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# Nanban Art and its Globality: A Case Study of the New Spanish Mural *The Great Martyrdom of Japan in 1597*\*

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**Abstract** | Traditionally, *nanban* art has been seen as a simple product of exchanges between Japan, Portugal and Spain. The historiography tends to solely focus on artistic contributions of the Society of Jesus due to the foundation of a painting school in Japan. Thereby, the relevance of the Indo-Portuguese route in the cross-cultural history has been emphasized. However, the research advances of the last decades identify that *nanban* works consist of artistic inheritances from diverse regions of the world which were connected through the Portuguese and Spanish transoceanic routes. Similarly, Japanese *nanban* art influenced the artistic productions on the other side of the world. In summary, *nanban* art cannot be understood without taking into account its global implications. This paper clarifies the changes in epistemological understanding of *nanban* art, and its redefinitions through a historiographical review. This work also shows the important role of Spanish America in the artistic exchange mechanisms; these interactions occurred reciprocally. Therefore, the New World was one of the regions where Japanese art significantly influenced local productions. To exemplify this phenomenon, we address the influence of *nanban* art on the mural painting *The great martyrdom of Japan in 1597* in Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico.



**Keywords** | (Thesaurus) arts; art history; Asian art; Latin American art. (Author) *nanban* art; *kirishitan* art; Spanish American colonial art.

## Arte *nanban* y su globalidad: un caso del mural novohispano *El gran martirio de Japón en 1597*

**Resumen** | Tradicionalmente, el arte *nanban* ha sido visto como un simple producto de intercambios entre Japón, Portugal y España. La historiografía tiende a centrarse únicamente en las contribuciones artísticas de la Compañía de Jesús por establecer una escuela de pintura en Japón. De este modo, se ha enfatizado la relevancia de la ruta indo-portuguesa en la

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historia intercultural. Sin embargo, los avances de investigación en las últimas décadas identifican que las obras *namban* se conforman de herencias artísticas de diversas regiones del mundo que estaban conectadas a través de las rutas transoceánicas portuguesa y española. De igual modo, el arte *namban* japonés influyó en las producciones artísticas del otro lado del mundo. En resumen, el arte *namban* no puede entenderse sin tener en cuenta sus implicaciones globales. Este artículo dilucida los cambios en la comprensión epistemológica del arte *namban* y sus redefiniciones mediante una revisión historiográfica. También resalta la importancia de América hispánica en los mecanismos de intercambio artístico. Estas interacciones se dieron de manera mutua, ya que el Nuevo Mundo es una de las regiones donde el arte japonés tuvo una influencia significativa en las producciones locales. Para ejemplificar este fenómeno, este trabajo aborda la influencia del arte *namban* en la pintura mural *El gran martirio de Japón en 1597* en Cuernavaca, Morelos, México.

**Palabras clave** | (Tesauro) artes; historia del arte; arte asiático; arte latinoamericano. (Author) arte *namban*; arte *kirishitan*; arte colonial hispanoamericano.

### **A Arte *namban* e sua globalidade: um caso do mural novohispano *O grande martírio do Japão em 1597***

**Resumo** | Tradicionalmente, a arte *namban* tem sido vista como um simples produto de intercâmbios entre Japão, Portugal e Espanha. A historiografia tende a se centrar unicamente nas contribuições artísticas da Companhia de Jesus por estabelecer uma escola de pintura no Japão. Deste modo, tem sido enfatizada a relevância da rota indo-portuguesa na história intercultural. Não obstante, os avanços nas pesquisas das últimas décadas identificam que as obras *namban* se conformam como herança artística de diversas regiões do mundo que estavam conectadas através das rotas transoceánicas portuguesas e espanholas. De igual modo, a arte *namban* japonesa influenciou nas produções artísticas do outro lado do mundo. Em resumo, a arte *namban* não pode ser entendida sem ter em conta suas implicações globais. Este artigo clarifica as mudanças na compreensão epistemológica da arte *namban* e suas redefinições mediante uma revisão historiográfica. Também ressalta a importância da América hispânica nos mecanismos de intercâmbio artístico. Estas interações se deram de forma mútua, já que o Novo Mundo é uma das regiões onde a arte japonesa teve uma influência significativa nas produções locais. Para exemplificar este fenómeno, este trabalho aborda a influência da arte *namban* na pintura mural *O grande martírio do Japão em 1597* em Cuernavaca, Morelos, México.

**Palavras chave** | (Tesauro) artes; história da arte; arte asiática; arte latino-americana. (Author) arte *namban*; arte *kirishitan*; Arte colonial hispano-americana.

## Introduction

*Nanban* art refers to a wide variety of artistic expressions that arose from the interactions between Japan and the Iberian world in the early modern era. Their direct contact began with the arrival of St. Francis Xavier in Japan in 1549, and ended as a result of the ban on Christianity in 1614, and the consequent break in diplomatic and commercial relations with the Iberian monarchies in 1639. This period is known as “Christian Century”<sup>1</sup> or *Nanban* era. The latter term, meaning “southern barbarians”, is derived from the Chinese historical concept that regarded all peoples living outside of the Chinese civilization as barbarians<sup>2</sup>. Chinese called the natives from South Asian countries *nanban*. In the Japanese language, the word *nanban* began to be commonly used since the 16th century to refer to Portuguese merchants and missionaries, who came to Japan through South Asia, as well as to Spaniards, who came from the Philippines<sup>3</sup>. But, strictly speaking, the concept of *nanban-jin* or “southern barbarian people” included Italian Jesuits, and Spanish American friars. It is worth noting that in Japanese sources, the term *nanban* includes Europe and the Americas, as shown in the records concerning the embassy of Hasekura Tsunenaga (1571-1622) in *Teizankōjikekiroku* 貞山公治家記録, compiled by Date clan in 1703. That is, New Spain was called *Nanban-koku* 南蛮国 (Country of Southern Barbarians), while the term *Oku-Nanban-koku* 奥南蛮国 “Country in the back of *Nanban*” referred to Europe<sup>4</sup>.

Meanwhile, by reflecting that the term *nanban* connotes originally a Japanese historical perspective, Yayoi Kawamura has reconstructed the vision of *nanban* art from the opposite side, namely, that of the Spanish empire. According to the European perspective, all of Asia and the Americas were regarded as “Indies”. Therefore, the Japanese lacquer works are referred to as “Indian works sent from Japan” in documents<sup>5</sup>. Instead, Mexican colonial documents often call Asian works “Chinese” without making distinctions between India, China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines. But, it is not until the early twentieth century that the word *nanban* became a term of Cultural History and Art History. In that time, the research on *nanban* culture and Catholic globalisation in early modern Japan gained historical importance in both Western and Japanese academies. Since then, *nanban* studies as a specialized area have been developed for a century. This paper is structured in two parts. The first part addresses a historiographical overview of the advances in the study of *nanban* art.

1. The term “Christian Century” was coined by Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951).

2. Fernando García Gutiérrez, *Japón y Occidente: influencias recíprocas en el arte* (Sevilla: Guadalquivir, 1990), 169.

3. Yoshitomo Okamoto, *Nanban bijitsu* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1968), 14.

4. Kōichi Oizumi, *Masamune no Inbō: Hasekura Tsunetaga shisetsu. Yōroppa tokō no shinsō* (Tokyo: Ohzora shuppan, 2016), 85.

5. Yayoi Kawamura, “Asia as seen by the Spanish ‘Empire’ during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Appreciation of Namban lacquer and other Asian artistic objects, and the Japanese art influences on Spanish America”, *Junshin Journal of Human Studies* n.º 23 (2017): 19-39, <http://id.nii.ac.jp/1177/00000005/>.

This review aims to show how the idea of *nanban* art which was initially understood as the result of cultural exchanges between Japan, Portugal and Spain, has been redefined due to advances in research. Indeed, cosmopolitan features of *nanban* art, and its influences in diverse regions of the world are increasingly recognized today. Especially, this work clarifies the importance of including Spanish America in current debates. The second part exemplifies, with a specific case, the influence of *nanban* art in New Spain. We focus on the impact of *nanban* folding screens by the Kanō school of Kyoto and Catholic works produced by Japanese disciples trained in the Jesuit painting school on the mural painting *The great martyrdom of Japan in 1597* in Cuernavaca, Mexico.

## Historiographical Overview

### *Advances in the Study of Nanban Art*

The study of *nanban* art has its antecedents in the records concerning Christian images and devotional objects, prepared by Confucianists in the late Edo period, as shown in *Kirishitan hōfuku shokibutsu mokuroku* 吉利支丹法服諸器物目録 (*The inventory of kirishitan costumes and articles*, 1800) by Tachihara Suiken (1744-1823), and *Kinjōhiun* 金城秘韞 (commonly known as *Document of articles of Hasekura Tsunenaga*, 1812) by Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757-1827)<sup>6</sup>. After Japan's reopening to the world and the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Western authors such as Léon Pagès (1814-1886)<sup>7</sup>, and British diplomat Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929) wrote the first historical and linguistic monographs on cross-cultural exchanges in the early modern era<sup>8</sup>. In the field of art history, Ernest F. Fenollosa (1853-1908), American orientalist and professor of aesthetics at Tokyo Imperial University (now University of Tokyo), stated a possible influence of Venetian painting on the chromatic richness of the works by Kanō Eitoku (1543-1590), painter protected by Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598)<sup>9</sup>. Although this hypothesis was not accepted, the relationship between the missionaries and the painters of the Kanō school of Kyoto, and the European influence on Japanese art would later become main research lines.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the study of historical and cultural exchanges between Japan and Iberia, as well as that of Catholic globalisation in East Asia took importance as a result of the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the martyrdoms of Japan. Furthermore, the *nanban* culture boom

6. Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Kinjōhiun*, 1812 (Tokyo: Collection of the Waseda University Library), [http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko08/bunko08\\_a0024/index.html](http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko08/bunko08_a0024/index.html). (Consulted 27/06/2018).

7. Léon Pagès, *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon*, 2 vols. (Paris: Cjarles Douniol, 1869-1870).

8. Ernest Mason Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan. 1591-1610* (Tokyo: Privately Printed, 1888).

9. Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese & Japanese Art. An Outline History of East Asiatic Design*, 2 vols, 1912 (London: William Heinemann; New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1921), vol. 2, 106.



took place as part of the Taishō Romanticism (1912-1926), as seen in the *nanban* literary movement<sup>10</sup>. Kōsaku Hamada (1881-1938) founded a specialization in Early Christian Archaeology & Art in Kyoto Imperial University (now Kyoto University). Kyoto and its nearby regions –known as the “Cami” (Kami 上, “upper”) in the Jesuit sources<sup>11</sup>– were one of the major mission sites. Hamada and his collaborators Izuru Shinmura (1876-1967), and Sueji Umehara (1893-1987) contributed to the recording and analysis of Catholic material remains in Japan such as Christian tombs, lacquer objects with the IHS emblem of the Jesuits and depictions of *nanbanjin*<sup>12</sup>. Particularly noteworthy are the findings of three Japanese Catholic paintings in Ibaraki City, Osaka, the former territory of the Christian feudal lord Takayama Ukon (1552-1615). The portrait of *Saint Francis Xavier* (see figure 1) was found tied up on a roof beam of Tōjirō Higashi’s house in 1920, and is now owned by the Kobe City Museum. The other two works *The Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus and Her Fifteen Mysteries*, *Loyola and Francis Xavier* have a similar composition and iconographic program. One was found in the Higashi family’s house in 1920, and belongs today to the Ibaraki Municipal Christian Heritage Museum (see figure 2), while the other was discovered in 1930 hidden in the roof of the Harada family’s house, and now is owned by the Kyoto University Museum (see figure 3). Hamada and Shinmura kept photographic records and descriptions of these paintings, and argued their historical value<sup>13</sup>. These material remains were classified by these scholars as *kirishitan ibutsu* “Christian relics”, since the Japanese converts in the early modern era were called *kirishitan*, term derived from the Portuguese word *christão*. At the same time, the artwork that emerged from a contact between Japan and the Iberian world began to be called *nanban bijutsu*, literally meaning “southern barbarian art”.

10. Izuru Shinmura is a representative of this literary movement. He wrote the following essays: *Nanbanki* (Tokyo: Tōadō shobō, 1915); *Nanban sarasa* (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1924); and *Nanban kōki* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1925).

11. According to Jesuit mission documents, Kyoto and its surroundings were called “Cami” (*kami*, “upper”), while Kyūshū was written as “Ximo” (*shimo*, “lower”).

12. Kōsaku Hamada, “Shoki kirishito-kyō no bijutsu ni tuite”, *Shūkyō kenkyū* Vol: 2 n.o 7 (1918): 1-13, [http://jpars.org/journal/database/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/vol2\\_no7\\_1918.pdf](http://jpars.org/journal/database/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/vol2_no7_1918.pdf). (Consulted 6/07/2018); Kōsaku Hamada, “Kirishitan to geijutsu”, *Kaikoku bunka* (1929). His papers on early Christian culture in Japan are compiled in Kōsaku Hamada, *Hamada Kōsaku chosakushū*. Vol. V: *Kirishitan bunka* (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1991); Izuru Shinmura and Kōsaku Hamada, “Tomb-Stones of Christians of the Keicho Era, Found in Kyoto and its Neighborhood”, *Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Bungakubu kōkogaku kenkyū hōkoku. Report upon Archaeological Research in the Department of Literature, Kyoto Imperial University* n.º 7 (1923): 53-76; and Kōsaku Hamada and Sueji Umehara, “Two Horses Saddles, one with a Coat of Arms consisting of the Monogram of a Christian Name and the Other with Pictures of Portuguese”, *Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Bungakubu kōkogaku kenkyū hōkoku. Report upon Archaeological Research in the Department of Literature, Kyoto Imperial University* n.º 7 (1923): 77-88.

13. Izuru Shinmura, “Settsu Takatsuki zai Higashi-shi shozō no kirishitan ibutsu”, *Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku Bungakubu kōkogaku kenkyū hōkoku. Report upon Archaeological Research in the Department of Literature, Kyoto Imperial University* n.º 7 (1922-1923): 1-52; and Kōsaku Hamada, “Harada-bon Mariya jūgo gengizu”, *Hōun* n.º 13 (1935).

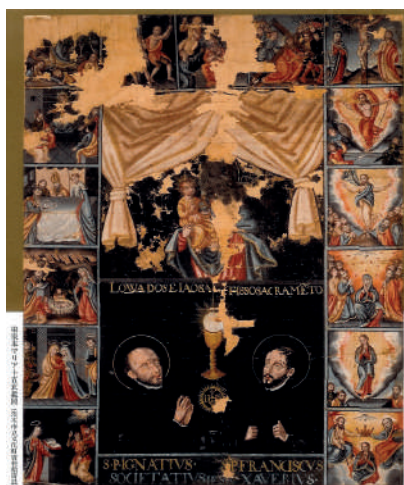


**Figure 1.** The portrait of Saint Francis Xavier



Source: signed with "Gyofukanjin 漁夫環人" and attributed to Cano Pedro. Late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Watercolour on paper. 61 x 48.7 cm. Kobe City Museum (Kobe, Japan).

**Figure 2.** The Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus and Her Fifteen Mysteries, Loyola and Francis Xavier



Source: Higashi family's version. Unknown Japanese (school of Giovanni Nicolao). Early 17<sup>th</sup> century. 84.2 x 67.1 cm. Ibaraki Municipal Christian Heritage Museum (Ibaraki City, Osaka, Japan).

**Figure 3.** *The Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus and Her Fifteen Mysteries, Loyola and Francis Xavier*



Source: Harada family's version. Unknown Japanese (school of Giovanni Nicolao). Early 17<sup>th</sup> century. 102.7 x 70.7 cm. The Kyoto University Museum (Kyoto, Japan).

Simultaneously, Nagasaki became other center for *kirishitan* or *nanban* studies. Tokihide Nagayama (1867-1935) and Tokutarō Nagami (1890-1950) conducted research from the perspective of local history. Nagayama, first director of the Nagasaki Prefectural Library, prepared several catalogs concerning the *kirishitan* art preserved in his town<sup>14</sup>. These records acquired testimonial value over time, since the works belonging to the Urakami Cathedral in Nagasaki were lost due to the dropping of the atomic bomb in 1945. Meanwhile, Nagami, a dramatist from Nagasaki and collector of historical documents and *nanban* folding screens, published *catalogues raisonnés* on *nanban* art<sup>15</sup>. He inferred that the painters of *nanban* screens who depicted detailed Catholic scenes could freely enter the churches and observe liturgical celebrations. Some of those painters must have even converted to Christianity<sup>16</sup>. Jesuit historians also contributed greatly to *nanban* studies. German orientalist Joseph Dahlmann

14. Tokihide Nagayama, *Collection of Historical Materials Connected with the Roman Catholic Religion in Japan* (Nagasaki: Taigai Shiryō Hōkan Kankōkai, 1925); *An Album of Historical Materials Connected with Foreign Intercourse* (Nagasaki: Fujiki Hirohidesha, 1932).

15. Tokutarō Nagami, *Nanban bijutsu shū* (Tokyo: Nanbankai, 1928); *Nanban byōbu taisei* (Tokyo: Kōgeisha, 1930).

16. Tokutarō Nagami, *Nanban byōbu*, 23.

(1861-1930) –who arrived in Japan in 1903 to establish a Catholic institution of advanced studies in Tokyo, later known as Sophia University– focused his attention on the cultural exchange between Japan and the West during the Momoyama period (ca. 1568-1600). He stated the historical and testimonial value of *nanban* folding screens. Namely, the precision of details suggested that the painters of the Kanō school had been in Nagasaki at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century to directly observe the trade with the Iberians<sup>17</sup>.

Georg Schurhammer (1882-1971)<sup>18</sup> and Joseph F. Schütte (1906-1981) carried out exhaustive documentary research. They disclosed unpublished data on missionary work of the Society of Jesus in Japan, including artistic activities in the so-called “*seminarium pictorum*” or “*schola pictorum*”, which was founded by Italian Jesuit Giovanni Nicolao (Niccolò or Cola, 1560-1626) in the “Ximo” (Shimo 下, “lower”) region (present-day Kyūshū) in the mid-1580s<sup>19</sup>. Diego Pacheco (also known by his Japanese name Ryōgo Yūki, 1922-2008), former director of the Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum in Nagasaki, contributed to the development of early Japanese Catholic studies in the Kyūshū region. Based on missionary documents, this author reconstructed lost Catholic churches in Nagasaki<sup>20</sup>. He also analyzed the origin of the *hana-kurusu*, “cross in the shape of a flower”, a common motif in Japanese Christian works (e.g. stone tombs, roof of the Dominican church of Santo Domingo in Nagasaki), and attributed its design to Nicolao<sup>21</sup>. Fernando García Gutiérrez (1928-2018), specialist in Japanese art history and former professor at the Sophia University, delved into the contributions of the Society of Jesus in the artistic exchange between Japan and the West in the early modern era. Nicolao is regarded as the key figure in this cross-cultural experience, since he taught his pupils techniques of oil painting and copper engraving. He was also a distinguished mathematician and a skilled manufacturer of clocks and bamboo organs. García Gutiérrez disclosed small paintings on copper plate depicting *The Virgin and Child*, produced by Nicolao’s school, and now housed in the churches in Seville<sup>22</sup>. He noted

17. Joseph Dahlmann, *Japan älteste Beziehungen zum Westen 1542-1614 in zeitgenössischen Denkmälern seiner Kunst* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1923); “The Earliest Intercourse of Japan with the West as Represented by Contemporary Monuments of Japanese Art (1542-1614)”, *Shigaku zasshi* Vol: 34 n.º 1 (1923): 1-27; “Christianity in Japanese Art. Seven Ancient Screen Painting with Commentary”, *Art and Archaeology* Vol: 23 n.º 4 (1922): 169-178.

18. Georg Schurhammer, “Die Jesuitenmissionare des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts und ihr Einfluss auf die japanische Malerei”, *Jubiläumsband der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* n.º 1 (1933): 116-126.

19. Joseph Franz Schütte, *Introductio ad Historiam Societatis Jesu in Japonia 1549-1650* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1968).

20. Diego Pacheco (Yūki Ryōgo), “Nagasaki no kyōkai (1567-1620 nen)”, *Nagasaki dansō* n.º 58 (1975), reprinted in *Kyūshū kirishitanshi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kirishitan bunka kenkyūkai, 1977), 131-151.

21. Diego Pacheco (Yūki Ryōgo), “Giovanni Cola, S. J. (Nicolao) el hombre que hizo florecer las flores”, *Temas de estética y arte* n.º XVII, Sevilla, 2003, 103-116.

22. These paintings are owned by the Church of the Incarnation (present-day Church of Santa Isabel), annexed to the former Jesuit college in Marchena, Seville, and the Church of the Poor Clare convent of the Immaculate Conception in the same locality.

the use of Flemish prints by Hieronymus Wierix as visual sources of those works<sup>23</sup>. This historian also investigated the iconography of Francis Xavier in the *kirishitan* art (including the works by hidden Christians of Nagasaki)<sup>24</sup>.

As noted above, the influence of European culture on the Japanese art of the Momoyama period became a predominant research line over the last century. Several Japanese and Western authors such as Shinmura, Akiyama, Nishimura, McCall, Boxer, and Okamoto focused on the contributions of Nicolao's school: the introduction of European pictorial traditions, copper-plate engraving, mission press, and the formation of pupils<sup>25</sup>. These studies included analyses of formal and iconographic features of *nanban* folding screens painted in the Western style, and identification of their figurative sources, besides studying the works of the Kanō school depicting the arrival of the Portuguese ship in Nagasaki, Iberian merchants, and missionaries. In particular, the research conducted by Nishimura for over 30 years using Japanese and European sources was remarkable. In his book, entitled *Nanban bijutsu* (1958), the author compiled several of his previously published papers addressing different genres of *nanban* art: cave chapel, painting, *fumie*<sup>26</sup>, lacquer, pottery, and swordguard<sup>27</sup>. However, the aesthetic values of Japanese Catholic paintings were judged from a Eurocentric point of view in all these studies. The works that were not made in accordance with the Western canons were little appreciated. Thus, hidden Christian paintings that were characterized, to a great extent, by indigenization were worth nothing as "works of art", although their historical and devotional values were recognized<sup>28</sup>.

The circulation, production, and use of *nanban* screens were also addressed since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Based on missionary records and other sources, Boxer reported that Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606) presented to the Pope folding screens that he had received from Oda Nobunaga. This Jesuit Visitor also ordered the making of a screen representing the geography of China in Macau, and another one depicting Rome and other European capitals.

23. Fernando García Gutiérrez, "Giovanni Cola (Joao Nicolao). Un hombre del Renacimiento italiano trasplantado a Japón", *Mirai. Estudios Japoneses* n.º 2 (2018): 3-19.

24. Fernando García Gutiérrez, *San Francisco Javier en el arte de España y Japón* (Sevilla: Guadalquivir, 1998), 207-211.

25. Izuru Shinmura, "L'introduction de la peinture occidentale au Japon", *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* n.º 4 (1927): 195-201; Terukazu Akiyama, "First Epoch of European Style Painting in Japan", *Bulletin of Eastern Art* n.º 18 (1941): 3-27; Tei Nishimura, *Nihon shoki yōga no kenkyū* (Takatsuki: Zenkoku shobō, 1971 [1945]); John E. McCall, "Early Jesuit Art in the Far East: I. The Pionners", *Artibus Asiae* Vol. 10 n.º 2 (1947): 121-137; "Early Jesuit Art in the Far East: II. Nobukata and Yamada Emonsaku", *Artibus Asiae* Vol. 10 n.º 3 (1947): 216-233; "Early Jesuit Art in the Far East: III. The Japanese Christian Painters", *Artibus Asiae* Vol. 10 n.º 4 (1947): 283-301; "Early Jesuit Art in the Far East: In China and Macau before 1635", *Artibus Asiae* Vol. 11 n.º 1/2 (1948): 45-69; Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century*, 198-202; Tamon Miki, "The Influence of Western Culture on Japanese Art", *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. 19 n.º 3/4 (1964): 146-171; Yoshitomo Okamoto, *Kirishitan yōga shi josetsu* (Tokyo: Shōrinsha, 1953); Yoshitomo Okamoto, *Nanban bijutsu*, 91-130.

26. *Fumie* refers to a plate with Christian symbol to be trodden on in order to prove oneself a non-Christian in the period of persecution of Christians.

27. Tei Nishimura, *Nanban bijutsu* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1958).

28. Tei Nishimura, *Nanban bijutsu*, 21.

At least, the latter was actually produced and belongs today to the Kobe City Museum<sup>29</sup>. Similarly, a pair of gold-leaf screens was presented to Shah Abbas the Great of Persia by the Portuguese in 1608. Boxer also noted that, according to the Jesuit “*Obediencias*” of 1612, the unnecessary use of screens in cells was forbidden. This suggests a great popularity of folding screens<sup>30</sup>. A research on the circulation of Japanese export lacquer from the Edo period (1603-1868) in the Netherlands, Germany, England, and Denmark arose out among Western scholars from the 1950s, since a large majority of *nanban* lacquerware belonged to European collections<sup>31</sup>. Diverse artistic legacies on these objects were observed, as Martha Boyer stated- the use of gold and silver powder, together with Korean mother-of-pearl inlay techniques, and West Asian decorative patterns handed down via China (e.g. serrated motifs, shoots)<sup>32</sup>. Identifying diverse artistic legacies on *nanban* export lacquer was going to become the focus of research and discussion, as will be mentioned below.

Collecting and exhibitions were key factors that promoted a systematic study and dissemination of *nanban* art, also in Japan. After World War II, many objects came onto the international art market, and began to be returned to Japan. Yoshirō Kitamura founded the Nanban Culture Museum in Osaka in 1967, and published catalogs of his collection<sup>33</sup>. Several important events such as a *nanban* lacquer exhibition were held at the Tokyo National Museum in 1969 and in the 1970 World Exposition in Osaka. In the latter, lacquerware belonging to the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon was exhibited. This raised Japanese people’s awareness about the importance of *nanban* lacquer collections outside of the country. The Japanese Ministry of Education sent specialists such as Motoo Yoshimura to research *nanban* lacquer preserved in Europe in 1972-1973<sup>34</sup>.

After the 1970s, Hirakazu Arakawa and Akio Haino addressed *nanban* lacquer, distinguishing export works from those for domestic use. *Nanban* lacquer was classified into two groups: the first included works made according to the order and taste of the Iberian, such as Catholic liturgical objects (e.g. hostiaries, triptychs, and lecterns), and pieces used by Westerners in daily life (e.g. host boxes, chests, and cabinets), while the second grouped works produced for domestic use. Arakawa stated that a pattern of export lacquer could have been created according to the tastes and needs of Westerners. In addition, these works must have presented a “Japanese identity”. The above-mentioned author also pointed out that what is known today as *nanban* lacquer included

29. This pair of screens is known under the title: *Four Great Cities of the West* (Rome, Lisbon, Seville, and Constantinople), and *World-map*. See the following link of the Kobe City Museum: [http://www.city.kobe.lg.jp/culture/culture/institution/museum/meihin\\_new/401.html](http://www.city.kobe.lg.jp/culture/culture/institution/museum/meihin_new/401.html). (Consulted 3/07/2018).

30. Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century*, 201-202.

31. Theo H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, “Aanbesteding en verspreiding van Japansch lakwerk door de Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw”, *Jaarverslagen Oudheidkundig Genootschap* n.º 83 (1941): 54-74.

32. Martha Hagensen Boyer, *Japanese Export Lacquers from the Seventeenth Century in the National Museum of Denmark* (Copenhagen: National Museum, 1959), 64.

33. Yoshirō Kitamura, *Nanban bijutsu*, 2 vols. (Osaka: Nanban Bunkakan, 1968).

34. Motoo Yoshimura, “Nanban bijutsu to kōgei ni tsuite”, in *Sōrin to nanban bunka: Tsukumi City's Namban Art Collection. Special Exhibition Celebrating a Decade of Acquisitions*, ed. Tsukumi City Office (Tsukumi: Tsukumi City Office, 1996), 8.

pieces exported even after the severance of diplomatic and commercial relations with the Iberian world in 1639, since non-religious pieces continued to be exported by the Dutch East India Company<sup>35</sup>. Therefore, the concept of *nanban* culture could not be clearly separated from *kômô* 紅毛 “red hair” one, which refers to the culture given through contact with the Dutch.

From the point of view of techniques and decorative patterns, *nanban* lacquer shares many characteristics of other Momoyama lacquer pieces, especially Kōdaiji-type *maki-e*, and Ryūkyū lacquerware, as noted by Arakawa and Haino<sup>36</sup>. Kōdaiji is a Zen temple founded in honor of Toyotomi Hideyoshi by his wife Kōdai-in in Kyoto in 1606. *Maki-e* refers to a technique of drawing on the lacquered surface using gold or silver powder before it dries. Kōdaiji-type *maki-e* is characterized by simplified techniques, as shown in *hira maki-e* (flat lacquering)<sup>37</sup>. The devising of new methods that enabled rapid production responded to an increase in domestic demand for lacquer in castles, feudal lord mansions, and temples. Different techniques of Kōdaiji-type *maki-e*<sup>38</sup> are used simultaneously in the objects and furniture ordered by Westerners. According to Arakawa, *raden* of export lacquer preserves a great influence of the Korean technique, although shell surface is not cracked in *nanban* lacquer. This feature is due to a technical simplification, so that lacquer pieces with cracked shells show a better treatment also in other details. Furthermore, lacquer imported from Southeast Asia, which was less expensive and of lower quality, was used for the imprimatura of export lacquer<sup>39</sup>.

Instead, techniques used in *nanban* lacquerware produced for domestic consumption were *maki-e*, *raden*, *urushi-e*<sup>40</sup>, and *mitsuda-e*<sup>41</sup>. There are also differences from a formal point of view between the two groups. Export works used to be composed symmetrically and showed an aesthetic of *horror vacui*: the entire surface was filled with ornamental details and figures. Christian symbols and geometric patterns were frequently used. Autumn plants, chrysanthemums, cherry trees, and camellias served to demonstrate a Japanese artistic identity, while in lacquerware for domestic use, foreign elements were painted such as the southern barbarians, western dogs, elephant, cross with flower, striped motifs, which may have been taken from imported textiles<sup>42</sup>.

35. Hirokazu Arakawa, *Nanban shitsugei* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shippansha, 1971), 129.

36. Hirokazu Arakawa, *Nanban shikki: Cultural Exchange between East and West through Lacquer Craft* (Sakai: Sakai City Museum, 1983), 84-85; Akio Haino, *Kōdaiji makie to nanban shikki* (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 1987); Motoo Yoshimura and Akio Haino, *Kōdaiji makie* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1981); and Hirokazu Arakawa, “Ryūkyū Lacquerware in Europe: Focusing on *haku-e* Technique”, *Shikkōshi: History of Lacquer Art* n.º 18 (1995): 25-36.

37. This technique consists in drawing patterns with lacquer of high adhesion, placing gold or silver foils or powders on top of them, and applying lacquer only to the parts where ornamental motifs are found.

38. Concretely, *hira maki-e*, *enashiji* (imitation of pear peel using gold or silver powder), *makizuri* (applying lacquer over the *maki-e*), *harigaki* (drawing lines scratching with a needle), and *raden* (mother-of-pearl inlays).

39. Hirokazu Arakawa, *Nanban shitsugei*, 131, 136-139.

40. *Urushi-e* refers to painting with vermilion, black, yellow, green, and ocher lacquers.

41. *Mitsuda-e* means painting technique mixing pigments, oil and yellow lead oxide (PbO), used as drier.

42. Hirokazu Arakawa, *Nanban shitsugei*, 143-148 and 151-152.



Portugal and Spain also became centers for *nanban* studies for having an important collection of *nanban* art. Maria Helena Mendes Pinto, former curator at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, contributed to the cataloguing, inventory and visual analysis of screens and lacquer pieces in Portugal<sup>43</sup>. She was also commissioner of several different exhibitions such as “Namban Art - The Portuguese in Japan” held in Brussels to commemorate the Europália 89 dedicated to Japan, and “Via Orientalis” and “De Goa a Lisboa” organized within the framework of the Europália 91. “Via Orientalis” was also shown in Tokyo, Shizuoka, Kyoto and Oita, Japan<sup>44</sup>. Since the late 1990s, authors of Spanish institutions such as Ana García Sanz, Annemarie Jordán Gschwend Sanz<sup>45</sup>, and Yayoi Kawamura started systematically looking at the circulation of Japanese lacquer in Spain. They focused on the collecting and collections of the members of the Habsburg family during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>46</sup>. Exhibitions such as “Oriente en Palacio”, held at the Royal Palace of Madrid in 2003, helped spread Spanish royal collections<sup>47</sup>.

The research conducted by Oliver Impey and Christiaan Jörg also contributes to other aspects. On one hand, they approached *nanban* art from an evolutionary perspective and identified three phases in export lacquer productions: “*namban* style”, “transition style”, and “pictorial” style”. On the other hand, they pointed out that *nanban* lacquer was made up of traditions from different Asian regions: Japan, Korea, and Gujarat, in India. This was because, for the Europeans, great appreciation of Japanese lacquer was not due to its original design, but to its material quality, which could not be obtained in the West. This is the reason why various foreign influences can be found in *nanban* export lacquer works, which adapted them to the tastes and functional needs of European clients<sup>48</sup>.

Kaori Hidaka extended the idea of Impey and Jörg, and considered that *nanban* export lacquer was more influenced by Islamic and Indian art –especially Gujarati– than by Chinese and Korean art<sup>49</sup>. Lacquer art became a symbol of Japan due to the image of Zipangu, since works with gilded motifs and ornaments on the black lacquered surface were suitable to refer to the mythical island of gold mentioned by Marco Polo<sup>50</sup>. *Nanban* export lacquer is made up of artistic heritages from different regions of Asia rather than of European or

43. Maria Helena Mendes Pinto, *Biombos namban* (Lisboa: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 1988); *Lacas Namban em Portugal: presença portuguesa no Japão* (Lisboa: INAPA, 1990).

44. Alexandra Curvelo, “Interview with Maria Helena Mendes Pinto”, *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* n.º 12 (2006): 11-20.

45. Ana García Sanz and Annemarie Jordán Gschwend, “Vía Orientalis: Objetos del Lejano Oriente en el Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales”, *Reales Sitios. Revista del Patrimonio Nacional* n.º 138 (1998): 25-39.

46. Yayoi Kawamura, “Coleccionismo y colecciones de la laca extremo oriental en España desde la época del arte nanban hasta el siglo XX”, *Artigrama* n.º 18 (2003): 211-230; “Supein shozai no nanban shikki ni tsuite”, *Kokka* n.º 1415 (2013): 36-49.

47. Marina Alfonso Mola and Carlos Martínez Shaw, dirs., *Oriente en palacio: tesoros asiáticos en las colecciones reales españolas* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2003).

48. Oliver Impey and Christiaan Jörg, *Japanese Export Lacquer 1580-1850* (Amsterdam: Hotei, 2005), 77-81.

49. Kaori Hidaka, *Ikoku no hyōshō: kinsei yushutsu shikki no sōzōryoku* (Tokyo: Brücke, 2008), 60-61.

50. Kaori Hidaka, *Ikoku no hyōshō*, 37.



Japanese artistic traditions, which was the result of having captured the image of “The East” as it was understood by Westerners. In other words, a fictitious image of Japan was created because it was easier for Westerners to understand the idea of “The East” by showing Middle Eastern or Indian traditions that they already knew<sup>51</sup>. In short, *nanban* export lacquer created a pseudo-Japanese image. To sustain these ideas, it is necessary to clarify in what sense we can talk about “Japanese” heritage in European and Spanish American art.

In the field of painting, Mitsuru Sakamoto has contributed since the 1970s to the research on Japanese early European-style. He linked Japanese Christian painting with historical background of the Catholic Reformation and the consequent worldwide evangelization. In other words, the post-Tridentine policies affected Japanese European-style painting in the sense that the art was subordinated to the service of the Church. Images were means for evangelization and worship, instead of being free artistic expression. Therefore, the *schola pictorum*, founded by Giovanni Nicolao, did not aim to offer a comprehensive artistic education in the modern meaning of academy, but to meet the demands of religious-devotional images. Pupils of the Jesuit seminary used to produce paintings and engravings collectively in the manner of the workshop<sup>52</sup>. Due to the contextualization of works, Sakamoto did not judge Japanese Christian art in a derogatory way, unlike previous authors such as Terukazu Akiyama, who regarded them as “lacking in originality” in accordance with the Eurocentric criterion<sup>53</sup>.

Indeed, Sakamoto revalued the learning ability of Japanese disciples, who used European engravings as models for their compositions without having a basic knowledge of Western painting. He also placed Japanese early European-style works within the concept of Mannerism<sup>54</sup>. In addition, Sakamoto contributed to coordinate two *catalogues raisonnés* of *nanban* art: one deals with Japanese early European-Style painting<sup>55</sup>, and the other with *nanban* folding screens<sup>56</sup>. Thus, he conducted a comprehensive formal and iconographic study of *nanban* painting. He reaffirmed the cosmopolitan features of *nanban* art. As in the case of *nanban* lacquerware, *nanban* painting shows diversified artistic legacies. *Nanban* folding screens are iconographically characterized by European, Japanese and Chinese elements, while *kirishitan* painting inherits European artistic legacies (e.g. Byzantine icons, Renaissance, Mannerism, and Flemish engravings), besides native traditions<sup>57</sup>.

51. Kaori Hidaka, *Ikoku no hyōshō*, 60-61, 113 and 133.

52. Mitsuru Sakamoto, Sugase Tadashi and Fujio Naruse, eds., *Nanban bijutsu to yōfūga* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1970); Mitsuru Sakamoto, “Kirishitan bijutsu to Kyushu”, in *Kyushu ni kaiga to tōgei. Kyushū bunka ronshū* 5, ed. Fukuoka Unesco Kyokai (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1975), 201-203.

53. Terukazu Akiyama, “First Epoch”, 26.

54. Mitsuru Sakamoto, “Kirishitan bijutsu”, 217-218.

55. Mitsuru Sakamoto et al., “An Essay of Catalogue Raisonné of Namban Art. Part One: Japanese Early European-Style Painting”, *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History* n.º 75 (1997), 3-36.

56. Mitsuru Sakamoto, coord., *Nanban byōbu shūsei. A Catalogue Raisonné of Namban Screens* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2008).

57. Mitsuru Sakamoto et al., “An Essay of Catalogue”, 3-5.

Noriko Kotani delved into processes of artistic assimilation by clarifying artworks produced by the Jesuit seminary from the local point of view. On the one hand, painting in the Western manner responded to the demands of Christian daimyos as collectors of rarities, besides its devotional function. Thus, Nicolao's school had to reproduce European images. His pupils were trained to learn and improve their skills to copy the models accurately. On the other hand, unlike European art educational methods, the Japanese way of copying was "without understanding or reflection". Copying meant the same as learning, as shown in the old term "*manebu*", which had two meanings: "*manabu* 学ぶ" (to learn), and "*maneru* 真似る" (to copy). The local practice of "copying as learning" was convenient for the Jesuits to teach and produce artworks in their seminary. Therefore, Kotani called Jesuit paintings in Japan "art of *Manebu* style"<sup>58</sup>.

Naoko F. Hioki applied the theory of interreligious aesthetics to study *nanban* screens of the Western style. In this theoretical framework, art is understood as an intercultural and interreligious aesthetic experience. Intercultural and interreligious studies aim at reconciling conflicts and oppositions by recognizing relationships: a unity maintains its diversity. From this perspective, Hioki analyzed an intersection of pictorial and symbolic traditions of *nanban* painting, and deciphered its bilingualism, that is, the double meaning it had for Catholic and Buddhist viewers<sup>59</sup>.

In the field of restoration and conservation, scientific methods such as ultraviolet fluorescence and X-ray photography, and chemical analysis of materials have been applied to assess the degree of deterioration, the painting materials and the techniques employed. These studies allow us to know in detail the artistic exchange between local and Western traditions, as well as to identify subsequent alterations over time. These results are useful to find a proper method for carrying out restoration work. Thus, technical analysis and restoration of *Salvator Mundi* (oil painting on copper plate, collection of the Tokyo University General Library), a work made by a disciple of Nicolao after an engraving by Marten de Vos, were performed<sup>60</sup>.

In recent years, interdisciplinary studies have contributed to the development of new knowledge. Kamba and Kojima carried out technical studies of the two above-mentioned works of *The Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus and Her Fifteen Mysteries*, *Loyola and Francis Xavier*

58. Noriko Kotani, "Studies in Jesuit Art in Japan" (Ph. D. thesis in Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 2010), 55-60.

59. Naoko Frances Hioki, "The Shape of Conversation: The Aesthetics of Jesuits Folding Screens in Momoyama and Early Tokugawa Japan (1549-1639)" (doctoral dissertation, Faculty of the Graduate Theological Union, 2009); "Visual Bilingualism and Mission Art: A Reconsideration of 'Early Western-Style Painting' in Japan", *Nichibunken Japan review* n.º 23 (2011): 23-44; "Depictions of the Journey to the Heavenly Realm in Early Modern Catholic and Japanese Buddhist Iconography", *Religion and the Arts* Vol: 20 n.º 1/2 (2016): 135-159.

60. Ichirō Watanabe and Jun'ichi Miyata, "Restoration Report: 'Portrait of Christ', by Unknown Painter", *Institute of Painting Technology. Technical Bulletin* n.º 15 (1999-2000): 10-13.

(figures 2 and 3) in order to analyze the relationship between them in terms of materials and pictorial techniques. This study was complemented with Mitsuru Sakamoto's formal and iconographic analysis<sup>61</sup>. Hitomi Asano also conducted technical studies of a plaque of *Madonna of Loreto* (Nakatani collection)<sup>62</sup>, and of a painting of *Our Lady of the Snow* (collection of the Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum) in cooperation with the restorer Eri Takeda<sup>63</sup>. The interdisciplinary perspective is also reflected in the curatorial discourse of exhibitions such as "Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan: Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods", held at the McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College in 2013. The works of *nanban* art –mainly folding screens– have been analyzed, exploring and interrelating Jesuit mission, cartography, trade network, mechanism of production, and interregional artistic exchanges<sup>64</sup>.

In the last two decades, archaeological excavations have been carried out in Nagasaki and Ōita. Several material remains such as medals and rosary beads were found. These devotional objects were studied by Asano, Gotō, and Konno, not only from formal and iconographic points of view, but also from the scientific perspective to identify chemical compositions and elucidate the possible origins of these pieces<sup>65</sup>. The findings of medals with Franciscan iconography (e.g. the stigmatization of St. Francis), as well as the recent discovery of the painting *The Virgin of the Confraternity of the Cord of Saint Francis* (see figure 4) –preserved despite 250 years of Christian prohibition; found by the French missionary priest Bernard Petitjean (1829-1884) among the hidden Christians of the Urakami village of Nagasaki in 1865; brought to France in 1869<sup>66</sup> and returned to the Archdiocese of Nagasaki in 2014– open the possibility for further research on the circulation and production of mendicant art in Asia.

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61. Nobuyuki Kamba et al., "Research on the 'Painting of the Madonna with the Infant Jesus and Her Fifteen Mysteries' Owned by Kyoto University", *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History* n.º 76 (1998): 175-210; and Nobuyuki Kamba and Michihiro Kojima, "Higashi-ke shozō 'Maria jūgo gengizu'", *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History* n.º 93 (2002): 103-140.

62. Hitomi Asano and Eri Takeda, "A Study on a Plaque of *Madonna of Loreto*", *Junshin Journal of Human Studies* n.º 18 (2012): 113-136.

63. Hitomi Asano, Eri Takeda, Hiromi Takebayashi, "Our Lady of the Snow in Twenty-Six Martyrs Museum, Nagasaki: Scientific Examinations and an Analysis of Painting Technique", *Junshin Journal of Grants-in-Aid For Scientific Research* n.º 1 (2012): 1-30.

64. Victoria Weston, ed., *Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan. Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods* (Boston: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2013).

65. Hitomi Asano and Kōichi Gotō, "A Study of 'Contas'", *Junshin Journal of Human Studies* n.º 14 (2008): 115-146; Asano, Hitomi, "Kirishitan jidai no medai zuzō kenkyū", in *Kajima Bijutsu Kenkyū* 26 (Tokyo: The Kajima Foundation for the Arts, 2009), 511-521; and Haruki Konno, "Fukyōki ni okeru medai no kenkyū: 16 seiki kōhan kara 17 seiki zenhan ni kakete", *Busshitsu Bunka. Material Cultures* n.º 82 (2006): 25-68.

66. Sylvie Morishita, "Notre-Dame du Japon: un tableau kirishitan retrouvé à Paris", *Études Franciscaines* Vol. 3 n.º 1 (2010): 125-137.

**Figure 4.** *The Virgin of the Confraternity of the Cord of Saint Francis*



Source: anonymous. Late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Watercolour on paper. 63 x 40 cm. Archdiocese of Nagasaki (Nagasaki, Japan).

## Towards the Inclusion of Spanish America

The inclusion of Spanish America in the Japanese historiography of *nanban* art began to be explored from the 1970s, thanks to progress in the research on *nanban* export lacquer. In 1973 Jō Okada addressed both the relationship between Japan and Spain-Mexico, as well as the link with England and Holland. This serves to contextualize the existence of similar gold-lacquer oratories both in Puerto Rico and the Netherlands<sup>67</sup>. The triptych acquired in Puerto Rico (see figure 5), which today belongs to the Taiheiyo Cement Corporation, in Tokyo, was also noted by Motoo Yoshimura and Tsuyoshi Yamazaki to remark the importance of the circulation of *nanban* lacquer objects in Spanish America<sup>68</sup>.

67. Jō Okada, ed., *Nihon no bijutsu n.º 85. Nanban kōgei* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1973).

68. Motoo Yoshimura, "Nanban bijutsu to kōgei ni tsuite", 8-9; Tsuyoshi Yamazaki, *Umi wo watatta nihon shikki I* (16-17 seiki) (Tokyo: Shibundō, 2001).

**Figure 5.** Triptych with a painting of Franciscan saint, found in Puerto Rico



Source: anonymous. Early 17<sup>th</sup> century. 41.8 x 34 x 4.7 cm. Taiheiyo Cement Corporation (Tokyo, Japan).

With regard to the painting, Mitsuru Sakamoto stated that *Saint Peter* (see figure 6) (oil on canvas, Nanban Culture Museum, Osaka) – preserved in the Kakuōji temple in Funabashi, Chiba during the anti-Christian period, and previously attributed to a Japanese painter by Tei Nishimura due to the lack of naturalism<sup>69</sup> – might have been imported from Spanish America, since it was not a work of the Jesuit school in Japan<sup>70</sup>. Similarly, Sakamoto considered *The Virgin of the Rosary with Four Saints* (see figure 7), oil painting on brass plate, Sendai City Museum, which was brought by Hasekura Tsunenaga to Japan, as a Spanish-colonial work<sup>71</sup>.

Keizō Kanki delved into “Iberian-type” sacred images belonging to Japanese collections at the Symposium on Issues of Kirishitan Art, held at Sophia University in Tokyo in 1986. According to his definition, in particular dealing with *kirishitan* art, the term “Iberian-type” is not limited to the Iberian Peninsula, but also covers the eastern route via Goa, India, as well as the western route via Latin America and the Philippines, that is, all the territories that came under the rule of Spanish and Portuguese empires. This is due to the following five factors: 1) the flourishing of *kirishitan* art corresponds to the epoch of Iberian unification (1580-1640) under the reign of Philip II. Portugal, Spain, and their overseas domains were politically unified. 2) From the pictorial point of view, the Portuguese school of painting was absorbed by the Spanish one. 3) The Catholic Church and the religious orders are international organizations that went beyond national boundaries. For example, the Company

69. Tei Nishimura, *Nanban bijutsu*, 102.

70. Mitsuru Sakamoto et al., *Nanban bijutsu*, 76; Mitsuru Sakamoto et al., “An Essay of Catalogue”, 324-325.

71. Mitsuru Sakamoto et al., “An Essay of Catalogue”, 3-5, 28-29.

of Jesus, founded by Spaniards, arrived in Japan via the Portuguese sea route. 4) After concluding the Council of Trent in 1563, Spain and Portugal immediately declared to accept the agreements of the council. Thus, Spain and Portugal united to support the policy of the Catholic Reformation. 5) The evangelization of Japan began with the arrival of the Jesuits in 1549, and Pope Gregory XIII granted them exclusive control over missions in these lands. However, in 1593 Spanish Franciscan Pedro Bautista arrived in Japan taking the western route by the Philippines. Similarly, the Dominicans and Augustinians joined the Japanese missions in 1602. In that sense, the evangelization of Japan was not a monopoly of the Society of Jesus, but works conducted while coexisting with the mendicants. There were different routes for the dissemination of Western culture and for the traffic of artworks<sup>72</sup>.

**Figure 6.** *Saint Peter*



Source: anonymous. Late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Oil on canvas.  
119 x 69 cm. Nanban Culture Museum (Osaka, Japan).

72. Keizō Kanki, “Iberia-kei seiga no kokunai ihin ni tsuite”, in *Symposium: Kirishitan bijutsu wo meguru shomondai* (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1987), 16-26.

**Figure 7.** *The Virgin of the Rosary with Four Saints*

Source: anonymous. Early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Oil painting on brass plate.  
30.2 x 24.2 cm. Sendai City Museum (Sendai, Japan).

In the Western historiography, Gauvin Alexander Bailey questioned the traditional tendency to address the impact of the late Renaissance and Baroque by limiting geographical ranges to Europe and Latin America. In his research on the Jesuits' global enterprise in Europe, Asia, and the Americas, he explained the connections and the diffusion of the same devotional images (e.g. the icon of the Virgin in Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome) and European artistic traditions in different parts of the world, as shown by the arrival of Italian Jesuit painters (e.g. Giovanni Nicolao in Japan, Bernardo Bitti in Peru) in order to produce religious images and teach Western techniques. Similarly, the worldwide circulation of works by Marten de Vos and his impact in Asian and Latin American art are another example of the globalisation of Catholic art<sup>73</sup>. In short, *nanban* art –which implied cultural adaptation and assimilation, as well as artistic hybridization– was regarded as part of cross-cultural phenomena and global issues of the early modern era.

73. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Buffalo; London; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); John W. O'Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, eds., *The Jesuits and the Arts 1540-1773* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2005).



Alexandra Curvelo interpreted the concept of *nanban* as a synonym of “exotic” based on the idea of Impey and Jörg, who argued that *nanban* export lacquer was characterized by its “exotic” shape that integrated different Asian traditions. This definition is also applicable to the *nanban* screens depicting Portuguese black ships and *nanban-jin*, since these works aimed to satisfy the curiosity of local affluent patrons. Curvelo focused on artistic circulation between Japan, China, and New Spain. Her contribution lies in regarding Japan and Macau as the “centre of Iberian world” or the “confluence point between West and East”<sup>74</sup>. In particular, she argued the importance of Macau in the dynamics of the artistic exchange between Europe, Asia and the Americas. That is, after the expulsion of missionaries from Japan in 1614, the activity of the Jesuit seminary continued in Macau. This Portuguese trading city became “a turntable between inland China, Japan, India, Insulindia, Europe, the Philippines and the New-Spain”. To exemplify her argument, Curvelo referred to *nanban* lacquered oratories with Spanish American images. Especially, she emphasized the circulation and demand for Mexican featherworks in China, pointing out material and documentary evidence, such as *Saint Hieronymus* (Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna), and *The Martyrdom of Saint Stephen* (Tokyo National Museum), in addition to the letters of the Jesuit missionaries in China requesting feather pieces. Moreover, Curvelo noted a rapid circulation of European figurative models and their copies in Japan, China, and Latin America, referring, for example, to *Saint Michael the Archangel*, engraved by Hieronymus Wierix after a design by Marten de Vos. Considering its immediate influence on the painters trained at the Jesuit school in Nagasaki and Macau, the author postulated a possible route for the diffusion of European models in Spanish America via Macau<sup>75</sup>.

Similarly, Alberto Baena Zapatero studies networks for the traffic in artworks, focusing particularly on the circulation of Chinese and Japanese folding screens. This author rethinks the concepts of “center” and “periphery” in the trans-Pacific trade route, since the center was not Europe but New Spain, which controlled the Manila galleon through the Consulate of Mexico<sup>76</sup>. Several authors have been interested in the study of the wide circulation of Asian screens, as well as in the production of viceregal pieces which responded to the needs of emerging creoles<sup>77</sup>. How did they

74. Alexandra Curvelo, “Nanban folding screens: Between knowledge and power”, in *Empires éloignées: L'Europe et le Japon (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, dirs. Dejanirah Couto and François Lachaud (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2010), 206.

75. Alexandra Curvelo, “Nuvens Douradas e Paisagens Habitadas. A Arte Namban e a sua circulação entre a Ásia e a América: Japão, China e Nova-Espanha (ca. 1550-ca. 1700)” (Ph. D. thesis in History of Art, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2007), <https://run.unl.pt/handle/10362/20034>; “The Artistic Circulation Between Japan, China and the New-Spain in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> Centuries”, *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* n.º 16 (2008): 59-69, <http://www.redalyc.org:9081/articulo.oa?id=36112468004>.

76. Alberto Baena Zapatero, “Un ejemplo de mundialización: El movimiento de biombos desde el Pacífico hasta el Atlántico (s. XVII-XVIII)”, *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* Vol: 69 n.º 1 (2012): 31-62.

77. Alberto Baena Zapatero, “Intercambios culturales y globalización a través del galeón de Manila: comercio y producción de biombos (s. XVII y XVIII)”, in *La nao de China: navegación, intercambios y cultura entre Oriente y Occidente*, coord. Salvador Bernabéu Albert (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2013), 213-245.

use them as a symbol of power by adapting and transforming objects from Asia? To what extent did Japanese screens influence existing Mexican works? How did these colonial screens acquire their own artistic identity? These issues were clarified by Gustavo Curiel and Sofia Sanabrais, who have carried out exhaustive documentary research, as well as formal and iconographic studies<sup>78</sup>. Similarly, Sonia I. Ocaña Ruiz stated the impact of Japanese *nanban* lacquerware on Mexican colonial works with shell inlay (*enconchados*). She also clarified how the hybridization of forms responded to the tastes and needs of the society in New Spain.<sup>79</sup> The antiquary and art collector Rodrigo Rivero Lake included Mexican colonial works produced under the influence of Japanese art within the concept of “*nanban* art”. He also brings to light new works belonging to private collections. For example, an ivory triptych representing biblical scenes is of great interest, since according to the author, this piece has the emblem of a *shogun* family Matsudaira at the back<sup>80</sup>.

The 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Hasekura's diplomatic mission in 2013-2014 promoted the study of the relationship between Japan and Spanish overseas territories. Kazuhiro Sasaki surveyed the origins of the objects brought by Hasekura to Japan (collection of the Sendai City Museum) based on archaeological methods. He identified two swords as Sri Lankan *kastane*, which is decorated with ivory inlaid with silver, and Indonesian *kris* with the Augustinian emblem. The former was probably acquired by the Spanish crown through Portugal, while the latter must have been presented to the Spanish monarchy by the Augustinian Order<sup>81</sup>. Similarly, according to Masako Yoshida, the chasuble that was brought by Hasekura to Japan has vegetal motifs similar to those adorning the chasuble belonging to the Igreja de São Pedro in Faro, Portugal. But the technique of embroidery, and the style of depicting cherubs are Chinese. In other words, this was a Chinese export chasuble<sup>82</sup>. These studies question the traditional way of considering Hasekura's articles as products from Europe or Spanish overseas colonies, and show a complex network of material exchanges.

Celebrating the same commemoration of Hasekura's delegation, the exhibition “Laca Namban. Huella de Japón en España” was also held at the Museo Nacional de Artes Decorativas in Madrid. Its curatorial discourse highlights the artistic exchanges between Japan and Spain

78. Gustavo Curiel, “Los biombos novohispanos: escenografías de poder y transculturación en el ámbito doméstico”, in *Viento detenido. Mitologías e historias en el arte del biombo*, eds. Gustavo Curiel and Benito Navarrete Prieto (Ciudad de México: Museo de Soumaya, 1999), 9-32; Sofia Sanabrais, “From Byōbu to Biombo: The Transformation of the Japanese Folding Screen in Colonial Mexico”, *Art History. Journal of the Association of Art Historians* Vol. 38 n.º 4 (2015): 778-791.

79. Sonia I. Ocaña Ruiz, “Marcos ‘enconchados’: autonomía y apropiación de formas japonesas en la pintura novohispana”, *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* Vol. 30 n.º 92 (2008): 107-153.

80. Rodrigo Rivero Lake, *El arte namban en el México virreinal* (Ciudad de México: Turner, 2005), 180-181.

81. Kazuhiro Sasaki, *Archaeological Study on the Keichō-era Mission to Europe (1613-1620)* (Tokyo: Rokuichi Shobō, 2013).

82. Masako Yoshida, “Nihon ni hakusai saretā Oshū yushutsu yo no Chūgokusei senshokuhin”, *The Zinbun Gakuhō: Journal of Humanities* n.º 102 (2012): 5-6.

through New Spain<sup>83</sup>. As noted by Yayoi Kawamura, in the case of Spain, *nanban* lacquer pieces with a Baroque silverwork (e.g. the baul belonging to the church of Vilanova de Lourenzana in Lugo, Galicia) are preserved unlike Portuguese lacquer collections. This suggests that these silverwork pieces were probably added in Central America, which abounded with that metal. This fact confirms once again the importance of the trans-Pacific trade route. She also explores the global implications of *nanban* art by exemplifying its influences on Mexican colonial lacquer, screens and *enconchados*, and also analyzes the impact of Japanese motifs and frames in Pasto varnish in Colombia<sup>84</sup>. In summary, the current historiography of *nanban* art tends to address the phenomenon from multiple perspectives. There is an increasing recognition of Spanish America as one of the geographical regions that were connected with *nanban* art in one way or another.

## Impact of Nanban Art in the Mexican Colonial Mural Painting

To exemplify the influence of *nanban* art in Spanish America, we focus on the mural cycle *The great martyrdom of Japan in 1597*, located on the side walls of the nave of the former Franciscan temple (now cathedral) in Cuernavaca, State of Morelos, Mexico. The discovery of this mural cycle in 1957 radically changed understanding of the influence of *nanban* art in New Spain. This interesting finding occurred in the process of a restructuring and restoration project, which sought to recover the original appearance of the early church<sup>85</sup>. Bishop Sergio Méndez Arceo ordered first to remove the Neoclassical high altar and collateral altarpieces, which were built in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, and then to eliminate several superimposed stucco layers on the original flattened walls of the nave. Thus, fragments of murals depicting the prison and martyrdom of Saint Philip of Jesus and his companions were uncovered<sup>86</sup>.

83. Yayoi Kawamura, dir., *Laca Namban. Huella de Japón en España. IV Centenario de la Embajada Keichō* (Madrid: Fundación Japón, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2013).

84. Yayoi Kawamura, "Asia as seen by", 19-39; "Encuentro multicultural en el arte de barniz de Pasto o la laca del Virreinato del Perú", *Historia y Sociedad* n.º 35 (2018): 87-112.

85. Lauro López Beltrán, *Felipe de Jesús, primer santo de América, cuarto centenario de su natalicio, 1572-1972* (Ciudad de México: Tradición, 1972), 21; María Elena Ota Mishima, "Un mural novohispano en la catedral de Cuernavaca: los veintiséis mártires de Nagasaki", *Estudios de Asia y África* Vol: 16 n.º 4 (1981): 687, <http://estudiosdeasiayafrika.colmex.mx/index.php/eea/article/view/704/704>. (Consulted 6/07/2018).

86. "Report on reconstructions of the Cuernavaca Cathedral by Francisco G. Colores A., engineer of the Department of Architecture of the General Directorate of Urbanism, Engineering and Architecture, on Dec. 21, 1960" (21 December, 1960), in Archivo Geográfico de la Coordinación Nacional de Monumentos Históricos del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (AGCNMH, Ciudad de Mexico, Mexico), Catedral de Cuernavaca, Morelos. (San Francisco), s.f.; José Gorbea Trueba, "Los frescos de la catedral de Cuernavaca, Morelos", *Boletín del INAH* n.º 4 (1961): 5; Laura María Cárdenas Argudín, "Estudio histórico-artístico de los edificios del siglo XVI en el conjunto de la catedral de Cuernavaca" (bachelor thesis in Art History, Universidad Iberoamericana, 1978), 23.

These murals are composed in order to be seen from the main chapel towards the nave. The narrative scenes are developed chronologically from the south wall to the north one, taking the *Historia de las islas del archipiélago filipino y reinos de la gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japón* (1601) by the Franciscan Marcelo de Ribadeneira as its main literary source. The south wall is divided into large squares depicting public humiliations: the prisoners, in groups of four, are pilloried in oxcarts through the city of Kyoto (see figure 8), instead of “three for each cart” as Ribadeneira describes<sup>87</sup>; and then follows a scene where they are forced to march by means of horse carts through the main streets of Osaka and Sakai<sup>88</sup>; the north wall has no separation between scenes showing uninterruptedly the boats heading to Nagasaki (see figura 9), the Portuguese receiving them at the port, and finally culminating in a scene of martyrdom on a hill (see figure 10)<sup>89</sup>.

**Figure 8.** Public humiliations of the 26 martyrs



Source: south wall, detail of the mural painting *The great martyrdom of Japan in 1597*.  
Anonymous. Early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Cuernavaca Cathedral (Morelos, Mexico).

87. Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas del archipiélago filipino y reinos de la gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japón*, ed. Juan R. de Legisima, 1601 (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1947), 450-451.

88. Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas*, 458, 460-461.

89. Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas*, 473, 480-481.

**Figure 9.** *The 26 martyrs moving to Nagasaki by boat and the Port of Nagasaki*



Source: north wall, detail of the mural painting *The great martyrdom of Japan in 1597*.  
Anonymous. Early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Cuernavaca Cathedral (Morelos, Mexico).

**Figure 10.** *Great martyrdom in Nagasaki*



Source: north wall, detail of the mural painting *The great martyrdom of Japan in 1597*.  
Anonymous. Early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Cuernavaca Cathedral (Morelos, Mexico).

Why was such mural cycle painted on the walls of the former Franciscan church in Cuernavaca? Different reasons have been pointed out. On one hand, the news about the protomartyrs in Nagasaki must have been received with great fervor, in particular in the above-mentioned convent, which is located between Mexico City and Acapulco, namely, a crossing to go to Asia<sup>90</sup>. On the other hand, the creation of this mural has been associated with the coming of Hasekura's embassy to New Spain in 1614, the beatification of the protomartyrs by Pope Urban VIII in 1627, the arrival of the relics of Philip of Jesus in Mexico in 1629<sup>91</sup>, and the martyrdoms of other Mexican missionaries Bartolomé Laurel (1627) and Bartolomé Gutiérrez (1632) in Nagasaki. These events had a great impact on the Church of New Spain<sup>92</sup>.

From the outset, the mural paintings of Cuernavaca have been regarded as an exceptional example of Mexican viceregal art from a compositional point of view, as well as in some details of the figures, such as the realism of the Japanese male costumes. The historiographical dispute has focused on whether a Japanese painter collaborated or not. Luis Islas García infers that these works were probably carried out by a Japanese Catholic painter who arrived in New Spain in cooperation with indigenous painters. Therefore, there is a compositional similarity to Japanese folding screens<sup>93</sup>. Masayoshi Honma also argues that there are some traces of a Japanese hand in the murals. In fact, the pictorial narrative about the history of martyrdom is developed in the manner of *emakimono*, Japanese horizontal picture scrolls. This historian supposes a possible collaboration of some Japanese who came to Mexico in 1614 as members of the diplomatic mission of Hasekura Tsunenaga<sup>94</sup>.

Instead, Father Pacheco (Yūki), Ota Mishima, and Fontana Calvo question the participation of an Asian painter in the execution of the murals. Even though the painting on the north wall resembles a giant screen without architectural frames dividing scenes, the details such as houses, carts, and spears are not in accordance with the Japanese historical context<sup>95</sup>. According to Pacheco, these works might have been executed by native painters who probably saw Hasekura's embassy passing by. This delegation consisted only of men. Local painters could directly observe Japanese masculine costumes, but they had to rely upon their imagination to depict female garments. Perhaps for this reason masculine clothing coincides with the *kimono* worn at that time, while female clothing is completely different<sup>96</sup>.

90. Luis Islas García, *Los murales de la catedral de Cuernavaca: afrente de México y Oriente* (Ciudad de México: Talleres de la imprenta "La Esfera", 1967), 59.

91. Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero, "Los protomártires del Japón en la hagiografía novohispana", in *Los pinceles de la historia. De la patria criolla a la nación mexicana, 1750-1860*, ed. Jaime Soler (Ciudad de México: Museo Nacional de Arte, 2000), 80.

92. Luis Islas García, *Los murales de la catedral*, 60, 70-71.

93. Luis Islas García, *Los murales de la cathedral*, 69-70.

94. Masayuki Honma, "Umi wo watatta Nagasaki junkyō-no-zu: Chūsei ni okeru Nihon to Mekishiko no kōryū nitsuite", *Sansai* n.º 183 (1965): 10-24.

95. María Elena Ota Mishima, "Un mural novohispano", 692-694; María Celia Fontana Calvo, *Las pinturas murales del antiguo convento franciscano de Cuernavaca* (Morelos: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos, 2010), 133.

96. Diego Pacheco, cited by María Elena Ota Mishima, "Un mural novohispano", 692.

Actually, the murals do not depict correctly the Japanese context of the time. Houses are represented with stone or adobe. Moreover, the city of Nagasaki did not have a fortress —unlike other Iberian colonial cities in Asia such as Goa, Manila, and Malacca—, although it was founded by the Jesuits to be a port of exchange with Portugal. This lack of historical contextualization suggests, on the one hand, that the authors of the murals were not Japanese, but native painters; and on the other hand, that reliable information about Japan that circulated in New Spain was limited. Concerning this latter point, in preceding studies the murals in question have been interpreted on the basis of the chronicle by Ribadeneira, without taking into account the records of the martyrdom written by the Portuguese Jesuit Luís Fróis<sup>97</sup>. This academic position is justified by the publication and widespread dissemination of the text by Ribadeneira in the territories of the Spanish empire. However, from the point of view of testimonial value, Ribadeneira's records are considered less trustworthy than those of Fróis. In other words, although both chroniclers were in Nagasaki on the day of martyrdom, Ribadeneira was forbidden to go out, and had to stay inside a Portuguese ship. Furthermore, this Franciscan author had neither previous knowledge of Japanese language nor of the local society, unlike Fróis, who participated in the missionary works in Japan for over two decades and conducted research on various aspects of the country to write his *Historia de Iapam*. Hence, there were several limiting factors for Ribadeneira to accurately describe the Japanese environment, and the details of what happened<sup>98</sup>. This inaccuracy is reflected to a certain degree in the visual imaginaries embodied in the murals of Cuernavaca.

Concerning their figurative models, Estrada de Gerlero states that a possible visual source of these works are the canvases depicting the martyrdom, which were painted for a procession organized by Antonio de la Madre de Dios (preacher from the convent of Saint Francis in Goa, who came to visit China) in Macau at the end of 1597 in honor of the martyrs. Some Jesuits, Augustinians, and Dominicans also attended this commemoration. These paintings were reproduced and sent to New Spain and Spain; and then, Ribadeneira ordered to print them in Rome<sup>99</sup>. Considering a widespread circulation of the above-mentioned images, Estrada de Gerlero supposes that copies of these canvases must have been brought to New Spain by Ribadeneira, who was appointed as procurator of the cause for canonization of the martyrs of the Province of Saint Gregory of the Philippines<sup>100</sup>.

Fontana Calvo compares details of the murals of Cuernavaca with the two following paintings: 1) *Nanban screen* depicting the arrival of Portuguese ship (ca. 1593-1600), attributed to Kanō Dōmi, and now belonging to the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon; 2) *The great*

97. Luís Fróis, S.J., "Relación del martirio de los 26 cristianos crucificados en Nangasaqui, el 5 de febrero de 1597" (5 February, 1597), in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (ARSI, Rome, Italy), *The Japonica-Sinica* (Jap. Sin.) 53, ff. 1-71.

98. Diego Pacheco (Yūki Ryōgo), "Nihon nijūroku sei junkyōsha no tabiji ni kansuru oboegaki", traduction by Jūjirō Iwaya, in *Kirishitan Kenkyū* 8, ed. Kirishitan Bunka Kenkyukai (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1962), 41-42.

99. Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas*, 505-506.

100. Elena Isabel Estrada de Gerlero, "Los protomártires del Japón", 73, 80-82.



*martyrdom of Japan of 1622*, painted probably by a Japanese Catholic author who had been trained in the Jesuit *schola pictorum* in Nagasaki, and fled to Macau. This work is now owned by the Church of the Gesù, Rome. The rias coastline of Nagasaki represented in the latter work shows topographical features similar to those in the scene of the arrival of the martyrs at the port of Nagasaki in the murals<sup>101</sup>. Tomoko Taniguchi also associates the representation of the martyrdom of Cuernavaca with the above-mentioned Jesuit school of painting<sup>102</sup>.

From a compositional point of view, this mural cycle was actually produced using different figurative sources from East Asia. In particular, it has a strong influence of *nanban* art in different aspects. First, the compositional solution of the north wall, without dividing scenes, is similar to that of Japanese pictorial art, although the narrative sequence of the murals of Cuernavaca develops from left to right, in the opposite direction to the reading order of Japanese narrative painting. This implies a compositional adaptation to the Western manner. Second, the type of boats used by the martyrs to move to Nagasaki show remarkable similarities with the boats used by the Iberians to reach the dock<sup>103</sup>, as well as the way of dressing of the Portuguese who came to meet them at the port –they are depicted wearing baggy trousers (*bombachas*), shirt, vest, and tall hats– and the Portuguese merchants represented in the *nanban* screens by the masters of the Kanō school.

The influence of *nanban* screens on the murals of Cuernavaca is due to two main reasons: 1) the circulation of Japanese artworks in New Spain; 2) the close ties between the missionaries and the painters of the Kanō school in Japan. Regarding the first issue, several sources testify to the traffic of a large number of Japanese objects in the Americas. Particularly, since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the relationship between Japan and New Spain became closer as a result of the undertaking of the missionary work of the mendicants in the Japanese archipelago; the arrival of Rodrigo de Vivero in Japan after a shipwreck in 1609, and his audience with the Tokugawa Shogunate; and the diplomatic mission of Hasekura Tsunenaga. According to a Japanese source entitled *Date jike kiroku* 伊達治家記録 (*Records of the Date clan*), more than a hundred commercial products were loaded into the ship in which Hasekura and his entourage journeyed; likewise, other objects and folding screens that had been commissioned by the *shogun* Tokugawa Ieyasu were transported as gifts for dignitaries<sup>104</sup>. Similarly, Mexican indigenous chronicler Domingo

101. María Celia Fontana Calvo, *Las pinturas murales*, 119, 132-133.

102. Tomoko Taniguchi, “Nagasaki Nishizaka no koto”, *Kyōsei no bunka kenkyū* n.º 2 (2009): 114-120, <http://db.csri.fur.ac.jp/journal/2-114.pdf>. (Consulted 5/07/2018).

103. The boats depicted in the mural of Cuernavaca are particularly similar to those represented in the *nanban* screen by Kanō Sanraku, belonging to the Suntory Museum of Art in Tokyo. See the following link <https://www.suntory.co.jp/sma/collection/gallery/detail?id=524>. (Consulted 5/07/2018).

104. “船中ニ商売荷物数百箇積メリ、此時、数年、本朝ニ逗留セシ楚天呂モ帰国ス、公方ヨリ御具御屏風等、御進物トシテ彼国へ遣サルト云云,” cited by Takashi Gono, *Hasekura Tsunenaga* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 2003), 55.

Chimalpahin stated that they brought many iron objects, desks and some clothes to sell in Mexico. Spanish explorer Sebastián Vizcaíno, who came back on the same ship, was in charge of guarding all the presents that the “Emperor of Japan” (Tokugawa) gave to the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Viceroy of New Spain<sup>105</sup>. According to the letter sent by Vizcaíno, “five boxes of screens” arrived in 1614 among the gifts of the *shogun* Ieyasu to the viceroy Velasco<sup>106</sup>. Thanks to these sources we know that the gifts brought by Hasekura included luxury items and screens. It is also worth noting that the arrival of these objects coincides with the time when most of the *nanban* screens (today 91 pieces identified around the world) were produced, between 1587 and 1613<sup>107</sup>.

With regard to the second issue: the relationship between the missionaries and the painters of the Kanō school; according to the missionary documents, a master of the Kanō school, called “Cano Pedro” or “Guensuke Pedro” 源助ペドロ, was the trustee of the Franciscan Order in Kyoto in the time of Father Jerónimo de Jesús, and was, along with three other fellow painters of the same city, very close to friars. Cano was “the leader of those painters”<sup>108</sup>. Therefore, the group of local painters headed by Cano Pedro might have produced Catholic images to supply the demand of the Franciscan community in Japan. Moreover, all this information was provided in a statement made by Cano himself before the Bishop Luís Cerqueira in Nagasaki on March 6, 1603, before Cano embarked for Luzon at the approximate age of 40. However, it is difficult to prove whether he actually went to the Philippines, since the signature of Kanō Gensuke Pedro 狩野源助平渡路 appears in a petition for sanctification in honor of the 26 martyrs, signed by twelve Catholic representatives of the Kyoto-Osaka region on December 25 of the same year<sup>109</sup>.

We know through historical documentation that this master had several names: as a Christian painter he signed Pedro Cano ペドロ狩野 or Cano Gensuke Pedro 狩野源助ペドロ or Kiya Dōmi Pedro 木屋道味平渡路, while as a genre painter he was known as Tosa Dōmi 土佐道味 or Kanō Dōmi 狩野道味. Noteworthy is that among works attributed to this painter there is the portrait of *Saint Francis Xavier* (figure 1)<sup>110</sup>, which was produced in the

105. Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF, Paris, France), Mexican manuscript 220, published in Domingo Chimalpahin, *Diario*, paleography and tr. Rafael Tena (Ciudad de México: Conaculta, 2001), 365.

106. “Copia de carta de Sebastián Vizcaíno al marqués de Salinas de 20 de mayo de 1614 sobre altercado con fray Luis Sotelo” (20 May, 1614), in Archivo General de Indias (AGI, Seville, Spain), Filipinas, 1, n.º 151, 4, f.1., cited by Alberto Baena Zapatero, “Intercambios culturales”, 218.

107. Katsushi Narusawa, “Kinsei shoki fūzokuga toshitenō nanban byōbu: sono tanjō kara henbō made”, in *Nanban byōbu*, coord. Mitsuru Sakamoto, 304.

108. “Declaratio et ordinatio episcopi, Cano, Japo” (3 March 1603, Nagasaki), in ARSI, Jap. Sin. 20 I, ff. 163-163v; “Do Bispo de Japao de 27 de fev de 603 [1603] de Nangasaqui”, in Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia (BRAH, Madrid, Spain), Cortes, 9/2665, f. 369.

109. Hubert Cieslik, “Pedro Kanō jiken no shiryō”, in *Kirishitan Kenkyū* 14, ed. Kirishitan Bunka Kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1972), 288.

110. See the following link of the Kobe City Museum: [http://www.city.kobe.lg.jp/culture/culture/institution/museum/meihin\\_new/402.html](http://www.city.kobe.lg.jp/culture/culture/institution/museum/meihin_new/402.html). (Consulted 5/07/2018).

Jesuit *schola pictorum* using as figurative source the engraving by Hieronymus Wierx<sup>111</sup>. If this attribution is true, the following hypothesis arises: Cano Pedro, who learned Catholic art in the Jesuit seminary, probably also contributed to the production of Franciscan painting in Japan. Similarly, other work attributed to the same author is the *nanban* screen (ca. 1593-1600) housed today in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon. It is suggestive that Fontana Calvo found an analogy between Portuguese entourages depicted in this screen and those of the mural painting of Cuernavaca<sup>112</sup>. Undoubtedly, Cano Pedro is a key influential person in the artistic exchanges between Japan, Europe and the Americas. A task for the future is to delve more deeply into the relationship between the missionaries (both the Jesuits and the mendicant friars) and the painters of the Kanō school, as well as into the degree of impact of the Jesuit *schola pictorum* on both sides of the Pacific Ocean.

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