Publications of the
Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies

Essays and Studies, 26

Series Editor Konrad Eisenbichler

Victoria University
in the
University of Toronto

New Studies on Old Masters: Essays in Renaissance Art in Honour of Colin Eisler

Edited by

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Toronto
Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies
2011

CRRS Publications
Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies
Victoria University in the University of Toronto
Toronto, Ontario, M5S 1K7, Canada
Tel: 416/585–4465 Fax: 416/585–4430
Email: crrs.publications@utoronto.ca Web: www.crrs.ca

Printed in Canada

National Library of Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Cover illustration: Hendrick Goltzius, *Study of His Right Hand* (1588). Pen and ink. Haarlem, Teylers Museum.

Typesetting, cover design, and production: Iter Inc.

A Papal Elephant in the East: Carthaginians and Ottomans, Jesuits and Japan

Jay A. Levenson and Julian Raby

In *Dürer's Animals*, his absorbing book on the German master's lifelong interest in the natural world, Colin Eisler included a number of examples of the artist's well-known fascination with exotica. Perhaps his best-known and certainly his most influential representation of an exotic animal is the woodcut, dated 1515, of the Indian rhinoceros that had arrived in Lisbon in May of that year, the first of the species to have been seen in Europe since Roman times.[1] The imposing creature was a diplomatic gift from the Muslim ruler of Gujarat to Afonso de Albuquerque, the governor of Portuguese India, who in turn presented it to King Manuel I of Portugal.

Dürer never saw the rhinoceros, and his woodcut appears to have been modeled on a lost sketch by an anonymous draftsman in Lisbon that reached Nuremberg with a letter, also lost, containing information about the beast.[2] The woodcut misrepresented the animal in ways that make copies of it unmistakable; among Dürer's errors were portraying the rhinoceros with plates of armour-like skin and adding a small, twisted second horn on its back.[3] The inscription on the woodcut, based on the letter, includes an item of misinformation derived from Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, that the rhinoceros is the natural enemy of the elephant, killing it by ripping open the latter's stomach with its horn.[4]

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[1] Eisler, *Animals*, 269–274 and 270, fig. 10.40; for the most recent bibliography, see Massing, "Rhinoceros," 37–38, no. P-38.

[2] Bedini, *Pope's Elephant*, 119–121.

[3] The error may have come from Aelian's description, derived from Megasthenes, of the *cartazonus* having a horn with spiral grooves (Aelian, *N.A*, XVI, 20, printed in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, II after Meg., fr. 13); see Brown, "The Reliability of Megasthenes," 31.

[4] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, Book 8, Chapter 29 (trans. Bostock and Riley, 2, 278); Clarke, *Rhinoceros*, 155–162.

Despite the print's errors, Dürer's fame assured a popular future for this striking image, and the woodcut was a continuing source of inspiration in European art and scientific illustration until well into the eighteenth century,[5] and, as we shall see, made its appearance as far away as China.

Manuel I had already assembled in his menagerie in Lisbon a number of Indian elephants, and, with an eye to Pliny's account, an encounter between the newly arrived rhinoceros and a young elephant was soon staged in a courtyard of the royal palace. Upon seeing the rhinoceros, the frightened elephant fled from the enclosure, appearing to confirm Pliny's observations.[6] Manuel sent the rhino that December to Rome as a gift to Pope Leo X, but the ship in which it traveled sank in a storm off the Ligurian coast. The corpse of the rhinoceros washed up on shore and was stuffed before being sent on to Rome.[7]

Manuel had intended to provide the Pope with his own opportunity to stage a confrontation between the two pachyderms. The year before he had presented Leo with a young Indian albino elephant named Hanno, also acquired by Albuquerque in India, which provided the spectacular centerpiece to a traditional mission of obedience to the newly installed Pope.[8] Hanno quickly became a favourite of the Pope, although he survived only until 1516.

Like the rhino, Hanno was portrayed by a great artist — in this case Raphael, who had actually seen the beast. Raphael's image is known from a drawing in Berlin, an anonymous copy of a lost study prepared by the master as part of an unfinished commission for Isabella d'Este of Mantua.[9] It shows Hanno standing in profile, with a collar and a bell around his neck, like a cat, to warn of his approach. A youth with a turban and an elephant-hook (*ankush*) holds his trunk and keeps him still; his trainer, also holding an elephant-hook, rides on his back. Numerals that represent Hanno's height

[5] Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 158–173; Clarke, *Rhinoceros*, 20, 103–105, 107–113.

[6] Bedini, *Pope's Elephant*, 117–119.

[7] Clarke, *Rhinoceros*, 19–20.

[8] Bedini, "Papal Pachyderms"; Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 135–144; Bedini, *Pope's Elephant*, 31–58.

[9] Avery, "Hanno the Elephant," 38–39, no. P-36; Winner, "Raffael malt einen Elefanten," esp. 98–99. A less accurate copy of the same lost original is in the Fogg Art Museum, attributed to Giovanni Francesco Penni: Mongan, Oberhuber and Bober, *Fogg Art Museum*, 12 and 30, repr. fig. 12.

and length are written on the sheet, and details such as the hairs on his head and the shortness of his tusks give the vivid impression that the original was a portrayal from life.

Global Images

It was an image of Hanno by Raphael's follower Giulio Romano, however, which enabled the elephant's likeness, like the rhino's, to travel the world. Hanno is the subject of a red chalk drawing by Giulio in the Ashmolean Museum that contains four studies of an elephant (fig. 1.1).[10] Giulio used this sheet, in turn, for the elephants in the *Battle of Zama*, one of a set of twenty-two tapestries showing the *Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio Africanus* that he designed, in part with the assistance of Giovanni Francesco Penni.[11] The battle, which took place in 202 B.C.E. in what is now Tunisia, marked the defeat of the Carthaginian general Hannibal by the Roman Publius Cornelius Scipio. Giulio's tapestry focuses on an early stage of the battle, when Hannibal's eighty war elephants charged the first line of Roman troops. Some of the animals were so terrified by the blasts of the Romans' trumpets and horns that they turned tail and stampeded back through Hannibal's own cavalry.[12]

The Oxford sheet is a working study for this composition. The two full-figure portrayals of the elephant, one in three-quarters view facing the observer and the other facing away, reflect life studies of Hanno, the only elephant Giulio could have seen in the flesh. The drawing then enters the realm of fantasy: Giulio starts to sketch a howdah falling off Hanno's back at the left and adds to the two studies of elephants' heads at the center of the sheet the accoutrements of battle, giving the elephant's ears a ragged outline, presumably in an attempt to suggest the war-hardened beasts in Hannibal's army.

The four elephants of the Oxford sketch reappear in drawings in the Louvre that are thought to be copies of Giulio's compositional studies

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[10] Ferino, "Quattro studi," 262–265.

[11] The Scipio Africanus tapestries are formed of two sets, the Deeds, which were designed in the 1520s, and the Triumphs in the early 1530s. The roles of Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni in the design of the Deeds remain debated. The Battle of Zama belongs to the Deeds. See *Jules Romain*; *Tapestry*, 341–349; Knauer, *Battle of Zama*, 6–12 and 25–44.

[12] Carey, *Hannibal's Last Battle*, 118.

for the tapestry, the howdahs and battle caparisons now completed and Hanno's forward and rear poses integrated into the composition, with the elephant on the right advancing into the line of Roman troops and the one at the left turned into one of the elephants fleeing in fear. However, unlike the descriptions of the battle by classical historians, Giulio shows the animals being frightened by Romans holding up torches, perhaps borrowing from an account of a different battle.[13]

Cornelis Cort, a Dutch printmaker who moved to Venice in 1565 and later worked in Rome, had access to a drawing of this type and created two engravings, one of them a night scene that is in the reverse sense of the drawing.[14] It was his second print, however, a daylit scene in the same direction as the drawing (fig.1.2), that was to broadcast Hanno's image around the globe.[15]

The channels of communication that enabled this exchange were opened by the Portuguese. Portugal completed in the mid-sixteenth century the establishment of what was effectively the first commercial empire connecting all the known continents, a global network of ports and trading posts held together by regular sailings of its cargo ships, which brought not only soldiers and merchants, but also Jesuit missionaries from one end of the world to the other.[16]

By the late seventeenth century, images of both pachyderms had traveled as far as eastern Asia. Dürer's rhinoceros was illustrated in a printed world map of 1674 created in Beijing by the Belgian Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest, which served as part of the mission's efforts to win the trust of the Chinese imperial court by becoming the court's principal source of scientific knowledge.[17] Elephants derived from the Cort print appeared in a screen painted in Japan in the early seventeenth century (fig. 1.3), again under the aegis of the Jesuit missionaries, a work that is now in the Kōsetsu Museum

[13] Knauer, *Battle of Zama*, 16.

[14] Sellink, *Cornelis Cort*, 92, no. 195, and 94, no. 196.

[15] Sellink, *Cornelis Cort*, 93. The inscription on this version of the print incorrectly attributes the design to Raphael rather than Giulio Romano, states that the drawing from which Cort worked was in the collection of Tommaso de' Cavalieri, the Roman nobleman who was Michelangelo's celebrated friend, and indicates that the publisher was Antoine Lafréry (1512–77).

[16] For an overview, see Russell-Wood, *Portuguese Empire*.

[17] Walravens, "Chinese World Map" and Song and Demattè, "Mapping an Acentric World."

in Kobe. The screen, which forms a pair with a world map (fig. 1.4), is traditionally said to portray the Battle of Lepanto of 1571 between European and Ottoman forces, although the actual subject-matter, as will emerge, is considerably more complex.[18]

Hanno in Japan

The Kōsetsu screen was created in the early seventeenth century and shows a panoramic view of a land battle between European forces and a turbaned "oriental" army, whose ranks are bolstered by several war-elephants that are derived from Giulio Romano's drawing of Hanno, transmitted through Cort's print of the *Battle of Zama*. It belongs to a category of Japanese art known as Nanban or Namban ("Southern Barbarian"), after the term used in Japan for the Portuguese, foreigners who had arrived from the south on the large trading vessels known as "black ships" that sailed annually from Macao. The best-known Namban works, folding screens with representations of Portuguese ships and their crews leaving foreign ports and arriving in Japan, were created for a Japanese clientele by artists of the powerful Kano family of painters in Kyoto and would have served as furnishings in the households of daimyos (feudal lords) or wealthy Japanese merchants.[19]

This screen, however, belongs to a different category of Namban art, which depends upon European models and is connected to the Seminary of Painters, a school that was founded by the Jesuit mission in 1590 to train local artists to create works of religious art. The Seminary was conceived by Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), the Visitor who directed the Order's activities in Asia, and led by the Italian Jesuit painter Giovanni Niccolò (c. 1558–1626). The school moved a number of times within Japan, eventually establishing itself in Nagasaki, but in 1614, because of the expulsion edict that exiled all missionaries and Japanese clergy, it was transferred permanently to Macao.[20]

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[18] Sakamoto, *Namban Bijutsu*, figs. 1, 2, 5; *Japan's Golden Age*, 144–146, cat. no. 39.

[19] *Encompassing the Globe*, cat. nos. J-23, J-24, J-30, and J-31. See also Yukio Lippit in Levenson, *Encompassing the Globe*, Essays, 244–253. One pair of screens in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, signed by Kano Naizen and representing the departure of the Portuguese Black Ship from India, shows two elephants in the procession of Portuguese, which are said to refer to an elephant sent to Japan by Philip II of Spain in 1596. Mendes Pinto, *Biombos Namban*, 16.

[20] Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 67–72; Vlam, "Kings and Heroes," 223–225.

The struggle portrayed in the screen is not a literal rendition of Giulio Romano's *Battle of Zama* but an amalgam of sources. The central scene occupied by the elephants and a fallen horse recalls passages in the *Battle of Zama*,[21] while the manner in which the battle unfolds to the left — with a cavalry charge across a bridge and a mounted squadron escorting a regal figure in a triumphal car — is of separate inspiration. The *triumphator* is derived from Adriaen Collaert's engraving after Stradanus of the *Triumph of Caesar*, from about 1590, and some of the horses are from Collaert's related series of the *Twelve Emperors*.[22] In the top half of the screen, a flotilla consisting of two galleons and two galleys besieges the city that occupies a headland on the far right of the screen, which is partly obscured by a multi-storied, tapering round tower on another headland.

The screen appears to conflate concepts and chronologies. It is a battle by land and by sea, and it includes sixteenth-century details such as the cavalry's armour, the infantrymen's muskets, the ships and their cannon, together with other elements that are clearly *all'antica*. Identification of the scene should be clarified by two inscriptions in Japanese, but one over the *triumphator* reads "Roman king", while another below the gate of the city reads "Turk," two impossible adversaries if read literally.

Scholars of Japanese art have generally identified the scene as the battle of Lepanto, in the Gulf of Patras in western Greece, where the forces of the Holy League under Don Juan of Austria overcame an Ottoman fleet in 1571.[23] This battle, however, was exclusively a naval engagement fought between some 200 galleys on each side, leading Sakamoto Mitsuru to propose that, though the screen may refer in abbreviated form to the battle of Lepanto, its lack of specificity suggests a more generic interpretation of Spanish–Ottoman rivalry. The inclusion of a land battle based on the Battle of Zama was merely the result of the serendipitous availability of Cort's engraving.[24]

Grace Vlam favoured a direct identification with Lepanto, arguing that the features of the *triumphator* are close to those of Don Juan of Austria's

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[21] The foot-soldiers with torches also recall those in Giulio Romano's composition (see Knauer, *Battle of Zama*, 16).

[22] Sakamato, "Yoki Shofuga," 63–64, figs. 66–68, and 104–110, figs. 1–12; Vlam, "Kings and Heroes," 241.

[23] Sakamoto, "Repanto"; Sakamoto, "Shoki Yofuga"; Vlam, "Kings and Heroes," 241 and fig.11.

[24] Sakamoto, "Repanto," 31.

half-brother, Philip II of Spain (1527–98), as portrayed in another Namban painting where he is clearly identified by a crest below his throne.[25] She draws a parallel between Scipio Africanus defeating an African enemy and Philip II suppressing the revolt of the Moriscos, or converted Moors, in Andalucia, and combating the Ottomans at Lepanto, events that both took place in 1571.[26]

While the victory at Lepanto proved a short-lived triumph for Christendom, it occasioned exceptional celebrations and numerous memorials,[27] and the delegation of four Japanese Christian boys from Kyushu that was brought by the Jesuits to Europe in 1582 and returned in 1590 was shown depictions of the battle on several occasions, and regaled with a re-enactment.[28] What is more, the envoys are characterized in Alessandro Valignano's *De missione legatorum iaponensium*, printed in Macao in 1590, as having an extended discussion about the physical aspects of this battle, its moral lessons, and the iniquities of the "Saracens."[29] Vlam argues that while Japanese Christians would likely have been familiar with the Jesuit view of Lepanto, they would have been less familiar with images of a naval battle, prompting the artist to include the engagement by land.[30] In this reading the land battle is a cultural concession rather than a meaningful component of the composition. In fact, landscape details make it clear that the naval "battle" is intended to refer to Lepanto because the two headlands, one with a city and one with a fortress, recall features in a late sixteenth-century oil

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[25] It belongs to a group of paintings thought to come from a screen that depicted *Twelve Worthies*, Vlam, "Kings and Heroes," 239.

[26] Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 126–127.

[27] Cf. Spence, *Memory Palace*, 34–36.

[28] Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 128: ref. to Luis Frois, *La première ambassade du Japon*.

[29] Valignano, *De missione*, 136–138, Colloquium 14. In the discussion the young Japanese envoys held about the battle of Lepanto, the Ottomans are not expressly named, but referred to as "Saracens," who are then described as a people formerly subject to the Roman emperor before the arrival of Muhammad. The Christians wage perpetual war against them "since they defected from the Roman Empire and the Christians are enemies": Valignano, *De Missione*, 137–138.

[30] Vlam, "Kings and Heroes," 242, n.62, on a letter sent from Father Antonio Prenestino in Bungo to Rome, asking for images of knights in armour, and land and sea battles. On sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Flemish tapestries in Japan, some with a martial theme, see Vlam, "Tapestries."

painting and related prints of the encounter (figs. 1.5a, 1.5b).[31] Yet, a more coherent interpretation of the screen is that its historical references are to be understood in two levels that correspond to the two tiers of its composition, and that these tiers are not to be read as synchronic but diachronic. The upper, maritime tier would refer to the battle of Lepanto of 1571, while the lower would refer to the battle of Tunis of 1535, an important earlier encounter with the Ottomans on land, where the Emperor Charles V led an expeditionary force that defeated the Ottomans under Hayreddin Barbarossa.

The turbans of the "oriental army" and the inscription referring to the "Turk" pose no obstacles to identifying the land battle as the battle of Tunis, but the references to Ancient Rome — the inscription referring to the "King of Rome," the triumphal car, the *SPQR* on the standards, the part *all'antica* appearance of the "western army," and the presence of elephants, which played no role in the actual battle of Tunis — seem at first puzzling, even contradictory.

All these features can be explained, however, by reference to the Battle of Zama, which furnished the pictorial prototype for the scene. This battle was a decisive moment in Rome's emergence as the premier power in the Mediterranean, and Zama was geographically close to Carthage and thus not far from present-day Tunis. Understandably, then, contemporaries of Charles V likened his victory over the Ottomans at Tunis to Scipio Africanus' victory over the Carthaginians, and the association became a topos of its time.[32] The analogy seemed obvious: there was a coincidence of place, and a similarity between the adversaries — "West" pitched against "East." At Zama

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[31] National Maritime Museum, Greenwich inv. no. BHC0261. The painting is signed "HL." The same features appear, but from a higher view-point, in an engraving of the battle made by Martino Rota in 1572 (for an illustration see Russell, *Visions*, 100, fig. 99A). The fresco of the Battle of Lepanto in the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the Vatican Palace (1581) shows two fortresses flanking the entrance to the "Golfo di Lepanto" (the narrows are now called the Straits of Patras), to the east of the actual site of the battle, with the city of Lepanto running up a hill behind the northern fortress. See Gambi, *Galleria delle Carte*, vol. 3, pl. 38. The earlier views presumably combine the northern fortress and the city of Lepanto into a single image. The fortresses, which are marked on the Vatican fresco with the inscriptions "Dardanelli," since the narrows used to be called the "Dardanelles of Lepanto," represent the Ottoman fortifications, known as the Castle of Rumelia and the Castle of the Morea, erected by Bayezid II on either side of the strait. See Pepper, "Ottoman Military Architecture," 309–310.

[32] Knauer, *Battle of Zama*, 75–76. For Charles V's own commission of a "veridic" rather than *all'antica* tapestry record of the Tunis campaign, see *Tapestry*, esp. 428–434.

the Romans defeated the Carthaginians, who were ultimately of Phoenician stock from present-day Lebanon. At Tunis the Holy Roman Emperor defeated the Ottomans. What appear to be contradictory elements in the painting are thus two complementary forms of reference — description and allusion.

The linkage of the two battles is supported by such sixteenth-century elements as the muskets, and most importantly by the mounted figure in the foreground of the bridge (fig. 1.6a)[33], who wears black-and-gold armour of a type that appears in several state portraits of both Charles V and Philip II[34] and who is modeled after an engraved image of the King of Spain (*Rex Hispaniae*) on a world map issued by Willem Janszoon Blaeu in 1607. Charles V was both the King of Spain and the Holy Roman Emperor, so that the artist was effectively juxtaposing an emperor of ancient Rome at the left with the Holy Roman Emperor.

The missing historical link between the Roman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire is perhaps suggested by a seemingly gratuitous compositional detail — the bridge. It was at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge outside Rome that Constantine, guided by the image of a blazing cross in the sky, defeated Maxentius in 312 C.E., subsequently imposing Christianity as the religion of the Empire. A short, convex bridge packed with horsemen appears in a fresco of the battle of the Milvian Bridge in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican Palace, and might possibly have been the ultimate model for the ill-understood rendering of the bridge on the Japanese screen (figs. 1.6a, 1.6b).[35] The red flags (*vexilla*) that appear in the screen may have been inspired by the version that appears so prominently in the fresco. The image of Constantine

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[33] Vlam ("Western-Style Secular Painting," 126) thought the model for the rider on the bridge was taken from Willem Janszoon Blaeu's map of 1605, which was based on a map by Plancius. She also sees the 1605 map as a major cartographic and figurative source for the painters of this group of Namban screens ("Western-Style Secular Painting," pp. 133–136, for example; "Kings and Heroes," 245). However, Blaeu's world map of 1607, based on Mercator's projection, provides a model not only for this rider but most importantly for all the riders on the pair of *Four Equestrian* screens, for which see below. For the 1607 map see Schilder, "Blaeu's World Map."

[34] *Art of Power*, cat. nos. 14, 45, 48, 51, cf. figs. 31, 34–36, 47, for example.

[35] The fresco of the battle was designed by Raphael and completed by his assistants, most notably by Giulio Romano. It was reproduced in an engraving by Cornelis Cort, but this was never finished. However, there is another engraving by the monogrammist SK that clearly shows the bridge (Massari, *Giulio Romano*, 52–53, no. 44), as does a later copy by Pierre Woeiriot II (1532–99) (Adhémar, *Inventaire*, vol. 2, 171, no. 53).

was important to Rome and the Spanish crown in the late sixteenth century, and in 1594 the Oratorian Cesare Baronio dedicated the third book of his *Annales ecclesiastici*, which was on Constantine, to Philip II of Spain.[36]

While Giulio Romano's Scipio tapestries were innovative in their exclusive use of antique accoutrements, there was no such need for historical accuracy in the Japanese screen, which was intended not as historical description but as exegesis. The battles of Tunis and Lepanto were the two most significant victories that the "Spanish" enjoyed over the Ottomans in the sixteenth century. They represented successes for Charles V and his son Philip II, emphasizing Habsburg claims to be the champions of Catholic Christendom against the forces of Islam in the Mediterranean.[37]

The theme of Ottoman–Iberian rivalry appears in other paintings produced in the Jesuit painting academy in Japan in the period between the issuance of Blaeu's map in 1607 and the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1614.[38] Yet, at this time the Ottomans were not posing any immediate military threat to Iberian interests. It seems more likely that they were chosen by the Jesuits as examples of Muslim–Christian confrontation and of the broader theme of threats to Catholicism: they had been fiercely confronted by European forces, and on two signal occasions defeated.

These were difficult and dangerous years for the Jesuit mission and its Japanese converts. The Shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), had earlier been an ally of the Jesuits, but he was to become their implacable opponent. The English and the Dutch, both Protestant powers, were making inroads into Japan, and they were a threat not only to Portuguese mercantile interests but to the Catholic cause.[39] A confrontation between the Jesuits and the anti-

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[36] Fumaroli, "Cross, Crown and Tiara," 100, note 4. For more information on Philip's identification with Constantine, including the idea that the Battle of the Milvian Bridge was a prototype for the victory at Lepanto, see Tanner, *Aeneas*, 202–204. By coincidence, the elephant Hanno crossed the Milvian Bridge in 1514 on his way into the city of Rome (Bedini, *Pope's Elephant*, 41).

[37] The tapestries of the Tunis campaign were prominently featured on state occasions, not just in Spain, but also in England, in connection with Mary Tudor's marriage to Philip II in 1554, when they were clearly intended to assert the ascendancy of the Catholic cause over both Protestantism and Islam (Samson, *Spanish Match*, 14–15; Dimmock, *New Turkes*, 52–53.)

[38] See, for example, Akiyama, "First Epoch," 23, and fig. 40; Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 118.

[39] The Dutch were allowed a trading base on Hirado in 1609.

Christian governor of Nagasaki in 1609 led to Ieyasu banishing the Jesuit João Rodrigues, who had been the court interpreter, and replacing him with the Englishman Will Adams. Between 1611 and 1614 Ieyasu collected evidence against the Jesuits, and in 1614 two imperial edicts were issued that resulted in their banishment.[40]

The Lepanto screen and its companion map, with their triumphant, exhortatory message, would have been most appropriate at this time as gifts to a Japanese Christian convert. While the identity of the first owner is not known, the screens were once in the possession of the Okubo family, who had been vassals of a Christian daimyo.[41]

Another pair of screens that includes the theme of Christians fighting Muslims may have been given to Ieyasu himself. He received a world map as a gift,[42] and this may have been the world map on a screen he discussed with two high-ranking officials in the ninth lunar month of 1611 (6 October-4 November 1611).[43] This map is presumed to be one of the pair of screens now in the Imperial Collection in Tokyo.[44]

The pendant to this map contains views of 28 world cities.[45] The depiction of Rome accords central prominence to the church of the Gesù, the mother church of the Jesuit order, and the Collegium Romanum, the international college of the Jesuits. This leaves little doubt that the screen was produced in a Jesuit milieu. What is more, it is based on a view of Rome — the so-called *Roma Ignaziana* — produced in connection with the beatification of St. Ignatius of Loyola on July 27, 1609.[46] As no Portuguese ship reached Nagasaki from Macao in 1610, an independent print of this view or a copy of the book in which it appears was presumably brought to Japan in the ship that

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[40] Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 132–135.

[41] Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 120.

[42] Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 144.

[43] *Japan Envisions the West*, 26 and 65.

[44] It was given by the Tokugawa to the Emperor during the Meiji restoration.

[45] *Japan Envisions the West*, 24–25, figs. 3a, b; Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 152–164.

[46] Akiyama, "First Epoch," 23; Sakamoto, "Shoki Yofuga," 67; Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 152; Katsushi, "Two Streams," 64. The view was published in an edition of Pedro de Ribadaneira's *Vita Patris Beati Ignatii Loyolae*, printed in Antwerp in 1610. See Lucas, *Landmarking*, 135; Conrod, *Loyola's Greater Narrative*, 89–91; Ditchfield, "Reading Rome," 190–191.

left Macao in June 1611.[47] In short, this pair of screens seems to have been completed by the Jesuits as a gift for Ieyasu between July and October 1611.

Above the cities is a frieze of eight riders, grouped into pairs. The figures are taken from the Blaeu world map of 1607, which allows their precise identification as leading Christian rulers — the King of Spain, the Holy Roman Emperor, the Grand Duke of Moscow, and the Emperor of Abyssinia, three of whom are pitted against a Muslim counterpart, while the Holy Roman Emperor confronts the erstwhile Protestant King of France, Henri IV.[48] The two screens together convey the vast reach of the Christian oikoumene, the great wealth of its cities, and its willingness to oppose its enemies, information that the Jesuits might have hoped would encourage Ieyasu to return to being a friend to Catholicism.

Another pair of screens shows a comparable group of eight horsemen, also drawn from Blaeu's world map of 1607, but scaled up some forty times in size. One of the screens shows *Four Equestrians in Combat*, arranged in pairs, each a western monarch and a Muslim ruler (figs. 1.7a–e).[49] The pendant screen depicts *Four Equestrians at Rest* (figs. 1.8a–e),[50] and seems to contain a more nuanced message that could have been appropriate for the daimyo Gamo Hideyuki (1583–1612), to whom it was allegedly given. Although never baptized a Christian, he was the son of Gamo Ujisato (1556–1595), who had converted.[51]

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[47] No ship sailed in 1610, and a small vessel rather than one of the Black Ships sailed for Nagasaki in 1611. Boxer, *Great Ship*, 78–79; Oliveira e Costa, "Route under Pressure," 90–91.

[48] The Blaeu world map of 1607 includes a frieze of ten monarchs of the world.

[49] Reading from left to right, they can be identified from the Blaeu map as the *Imperator Romanorum* fighting the *Imperator Turcicus*, and the *Magnus Dux Moscoviae* in combat with the *Magnus Cham Tartarorum*.

[50] Katsushi, "Two Streams," 58–65, fig. 10, and pl. 33, where the source is alleged to be a world map published by Pieter van den Keere in 1609, which in turn relied on the Blaeu world map of 1607. The van den Keere 1609 map (which is known now only through a re-edition of 1619; see Schilder, "Blaeu's Wall Map," 41, fig. 3) is also stated to be the source of several of the world maps on Japanese screens by Kazutaka Unno ("Cartography in Japan", p.380), but the Blaeu map of 1607 seems closer to the Japanese screens cartographically (see Schilder, 44) as well as in its surrounding images. Cf. Oka, "Painters of Japan and the West," 23–24, 26.

[51] Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 105, 114–116; Miriam Ricketts in *Japan, Shaping of Daimyo Culture*, 181–182, cat. no. 112.

This screen shows three Christian rulers, holding sceptres rather than swords, confronted by a solitary Muslim ruler brandishing a lance: Rex Angliae, Rex Franciae, Rex Abissinarum [sic], and Rex Persiae (figs. 1.8a–e). The meaning of this choice is not immediately obvious, until it is seen that the two central figures are both converts to Catholicism. The King of France is identified thanks to two coats-of-arms as the reigning Henri IV (1589–1610). Raised as a Protestant, Henri was noted for having converted to Catholicism — four years after he acceded to the throne.[52] The Emperor of Ethiopia at this time was Susneyos (r. 1604–32), who introduced Catholicism in place of Orthodoxy as the state religion.[53] The figures at either end of the screen are, by contrast, recent allies whose reliability as "friends" might have been open to question. One was the contemporary ruler of Persia, Shah ʿAbbas, who in 1601 formed an alliance against the Ottomans with Philip III of Spain (and, as Philip II, also king of Portugal), and who conducted in the 1600s a major diplomatic push to cement alliances and further his export of silk. The other was the King of England, the Protestant James I, who in August 1604 concluded a treaty with Spain that ended almost twenty years of war. However, in connection with the Gunpowder Plot in 1605, he proceeded aggressively against the Catholics in his kingdom.

There appear to be three complementary themes in *Four Equestrians at Rest*, all of which would have been meaningful to Gamo Hideyuki — conversion to Catholicism, the threat of false denominations, and the danger of false "friends," one of whom was an infidel and the other an enemy of the Catholics.

The Lepanto screen and its correlatives thus express a wide-ranging program for the Japanese, and one whose message was modulated according to the recipient: a lesson in geography that underlined the global reach of the Catholic communities, a lesson in the Ottoman–Iberian struggles that celebrated the triumph of the faith, and a lesson in contemporary European and Middle Eastern politics that was not only an exhortation to trust only

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[52] Vlam, "Kings and Heroes," 243; Vlam, "Western-Style Secular Painting," 105–118; cf. Terukazu, "First Epoch," 22.

[53] The Ethiopian Emperor has previously been identified as David Dengel (r. 1508–40) on account of his opposition to the Ottomans (Vlam, "Kings and Heroes," 246). Dengel's successors continued to be threatened by the Ottomans following their establishment of the province of Habesh on the Red Sea coast in the sixteenth century, largely with the aim of protecting their empire against the Portuguese.

the "True Church," but also an allusion to the growing threat to Catholicism in Japan.

Conclusion: The Spread of Knowledge and Faith

The connections among the world's continents created by the Portuguese enabled Hanno and the rhinoceros to make their original voyages from India to Lisbon and Rome and their likenesses to travel from Europe to Asia via the same network of trading ships that had brought them west. The parallels between the journeys of the two pachyderms are nearly complete: both were shipped to Europe by Afonso de Albuquerque, while their images were transmitted back to Asia by the Jesuits, in effect the spiritual arm of Portugal's Asian empire. The differing guises in which the animals reappeared result from the differing strategies of the Jesuit missions in China and Japan.

In Beijing the Jesuits focused on relaying scientific information to the Chinese court as a means of encouraging conversion, and Ferdinand Verbiest selected Dürer's rhinoceros for inclusion in his world map in the belief that it was an accurate rendering of the animal.

In Japan the Jesuits' Seminary of Painters was the source of more complicated messages, using various combinations of geography, topography, and both ancient and modern history. Geographical knowledge was an important part of the lesson the Jesuits preached, and the Lepanto screen is paired with an up-to-date map of the world. Yet, in the battle itself they made use of classical learning and Interpretatio Christiana to warn and inspire their Japanese flock or potential allies. In this many-layered composition, the modern Hanno plays his part in the Battle of Zama, an ancient Roman scene given topical and contemporary Christian significance by its Jesuit authors. This was painting as propaganda, for, as one of the principal figures at the Council of Trent declared: "Like the orator, the painter is to persuade…".[54]

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[54] Hibbard, "*Ut picturae sermones*," 40, n. 39, reference to Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso*, 215.

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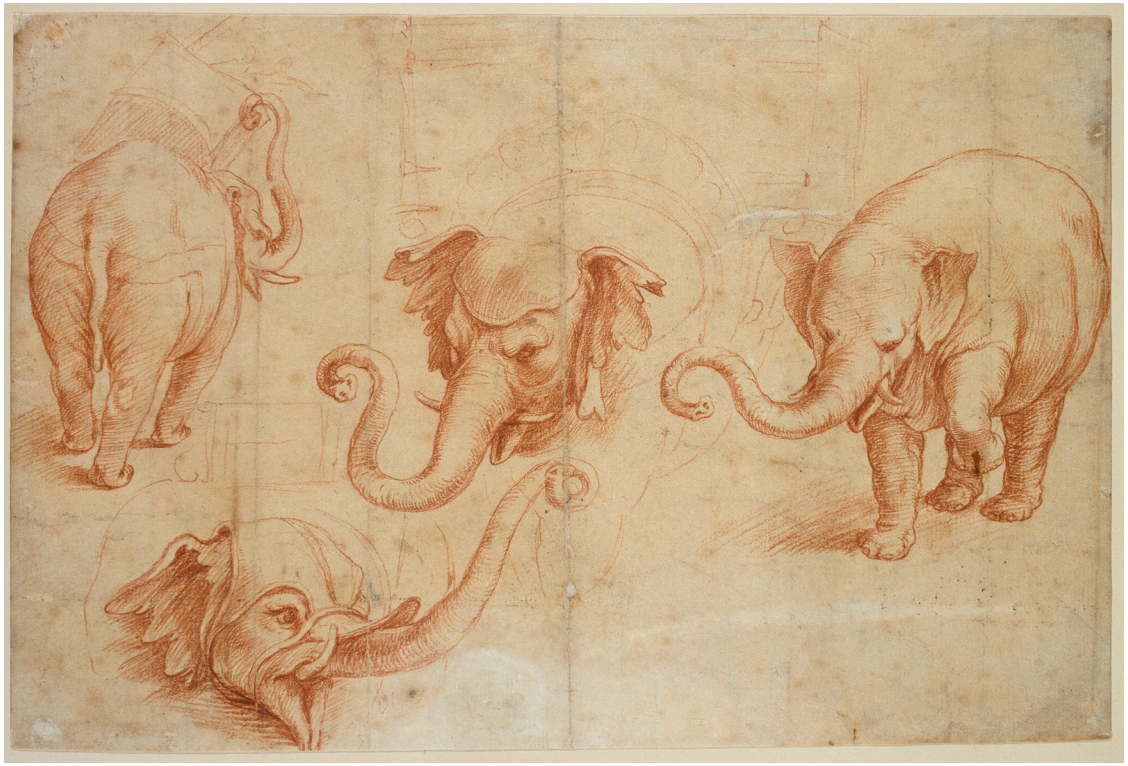
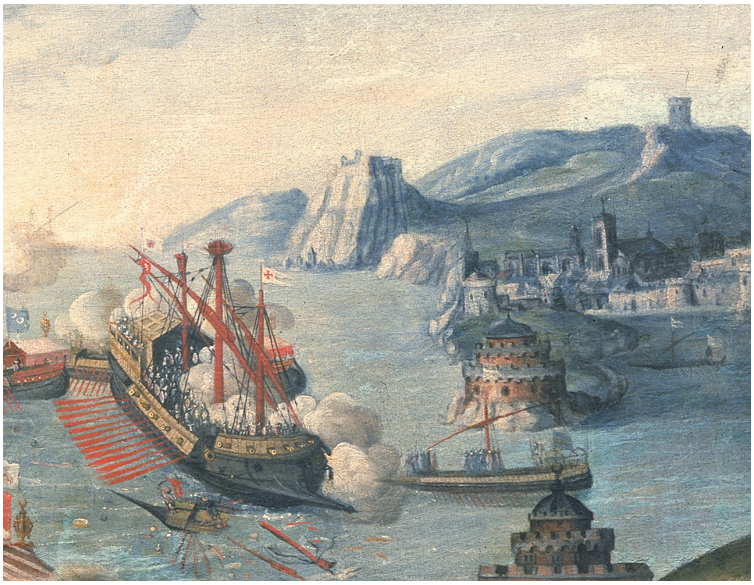


1.1 Giulio Romano, *Four Studies of an Elephant* (1514–16?). Red chalk on pale buff paper. Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum. Presented by a Body of Subscribers, 1846; WA1846.226.

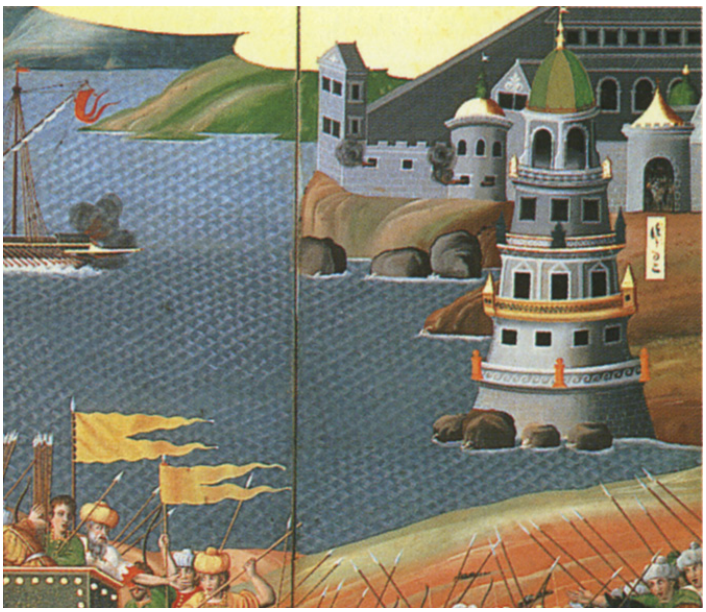
1.2 Cornelis Cort after Giulio Romano, *The Battle of Zama* (1567). Engraving. London, British Musuem (1988, 1105.8).

1.3 Japan, *The Battle of Lepanto* (c. 1609–14). Six-panel folding screen. Ink, colors and gold on paper. Kobe, Kōsetsu Museum.

1.4 Japan, *Map of the World* (c. 1609–14). Six-panel folding screen, pendant to fig.3. Ink, colors and gold on paper. Kobe, Kōsetsu Museum.



1.5a "HR," *Battle of Lepanto*, detail (late 16th century). Oil on canvas. Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, inv. no. BHC0261.



1.5b Japan, *The Battle of Lepanto*, detail from fig. 1.3.

1.6a Japan, *The Battle of Lepanto*, detail from fig. 1.3 showing the Rex Hispaniae.

1.6b Pierre Woeiriot II, *Battle of the Milvian Bridge*, detail (second half of the sixteenth century). Engraving. Courtesy of C. & J. Goodfriend, drawings and prints.

1.7a Japan, *Four Equestrians in Combat* (c. 1608–1614). Eight-fold screen remounted as four-fold screen. Ink, colors and gold on paper. Kobe City Museum.

1.7b. Imperator Romanorum

1. 7c. Imperator Turcicus

1.7d. Magnus Dux Moscoviae

1.7e. Magnus Cham Tartarorum

1.7b-e Details of world map issued by Willem Janszoon Blaeu, Netherlands (1607). Original lost in the Second World War. Photo courtesy of Netherlands Scheepvaartmuseum Amsterdam.

1.8a Japan, *Four Equestrians at Rest* (c. 1608–1614). Eight-fold screen remounted as four-fold screen. Ink, colors and gold on paper. Tokyo, Suntory Museum of Art.

1.8b. Rex Angliae

1.8c. Rex Franciae

8d. Imperator Abissinorum

8e. Rex Persiae

1.8b-e Details of world map issued by Willem Janszoon Blaeu, Netherlands (1607). Original lost in the Second World War. Photo courtesy of Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam.