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## Harbouring Expectations

### The Littoral as Contact Zone in the Visual Arts of Japan and the Netherlands around 1600

Stating that coastal environments have been, for better or for worse, outstanding sites of human encounter seems to be a historical truism. Put in these general terms, shores remain passive receptacles that enter into historiography either as launching pads for audacious endeavours or as arenas of arrival. However, historians with a keen interest in the various layers of time, from a primordial age to the beginnings of chronicled history, have often pondered the double nature of the water's edge as a seemingly timeless morphological fact and a culturally construed site of events in the collective memory. In the context of Western historiography one cannot avoid noticing the tangible delay that occurred between the post-war emergence of studies on the interlocked relation of terrestrial and maritime environments, such as Fernand Braudel's seminal work *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Époque de Philippe II* (1949)<sup>1</sup>, and research that focuses on the cultural production and perception of 'place-images' and their transformation over time. This approach did not gather momentum until the 1990s, and the land-water-border became one of its privileged objects of research. For instance, in *Places on the Margin*, an important contribution to the emerging field of alternative cultural geographies, Rob Shields pleaded that "a clear distinction must be made between research into people's existential participation in their environment and research into the culturally mediated reception of representations of environments, places, or regions which are 'afloat in society' as 'ideas in currency.'"<sup>2</sup> Restricting the scope of his research to processes of social spatialisation in the context of Western modernity, the author focusses on the interaction between seemingly peripheral environments, such as the seaside, the transformation of corresponding 'place-images,' and the changing patterns of social behaviour that occurred in these 'places on the margin.' With regard to the formative potential of place-images, both mental and material, Shields lays particular emphasis on their "predictive ability," arguing that place-images should not be mistaken as representational protocols of given environments and social behaviour, but conceived of as being imbued in varying degrees and manners by "fancy, fantasy and wishful thinking."<sup>3</sup> In this respect, place-images have a double-edged projective capacity, shaping the perception of environments according to individual or collective expectations and helping to align "new experiences of new places ... with past experiences and old, known verities."<sup>4</sup>

Alain Corbin's *Le territoire du vide*,<sup>5</sup> which would arguably become the most influential account of the changing perception of the seaside in Western culture,

appeared only when Shield's study was largely finished. Curiously enough, the approach adopted by the French cultural historian inadvertently underlined the conceptual validity of Shield's claim to distinguish in historical research between people's physical engagement with environments and the production and reception of related place-images, which may evolve in an altogether different socio-cultural register. The narrative structure as well as the periodisation of Corbin's account rests on the premise that the perception of the seaside in pre-modern Western culture was invariably driven by a "schème répulsif," in which the erratic coast figured as humankind's constant reminder that the primordial symmetry between land and world-ocean was irretrievably lost and the all-engulfing waters were only held back by the grace of God.<sup>6</sup> It was not until the mid-eighteenth century that this repellent aspect of the seaside gradually gave way to an increasing social and cultural drift towards climatically favoured coasts, enhanced by place-images that promulgated the seaside as a rewarding destination in the emerging capitalist economy of desire.

What is most problematic in this argument is the notion of 'empty space' that informs Corbin's account and is epitomised in the study's title "territory of the void."<sup>7</sup> By adopting this trope of spatial emptiness, Corbin aligns himself with a discourse that reaches back to the early stages of European expansion and colonialism, which conceived space primarily in terms of proprietary claims or its apparent absence.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the 'lure of the shore' whose emergence as a collective attitude Corbin sees as consensent with the onset of Western modernity, needs to be analysed within a wider historical context of re-mapping, appropriating, and ultimately colonising environments through the creation of alluring place-images. According to Shields again, the ideological function of these newly forged images often adhered to the logic of *tabula rasa*, envisaging a certain environment as 'void' because pre-existing forms of people's engagement with that environment and local modes of social spatialisation were at odds with changing perceptions and attitudes. In fact, this partial clearance of pre-existing cultural patterns seems to have been an important prerequisite for investing place-images with a new register of expectations. Again, the seashore serves as a case in point: The collective construction of accessible sections of the land-water-border as 'places apart' that allow for pleasure-oriented sensations if not a temporary recasting of behavioural patterns, belongs to an altogether different socio-cultural sphere than adapting the seaside as common ground around which collective labour, distribution of resources, and shared duties of vigilance are organised.

An even more profound critique of the enduring legacy of a landlocked cultural geography informed Amino Yoshihiko's studies, which appeared in the early 1990s and elaborated his ongoing scholarly interest in places and people on the margin in medieval and pre-modern Japan.<sup>9</sup> Independent of Braudel's concept of *géohistoire* but converging with some of its methodological assumptions, Amino focussed on people's alternating engagement with terrestrial and maritime environments, for which the Japanese archipelago with its almost 3,700 islands and islets, some of them in relative proximity to the Asian mainland, seemed to offer a highly suited geographical background. The scarcity of historical evidence on sea-oriented forms

of subsistence, particularly in written sources, led Amino to conclude that the existence of *kaimin* (coastal people, people of the sea) has been largely obliterated by an agricultural doctrine that prevailed among the ruling classes of medieval Japan. In his view modern scholarship has done little to correct the notion of pre-modern Japanese polities as quintessentially agrarian societies that were organised around rice-cultivation. In a marked contrast to the scholarly mainstream, his 'maritime view of the Japanese archipelago' highlights the existence of sea-born polities that connected various coastal regions and underlines the co-existence of autonomous political realms within the geographical range of the archipelago and beyond.

Read in light of Shield's distinction between persistent modes of physical engagement with environments and the emergence of alluring place-images, Amino's account provides a striking example of the cultural appropriation of places on the margin (such as the seaside) by colonising them with a different register of imaginations. These may have not only helped to mitigate diffused anxieties about the land-water-fringe, but also actively contributed to the social and cultural marginalisation of coast-dwellers by relegating them and their aspirations to a minor role in the creation of a new place-image. Despite Amino's hopes that acknowledging the value of visual sources would shed new light on the *kaimin*, the impressive rise of pictorial images of inhabited coasts in the decades around 1600, which constitutes a characteristic trait in the visual history of pre-modern Japan and which will be discussed at some length in this paper, does little to compensate for the lack of documentary evidence.<sup>10</sup> Because these pictures envisage the seaside as a place free from the hardship of manual labour, they make hardly any reference to humble coast-dwellers and fishing folk.<sup>11</sup>

Given the intensification of maritime trade and the proliferation of sea-routes in the second half of the sixteenth century, it is astonishing that pictorial imaginations of the seaside and their impact on the formation and diffusion of related place-images are rarely the subject of comparative art-historical research.<sup>12</sup> This is even more remarkable in view of the fact that a cognate field of research—that is, the development of port cities in the early modern period—has evolved into a productive branch of comparative history over the last decades.<sup>13</sup> Despite the interdependencies between pictorial imaginations of the seaside and the economic rise of port cities, it would be insufficient to address the former simply as an artistic corollary of the latter. As will be substantiated in due course, the artistic evocations of the seaside discussed in this paper will draw on a variety of iconographic traditions and visual practices in a deliberate attempt to transcend local agendas. By connecting different pictorial genres, topographical references, and markers of social distinction, these images reached out to audiences from various ranks of pre-modern society, cultural traditions, and aesthetic preferences. We will argue that coastal settings, the visual excitement of which is played out in these images, is best understood as a pictorial stage where collective expectations and aspirations turn into verisimilar action.

Limiting the scope of our argument to the decades around 1600 seems to retrace once again the chronological framework of Braudel's pioneering study, which tried

to combine in analytical terms the *longue durée* of a maritime area (the Mediterranean) with the *histoire événementielle* of a political era (the age of Philip II of Spain). For the purposes of art-historical research a qualified notion of 'event,' which takes new modes of interaction between artists, patrons, artefacts and iconographic traditions into account, is necessary. It is this very notion of artistic event that requires an extended view of the range of geographical and cultural circulation of artefacts. Thus, the arrival and ostentatious display of Japanese folding-screens in the courts of southern Europe in 1583/85, which were visually recorded by an itinerant Flemish artist<sup>14</sup>, may be regarded as an art-related event highlighting the fact that an increasing number of artworks in this period had truly global itineraries and that artists figured prominently amongst those who noticed this phenomenon.

It is from this perspective that the term 'contact zone', evoked in the title of this study, assumes a twofold significance: it refers, firstly, to pictorial inventions that envisage littoral environments—demonstratively detached from the urban fabric of port cities—as visually alluring sites where people of various origins and walks of life meet, and where the riches of the sea and distant countries are conspicuously put on display. Secondly, it applies to the artworks proper since the pictorial treatment of the littoral can itself be conceptualised as a visual contact zone where various modes of representation and pictorial genres interact.<sup>15</sup> Drawing on the preliminary results of an ongoing research project that examines the impact of long-distance maritime trade on the visual cultures of Japan and the Netherlands<sup>16</sup>, we argue that the decades around 1600 can be identified as a formative phase in which ambitious artistic endeavours, which occurred almost simultaneously in culturally different and geographically distant polities, helped to install a powerful place-image of the coast as a contact zone where beneficial encounter and exchange prevailed. Using a parallel reading of artworks that are usually dealt with in separate art-historical narratives, we will show that this propagation of an auspicious image of the littoral not only responded to a wider geopolitical context marked by an increasing aim to occupy and territorialise the coast, but also had a specific artistic agenda that sought to present painters as being actively involved in the accumulation of knowledge about distant places and people.

## I.

Recent methodological considerations of cross-cultural interchange in the arts have argued that comparative approaches are best applied when the spatio-temporal framework in which the compared entities are situated is specified as precisely as possible, thereby guarding against conceptual asymmetries and forced analogies.<sup>17</sup> Our two-pronged approach concentrates on artworks from the Kyoto-based Kano house of painters and on the Antwerp School, thus concentrating on competitive professional communities in which the littoral as a pictorial concept rose to prominence and whose leading members enjoyed high-ranking patronage from various factions even during times of political turmoil and military conflict. Taking our

parallel reading one step further, we will explore the range of artistic agency within a highly volatile historic context by focussing on two painters from each community who in chronological terms qualify as contemporaries: Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1628) and Kano Naizen (1570–1616). Their respective careers and artistic output were shaped to a considerable degree by family traditions and corporate working processes that nevertheless left room for striking pictorial inventions when exploring the artistic potential of the littoral environment.

Naizen entered the Kano house in a period when the workshop was able to strengthen its position by attracting influential patrons beyond the imperial household. This proved vital for establishing itself as one of the leading entities of professional painters within the Japanese archipelago.<sup>18</sup> From the mid-1580s onwards Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598) and his vassals counted amongst the most important of its patrons. By then, Hideyoshi had emerged as an imposing figure in the fierce power struggle that had plagued the Japanese states for decades.<sup>19</sup> When, in 1587, the warlord and his allies launched an attack on Kyushu, the largest island in the southwestern part of the archipelago, it proved to be a decisive step in his effort to secure overall political and military rule by destroying the regional power-bases of rivalling Daimyo. Taking the subjugation of opposing clans one bold step further, in September 1591 Hideyoshi established his headquarters for an invasion of the Korean peninsula at the port of Nagoya on Kyushu's northeastern shore, with the heartland of Ming China as its ultimate target. Trying to divert military energy into outward aggression seemed a feasible option for the hegemon, as efforts were made to stabilise the internal framework of the realm by tightening the existing boundaries of Daimyo dominions through a general land register and cartographic surveys.<sup>20</sup> Contemporary sources indicate that the bulk of Nagoya castle was erected in a record-breaking five-month period.<sup>21</sup> The hegemon entrusted the painterly decoration of his coastal residence to Kyoto-based artists, among them the workshop of Kano Mitsunobu (1561/65–1608), then leader of the house.<sup>22</sup> Most probably, Kano Naizen, who was in his early twenties at the time, accompanied the master on this journey. By ordering an artistic 'task force' from the capital, Hideyoshi was following a pattern of patronage that had been established by his predecessor Oda Nobunaga, whose illustrious Azuchi Castle on the shore of the Inland Sea had been decorated by leading artists of the Kano school. However, with the building of Hizen Nagoya Castle, Hideyoshi was taking a bold step not only in terms of military strategy, but also in his effort to expand the cultural topography. Almost 700 km away from the centres of political power in the Kansai-region, the remote coastal area of northern Kyushu became a focus of interest for the ruling elite and for artists alike. In April 1592, Hideyoshi took possession of the residence to prepare for the imminent invasion.

An important piece of pictorial evidence bears witness to this military move towards the coast and its artistic corollaries. A six-fold screen, discovered in 1968, and now kept in the Saga Prefecture Museum, offers a sweeping vista of Hizen Nagoya castle, the adjacent settlement, and its commanding position over the estuary (fig. 1). The panels are made up of elaborate drawings, which most probably

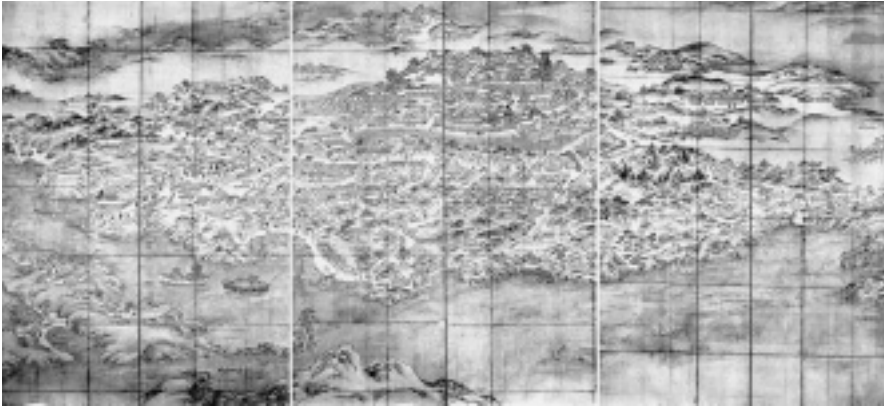


Fig. 1: Kano Mitsunobu (attr.), *Hizen Nagoya Castle*, drawings mounted on a six-panel folding screen, ca. 1593, Saga Prefectural Museum.

served as a preparatory sketch for a now lost folding screen by Kano Mitsunobu and his workshop, completed in 1593. According to Naitō Akira, the depiction of architectural features is matched to a very high degree by external evidence, including contemporary cartographic surveys of Hizen Nagoya and excavations on the site, which make it possible to identify particular parts of the castle or estates of feudal lords.<sup>23</sup> In addition to these documentary underpinnings of the screen's design, Naitō was able to detect an important element of its visual construction. It seems that vistas were taken from at least four different vantage points to depict the castle and its surrounding in an innovative, panorama-like bird's-eye view. This suggests that Kano Mitsunobu embraced a pictorial concept that has no known parallel in Momoyama screen painting.<sup>24</sup> The depiction differs considerably from representations of Kyoto in the so-called *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu* (screens depicting scenes in and around the capital) in which the rendition of the densely populated townscape covers the entire picture-plane. Hizen Castle and its *jōka machi* or castle town are shown in their entirety and with great attention paid to architectural and topographical detail. Although less obvious, narrative aspects were also included in the painting. Compared to the hustle and bustle of *rakuchū rakugai zu byōbu*, only a few figures can be discerned in the Hizen screen. However, their presence further underscores the overarching desire to establish this new residence as a meaningful place in the wider political-diplomatic landscape of the archipelago and beyond. For instance, a procession of Chinese officials making their way from the harbour to the castle (fig. 2) can be connected to the documented arrival of emissaries from Ming China in May 1593, marking Hideyoshi's first diplomatic success after his assault on the mainland. The two figures in foreign attire shown in the fourth panel seem to recall a visit from Spanish as well as Portuguese dignitaries to Hizen in the same year and hint at Hideyoshi's attempts to enter into direct





Fig. 2: Kano Mitsunobu (attr.), *Hizen Nagoya Castle*, detail with foreign emissaries.

negotiations with Portugal's *Estado da India* and the Spanish Governor-General of the Philippines.<sup>25</sup> However, the regent himself seems to be conspicuous in his absence; only the impressive *atakemaru* battleships in the bay, with their gunwale drapes containing his paulownia crest, make reference to the ruler of the place.<sup>26</sup>

In a recent attempt to place the singular composition of the Hizen Nagoya screen into the wider context of cross-cultural visual history, Matthew McKelway has suggested that the screen's impressive pictorial staging of the coastal residence might be read as a deliberate allusion to contemporary European modes of topographical representation.<sup>27</sup> More specifically he pointed to print collections of cityscapes, such as the *Civitates orbis terrarum* by Georg Braun und Franz Hogenberg, which were among the illustrated books brought back to Japan by the so-called Tenshō mission in 1590. Taking for granted that such visual sources would have been accessible to artists in Hideyoshi's entourage, the connection between a littoral vista of Lisbon, contained in the first volume of the *Civitates*, and the Hizen Nagoya screen, as suggested by McKelway, deserves consideration. Although a direct link can hardly be established and indeed can not be expected to exist between a small-scale engraving and a large folding screen, we are reminded that Mitsunobu's ambitious capture of the sea-fortress was designed to be viewed by dignitaries from various cultural backgrounds, including emissaries from the Asian mainland and Europe. It is in view of these political and diplomatic repercussions that the innovative rendition of Hizen Nagoya develops its anticipatory outlook: Combining decorative and informational aspects, the painting is highly suggestive of the outcome of Hideyoshi's hegemony. It would have been common knowledge that everything man-made that was depicted in the screen had been created in less than six months' time. As a result, its awe-stricken viewers may have been less inclined to harbour any doubts about Hideyoshi's ability to succeed in his hazardous campaign on the mainland. Embraced by the sea, the fortified residence assumes a double-edged character, being at once a stronghold at the entrance to the Japanese archipelago and an ominous battleship reaching out for the Asian mainland. As a site of conquest, the littoral is envisaged here as a moveable frontier pushed to the opposite coast, and at the same time as an impregnable natural boundary, defended by unrivalled military power.

The coast as a site of military conquest, albeit in a predominantly historical guise, was introduced to the pictorial repertoire of the Antwerp School with Jan Brueghel's highly ambitious *View of a Port City with the Continnence of Scipio* (fig. 3, pl. XVIa).<sup>28</sup> Recent examination of the signature has dispelled long-standing doubts about the painting's date. Brueghel completed the painting in 1600 and inscribed it with an unusual written reference to Antwerp, where he and his family were granted citizenship in the following year. The signature underscores what the painting itself demonstrates by its size and painterly texture: Leaving behind the small format of his early works on copper, the artist now contends with full-fledged easel paintings on panel or canvas and displays the entire range of chromatic radiance that precious pigments exhibit on smooth metal surfaces. The work may truly be called a signature piece in every sense of the term, but how does the subject





Fig. 3: Jan Brueghel the Elder, *View of a Port City with the Continenence of Scipio*, oil on copper, 1600, Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

matter relate to Brueghel's assertion of himself as a painter and citizen of Antwerp? It is pertinent to our argument that attempts to categorise the work have never been easy. Recent literature is dominated by compound titles like *Coastal Landscape with the Continenence of Scipio* or *View of a Port City with the Continenence of Scipio*. It seems as if the littoral and the historical aspects of the painting are competing for the viewer's attention.

In this work Brueghel approached a secular historical subject for the first time in his career. His artistic engagement with coastal and maritime topics, however, saw an early culmination during his sojourn in Italy from 1590 to 1595 where fellow-artists from Antwerp like Paul Bril were already finding success with small seascapes that were often enhanced with biblical scenes.<sup>29</sup> With the subject of the *Continenence of Scipio* Brueghel adopted a well-known episode of ancient history that, according to Livy, took place when Publicus Cornelius Scipio, commander-in-chief of the Roman army, conquered the Iberian city of New Carthage (modern-day Cartagena), his opponent Hannibal's most important base on the European mainland. After a surprise attack with joint land- and sea-forces, the Roman army was able to occupy the populous port city within days. Looting troops captured a beautiful woman and offered her to Scipio as a war trophy, but the commander, discovering that the maiden was betrothed to a Celtic-Iberian chieftain, sent her back to her family along with the delivered ransom.<sup>30</sup> In fact, this type of



Fig. 4: Jan Brueghel the Elder, *View of a Port City with the Continenence of Scipio*, detail with subjugated population.

close-distance rendition of the main protagonists had emerged as a template for the subject of the *Continenence of Scipio*, allowing painters to exploit the contrast between exemplary female beauty and male magnanimity.

In light of this predominant iconographic pattern, Brueghel's decision to embed the virtuous action into the wide-open space of a coastal area results in a significant modification of the topic's moral message. It is this very fusion of the historical scene with a sweeping vista over the bay, town, and citadel that reveals—quite literally—the relative insignificance of Scipio's gesture of restraint. Whereas the princess and those affiliated with her are treated with respect, the lesser ranks of the city's population are exposed to rough treatment by common soldiers: Prominently placed in the foreground, a group of ordinary inhabitants is virtually driven out of the picture (fig. 4). Their fate of displacement, if not outright slavery, is made explicit by the inclusion of an African, shackled with an iron collar, who epitomises the thriving transatlantic slave trade of the time. The further one advances into the pictorial space, the more it becomes doubtful whether Scipio's continence is of any consequence to his occupation army. Fire in distant quarters indicates that the pillage of the port city is in full swing. Its position on the water's edge, the source of its original grandeur, has now turned into a liability of the first order.

The carefully construed blending of the ancient and the modern, along with scattered topographical references that hint at Naples as well as at Antwerp, make it clear that Brueghel's interest in the subject matter was neither purely antiquarian nor restricted to the Mediterranean locale. Having lived in Antwerp since the age of ten, the artist knew from personal experience what it meant to live in a port city

whose welfare was dependent on free communication with both the sea and the hinterland. Antwerp had suffered considerably in the last half of the sixteenth century from expulsion, looting, and conquest and had rarely witnessed Scipionian acts of continence.<sup>31</sup> By the time Brueghel commenced work on his large copperplate, he, like many others in the war-torn provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, may have harboured fresh hopes for peace. After the death of Philip II of Spain in 1598, his daughter Isabella Clara Eugenia and her consort Archduke Albert established themselves in Brussels as the new sovereigns of the dominion. In Flanders and Brabant, expectations were high that the couple might steer the state on a more independent political course that would eventually allow negotiations with the opposite side.<sup>32</sup> Brueghel, who had not yet entered into the ambits of the Brussels court, may have tackled this ambitious historical subject in order to attract the patronage of Isabella and Albert. But the painting was also a loosely veiled reminder of who was most affected by ongoing warfare. In this respect, the depiction of a beleaguered city on the seashore could not have come at a more expedient moment. Since the early days of 1600, Archduke Albert had been preparing for a military campaign against the port city and citadel of Ostend, the last Protestant stronghold in Flanders, which was being protected by Dutch and English battleships. When the siege eventually began in July 1601, it marked one of the bloodiest military actions of the entire war and was untempered by any civic call for continence.<sup>33</sup>

## II.

Born in 1570, Kano Naizen was only two years younger than Jan Brueghel and like his Flemish counterpart had to cope with political turmoil and warfare throughout his artistic career. His commitment to the process of introducing an elaborate iconography of coastal encounter into screen-painting was made tangible in a pair of folding-screens bearing the artist's seal and signature, thus making them one of the few screens of the period that can be ascribed to an individual painter with certainty (fig. 5, pl. XVII).<sup>34</sup> The impressive scale and the wide range of pictorial detail suggest that Naizen already enjoyed the patronage of the Toyotomi family when he began this ambitious work, which was presumably connected to the decoration of Nagoya Castle by Kano artists. Hideyoshi's scheme of realigning allegiances on Kyushu had once again brought commerce with the Portuguese *Estado da India* and the activities of Jesuit missionaries to the hegemon's attention. Whether this close political monitoring came along with a heightened visual interest in the actual places of contact on the western coast of Kyushu is still a matter of debate, since recent scholarship has questioned the traditional notion that personal observation was decisive for Naizen's pictorial rendition.<sup>35</sup> Consistent with a type of screen commonly referred to as *nanban byōbu*, which depicts similar scenes of encounter, we see on the left screen a so-called imaginary foreign land (*sōzōjō no ikoku*), from which a black ship is departing in full sail, and on the right a landing scene on the



Fig. 5: Kano Naizen, *Nanban byōbu*, left screen of a pair of six-panel folding screens, late 16th century, Kobe City Museum.

Japanese coast. On the left, a building close to the coast alludes to Chinese architecture with its balustrades and tiled floor, but certain fanciful elements like cloud-shaped roof tiles, as well as the addition of Christian symbols, merge to create a rather eclectic building style. It has been suggested that the artist also depicted his patron, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, in both youth and old age in this picture.<sup>36</sup> According to this reading, the man and child gazing out from inside the building may represent Hideyoshi and his son Hideyori. Furthermore, the aged nobleman in a palanquin is said to depict Hideyoshi in his favorite conveyance, a gift he received from an Indo-Iberian embassy. The depiction of an elephant is another reference to Hideyoshi's foreign relations, since he was presented with the animal in the year 1597 by a Spanish legation and it is known to have been a source of much interest and wonder in his household. Together, these details add up to a more or less overt homage to the artist's patron.

This image of a coastal setting is contemporaneous with the Hizen screen, but it offers an altogether different pictorial approach to the land-water boundary. The sea and the shore are shifted into the centre while the buildings have been moved to the edges of the composition. Instead of representations of military power, displays of material culture and persons from various ethnic backgrounds dominate the scene. In the left screen, the littoral is used as a stage for the representation of Hideyoshi's power and influence. Shown in a position of honour amongst non-Asian foreigners—who lift their hats to pay their compliments—he appears as a privileged spectator indulging in the display of his own wealth and naval achievement on this miraculous coast.<sup>37</sup>

The right screen depicts foreigners landing on the Japanese coast. In sharp contrast to the Hizen screen, where the littoral is depicted with the precision of a nautical chart, the highly stylized coastline in this arrival scene looks like a low-level threshold granting easy access to solid land (fig. 6, pl. XVII). The procession does



Fig. 6: Kano Naizen, *Nanban byōbu*, right screen of a pair of six-panel folding screens, late 16th century, Kobe City Museum.

not ascend the ramparts of the fortified palace, but heads instead toward a residence that is usually described as a ‘Christian temple’ because of the depicted icons. Hence, the ultimate destination of the displayed goods, which may be precious gifts as well as goods for trade, is left undefined. Nevertheless, the procession provides the scene with the ceremonial atmosphere of a festival, marking the arrival as a joyful occurrence. Seen as a set, the screens are linked by the idea of two accessible coasts connected by ocean-going vessels. The maritime space between departure and arrival lies beyond the scope of this imagery. The two sections of the screen are on a par, like a well-balanced scale, suggesting an equilibrium of wealth, variety, and excitement.

In a marked contrast to the dramatic sequence of events that had left its mark on the Japanese archipelago and the wider East-Asian environment since Hideyoshi’s invasion of Kyushu, Naizen’s work presents an image of thriving coastal life in which all allusions to military control and conquest of the littoral are conspicuously absent. This depiction of undisturbed *détente* is hard to reconcile with the assumption that Hideyoshi’s patronage and that of his retinue was pivotal for the introduction of this kind of imagery in *byōbu* painting. However, one must remember that as a social climber of humble origins, the hegemon would have had to invent a cultural identity for himself and his kin that drew on various traditions and values. Thus, even at the height of his political and military power Hideyoshi’s self-perception did not have to rely exclusively on ‘indigenous’ martial virtues.<sup>38</sup> In a bold anticipation of the campaign’s outcome, Hideyoshi apparently planned to take up permanent residence in the port city of Ningbo on the southwestern coast of China once a new regime had been established in Beijing.<sup>39</sup> This choice, though at odds with the time honoured topography of governmental power and prestige in East Asia, seems to be consistent with Hideyoshi’s keen interest in the commercial underpinnings of political predominance. Recent scholarship has cogently argued

that his seemingly megalomaniac assault on the mainland was most likely driven by the hegemon's intention to "create a new East Asian trade order with himself supplanting China."<sup>40</sup> Placing the control of maritime trade high on the political agenda, Ningbo would have been a suitable and symbolically charged vantage point for the retired regent of the realm: It was the last port on the Chinese coast that severe trade restrictions by the Ming government had left open for Japanese merchants, and by choosing this port city as his permanent residence Hideyoshi would have made it abundantly clear who had gained effective control over the trading routes in the China Seas.<sup>41</sup> Thus, Naizen's screen may have served as visual anticipation of a displacement *in persona* that Hideyoshi kept announcing throughout the invasion but that was never attained. The hegemon never actually set foot on an ocean-going vessel, let alone the mainland whose political and commercial order he was determined to realign at such immense human costs. For the painter, the close affiliation with the Toyotomi clan that helped to establish his artistic reputation in the 1590s, had a similar outcome: during the aftermath of Tokugawa Ieyasu's final assault on the Toyotomi in 1615, Naizen lost his life along with many others who had remained loyal to the defeated clan.<sup>42</sup>

### III.

Three years after the *View of a Port City with the Continenence of Scipio*, Brueghel finished a slightly smaller coastscape on panel entitled *Fish Market at a Sea Harbour with Family-Portrait* (fig. 7, pl. XVIIb). For this work, he reshaped the littoral locale of his earlier painting by contracting the city's waterfront and the adjacent coastal strip into a compressed elliptical shape. The landmark of the Neapolitan Castello dell'Ovo figures prominently in the middle ground while the architectural references to Antwerp are reinforced. The compositional scheme makes it clear that the artist wants to draw our attention to that intermediary space between land and sea located at the outskirts of the city, where solid architecture gives way to makeshift stalls and is interspersed with odd bits of disused sailing equipment. But this modest part of the harbour is a no-man's land only in topographical terms; Brueghel depicts it as densely populated. The apparently wealthy family at the centre of the foreground is generally accepted to be a group portrait of the artist and his wife Isabella, née de Jode, along with their children Paschasia and Jan (fig. 8).<sup>43</sup> As Elizabeth Honig has aptly remarked, the artist's family appears amidst the swarming of the market as an "isolated island of privilege," as visitors rather than customers.<sup>44</sup> In this respect, they resemble, oddly enough, the two merchants from the Levant who approach from the left and seem eager to explore foreign ground but who are at the same time slightly anxious about engaging physically with the piscatorial environment. In fact, this motif located on the very threshold of the picture serves as a metonymic device for the entire work: Just as people of all creeds, colours, and stations of life gather around well-stocked kegs of fish and seafood, so too the riches of the *orbis terrarum et marium* show themselves in full splendour on the fringes of





Fig. 7: Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Fish Market at a Sea Harbour with Family-Portrait*, oil on panel, 1603, Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

the sea to be captured there by the eye and hand of the able painter. To carry out this visual argument, Brueghel took some artistic liberties, most of them easy for contemporary spectators to recognise: Fish markets in Flanders and Brabant were usually held under strict municipal supervision within the precincts of the city walls, as Elizabeth Honig has pointed out.<sup>45</sup> However, Brueghel presents the commercial gathering as an almost autonomous interchange of supply and demand that occurs at the seashore as naturally as the tide turns. Hardly any goods other than seafood can be discerned on the wharves. This is clearly at odds with the well-documented array of commodities that were trans-shipped in the Antwerp port. By representing the littoral as a kind of threshing floor at the water's edge, where the harvest of the seas is processed, the painting vaguely alludes to an evangelical reading of the shore that was spelled out in Brueghel's coastal landscapes of the 1590s; however, now it is the mercantile dealings that prevail. Spectators are made to believe that an ideologically unclaimed space that allows the people of the world to move to and fro with uncommon ease spreads between land and sea.

The iconography of contact, which gained ground in the screen production of the 1590s, is taken further in a *byōbu* now housed in the Museum of the Imperial Collections (Kunaichō Sannomaru Shōzōkan) in Tokyo that was created around 1600 (fig. 9).<sup>46</sup> It shows the arrival of a ship on the Japanese coast and the unloading and transportation of goods in the left screen. The right screen concentrates on the ship's crew parading through a Japanese settlement towards a residence, where



Fig. 8: Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Fish Market at a Sea Harbour with Family-Portrait*, detail with the artist's family.

they are awaited at the gate. A group of Japanese and foreigners are depicted together on the deck of the ship on the left screen. They are surrounded by open boxes containing bundles of raw silk, which is being checked by some of the men for quality. In the middle of the scene, a Japanese and a foreigner sit face to face with a large scale between them. One scale pan holds raw silk, while the other holds gold weights. Although the scale is balanced, the almost identical gestures of the two men suggest that their negotiations are hard-fought: each grips the edge of a full box with one hand and points at the scale with the other, while their open mouths and eye contact indicate that they are in mid-discussion.

This circumstantial depiction of negotiations on board can be linked to trading practices in Hirado, which a recent study by Adam Clulow has shed new light on.<sup>47</sup> Clulow traced the remarkable development of Hirado from a small port city in northwestern Kyushu to a flourishing centre of East Asian overseas trade between 1550, when Indo-Portuguese merchants arrived, and 1641. This development arose as a result of policies put in place by the local rulers, the Matsu'ura Daimyo family. They ensured their income mainly through two sources: first, by means of obligatory gifts, which they demanded from the captain of every arriving ship; and second, by claiming first option on purchasing the incoming goods. Given this historical background, the depictions can be read hypothetically as a visualisation

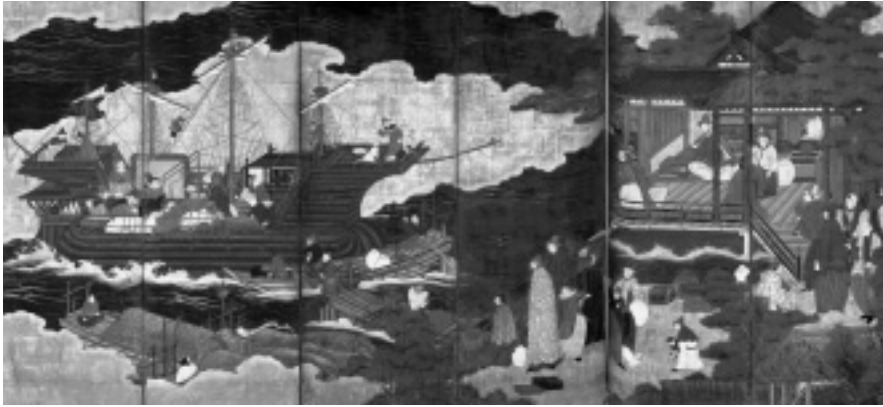


Fig. 9: *Nanban byōbu*, pair of six-panel folding screens, ca. 1600, Tokyo, Museum of the Imperial Collections.

of trading practices in Hirado, beginning with the detailed depiction of offshore negotiations between the captain of the ship and the Daimyo's emissaries on deck, continuing with the landing of goods and their transport to a storage house close to the shore, and ending with the reference to inland haulage by hatched boats, which are depicted in the lower part of the picture. Furthermore, the *tsuitate* (one panel-screen set in a stand) behind the foreign negotiator underscores the important position occupied by the Portuguese in Japan's foreign trade.<sup>48</sup> At the same time, the screen imbues the mercantile transaction with an aura of ceremonial importance (fig. 10). The pictorial elaboration of the margin between sea and land is taken to an even higher degree, with the littoral occupying five panels of this six-fold screen. Focussing on the yet unsettled act of negotiation, the parties meet offshore on the deck of the anchoring ship, leaving it undecided whether permission to disembark will be granted or not. Clearly, the excitement of encounter has given way to the protocols of business. Straddling ship and shore, the contact zone is set against an unsteady background, no longer subject to the dangers of the open sea but not yet on safe ground.

A parallel reading of the Flemish painting and the Japanese folding screen discloses an indicative tendency to transform topographical references into a generic image of the seaside that defies geographical positioning. This intentional indeterminacy about locality governs even Brueghel's pictorial imagination of the littoral, which is otherwise interspersed with landmarks of significant places such as Naples, Rome, and Antwerp. Likewise, art historical research has offered incongruent results as to the specific localities that might have inspired the coastscapes in *nanban byōbu*.<sup>49</sup> As suggested by the Sannomaru screen, a sense of locality is evoked more by displaying certain commercial practices than through topographical detail. This reminds us once again that the artworks from either cultural context had to re-

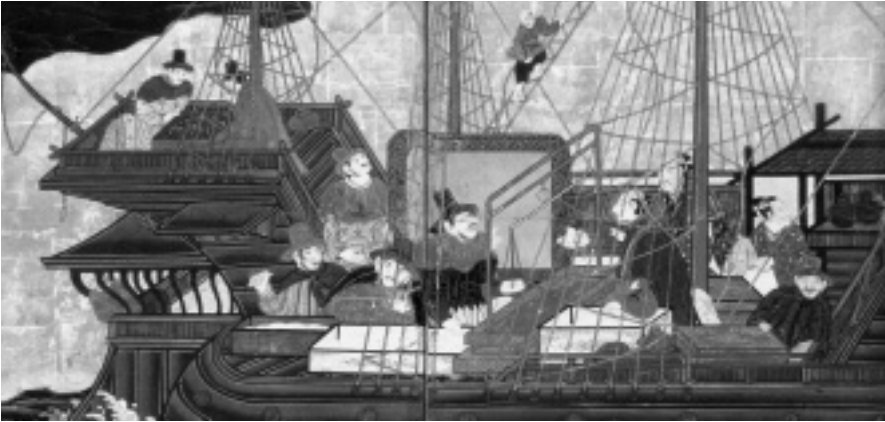


Fig. 10: *Nanban byōbu*, detail with bartering scene.

spond to highly volatile socio-economical environments in which all means of foresight and prediction were bound to prosper.<sup>50</sup> Contemporary viewers of Brueghel's fanciful image of Antwerp as a sea port were most likely susceptible to the auspicious overtones of such pictorial displacements, for by then the city had learned by bitter experience that its fluvial connection with the open sea was highly vulnerable to naval blockade, and competing ports further down the Scheldt estuary were all too eager to attract commerce at the expense of the Antwerp emporium.<sup>51</sup> As to the littoral settings of *nanban byōbu*, it is only hindsight that identifies repeated references to the port of Nagasaki when, in fact, around 1600 various places on the Kyushu coast, such as Hirado or Bungo, backed by merchant guilds and Daimyo politics, tried to secure their share in overseas trading, as prospects and imponderabilia further increased with the arrival of Dutch and English merchants. The very fact that this type of littoral imagery remained elusive about actual localities, thus purporting a sense of floating, auspicious potentiality, seems to have been vital to its artistic proliferation, which went well beyond the circles of the Kano house and made such screens popular with merchants and ship-owners, particularly along the coast of the Inland Sea.<sup>52</sup>

#### IV.

Representing the littoral as a site where encounter turns into intercourse served an artistic agenda in more ways than one. Brueghel's coastscapes are peppered with clues that suggest that he and the artistic community he worked in were widely travelled and well-connected. The screens by Naizen and other members of the Kano house likewise demonstrate a wide-ranging pictorial knowledge about all things foreign, from shipbuilding to devotional imagery.



Fig. 11: Workshops of Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hans Rottenhammer, *Christ in Limbo*, oil on copper, ca. 1598, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, painted on a disused printing plate of Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, 1574.

Less obvious are the material markers of maritime exchange. Recent research on the wood of Brueghel's panels, for instance, shows that he relied almost exclusively on Baltic oak,<sup>53</sup> that is to say a timber of the highest quality that was brought to western Europe in substantial quantities and was regarded as the most sustainable material for building ocean-going vessels. As perfectly crafted picture carriers, Brueghel's panels left Antwerp in all directions just as the stout galleons in his pictures set off for far away shores. Being part and parcel of the commerce they represent, the paintings may well be regarded as displays of geographical pragmatics. In Brueghel's case, his close ties to the thriving mapmaking business of his day assumed a tangible quality once he married into the De Jode family, Antwerp's leading mapmakers next to Abraham Ortelius.<sup>54</sup> We know of at least one instance when a copperplate from the Ortelius press was actually reused for painting in Brueghel's workshop. It was made available to the artist by his brother-in-law, Cornelis de Jode, who had acquired large parts of the Ortelius printing stock after the latter's death in 1598. For a small-scale painting of *Christ in Limbo*, jointly produced by the workshops of Jan Brueghel and Hans Rottenhammer, a disused printing plate for Ortelius's atlas *Theatrum orbis terrarum* was employed whose verso still shows





Fig. 12:  
 Franz Hogenberg, *Mediterranean coast  
 of France between Narbonne and Marseille*,  
 colored engraving from Abraham  
 Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*,  
 Antwerp 1574.

traces of an incised map of Mediterranean France (figs. 11, 12).<sup>55</sup> In a rare intersection of material, technical, and iconographic aspects, two branches of image-production are neatly dovetailed in this otherwise unobtrusive work that sustained the lustre of the Antwerp emporium even in times of economic stalemate: finely printed geographical compendia and affordable devotional imagery to cater for the markets in Europe and beyond.<sup>56</sup>

At least one copy of Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, presented to the Tenshō mission in Padua in 1585, reached Japan when the emissaries returned in 1590. Printed cartographic compendia of this kind, supplemented by illuminated large-scale maps, were crucial to the rise of the so-called world-map screens. These screens attest to the innovative cooperation between scholars, cartographic draughtsmen, and screen painters that gathered momentum in the artistic centres of the Japanese archipelago during the last decade of the sixteenth century.<sup>57</sup> In a repeated attempt to capitalise on the increasing demand for comprehensive, up-to-date publications on the geography of countries and continents, in 1593 Cornelis de Jode issued a revised version of his father's atlas, the *Speculum orbis terrae*. The twin-image of the northern and southern hemispheres serves as an impressive initial to the map-collection (fig. 13, pl. XVIII).<sup>58</sup> Circular representations of the hemispheres stretching from the polar circles to the equator were hallmarks of Antwerp mapmaking, which was driven by a wide-spread interest in the nautical exploration of hitherto undiscovered passages between the world-oceans.<sup>59</sup> What makes De Jode's representation of the northern *hemispherium* remarkable is the special relationship it establishes





Fig. 13: Cornelis de Jode after Gerard de Jode, *The Hemisphere from the Equator to the Artic Polar Circle*, colored engraving from *Speculum orbis terrae*, Antwerp 1593.

between Flanders and the Japanese archipelago by visual and textual means. Japan is conspicuous as the gatekeeper to the ominous Strait of Anián, the much-discussed northern passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.<sup>60</sup> Both inserted commentaries refer exclusively to the archipelago, stating that the “most ample island of Japan” was discovered in 1549 under the reign of Emperor Charles V and



Fig. 14: *Nanban byōbu*, right screen of a pair of six-panel folding screens, last quarter of the 17th century, Nara, Tōshōdaiji.

mentioning the arrival of the first-ever mission of Japanese dignitaries to Pope Gregory XIII in 1585. The text continues to articulate what the cartographic arrangement is clearly meant to corroborate, namely that Flanders, the emperor's homeland, and the Japanese heartland inhabit diametrically opposing positions on the globe that nonetheless obey the same meridian.<sup>61</sup> Relying on this piece of creative geography, spectators are led to believe that Antwerp, set at the fringes of the *Mare Germanicum*, is linked to Kyoto/Miyako, which is correspondingly situated at the seashore, by interconnected waterways with a kind of polar roundabout located midway between them. The design thus offers a striking example of how the popular cartographic formula of world maps could be used to promulgate regional interests: Retrospectively, by recalling the era when Flanders and Brabant were at the heart of the Habsburg Empire, and prospectively, by suggesting that the region—with Antwerp as its principal port—due to its advantageous position on the globe was destined to attract much of the maritime trade with the East once the northern passage into the Pacific Ocean was discovered and charted. It is in this auspicious outlook that De Jode's cartographic design and Breughel's pictorial imaginations seem to converge. The appealing place-image of the Antwerp emporium rests, quite literally, on its seaward orientation that captured the estuaries, seas, and straits of the northern hemisphere as one continuous littoral space.

Whether a copy of De Jode's *Speculum orbis terrae* ever found its way to Japan cannot be ascertained. It is, however, safe to say that amongst the cartographic material from Europe circular representations of the hemispheres were met with a sustained interest that had lasting repercussions for Japanese screen-making. This artistic transformation of the *hemispherium* from cartographic design into pictorial emblem is corroborated by an outstanding *byōbu* in the possession of the Tōshōdaiji (fig. 14).<sup>62</sup> Dedicated to the eminent temple of Nara between 1673 and 1681 by one of its high-ranking monks, the screen attests to a still unsatisfactorily ex-



Fig. 15: *Nanban byōbu*, detail with pictorial adaptation of the northern hemisphere.

plained phenomenon: depictions of encounters with Indo-Portuguese merchants and missionary orders continued to play an important role in screen-making patronage long after all trading connections with the *Estado da Índia* were officially abandoned and Christian communities suppressed.<sup>63</sup> Obviously, the artists of the

Tōshōdaiji screen had access to pictorial material that ultimately reached back to designs by Kano Naizen and his workshop, since the ‘arrival scene’ that forms the subject of the right-hand screen follows that earlier model to a large extent. However, notable alterations should not be overlooked: conspicuous allusions to Christian rites and devotional imagery have been avoided, a few unobtrusive rosaries in the hands of the Jesuit brethren notwithstanding. Another deviation from the earlier design commands attention in the upper part of the fourth panel where a pictorial adaption of the northern *hemispherium* has been inserted into the picture plane (fig. 15, pl. XIX). While certain graphic elements such as the projection grid and the graduated equator betray the use of printed maps, the evocation of continents and islands as a loosely connected patchwork of green, beige, and whitish hues follows a more painterly approach that is undisturbed by geographic nomenclature and cartographic distinctness. Set in the pictorial space between golden clouds and the deep-blue sea, the circular emblem of foreign origin seems to hover between the anchoring ship and the coast like some imaginary celestial body that guides vessels and people to all the shores depicted. Given the zigzag-pattern in which this folding-screen would have been presented on rare occasions of ceremonial importance, this epitome of a world at the water’s edge is bound to have caught the discerning eye somewhat by surprise, inviting reflection on its relation to the vivid depiction of coastal encounter that covers the lower part of the panel. Since by then all Portuguese ships were banned from their former ports of call on the Kyushu coast, the screen inevitably gave contemporary spectators a view on events past, thus playing out painting’s ability to visualise distant places and bygone deeds at the same time.

## V.

The sample of visual imaginations of the land-water-boundary examined in this paper originated from culturally different and geographically distant environments. Hence, our parallel reading has advanced tentatively and with an awareness that the artworks under discussion cannot be isolated from specific pictorial traditions, representational functions, and modes of perception. While guarding against possibly misleading analogies, it seems safe to state that in the decades around 1600 the visual cultures of the Netherlands and the Japanese archipelago saw a significant increase in ambitious endeavours to chart the coast as a meaningful pictorial space in its own right. These visual framings of the water’s edge bear witness to a decisive stage in the historical process of appropriating and colonising the coast in both psychological and cultural terms, which was clearly to be distinguished from the social world of coast-dwellers and their physical engagement with the littoral environment. Artists had a significant share in this cultural re-mapping of the coast, as elaborated iconographies of exchange and encounter could easily be forged into distinguishing ‘trade-marks’ for individual painters, workshops, or schools. The accomplished coastscapes by artists like Kano Naizen or Jan Brueghel the Elder

carry many allusions to their status as members of well-connected and widely travelled professional communities. Their coastal sceneries, materialised in mobile pictorial genres like easel paintings and folding-screens, appealed to audiences that were coping with ongoing warfare and religious controversy as well as with high-pitched profit expectations in long-distance trade. Hence, images of littoral places, rich in material detail and full of visual excitement, were bound to be imbued with different, even conflicting sets of emotions and attitudes: visual interest in the exotic, spatial fantasies about political hegemony, commercial prospects, and, last but not least, the aspiration that shores shall remain untroubled by raids and military invasion.

Put in a wider historical context, we can see how images, their dependency on specific cultural contexts notwithstanding, were vital to process the collective experiences and anxieties that emerged contemporaneously in societies far apart. Around 1600, almost three generations after the first circumnavigation of the globe, polities in various parts of the earth were still trying to figure out what it meant that almost any section of the inhabited world could be reached by sea. Even oceans had already ceased to be useful as spatial metaphors for the immensity of the outer world; reifying the land-water-border as natural precincts to which polities and people should confine themselves became increasingly difficult. The artworks examined here, provide ample visual evidence for this far-reaching shift in the political and cultural semantics of the coast. Equally significant, they betray a certain determination to keep the to and fro of exchange separated from the urban fabric and its communal order. Evidently, the vagaries and contingencies of intercultural encounter still needed to be 'exterritorialised,' even in terms of pictorial space. Once again we are reminded that the littoral, that stretch between land and sea that defies the notion of strictly drawn borders, served as a crucial testing ground for a globalised world in the making.

## Notes

- 1 Large parts of Braudel's study were drafted under the adverse conditions of war and internment and served as the author's habilitation thesis in 1947. The first edition of *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Epoque de Philippe II*, 3 vols. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1949) underwent several revisions, the second edition (1966) formed the basis for the English translation: *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 3 vols. (London: Collins, 1972–73).
- 2 Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin. Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 14.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 14.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 15.
- 5 Alain Corbin, *Le territoire du vide. L'occident et le désir du rivage 1750–1840* (Paris: Aubier, 1988).
- 6 *Ibid.*, 20.
- 7 It is in this respect indicative that neither the English nor the German edition of Corbin's work adopted the original title: *Meereslust: das Abendland und die Entdeckung der Küste 1750–1840*, trans. Grete Osterwald (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1990); *The Lure of the Sea. The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World, 1750–1840*, trans. Jocelyn Phelps (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).



- 8 See Tricia Cusack, "Introduction. Exploring the Water's Edge" in *Art and Identity at the Water's Edge*, ed. Tricia Cusack (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 4. Philipp Steinberg has argued that the idea of territoriality and the notion of "empty," or more precisely, "emptiable" space (as opposed to tangible places) evolved congruently in modern societies, see Philipp E. Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 32–33.
- 9 Amino Yoshihiko expounded his maritime view on the Japanese archipelago mainly in the first two chapters of *Zoku Nihon no rekishi o yominaosu* [Rethinking Japanese History Again] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1996), a collection of essays that followed his ground-breaking *Nihon no rekishi o yominaosu* [Rethinking Japanese History] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1991); an integral version of both publications is now available in English: *Rethinking Japanese History*, trans. and with an introduction by Alan S. Christy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Japanese Studies, 2012); Amino's article "Les Japonais et la mer" in *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 50, no. 2 (1995), 235–258, offers an accessible outline of his argument.
- 10 In order to overcome the biased agro-centric image of polities of medieval Japan established by the feudal system and modern historiography, Amino repeatedly pleaded for a multidisciplinary approach with due attention given to different types of sources, such as archeological remnants or pictorial records, see Amino, "Les Japonais et la mer" (cf. note 9), 245.
- 11 Such selective 'social framing' of the littoral holds equally true for earlier traditions in Japanese painting: As "famous places" (*meisho-e*) coastal scenes had appeared in handscrolls since the fourteenth century. Doris Croissant has pointed out a screen by Tosa Mitsushige (1496–ca.1559) with the subject of the Four Seasons as one of the earliest depiction of a coastal scene on *byōbu*, see Doris Croissant, *Sōtatsu und der Sōtatsu-Stil. Untersuchungen zu Repertoire, Ikonographie und Ästhetik der Malerei des Tawaraya Sōtatsu (um 1600–1640)*, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, special series vol. 3 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1978), 60.
- 12 For a notable exception in recent scholarship see Cusack, *Art and Identity at the Water's Edge* (cf. note 8), with case-studies focussed on European modernity.
- 13 For recent studies using a diachronic and comparative approach see Patrick O'Flanagan, *Port Cities of Atlantic Iberia c. 1500–1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); François Gipouloux, *La Méditerranée asiatique: villes portuaires et réseaux marchands en Chine, au Japon et en Asie du Sud-Est, XVIe–XXIe siècle* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2009); Haneda Masashi, ed., *Asian Port Cities 1600–1800. Local and Foreign Cultural Interactions* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2009); Douglas Catterall, Jodi Campbell, and Gayle K. Brunelle, eds., *Women in Port. Gendering Communities, Economies and Social Networks in Atlantic Port Cities, 1500–1800* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012).
- 14 The Flemish draughtsman and medalist Philips van Vinghe (1560–1592) made drawings of the sumptuous folding-screens that were presented to Pope Gregory XIII by the so-called Tenshō Mission in March 1585. The voyage of four disciples of the Jesuit seminary at Arima/Kyushu, all of them descendants of Daimyo families, was masterminded by the visitor to the Jesuit Missions in Asia, Alessandro Valignano, and commenced in February 1582, leading the emissaries to Portugal, Spain, and Italy. Most likely, folding-screens were also presented at the court of Madrid, but apparently left no trace there. Those presented to the pope showed views of Azuchi castle, a newly erected fortified residence of the hegemon Oda Nobunaga. The commission for these prestigious gifts, summoned only a few months before the mission left Japan, probably went to the prolific workshop of Kano Eitoku (1543–1590). Van Vinghe obviously had an opportunity to view the *byōbu* during their presentation in the newly opened *Galleria delle carte geografiche* in the Vatican. Neither the screens nor Van Vinghe's original drawings seem to have survived, some of the latter, however, were used to prepare the woodcuts with details of the Azuchi-screens that appeared in Lorenzo Pignoria's supplement to Vincenzo Cartari's *Le vere e nove imagini degli dei degli antichi* in 1615, see Donald Frederick Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2 *A Century of Wonder* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 88–90, with plates 50, 51.
- 15 See Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone" in *Profession. Modern Language Association of America* (1991), 33–40. We use Pratt's concept, developed in her studies on literature and colonisation, in a modified notion by exploring artworks with specific iconographic and pictorial properties as contact zones of different modes of representation.
- 16 For an outline of the ongoing research project "PORTUS. Mediality and Visual Topoi of Maritime Trade in Japan and the Netherlands 1550–1650" as part of the DFG-research unit "Trans-



- cultural Negotiations in the Ambits of Art”, Department of Art History, Freie Universität Berlin, see URL <http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/en/e/transkulturell/teilprojekte/b2/index.html> (last accessed 10.05.2014) and Joachim Rees, “Auf schwankendem Grund. Visuelle Konstruktionen des Litorals in den Bildkünsten der Niederlande und Japans um 1600” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 56, 1 (2014), 95–111.
- 17 Cf. Wilfried van Damme, “Interculturalization in Art: Conceptualizing Processes and Products” in *World Art Studies. Exploring Concepts and Approaches*, ed. Kitty Zijlmans and Wilfried van Damme (Amsterdam: Valiz, 2008), 375–384, 376; Joachim Rees, “Vergleichende Verfahren, verfahrenre Vergleiche. Kunstgeschichte als komparative Kunstwissenschaft – eine Problemskizze” *Kritische Berichte* 40, no. 2 (2012), 32–47, here 42.
  - 18 Cf. Yukio Lippit, *Painting of the Realm: The Kano House of Painters in 17th-Century Japan* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2012), 3–33.
  - 19 For a succinct summary of the densely researched historical context see Asao Naohiro, “The Sixteenth-Century Unification” in John Whitney Hall, ed., *Early Modern Japan*, vol. 4 of *The Cambridge History of Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 40–95.
  - 20 On Hideyoshi’s land surveys see Wakita Osamu, “The Social and Economic Consequences of Unification” in *Early Modern Japan*, ed. Hall (cf. note 19), 96–127, especially 102–110. Regarding maps made during Hideyoshi’s reign, the abbot of the Kōfukuji in Nara wrote in the *Tamon’in nikki* in 1591, “[I hear that] orders have been given to all the districts in the country to map [*sashizue ni kaki*] paddy fields as well as seas, mountains, rivers, villages, temples and shrines [and] render [them] to the court in due haste.” Quoted in Marcia Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan. Space, Place and Culture in the Tokugawa Period 1603–1868* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 9 with note 6; Hizen was among the first provinces to deliver a detailed map to the emperor’s court, see Unno Kazutaka, “Government Cartography in Sixteenth-Century Japan” *Imago Mundi* 43 (1991), 86–91, 90.
  - 21 For details about the construction process see Naitō Akira, “‘Hizen Nagoyajō zu byōbu’ no ken-chikuteki kōsatsu” [Architectural Studies of ‘A Folding Screen picture of The Hizen Nagoya-jō Castle’] *Kokka* 915 (1968), 9–30, here 10–13.
  - 22 For detailed analyses of style see Narazaki Muneshige, “Hizen Nagoyajō zu to Kanō Mitsunobu” [‘A Folding-Screen Picture of The Hizen Nagoya-jō Castle’ and Mitsunobu Kanō] *ibid.*, 51–60.
  - 23 Naitō, “Hizen Nagoyajō zu byōbu” (cf. note 21) 9–30, here 13–21.
  - 24 For a discussion of the exceptional status of the Hizen Nagoya screen in the context of Momoyama screen-making, see Matthew Philip McKelway, *Capitalscapes. Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006), 174–177.
  - 25 For an analyses of the connection between the narration on the screen and documented foreign emissaries in Nagoya see Okamoto Ryōichi, “Nagoyajō zu no nanbanjin” [The Westerners Seen in ‘A Folding-Screen Picture of The Hizen Nagoya-jō Castle’] *Kokka* 915 (1968), 40–44. The simultaneous arrival of two groups of emissaries from different countries and ceremonial rank as depicted in the screen is at odds with diplomatic demeanor of the time and is probably meant to enhance Hideyoshi’s position, see Danielle Elisseff, *Hideyoshi. Bâtisseur du Japon moderne* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), 203.
  - 26 Ishii Kenji, “Nagoyajō zu no atakebune ni tsuite” [Atakemaru Battleships in ‘A Folding-Screen Picture of The Hizen Nagoya-jō Castle’] *Kokka* 915 (1968), 31–39, here 36.
  - 27 McKelway, *Capitalscapes* (cf. note 24), 176–177.
  - 28 For recent discussions of this work see Klaus Ertz and Christa Nitze-Ertz, “Hafenstadt mit der Enthaltbarkeit des Scipio” in *Blumen, Allegorien, Genre, Historie, Gemäldeskizzen*, vol. 3 of *Jan Brueghel der Ältere (1568–1625). Kritischer Katalog der Gemälde* (Lingen: Luca, 2010), 1184–1185; Mirjam Neumeister, “Ansicht einer Hafenstadt mit der Enthaltbarkeit des Scipio, 1600” in *Brueghel: Gemälde von Jan Brueghel d. Ä.*, ed. Mirjam Neumeister, exhibition catalogue Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek (München: Hirmer, 2012), 214–218.
  - 29 See Louisa Wood Ruby, “Jan Brueghel d. Ä. als Zeichner: Die frühen Jahre in Italien” in exhibition catalogue *Brueghel* (cf. note 28), 35–45, here 36. The chronological sequence of Brueghel’s coastscapes is difficult to trace as the authoritative catalogue raisonné of his paintings is based on pictorial genres (landscape, sacred and profane history, allegory), whereas coastal settings appear in either of these categories, see Klaus Ertz and Christa Nitze-Ertz, *Jan Brueghel der Ältere (1568–*

- 1625). *Kritischer Katalog der Gemälde*, 4 vols. (Lingen: Luca, 2008–2010). The synopsis of signed and dated works in vol. 4, 1716–1717 is particularly helpful.
- 30 Early modern European history painting repeatedly treated subjects from the accounts of Roman historians on the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.), foremost Livy's *Ab urbe condita*, XXVI, 49–50, but focussed almost exclusively and in an overtly panegyric way on Scipio's benevolent attitude towards his high-ranking adversaries, with hardly any reference to the hardships inflicted on the broader population.
- 31 For a useful survey of the entangled history of Antwerp in the confessional age see Herman van der Wee and Jan Materné, "Antwerp as a World Market in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" in *Antwerp. Story of a Metropolis, 16th–17th Century*, ed. Jan van der Stock, exhibition catalogue Hessenhuis Antwerp (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju, 1993), 19–31. On the vicissitudes of the Antwerp art-market between Calvinist predominance in the 1560s and Spanish seizure in 1585, see Filip Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market. Commercialization of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 100–118.
- 32 See Werner Thomas, "Andromeda Unbound: The Reign of Albert and Isabella in the Southern Netherlands, 1598–1621" in *Albert and Isabella 1598–1621: Essays*, ed. Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 1–14.
- 33 On the siege of Ostend and its reflection in contemporary textual and visual sources see *De val van het nieuwe Troje: het beleg van Oostende 1601–1604*, ed. Werner Thomas, exhibition catalogue Venetiaanse Gaanderijen in Oostende (Leuven: Davidfonds, 2004).
- 34 Naruzawa Katsushi, "Kobe Shiritsukan hon A" in *Nanban byōbu shūsei* [Catalogue raisonné of nanban byōbu], ed. Sakamoto Mitsuru (Tokyo: Kōron, 2008), 327. The screen was traced back to the collection of the high-ranking Kishu Tokugawa family.
- 35 Yukio Lippit, "Japan's Southern Barbarian Screens" in *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries, Essays*, ed. Jay Alan Levenson, exhibition catalogue Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (Washington D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2007), 244–253, here 249, with reservations about the often proposed notion that direct observation gathered in the trading ports of Kyushu was vital for the production of the early *nanban byōbu*.
- 36 Naruzawa, "Kobe Shiritsukan hon A" (cf. note 34), 327, cat. 3.
- 37 Opinions about the origins of the screen differ. It might have been completed by Kano Naizen between 1593 and 1594 while he was still in Nagoya, in which case it surely was intended to represent Hideyoshi's imminent fortune and was produced for the lord's own personal pleasure. Other studies suggest that the screens were completed after Hideyoshi's death and attributed to his memorial shrine the Toyokuni Jinja in Kyoto in 1599, see Mari Takamatsu, "Kinsei shoki fūzokuga no poritikusu: Kano Naizen 'nanban byōbu' (Kōbe shiritsu hakubutsukan) no kaishaku wo chūshin ni" [Policy in Genre Paintings of the Early Modern Period: An Interpretation of Kanō Naizen's 'nanban byōbu' (Kobe City Museum)] *Kajima Bijutsu Zaidan Nenpō* [The Kajima Foundation for the Arts annual report] 27 (2009), 515–527, here 515.
- 38 This, of course, is the prevailing image in historical literature; see for instance, Asao, "The Sixteenth-Century Unification" (cf. note 19), 76.
- 39 This can be deduced from the so-called Kumiya Document, a letter signed by Hideyoshi's private secretary Yamanaka Kichinai, dated 18 May 1592, which contains circumstantial information about the warlord's plans to install Japanese rule on the mainland. After swift military progress on the Korean peninsula made him more convinced than ever that the fall of the Ming dynasty was only a matter of weeks, Hideyoshi let his family know where he, in his capacity as retired regent of the realm, intended to spend his twilight years: "As for our Lord [Toyotomi Hideyoshi], he will at first reside in Beijing, whence he will control the national affairs of China, Japan, and Korea. After the founding of the new empire is completed, he will appoint some man of worth as his deputy at Beijing, and will establish his own permanent residence at Ningbo." Quoted in Kuno Yoshi, *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent. A Study in the History of Japan with Special Reference to Her International Relations with China, Korea, and Russia* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1967), 1: 320.
- 40 Cf. Kenneth M. Swope, *A Dragon's Head and a Serpent's Tail. Ming China and the First Great East Asian War, 1592–1598* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 63, 67. Swope assumes that "trade was possibly the most important goal of his [Hideyoshi's] enterprise, though publicly he perhaps could not admit this."

- 41 Ibid., 67.
- 42 Lippit, *Painting of the Realm* (cf. note 18), 172.
- 43 For a recent discussion of this work see Ertz and Nitze-Ertz, *Jan Brueghel* (cf. note 28), vol. I, 100, and exhibition catalogue *Brueghel* (cf. note 28), 244–249.
- 44 Elizabeth Alice Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 123.
- 45 See Honig, *Painting and the Market* (cf. note 44), 83, 123.
- 46 Izumi Mari “Kunaichō Sannomaru Chōzōkan Hon” in Sakamoto, *Nanban byōbu shūsei* (cf. note 34), 330–331, cat. 7.
- 47 Adam Clulow, “From global Entrepôt to Early Modern Domain: Hirado, 1609–1641” *Monumenta Nipponica* 65, 1 (2010), 1–35.
- 48 Severe restrictions imposed by the Ming emperor on direct trade with the Japanese archipelago in 1547 were modified after an agreement in 1554 that laid the traffic of goods between Japan and China mainly in the hands of Portuguese merchants. For a still indispensable account on the role of the Portuguese in trading between China and Japan in the sixteenth century see Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951).
- 49 For a succinct discussion of this aspect see Lippit, “Japan’s Southern Barbarian Screens” (cf. note 35), 247–250.
- 50 An important group of sources which illustrates the general interest in trade centres about foretelling the near future has only recently come to the attention of historical research: For Antwerp, printed pronouncements or *Pronosticaten* are of particular importance. Published annually from the 1490s onwards, they contain forecasts about the city’s welfare that were based upon the observation of stellar constellations in relation to the Antwerp meridian, see Herman Pleij, “Antwerp Described” in *Antwerp. Story of a Metropolis*, ed. Jan van der Stock (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju, 1993), 79–86; An Kint, “The Ideology of Commerce. Antwerp in the Sixteenth-Century” in *International Trade in the Low Countries (14th–16th Centuries): Merchants, Organisation, Infrastructure, Proceedings of the International Conference Ghent-Antwerp, 12th–13th January 1997*, ed. Peter Stabel, Bruno Blondé, and Anke Greve (Leuven and Apeldoorn: Garant, 2000), 213–222.
- 51 According to Victor Enthoven the closure inflicted on the Scheldt estuary by forces of the northern provinces severed Antwerp’s connection with the open sea only in the immediate aftermath of the seizure by Spanish troops in 1585. After 1587 a tight blockade gave way to a system of custom tax, which reestablished nautical communication. However, the sea ports of Zeeland, above all Middleburg and Arnemuiden, were less affected by the tide and were thus able to strengthen their position at the expense of Antwerp, see Victor Enthoven, “The Closure of the Scheldt: Closure, What Closure? Trade and Shipping in the Scheldt Estuary, 1559–1609” in *North Sea Ports and Harbours. Adaptations to Change*, ed. Poul Holm and John Edwards (Esbjerg: Fiskeri- og Søfartsmuseets Forlag, 1992), 11–37.
- 52 On the geographical distribution of early provenances of *nanban byōbu* see Okamoto Yoshitomo and Takamizawa Tadao, *Nanban byōbu* (Tokyo: Kajima Kenkyujo Shuppankai, 1970), 193; Lippit, “Japan’s Southern Barbarian Screens” (cf. note 35), 252.
- 53 Cf. Peter Klein, “Dendrochronologische Untersuchungen” in exhibition catalogue *Brueghel* (cf. note 28), 410–415. According to these examinations based on works in the Alte Pinakothek, Baltic oak was used for eighteen out of thirty-four paintings on wood from the Antwerp School, mostly from the workshop of Jan Brueghel the Elder.
- 54 Brueghel married Gerard’s daughter, Isabella de Jode, in 1599. Because the De Jode family dissolved the printmaking business after Cornelis died in 1600, no cooperation could flourish in this field as it did between Brueghel’s father Pieter and Abraham Ortelius. Jan’s painterly work, however, makes it abundantly clear that he took a keen interest in the increase of geographical knowledge and its impact on the visual representation of space. Furthermore, Brueghel maintained a working relationship with his brother-in-law, the engraver Pieter de Jode, which outlasted his short-lived marriage with Isabella whose untimely demise occurred in 1603, shortly after the painter had finished his above-mentioned work *Fish Market at a Sea Harbour with Family-Portrait*. For a general outline of the visual interaction between mapmaking and painting in the Netherlands around 1600 see Tanja Michalsky, *Projektion und Imagination. Die niederländische Land-*

- schaft der Frühen Neuzeit im Diskurs von Geographie und Malerei* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 2011), 65–130.
- 55 For full detail see cat. 21 and 22 in exhibition catalogue *Brueghel* (cf. note 28), 184–189.
- 56 On the increasing economic importance of printing and painting for the Antwerp emporium in the second half of the sixteenth century see Herman van der Wee and Jan Materné, “Antwerp as a World Market” (cf. note 31), 29–30; Vermeylen, *Painting for the Market* (cf. note 31), 35–108. For the demand of large quantities of devotional pictures for the Jesuit mission in the Japanese archipelago, at the time only to be met by the highly specialized Flemish workshops, see Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia, and Latin America, 1543–1773* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 66, citing a report by Luis Fróis from 1584 in which the Jesuit stated that more than 50,000 devotional images alone were needed for the Japanese Mission, as converts complained of having no pictures to replace their household deities.
- 57 See Miyoshi Tadayoshi, “Japanische und europäische Kartographie vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert” in *Japan und Europa: 1543–1929*, ed. Doris Croissant et al., exhibition catalogue Martin-Gropius-Bau (Berlin: Berliner Festspiele/Argon, 1993), 37–45. Mia M. Mochizuki, “The Movable Center: The Netherlandish Map in Japan” in *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400–1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections*, ed. Michael North (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 109–134.
- 58 “Hemispherium ab aequinoctiali linea, ad circulum poli arctici / Hemispherium ab aequinoctiali linea, ad circulum poli antarctici” in *Speculum Orbis Terrae, Antverpiae: Sumptibus Viduae et Heredu Gerardi de Iuadaeis* (Antwerp: Arnold Coninx, [1593]), fol. 2.
- 59 See Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World. Early Printed World Maps 1472–1700* (Riverside: Early World Press, 2001), 165.
- 60 See James Delgado, *Across the Top of the World: The Quest for the Northwest Passage* (New York: Douglas and McIntyre, 2009), 19–34.
- 61 The upper caption reads: “Amplissima Iapan insula primum inuenta / et detecta temporibus Romanorum / Imperatoris Caroli V. 1549. Ceterum / notandum est quando in Flandria, dicti Imperatoris patria, nec non / circum illam est meridies tum in insulis Japanicis este noctis medium.” The lower caption: “Reges insularum Iapanicarum / miserunt die vigesimo septimo / Ianuarij legatos suos 1582. ad / Gregorium XIII. pontificem maximum / et venerunt Romam die vigesimo tertio Martij A<sup>o</sup> 1584.” The latter date is erroneous; the emissaries from Japan were received in the Vatican on 23 March 1585, only a few weeks before the pontiff’s death.
- 62 For a recent discussion of this work see Sakamoto, *Nanban byōbu shūsei* (cf. note 34), 343–344, cat. 24.
- 63 That commissions of *nanban byōbu* were less affected by political moves in trade and foreign relations than previously thought is borne out by Sakamoto’s recent catalogue raisonné in which three screens are dated to the second half of the seventeenth century, see Sakamoto, *Nanban byōbu shūsei* (cf. note 34), cat. 23, 29, 48. Of equal importance is a set of fifteen screens introduced by Sakamoto under the heading “Examples depicting Trading with foreign Merchants,” dating from the early seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries (*ibid.*, cat. 76–90). In these works we find elements of the *nanban* iconography combined with scenes of arrival of Chinese as well as Korean merchants. Here, the pictorial references to maritime trade are counterbalanced with motifs of rural life, showing farmers and craftsmen at work. The scarcely addressed survival and partial recasting of *nanban* iconography in screen-making of the Edo-period are further examined in our ongoing research project.

## Illustrations

- Figs. 1, 2: Kano Mitsunobu (attr.), *Hizen Nagoya Castle*, preparatory drawings mounted on a six-paned folding screen, ink and light colours on paper, 157.5 × 350.5 cm, Saga Prefectural Museum (reproduced from: *Kokka* 1968 [cf. note 21], s.p.).
- Figs. 3, 4: Jan Brueghel the Elder, *View of a Port City with the Contineuce of Scipio*, oil on copper, 72.2 × 106.3 cm, inscribed: BRVEGHEL · 1600 FEC · ANVERSA, Munich, Bayerische

Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek (photo: bpk–Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin).

- Figs. 5, 6: Kano Naizen, *Nanban byōbu*, pair of six-panel folding screens, colours and gold leaf on paper, 154 × 363 cm each, sealed and signed: Kano Naizen, late 16th century, Kobe City Museum (reproduced from: Sakamoto, *Nanban byōbu shūsei*, [cf. note 34], 12–13).
- Figs. 7, 8: Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Fish Market at a Sea Harbour with Family-Portrait*, oil on panel, 59.3 × 91.7 cm, signed lower left: BRVEGHEL 1603, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek (photo: bpk–Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin).
- Figs. 9, 10: *Nanban byōbu*, right screen of a pair of six-panel folding screens, colours and gold leaf on paper, 156 × 334 cm, early 17th century, Tokyo, Kunaichō Sannomaru Shōzōkan (Museum of the Imperial Collections) (reproduced from: Sakamoto, *Nanban byōbu shūsei*, [cf. note 34], 37–38).
- Fig. 11: Workshops of Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hans Rottenhammer, *Christ in Limbo*, oil on copper, 21.5 × 27.7 cm, ca. 1598, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, painted on a disused printing plate of Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, 1574.
- Fig. 12: Franz Hogenberg, *Galliae Narbonensis ora Maritittima Recenter descripta*, coloured engraving, 205 × 290 mm, 1574, in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, Antwerp: Aegidius Coppenius Diesth (reproduced from: exh. cat. *Brueghel* [cf. note 28], cat. 22).
- Fig. 13: Cornelis de Jode after Gerard de Jode, *Hemispherium ab aequinoctiali linea, ad circumulum poli arctici*, coloured engraving, 330 × 520 mm, 1593, in *Speculum orbis terrae*, Antwerp: Arnold Conix (reproduced from: Wikimedia Commons s. v. Cornelis de Jode, after a copy of the *Speculum orbis terrae* in the Library of the Society of Jesus, Prague).
- Figs. 14, 15: *Nanban byōbu*, right screen from a pair of six-panel folding screens, colours and gold leaf on paper, 158 × 367 cm, late 17th century, Nara, Tōshōdaiji (reproduced from: Sakamoto, *Nanban byōbu shūsei*, [cf. note 34], 98–99, courtesy TSB).



PLATE XVI



- (a) Jan Brueghel the Elder, *View of a Port City with the Continnence of Scipio*, oil on copper, 1600, Munich, Alte Pinakothek.  
(b) Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Fish Market at a Sea Harbor with Family-Portrait*, oil on panel, 1603, Munich, Alte Pinakothek.



PLATE XVII



Kano Naizen, *Nanban byōbu*, pair of six-panel folding screens, late 16th century, Kobe City Museum.



Cornelis de Jode after Gerard de Jode, *The Hemisphere from the Equator to the Arctic Polar Circle*, colored engraving from *Speculum orbis terrae*, Antwerp 1593.





*Nanban byōbu*, right screen of a pair of folding screens,  
detail with pictorial adaptation of the northern hemisphere;  
last quarter of the 17th century, Nara, Tōshōdaiji.