2 The Circulation of Lay Sources on Japan in the Sixteenth Century

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2.1 The Portuguese Encounter with Japan: Portuguese First-Hand Merchant Reports and Lay Histories and Their Circulation

In the years that intervened between their defeat from the Chinese fleets and their settlement in Macao, individual Portuguese seamen were still able to keep exploring the Asian Seas. Some of them, moreover, managed to build themselves a niche in the private trade that, in spite of the bans, was being carried on in the Chinese Southern provinces – so that, by the time they finally managed to build a settlement in Macao, they had already been able to develop a close network of contacts with local Chinese and Japanese pirates. Given the thriving maritime commercial scenario of the China Seas, described in the previous chapter, Portuguese traders had, surely, also been collecting a growing amount of information about Japan, at least since the establishment of their outpost in Malacca. This kind of first-hand knowledge, however, hardly emerges from the published sources of the time, which include only a number of scattered and fragmentary references to the archipelago.

I have already mentioned Tomé Pires, a Portuguese apothecary at the service of prince Alfonso in Lisbon, who had travelled first to India and then, in 1511, to Malacca as a 'factor of the drugs'. Sometime before 1515, probably during his stay in India, and before his departure for the mission to China that would lead him to his death, Pires composed the *Suma Oriental que trata do Mar Roxo até aos Chins*, meant as an official report to King Manuel about the commercial possibilities offered by the newly

encountered territories.[1] The work was structured as an all-comprehensive work – systematically describing all of the sea-facing countries between the Red Sea and the Great China Seas area, and, upon completion, appeared as the earliest extensive narrative about the East Indies to ever be composed by a Portuguese. The *Suma Oriental* included a brief reference to Japan, mentioned in the variation "Jampon", presumably based on Malay or on some Chinese coastal dialect (Lach 1965, 652), with an added brief description, that Pires possibly derived from local traders, or from the "Gores" that regularly traded with the area. "Jampon" is compared with the "Liu Kiu" (or "Lequeos" – i.e., Ryūkyū) islands, and said to be larger and more powerful, but not devoted to trade – even with China, of which it is stated to be vassal – because of a lack of necessary ship-building technology. According to the description by Pires, the "Luçoes" actively purchased gold and copper directly by Japan, in exchange for their local products (cloth, fishnets, but also foodstuff, wax and honey) (Cortesão 1944, 131).

The fact that the thriving maritime Japanese activities in the China Seas were apparently not known to Pires was maybe due to the fact that merchants from the Ryūkyū Islands and Japan – the "Gores" mentioned by Pires, with whom the Portuguese had dealt ever since their arrival in Malacca – as well as Chinese coastal merchants, had purposefully misdirected their European competitors, so as to protect their trade.[2] What is striking is, however, that in spite of the growingly strong position of the Portuguese in the China Seas, mentions of Japan are conspicuously absent from all Portuguese reports composed in the first half of the sixteenth century, aside for the reference in Pires' work.

Oliveira e Costa (2007, 44) argues that, at this point in history, very little was probably known about the archipelago even in India and eastern Asia – actually adhering, in this assumption, to Pires' own representation of Japan as basically isolated, and eclipsed from the eyes of the outside world by the Ryūkyū islands, which presumably functioned as a commer-

1 An annotated modern English translation of the *Suma Oriental* has been realized by Armando Cortesão, on the base of a codex he found in Paris in 1937 (a manuscript copy of the original one composed by Pires). The work was published, in two volumes, by the Haykluyt Society, also including the "Book" by Francisco Rodriguez, a Portuguese pilot who left a number of nautical maps and annotations, as well as panoramic drawings, that were originally incorporated in the codex. The work appears in the final bibliography as Cortesão 1944.

2 And, probably, this misdirection had some part in the Portuguese temporary dismissal of Japan as a possible commercial partner, which prevented them from venturing towards the archipelago before the fortuitous landing in Tanegashima. More simply, though, the Portuguese might have refrained from pursuing the route to the archipelago because it would have been an hazard for them to venture there without a solid expectation of profit – as not only, as seen before, their resources were limited (both in terms of finances and manpower) but their position in the China Seas was not as secure as in the Indian Ocean (Massarella 1990, 23).

cial intermediary for the archipelago. Given the context provided by the greater China Seas region, however, this is improbable, also considering that it is known that notice of the archipelago had actually reached Western Asia as early as in the ninth century A.D., brought back from the Kingdom of Silla by Persian merchants.[3] The lack of references to Japan in European literature before the mid-sixteenth century can be more easily explained as a side-effect of the more general political stance of the Portuguese crown toward the territories belonging to its alleged sphere of influence. In other words, the lack of knowledge filtered into works divulged in Europe was probably the result of a deliberate policy of control on information from the part of Portuguese authorities. The Papal Bulls issued in the second half of the fifteenth century, aimed at sanctioning the Portuguese rights in Africa and Asia, echo Portugal's monopolistic aspirations. It is likely that such a stance would also translate in the attempt to prevent information about the new Asian commercial routes from leaking in the hands of Spanish merchants and of other European commercial competitors.[4]

The effects of this policy on the editorial world are evident: in spite of the impact of the Portuguese expansion in terms of the integration of Europe into a wider market,[5] a comparatively small amount of new publications about Japan (and Asia in general) was issued in Europe, before the 1550s. To quote Lach,

> It is hard to believe that chance alone is sufficient to account for the fact that not a single work on the new discoveries in Asia is known to have been published in Portugal between 1500 and mid-century. […] Treatises on Portugal's military and political establishments in the East were left unpublished, many of them not being printed until recent times. It seems highly likely that the chroniclers feared or were forbidden to include information in their account which was classifies as a state secret. (Lach 1965, 153)

3 The merchants might have heard about the archipelago while on the Korean peninsula, or even have crossed the sea and personally reached it. The information they reported, still extremely vague and often erroneous, was the source for the Persian writer Ibn Khurdadhbih, who wrote of the archipelago in his *Kitāb al-Masālik w'al- Mamālik* (Book of Roads and Provinces), composed between 844 and 886. He named it Wakwak, a rendition of *wa-koku* (another Chinese name for the archipelago), and described it, much as in later representations, as a land rich in gold (Massarella 1990, 10).

4 Starting with King Manuel who, on November 13, 1504, ordered by decree that complete secrecy was to be maintained over the oceanic navigations, under penance of death For a more complete overview of the measures taken by the Portuguese Crown to ensure secrecy, see Lach (1965, 151-4).

5 The economic effects on Europe of the intercourse with Asia in the sixteenth century have been analyzed at length by O'Rourke and Williamson (2002, 2009).

The *Suma Oriental* itself had a very tortuous editorial history. Likely, Pires sent it back to Europe by the end of the 1510s, before leaving Cochin for China, but it was not until 1550, when Giovanni Battista Ramusio included a (incomplete) translation of the work in the first edition of his *Navigationi et Viaggi*, that the content of the book was finally put to print.[6]

This policy did not undergo any significant change, even after the first recorded landing of Portuguese natives in Japan. In 1543, a Chinese junk carrying three Portuguese merchants shipwrecked on the island of Tanegashima, in south-eastern Kyūshū. The Europeans on board seemingly made a strong impression on the local population of Tanegashima, and during the time necessary for the repair of the ship, they were not only able to participate in the lucrative commercial exchange engaged by its crew with the local population – where most of the junk's cargo was sold at a highly profitable price – but were also received in the residence of the local lord Tanegashima Tokitaka, in Akōgi. The encounter at Tanegashima held some unprecedented consequences for Japan. The lord of the island, upon receiving the three Portuguese, showed interest in the muskets they were carrying with them and, after a demonstration of their use, agreed to purchase one, or possibly two of them, for a considerable sum – so as to be able to reproduce and use them in his ongoing battle with the Nejime lord for control on Yakushima Island. The weapon, which was to be named *tanegashima teppō* (or *tanegashima* or *teppō*) became a key factor in the wars that divided the *daimyō* (feudal lords) of Japan, giving a significant advantage to all the domains (starting with Satsuma, to which Tanegashima was tributary) that were able to afford its production) (Lidin 2002, 3).[7] European merchants were promptly roused to interest by this new possibility for gain, and word of their discoveries quickly spread among other Portuguese, so that, even before the end of the 1540s, many travellers had followed on their wake.

Among them was, notably, Fernão Mendez Pinto, a Portuguese of lowly origins who, in search for fortune, had reached India in 1537, and made a living out various activities, ranging from soldier, to merchant, to missionary, amassing quite a fortune. Pinto stayed in Asia until 1558, and, in the intervening years travelled four times to Japan, the last time in official

6 Ramusio's work, however, did not include the name of the author, which in part explains why the *Suma Oriental* has remained quite obscure until fairly recent times. For a discussion of the editorial history of the *Suma Oriental*, see the introduction to Cortesão 1944.

7 In a context of thriving cultural and commercial exchanges, Portuguese merchants almost surely had, even before the 1540s, come in contact with Japanese natives – and it is not unthinkable that some of them might have reached Japan even before 1543. There is, however, no record of any such enterprise. Unrecorded direct contacts may have occurred on the archipelago, but the encounter at Tanegashima could as easily have been the actual first European landing in Japan (Massarella 1990, 23).

capacity – as ambassador for the viceroy, in charge with the task of establishing diplomatic relationships between the *Estado da India* and Japan. Pinto also entertained close relationships with the Society of Jesus and helped their cause, after befriending Xavier on his third trip to Japan (in 1551) and lending him the money for the construction of the first Christian church to be built there. This put him in a peculiar position compared to other Portuguese travellers stationed in the Indies in his time. After that moment, his activities became closely entangled with those of the Society of Jesus. He actually joined the order in 1554, and provided for the above mentioned evangelical and diplomatic mission to Japan to which he, himself, took part. Before returning to Europe, however, he willingly left the Society, for reasons not completely clear, and, in his later writings, his stance towards the Jesuits actually appears to be quite critical. As Catz (1990, XV) observes, he, in opposition, represents the pagans (and in particular the Chinese), as a sort of utopian society, governed by the laws of God in spite of having never heard of Christ.[8]

Pinto would use the first-hand knowledge collected during his travels for his renown account, the *Peregrinação*, one of the richest sources on Asia produced by the mid-sixteenth century.[9] In light of his first-hand experience with Japan, his work conveys a richer image of the archipelago than the one delivered in Pires' work. All of his four journeys are included in the narrative (as well as a brief description of the Ryūkyū islands). Pinto relates about the first encounter of the Portuguese with the Japanese in Tanegashima, about the events that piqued Xavier's interest toward the archipelago, and about the first phases of the Christian mission there. He accounts for the religious disputation between Francis Xavier and the Japanese Buddhist Priest in Bungo, and also relates about the diplomatic mission to the same court of Bungo, a few years later.[10]

As Lidin (2002, 71) underlines in his overview of Pinto's four Japanese visits, however, even in Pinto's narrative about Japan truth and fiction are strictly interwoven (as they are in his writings about Asia in general). He does include 'factual' geographical knowledge about Japan, and his description of his last voyage seems truthful, but many doubts arise about the dates and circumstances of his travels. If one were to take his narrative

8 Catz deems this stance as exceptional, but actually – putting aside the criticism towards the missionaries' methods – many of Pinto's points would be echoed by the descriptions of the Japanese population included in the Jesuit literature of the sixteenth century. They also had an antecedent in some of the above described medieval narratives about the 'East', and more generally in Thomist thought.

9 For an English translation of Pinto's account and for an in-depth treatment of his life and travels, see Catz 1990.

10 For an English translation of the section of Pinto's work centered on Japan, see Catz 1990, 272-87; 445-519.

at face value, in fact, Pinto would have personally witnessed all the major occurrences in the first steps of the Portuguese intercourse with Japan. Pinto places himself as part of the first group of Portuguese merchants landing in Tanegashima, together with a Diogo Zeimoto and a Cristovão Borralho – this is, however, doubtful, even if he must have reached Japan for the first time soon afterwards. He also allegedly, according to his writings, was part of the crew that brought Yajirō (a Japanese convert who had fled from justice in Japan, and who would be, as we will see, instrumental to prompting Xavier to travel to Jaan) from Japan to Xavier, and he was not far from the place where Xavier died in 1552. One might say that Pinto experimented in the ambiguity that would become common in the editorial genre of *historia* (which, sometimes under the title *cronica* or *relatione*, would come to include most of the travel narratives of the sixteenth century): the term stands in fact for a "form of writing codified by tradition and supposedly grounded in truth, reality, objectivity. […] But 'historia', much like today's 'storia', was used at the time to mean both history and narrative fiction" (Pallotta 1992, 349).

The presence of such an extensive narrative on Japan by a Portuguese man who was not (properly) a missionary is, all in all, more an exception than a rule, even as far as the second half of the sixteenth century is concerned. On the other hand, in the above mentioned climate of censorship, the account by Fernão Mendez Pinto was destined to an unfortunate editorial history. It was in fact never put to print during the life-time of the writer, but only by 1614. His association with the Jesuits might have allowed him to make profit of their channels of editorial distribution, but a reason for the delay was possibly the satirical stance adopted by the writer towards the political and religious institutions of sixteenth-century Portugal. Pinto's work is, as mentioned above, peculiar for his time, in that

> the author is extremely critical – though never openly – of the overseas action of the Portuguese, whose self-proclaimed mission to conquer and convert all non-Christian people with whom they came in contact, was viewed, within the fiction of the work, as a false and corrupt ideal. This is what sets Pinto apart from his contemporaries, because he alone, had the courage to question the morality of the overseas conquests, which he condemns as acts of barbaric piracy. (Catz 1991, 501).

After its publication, Pinto's work actually enjoyed great fortune in Europe for the greatest part of the seventeenth century. However, its mixed nature – chronicle, embellished with fiction – made it so that it was not received in the way the author had originally intended it. The account was viewed more as an imaginative adventure book than as a realistic portrait of the author's experience in Asia. Also due to such reception, and to the many faulty and revised translations, its popularity eventually faded (Catz 1990, XV).

Another notable traveller of the mid-sixteenth century was captain Jorge Álvares,[11] who reached Japan with his three-ships fleet in 1546 and travelled extensively along the coast of Kyūshū (without, however, significantly penetrating inland). Álvares was author of another narrative on Japan – produced upon his return to Malacca in 1547 under open request by the Jesuit Francis Xavier. Álvares' report included information about a wide variety of matters, ranging from the Japanese physical appearance, to religion, to architecture, to customs (food and forms of sustenance in general, houses, manners, execution of justice). He noted the treatment of foreigners from the part of the Japanese to be remarkably open in comparison to other Asian populations – with the same hospitality expected whenever the Japanese were invited on board of the Portuguese ships. The focus of the report, probably because it was meant to be received by Xavier, was actually, for the major part, on topics on which the Jesuit themselves would dwell plenty in their letters (even if not always with the same conclusions).[12] Contrary to subsequent Jesuit letters, however, the report by Álvares was never published, even if part of its contents later resonated in the letters written by Xavier.[13] The report was sent by Xavier to the central authorities of the Company of Jesus in Rome, from where it was further circulated among the members of the order, becoming the first item in a huge pile of documentation collected by the Jesuits of Japan – without, however, reaching out of the circles of the Society to the general public (Lach 1965, 657).

After the mid-sixteenth century, Japan ended up offering to Portuguese merchants one of their most crucial sources of profit in the China Seas. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the demand for silver in China was rising at a steady pace, as the result of the growing diffusion of money-use.[14] The Chinese production of silver could not match such needs as, after a mining boom in the early sixteenth century, the level of productivity of the local mines fell to an inappreciable amount. On the other hand, by the 1530s, a number of gold and silver mining sites began to be opened throughout Japan – making the archipelago one of the primary producers in the Great China Seas area. Their development, undertaken by the warring *daimyō* in response to the financial necessities imposed by their

11 Not to be misunderstood for his namesake, who had reached China in 1513 and was by the 1540s long dead.

12 A transcription of Álvares' report can be found in Izawa 1969 (240-57). An English overview of the text can also be found in Boxer 1951 (32-6).

13 A comparison between Álvares' report and Xavier's letters can be found in Ellis 2003.

14 Which was, in turn, the result of a revolution in commerce, caused by the "monetization of public finance as well as private exchange, dissolution of servile social relations and the emergence of free labor markets, regional specialization in agricultural and handicraft production, rural market integration, and the stimulus of foreign trade" (Von Glahn 1996, 432).

military operations, resulted not only, as Kobata (1965) underlines,[15] in the creation of a unified gold and silver-based currency system – perfected by the seventeenth century, thanks to the high value attributed to the two metals as the base for monetary exchange and to the unified financial system set in place by the Tokugawa – but also in the integration of Japan into the world silver market. While Japanese silver was not directly exported in Europe, its trade came in fact to occupy an important position both in the general East Asian trade and in the European East Asian trade. In 1539, the tributary exchanges between China and Japan were put to a stop, but this did not put off the trade between the continent and the archipelago. On the contrary, the exchanges thrived, left in the hands of Asian private seafarers – in particular, merchants from the Southern Chinese provinces, such as Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangtung, who, eluding the bans, traded Chinese products in exchange for the metal. By the end of the 1540s, hundreds of ships were routinely travelling back and forth from the continent to the archipelago (Atwell 1982, 70). The growing illicit trade elicited concern in the Ming authorities, and this resulted in a stricter enforcement of the Chinese bans over commerce. In this context, the exchanges with Japan emerged as a most profitable venture for the Portuguese merchants. The demand for Chinese products grew steadily, also bolstered, in the later decades of the century, by the subsequent rise to power in Japan of political leaders such as Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616), who actively sought the development of mining technology and of foreign trade as a way to finance their military ambitions.[16] The desirability of the trade soon prompted the authorities of the *Estado da India* to set up a more defined and centralized structure for the exchanges: while for the first decade individual Portuguese ships had carried their private ventures to Japan in something of an unregulated way, in the 1550s, by the time the outpost in Macao was created, the reins of the commerce were firmly taken by the hands of the Portuguese Crown. A primary necessity for the authorities of the *Estado* was to regulate the commerce so that the offer of silk would not come to exceed the (albeit huge) demand in Japan, resulting in an uncontrolled lowering of the prices. The frequency of the exchanges was therefore limited to only one voyage per year, to be conducted on a designated carrack (*náo*), by a captain-major directly appointed by the Crown. The captain was responsible for both the trip to Japan and the settlement in Macao. While he was out of the port, the outpost was theoretically bound to be left in the hands of a *Senado*, put in charge of its government *ad interim*, but the Captain did not actually always make the voyage himself, and often sold the privilege

15 On mining, see also Kobata 1968. On the silver trade, see Kobata 1976.

16 See Cooper 1972 for a general overview of the Macao-Nagasaki commerce.

to bidders – not without instances of corruption (Boxer 1969, 33-4).[17] The voyage of the carrack started from Goa, from where the designated ship usually left charged with Indonesian spices. It made a first stop in Macao, from where the crew had access to the annual Guangzhou trade fair, where they traded the spices for silk, as well as gold, ceramics, medicine, and other Chinese products. The ship then headed to Japan, where the Chinese products were traded for the Japanese silver. In China, the metal would be sold for more silk, to be shipped again to Japan or to be directed in Europe via Goa. The round-trip from Goa to Japan could take a period varying from eighteen months to three years, according to the length of the stay of the ship in Macao and Japan (which, in turn, depended on whether the ship missed the monsoons) (Cullen 2003, 22).

In the Japanese archipelago, the commerce interested at first several ports of Kyūshū – most notably Hirado and Kagoshima, but also Yokose and Fukuda. Since the year 1570, however, Nagasaki became the chosen location for the exchanges. The local *daimyō*, the Christian convert Ōmura Sumitada, bestowed to the Jesuit fathers (who, as we will see, had reached the archipelago by the end of the 1540s) the permission to build a port in the area – specifically so as to receive the Portuguese ships – and in 1580 handed to the Society of Jesus the right to manage it, in exchange for the custom dues paid both by the Portuguese and the Japanese merchants using it. The city, for almost ten years, functioned as a sort of 'semi-colony', where the administration and military power was left in the hands of the Jesuits.[18]

17 The regulations put in place by the Portuguese authorities in Macao did not obliterate every form of exchange by Portuguese merchants operating outside the control of the Crown. The trade was effectively concentrated on the Macao-Nagasaki route – and both cities grew exponentially thanks to it, so that, when the commerce was put to an end, less than a century later, they had grown out of their status of small fishing villages, to become thriving ports – but while it was possible to control the flow of ships and goods leaving Macao, it was not as easy to prevent merchants from shipping goods to Japan via other countries. Still, the role of Captain was an extremely desirable one, as it granted, to whoever performed it, the right to retain – together with the incomes derived by his own private ventures – a percentage of about 10% of the profit made by selling the cargo in Japan (Takase 2002, 4).

18 The status of Nagasaki as a colony was however, much as in Macao's case, never made official. Even though the city fell under the administration of the Jesuits, its real sovereignty still pertained to the Ōmura family (Yasutaka 2010, 119). For a discussion of the circumstances that led to the founding of the port and to its administration by the Society of Jesus, see Pacheco 1970. The Jesuits would keep playing an important role as intermediaries in the commerce, even after Toyotomi Hideyoshi took control over the port in 1587, during his campaign for the unification of Kyūshū. The association of the Portuguese merchants with Christian religion would in fact, in the end, cost them their presence in Japan, after the beginning of the persecutions against the Christians on the archipelago. By 1636, their presence in Japan had been limited to the artificial island of Dejima, in Nagasaki harbour. The Shimabara rebellion, between 1637 and 1638, further worsened their stance. The rebellion was the final culmination of a building unrest among the peasants of the Shima-

After the establishment of the Macao-Nagasaki trade, the Portuguese policy of control on information appeared to grow more lenient. By the mid-sixteenth century, it had become clear that it would be impossible to stop other European competitors from coming to exert a growing influence on the East Asian trade – and the pressure of Asian sailors, merchants and pirates (who kept effectively challenging Portuguese dominance), had been doubled by that of Spanish sailors and merchants (soon to be flanked by Dutch and English seamen). On the other hand, the quantity of new first-hand material on Japan produced by Portuguese merchants remained scarce. One reason for this might be that, while in Europe the restrictions about the publication of material related to Asia were eased, Portuguese merchants operating in East Asia still held some reserve about divulging information on the country that had become one of their most important sources of income in Asia. As Cooper (1992, 265) underlines, moreover, few Portuguese merchants actually resided over long periods in Japan, meaning that the amount of knowledge amassed by them was not necessarily significant. This was combined with the difficulty in handling an efficient system for correspondence with Europe, that might have discouraged most of them from sending back information to their native lands (considering that merchants lacked the kind of strategic motivation that would prompt, instead, the missionaries to perfect their system of intelligence). In this regard, one should also mention that most of the Portuguese merchants were based in the same city, Nagasaki, making it also unnecessary for them to resort to correspondence on a regular basis for matters of practical communication (contrary to what would happen with the Dutch and the British in the seventeenth century). Nevertheless, in the new economical (and editorial) climate, some works that had been completed in the first half of the century but had

bara peninsula and the Amakusa Islands (later joined by the lordless *samurai* of the area), vexed by the excessive taxation, imposed to cover the costs for a number of construction projects initiated by the local Matsukura *daimyō* family, and totalling about 70 percent of the whole peasants' produce (Laver 2011, 129). The discontent was also exacerbated by the strict religious persecutions enacted by the Matsukura *daimyō* – in an area that had once belonged to the Christian Arima family and where, in spite of the ban on Christianity, a strong underground Christian movement still persisted. This is why when, in 1637, the unrest was brought to a climax and the uprising began in full force, the rebelling forces were immediately associated with Christianity, even though the veracity of this association is unsure: many of the local peasants' families were Christians, and Christian images and symbols were used by the rebels, but it is doubtful how deeply the element of Christianity ran in the rebellion as an ideological foundation and at an organisational level. The connection between the Shimabara rebels and the Portuguese merchants of Dejima was not a close one – as it basically only amounted, so far as it is known, to their sharing of Christian beliefs – but it was enough to elicit repression from the part of the *bakufu*. The suppression of the rebellion preluded therefore to the enforcement of a more strict policy of control on trade, that directly affected the Portuguese – who, from 1640 onward, were officially banned from the country. The matter is discussed in Kanda 2005.

not reached the hands of publishers, and new ones based on information that had been collected in the previous decades, but that had never seen the light, could finally be put to print.

Two notable examples were the *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*, a treatise about the expansion of the Portuguese empire, composed by the historian Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (1500-1559), and the *Decadas da Asia*, a work of similar purpose by the Portuguese humanist João de Barros (1496-1570). Castanheda's work was largely based on information personally collected by the author during a ten-year stay (from 1528 to 1538) in the Indies, and further expanded, upon his return to Portugal, with other first-hand accounts from travellers that had similarly ventured to Asia. Barros, on the other hand, had never personally lived in Asia (except for a brief voyage to Guinea), but he enjoyed the patronage of the Crown and acted for a period as treasurer of the *Casa da India*, being therefore privy of part of the information collected in its archives (Boxer 1981, 98). The first volume of Castanheda's work was printed in 1551, and six others followed during his lifetime (to which an eight printed volume was added posthumously, by interception of Castanheda's son). The first volume was translated into several European languages, and all the seven volumes published antemortem were issued into an Italian edition (translated by Alfonso Ulloa) in 1577. The first three books composing Barros' *Decadas* were published between 1552 and 1563, while the fourth was published posthumously (the draft of a fifth volume was also produced before his death, which was put to print as late as 1615). Part of the work was included, in translation, in the 1554 edition of Ramusio's *Navigationi et Viaggi*, and the first two *decadas* were rendered into Italian by the same Ulloa that would later translate Castanheda, in 1562 – testifying a certain editorial success.[19]

Even if both works were only published for the first time around 1550, the central bulk of Castanheda's history was ready by 1539 when he came back from Asia, and the same was true, apparently, for the basic draft of the one by Barros. The two works, in this sense, did not go far enough to cover the first years of direct interaction between Portugal and Japan, and both include only scattered references to the Japanese archipelago. Barros' work was later reprised by Diogo do Couto (1542-1616), a Portuguese historian who spent most of his life in India, and worked as keeper of the archives in Goa and as an official chronicler of the Portuguese Empire. He wrote eleven *Decadas*, (four of which were published during his lifetime, between 1602 and 1616), but his history did not add much about Japan to what Barros had written – while, in the meantime, a flow of

19 For a more in-depth overview in the editorial history of the works, also in light of other Iberian publications about Asia produced in the second half of the sixteenth century, see Lach 1965, 181-97. For a comparative insight on the contents of the works, see Boxer 1981, 97-129.

Jesuit writings about the archipelago had already reached the European continent (Lach, Van Kley 1998a, 314-15).

In this sense, Portuguese merchants never became a primary source of information on Japan for the European public, even after the establishment of a steady flow of commercial relationships. On the other hand, it was in a climate more favourable to the circulation of information that, with the landing of Francis Xavier in Kagoshima, the institutionalized system for correspondence operated by the Society of Jesus came to include Japan, and it was precisely through the Jesuits that a more in-depth knowledge about the archipelago began to be relayed to Europe.

2.2 The Spanish Competition: Circulation of Spanish Sources on Japan in the Sixteenth Century

In the short term, the Portuguese accomplishments following Da Gama's return from his first voyage around Africa had managed to sideline the Castilians – who were still struggling, at the time, with making profit of their newly acquired territorial possessions in America. Already by 1519, however, the Spanish Crown, in the person of Charles I of Spain, had started promoting a new quest for the East Indies. The voyage, put under the command of the Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellano and bound to reach the 'Spice Islands' in the Pacific, was not to be conducted around Africa – as the eastward route had been put under Portuguese control by the treaty of Tordesillas – but via Brasil. The expedition did reach the East Asian Seas and came, in 1521, in sight of the group of Islands that would by 1545 be known as the Philippines (Filipina). In 1524, at the congress of Badajoz, the Spanish Crown claimed sovereignty over them, as well as on the Moluccas and on a wide section of China's eastern coast.[20] In the following decades, several expeditions left the American continent for Asia and battles were engaged with the Portuguese in the area so as to bring consequence to the Spanish claims, but the failure to find a return passage from the East Indies through the Pacific put the Spanish at a serious disadvantage (Headley 1995, 628). At last, in 1545, the Spanish explorer Ruy Lopez de Villalobos was able to report a first victory against the Portuguese in the Moluccas, and, in 1565, an expedition commanded by Miguel López de Legazpi (accompanied by the Augustinian Andrés de Urdaneta) managed to extend the Spanish authority over the Philippines. In 1571, the islands were made headquarter of the Spanish East Indies – with Legazpi appointed as governor, and the city of Manila, founded on the location

20 Arguing, to support its ambitions, that the line of demarcation established at Tordesillas run through the tip of the Malay peninsula. See in this regard Headley 1995.

of a large agricultural and fishing village in the island of Luzon, elected as capital. Manila soon grew as another fundamental centre for the East Asian bullion trade – where silver brought from Mexico and Bolivia was purchased by Chinese merchants in exchange for Asian products, such as silk and porcelain.[21]

It was mainly thanks to this role in the South America-China trade that the Spanish settlement in the city also attracted the attention of Japanese merchants. Ever since the 1550s, the flourishing Portuguese commerce with Nagasaki made it clear for the Spanish just how profitable the establishment of a commercial relationship with the Japanese archipelago could be. And, while Spain still needed to thread very carefully in the East Asian waters, so as not to break the agreements made in Tordesillas,[22] even before 1571, a growing number of Japanese private traders began to venture towards the Philippines, and to engage in commerce with the islands of Luzon and Mindoro. The trade involved the purchase, from the part of Japanese merchants, of gold, honey and (later in the century, thanks to the growing Chinese presence in Manila) of raw silk, in exchange for silver. It lured the interest not only of the Spanish settlers of the Philippine Islands, but also of those Portuguese who were not able to take part in the institutional Macao-Nagasaki trade, and therefore found in Manila an alternative way to ship their goods to Japan.[23]

The exchanges were never made official, and in spite of the pressures of the Spanish merchants in Manila and of the huge number of Japanese ships travelling to and from the Philippines, the movement, at least as far as the sixteenth century was concerned, never became mutual. Even after the unification of the Portuguese and Spanish Crowns in 1580 – when king Phillip II of Spain began promoting the establishment of diplomatic and religious contacts between Japan and the Philippines (so as to support the expansion of the Christian missions of Manila) – the military and civil authorities of the city remained cautious toward the perspective of an opening of the trade, in fear of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's desire of expansion (Boxer 1986, 8). The fear was not unjustified. When Spanish vessels did

21 A great number of Chinese immigrants made their way to Manila, to reap the profits of the commerce, so that actually, by the end of the sixteenth century, the city resembled more to a Chinese colony than to a Spanish outpost. On the administration of Manila and the Chinese presence, see Headley 1995 (633-5); Doeppers 1972.

22 Establishing the exact location of the line of demarcation for the spheres of influence established in Tordesillas remained a sensible issue between Portugal and Spain throughout the sixteenth century, and one that involved much bending of cartographical notions in favour of one part or the other. See in this regard Bernard, Tientsin 1938; Headley 1995.

23 And, sometimes, even of those who did have the possibilities to take part in the official trade. In 1588, for example, the Portuguese captain Jeronimo Pereira renounced to the possibility of participating in the Nagasaki trade so as to sell his goods in Manila (Bernard, Tientsin 1938, 119).

reach the Japanese archipelago, circumstances were not always fortunate for them, as when the Spanish galleon San Felipe, travelling from Manila to Acapulco, shipwrecked on the coast of the Tosa domain, and Toyotomi Hideyoshi ordered for the crew to be imprisoned, and for the cargo and the personal belongings of the people on board to be confiscated, and divided among himself and the *daimyō* of Tosa.[24] After Hideyoshi's death, Tokugawa Ieyasu kept, above all in the opening years of his rule, a more open attitude toward the Spaniards (as well as, more generally, toward all the foreign forces at play in the China Seas). Hideyoshi's attitude in the last years of his rule, however, had heightened the caution of the authorities in Manila, so that, even after his death, when his ambitions no longer menaced the Philippine islands, their approach to commerce with Japan remained cautious. In the long run, as in the case of the Portuguese, the Spanish merchants' associations with the Christian orders trying to penetrate the archipelago from the Philippines became a cause of tensions with the Japanese authorities, further limiting their agency in Japan – until in 1624, as a consequence of alleged intrigues hatched by the missionaries, the Spaniards were finally banned from the country.[25]

All in all, given these premises, the Spanish settlers in the Philippines never became a real threat to the Portuguese predominance in the China Seas area. This also explains why the contribute of Spanish merchants to the written sources about Japan that were divulged in Europe never assumed relevant proportions.

The Castillans had, possibly, already gathered indirect information about the archipelago, ever since the members of Magellano's expedition had reached the Philippine Islands in the first half of the century. The Venetian scholar Antonio Pigafetta, who had travelled with Magellano's crew, produced a direct account of the voyage, the *Relazione del primo viaggio intorno al mondo*. The work, while composed in Italian, was first published in French translation (Pigafetta 1525) and only later appeared in its origi-

24 The subsequent petitions from the part of the Spanish captain of the ship, Matias de Randecho, for the recovery of the cargo only served to reignite Hideyoshi's aversion towards the Christians in Japan, giving way, on February 5, 1597, to the martyrdom of twenty-six Christians – six Franciscan missionaries who had acted as intermediaries in the negotiations with Hideyoshi (four Spaniards, one Mexican and one Indian), three Japanese Jesuits and seventeen Japanese Franciscan laymen. Even though, by April of the same year, the San Felipe was repaired and its crew was accorded the permission to leave, Hideyoshi never agreed to return the cargo or the bodies of the martyrs, in spite of any subsequent diplomatic attempts from the part of the authorities in Manila. Hideyoshi's hostility towards the Spaniards might have been at least partly provoked by their Portuguese competitors spreading alarming information about them in order to protect their monopoly. For an in depth account and discussion of the San Felipe incident, see Matsuda 1967. A contemporary accounts of the martyrdom of the twenty-six Christians can be found in Frois 1599.

25 For an overview of the commercial relationships between the Spanish in Manila and Japan in the seventeenth century, see Takase 2002, 88-120.

nal language (Pigafetta 1536).[26] He, however, reported only in passing of Japan. He identified it as 'Cipangu' and misplaced it near the Western shores of America. This is a sign that he probably still relied more on information included in Marco Polo's writings than on accounts collected during his travels. As Caputo (2016, 131) suggests, he was also possibly trying to preserve the 'myth' of the golden land of Cipangu, in the face of recent geographical advancements.

In 1546, a few years after the first Portuguese landing on the Japanese archipelago, the above mentioned explorer Villalobos and the men that accompanied his expedition were also able to collect second-hand information about Japan, during their stay in Tidore.[27] This knowledge was given written form in what is actually the earliest detailed European report on the Japanese archipelago – compiled by one of the members of Villalobos' crew, the Spanish Garcia Escalante De Alvarado, and sent to the Viceroy of Mexico from Lisbon in 1548. The report reveals that the Castillans had been able to gather that Japan was divided in a number of territorial domains governed by *daimyō*, even though it was not clear where their king resided. They had also learned that the villages on the coast were very small and relied on agriculture and fishing for a living, and that the chosen weapons in fighting were bow and arrows – which had apparently led Villalobos to conclude that the country did not have to be particularly rich (as the Portuguese had done before on the base of the information they had gathered in Malacca) and that a more lucrative commerce could perhaps be established with the Ryūkyū Islands, whose role in the East Asian trade at the time had not yet come to suffer from the European competition. The Japanese language was reported to be close to Chinese, and, peculiarly, to German. As for the population, it was described as 'white' (a characteristic that was particularly stressed in reference to local women) and 'well-disposed'.[28] As Lach (1965, 655) underlines, Escalante's ability to compile a relatively detailed report right after the landing of the first Portuguese on the archipelago might in itself be a sign that the Spaniards had collected more knowledge about Japan, in the decades preceding direct intercourse with the country, than one might assume. It is, however, hard to establish to which point the account by Escalante was actually

26 An English, annotated translation of Pigafetta's account (first composed in vernacular Italian with the title *Relazione del primo viaggio intorno al mondo*), is included, together with an overview of the fortune of the book and a general chronology of Magellano's voyage, in Cachey 2007.

27 One primary source was the report by Pero Diez, a Galician from Monterrey who had actually been in Japan in 1544 (Lach 1965, 655).

28 An English translation of the report can be found in Dahlgren 1912-13, 239-60. Such characteristics – whiteness, and good disposition – would also recur, as we will see and comment in the following chapter, also in later writings by the Jesuit missionaries stationed in Japan.

distributed in Europe, or more generally outside the circles of the Iberian Crown. Surely, as it was not given to print, it did not exert great impact in comparison to the narratives of the Iberian (Portuguese and Spanish) and Italian missionaries of the second half of the sixteenth century.

Aside from Escalante's account about Japan, most of what has been left by Spanish merchants and diplomats and lay residents in the Philippines amounts to the contemporary epistolary exchange between the authorities of Manila and Philip II of Spain. The correspondence, started as early as the 1560s, bears testimony of the exchanges between Japanese traders and the Spanish settlement.[29] While the letters are helpful to contemporary historians to recreate the course of the relationships, however, they were not reproduced in printed editions, and it is doubtful that the majority of them would have actually circulated among the European public.

2.3 Cartography on Japan in the Sixteenth Century

One field that was inevitably affected by the Portuguese (and to a lesser extent the Spanish) expansion in Asia was that of cartography. On the other hand, the inability of printed maps to capture up-to-date information was all the more evident in the case of Japan, whose representation lagged behind the discoveries for several decades.

The archipelago, as seen above, only seldom appears in the planispheres produced in the second half of the fifteenth century. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, a growing number of maps and atlases began instead to depict Japan, sometimes with the addition of brief geographical descriptions. The information they included, however, is still rough and inaccurate. As Caputo (2016, 39) underlines, a common denominator between the way Japan was depicted before and after the sixteenth century in cartography is the way 'Japan' works more as a projection of European myths and desires than as a real entity, even in the face of the

29 A sample of the correspondence – in the original Spanish language and Japanese translation – is included in Igawa 2010. A letter dated 1567, and written by Legazpi, already includes mention of Chinese and Japanese ships coming, on an annual basis, to the Philippines (and, as observed by Igawa, while it is not clear when these exchanges began exactly, the fact that they are referred to as 'annual' implies a regularity that suggest they had been going on for some years, possibly ever since the mid-1560s, when the Spanish Crown had established its power in the area). The most detailed accounts are those by the hands of the merchant Bernardino de Avila Girón, who resided, off and on, in Nagasaki between 1594 and 1619, and by the shipwrecked diplomat Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco. The Italian merchant Francesco Carletti also travelled from the Philippines to Nagasaki, where he stayed between 1597 and 1598 and left an account of Japan, that was however given to print only much later. The account is discussed in depth in Caputo 2016, 273-320.

diffusion of 'factual' knowledge about the archipelago.[30]

This emerges in a very early example of world map including a depiction of Japan, the one realized by the German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller – whose first edition was published in 1507.[31] The planisphere, a wall map in twelve sheets, was part of an ambitious project put in place by the Gymnasium Vosagense, a group of humanists operating under the patronage of Duke René of Lorraine, who aimed at documenting the geographical discoveries perpetrated in the last decades of the fifteenth century by both the Spanish and the Portuguese Crowns in the Atlantic Ocean. The map is emblematic of the way in which, in the sixteenth century, the geographical and cartographical production on Japan negotiated between the new knowledge resulting from the discoveries and more traditional narratives (in a context where literature and geography where still strictly linked). Waldseemüller and the other members of the group were privy to some of the more up-to-date information brought back from the New World, including Amerigo Vespucci's account his voyage of 1501-02 – the map include, as a matter of fact, one of the earliest mentions of the word 'America' in reference to the New World, that was, for the first time, clearly represented as a separate entity from Asia, as a further step away from medieval cartographical conventions (Johnson 2006, 3-4). The knowledge about Asia that emerges from the map is, however, far less current. In particular, the way Japan is represented still appears to largely rely on the Marco Polo tradition, rather than on information directly collected by Portuguese merchants and sailors in the Indian Ocean. The country is represented as a single island, and named Zipangri, probably as a variation of the term 'Cipangu'. It Is located in the Northern hemisphere – and not facing China's southern provinces as in Marco Polo's description – but its distance from the continent is still overestimated.

Even after 1511 and the conquest of Malacca, that granted to Portuguese ships access to the Indian Ocean, cartographical representations of Japan remained scattered and imprecise. In 1528, a map and a description of Japan were included in the first edition of the *Isolario* by Benedetto Bordone – a work aimed at offering an overview of all the known insular countries of the time.[32] The book was the second *Isolario* ever put to

30 For a more complete overview of the earliest existing printed maps including the Japanese archipelago, see Walter 1994.

31 Of this edition, only one copy remains. It can be accessed on line via the Library of Congress site. URL `http://www.loc.gov/rr/geogmap/waldexh.html` (2018-08-05)

32 Full title is included in the final bibliography as Bordone 1528.

print,[33] and it was part of a cartographic genre born in Florence,[34] and developed in the fifteenth century, that would flourish up to the end of the sixteenth century in Italy, with a significant literary impact abroad. The works of the genre were conceived as sorts of illustrated guides, and derived strong influences both by chorography, with its focus on description, and by Portolan charts, whose influence was evident, particularly in the way the coastlines of the islands were traced (Campbell 1985, 181). A second edition of the book was produced in 1534, and several others up to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Bordone's work was likely one of the earliest printed works to spread notice of the existence of Japan to a wider section of the European public, as it was the work that truly launched this cartographic form as a "commercially viable genre for large-scale publishing" (Woodward 2007, 270).

While largely drawing from nautical maps for the depiction of the Mediterranean area and the Levant, however, Bordone's work reflected again a lack of access to up-to-date information about Japan, represented in the third section of the work (focused on the islands of the 'Mare Orientale'). While the attention with which Japan is placed echoes the influence of Portolan maps, the archipelago is still depicted as a single island, and named 'Ciampagu', in open reference to Marco Polo, even though *Il Milione* is never explicitly mentioned. The weight of *Il Milione*, and, more generally, of the mythical narratives of the Middle Ages, also emerges from the hyperbolic emphasis put on the richness of the country (the mythical 'golden land' of the classical tradition) and on the virtue of its inhabitants. This is not at odds with the aims of the work: Bordone explicitly states in the preface of his book that it will mingle *fabule*, myths, and *historie* (Caputo 2016, 42-3). In Bordone's work, as in other contemporary narratives, the two sides of the *historia* genre, the factual and the fictional, were mingled.

Only by the second half of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese entered into direct contact with the Japanese archipelago, more accurate cartographical representations of the country began to be produced and circulated in Europe. Worth mentioning, among the cartographers of the second half of the century, is Giacomo Gastaldi, who served as a cosmographer to the Venetian republic, producing both 'official' and 'commercial' maps, and who was, up to his death in 1566, the most authoritative among the Italian cosmographers, and an inspiration for many subsequent map authors and publishers. Among his many influential works, Gastaldi authored 34 printed maps included, together with the 26 original maps, in the

33 The earliest one being one *Isolario* focused on the Greek islands, published by Bartolomeo da li Sonnetti in 1485.

34 The predecessor of the genre is usually identified with Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularium Archipelagi*, dated 1420. See Woodward 2007, 459.

expanded edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (published in 1548 in Venice), meant as an updated version, produced in the light of the recent geographical discoveries, of the work of the classic geographer (Unger 2010, 109). In the 1561 edition of his *Uniuersale Descrittione del Mondo* (published in Venice by Mattia Pagano), the section devoted to Asia included notice of the discovery of the Islands of 'Giapan', which was also represented in the xylographic planisphere accompanying the work (the *Cosmographia Universalis*). He also authored the maps included in the collection of travel literature by Giovanni Battista Ramusio, the *Navigationi et viaggi*, published in Venice between 1550 and 1556. Most notably, as far as Japan is concerned, he introduced in printed maps the new name 'Giapam' for the archipelago. In 1556, 'Giapam' was represented as a single island on the map titled "Universale della parte del mondo nuovamente ritrovata", with which he contributed to Ramusio's work. Ramusio's work includes also, as already mentioned, an edition of *Il Milione*, in the second volume of his work, in spite of the fact that the geographical information included in the work conflicts with updated information derived from Gastaldi. As Caputo (2016, 135) underlines, Ramusio's book works in this sense as an ideal link between Polo's 'Cipangu' and the new 'Giapam' that would come at the forefront of European literature on East Asia through missionary writings in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Among the cartographers indebted to Gastaldi was Abraham Ortelius, author of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* – an atlas (in the Lafréry format), which enjoyed considerable fortune ever since its first publication in Antwerp in 1570 – and of what was probably the most influential cartographic representation of Japan of the sixteenth century. In the first edition of his *Theatrum*, Japan was still only included on general maps,[35] but by 1595 the work had been expanded, adding both a map of China, the *Chinae, olim Sinarum regionis, noua descriptio* (which, in itself, included a representation of Japan), and, for the first time, a map specifically devoted to the Japanese archipelago – the *Iaponiae insvlae description*. This map of Japan had been composed and sent to Ortelius, around 1592, by the Portuguese Jesuit father Luis Teixeira, who was at the time working as a mathematician and cartographer for the King of Spain. Teixeira himself had never been to Japan, but he had presumably copied the map from some original work either by an author who had lived there and/or had familiarity with

35 It was depicted, as an archipelago, with the three main island of Honshū, Kyūshū and Shikoku, on three of the maps focused on Asia – the *Asiae Nova Descriptio*, where it was labelled as 'Iapan', and the *Indiae Orientalis Insularumque Adiacentium tiipus* and the *Tartariae sive Magni Chami Regni*, where it appeared as both 'Iapan', on the map, and 'Zipangri', in the added description. The 1570 edition of the work can be consulted online on the Geoweb catalogue of Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. URL `http://geoweb.venezia.sbn.it/cgi-win/geoweb/archiweb.dll?service=direct&lang=0&uid=000004&session=000000&fld=B&value=001946` (2018-08-09).

Japanese sources, or with a Japanese source in itself.[36] The map represented the three main islands of Japan, labelled Iaponia (Honshū), Bungo (Kyūshū) and Tonsa (Shikoku), and – even though no mention was included as of yet of Ezo, and Korea was wrongly represented as an island, the *Corea Insula* instead of as a peninsula – it overall offered a much more realistic overview of the Japanese archipelago than previous representations.[37]

Teixeira's map was long believed to be the earliest printed map – outside the realm of the *Isolari* – specifically devoted to the representation of Japan. By the first half of the twentieth century, however, Ishida (1938) dismantled this assumption, by bringing to light the existence of an earlier cartographical representation of the archipelago – a folded map in woodblock print, included in the second edition (dated 1586) of the work on Japan by the Swiss author Cysat,[38] published in the height of the editorial boom that, as we will see in the next chapter, had followed the arrival in Europe of the first Japanese mission. In comparison to the map by Teixeira, however, this map presents many inaccuracies – representing, in particular, Honshū and Kyūshū as a single island. More than relying on some earlier cartographical source, as was the case with Texeira's map, it seems to be based on the Jesuit sources that had reached Europe up to that moment of which it constitutes a sort of visual compilation.[39]

Another early cartographical representation of Japan, displaying a similar connection with the Jesuit sources,is the one produced by the Milanese local historian Urbano Monte. Monte had been among the chroniclers of the Japanese mission to Europe,[40] and he apparently based his cartographi-

36 Probably some original Japanese map of the so-called Gyōgi type – i.e. the cartographical model imported in Japan, by the eight century, by the Korean Buddhist monk Gyōgi-Bosatsu, considered to be the earliest maker of Japanese maps (one of the characteristic elements of this kind of map was the focus on the relationship between the capital and the provinces, designed as a series of oval-shaped territories around it. See Kiss 1947, 111. Among the possible sources for Teixeira's map Lach (1965, 710) suggests the two Madrid and Florence manuscript sketches mentioned below and the manuscript work of Ignacio Morera (or Montera), the first European cartographer to have reportedly set foot in Japan. For a more general outlook on the Japanese sources used for the composition of European maps on Japan, see Nakamura 1939.

37 A 1603 edition of Ortelius' atlas, based on the 1595 edition (with all its additions) can be consulted online on the Geoweb catalogue of Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. URL `http://geoweb.venezia.sbn.it/geoweb/iscgi/archiweb.dll?service=direct&lang=0&uid=000004&session=000000&fld=B&value=000852` (2018-03-15).

38 Cited in the final bibliography as Cysat 1586.

39 This is suggested also by the fact that the Latin description that accompanies the map includes mention of the arrival of Francis Xavier in Japan in 1549, and an enumeration of the twelve Jesuit colleges that had been built in Japan (Ishida 1938, 260-1).

40 He was author of a manuscript diary of the embassy, compiled upon the passage of the mission in Milan, and is well known for the portrait of the Japanese visitors that he included in the chronicle. On his writings, see Gutierrez 1938.

cal representation on the first-hand knowledge about Japan he was able to collect through the encounter with the emissaries, as well as on the knowledge derived from the Jesuit letters from Japan that had been published in Europe up to that moment. His xylographic map – titled *Descrittione e sito del Giapone* and put to print by the publisher Giacomo Piccaglia in 1589 – showed, similarly to the one by Cysat, many inaccuracies. As Guglielmetti (1979) underlines, the archipelago was represented as composed by only one main island, with a number of minor islands surrounding it, and the Inland Sea was basically absent. The numerous place names it included were also clearly derived from Jesuit letters. The encounter with the Japanese emissaries was also the occasion that prompted Monte to write his *Trattato universale*,[41] a manuscript compendium – never published – meant to collect the more up-to-date cosmographical knowledge that had reached Europe by that time. The work was, in itself, quite unoriginal, as it was largely based on classical writings. It included, however, a planisphere made of sixty-two separated maps, in which Monte's original map of Japan was included, with small changes.

Many other manuscript maps of Japan were produced in the second half of the sixteenth century, but never published. The focus of the present work is on printed works, but it is worth noting that they were often more accurate that the ones given to print. Among them, there are two sketch maps based on the Gyōgi type now conserved, respectively, in Madrid and Florence – the first one probably produced in Manila and later sent to Spain, and the second realized on occasion of the arrival of the first Japanese mission in Europe. Worth mentioning are also the manuscript portolan atlases composed by the Portuguese cartographer Fernão Vaz Dourado between 1568 and 1580. The map of Japan ('Iapam'), included in the first version of the atlas,[42] appears, much as the one by Teixeira, to be indebted to Japanese sources.[43] The very same year of the publication of the first edition of Ortelius' atlas, 1570, another version of Dourado's atlas was also being produced, where, in the twelfth folio, focused on the Northern East Indies, Japan was similarly represented as an archipelago with three main islands.[44]

Ultimately, however, even in comparison to published works such as the ones by Cysat and by Monte, the map realized by Teixeira was the one

41 *Trattato universale descrittione et sito de tutta la terra sin qui conosciuta et disegnata in 62 tavole a stampa (incisioni su rame realizzate da Leone Palavicino con l'aiuto di Lucio Palavicino), anno 1590*.

42 The map, the eight of the Atlas, is now conserved in the Library of the Palácio de Liria, in Madrid.

43 The manuscript maps are discussed in Nakamura 1939.

44 The 1570 atlas can be consulted online, on the Berkeley website. URL `http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/dsheh/heh_brf?Description=&CallNumber=HM+41` (2018-08-09).

that exerted the most significant impact in Europe – both in terms of the general European public and of European cartographers. The two earlier works remained quite obscure, while Ortelius' atlas was reprinted in numerous editions, throughout the sixteenth and well into the seventeenth century. It was, moreover, converted into growingly accessible formats – a testimony to its diffusion also outside the circles of learned readers.[45]

The influence of Teixeira's map on the way Japan was represented in Europe was a lasting one. The map was the work that "integrated Japanese and Western cartographic conceptions and laid the basis for more accurate and detailed cartographical works" (Lach 1965, 710) and remained a fundamental model for the majority of the maps of the archipelago produced and divulged in Europe for over a century. This is the case, for example, the seventeenth century editions of Gerard Mercator's atlas, the *Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura*. In the 1595 edition of the work, published posthumously a year after the death of the cartographer, Japan, called 'Iapan', is still only represented on the world map and the general map on Asia, as a single island. By the 1605 edition, a section on Japan had been added, titled *Iaponia sive Iapan Insula*, where the archipelago was represented according to the Ortelius-Teixeira model. Even the misrepresentation of Korea as an island was not to be corrected until a much later map of Japan, the *Iaponia Regnum*, by Martino Martini, dated 1655 (Boscaro 1990, 104).

45 From the original *in folio* edition, several smaller editions were produced, both in *octavo* and in *sextodecimo*, by the second half of the seventeenth century, so as to be "handier for travellers" ("per maggior commodità de' viaggiatori", as stated in the front-page of the 1667 edition, available on the Geoweb catalogue of Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana – URL `http://geoweb.venezia.sbn.it/cgi-win/geoweb/archiweb.dll?service=direct&lang=0&uid=000004&session=000000&fld=B&value=002527` (2018-08-09).