the Portuguese exploration of the African West coast reached land south of Cape Blanco, on the Guinea coast, and the ships returned to Europe with African slaves. This event was the beginning of Portugal's African slave trade. By the end of the 15th century, probably as many as 150,000 African slaves were exported to Europe through Lisbon (Love 2006:15-16). Although one of the primary purposes of expansion

was the crusade against Islamic territory on the African Atlantic coast, Portuguese involvement in western Africa was not as violent as in the Maghreb, because the Portuguese merchants of the late 15th century were less interested in conquering and occupying land than in opening normal trade relations with the local kingdoms (Love 2006:16). It is not difficult to imagine that establishing business relations with local Muslim slave traders was easier and more profitable than raiding local populations.

After Henry's death in 1460, Portuguese King Afonso V (1432-1481) resumed African South Atlantic expeditions with the help of the rich Lisbon merchant community. In 1473, Portuguese ships penetrated the Gulf of Guinea, later called the Gold Coast, and the first Portuguese ship crossed the equator. In 1484, under the sponsorship of John II, Afonso's son and heir, the Portuguese captain Bartolomeu Dias (1451-1500) reached the southern tip of the African continent and sailed around the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean (Russell-Wood 1998:9).

Dias's accomplishment completed the first phase of the Portuguese exploration in the Age of Discovery (Love 2006:21). The first phase was designed to control the commerce of the African Atlantic shores, and it extended from Morocco to the Niger Delta on the Gold Coast. Portuguese merchants successfully replaced Muslim Arab merchants as the dominant agents of the slave trade in the West-African coastal region. However, after the discovery of the southern end of the African continent, Portuguese interests shifted to finding a route to the rich Asian markets (Love 2006:21). Vasco da Gama (1460-1524) initiated the second phase of exploration with his inaugural voyage in 1497. He sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and crossed the Indian Ocean to the

port of Calicut, India. Fortunately for the Portuguese, the path to domination of commerce in East Indian waters had been paved by other factors. After the seven expeditions of Zheng He (1371-1433), an admiral of the Ming dynasty, between 1405 and 1433, China decided to cease maritime ventures in order to focus on internal affairs (Love 2006:21-22). The Arabic merchants who dominated trade in the Indian Ocean lacked strong naval vessels power and were no match for the Portuguese ships and weapons. Therefore, Indian and Asian waters were vulnerable to anybody who first decided to apply modern naval power. Upon arrival in India, Gama saw a wealthy cosmopolitan society with a sophisticated taste and a market full of pepper and other spices, precious stones, gold, silk, and other valuable Asian goods. In 1499, when Gama returned to Portugal, the small amount of goods brought from the Indian Subcontinent was sold at a profit of nearly 3,000 percent (Love 2006:23). Vasco da Gama proved that the economic potential of this newly opened sea route exceeded the best estimates of the Crown.

Although the first expedition to India was peaceful, the purpose of the second Portuguese voyage was to establish naval and commercial supremacy. Because the Muslim merchants who controlled commerce in the Indian markets showed open animosity towards newly arrived Christian fleets, the Portuguese saw the need to ensure the safety of trading centers along the Indian coast by means of naval force. Portugal seized Goa in 1510, Malacca in 1511, and Hormuz in 1515, under the guidance of two gifted viceroys, Francisco de Almeida (1450-1510), viceroy between 1505 and 1509, and Afonso de Albuquerque (1453-1515), governor from 1509 to 1515, who together

established a strong independent European authority in Southeast Asia (Love 2006:25-30; Russell-Wood 1998:9). Portuguese explorers reached China in 1513 and secured their presence in Ceylon in 1515; by 1519 they contacted the Banda and Moluccas Islands, where rich spices were produced. In the early 1540s, Portugal reached Marco Polo's legendary island: Japan (Love 2006:25-30; Russell-Wood 1998:9).

It is an interesting historical and social phenomenon that a small, poor, and sparsely populated country on the western tip of Europe led the way on European expansion around the globe. During the 16th century, Portugal became a major exporter of rich Asian goods and its wealth increased immensely. In the 40 years after Vasco da Gama first sailed the Indian Ocean, Portugal created a seaborne empire and dominated commerce from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan.

A Brief History of Japan: From its Beginning to the 16th Century Samurai World

Some history books say that the Portuguese discovered Japan during the European Age of Discovery. However, this expression is not correct. Indeed, Portugal was the first European nation to reach Japan and start trade with the island nation. However, Japan had a long history of active interaction with China, Korea, and other Asian countries before the Portuguese arrived. And, of course, Japan had a long history that is unique and independent of the eastern and western worlds. Before analyzing the Namban screens produced at end of the 16th century and throughout 17th century, it may be useful to briefly examine the history of Japan from its beginning to the 16th century *Sengoku-Jidai*, or Warring States period.

Archaeological evidence confirms that there have been settlements from the Paleolithic era onward in today's Japan. Around that time, before the Ice Age ended, Japan was a part of Eurasian Continent (Sato et al. 2008:2-14). Then, 10,000 years ago, when the Pleistocene ended, the sea level rose and Japan became an archipelago. The earliest historical descriptions of Japan appeared in Chinese chronicles (Sato et al. 2008:24-29). According to these Chinese documents, there were hundreds of small chiefdoms in Japan in the first centuries before the Common Era; by the 4th century AD, these small nations united into several larger kingdoms. The first *Tennou* (Emperor of Japan), Wakatakeru, is mentioned in a 5th century Chinese document, and in the first Japanese chronicle, which was produced in the 8th century (Takeuchi 2010:26). The period between the second half of the 3rd century and the 7th century is called *Kofun-Jidai* (Era of Ancient Tombs). During this period, many geometrically designed tombs were produced; emperors and nobles were carefully buried with jewelry, armament, and ceramics (Sato et al. 2008:30-45). This practice of building large tombs gradually disappeared after the 7th century due to the introduction of Buddhism. Buddhist temples appear in this period. Buddhism was brought to Japan in the first half of the 6th century from Kudara, a nation located in what is now the Korean Peninsula. From that period on, Japan has embraced Shintoism (Japanese Mythology), Buddhism, and Confucianism (which also originated in China); those three philosophies were compatible and created the foundation of Japanese culture until today.

Earlier central governments in Japan were ruled by a *Tennou* (Emperor) and his or her noble subordinates. The period when the *Tennous* began to rule most small

nations in Japan is called *Yamato-Jidai* and although the exact chronology is sometimes disputed, it is normally considered to last from the 3rd to the 8th centuries. The period following *Yamato-Jidai* is called *Nara-Jidai* and covers most of the 8th century. During the *Nara-Jidai* period, *Heijou-kyo*, a well-organized and ritually designed capital, was located in today's Nara prefecture. A well-organized bureaucratic administration, taxation, and a currency system were organized during this period and many of the unique Japanese cultural phenomena and literature that we consider typical today began to develop (Sato et al. 2008:73-89). In AD 794 political changes led the capital to be moved to *Heian-kyo*, in Kyoto, and a new period lasting four hundred years began. It is called *Heian-Jidai* (794-1185). During this period, literature and poetry became increasingly important in courtly life. Many noble politicians tried to arrange their daughters' marriage to the *Tennou* in order to acquire political power. Gaining importance through marriage into the emperor's household was a sound strategy and several noble families (as the Fujiwara family, which dominated Japanese politics until the 12th century) acquired enough power to successfully rule the administration instead of the *Tennou* (Sato et al. 2008:90-117). Buddhism gained political authority during this period and its temples spread through the country. More importantly, warriors called *Bushi* (or *Samurai*) acquired important roles in the emperor's administration. In the 12th century political and social change brought about a new period in the history of Japan, *Heian-Jidai*, when the Heike family, a *Buke* (or *Samurai* family), rose to prominence and ruled the central government. This period – *Heian-Jidai* – ended when Yoritomo

Minamoto, the leader of another *Buke* lineage, the Genji-family, defeated the Heike clan and started the first Shogunate of Japan.

Yoritomo became Japan's first *Shogun*, or supreme general of the *Tennou's* military, and established his Shogunate in Kamakura, on the east coast of the island. For this reason this era is called *Kamakura-Jidan* (1185-1333). Between the beginning of the Kamakura Shogunate and *Meiji-Ishin*, the Modern Japanese Revolution in the middle of the 19th century, *Samurais*, or military leaders practically reigned in Japan, instead of the emperors and other noble families. The Japanese Middle Age begun with the *Kamakura-Jidai*. In this Era, an important international incident occurred: Kublai Khan's Mongolian fleet attacked Japan twice, in 1274 and 1281, while the Kamakura Shogunate ruled over the country (Sato et al. 2008:150-153). Both times strong storms struck and destroyed the Mongolian fleets. Japanese people, in appreciation of their good fortune, named those storms *Kamikaze* (Divine Winds). These events were mentioned in Marco Polo's book, and thanks to his writings, Japan was introduced to the European world (Polo 1986:205-209). The Kamakura Shogunate did not last a long time. It fell apart in 1333, and in 1338 another strong leader from a *Samurai* family, Takauji Ashikaga, established the Muromachi Shogunate in Kyoto, which lasted approximately from 1337 to 1573.

The Muromachi Shogunate could not maintain its authority for more than a century. *Daimyos*, or feudal lords, who ruled their provinces, became increasingly stronger and independent, while peasants' riots spread all over the country. By the end of the 16th century, the authority of the Muromachi Shogunate reached its bottom, and

empowered *Daimyos* became warlords. The motto of this period was “those who conquered others become rulers of their land” (Takeuchi 2010:131-134). Japan fell into a political state in some ways similar to the European feudalism, as the only purpose of warlords’ policies seemed to be enlarging their territories by conquering other *Daimyos*’ lands, and eventually to rise to the sole leadership of Japan. This era was named *Sengoku-Jidai*, or Era of the Warring States.

In 1543 the first Europeans arrived in Japan in the middle of this turmoil.

Japan and the Jesuits

In 1543 the Portuguese reached Japan, which Marco Polo had introduced to Europe as a mythical Island of Gold. The 1543 encounter triggered a historical turning point for both Japan and Europe. In the 16th century Japan experienced unprecedented chaos in its history. Warlords sought hegemony and wars occurred everywhere. Japanese historians think that the Japanese encounter with the Portuguese accelerated the unification of Japan because the Portuguese introduced the *arquebus*, an earlier style of firearm. Before the introduction of the first firearm in Japan *samurais* were armed with swords and bows. The powerful firearms caused each battle to end faster and helped annihilate enemies.

In Japanese, the *arquebus* was called *tanegashima* because the Portuguese who brought the *arquebus* arrived in 1543 in Tanega-shima, a southern island off of the modern Kagoshima prefecture. Nonetheless, the ship that drifted to Tanega-shima was not a Portuguese vessel but rather a Chinese cargo vessel, or a junk. Three Portuguese

were on board this Chinese sailing ship. Fernão Mendes Pinto, one of the three Portuguese on the junk left a narrative of his discovery of Japan in chapters 132 to 137 of his book *Peregrinação* (Pinto 1614), translated by (Boxer 1951:22-23).

Fernão Mendez took part in the first discovery of Japan with two or three Portuguese in a junk of Chinese [pirates] who had to flee from a fleet which the Chinese coastguards were preparing against them. . . . Enduring these hardships they finally sighted the shore of Japan, and reached the port of Tanegashima on Saint John's day [June 24] in the year of forty-one. Here Fernão Mendez ran grave risk of being killed through an accident for which he was blameless. For once while he was asleep, a son of the king or lord [Tono] of the soil came and primed an arquebus of Fernão Mendez, whom he had previously seen prime it, but as he was not yet expert in the handling thereof, the arquebus burst when he fired it, so badly injuring his hand that he was unconscious for some time. . . . But the Lord controlled them until such time as he could prove his innocence, and he volunteered to cure the lad, as he did, thus securing friendship of the king or Tono of that realm. And this was the beginning of the trade and intercourse with the Japanese.

Japanese accounts also help us picture the first arrival of the Portuguese. The most trustworthy one is *Teppo-ki* (History of the *Arquebus*) probably written between 1596 and 1614, and first published in 1649. *Teppo-ki* was written by Gensho Bunshi, a friend of the lords of Tanega-shima (Boxer 1951:22-26; Sato et al. 2008:223). According to this Japanese account, the *arquebus* had a caliber of 16mm and a length of 718mm. The methods of production of the *arquebus* were soon learnt by the Japanese and mass production of the weapon spread all over the country. To commemorate where the introduction took place, the *Samurais* called the *arquebus* a *tanegashima*.

The arrival of Europeans in Japan is significant not only for Japan and Portugal, who acquired great wealth as the principal trade partners, but also for the European world of late Renaissance. From the viewpoint of history, the 15th and 16th centuries

witnessed the transition from a conservative medieval society into modern Europe.

Three main factors triggered this change: the Renaissance, the Age of Discovery, and the Reformation. The Renaissance and the Reformation unleashed the individual (self) from the conservative perspective of medieval Europe (Kishita et al. 2010:290; Wilcox 1987).

The Reformation aimed to reform the Roman Catholic Church, which was perceived as both a corrupt and corrupting institution. Its unapologetic lust for power and money shocked rural and urban communities all over Europe and triggered a revolt against the power of the Popes. On the October 31st, 1517 Martin Luther nailed his famous *Ninety-Five Theses* on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, Germany, an event that has been considered the start of the Reformation movement. Among many other grievances, Protestants expressed doubts regarding the legitimacy of indulgences and the authority of the Pope and the morality of the financial aspects relating to the election of bishops in the Church. The reformation movement soon spread throughout Germany, Switzerland, England, the Netherlands, and many other northern European countries. The reformers, who called themselves Protestants, disagreed over their doctrines from the beginning, and divided themselves into new denominations, often hostile between them, such as Lutheran, the Reformed, Puritans, and Presbyterian (Kishita et al. 2010:290-296; Wilcox 1987). Responding to the Protestant Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church initiated an internal renovation, materialized in the Council of Trent (1545-1563) and designated as the Counter Reformation movement; during these years, the Catholic Church examined the complaints of corruption and delineated a strategy to stop the defections of Catholics into Protestantism, to recover the lost sheep, to impose a serious discipline

over Christianity and to recover the authority of the Pope. The Jesuit Order was the core of the Counter Reformation movement (Kishita et al. 2010:295; Wilcox 1987). Jesuits employed strict discipline and endeavored to send missions to newly discovered heathen lands such as East Asia, including Japan. In other words, in the 16th century, when the Portuguese reached Japan, Europe was in the midst of religious turmoil. Moreover, thanks to Marco Polo, Japan was recognized as the most civilized distant nation on the earth. For the Roman Catholic Church, establishing Christianity at the edge of the known world seemed like a good way to advance the authority of the Roman Catholic Church as the center of Christianity. Under these circumstances, many Jesuits dreamed of reaching Japan to teach the story of Jesus to the people they perceived to be heathens. Jesuit missionaries came to Japan between 1549 and 1639, when the Tokugawa Shogunate expelled all foreigners from Japan, except the Dutch and the Chinese. Prior to this, Jesuits traveled around Japan and taught the story of Jesus Christ. Historian C.R. Boxer called this period “the Christian Century in Japan.” Missionaries sent to Japan were highly educated and excellent observers. Together with the contemporary Japanese chroniclers who served their federal lords, these European chronicles, biased in different ways, are tremendously important for the history of this period. For this reason, the Jesuits’ periodical reports to Rome are regarded as one of the most important written sources for the history of Japan.

The first Jesuit who visited Japan was an Aragonese priest named Francisco Xavier (1506-1552). He was one of the founding members of the Society in 1534. Xavier had already experienced difficulties and hardships in his missions in India, China,

and the Malacca, before his visit to Japan in 1449. Xavier landed in Japan on August 15th, hoping to establish a new Christian domain in far eastern Asia (Boxer 1951:37).

His letter to Rome of November 5, 1549, around 10 weeks after his arrival, describes his impression of the “eastern heathens.”

By the experience which we have had of this land of Japan, I can inform you thereof as follows, ---Firstly the people whom we have met so far, are the best who have as yet been discovered, and it seems to me that we shall never find among heathens another race to equal to Japanese. They are a people of very good manners, good in general, and not malicious; they are men of honor to a marvel, and prize honor above all else in the world. They are poor people in general, but their poverty whether among the gentry or those who are not so, is not considered a shame.... Whence it can clearly be seen that they esteem honor more than riches.

They are very courteous in their dealings one with another; they highly regard arms and trust much therein; always carrying sword and dirk, both high and low alike, from the age fourteen onwards....

Those who are not of gentle birth give much honor to the gentry, who in their turn pride themselves on faithfully serving their feudal lord to whom they are very obedient. It seems to me that they act thus more because they think that they would lose their honor if they acted contrarily, rather than fear of the punishment they would receive if disobedient....

There are many who can read and write, which is a great help to their learning quickly prayers and religious matters. It is a land there are but few thieves in some kingdoms, and this by the strict justice which is executed against those that are, for their lives are never spared. They abhor beyond measure this vice of theft. They are a people of very good will, very sociable, and very desirous of knowledge; they are very fond of hearing about things of God, chiefly when they understand them (Boxer 1951:37-38).

Xavier never lost his appreciation of Japanese people, and believed that the Japanese could be the best Christians of “all the heathens.” In 1551, after a two-year mission in Japan, he left for India where he died at the age of 46. Today, he is known as the first European to teach Christianity in Japan and he has remained one of the most well-known foreigners in the history of the country.

Three great warlords, Nobunaga Oda (1534-1582), Hideyoshi Toyotomi (1536-1598), and Ieyasu Tokugawa (1543-1616), ushered in the end of *Sengoku-Jidai* around the beginning of second half of the 16th century. A well-known explanation of the acts of those three rulers given by modern historians is that Nobunaga mixed the dough, Hideyoshi baked it, and Ieyasu ate it (Boxer 1951:56).

Nobunaga is known for his fondness for European goods; he was very congenial towards the Jesuits missionaries. From 1568 to 1582, before Nobunaga was assassinated by his subordinate Akechi Mitsuhide, he met Jesuit missionaries at least 31 times (Matsuda 2001:94). Among them, the Portuguese Jesuit Luis Fróis met Nobunaga more than 18 times (Matsuda 2001:94). When Father Fróis met Nobunaga he knew who to expect. Fróis described Nobunaga as:

He would be about thirty-seven years old, a tall man, lean, scantily bearded, with a clear voice, greatly addicted to military exercises, hardy, disposed to temper justice with mercy, proud, a great stickler for honor, very secretive in his plans, most expert in the wiles of warfare, little or nothing disposed to accept reproof or advice from his subordinates, but greatly feared and respected by everyone....

He is of good understanding and clear judgment, despising both Shinto and Buddhist deities and other forms of idolatry and superstition. He is a nominal adherent of the Hokke [Lotus] sect but he openly proclaims that there are no such things as a Creator of the Universe nor immortality of the soul, nor any life after death.... Whereas his father was merely Lord of Owari, he, by his masterful skill, has conquered seventeen or eighteen fiefs within the last four years; and the eight principal ones, including Yamashiro, Kyoto, and the neighboring provinces, he subjected within seven or eight days (Boxer 1951: 58-59).

Fróis stayed in Japan from 1563 until 1597 when he died at the age of 65. He was a brilliant observer and writer; he worked as an official correspondent of the Jesuits and the Roman Catholic Church. His Latin reports, “History of Japan”, were translated into

Japanese by modern Japanese historians and is recognized as the most precise and accurate primary source of history of *Sengoku-Jidai* (Fróis et al. 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2000d, 2000e, 2000f, 2000g, 2000h, 2000i, 2000j, 2000k, 2000l).

Another important European in 16th century Japan was the Italian Jesuit Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606). He arrived in Japan in 1579 and left in 1582 with the Tensho Embassy. He came back to Japan in 1590 with the envoys from Rome and met the new ruler Hideyoshi Toyotomi in 1592 at his palace in Kyoto. He left Japan again in 1592 and stayed in Macao for six years. His last visit to Japan lasted from 1598 to 1603; Valignano died in Macao in 1606. He was a well-educated, insightful priest who thought that it was vital to teach Christianity to the Japanese when they were young, in order to convert them (Boxer 1951:83-90; Matsuda 2001:109-118). For that reason, he emphasized the importance of the foundation of training institutes for young Japanese people. Valignano established three seminaries, two for boys under eighteen, and one for those over that age (Boxer 1951:86-87).

When Xavier left Japan in 1551, there were about a thousand Japanese people converted to Christianity. By 1583, according to Valignano's estimation, around 150,000 Japanese had converted to Christianity (Boxer 1951:78). The main reason for the Jesuit's reported success may have been the fact that by this time Kyushu's *Daimyos* of Omura, Arima, and Bungo had converted to and supported Christianity in their realms.

Portuguese Monopoly of the Far Eastern Trade

After Portuguese warships penetrated the Malay Archipelago and defeated the local army at Malacca in 1511, Portugal successfully monopolized the lucrative East Asian Trade without many difficulties for most of the 16th century (Nagazumi 2001:1-57). The stage was set on East Asian waters before any Europeans arrived. Chinese Emperor Hung-wu of the Ming Dynasty began to set the stage in 1383, by banning all incoming foreign trading vessels except those that had seals issued by the Ming Dynasty (Abu-Lughod 1991:249-373). Moreover, in 1371, Ming emperors banned Chinese people from visiting foreign countries (Nagazumi 2001:6-8). The purpose of this law was to separate *Wakou*, which translates literally to ‘Japanese pirates’, from merchant ships and to enable a war aiming at preventing their destructive activities (Nagazumi 2001:6-8). The word *Wakou* was used around coastal areas of China for all Japanese pirates from 1350s’ onward. Some may have come from Japanese islands between the main island of Japan and the continent, such as the Tsushima, Iki, and the Mutsu areas (Nagazumi 2001:20-21). *Wakou*’s activities became less aggressive toward the end of the 14th century. Their activity intensified again in the beginning of the 16th century. However, the second wave of *Wakou* was very different from the first. Only 10% to 20% of 16th century *Wakou* were Japanese. Most were armed Chinese smugglers (Nagazumi 2001:23-25). At the same time that Chinese smugglers intensified their activity, the economy of the Ming Dynasty grew and its currency system consolidated. In this context, Chinese domestic coastal traders gradually began to collaborate with *Wakou* (Nagazumi 2001:23). The Ming Dynasty approved of these activities and even allowed coastal

Chinese merchants to trade with other Asian countries, with the exception of Japan. Thanks to the trade relations established in this period throughout South East Asia, seaborne commerce developed significantly prior to the arrival of any European ships. As the law that banned Chinese trade with Japan was still in place, the Portuguese found a profitable niche in becoming the middlemen between these two neighboring countries. Sino-Japanese trade started soon after 1543, when the already-mentioned three Portuguese sailors accidentally drifted to Japan on a Chinese ship.

The regular annual Portuguese trade with Japan started around 1550, and became one of the most lucrative businesses in the world. C. R. Boxer discussed this commerce in his book '*The Affair of the Madre de Deus*' (1929:11-12). The cargoes of Portuguese vessels from Lisbon to Goa consisted mainly of woolens, scarlet cloth, crystal and glass ware, Flemish clocks, Portuguese wines, Indian chintzes and calicos, and a wide array of European goods. On the way to Macau from Goa, some of the cargo was exchanged for spices and precious woods at Indonesian ports. At Macau, the majority of the cargoes were exchanged for Chinese silk and gold. The vessels then left for Japan between the end of June and the beginning of August, with the south-west monsoon. The most important part of the cargoes consisted of silks. The voyage took around 14 days, at the end of which the ships arrived at Nagasaki, Japan. The ships remained in port until October or November when the north-east monsoon began to blow. While a Portuguese vessel was in Nagasaki, the cargo was exchanged for silver bullion and exotic Japanese goods, including kimonos, samurai swords, wood carvings, and so forth. Sailing back to China, Portuguese merchants exchanged Japanese silver for

Chinese gold at Macau at profitable rates (Boxer 1929:12; Oka 2010:110-111). The exchange rate of Japanese silver against gold was very high in China. Consequently, Portuguese East Indian vessels came back to Lisbon with gold, silk, musk, pearls, ivory and woodcarvings, lacquered wares and porcelains from this region, for which there was high demand in European markets (Boxer 1929: 11-12, 1951:91-136).

This profitable trade was also an important resource for Jesuit missionaries in Japan (Oka 2010:94). The Portuguese started this commerce using their own vessels, and it continued annually for 89 years, from 1550 until 1639, when, as noted previously, the *Shogun* Iemitsu Tokugawa (1604-1651) banned all the foreign traders except the Dutch and Chinese. In the second half of the 16th century, the power of the Portuguese maritime empire reached its peak and monopolized East Asian Trade. Every year, the *Capitão-mor*'s vessels and several merchant ships came to Nagasaki and Hirado, and occasionally to other ports around Kyushu (Kato 2009:146). In 1598 Hideyoshi died and Ieyasu exterminated Hideyoshi's lineage and took over the rule of Japan, becoming *Shogun*. This began the Edo-period, which lasted 250 years. This change of rulers appeared to be a positive opportunity for Jesuit missionaries in Japan because Ieyasu had such a strong interest in foreign trade. However, with the beginning of the new century, the Portuguese monopoly in Asian waters collapsed. The new monarch of Japan, *Shogun* Ieyasu, started independent Japanese foreign trade with Asian countries. To manage all vessels and their trades, Ieyasu distributed seals of permission. Since this seal was red-colored, the trade was called *Shu-in* Trade (*Shu-in* means red seal). Additionally, in the beginning of the 17th century, the Dutch penetrated the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and

challenged the Portuguese commerce in East Asia. The Dutch established their mercantile headquarters at Hirado in 1609; moreover, they conquered the city of Malacca from Portugal in 1611 (Boxer 1929:16-29). As far as the author is aware, there is no precise record of the numbers of Portuguese, Dutch, and Japanese vessels engaged in foreign trade in the early 17th century; however, we have records of the amount of exported silver from Japan by each nation: from 1604 to 1637, Japanese vessels exported 843,000kg, Portuguese 650,700kg, Chinese 343,860kg, and Dutch 228,996kg (Nagazumi 2001:235). According to this data, and despite the fact that Japan was the country that controlled exportation of Japanese silver, the Portuguese were still the first foreign country to profit from the lucrative Japan-China Trade in the middle of the second quarter of the 17th century.

Shogun Ieyasu had such a strong interest in foreign trade that he overlooked the Jesuit's activities in his kingdom. Partially because of this, the population of Japanese Christians grew rapidly during his reign. Around 1600, the number of Japanese Christians was said to have reached 300,000 and by 1614 that number was said to have risen to 500,000 (Nagazumi 2001:31-32). This newly-introduced religion spread among the poor citizens and peasants first; however, it gradually spread into upper classes as well. Even some *Daimyos*, or local rulers, began to adopt Christianity. As the *Shogun* and ruler of the country, Ieyasu became increasingly afraid of Christianity. In 1612, Ieyasu enacted *Kinkyō-Rei* (Christianity Prohibition Act) (Nagazumi 2001:33-34,238-241). In 1623, the second *Shogun* Hidetada, Ieyasu's son, executed 55 missionaries in Nagasaki (Nagazumi 2001:67-77,238-241). Finally, in 1639, the third *Shogun* Iemitsu,

Ieyasu's grandson, banned all the foreign trade with Japan, except China and the Netherlands. This is called *Sakoku* (national seclusion). *Sakoku* lasted until 1854, when Matthew Calbraith Perry, the Commodore of a U.S. Navy squadron, came to Japan to forcefully re-open trade. During the 215 years of national seclusion Japanese foreign trade only took place in *Dejima*, a small artificial island off Nagasaki, and only Chinese and Dutch ships were allowed to anchor at the island. No Japanese merchants were allowed to leave Japan.

CHAPTER IV

SHIPS

Portuguese *Nau*

We do not know all the details of the development and construction of Portuguese India *naus*. The author has read several publications on 15th, 16th, and 17th century Iberian shipbuilding, and it is clear that every scholar has different opinions on the typology of ship types. In this research, the author has relied primarily on the research developed by Filipe Castro, based on his interpretation of archaeological data in dialogue with Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian, and English shipbuilding texts and treatises. In his book *The Pepper Wreck: Portuguese Indiaman at the Mouth of the Tagus River*, Castro established a plausible model for a ship of 600 *toneladas*, the typical *nau* engaged in the Eastern trade (Castro 2005a). The discussion below is largely based on Castro's research (Castro 2003,2005a,2005b,2007,2008,2009; Castro and Fonseca 2006; Castro et al. 2010; Castro et al. 2008; Monroy et al. 2007a,2007b; Santos et al 2007; Vacas et al 2010)

The Portuguese India *naus* developed from Mediterranean round ships, which were adapted to the Atlantic conditions. The influence of Italian shipbuilders in the development of the Portuguese *naus* is not surprising because, at least from 14th century on, cultural and commercial relations between Portugal and Italian cities were always intense (Castro 2005a: 32-33).

Another possible influence on Portuguese shipbuilding may have been the Arab world. While we have few historical sources on Arab shipbuilding, archaeological evidence suggests that Arabs may have built their ships with molds and ribbands, in the Mediterranean way, at least since the 14th century – as shown on the Culip VI shipwreck – and perhaps long before. A small number of 10th or 11th century Arab shipwrecks found off the southern coast of France seem to have been built with flat floors, a hard chine, and flush laid planking nailed to the frames, possibly in the same way of the *Serçe Limanı* shipwreck (Castro 2005a: 32-33). Under the Muslim domination of Portugal (712-1249), Arabs, Jews, and Christians enjoyed long periods of peace and there is evidence for trade between Portugal and both the Mediterranean and northern European worlds throughout the late medieval period (Castro 2005a: 32-33). In the late Medieval era the Iberian Peninsula was a culturally diverse region where people from different countries, with different traditions, cultures, and religions coexisted in relative peace. From the early 15th century on, the Portuguese crown was involved in commerce along the African coast. Trade routes became longer and ships grew larger. In this environment, ships grew and evolved to fit the needs of long-distance sea navigation that triggered the Age of European Discovery.

Both square-rigged and lateen-rigged ships were used during the 15th century expansion. Square-rigged ships were common in Northern Europe during the Middle Ages and became the work horses of the Mediterranean short-distance sea commerce after the 14th century. Shipbuilding in this region was based on a completely different philosophy from that of the Medieval Mediterranean. Hull planks overlapped each other

and frames were placed over the planking as reinforcement at a later stage of construction. In the Middle Age this type of construction was developed by the Hanseatic League for large bulk cargo carriers. Called cogs, these ships sometimes conducted trade between Hanseatic and Mediterranean cities.

In the Mediterranean, ships were constructed skeleton-first, a different shipbuilding method in which frames were erected first and determined the shape of the hull. In this construction tradition, hull planking was flush-laid, or carvel-built. By the late medieval period, the traditional Mediterranean lateen-rigged vessels adopted square sails. These square-rigging ships had carvel-built hulls and were called *cocche* in Italian cities. Castro believes that these northern and Mediterranean hybrid vessels evolved to become the Portuguese *naus* (Castro 2005a: 32-33).

Lateen rigged ships, *caravelas*, also appeared in the Portuguese African coast exploration and developed from small fishing vessels to become medium sized, highly maneuverable exploration vessels, ideal for the earliest voyages of the Age of Discovery. In the beginning of the 15th century, however, caravels were found to be too small for travel beyond the Cape of Good Hope (Castro 2005a: 33-36). In the meantime *naus* grew in size during the 16th century and were engaged on the East India route. By the beginning of the 17th century the overall size of the East India *naus* was larger than ever, at about 1,100 tons of displacement, while bow and stern castles were lowered for better sailing performance (Castro 2005a: 33-36). Over the course of the 16th century, lateen rigged caravels also developed into four-masted vessels mounting square sails on the foremast and lateen sails on the other three masts. These vessels also had a pronounced

beak and low castles. A brief typology of Portuguese vessels of the Age of Discovery (based on Castro's research) is presented below.

Nau (or Nao, Carrack, Caracca)

Naus were generally three-masted vessels with three or four decks (Figure 4-1); their size varied from 300 to 600 tons burden; the word '*nau*' means 'vessel.' *Naus* were called *Nao* in Spanish, Carrack in English, and *Carraca* in Italian. Smaller *naus* were generally called *navios* or *navetas* in Portugal and *galleones* in Spain, at least until the middle of the 16th century.

Galleon

From the second decade of the 16th century onwards, Portuguese galleons were generally four-masted ships, with the fore and main masts square-rigged, and the mizzen and bonaventure masts lateen-rigged. Castles were slightly lower than those of the *nau* and it is possible they were commonly two-deckers. Towards the end of the century galleons became large warships, with different characteristics.

Caravel

In the 16th century caravels were four-masted vessels. Their main, mizzen, and bonaventure masts were lateen rigged; only the foremast mounted square sails. The stern castles were much lower than those on *naus* and galleons.



FIGURE 4-1. . Illustration of a Portuguese ship attributed to Joachim Patinir (c. 1480-1524) and dated to around 1527 (detail from *Carracks on a Rocky Coast*, National Maritime Museum, UK, Wikipedia).

Portuguese ships were called Black Ships in Japan (Chinese ships were called White Ships). Today, all of the ships that were employed in the 16th and 17th centuries by the Portuguese and Spanish in Japanese waters are called Namban Ships.

Sizes of the Portuguese *Nau*

Historical documents suggest that the Portuguese ships employed in the Japan trade route were exclusively *naus*. In this context, the word *nau* suggests a large vessel with three masts and high castles, perhaps 30 to 40 m long, but the word does not shed any light on the range of sizes considered. We know that small *naus* would be called *navetas* or *navios*, but we have no solid indications that clarify the size of the Black Ships of the Japanese trade. Despite their wide-ranging tonnages, all three-masted vessels with square sails on the fore and main masts and a lateen sail on the mizzen mast

were called *naus* (Castro 2005a). The main question addressed in this section regards the size of the Portuguese merchant ships employed in the trade with Japan; in other words, how large were the Portuguese ships that were seen by Japanese people in the 16th and 17th centuries?

From the end of the 15th century to the middle of the 16th century, the Portuguese gradually increased the size of the ships in their East India trade (Toyama 1943:240-241; Barcelos 1898-99). During the reign of King Manuel I of Portugal (r. 1495-1521), the average size of the Portuguese East India *naus* probably never exceeded 400 tons. However, by 1580, when Oliveira published his Portuguese treatise on shipbuilding, the size of the India *naus* had increased, and the recommended size for the India Route was a ship of 600 tons capacity, a size we know corresponds to around 1100 tons of displacement in modern terms (Toyama 1943:240-241; Barcelos 1898-99; Castro 2005a). During the 16th century several large ships were built and sent to India, but there is evidence that the size considered most adequate for the voyage was around 600 tons burden (Castro 2005a). The voyage between Portugal and India took six months on average; consequently, ships needed to carry large amounts of provisions to feed sailors, along with the trade goods that were the principal reason for the voyages.

For this reason, in 1570 King Sebastião of Portugal (1554-1578) enacted legislation that banned the construction of new merchantmen with tonnages above 450 tons or below 300 tons (Toyama 1943: 241-242; Barcelos 1898-99). According to historian Luciano Senna Barcelos description, this edict was established for economic reasons: small ships required smaller crews, their construction was less costly, and the

economic losses smaller in case of shipwrecking. Since this regulation only applied to the construction of new ships, its effect was mitigated while existing ships were active. Moreover, this edict could not restrict the construction of new large ship whose sizes were above the regulated tonnage, as Senna Barcelos states in his publication (Toyama 1943:242).

This governmental effort to ensure the construction of small merchant ships was either abolished or overlooked under the Hapsburg monarchs Felipe II (1527-1598), Felipe III (1578-1621) and Felipe IV (1605-1665), a dynasty that lasted from 1580 to 1640. Under Hapsburg rule India Route *naus* seem to have grown in size. According to the description left by French traveler Balthasar de Moncoys (1611-1665), who entered Lisbon in the mid-17th century, some Indiamen reached 54.9 meters in length, 12.2 meters in width (180 feet in length, 40 feet in width), and had six decks (Toyama 1943:242-243; Moncoys 1665-1666). Also, Okamoto mentioned in his research that Portuguese ships during rule of Felipe II commonly had four decks (Okamoto 1942:195).

In 1621, however the new king Felipe III (r. 1621- 1640) enacted a law that banned the construction of ships with more than three decks. These regulations not only were the consequence of economic but also tactical reasons. In the course of the first half of the 17th century, the Portuguese power in the Far East had sharply declined, mainly due to the arrival of the Dutch East India Company. Dutch vessels frequently appeared in Indian and Pacific waters and forced the Portuguese, often unprepared, to engage their rivals in naval battles. In these combats, smaller ships, such as the Dutch

merchantmen, were more agile and had a tactical advantage. In addition, if a Portuguese ship was seized or destroyed, the cost of loss was smaller (Toyama 1943:243-244).

Summarizing, according to Usaburo Toyama's research that is based on Senna Barcelos' description and other contemporary documents, it seems that during the reign of King João II of Portugal (r. 1481-1495), Portuguese Indiamen never exceeded 300 tons. However, under the reign of Manuel I (r. 1495 – 1525), merchantmen increased in size to over. This expansion in tonnage reached its pinnacle under the reign of João III (r. 1521 – 1557). At his time the tonnage of long-voyage ships sometimes exceeded 1,000 tons. Evidence suggests that the old rule enacted by King Sebastião in 1570 was largely ignored during the Hapsburg rule, and after 1580 *naus* registered capacity increased continuously until the middle 17th century in spite of the prohibition on building four deckers.

Possible Sizes of the *Naus* Sent on the China and Japan Route

As already mentioned, trade between China and Japan was immensely profitable for the Portuguese maritime empire; however, because of the nature of the Trade Winds, traffic on this route was restricted to an annual cycle. Because of this, both Toyama and C. R. Boxer believed that the Portuguese used one large *nau* on this route, in order to maximize profit. Boxer believed that Portuguese *naus* on the China and Japan routes often exceeded 1,200 tons and sometimes reached 1,600 tons capacity (Toyama 1943:245-256; Boxer 1951:121-122).

According to historian Koichiro Takase (2002:8-26), Portuguese trading vessels carried 1,000-2,500 *picos* (1 *pico* = 60Kg) of silk every year, occasionally carrying as much as 3,000 *picos*. Silk composed most of the cargo of the trading vessels engaged in the commerce with China and Japan. Considering one *pico* equal to 60 kg, the registered cargos of 2,000 *picos* corresponded to 120 tons, and of 3,000 *picos* to 180 tons of silk cargo. Corresponding to cargo weights, these values may have occupied an equivalent volume in the holds of perhaps 250 to 400 m³, taking the entire space of one deck of a 600 tons nau (Castro pers. comm. 2012). It is well-known how these ships carried other trading goods and provisions for sailors. As an example, a Portuguese merchantmen wrecked in the Korean Peninsula in 1578 carried nearly 400 persons, along with enough food and water for them (Toyama 1943:296). In 1610, a report written by two Jesuits mentioned that the Portuguese *nau Nossa Senhora das Graças* wrecked off the coast of Nagasaki and 3,000 *picos* of Chinese silk and other cargo, which was lost along with the ship (Takase 2002:8 19-20). From this information we can infer that the ship's minimum capacity was 180 tons, plus equipment, spares, crew and victuals. It is thus possible that this ship had a cargo capacity perhaps twice that value and a correspondent displacement well above 700 tons, considering the weight of the hull.

The Portuguese Indiaman *Nossa Senhora dos Mártires*, also known as the Pepper Wreck, was lost in a northern channel of the Tagus River, Portugal, in 1606; it had a maximum displacement around 1,200 tons, a designated tonnage of 600, and an overall length of 39.27 m (Castro 2005a:171-174). Castro's research notes that the Pepper Wreck was a fairly large ship among contemporary Portuguese *naus*. Much larger than

the Basque whaling vessel believed to be the *San Juan*, which was wrecked in Labrador, Canada in 1565, and had a displacement of 240 tons (Parks Canada et al. 2007). This displacement indicates that the maximum capacity of this ship was around 120 tons. According to the author's reconstruction of the *San Juan* based on the research conducted and published by a team from Parks Canada (Parks Canada et al. 2007), the overall length of the ship was around 23.8 m. Extrapolating these values to the size of the Portuguese *naus* employed in the Japanese trade in the late 16th and early 17th century we obtain a minimum length overall of around 27 m.

Anchorage of Portuguese Ships

As was mentioned above, the Portuguese began lucrative trade relationships with Japan around 1550 (Oka 2010: 68-74). To clarify the scale of trade and to pinpoint the places where Japanese people saw the ships with their own eyes, I quote two tables from Toyama's book "*Namban-sen Boueki-shi*."

The information in this book is also quoted in Okamoto's and Boxer's earlier studies on European trade with Japan. The first table provides the years and the number of Portuguese ships that arrived in Japan, and the names of the ports in which the ships anchored (Toyama 1943:160-167). In this table, the number of ships indicated refers only to European ships, or *naus*; Chinese ships, or junks, are not included on Table 1. However, on Table 2, the number of ships indicated includes both Portuguese *naus* and the Chinese junks that were employed by the *Capitães-mores*. Historical documents suggest that Portuguese merchants from Macau employed many Chinese junks in their

fleets because employing junks was more cost effective than using their *naus* (Toyama 1943:160-167,266). In addition, Chinese junks are usually smaller than Portuguese *naus*, which decreases the risk of lost cargo during wrecking events. Some scholars believe that there were only one or two Portuguese *naus* arriving in Japan every year, from the second half of the 16th century until first three decades of the 17th century (Figure 4-2).

TABLE 1
ARRIVALS OF PORTUGUESE SHIPS BETWEEN 1546 AND 1590

Year	Number of Ships	Ports of Arrival
Before 1546	1	Oosumi, Hinata, Bungo
1546	3	Bungo, Oosumi, Satsuma
1548	1	Bungo
1550	2	Hirado / No record
1551	1	Bungo
1552	1	Kagoshima
1553	1	Hirado
1554	1	No record
1555	2	Hirado / Hirado
1556	2	Funai / Hirado
1557	2	Hirado / Hirado
1558	2	Hirado / Bungo
1559	2	Hirado / Bungo
1560	2	Bungo, Satsuma / Hirado
1561	4	Hirado / Hirado / Akune / Kyohaku
1562	3	Yokoseura / Yokoseura / Kyohaku
1563	3	Yokoseura / Yokoseura / Yokoseura
1564	3	Hirado / Hirado / Hirado
1565	2	Fukuda / Fukuda
1566	1	Fukuda
1567	2	Kuchinotsu / Kuchinotsu
1569	1	Fukuda
1570	1	Shiki, Fukuda
1571	1	Nagasaki
1572	1	Nagasaki
1573	1	None (Wrecked)
1574	1	Nagasaki
1575	1	Nagasaki
1576	1	Kuchinotsu, Nagasaki
1577	1	Nagasaki
1578	1	Bizen / Nagasaki
1579	1	Kuchinotsu
1580	1	Nagasaki
1581	1	Nagasaki
1582	1	None (Wrecked)

TABLE 1 Continued

Year	Number of Ships	Ports of Arrival
1583	1	Nagasaki
1584	1	Nagasaki
1585	1	Nagasaki
1586	1	Nagasaki
1587	1 (Spanish)	Amakusa
1588	1	Nagasaki
1589	2 (1 Spanish)	Amakusa / Satsuma
1590	1	Nagasaki

Source: Okamoto (1942:505-514), Toyama (1943:160-167)

TABLE 2
ARRIVALS OF PORTUGUESE SHIPS BETWEEN 1624 AND 1640

Year	Number of Ships	Ports of Arrival
1624	10	Nagasaki
1625	5	Nagasaki
1626	1	Nagasaki
1627	5	Nagasaki
1628	2	Nagasaki
1629	1	Nagasaki
1630	3	Nagasaki
1631	4	Nagasaki
1632	4	Nagasaki
1634	1	Nagasaki
1635	3	Nagasaki
1636	4	Nagasaki
1637	6	Nagasaki
1638	2	Nagasaki
1639	2	Nagasaki
1640	1	Nagasaki

Source: Toyama (1942:170-172, 1943:168-169)

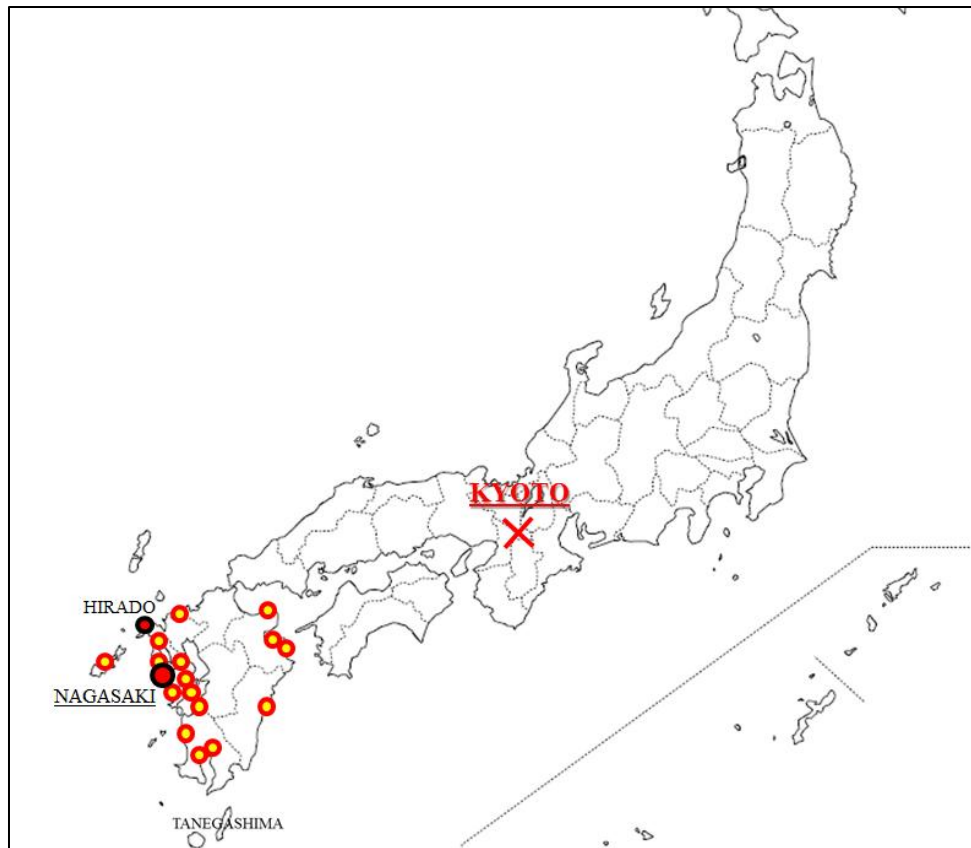


FIGURE 4-2. Anchorages of Portuguese ships based on Tables 1 and 2 (Map by author, 2012.)

Ships on the Namban Screens

From the 90 surviving Namban screens, we can discern several different typologies of ships. As often happens in the art of the western world, it appears that Japanese artists sometime drew their Namban ships based on ships that they saw on other Namban screens, rather than from seeing the actual ships (Russell 1983). An analysis of the collection of screens suggests that through a sequence of copying older images, the accuracy and detail of the Namban ships gradually deteriorated. Fortunately, several scholars of Japanese Art History and connoisseurs of Japanese art have studied

all known Namban screens and completed brief timelines of screen production (Sakamoto 2008). The timelines are based on the screen's historical accounts and the styles of painting.

When analyzed in this light, most images of ships on the screens seem to be copies of previous images, often from other screens. The author made a catalog of all 73 ship images known, and classified them according to their quality and date of production. Fifteen groups or families were identified, seemingly 15 strings of copies of 15 original images (Appendix A and Table 3). Once it was completed, this catalog allowed the author to make a surprising statement: none of these 15 ship types seems to have been painted directly from actual European vessels in Japanese ports. Although they seem to have been taken from original sources, possibly from iconography on European maps, it seems clear that none was drawn from a real model.

TABLE 3
15 TYPES OF NAMBAN SHIPS ON THE NAMBAN SCREENS AND ITS INVENTORY NUMBERS FROM
NAMBAN BYOBU SHUSEI (SAKAMOTO 2008)

Ship Type	Inventory Number of Earlier Ships	Inventory Number of Later Ships
A	1, 2, 4	72
B	3	14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28
C	6, 7	34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53
D	5, 9	17, 32, 33, 34, 63, 66, 67, 68, 69, 73, 74
E	10, 59	57, 60, 71
F	11, 12	
G	30	29
H	70	90
I	55	56, 58, 75
J	61, 62	
K	76, 77	80b
L	80a	
M	82	84, 85
N	35	
O	89	

The list and basic characteristics of the original Namban ship types is presented below and illustrated with the images that we believe to be original. The strings of images copied from each one of these originals is presented in Appendix A, in chronological order. Numbers on the Namban screens correspond to the inventory numbers of Sakamoto's *Namban Byobu Shusei*.

Type A

Four Namban screens display five Type A ships. These have wide, low, and long castles, a characteristic stern gallery, and a horn shaped beak head structure beneath the bowsprit. The beak-head structures display a unique whirl pattern. Type A fore and stern castles look more like those observed on contemporary small Mediterranean merchant vessels than on Portuguese large cargo vessels, also known as *naus*. The originals are considered to be No.1, Osaka Castle Museum Version (1596-1615) by a Kano-school artist (Figure 4-3) (Sakamoto 2008:2-5,324-325,386,396-397); and No.2, Version A of Kyushu National Museum (1601-1635) by Kano Takanobu (Figure 4-4) (Sakamoto 2008:6-11,325-326,389,396-397), and No. 4, whose location is unknown (Former Kasahara Family collection Version) (1605-1624) by Kano-school artist (Figure 4-5) (Sakamoto 2008:18-23,328,386,396-397). The five ships represented on these four screens are presented below.



1a



1b

FIGURE 4-3. Type A Namban ship (No.1): Osaka Castle Museum Version (1596-1615) by a Kano-school artist (Sakamoto 2008:2-3)



FIGURE 4-4. Type A Namban ship (No.2): Version A of Kyushu National Museum (1601-1635) by Kano Takanobu (Sakamoto 2008:6-9)



FIGURE 4-5. Type A Namban ship (No.4): Missing (Former Kasahara Family collection Version) (1605-1624) by Kano-school artist (Sakamoto 2008:18-19)

Type B

Thirteen Namban screens display 19 Type B ships. Most Japanese art historians agree that the Naizen screen was one of the earliest screens produced. Many screens produced throughout the 17th century were duplications of the Kano Naizen screen. In these reproductions, not only the ships were copied but also people and the positions and patterns of the buildings in the background. Type B ships display a very low forecastle, a round shaped hull, sailors hanging on the rigging in implausible positions, and anchors. Type B ship representations are similar to ship appearing on European maps of the 16th century. The two oldest ships, both from screen No.3, Version A of Kobe City Museum, Naizen Version (Late 16th – Early 17th century) by Kano Naizen (Figure 4-6) (Sakamoto 2008:12-17,327-328,389,396-397), are presented below.



3a



3b

FIGURE 4-6. Type B Namban ship (No.3): Version A of Kobe City Museum, Naizen Version (Late 16th – Early 17th century) by Kano Naizen (Sakamoto 2008:12-13)

Type C

Type C ships are among the most frequent; 17 screens display 19 ships of this type. The rigging arrangements in these ships are notoriously inaccurate; several masts do not have sails. Both fore and stern castles are depicted as staircase-like structures. Stern galleries are depicted as cages with bars. Additionally, buildings and people on these screens are depicted in a somewhat Chinese fashion. Finally, peoples' clothes and

building roofs are often painted with a characteristic red and green pattern that is alien to Japanese tradition. The originals are considered to be screen No.6, Version A of Namban Bunkakan (1596-1615) by a Hasegawa-school artist (Figure 4-7) (Sakamoto 2008:30-35,329-330,386,396-397); and screen No.7, Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shozokan Version (1610s) by an unknown artist (Figure 4-8) (Sakamoto 2008:36-41,330-331,386,396-397). Both are presented below.



FIGURE 4-7. Type C Namban ship (No.6): Version A of Namban Bunkakan (1596-1615) by a Hasegawa-school artist (Sakamoto 2008:30-31)



FIGURE 4-8. Type C Namban ship (No.7): Museum of the Imperial Collections, Sannomaru Shozokan Version (1610s) by an unknown artist (Sakamoto 2008:36-37)

Type D

Thirteen screens display 13 type D ships. These are similar to Type C ships in shape, but different in style. The forward face of the forecastles is represented in this type with a characteristic joggled appearance, where counter timbers extend the castles forward by a few feet at the presumed level of the pavements. These ships have a cage-like compartment hanging over the side of the hull amidships. The originals are shown below: No.5, Suntory Museum of Art Version (1600-1620) by a Kano-school artist (Figure 4-9) (Sakamoto 2008:24-29,328-329,386,396-397); and No.9, Private Collection-K family Version (1610s) by a Kano-school artist (Figure 4-10) (Sakamoto 2008:44-49,332-334,386,396-397).



FIGURE 4-9. Type D Namban ship (No.5): Suntory Museum of Art Version (1600-1620) by a Kano-school artist (Sakamoto 2008:24-25)



FIGURE 4-10. Type D Namban ship (No.9): Private Collection-K family Version (1610s) by a Kano-school artist (Sakamoto 2008:44-45)

Type E

There are five depictions of Type E ships. The most noteworthy feature of this type are the conspicuous window-like ports, used also as gun ports. Like most of the other types, these ships have high fore and stern castles, and inaccurately represented rigging arrangements. The earliest screens of this type are No.10, Private Collection-T family Version, Former Ungai-in collection (1610s) by a Kano-school artist (Figure 4-11) (Sakamoto 2008:50-55,334-335,386,396-397); and No.59, Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture Version (1620s) by an unknown artist (Figure 4-12) (Sakamoto 2008:212-215,365-366,388,394-395).



FIGURE 4-11. Type E Namban ship (No.10): Private Collection-T family Version, Former Ungai-in collection (1610s) by a Kano-school artist (Sakamoto 2008:50-51)



FIGURE 4-12. Type E Namban ship (No.59): Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture Version (1620s) by an unknown artist (Sakamoto 2008:212-213)

Type F

Only two Namban screens display Type F ships. These ships have no running rigging, and the standing rigging is not correct. Cannon muzzles protrude from the hull, and window-like ports are depicted on the decks above the hold. The stern castles are low and flat, similar to those of Type A ships. Forecastles are represented as small huts. Ladders are used to unload the ship's cargo, a feature that also appears on Types K, N, and F. Both are presented below: No.11, Version A of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

(1620s) by a Kano-school artist (Figure 4-13) (Sakamoto 2008:56-59,336,386,396-397); and No.12, Private collection-Y family Version (1620s) by a Kano-school artist (Figure 4-14) (Sakamoto 2008:60-63,337,386,396-397).

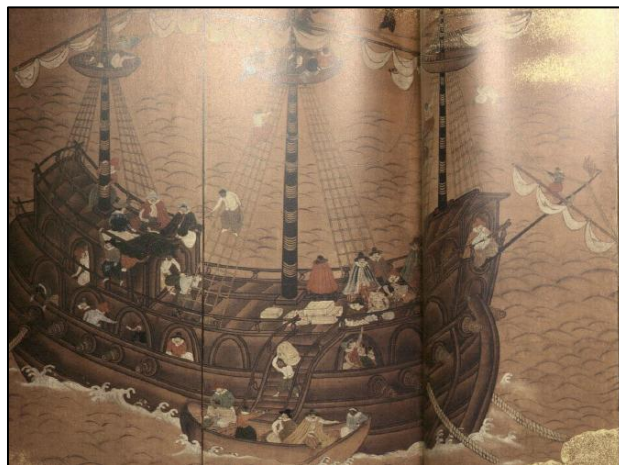


FIGURE 4-13. Type F Namban ship (No.11): Version A of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1620s) by a Kano-school artist (Sakamoto 2008:56-57)



FIGURE 4-14. Type F Namban ship (No.12): Private collection-Y family Version (1620s) by a Kano-school artist (Sakamoto 2008:60-61)

Type G

Two screens display Type G ships. This type is similar to Type H, with rather simple hulls, no gun ports, and the lines of the hull plank almost straight and running horizontally. Type G ships also have high fore and stern castles, integrated into the hulls, and show a small platform or compartment, in this case without bars, hanging outside the hull, amidships, as in Type D. The oldest of the type G ships is represented below: No.30, Version B of Kobe City Museum, Former Tanzan Shrine collection (1615-1630) by a Hasegawa-school artist (Figure 4-15) (Sakamoto 2008:112-115,347,387,396-397).



FIGURE 4-15. Type G Namban ship (No.30): Version B of Kobe City Museum, Former Tanzan Shrine collection (1615-1630) by a Hasegawa-school artist (Sakamoto 2008:112-113)

Type H

Type H ships appear on two Namban screens. These ships are similar to the Type G, with straight and horizontal hull seams, and no gun ports depicted. Small stern and side galleries are also present. The main difference between Types G and H is the

absence of a bow structure on the latter. Type H ships do not have beak heads. The presumed original is presented below: No.70, Version A of Sakai City Museum (1630s) by an unknown artist (Figure 4-16) (Sakamoto 2008:240-243,371,389,394-395).



FIGURE 4-16. Type H Namban ship (No.70) Version A of Sakai City Museum (1630s) by an unknown artist (Sakamoto 2008:240-241)

Type I

Four Type I ships survived. These are similar to Types E, and F. Both fore and stern castles are represented with a characteristic staircase appearance. Guns protrude from the presumed lower deck and window-like ports are shown on the decks above (except on the ship of screen No.75). Type I ships have both stern and side galleries (with the exception of ship No. 58, which does not have side galleries). The earliest version known is No.55, Peaboy Essex Museum Version (1615-1624), by a Kano-school artist (Figure 4-17) (Sakamoto 2008:198-199,361-362,388,394-395).



FIGURE 4-17. Type I Namban ship (No.55): Peaboy Essex Museum Version (1615-1624) by a Kano-school artist (Sakamoto 2008:198-199)

Type J

Type J ships have been represented on two Namban screens. These are characterized by crescent shaped hulls, with large hull planks represented with pronounced sheers, reminding us of 14th century representations of European merchantmen. Port openings are depicted in a window-like Asian fashion. Stern and side galleries are present, as in Types D, G, H, I and O. Both ships are presented below: No.61, Private collection-N family Version (1630s-1640s) by an unknown artist (Figure 4-18) (Sakamoto 2008:220-223,367-368,389,394-395); and No.62, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam Version (1630s-1640s) by an unknown artist (Figure 4-19) (Sakamoto 2008:224-227,368,389,394-395).



FIGURE 4-18. Type J Namban ship (No.61): Private collection-N family Version (1630s-1640s) by an unknown artist (Sakamoto 2008:220-221)



FIGURE 4-19. Type J Namban ship (No.62): Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam Version (1630s-1640s) by an unknown artist (Sakamoto 2008:224-225)

Type K

Three Namban Screens display Type K ships. Like Type J, these ships remind us of the late medieval representations of European merchantmen. They show a pronounced sheer, planking runs end under the castles, and the castles are small and not fully integrated. Gun muzzles protrude from the hulls, stylized and looking like pipes, and gun ports are absent. Running and standing rigging are not depicted. The two earlier versions are presented below: No.76, Version B of Itsuo Art Museum (1624-1644) by an

unknown artist (Figure 4-20) (Sakamoto 2008:254-255,375,389,394-395); and No.77, Former Okazaki City Library collection (1624-1644) by an unknown artist (Figure 4-21) (Sakamoto2008:256,375,398,394-395).



FIGURE 4-20. Type K Namban ship (No.76): Version B of Itsuo Art Museum (1624-1644) by an unknown artist (Sakamoto 2008:254-255)

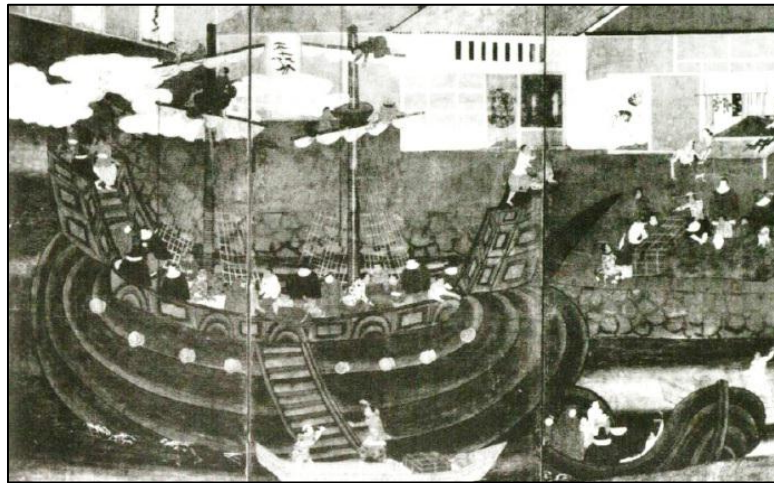


FIGURE 4-21. Type K Namban ship (No.77): Former Okazaki City Library collection (1624-1644) by an unknown artist (Sakamoto 2008:256)

Type L

Only one Namban ship has been classified as Type L. The author believes that the sails of this ship represent lateen sails. Additionally, the ship has only a narrow stern castle. Although the rigging and size of the ship is not accurate, the hull configuration and the presence of lateen sails may indicate that this type may represent a caravel. This ship appears on Namban screen No.80, together with one Type K ship: No.80, Saitama Prefectural Museum of History and folklore Version (Late 17th century) by an unknown artist (Figure 4-22) (Sakamoto 2008: 260-263,377,389,394-395).



FIGURE 4-22. Type L Namban ship (No.80a): Saitama Prefectural Museum of History and Folklore Version (Late 17th century) by an unknown artist (Sakamoto 2008:260-261)

Type M

Three Namban Screens display Type M ships. These ships display what the author believes to be representations of lateen sails. Type M ships probably represent a European rowing vessel. Its size and the shape of the castles suggest that the artist

intended to depict a small galley, or *fusta*, as they appear in European iconography. The earliest dates to the late 17th century but was produced by the Kano school. It is presented below: No.82, Version D of Kobe City Museum (Late 17th century) by a Kano-school artist (Figure 4-23) (Sakamoto 2008:266-269,378,389,394-395).



FIGURE 4-23. Type M Namban ship (No.82): Version D of Kobe City Museum (Late 17th century) by a Kano-school artist (Sakamoto 2008:266-267)

Type N

Type N ship appears on one single screen that was produced in the 18th century. This ship has high decorated castles. Rigging is not accurately depicted and neither yards nor sails are shown: No.35, Version C of Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (the 18th or 19th centuries) by an unknown artist (Figure 4-24) (Sakamoto 2008:124-127,349,387,396-397).

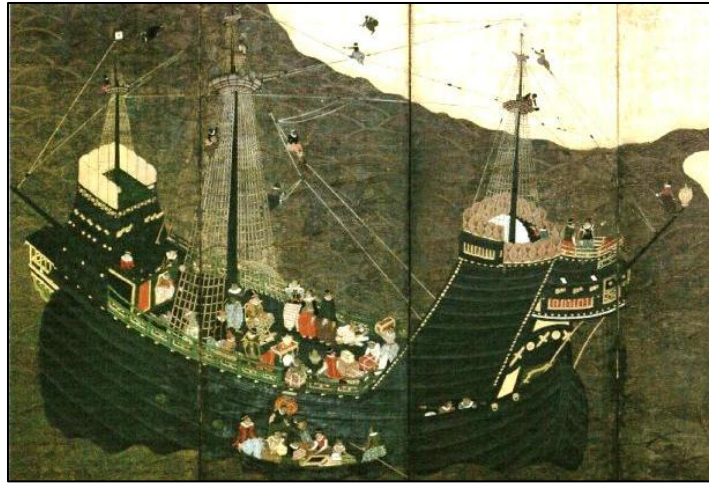


FIGURE 4-24. Type N Namban ship (No.35): Version C of Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (the 18th or 19th centuries) by a unknown artist (Sakamoto 2008:124-125)

Type O

The only Type O ship is similar to Types C, H, and I. Its configuration seems to have been derived from the earlier ship types. It has high castles and a round hull with protruding gun muzzles. Type O also has stern and side galleries, and inaccurately represented rigging: No.89, Private collection Version (Latter half of 17th century) by an unknown artist (Figure 4-25) (Sakamoto 2008:286-287,381,390,394-395)



FIGURE 4-25. Type O Namban ship (No.89): Private collection Version (Latter half of 17th century) by an unknown artist (Sakamoto 2008:286-287)

A full list of all 82 ship images is presented in Appendix A. All corroborate the author's suggestion that no Namban ship was drawn with an original ship in sight of the artist.

CHAPTER V

QUESTIONS

Authenticity of the Namban Ships on the Screens

The original purpose of this research was to characterize the Portuguese ships engaged in the Far East trade routes, based on the representations – purportedly accurate – of construction features of these ships in late 16th and 17th century screens. As noted in previous chapters, trade with Japan was immensely lucrative in this period, but limited by its many political and military risks, as well as by natural factors, such as the rhythms of the Trade Winds. The author knew that Namban screens displayed over 80 Portuguese vessels, a sample that promised to allow the identification of patterns and definition of particular construction features. Ideally, this project aimed at creating an image of Portuguese ships and their trade activity in Japanese waters, the most distant markets from their homeland. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the Portuguese ships depicted on Japanese screens did not match what we might expect to see on images of the ships at anchor painted on the spot by skilled artists, with the typical attention to detail that characterizes the Japanese art of this period. Instead, some ships could hardly be recognized as European oceangoing ships. This fact drastically changed the scope of the research and the author summarizes below the main research questions that arose out of the complete catalog of these ship representations.

Question 1: Why are the Depictions of the Ships so Inaccurate?

The first and biggest question about the origin of the Namban screens pertains to the inaccuracy of the ship representations. The most conspicuous mistakes are the implausible widths of the hull planks, which when scaled properly sometimes reach approximately two meters in width. No less inconspicuous are the rigging arrangements. Although most ships display masts, yards, sometimes sails, and most times some standing rigging supporting the masts, the quality of the rigging representations is always bad and diminishes in time. For instance, ships represented after the 1630s rarely display ratlines. In some cases screens show ships with backstays, but these are seldom properly positioned, and often not accurately represented. Running rigging is rarely represented, and in a few cases ships do not even have masts and yards.

Other interesting mistakes can be observed on the representations of gun ports. By the 16th century, most European merchant ships were armed. They had to be armed against pirates, ships from rival European nations, or local enemies. The primary weapons of these vessels were heavy guns, since naval battles were shifting from hand-to-hand combat into bombardment battles, and indeed many of ships display cannons. However, these are represented as simple pipes protruding from the hull planking, instead of the muzzles of cannons and gun ports represented in contemporaneous European iconography. On some of the screens gun ports are depicted as windows and decorated with oriental ornaments.

Similarly, galleries are represented out of scale, although these are perhaps one of the most interesting details on these ship representations. Referred to in some

historical accounts, such as the case of the galleon *Santiago*, these side galleries are never represented elsewhere, an issue that deserves further consideration. Referring to the galleon *Santiago* in 1602, Melchior Estácio do Amaral wrote (1981):

...there were so many boxes and bales stacked that one could not fit a person in. And even outside the hull, on the bulwarks and channels, hung bales and cabins, as it is usage on these vessels, in such a way that one could not operate the sails, and nobody could use the capstan for eighteen days.

These are gross mistakes that are in obvious contrast with the quality of the representations of houses, trees, or persons, in the same screen. Namban ships seem to be depicted with less attention to accuracy than many other features in these screens. Most Japanese scholars explain this lack of accuracy by saying that Namban ships were not an important portion of the screens and that artists might stylize the ships because it did not really matter much for the end result (Okamoto 1955:38-39; Sakamoto 2008:300). However, this explanation is not acceptable because all other features on the screens were depicted in minute detail, as we can see for instance on people's faces, houses, trees, and even the waves of the sea. Moreover, many of the early screens were produced by the Kano school, one of the most famous groups of artists in Japanese history. The Kano school was composed predominantly of the master Kano's lineage. Their painting techniques and styles were only taught to close family members and other relatives (Matsuki 1994:5-8; Takeda 1995: 3-7). The Kano school appeared in the 15th century and continued until the 19th century. During these 400 years its artists produced many works of art that have been labeled National Treasures and Important Properties of Japan (Yamashita 2004). Kano school masters served many *Tennou*, *Daimyo*, *Taiko*,

Shogun, and other powerful authorities in each period of Japan's history. The fame of the Kano school reached its peak in the *Azuchi-Momoyama* Era (1567-1600), when Nobunaga Oda and Hideyoshi Toyotomi ruled Japan. The Japanese culture of this era was named the *Azuchi-Momoyama* Culture, and the paintings produced by Kano school artists represent masterpieces of Azuchi-Momoyama arts (Kano 2007).

The Kano school's art is characterized by precision and attention to details, and precisely for this reason it is interesting to analyze the reasons behind the poor representations of ships on their screens.

Question 2: Anachronisms

Beginning of the Production

Another relevant question that arose during the analysis of the Namban screens concerns the period of their production. Specialists believe that one of the earliest pieces may have been produced as early as the 1590s. Nonetheless, the Portuguese had begun their Japanese trade in the 1550s, and there are good documental sources that suggest that they used Portuguese-built ships. In the later part of 16th century, the Portuguese visited Nagasaki and Hirado annually, sometimes even other ports around Kyushu (Figure 4-2, Table 1, 2). Japanese people, including artists, had many opportunities to see actual Portuguese vessels. Nobody knows why there are no contemporary depictions of European ships by Japanese artists until the Namban screens appeared. Moreover, most of the surviving Namban screens were actually produced between the 1620s and the 1640s. By this time more than half of foreign trading vessels had been replaced by

Japanese *Shu-in* Ships, and Chinese cargo carriers. Both Japanese and Chinese merchants used junk-type vessels on this trade (Nagazumi 2001:58-70). Junks were developed in the 13th century, during the Ming Dynasty in China, and became the main workhorse in East Asian waters until the 19th century. The conception, structure, and configuration of the junks were very different from those of European vessels (Green and Kim 1989; Green and Burningham 1998). Moreover, when Ieyasu opened his country to foreign trade, he concentrated it in Nagasaki and Hirado, in order to manage all the incoming and outgoing vessels. This fact certainly limited the number of people who actually saw European ships at anchor with their own eyes, even though large numbers of Namban screens were produced during this period. Several more screens were painted after the third *Shogun* Iemitsu prohibited all foreign trade, except that with Dutch and Chinese merchants at *Dejima*.

Configuration of Forecastles

The configuration of the forecastles of Namban ships on the screens is an interesting subject. Because the superstructures of these ships do not typically survive on shipwreck sites, the author has looked at a large number of ship images from Medieval and Renaissance Europe. The bottom and lower portions of a hull side tend to survive far better and more often than the upper structures of a hull, and therefore the study of ships contemporary to the ones represented on the screens has to be largely based on iconography, which does not differentiate clearly between the ships of the Portuguese, the Spanish, or the English.

Throughout the Middle Ages, European ships, both from the north and south, developed superstructures known as stern and fore castles, mainly for military reasons. A high superstructure provided an advantageous fighting position when ships were close in hand-to-hand combat. By the late 15th and early 16th centuries, large ships featured substantial fore and stern castles (Figure 5-1, 5-2). However, over the course of the 16th century, the tactics of naval warfare shifted from hand-to-hand combat to artillery bombardment. As gun platforms, high fore and stern castles were a liability because the weight of artillery tended to make ships unstable. Additionally lower castles allowed better sailing ability, especially at angles closer to the wind on long sea voyages. By the early 17th century, naval power became essential to the economic prosperity and political influence of European nations, and fighting ships were increasingly regarded as gun platforms (Figure 5-3, 5-4). At this stage in the evolution of naval architecture, carrying as much firepower as possible became the main concern of shipwrights. Partial weather decks were replaced by full length gun decks, and the height of those decks was lowered to gain a better center of gravity for the stability of the ship.



FIGURE 5-1. Iconography of Portuguese ship depicted in the Livro de Horas D. Manuel c. 1517. Lisbon's Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.



FIGURE 5-2. Illustration of the *Mary Rose* by Anthony Anthony in 1540s (after Lavery 2010:94)



FIGURE 5-3. Anonymous painting at “Francesinhos” Church, Lisbon, Portugal, c. 1620 (Photo: courtesy Filipe Castro).

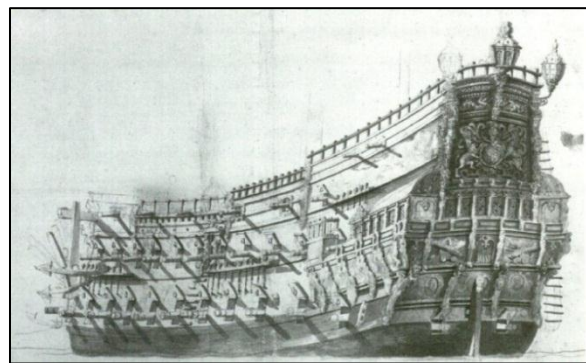


FIGURE 5-4. Van de Velde’s drawing of the *Constant Reformation* around 1648 (after Gardiner and Lavery 1992:11)

However, the ships on the Namban screens do not conform to this trend in hull design. In fact, the development of the castles on the screens follows the opposite direction of the development of contemporary European shipbuilding. Type A and Type B depictions have lower castles than the rest, and these screens were produced during the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries (Sakamoto 2008:386-390). Later Types C to H, produced during the first four decades of the 17th century, display higher forecastles. It is interesting to observe how fore and stern castles in Namban screens display a backward development when compared to European iconography of the same period.

Originality of the Ships on Namban Screens

During the analysis of the ships represented in the screens the trend of deterioration over time in the quality of ship representations referred in the previous chapter became obvious. The general appearance of Type A ships (Figures 4-3, 4-4 and 4-5) is similar to mid-16th century European merchant ships, such as those engraved around 1560 by Frans Huys, based on Breughel's drawings (Figure 5-5, 5-6). They have lower and longer stern castles and less integrated forecastles than the other types. As already mentioned, we do not have much published archaeological evidence of the superstructures of 16th century Mediterranean vessels, but we have a large body of what appear to be reliable images from this period. It is widely known that Portuguese and Spanish monarchs regularly sent both merchant and war ships to Asia throughout the 16th century. With the arrival of Dutch ships in 1595, Asian waters quickly became a

war theater for European nations, and we know that the Portuguese consequently sent fewer ships to Asia. There were exceptions, such as the defense of Malacca in 1606 against a Dutch attack. To reinforce security the Portuguese sent 16 warships, perhaps all built in Portugal (Boxer 1929:23-29). These 16 ships are referred both as galleons and *naus*, like most of the Portuguese built ships that sailed to China and Japan regularly. However, given the difficulty of the voyage from Portugal to India, the Portuguese regularly built ships in several Indian harbors from the beginning of the 16th century onwards, and used countless local types of boats and ships in their commercial routes (Pissarra 2001). It is likely that the number of Portuguese-built ships sailing to East Asia diminished proportionally with the distances sailed, and that an important percentage of the Portuguese ships sailing in the Pacific Ocean routes were local types. This would make European ships a rare sight in Japanese waters, and may explain why ships on screens were copies of ship images, rather than original drawings (Garcia and Rodrigues 2008).

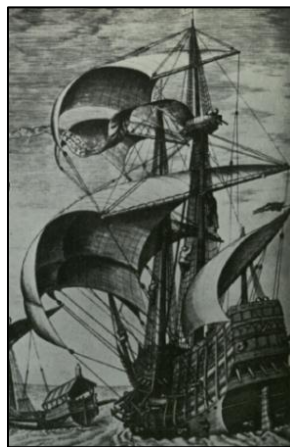


FIGURE 5-5. A Mediterranean merchant ship from a Frans Huys engraving after a drawing by Breughel (c.1560) (after Gunn-Graham 1998)

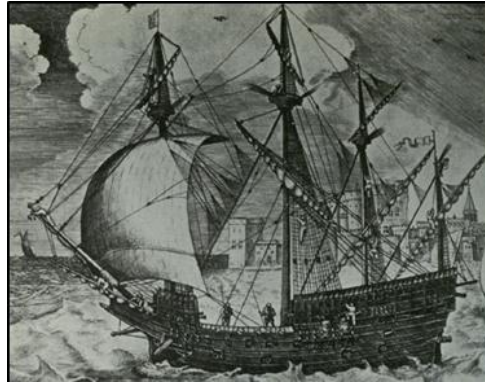


FIGURE 5-6. Frans Huys engraving after a drawing of a galleon by Breughel (c.1560) (after Gunn-Graham 1998)

Ship Type M (No.82) is also interesting (Figure 4-23). We know it is not a Chinese ship: another ship represented on the same screen, next to it, is Chinese and was depicted with a distinctive transom bow, which is a typical feature of Chinese vessels in this period. Ship No. 82 has one mast with an inclined spar – both typical of European ships – that seems to represent a lateen yard with a sails furled. Portuguese merchants are depicted on board. The author believes that the Type I ship is a depiction of a *fusta*, or small galley. There are several surviving European images of galleys with configurations similar to the one represented here (Figure 5-7). We know that the Portuguese made extensive use of rowing vessels in Asian waters (Cortesão and Mota 1960). Additionally, a Japanese primary source suggested that at least one European-built *fusta* existed in Japan, owned and operated by the Jesuit Order (Fróis 2000d:191-200; Matsuda 2001:134). *Taiko* Hideyoshi saw and visited the Jesuit *Fusta* once, according to his chronicler, during an excursion to Hakata. However, this visit took place in 1587, while the screen that displays the Type M ship was produced in the late

17th century. Since the record of the *fusta* and the production of the screen where it is represented are separated by around one century, and the inaccuracy of the representation of this purported *fusta* is evident, it is likely that European galleys were a rare sight in Japan.



FIGURE 5-7. 16th century images of Mediterranean galleys (Castro and Costa 1939)

All evidence suggests that the ships represented a Namban screens were not drawn from the real ships, but copied from illustration of ships. The later representations seem to have been largely copied from earlier, similar screens, but the origin of the earlier depictions, represented on the screens produced by the Kano school in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, are harder to pinpoint. For the reasons exposed above, it seems likely that Portuguese ships, either *naus*, galleons, or rowing vessels, were a rare sight in Japanese harbors most of the time. By the time they were first painted, these were largely unknown in Japan. The author has seen, however, vessels similar to those represented on the Namban screens on other contemporary images: European maps of the Age of Discovery. The question remaining is now to understand how these maps were available to the masters of the Kano school.

CHAPTER VI

HYPOTHESIS

From European Maps to Namban Screens

The author has studied world maps produced in Europe during the 16th and early 17th centuries, and found vessels similar to each one of the types shown on the screens as depictions of Namban ships (Figure 6-1). The similarities between these drawings are often worth notice, sometimes striking, and it appears likely that all European vessels represented on Namban screens were copied from the decorative ships shown on late 16th century European maps.

In the 16th century cartography encompassed a number of disciplines that aimed at the production of accurate maps, and many of these disciplines were scientific in their nature. In this period maps were updated regularly, every time explorers returned from their voyages with news of discoveries. But knowledge of the world was incomplete and the blank spaces were often illustrated with appropriated drawings, depicting the flora and fauna, or the peoples inhabiting the lands represented, and often the seas were embellished with representations of the ships of their time (Unger 2010:11). The trend of depicting ships on maps became fashionable in the middle of 16th century, and the fashion reached its zenith in the work of the competent French cartographers of the Dieppe school. From this period onwards, the oceans of most of the world maps were filled with small ships and imaginary creatures (Swift 2006; Wigal 2007). This fashion

continued well into the 17th century, when the greater amount of geographic information available produced a style shift into precise depictions of the interior of continents.

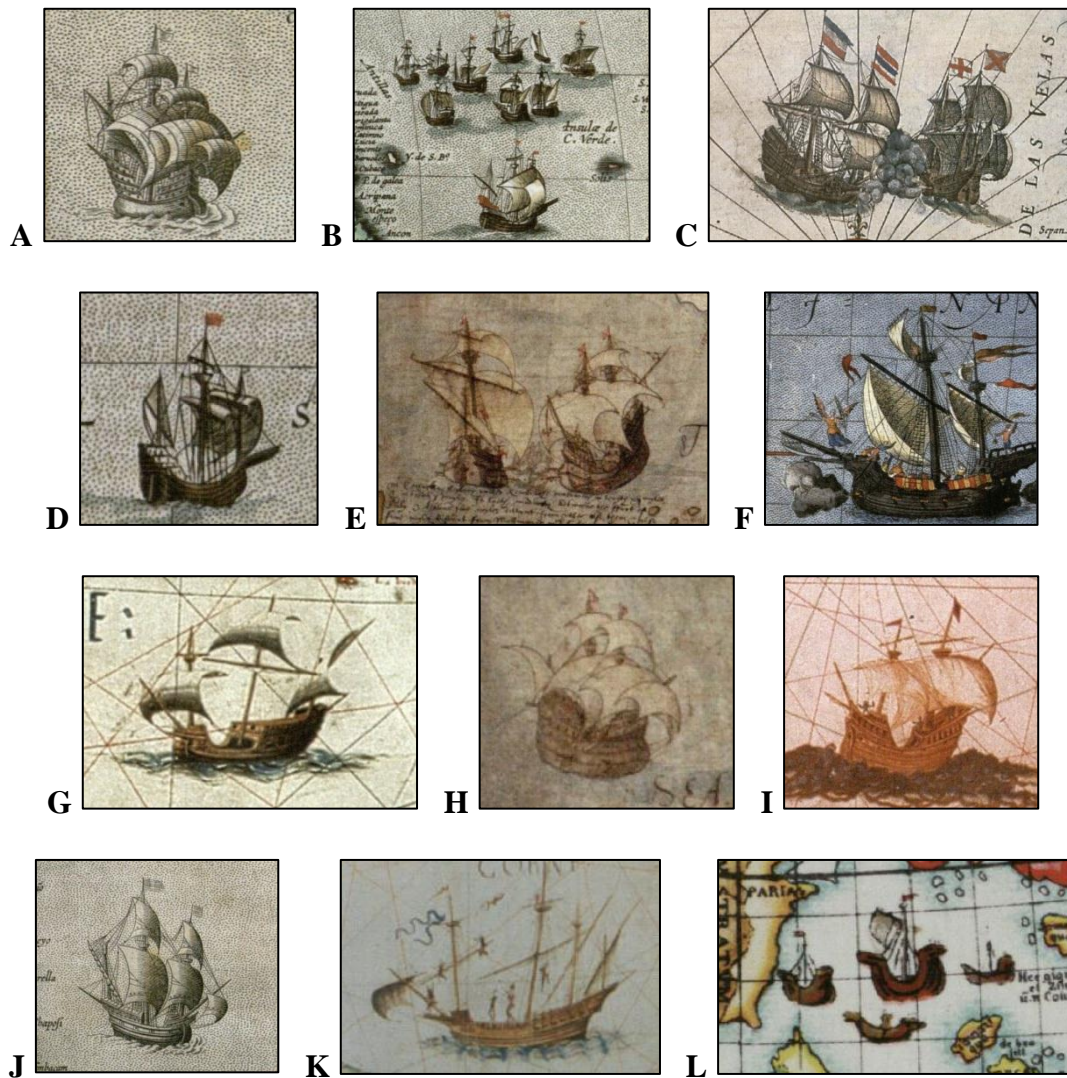


FIGURE 6-1. Iconography of ships from 16th century's European maps (Swift 2006). (A) From Ortelius's 1595 map of Japan (Swift 2006:102). (B). (C) From Hondius's map of the islands of the East Indies (Swift 2006: 94). (D) From Ortelius's *Americae Sive Novi Orvis, Nova Descriptio* (Swift 2006:88). (E) From John Goghe's map of Ireland, 1567 (Swift 2006:86). (F) From Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 1595 (Swift 2006:104). (G) From Pierre Desceliers's (Cartographer of the Dieppe-school) map of the world, 1550 (Swift 2006:72-73). (H) From John Goghe's map of Ireland, 1567 (Swift 2006:86). (I) Diego Homen's map of the Indian Ocean, 1558 (Swift 2006:81). (J) From Ortelius's 1595 map of Japan (Swift 2006:102). (K) From Pierre Desceliers's (Cartographer of the Dieppe-school) map of the world, 1550 (Swift 2006:73). (L) Johannes and Martin's map of Americas, 1520 (Swift 2006:64).

The evidence mentioned above suggests that the inaccuracy of the ship representations on Namban screens stems from lack of original models. European artists drew good and bad images of ships on the maps being made in their time. Sometimes the quality of the ships represented on 16th century maps is excellent, other times ships maps are simplified and stylized, often for lack of space. The rigging was especially simplified due to the small scale at which it was sometimes represented. It is almost certain that Japanese artists copied these images, often without ever having seen the actual ships, let alone understanding the complex arrangement of the rigging, the placement of the guns and the nature of the equipment necessary to maneuver of these complex machines. This fact explains the mistakes on Namban screen paintings described in previous sections of this work, especially in the rigging of the Namban ships.

The Origin of Namban Screens

We know that many European art works were brought to Japan once trade with Portuguese merchants began (Nishimura 1958:1-15). The primary purpose of this influx of European artworks was to spread Christianity. Missionaries brought European religious paintings and non-religious paintings to Japan and some taught European art techniques to Japanese artists, in order to help the Japanese paint religious figures themselves. In 1583, the Jesuit missionary Giovanni Niccolo came to Japan and opened a European Art School (Nishimura 1958:14). As a result, Japanese Christian painters developed a particular style and imitating European painting became an art form

between 1592 and 1615 (Nishimura 1958:14-15). Some of the pieces of art produced in this period survive today. Well known examples are: *Taisei-Oku-Kiba-Zu* (drawing of the western kings on horses), *Yonkakoku-Tojo-Byobu* (screen with pictures of four capitals), *Rebanto-Kaisen-Zu* (screen with the battle of Levant), or *Sekaizu-Byobu* (World map screen) (Figures 6-2, 6-3, 6-4, 6-5). It is likely that a large number of European paintings and prints came to Japan around the period in which the Namban screens were produced. Moreover, Japanese painters also produced world maps around this time. Today, 20 of those world map screens survive in Japan (Kirishitan Bunka Kenkyukai 1964:1-273), and three or four display small ships. Since Japan did not have the knowledge to produce original world maps based on the sea voyages or its own mariners, it is certain that these maps were copies of European world maps. According to Taku Nakamura (Kirishitan Bunka Kenkyukai 1964:1-161), a scholar who carefully studied Namban world map screens, they were all produced from the late 16th century and throughout the 17th century.



FIGURE 6-2. *Taisei-Oku-Kiba-Zu* (Suntory Museum of Art Version) (Miyoshi and Onoda 1999:30-31)



FIGURE 6-3. Yonkakoku-Tojo-Byobu (Kobe City Museum Version) (Miyoshi and Onoda 1999:34-35)



FIGURE 6-4. Repanto-Kaisen-Zu (Kousetsu Museum Version) (Miyoshi and Onoda 1999:20-21)



FIGURE 6-5. Sekaizu-Byobu (Kobe City Museum Version) (Miyoshi and Onoda 1999:32-33)

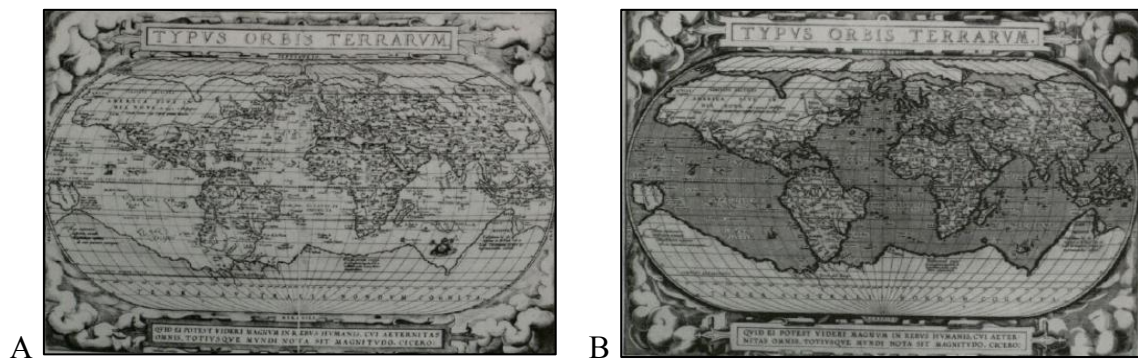
Nishimura believes that this influx of European artworks was largely a result of the Tensho Embassy (1958: 65-66). The Tensho Embassy was welcomed by Pope Gregory XIII and by many Italian city states, because their arrival in Rome meant that Christianity had reached the edge of the known world (Wakakuwa 2008b:13-102). On the way back to Lisbon from Rome, the Embassy visited Padua. While there, a nobleman presented four expensive books to them. Two of these books were *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* and *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Nishimura 1958:65-66; Fróis et al. 1941). The author has had the fortunate opportunity to use these books for previous research. *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cities of the World) is a book that compiles drawings of cities, maps of several regions of the world, and its people (Braun et al. 2008) (Figure 6-6). *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* is the so-called first world atlas (Broecke 1996) (Figure 6-7). Both books have hundreds of depictions of small ships, most very accurate and seemingly typical of each region.



FIGURE 6-6. *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Braun et al. 2008). (A) Lisbon. (B) Venice. (C) Rome. (D) Constantinople.



FIGURE 6-6.Continued..

FIGURE 6-7. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Broecke 1996). (A) World Map, 1570. (B) World Map, 1586. (C) Americas, 1570. (D) Italy, 1570. (E) Northern Europe, 1570. (F) Asia, 1567 and 1570.

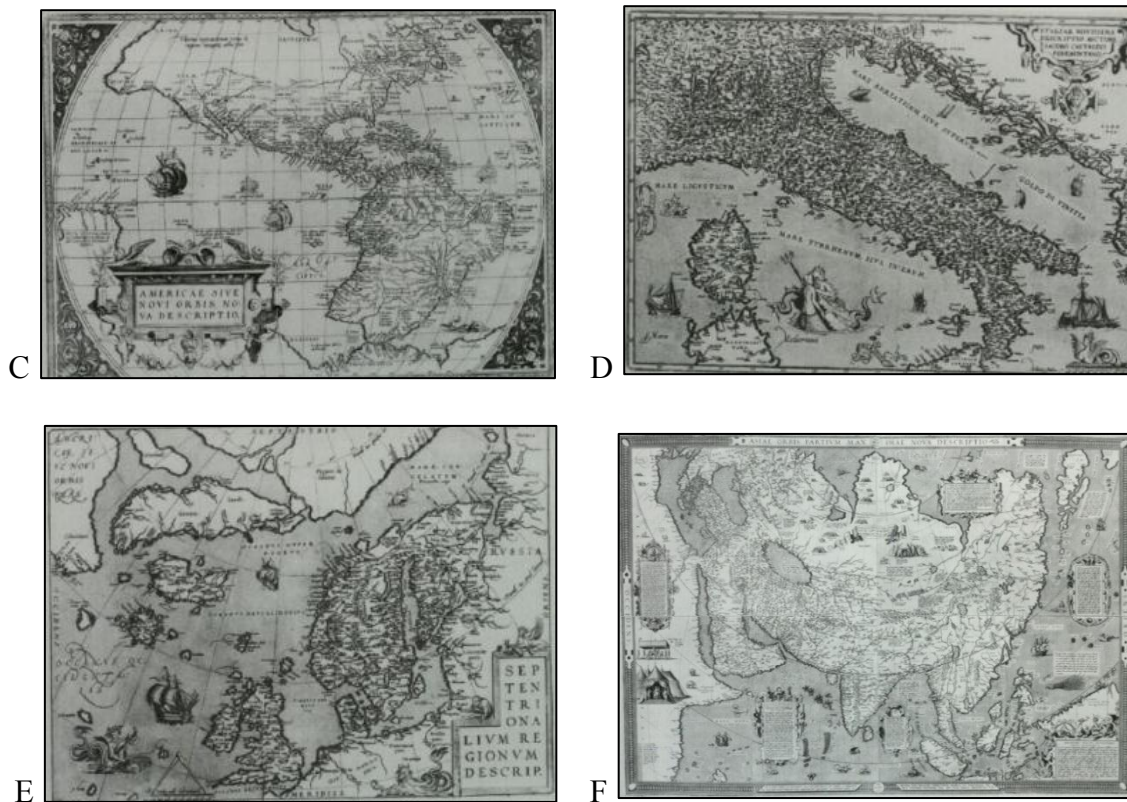


FIGURE 6-7. Continued.

The Tensho Embassy returned to Japan in 1590. However, they had to stay in Nagasaki for three years before Hideyoshi permitted them to visit the capital in 1593. While they were staying in Nagasaki, many *Daimyos* and merchants visited them to hear stories of the travels to Rome. Fróis said that the visitors enjoyed the European maps and globes (Wakakuwa 2008b). Finally, in 1593, they were allowed to visit Hideyoshi's palace. This visit was the march of *Capitão-mor* mentioned earlier in this paper and the scene that is depicted on many Namban Screens. The author also hypothesizes that the costumes of the Portuguese people represented on the Namban screens are similar to the

clothes seen in the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. This would mean that the artists that made the Namban screens did not have to witness or have any access to drawings or sketches made in the presence of the march of the *Capitão-mor*.

An interesting additional fact is that Naizen Kano, who drew one of the earliest Namban Screens, served as Hideyoshi's painter (Yamashita 2004:62-63; Kano 2007:108-109). Perhaps he witnessed the reception of the returning Tensho Embassy? Or perhaps *Taiko* Hideyoshi asked him to paint the original screen? These are merely the author's hypotheses, but they would tie these important events and artwork together in a simple way.

Not all the Namban ships were necessarily based on ships from *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* and *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. We don't know what other European sources were available in Japan at the time. The members of the Tensho Embassy were invited to many Italian cities, for instance, Florence, before Rome, and after that other cities, including Milano, Venice, Padua (where they received the books already mentioned). There were many printed books and images in Italy at the time. As mentioned above, maps with drawings of cities and ships were common as a result of the flourishing of the Dieppe-school decades earlier. It is likely that the four Japanese members of the Tensho Embassy purchased or were given maps and paintings for their Christian fellows in Japan and for Japanese rulers, like Hideyoshi. And it is likely that other European missionaries and merchants also brought maps and paintings to Japan. Historical records tell us that the members of the Tensho Embassy brought maps and globes to Nagasaki, Japan, although there are no historical accounts describing the members of the Tensho

Embassy presenting maps to Hideyoshi. The records say that ‘among the gifts, Hideyoshi liked an Arabian horse.’” But it is almost certain that he received maps and artwork, perhaps also globes, from his visitors. And it is a fact that it was after this visit that Hideyoshi’s personal artist and his school produced the first Namban screens. All of the earliest screens display this march and the members of the Tensho Embassy. It is likely that Hideyoshi’s artists saw the march themselves and may have taken notes or made sketches. Whether or not this is true, the Namban screens are still rightly considered Japanese Important Cultural Property and records of the first interactions between Europe and Japan, between West and Eastern Christians, and represent an interesting symbiosis between Renaissance European and Japanese traditional arts.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The Sources of the Namban Screens

Throughout the 16th century, Europe experienced a cultural transformation, from the medieval paradigm to the modern period. Princes, kings, and emperors consolidated power and hired scholars to collect, translate and interpret ancient texts. Old philosophies were revived, the edge of the known world expanded, and the authority of the Roman Catholic Church was greatly reduced. Portugal had developed its shipbuilding and seafaring activities during the 14th and 15th centuries, and by 1488 its ships had mapped most of the eastern coast of the African continent, and passed into the Indian Ocean. In 1543, Portuguese merchants finally landed on Marco Polo's legendary island of gold, "Zipangu." Soon after the first European arrival in Japan, the Portuguese established a profitable silver trade; soon this lucrative commerce became indispensable to the Portuguese maritime empire. Along with the Portuguese merchant ships, a considerable number of Jesuit missionaries arrived annually in Japan. The Reformation movement, started by Martin Luther in 1517, triggered a movement of reaction – the Counter Reformation – to combat Protestantism and try to regain the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. The conversion of pagan peoples throughout the expanding world was perceived as a priority in Rome.

Among the many consequences of the contact between Portuguese and Japanese peoples, one seems to stand out for the immediate changes it triggered: the introduction

of the *arquebus* to the samurai world. This new weapon drastically changed the power structure and the tactics of warfare during the second half of the 16th century, and plunged Japan into unprecedented chaos. With this new weapon, samurai warlords pursued hegemony over their neighbors and war destroyed the country. This era is named *Sengoku-Jidai*, or the Era of War Nations. The introduction of the *arquebus* nevertheless accelerated the unification of Japan. During the second half of the 16th century three warlords rose to prominence and ended the turmoil: Nobunaga Oda, Hideyoshi Toyotomi, and Ieyasu Tokugawa. Jesuit missionaries interacted closely with the three warlords in charge of most of the country and generated substantial journals and letters to the Vatican. Among these we have already mentioned Luis Fróis's chronicles "*Nihon-shi*" as some of the most reliable primary sources about the history of this period.

Preaching to Japanese people was a difficult challenge because of the language barrier. As already mentioned, Alessandro Valignano believed that it was essential to teach Christianity to the Japanese while they were young, and founded educational institutions for young students, where they probably had contact with European iconography. Moreover, the Jesuits also founded a European Art School, mainly to teach the story of Jesus through images, trying to circumvent the language problem, and to satisfy an increasing demand for religious icons and paintings among Japanese Christians. Many students received an education in these institutions that encompassed the history and doctrine of Christianity, and European science and art.

In 1582, Valignano chose four talented young Japanese Christians and dispatched them to Europe. They were the Tensho Embassy. In 1585, they arrived in Rome as the first official Japanese embassy. This event was perceived as tremendously important in the Roman Catholic organization; the arrival of embassy was tangible evidence that Christianity and the Roman Catholic Church had reached the most distant nation known to Europeans.

In 1590 the Tensho Embassy came back to Japan and found the situation of the missionaries rather changed. The emperor Hideyoshi had passed his *Bateren-Tuihou-Rei*, or anti-Christian decree, in 1587, soon after their departure. Valignano, Fróis, and the four members of the Tensho Embassy visited Kyoto in the company of Portuguese merchants in 1593, and tried to persuade Hideyoshi to nullify *Bateren-Tuihou-Rei*. Hideyoshi's chronicler noted that both Jesuits missionaries and merchants brought many European items and arts as gifts to the warlord, although there are no detailed accounts of the gifts. The author believes that among the gifts were maps and books and perhaps also globes with images of peoples and ships. It is possible that the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* and the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* were included in these gifts.

These sources were perhaps available to Hideyoshi's personal painter, Naizen Kano, a competent artist trained in the most influential school of Japanese art. Among the many scenes of Hideyoshi's official events and ceremonies, Naizen produced a Namban screen in the last decade of the 16th century or the first decade of the 17th century. After the obvious success of this first screen, other Kano school artists began to produce Namban screens. The ships in this first series of screen are already rather

inaccurate, suggesting that neither Naizen nor the other Kano school artists had seen the actual Portuguese ships with their own eyes. In all likelihood they copied, scaled up, and adapted the images of ships contained in the maps and books brought from Europe and possibly presented to Hideyoshi.

Namban screens became a popular style of Japanese art over the course of the 17th century. Even though most of the screens were obvious copies from previous ones, some artists depicted new types of ships. The inaccuracy and anachronisms in these subsequent copies reinforce this scenario, suggesting that the new types of ships were also copied from images, probably European, as in the 16th and 17th centuries European maps were very popular among the Japanese educated classes.

Today, Japanese scholars consider the Namban screens the epitome of Japanese Art in that period, produced by the best artists of their time, and the amazing details included in them, and mixed with the poor representations of ships, make these scenes both mysterious and clear, and unique windows into a tremendously interesting historic period. The present work pertains solely to the ship representations and aims at solving the questions related with their accuracy. But the wealth of reliable information contained in these 90 scenes calls for a much deeper and thorough study, aiming at reconstructing the landscape and the peoples that lived in the second half of the 16th century, both in Japan and in the Portuguese Asian World.

When the author started this study, his objective was to describe the ships of the Portuguese that plowed the trading routes of the Far East in the period under analysis. The result was something much different. On one hand, a rather small embassy, with

only four Japanese Christians, bound to Rome, on the other side of the World, but concerned with the Christianization of the most remote region of the known world, at the time one of the most important political problems of its time. On the other the social and political frame in which this embassy was prepared and carried out, in a country set on fire by the introduction of firearms and a handful of missionaries trying to force a new religion onto its population against the opposition of the political leaders. In the middle of these two realities stands a common phenomenon in the history of painting: most of the time artists prefer to copy other works of art than trying to reproduce nature (Russell 1983). The conclusion of this investigation is that with all probability none of the artists that painted the Namban screens saw a Portuguese ship at anchor. The inaccuracies underlined by this study and the similarities with contemporary ship representations illustrated in this work suggest that all the ships are largely artistic creations, inspired by contemporary or older ship illustrations. And this fact makes the screen under analysis perhaps more interesting than we thought, representing two worlds side by side, one largely unknown and misunderstood, and the other drafted with marvelous detail.

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APPENDIX A

TYPOLOGY OF NAMBAN SHIPS ON THE NAMBAN SCREENS

Ship Type A

Four Namban screens display five Type A ships.

Earlier Type A Namban Ships on the Screens

1a



1b

Location of the Screen: Osaka Castle Museum

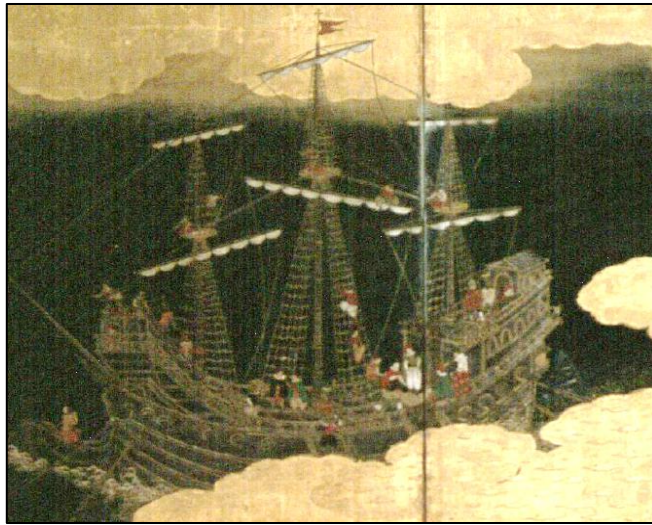
Date of the Production: 1596-1615

Painter: Kano-school artist

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.1 (1a and 1b).

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 2-3

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-3



Location of the Screen: Kyushu National Museum
 Date of the Production: 1601-1635
 Painter: Kano Takanobu
 Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.2
 Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 6-7
 Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-4



Location of the Screen: Missing (Former Kasahara Family collection)
 Date of the Production: 1605-1624
 Painter: Kano-school artist
 Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.4
 Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 18-19
 Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-5

Later Type A Namban Ship on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Matsuoka Museum of Art
Date of the Production: Mid-17th century
Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei
(Sakamoto 2008): No.72
Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008)
page 246-247

Ship Type B

Thirteen Namban screens display 19 Type B ships.

Earlier Type B Namban Ships on the Screens

3a



3b

Location of the Screen: Kobe City Museum

Date of the Production: Late 16th – Early 17th century


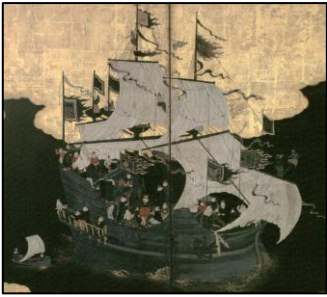



Painter: Kano Naizen




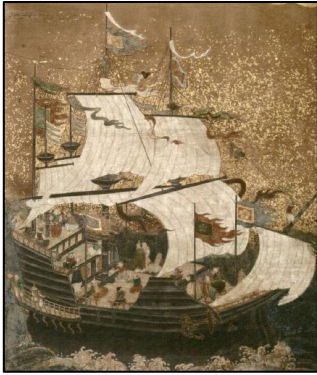

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.3



Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 12-13

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-6

Later Type B Namban Ships on the Screens

 <p>14a 14b</p>	<p>Location of the Screen: Unknown (Former Kawanishi Family collection) Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008): No.14 Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008) page: 66-67</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Agency of Cultural Affairs Date of the Production: First Half of 17th century Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008): No.15 Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008) page: 70-71</p>
 <p>16a 16b</p>	<p>Location of the Screen: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008): No.16 Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008) page: 72-75</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Private collection Date of the Production: Mid-17th century Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008): No.18 Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008) page: 78-79</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: National Museum of Japanese History (Former Harada Family collection) Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008): No.19 Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008) page 80-81</p>

 <p>20a 20b</p>	<p>Location of the Screen: Private collection Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008): No.20 Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008) page 82-83</p>
 <p>21a 21b</p>	<p>Location of the Screen: Namban Bunkakan Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008): No.21 Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008) page 88-91</p>
 <p>22a 22b</p>	<p>Location of the Screen: Sairen-ji Temple, Aichi Pref Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008): No.22 Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008) page 92-93</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Date of the Production: Mid-17th century Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008): No.24 Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008) page: 102</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Daian-aen-ji Temple, Fukui Pref Date of the Production: Mid-17th century Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008): No.28 Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008) page: 106-107</p>

	<p>Location of the Screen: Toshodai-ji Temple, Nara Pref Date of the Production: Latter half of 17th century Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008): No.23 Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008) page 98-99</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Unknown (Former Sansei collection) Date of the Production: 19th century Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008): No.27 Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008) page: 105</p>

Ship Type C

Type C ships are one of the most frequent; seventeen screens display this ship type 19 times.

Earlier Type C Namban Ships on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Namban Bunkakan

Date of the Production: 1596-1615

Painter: Hasegawa-school artist

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.6

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 30-31

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-7



Location of the Screen: Sannomaru Shozokan (Museum of the Imperial Collections)

Date of the Production: 1610s




Painter: Unknown


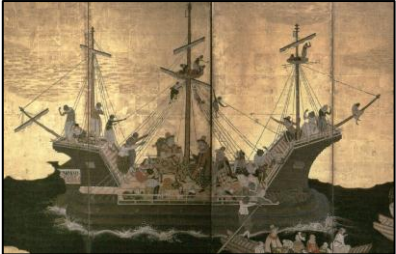


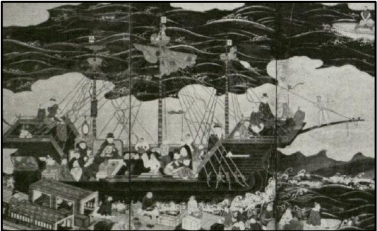
Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.7





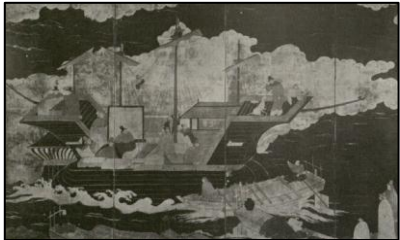
Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 36-37

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-8

Later Type C Namban Ships on the Screens

	<p>Location of the Screen: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.34 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 122-123</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Asian Art Museum, San Francisco Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.36 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 128-129</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation, New York Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.37 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 134-135</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Freer Gallery of Art / Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.38 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 140-145</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Cultural History (Former Higashi-Hongan-ji Temple Ohtsu Branch collection) Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.39 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 146-151</p>

	<p>Location of the Screen: Victoria and Albert Museum Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.40 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 152-153</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: MOA Museum of Art Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.41 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 154-155</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Cleveland Museum Art Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.49 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 172-177</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Tenri Central Library Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.50 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 178-183</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Missing Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.53 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 191</p>

	<p>Location of the Screen: Honsen-ji Temple, Ishikawa Pref Date of the Production: Mid-17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.51 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 184-185</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: National Museum of Japanese History Date of the Production: Latter half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.48 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 169-169</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Portland Museum of Art Date of the Production: Unknown Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.45 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 162-163</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Missing Date of the Production: Unknown Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.46 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 166</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Missing (Former Yamanaka-Shokai collection) Date of the Production: Unknown Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.47 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 167</p>

Ship Type D

Thirteen screens display type D ships.

Earlier Type D Namban Ships on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Suntory Museum of Art

Date of the Production: 1600-1620

Painter: Kano-school artist

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byōbu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.5

Images from *Nanban Byōbu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 24-25

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-9



Location of the Screen: Private Collection-K family

Date of the Production: 1610s

Painter: Kano-school artist

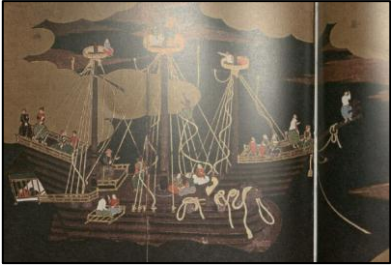



Inventory Number in *Nanban Byōbu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.9


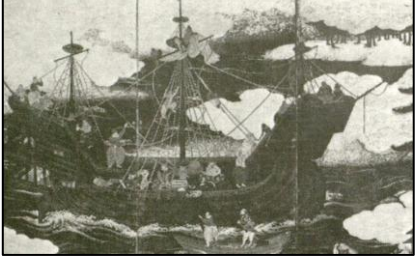
Images from *Nanban Byōbu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 44-45

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-10

Later Type D Namban Ships on the Screens

	<p>Location of the Screen: Fundacao Orient, Lisbon Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.17 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 76-77</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Northern Culture Museum Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.54 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 192-193</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Private collection (S family) Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.63 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 228-229</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Private collection Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.66 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 233</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Musee National des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.67 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 234-235</p>

	<p>Location of the Screen: Missing (Former Ikenaga Family collection) Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.68 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 236-237</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Dayton Art Institute Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.69 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 238-239</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Itsuo Art Museum Date of the Production: Mid-17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.73 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 248-249</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Kawamura Memorial Museum of Art Date of the Production: Mid-17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.32 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 118-119</p>

	<p>Location of the Screen: Mitsui Memorial Museum Date of the Production: 18th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.33 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 120-121</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Missing Date of the Production: Unknown Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.74 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 251</p>

Ship Type E

There are five depictions of Type E ships.

Earlier Type E Namban Ships on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Private Collection-T family (Former Ungai-in collection)

Date of the Production: 1610s

Painter: Kano-school artist

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.10

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 50-51

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-11



Location of the Screen: Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture

Date of the Production: 1620s




Painter: Unknown

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.59

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 212-213

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-12

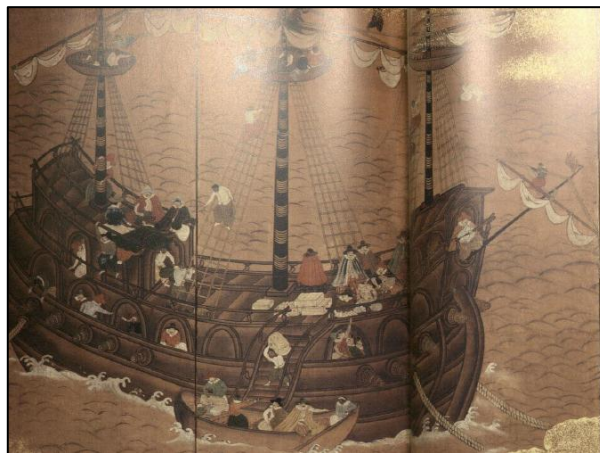
Later Type E Namban Ships on the Screens

	<p>Location of the Screen: Idemitsu Museum of Arts Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.60 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 216-217</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Muro-ji Temple, Nara Pref Date of the Production: First half of 17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.71 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 244-245</p>
	<p>Location of the Screen: Art Institute of Chicago Date of the Production: Mid-17th century Inventory Number in <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008): No.57 Images from <i>Namban Byobu Shusei</i> (Sakamoto 2008) page 204-205</p>

Ship Type F

Only two Namban screens display Type F ships.

Type F Namban Ships on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Date of the Production: 1620s

Painter: Kano-school artist

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.11

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 56-57

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-13



Location of the Screen: Private collection (Y family)

Date of the Production: 1620s

Painter: Kano-school artist

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.12

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 60-61

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-14

Ship Type G

Two screens display Type G ships.

Earlier Type G Namban Ship on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Kobe City Museum (Former Tanzan Shrine collection)

Date of the Production: 1615-1630

Painter: Hasegawa-school artist

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.30

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 112-113

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-15

Later Type G Namban Ship on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Tokyo National Museum

Date of the Production: Latter half of 17th century

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.29

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 108-109

Ship Type H

Type H ships appear on two Namban screens.

Earlier Type H Namban Ship on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Sakai City Museum

Date of the Production: 1630s

Painter: Unknown

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.70

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 240-241

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-16

Later Type H Namban Ship on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Missing (Former Sansei collection)

Date of the Production: Latter half of 18th century

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.90

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 288-289

Ship Type I

Four Type I ships survived.

Earlier Type I Namban Ship on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Peabody Essex Museum

Date of the Production: 1615-1624

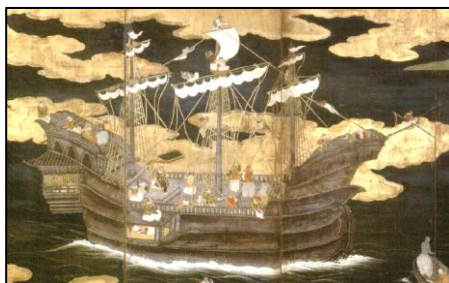
Painter: Kano-school artist

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.55

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 198-199

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-17

Later Type I Namban Ships on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis

Date of the Production: First half of 17th century

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.56

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 200-201



Location of the Screen: Kyushu National Museum
Date of the Production: First half of 17th century
Inventory Number in *Namban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.58
Images from *Namban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008)
page 208-209



Location of the Screen: Private collection
Date of the Production: Mid-17th century
Inventory Number in *Namban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.75
Images from *Namban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008)
page 252-253

Ship Type J

Type J ships have been represented on two Namban screens.

Type J Namban Ships on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Private collection (N family)

Date of the Production: 1630s-1640s

Painter: Unknown

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.61

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 220-221

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-18



Location of the Screen: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Date of the Production: 1630s-1640s

Painter: Unknown

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.62

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 224-225

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-19

Ship Type K

Three Namban Screens display Type K ships.

Earlier Type K Namban Ships on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Itsuo Art Museum

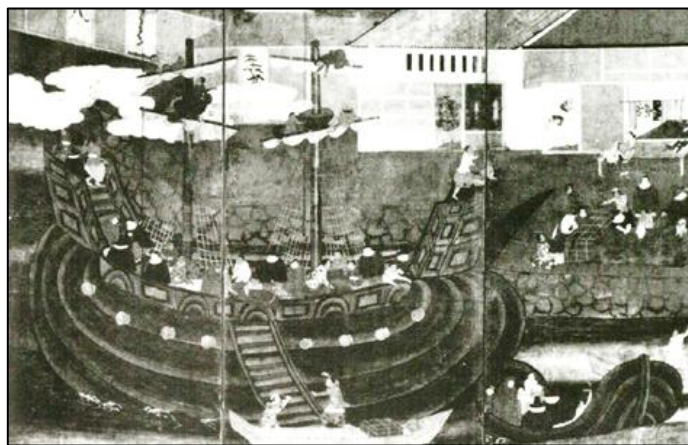
Date of the Production: 1624-1644

Painter: Unknown

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.76

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 254-255

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-20



Location of the Screen: Former Okazaki City Library collection

Date of the Production: 1624-1644

Painter: Unknown

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.77

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 256

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-21

Later Type K Namban Ship on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Saitama Prefectural Museum of History and Folklore

Date of the Production: First Half of the 17th century (after 1636)

Inventory Number in Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008): No.80

Images from Namban Byobu Shusei (Sakamoto 2008) page 260-263

Ship Type L

Only one Namban ship has been classified as Type L.

Type L Namban Ship on the Screens

Location of the Screen: Saitama Prefectural Museum of History and Folklore

Date of the Production: First Half of the 17th century (probably after 1636)

Painter: Unknown

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byōbu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.80

Images from *Nanban Byōbu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 260-261

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-22

Ship Type M

Three Namban Screens display Type M ships.

Earlier Type M Namban Ship on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Kobe City Museum

Date of the Production: Latter half of 17th century

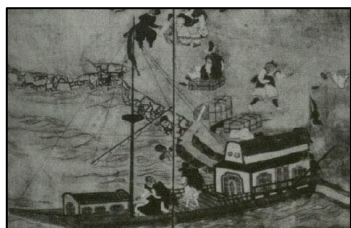
Painter: Kano-school artist

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.82

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 266-267

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-23

Later Type M Namban Ships on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Missing

Date of the Production: End of the 17th to beginning of the 18th century

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.84

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 272-273



Location of the Screen: Sakai City Museum

Date of the Production: 18th century

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.85

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 274-275

Ship Type N

Type N ship appears on one single screen that was produced in the 18th century.

Type N Namban Ship on the Screens

Location of the Screen: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (Lisbon)

Date of the Production: 18th or 19th centuries

Painter: Unknown

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): No.35

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 124-125

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-24

Ship Type O

Only one screen bears a Type O ship.

Type O Namban Ship on the Screens



Location of the Screen: Private collection

Date of the Production: Latter half of 17th century

Painter: Unknown

Inventory Number in *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008): 89

Images from *Nanban Byobu Shusei* (Sakamoto 2008) page 286-287

Figure Number in the Thesis: Figure 4-25

VITA

Kotaro Yamafune received his Bachelor of Arts degree in history from Hosei University in Tokyo in 2006. He entered the Nautical Archaeology Program in the Anthropology Department at Texas A&M University in September 2009 and received his Master of Arts degree in August 2012. His research interests include shipbuilding of Medieval Europe and the European Age of Discovery. He plans to publish a book on these topics, focusing on Japanese representations of European ships of the Age of Discovery.

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