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NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S DRAW

Revisiting Philips Van Winghe's Sketches of the Azuchi Screens in Lorenzo Pignoria's "Le imagini de gli dei de gli antichi"

ABSTRACT

The Azuchi Screens 安土図屏風 (*Azuchi-zu byōbu*) are a pair of six-panel folding screens that were commissioned around 1579 by the warlord Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582) and executed by Kanō Eitoku 狩野永徳 (1543–1590), the fourth-generation head of the Kanō school of painting 狩野派. Depicting Nobunaga's newly constructed Azuchi Castle 安土城 (Azuchi-jō) and its surrounding town, the screens are the only known illustration of this short-lived landmark in architectural history and progenitor of the iconic Japanese castle form. Gifted to the Jesuits and presented in 1585 to Pope Gregory XIII (1502–1585) in Rome, the screens became the first major diplomatic gift offered from Japan to the West but disappear from the record shortly thereafter. Currently, the only known illustrated vestiges of this international treasure are two woodblock prints that were based on sketches by the Louvain antiquarian Philips van Winghe (1560–1592) and included in revised editions of *Le imagini de gli dei de gli antichi* (*Images of the Gods of the Ancients*) by the Padua-based scholar Lorenzo Pignoria (1571–1631). Owing to the awkward and partially inscrutable character of the buildings depicted within them, these prints have been dismissed as reflections of orientalist naïveté. However, examination of these images and comparison with Eitoku's other paintings reveal much about the visual profile of the Azuchi Screens as well as the paintings' significance to a European audience. This article argues that the choice of subject for these prints was not arbitrary, but the product of a convergence of knowledge about Nobunaga's ambitions at Azuchi transmitted to Italy via the Jesuit mission reports and late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century currents of thought regarding the roots of newly encountered cultures around the world.

《安土図屏風》は織田信長（1534-1582）の依頼（1579　年頃）により、狩野派四代目当主の狩野永徳（1543-1590）が制作した六曲一双の屏風である。信長が造営した安土城は、完成後数年で焼失したものの建築史上の画期をなし、日本における象徴的な城郭形式の祖となった。この城と城下町を描いた《安土図屏風》を除いて、安土城の図像的記録は知られていない。信長からイエズス会に贈られた屏風は、 1585 年にローマで教皇グレゴリウス 13　世（1502-1585）に献上され、日本から西欧に運ばれた最初の重要な外交贈答品となったものの、その直後から所在不明となった。この世界史的至宝を写した現存唯一の図像史料が、ルーヴァン出身の古物研究家フィリップス・ファン・ウィンゲ（1560-1592）の模写に基づく　2　点の木版画で、これらはパドヴァを拠点とする知識人ロレンツォ・ピニョリア（1571-1631）が編纂した『古代人の神々の姿について』増補改訂版に掲載された。木版画の建物には不自然で部分的に不可解な特徴が認められるため、東洋学者の無知を反映したものとされ、これまで正当な建築史的考察がなされてこなかった。そこで本稿では、その詳細な分析と狩野永徳の現存作品との比較により、《安土図屏風》の視覚的特徴や西欧にとっての意味を明らかにする。そして、木版画の主題選択は気まぐれなどではなく、安土における信長の野望についての知見がイエズス会報告書を介してイタリアに伝わり、 16 世紀後半か

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ら 17 世紀初頭の西欧知識人が世界各地の異文化とその起源を追求した知的営みと合流した結果であることを実証的に論じる。

In the history of Japanese painting, few works of art are the subject of greater fascination and speculation than the Azuchi Screens (*Azuchi-zu byōbu* 安土図屏風).[1] These paintings were commissioned around the year 1579 by the warlord Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582) to commemorate his remarkable new castle home on Mount Azuchi (Azuchiyama 安土山) and are attributed to Kanō Eitoku 狩野永徳 (1543–1590), the fourth-generation head of the Kanō school of painting 狩野派, at the time the most dynamic and prolific painting studio in Japan.[2] Although now lost, they represented a commission of the highest order for a renowned painter at the height of his powers. Even more importantly, the screens were eventually gifted to Pope Gregory XIII (1502–1585), for whom they served as a radiant portrait of Japan and its ruler ensconced in a newly constructed and previously unwitnessed mountain citadel. As such, the Azuchi Screens have fueled the imagination of all who hold an interest in this seminal moment in Japan's political and cultural history, when it had been unified by a larger-than-life hegemon formulating a new image of East Asian kingship.

Accordingly, it is no surprise that the Azuchi Screens have been subject to periodic investigations as to their possible survival and whereabouts in the Vatican.[3] They were known to have been displayed in a gallery near Gregory XIII's private apartments at least until the year 1592, after which all documentary evidence of their presence vanishes. Some researchers believe that remnants of the screens still survive somewhere in the Papal City or in the great collections of Roman families. While these investigations are ongoing and may never be resolved, there are art historical means by which to more richly and meaningfully imagine the screen's original appearance and its significance.

This essay represents one such attempt to reconsider the visual profile of the Azuchi Screens, and through such reconsideration to understand how the screens were viewed and conceptualized by their overseas audiences in Europe. It does so by subjecting to intensive examination an unexpected source, an Italian publication entitled *Le imagini de gli dei de gli antichi* (The images of the gods of the ancients; hereafter *Imagini*). More specifically, I will analyze two motifs included in an addendum to the 1624, 1626, and 1647 editions entitled "Seconda parte delle imagini de gli dei indiani" ("Second part of the images of Indian gods"; hereafter "Seconda parte") (figs. 1, 2).[4] These prints represent the last known record of the screens and the only known illustrated vestiges of its contents. The origins of the motifs in question are detailed in a caption written by the editions' author and editor, Lorenzo Pignoria (1571–1631): "The already mentioned Philips van Winghe in one of his [notebook] pages yet drew the temples of some Japanese deities, placed above some steep rocks. And he recounted that he copied them from the painters [*sic*] that the Japanese ambassadors brought to donate to Pope Gregory XIII."[5] The first of Philips van Winghe's (1560–1592) sketches, hereafter called *Page 569*, depicts a multilevel hip-and-gable-roofed building with seemingly gravity-defying structural elements projecting from its roof and base (fig. 1). The second, hereafter called *Page 570*, contains a two-level gate (fig. 2). For Japan specialists, these images have largely been treated as an interesting curiosity, but ultimately one of limited scholarly value.[6] Conversely, scholars of Western art or

FIGURES 1 AND 2. Philip Esengren, *Page 569* (left) and *Page 570* (right), copied from the sketches by Philips van Winghe, in Lorenzo Pignoria, "Seconda parte delle imagini de gli dei indiani," in *Le imagini de gli dei de gli antichi* (1624). Woodblock prints, each: 14.9 x 21.9 cm. Reproductions from the 1626 edition. Private collection

intellectual exchange suspect the importance of these images, but their Japanese origins have proven a stumbling block that prevents anything greater than a superficial reading of their subjects.[7] This article seeks to provide needed background to both perspectives and, in turn, to demonstrate that when these prints are placed in the proper context, they can be quite revealing; indeed, their misinformed nature proves to be highly informative.

While the apparent misidentification of Azuchi Castle as a temple in Pignoria's caption seems to confirm a limited knowledge and awareness of Japan on the part of its authors, I would propose that these motifs were not arbitrarily documented. Rather, and to foreground a key point in this article, I propose here that *Page 569* represents a significant building within the Azuchi Castle grounds known as the Bishamon Hall 毘沙門堂 of Sōkenji 摠見寺. Its very selection from among the many options offered by the screens may tell us much about how Nobunaga and his castle-palace were imagined by the Jesuits and, through them, by commentators in Europe. The investigation of these pages will show that even the smallest vestiges, surviving in the form of copies of copies, can help reconstruct important threads of reception and interpretation. These threads ultimately bring us back to Mount Azuchi at the time of its greatest historical glory and allow us to further understand a moment when the entire nature of Japanese sovereignty appeared to be changing rapidly.

Azuchi Castle and the Azuchi Screens

A low peak with ridges projecting into an inlet lake connected to Lake Biwa 琵琶湖, Mount Azuchi was plucked from obscurity in 1576 when Nobunaga determined the site would

be developed as a new capital for his military dynasty. Riding a string of military victories, commanding the largest armies on the archipelago, and poised to expand his already unprecedented and unmatched territorial claims, Nobunaga required a home that could serve to both maintain his position and enhance his public image.[8] Construction was finished in 1579, and the resulting castle and adjacent town remained a center of politics and culture until 1582, when the castle complex was destroyed in the chaos that followed Nobunaga's assassination.

The building of Azuchi Castle represented a dramatic return to monumental architecture in Japan. Not since the construction of Shōkokuji 相国寺 and the raising of a massive seven-level pagoda at the end of the fourteenth century had such a large-scale timber frame structure been deployed as a means to project authority on the archipelago.[9] The scale of construction at Azuchi, however, well surpassed this closest precedent; and in the construction challenges it embodied, Azuchi Castle was more comparable to the eighth-century temple complex of Tōdaiji 東大寺 and its Great Buddha Hall (*daibutsuden* 大仏殿), one of the largest timber frame buildings ever constructed.[10] Unlike Shōkokuji and Tōdaiji, however, Azuchi Castle was an expression of the reach and authority of a leader unmediated by religious institutions.[11] This distinction was made possible by the choice of architectural forms used, namely military or defensive architecture such as towers (*yagura* 櫓), drystone walls (*ishigaki* 石垣), and gates (*mon* 門). Prior to Azuchi, these architectural typologies had been understood as temporary and purely functional.[12] Nobunaga's achievement at Azuchi was to take advantage of the association between these structures and their warrior inhabitants that had been cultivated after a century of civil wars, to infuse this martial architecture with opulent decoration, and to position the castle and its many structures near a sizeable population. In this way, the structures became an inescapable reminder of Nobunaga's identity, wealth, cultural sophistication, organizational capacity, and historical place. In turn, the castle served to legitimize Nobunaga's past successes and, more importantly, to cultivate a sense that his ascendancy was an inevitable fact.

Around the time of Azuchi Castle's completion in 1579, Nobunaga commissioned various distinguished persons to commemorate his architectural achievements there.[13] Three such commissions are known: a floor-by-floor and room-by-room description of the castle's *tenshu* 天主 (keep), a poetic encomium, and the Azuchi Screens.[14] As noted above, the screens are attributed to Eitoku, the most famed artist of his day. Eitoku's eminence derived in large part due to his work at Azuchi Castle, where, in 1576 and at the age of thirty-three, he was commissioned by Nobunaga to paint the interiors of several buildings within the castle's inner bailey (*honmaru* 本丸). This commission would come to be seen as marking a critical moment in Eitoku's career, when he transitioned from finely detailed works referred to as *saiga* 細画 (small [detailed] painting) to the formulation of a dynamic style of large-scale painting referred to as *taiga* 大画 (large painting), which mostly consisted of vibrantly painted subjects set against gold leaf backgrounds conceived to fill the spacious interiors of castles such as Azuchi.[15]

Produced at the tail end of the Azuchi Castle commission, the Azuchi Screens represent both a culmination of Eitoku's time there, but also a return to his roots. Based on European eyewitness accounts that characterize the screens as on "panels"[16] and "gilded and painted upon,"[17] as well as the architectural subjects and receding diagonal ground plane that appear in *Pages 569* and *570*, it is clear that the Azuchi Screens were executed in the style of a popular sixteenth- and seventeenth-century painting genre exemplifying the *saiga* mode: *rakuchū*

FIGURE 3. Kanō Eitoku, *Rakuchū rakugai*, Uesugi Screens, ca. 1565. Pair of six-panel folding screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper, each: 160 x 364 cm. Yonezawa City Uesugi Museum

FIGURE 4. Kanō Eitoku, *Scenes of Amusements Around the Capital* (*Rakugai meisho yūrakuzu*), 16th century. Pair of four-panel folding screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper, each: 85.4 x 177.0 cm. Private collection

rakugai-zu 洛中洛外図 (lit., scenes in and around the capital). As the name suggests, *rakuchū rakugai-zu* are defined by their subject, the ancient Japanese capital of Kyoto and its environs. Significantly, Azuchi is thought to be one of the first locales of import beyond the capital and its outskirts to be depicted in this mode.[18] As such, the Azuchi Screens represent an important beginning whereupon the genre of *rakuchū rakugai-zu* evolved into a subcategory of the broader grouping of cityscape screens 都市図屏風 (*toshizu byōbu*).

Serendipitously, two such urban portraits by Eitoku still exist. Typifying the form and style of the genre as well as Eitoku's skill in rendering minutiae, the first of these works consists of a pair of six-panel screens known as the Uesugi Screens 上杉本洛中洛外図屏風 (*Uesugi-bon rakuchū rakugai-zu byōbu*; fig. 3). The second example, a pair of four-panel screens, is known as *Scenes of Amusements Around the Capital* (*Rakugai meisho yūrakuzu* 洛外名所遊楽図; fig. 4). The two pairs of screens offer panoramic, bird's-eye views with a wide array of finely detailed temples, shrines, homes, and shops, as well as courtier and elite warrior estates. In front of

and within these backdrops, thousands of figures go about their daily lives. The Uesugi Screens are organized around the layout of the capital's grid plan. While broadly conforming to the topography of the capital in its day, billowing clouds and gold leaf ground serve to structure the pictorial space to feature a range of prominent institutions. *Scenes of Amusements* likewise employs golden clouds to organize space, but as compared to the Uesugi Screens, distance is even more compressed as its subjects are topographically situated well beyond the west and south of the capital's grid.

Based on the similarity of these screens to the sources noted above, it is evident that the Azuchi Screens contained a mixture of gold clouds and ground corralling the castle and its environs in a panoramic manner. A distribution of subjects can also be tentatively proposed using a 1660 description of the screens, presumably based on now-lost accounts, that relates that there were "two decorative screens . . . one of which was adorned with a painted portrait of the new City and the other the unbreachable Fortress of Azuchi."[19] In other words, one screen depicted the castle and the other the town of Azuchi extending from the base of Mount Azuchi (fig. 5).

The latter "town-screen" almost certainly resembled the Uesugi Screens. Like the capital, the town of Azuchi was topographically flat and composed of a grid of straight, wide streets within which rice paddies, the homes and shops of merchants and artisans, the estates of Nobunaga's vassals, as well as various area temples and shrines were situated.[20] Included among these was the Jesuits' Azuchi Seminary.[21] Little is known about the exact location of this structure or building complex other than that it was constructed on reclaimed land and included a three-story tower.[22] Although the composition of the screens was likely adapted, as in the *Scenes of Amusements*, to respond to the unique quirks of Azuchi's topography and urban plan, the seminary and other subjects very likely served, as in the Uesugi Screens, as backdrops for bustling scenes of commerce, daily life, and festival celebrations.[23]

Clues to Eitoku's approach to rendering the "castle-screen" may be deduced via another analogous cityscape: the Mitsui Memorial Museum's Jurakutei Screen (*Jurakutei-zu byōbu* 聚楽第図屏風, fig. 6).[24] Jurakutei 聚楽第 was a castle complex constructed in 1585 by Nobunaga's

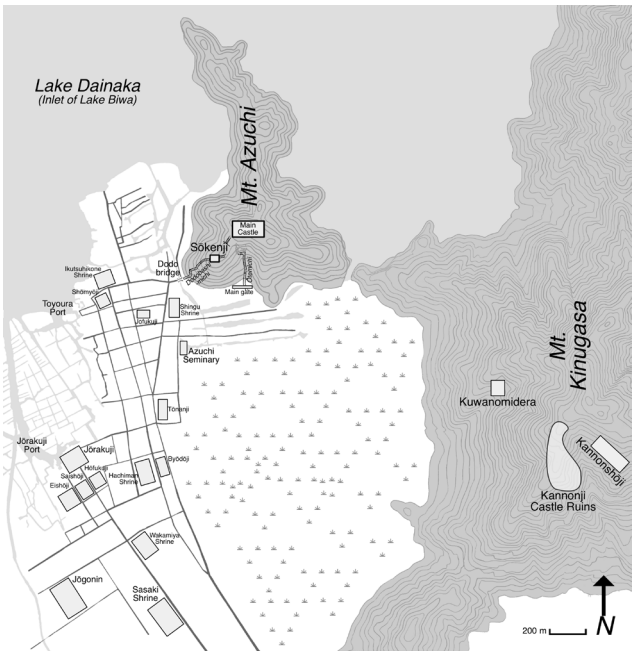

FIGURE 5. Map of Azuchi by the author, based on Kido Masayuki, "Azuchiyama to Azuchiyama shitamachi—Oda Nobunaga ga mezashi shita katachi—" (Mount Azuchi and the town of Azuchiyama—the form of Oda Nobunaga's aims), in *Nobunaga no jōkamachi* (Nobunaga's castle towns), edited by Niki Hiroshi and Matsuo Nobuhiro (Tokyo: Koshi Shoin, 2008), 113–35; and Shiga-ken Azuchi-jōkaku chōsa kenkyūjo, ed., *Hakkutsu chōsa 15 nen no kiseki zusetsu Azuchi-jō wo horu* (Excavation survey: illustrated history of Heisei 15 excavation of Azuchi Castle) (Hikone: Sunrise, 2004), 62–67

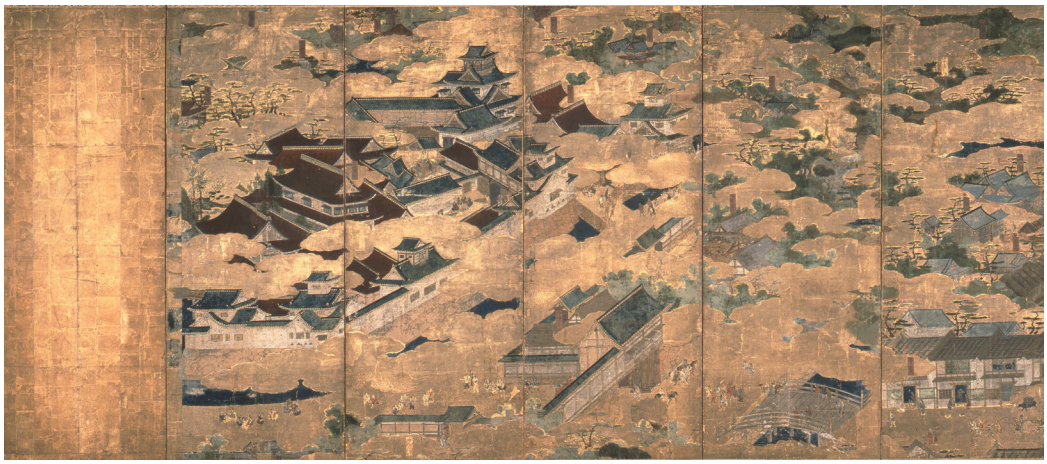

FIGURE 6. Jurakutei Screen, late 16th century. Six-panel folding screen; ink, colors, and gold on paper, 156 x 355 cm. Mitsui Memorial Museum, Tokyo

successor Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–1598) in the heart of the capital and was one of the first post-Azuchi castles. Like Azuchi, the palatial castle estate served as a base of operations and residence.[25] The Jurakutei Screen was executed slightly later, in the early 1590s, by an unidentified artist from the Kanō atelier. Like the Uesugi and *Scenes of Amusements* screens, the painting renders its subject panoramically, employing billowing gold clouds to both organize space and selectively reveal a sprawling urban landscape beyond.[26] The composition is arranged around a central apex, the Jurakutei *tenshu*, situated at the top of the fourth panel from the right. Spreading out below it and corralled by a wall and moat are the buildings of the castle's inner bailey.

Primary sources and excavations on Mount Azuchi suggest that many similar subjects were included within the castle-screen. Ascending the southern face of Mount Azuchi is the *ōtemichi* 大手道, a six-meter-wide staircase-path that was guarded at its base by a 110-meter-long wall,[27] characterized by three gates, two at either end and one in its center that checked the *ōtemichi*'s start. Beyond this wall and situated above it on the mountain were several precincts that have been presumed to be the ruins of the estates of Nobunaga's vassals and allies.[28] The second path, known as the *Dodobashi-michi* 百々橋道, follows the mountain's southwest ridge. Shortly up its ascent, this path arrives at the temple complex of Sōkenji. Although unusual for Japanese castles constructed after Azuchi, the inclusion of a temple was a common feature of large pre-Azuchi castles.[29] Nobunaga's decimation of various religious institutions that opposed him can be credited, at least in part, for their later exclusion from castle precincts including Jurakutei. However, prior to this moment, castle-temples functioned as sites for warriors praying for success in battle, for longevity, and to ward off pre-battle curses. Past Sōkenji and halfway up the mountain, the *ōtemichi* and *Dodobashi-michi* met and ascended to the peak of the mountain, where the outer and inner baileys of the castle were situated.

As they constituted the tallest and most visible parts of Azuchi Castle, the various buildings and surrounding walls of the inner bailey were almost certainly included within Eitoku's screens. However, given the limited nature of primary sources and the archaeological record, it is impossible to state with any certainty the layout or exact character of any of these

structures.[30] The only building confirmed in both the primary and archaeological records is the *tenshu*.[31] This structure stood seven stories high atop a drystone pedestal base, had sweeping gables, and was sided with a combination of plaster and black clapboard wall.[32] Above these stories and emerging from and contrasting with a tiled, sloping roof that covered the third and fourth floors was a crowning two-story belvedere. The lower story of this belvedere was a red and white octagonal floor.[33] Atop it sat a story characterized by three-by-three bays and covered in part or whole with gold leaf. This pinnacle of both castle and mountain is widely thought to have been capped with a red-yellow tiled, hip-and-gable roof with *shachihoko* 鯱鉾, ornamental finials placed at either end of the ridge in the shape of an imaginary animal, a type of dragon with a face similar to a fierce tiger and an arched, carp-like body.[34]

Across the World: From Screens to Sketch to Print

The tale of how the screens crossed the oceans and came to be reproduced in xylographic form is one that has been extensively studied.[35] Nobunaga presented the Azuchi Screens to Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), Jesuit Visitor of Missions in the Indies, as a farewell gift when Valignano was visiting Azuchi around August 1581. Valignano subsequently incorporated them in an endeavor retroactively named the Tenshō Embassy (*Tenshō no shisetsu* 天正の使節). The embassy, comprising a delegation of four young sons of Christian daimyo, was planned by Valignano to promote the Jesuits' work in Japan by parading them around southern Europe and, upon the boys' return to Japan, having them act as educators on the glory of Christian Europe. The embassy departed Nagasaki on February 20, 1582, and, via the Cape of Good Hope, arrived in Lisbon in August 1584. From Portugal, they continued through Spain and into Italy, met with dignitaries and rulers including Philip II (1527–1598), and were greeted with much fanfare in each city they entered. The climax of the boys' tour was a formal audience with Pope Gregory XIII in Rome held on March 23, 1585. Soon after this encounter, they formally presented the pope with the Azuchi Screens, after which the boys were taken on a tour of parts of the Vatican, during which they were promised that the screens would be put on display in a gallery near the pope's apartments.[36] The boys departed Rome on June 3 of the same year and returned to Japan on July 21, 1590.

It is at this point that Philips van Winghe converges with the history of the screens. Van Winghe had come to Rome in 1589 from his home in the Flemish city of Louvain. While the motives for his relocation are unclear—he is believed to have been either escaping war or hoping to advance his research—his brief time in Rome would leave a considerable legacy.[37] Through his impressive connections, van Winghe surveyed the collections of great Roman families, became one of the first to explore and document newly discovered catacombs beneath the city, and in doing all this was an important pioneer of Christian archaeology. While he is best known for his work as an archaeologist, van Winghe's interests were, like many of his time, broad in nature and extended to multiple cultures and curiosities that he encountered. In this vein, in early July 1592 van Winghe visited the Gallery of Maps (*Galleria delle carte geografiche*) in the Vatican to copy a fresco of the Lazio region of Italy for his friend the famed mapmaker Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598). Van Winghe's copy of the Lazio map still exists, and it is due to the inclusion of a letter to Ortelius on its verso that these details are known.[38] For lack of any other record of his visiting the Papal City, this occasion is generally assumed to be the moment when he came across the Azuchi Screens and, during this encounter, made at least two sketches of their content. Less than a month later, van Winghe contracted malaria and he subsequently died in September 1592.

The process by which van Winghe's sketches were translated into printed versions is only partially understood.[39] After his death, van Winghe's belongings were sent to Jérôme (also called Hieronymus) van Winghe (1557–1637), Philips's brother and canon of the cathedral in Tournai. Aware of the value of his brother's work to scholars and keen to have it acknowledged, Jérôme advertised the notebooks within his network. Among the people he showed and eventually loaned them to was Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), a French polymath and central figure in early-modern European intellectual history.[40] Peiresc is the critical link through which Philips van Winghe's sketches found their way into Lorenzo Pignoria's book. In a letter from Peiresc to Pignoria dated January 4, 1616, Peiresc makes clear that he had obtained a copy of Pignoria's newly published 1615 edition of *Imagini* and, as his friend, offers a list of potentially useful objects for Pignoria for future inquiry.[41] Included in the list among other objects is an image of the Mesoamerican god Quetzalcoatl and an image of a "temple of Japanese [people] at the peak of a mountain extracted from the paintings the Japanese ambassadors gave to Gregory XIII."[42] Only these subjects from the list (figs. 1, 2, 7) would subsequently be added to the 1624 edition of *Imagini*, and both are labeled as from van Winghe. A third addition to the 1624 edition—a set of four images showing different views of an Indonesian rakshasa carved on the handle of a kris—are not mentioned in the letter, but are credited in the accompanying text to Peiresc (see fig. 10).[43]

Why did Pignoria add these few images to the 1624 edition? This question will be revisited below, but suffice to say here that they had some relevance to *Imagini*'s greater thesis.[44] A native of Padua who studied under the Jesuits, was later ordained a priest, and had a diverse career as librarian, curate, and canon, Pignoria was a prolific scholar and active participant in the international network of scholars known as the Republic of Letters. His revised editions of *Imagini* represent one of his most important legacies.[45] Originally published in 1556 by Vincenzo Cartari (ca. 1531–after 1569), *Imagini* had long served as a highly regarded reference on Greco-Roman mythology.[46] With his reworking of this classic text, Pignoria had multiple goals. First, he sought to update the book with new methodologies including firsthand visual and philological analysis. The full title of the 1615 edition of *Imagini* encapsulates his underlying ethos: *The true and new images of the Gods of the Ancients . . . readapted . . . to their real, and no more [only] observed resemblances. Obtained from marbles, bronzes, jewels and other antique memories, with deep study and particular diligence. . . .*[47] This new focus on material culture was made manifest in the single largest change to the book: new illustrations produced by Philip Esengren (known as Filippo Ferroverde in the Italian milieu, active early seventeenth century). Pignoria states in his preface that, with these new images, he sought to correct a critical shortcoming in many similar volumes that, he believed, had failed to faithfully reproduce objects of study.[48] These images along with annotations to Cartari's text and new illustrative materials transformed Cartari's work from a popular reference into a scholarly research tool.[49]

In line with this shift, the second major change to the volume would be the addition of the "Seconda parte." With this section, Pignoria had an ambitious goal. He wanted to prove through comparative readings of iconographies that the exotic religions and icons of these distant lands all originated from and were derivations of ancient Egyptian polytheism.[50] To be sure, this thesis was not novel. The deluge of accounts and imports from foreign cultures around this time had forced many scholars to grapple with the nature of these cultures as well as their own. Situated within a compendium of classical gods and their iconographies, "Seconda parte" served as a point of contrast, highlighting Europe's own relationship with

FIGURE 7. Philip Esengren, *Quetzalcoatl*, copied from a sketch by Philips van Winghe, in Lorenzo Pignoria, "Seconda parte delle imagini de gli dei indiani," in *Le imagini de gli dei de gli antichi* (1624), page 550. Woodblock print, 14.9 x 21.9 cm. Reproduction from the 1626 edition. Private collection

FIGURE 8. Pietro de los Ríos, Quetzalcoatl, in *Codex Vaticanus A* (Vat. Lat. 3738, also known as *Codex Ríos*), after 1566, fol. 35r. Vatican Apostolic Library

this Egyptogenetic past. Herein lay a key point of intersection with van Winghe, whose main research interest centered on antiquity, particularly early Christian art—that is, the moment when Christian culture broke from its polytheistic past. As other cultures appeared to have stagnated, the customs and artifacts of these distant cultures, for van Winghe, Pignoria, and their peers, represented a new window into their own history and the evolution of Western culture.

A Tower? A Gate? A Closer Reading of *Pages 569* and *570*

Pignoria's inclusion of van Winghe's sketches went largely unnoticed outside of Italian and Renaissance studies until a passing mention in a 1969 article by R. W. Littlebown.[51] Donald Lach subsequently reproduced the prints the next year and would be the first modern scholar to rethink Pignoria's assessment that these prints were of "the temples of some Japanese deity" and to connect the images to Azuchi.[52] In doing this, Lach posited a revised guess regarding their subject matter: "The sketches of van Winghe show respectively the tower and the gate of Azuchi Castle." The *Page 569* building has since been regularly named as the *tenshu* or a *yagura*/tower of Azuchi Castle, while the *Page 570* building has come to be known as the castle's main gate—that is, buildings that were *not*, as both Peiresc and Pignoria note, those of a temple complex. Lach's identifications can be traced back to two unstated assumptions: first, that van Winghe, uninformed about Azuchi, would have been drawn to the *tenshu*; and second, that Pignoria, in selecting van Winghe's sketch and identifying it as a temple, could not have known any better. In other words, for lack of knowledge about Japan or Japanese culture, it is assumed that van Winghe's gaze was directed to the *tenshu* as an obvious apex or focal point in the screens' composition—that is, as in the Jurakutei Screen—and owing to its privileged position, it is what he sketched. Likewise uneducated about Japan, Pignoria then made the mistake of inserting an ostensibly secular building within a compendium of religious iconography. However, close analysis of these images, particularly *Page 569*, reveals there is good reason to believe that van Winghe and Pignoria were not so ignorant and that they indeed reproduced parts of a temple.

FIGURE 9. Attributed to Alfonso Chacòn (1530–1599), *Folio 58r* (Quetzalcoatl) in MS 1564, copied from sketches by Philips van Winghe. Biblioteca Angelica, Rome

FIGURE 10. Philip Esengren, *Rakshasa on an Indonesian kris* (first of three prints), in Lorenzo Pignoria, "Seconda parte delle imagini de gli dei indiani," in *Le imagini de gli dei de gli antichi* (1624), page 586. Woodblock print, 14.9 x 21.9 cm. Reproduction from the 1626 edition. Private collection

Before engaging in a close reading of the sketches-turned-prints, it is first necessary to posit one critical correction to Pignoria's efforts. Van Winghe's sketches, as they appear in *Imagini*, are almost certainly mirror images. Accompanying the Quetzalcoatl image (fig. 7) in *Imagini* that was introduced to Pignoria by Peiresc is the following text:

> I [Pignoria] came across another image of Homopoca, or of a similar deity which others say is of Quetzalcoatl. And it was taken from certain papers which were of Winghe of Tournai [*sic*], learned youth, who claimed to have taken it from a large book, which is in the Vatican Library, compiled by F. Pietro de los Ríos.[53]

Exactly as Pignoria notes, the original image is included in the *Codex Ríos* by Pietro del Ríos (dates unknown) and owned by the Vatican Library (fig. 8). Additionally, a copy of van Winghe's notebook—attributed to Alfonso Chacòn (1530–1599), van Winghe's friend and collaborator—containing van Winghe's sketch of the *Codex Ríos* Quetzalcoatl also exists (fig. 9).[54] Placing the three images side by side, it is immediately clear that the *Imagini* version is reversed. Both the *Codex Ríos* Quetzalcoatl and the Chacòn-copy Quetzalcoatl face left. In contrast, the *Imagini* Quetzalcoatl faces right. Further corroborative evidence of this reversal exists in the rakshasa image included in *Imagini* (fig. 10). Exactly as with the Quetzalcoatl, each of Peiresc's depictions of the rakshasa (fig. 11) are mirror images of their printed copies in *Imagini*. Accordingly, there is every reason to assume that *Pages 569* and *570* were likewise printed with their subjects' composition reversed. While this change is enlightening as it suggests that the Uesugi, Azuchi, as well as most of the *Scenes of Amusements* screens share a left-to-right receding ground plane, it does not tell us much about the screens themselves. Still, this reversal is important as it brings us closer to van Winghe's originals—and, consequently, all discussion hereafter of the prints will refer to their reversed states (figs. 12, 13).

The *Page 569* building can be divided into three parts (fig. 14): (1) a central, hip-and-gable roofed, two-level building depicted in a three-quarters view with its façade shaded and extending back to the right; and (2) background and (3) foreground structural elements, the details

FIGURE 11. Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, *Rakshasa on Indonesian kris*, in *Cabinet de Peiresc* (ca. 1620), fol. 38r. Drawing on paper. AA-54, Cabinet des estampes, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF)

of which suggest that both are parts of a gate, wall (*hei* 塀), or roofed corridor (*rō* 廊). Each of these specifications requires qualification.

The dimensions of the central building's first level may be posited as three bays deep and, extrapolating from this dimension, three to five bays wide.[55] This reading of the building's first-level depth is rooted in an essential clarification. On the right side of the building is an apparent copy error by van Winghe and/or Esengren in the form of a smaller "half-bay" (see fig. 14) that suggests the building's side is four bays deep. This half-bay, however, should be read as the leftmost bay of the building's façade. The origin of this copy error is readily apparent through comparison with Eitoku's depiction of the Golden Pavilion (Kinkaku 金閣) of Rokuonji 鹿苑寺 (also known as Kinkakuji 金閣寺; fig. 15) in the Uesugi Screens. The angle at which the right side of the Golden Pavilion recedes, particularly on its second story, is so wide that if not copied precisely the foreshortening can easily be misread as an additional bay. That this is a copy error is further demonstrated by the second-level cusped windows (*katōmado* 火灯窓), decorative features typically situated in symmetrical fashion in the outermost bays of buildings.[56] The right window of the *Page 569* building should, like the left side, have only a single column to its right. It follows that the building's second level can be confidently posited as three-by-three bays.

These dimensions represent a foundational data point as, when cross-referenced with the building's fixtures, they clarify the structure to be a Buddhist hall. To explain this, it is best to start with the most clearly rendered decorative fixture: the cusped windows. Within the Japanese premodern context, two-level buildings of a size similar to the *Page 569* building that possess windows of this type are limited to a few architectural typologies: pavilions (such as the Golden Pavilion), temple or castle gates, turrets, and Buddhist halls. The pavilion and temple gate typologies are easily eliminated for consideration. Pavilions as a norm possess pyramidal roofs with cypress shingles, not tiles;[57] temple gates invariably possess a one- or two-bay depth at most, not three.[58] The character of the *Page 569* building's first-level side bays further narrows this list down to a finalist. Rectangles in the two rightmost bays suggest paneled doors (*sankarado* 桟唐戸) and, above these doors, either non-penetrating tie beams (*nageshi* 長押), overhead walls (*kokabe* 小壁), a transom (*ranma* 欄間), or a combination of these fixtures. Critically, the backmost (i.e., leftmost) bay lacks the elongated rectangles suggestive of paneled doors. In other words, the building's side possesses paneled doors in two front bays and a blank, presumably plaster, wall at the back. This layout is one commonly found in the side bays of Buddhist halls with a three-bay depth.[59] In contrast, the castle gates and towers lack, for functional defensive reasons, multiple entryways to their interior or, in the case of gates, doors on their sides.[60]

Although the building's context does not offer additional direct evidence to support this reading of the *Page 569* building as a Buddhist hall, it is consistent with such an interpretation. The background structural element—crossing behind the ridge, gable, and rightmost hip of the central building—contains multiple hints that it is either the roof of a connecting corridor or surrounding wall. Within Eitoku's other cityscapes, only two types of structures extend out from the backs of gables. The first of these is an adjacent overlapping gable such as those depicted in the Uesugi Screens rendering of the Manjuji Buddha Hall 万寿寺仏殿 (*butsuden*) and Main Gate 三門 (*sanmon*) (fig. 16). The second type is a roofed corridor, exemplified in the Uesugi Screens depiction of the Shōkokuji Buddha Hall (fig. 17). While the left projection of the *Page 569* building shares the same shape as an overlapping gable, its patterning of parallel lines with half circles at their base and intermittent squares below clearly identifies the

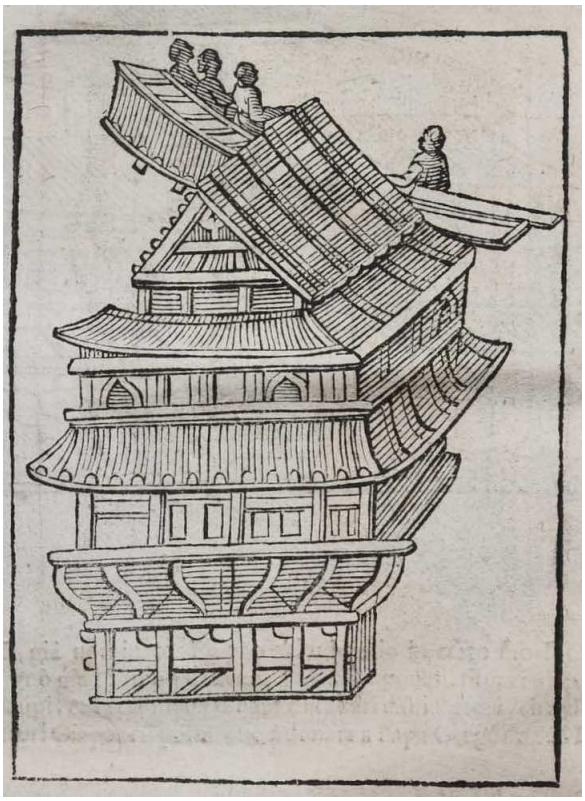

FIGURE 12. *Page 569* reversed

FIGURE 13. *Page 570* reversed

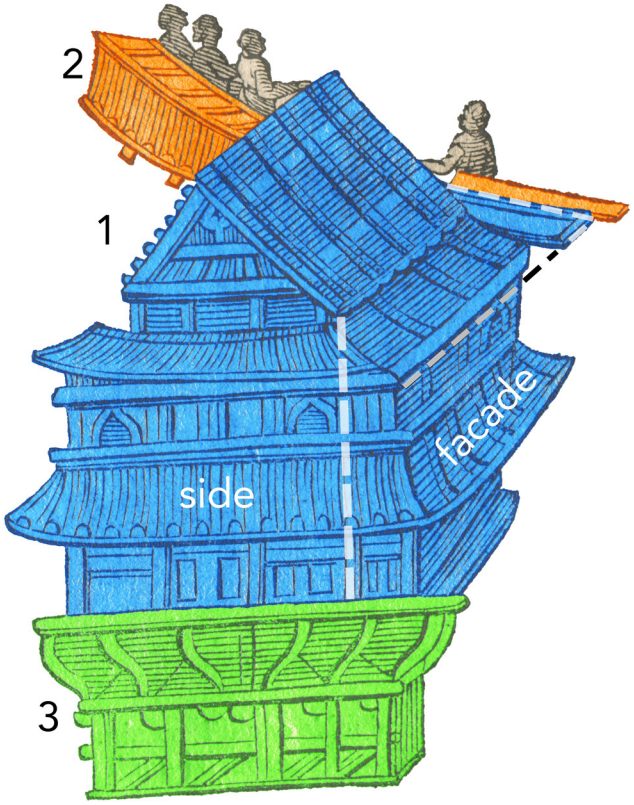

FIGURE 14. *Folio 569* reversed with guidelines

structural elements as tiled eaves and not a gable. This reading is corroborated by the rendering of the figures on top of the structure. Figures truncated from the waist up, such as those depicted in *Page 569*, are without exception in Eitoku's other cityscapes situated within courtyards and beyond a roofed corridor or wall (fig. 18). Accordingly, the placement of another truncated figure on the projection to the right of the gable suggests that its upper trapezoidal member is a continuation of the leftmost projecting corridor or wall.

Although tangential to the discussion of the building's context, it is worth pointing out that the right lower half of the background structural element is likely a corner eave. The basis for this assertion is twofold. First, the second-level eave and rightmost edge of the right projection are aligned in angle and orientation (see fig. 14). Second, such a rendering of a corner eave is consistent with Eitoku's brushwork elsewhere. As visible in several details (figs. 15–18), the back-right corner eaves of buildings in Eitoku's paintings, particularly those like the *Page 569* building, invariably project out from a building's walls.[61]

Returning to the matter of context, the foreground structural element remains the most difficult part of the image to read, but one key attribute suggests that it is also part of a gate, wall, or corridor. The lower register of the structure lacks any direct parallel in Eitoku's cityscapes and, consequently, remains tantalizingly ambiguous. The upper register, however, contains two sets of three elongated and mirrored S-shaped forms. Their distinct shape corresponds to only two forms found in Eitoku's other cityscapes: *eburi-ita* 柄振板 (lit., hoe board) and the left gables of *hirakaramon* 平唐門. *Eburi-ita* are decorative cusped wooden boards

FIGURE 15. Kanō Eitoku, detail of the Golden Pavilion (Rokuonji) (left screen, panel 2), from the Uesugi Screens

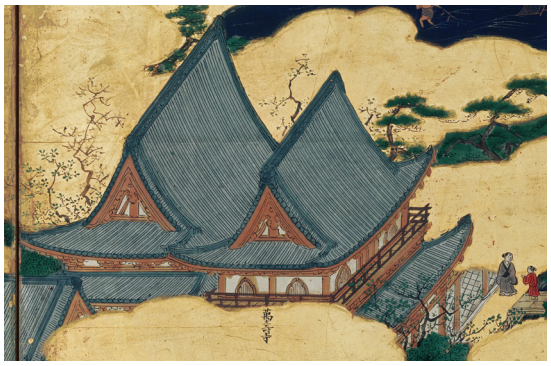

FIGURE 16. Kanō Eitoku, detail of Manjuji (right screen, panel 1), from the Uesugi Screens

that are attached to the ends of wall roofs where the wall connects to a gate or where there is an end to a wall. A *hirakaramon* is a type of gate with undulating or cusped bargeboards on the sides of its roof. Eitoku's treatment of *eburi-ita* represents another signature habit of brushwork. In contrast to cityscape artists who either entirely omitted or cursorily rendered *eburi-ita*, Eitoku invariably rendered this fixture as pronounced in height and rising well above the wall that it serves (fig. 19).[62] Although the S/Ƨ shapes in the *Page 569* building appear as more condensed and in greater number than in any single example of *eburi-ita* or *hirakaramon* within Eitoku's other cityscapes, their distinct shared shape and the lack of anything even close in resemblance suggests that they are likewise cusped boards and positioned in a context where such fixtures are typically found, namely as part of gates, walls, or corridors. In sum, the central building appears to be situated between these architectural typologies. While Azuchi contained many such walled-off areas of varying function, one common place to find such structures is surrounding a temple complex and temple buildings—that is, the setting of a Buddhist hall.

Before moving on to the implications of this reading of *Page 569*, a brief word is required about *Page 570*. Although it is the easier of the two images to read, identification of its subject remains elusive. Depicted is a two-level gate capped with a tiled hip-and-gable roof and with walling characterized by exposed beams and lintels (*shinkabe-zukuri* 真壁造), similar to the exterior of the Maruoka Castle *tenshu* 丸岡城天守 in Fukui 福井 (fig. 20).[63] Four kneeling figures sit on the staircase leading up to the gate's threshold. Beyond them and within the gate stands a wall that corrals the path at a sharp right angle—an important detail that clarifies the gate as a *masugata* 枡形 type, a standard gate typology in Japanese castles characterized by perpendicularly set doors. In the foreground and flanking the staircase is a drystone wall with a board roof (*naga-itabuki* 長板葺き). While multiple *masugata* gates have been found within the Azuchi Castle ruins, excavations to date have yet to identify traces of foundation stones or walls that correspond to the structures depicted.[64] While frustrating, this absence of a clear parallel is also revealing as it disqualifies multiple *masugata* gates, such as the *ōtemichi* and several other excavated gates on Mount Azuchi, and in turn tentatively opens the possibility for determining its identity based on an identification of the *Page 569* building.

Nobunaga/Nebuchadnezzar's Draw

The above reading of the *Page 569* building as a Buddhist hall reveals that Lach's unspoken assumptions of naïveté merit a second look and raise the question of how Pignoria, Peiresc,

FIGURE 17. Kanō Eitoku, detail of Shōkokuji (left screen, panels 3 and 4), from the Uesugi Screens

and presumably van Winghe (as discussed below) might have concluded that these buildings were part of a temple, and selected that temple out of all the subjects in the Azuchi Screens for sketching, sharing, and publication.

This question is one that was first tackled by the historian Takemoto Chizu.[65] In her study of van Winghe, Takemoto discovered that van Winghe had some knowledge of Azuchi prior to encountering the screens. Within the pages of the only surviving original copy of van Winghe's notebooks, owned by the Royal Library in Brussels, is a list of seminaries and colleges founded during the Papacy of Gregory XIII. At the top of this list is "Azuchiyama."[66] While only a brief mention, the appearance of Azuchi in the notebook is significant in that it proves van Winghe had both access and opportunity to learn about Azuchi from either Jesuit accounts or published records on the Japanese mission. The reference therefore disproves the notion that van Winghe was a blank slate drawn to the screens for no other reason than their beauty or exoticism. This knowledge of Azuchi also may help to explain why, of all the objects he encountered during his visit, van Winghe might have spent time with the screens. In his aforementioned letter to Ortelius, van Winghe mentions the heat and discomfort caused by his having to stand to copy the Lazio map in the Gallery of Maps.[67] Under such strained conditions, and as many a scholar may be able to attest, a little knowledge of a subject does much to captivate and sustain interest even on a hot day.

Takemoto was also the first to propose that Pignoria's characterization of these images as "a temple of a Japanese deity" may be related to one of the most widely known and repeated myths about Nobunaga: his alleged apotheosis.[68] The myth of Nobunaga demanding to be worshiped as a god derives from a report authored by the missionary Luís Fróis (1532–1597)

FIGURE 18. Kanō Eitoku, detail of the Imperial Palace (right screen, panel 6), from the Uesugi Screens

that details the events leading to Nobunaga's assassination. In one of its key passages, the founding of Azuchi Castle's dedicated temple, Sōkenji, is described:

> . . . [Nobunaga] finally determined to break out with the same imprudence and insolence of Nebuchadnezzar, pretending to be worshiped by all, not as an earthly, and mortal man, but as if he was divine, or lord of immortality, and to put into effect his nefarious, and abominable desire, he had a temple built nearby his mansions, on a hill that is separated from the fortress, where he wrote the intent of his venomous ambition, in which he said in this way, translated from Japanese into our language: In these great kingdoms of Japan in the fortress of Azuchi, in this land that seen from afar causes joy, and contentment to those who see it. Nobunaga, lord of all Japan made this temple, with the name of Sōkenji. . . .[69]

Fróis's description of Sōkenji's founding as a site of worship for Nobunaga was meant to serve as an example of his hubris and, in turn, serve as an explanation for the sudden, dramatic death of a leader whom Fróis had for over a decade lauded as a critical ally in the Jesuits' proselytizing efforts.[70] While more conjecture than fact, the report is nonetheless critical to the discussion at hand as it links Sōkenji to Azuchi. Further research is required to determine whether van Winghe could have seen Fróis's account reproduced.[71] Yet, even if he had not read it, van Winghe could have learned about its contents from Jesuit friends.[72] Alternatively, the gallery's caretakers could have learned of Nobunaga and Sōkenji from any number of sources and conveyed the information to van Winghe in a passing remark. All this is to say that there

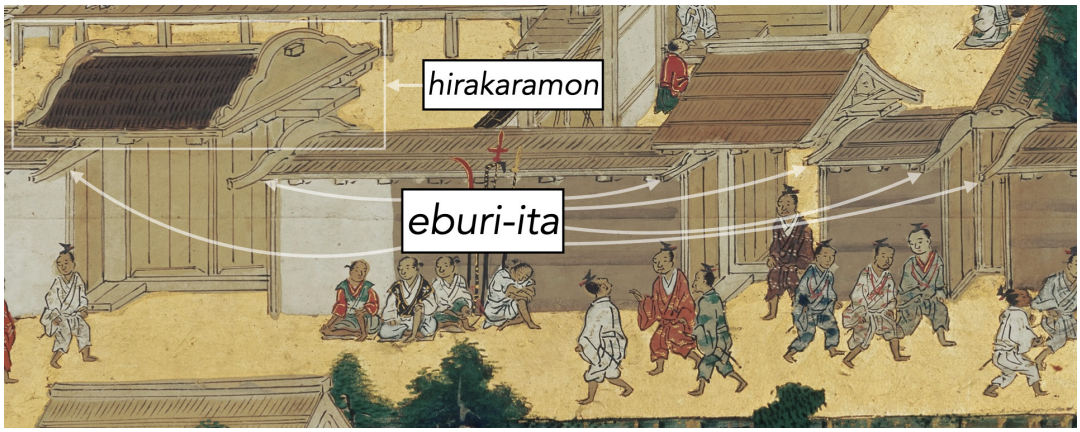

FIGURE 19. Kanō Eitoku, detail of Hosokawa *kanrei* mansion (left screen, panel 3), from the Uesugi Screens

are any number of conduits that would have allowed van Winghe to connect Fróis's letter to the subject of the screens. Accordingly, he would have had good reason to search for and then focus his interest on the Icarian temple Sōkenji.

The above reading of the *Page 569* building allows Takemoto's ideas to be taken a step farther.[73] Indeed, it may be posited that van Winghe and Pignoria knew the precise subject of *Page 569*—a building within the grounds of Sōkenji, specifically, a structure known as the Bishamon Hall. Most importantly, both Pignoria's and Peiresc's descriptions of the images point to this conclusion. Their characterizations of the temple as "placed above some steep rocks" and "at the peak of a mountain," respectively, narrow the search down to subjects within the castle-screen, which would have included many steep, drystone-wall foundations, and disqualifies subjects on the flat terrain of the town-screen. Among the temples likely depicted in the Azuchi Screens, only Sōkenji meets this essential qualification.

Assuming that van Winghe wanted to find Sōkenji, he likely did not have trouble doing so. Fróis explicitly notes in the same letter that the temple was near the fortress. As a religious institution, Sōkenji would have stood out among residential estates, fortifications, and the main castle complex as the coloring of these buildings distinguished them from other building groups on the mountain. Later depictions of Sōkenji depict it as containing white and vermillion buildings (fig. 21). Standard for Buddhist architecture, this color scheme would not have been used on residences or other secular buildings. Moreover, based on the depictions of temples in Eitoku's other cityscapes, it can be assumed that Sōkenji would have been populated by robed and tonsured monks (see figs. 15–17). The resemblance of these monks to tonsured Franciscans or black-robed Jesuits makes it possible that van Winghe was able to deduce the nature of Sōkenji's buildings based on their inhabitants alone.[74]

Fróis's account would have allowed van Winghe to narrow his search even further. Shortly after the quote above, Fróis mentions the enshrinement of a stone, named as a "Bonção" (J: 盆山 *bonsan*), that contained Nobunaga's essence ("*Xintay*;" J: 神体 *shintai*). Thereupon, the placement of this stone is described: "[Nobunaga] ordered to be made in the most eminent place of the temple above all the Buddhas a certain kind of [procession] float, or tiny closed chapel, where he had [the stone] placed."[75] Van Winghe almost certainly did not know the form of a Japanese float (*mikoshi* 神輿) or "closed chapel" (*zushi* 厨子), but the contours of

FIGURE 20. *Tenshu* pedestal and first story, Maruoka Castle, Fukui, constructed 1576. Photo by Nakamura Yasuo

this description—that is, a retrofitted structure that was the "most eminent place . . . above all," within Sōkenji—would have been sufficient.

Only five structures are definitively known to have been part of the Sōkenji precinct around the time of the creation of the screens: a *niō* gate (*niōmon* 仁王門), a three-level pagoda (*sanjū-no-tō* 三重塔), a noh stage (*butai* 舞台), a viewing gallery (*osajiki* 御桟敷) for the stage, and the Bishamon Hall.[76] The gate and pagoda still exist, and they along with the Bishamon Hall can be seen in an 1805 print depicting Sōkenji (fig. 22). The gate sits below the temple on the *Dodo-bashi-michi*. Notably, its typology is wholly distinct from the gate depicted in *Page 570*, and consequently, there is little chance that it is the subject of that print. The pagoda is likewise situated on the periphery of the temple complex, positioned at a level below the other temple buildings. As with the gate, the pagoda's form is so distinctly different from the subjects of *Page 569* or *570* that there is no possibility that it is one of the buildings depicted. Not appearing in the print are the stage and gallery. Both structures are mentioned in passing in Nobunaga's posthumous biography, and the only clue as to their location within Sōkenji comes from the stage's full name as it appears in that text: the "Bishamon Hall stage" (*Bishamon-dō gobutai* 毘沙門堂御舞台), suggesting that the stage, along with its audience gallery, were situated in some proximity to the Bishamon Hall. Owing to the unique nature of these architectural types, and a lack of comparative examples in Eitoku's other paintings that might help us to reimagine their forms, it is difficult to be sure how these structures were rendered. Thus, their forms may hold a critical "missing link" that might explain the unusual character of the back- and foreground structural elements in *Page 569*.[77]

Only one building remains: the Bishamon Hall. Easily identifiable in the 1805 print as the largest, highest-reaching, and most central structure, its importance within Sōkenji is immediately appreciable. While it is impossible to know the manner in which it was depicted by Eitoku, the building's core attributes—that is, central, multistoried—also likely made it stand out from its neighbors. In sum, the precise reason that van Winghe was attracted to the Azuchi Screens and specifically the two buildings he sketched is unknowable, but both motive and means exist.

As the Bishamon Hall burned down after a lightning strike in 1854, the primary and archaeological records are unfortunately ambiguous and inconsistent. Written descriptions and illustrations prior to its destruction suggest that it was a building that underwent several significant renovations.[78] The original building is generally thought to have been transported

FIGURE 21. Detail of Sōkenji from *Gō-shū Gamō-gun Toyoura-mura to Suda-mura sanron tachiai ezu* (Illustration of mountain [territory] dispute in Toyoura Village and Suda Village, Gamō District, Ōmi Province), 1695. Ink and color on paper. Private collection

to Sōkenji during Azuchi's construction around 1576, and as noted in Fróis's report, it was then refurbished to serve Nobunaga's designs.[79] Some time after Nobunaga's death in 1582, Sōkenji changed its sect affiliation to Rinzai Zen and was reinvented as a caretaker of the Azuchi Castle ruins and Nobunaga's grave there, a role that the institution has maintained until the present day. Contradictory records from the Edo period (1616–1868), including the 1805 print cited above, suggest that the building was renovated or underwent significant structural changes, possibly at two separate times.[80] Indeed, its original name of Bishamon Hall—known via the quote above about the adjacent stage—likewise appears to have changed twice, to Abbot's Quarters (*hōjō* 方丈) and then later to Main Hall (*hondō* 本堂). Some Edo-period records confirm that the hall was five-by-five bays and possessed a second level or story.[81] The archaeological records likewise confirm the dimensions of the hall as five-by-five bays. However, in the aforementioned 1695 image (fig. 21), the structure appears as an abbreviated two-by-two-bay structure; and in the 1805 print, the building layout, with five-by-three bays, is cosmetically consistent with the *Page 569* building. In sum, owing to the multiple renovations and the loss of the building, the exact form of the hall in Eitoku and Nobunaga's day is impossible to know.

Stronger evidence that the *Page 569* building is the Bishamon Hall, however, may be found in the reasoning behind Pignoria's selection of these images for publication. Van Winghe's sketches of the Azuchi Screens stand out within Pignoria's "Seconda parte" as the only examples of architecture within the text and as one of only three subjects from Peiresc's offerings that would be added to the 1624 and subsequent editions. In these respects—that is, inconsistent with the book's focus on iconography and as selected among several options—their inclusion appears to be very deliberate. This considered approach is consistent with research by Paola von Wyss-Giascosa on Pignoria's process in compiling the 1615 edition of *Imagini*.[82] In her analysis of the "Seconda parte," she additionally points out the difficulty that Pignoria had with the Japanese section, specifically a lack of iconographic examples from Asia. This issue was so acute, and undermined his Egyptogenetic argument to such a degree, that he strayed from his own stated scholarly principles of relying on careful, first-person visual analysis and instead had Esengren rely on written accounts to fill a gap in the visual record.[83] Wyss-Giascosa only briefly considers the additions to the 1624 edition, and van Winghe's prints are

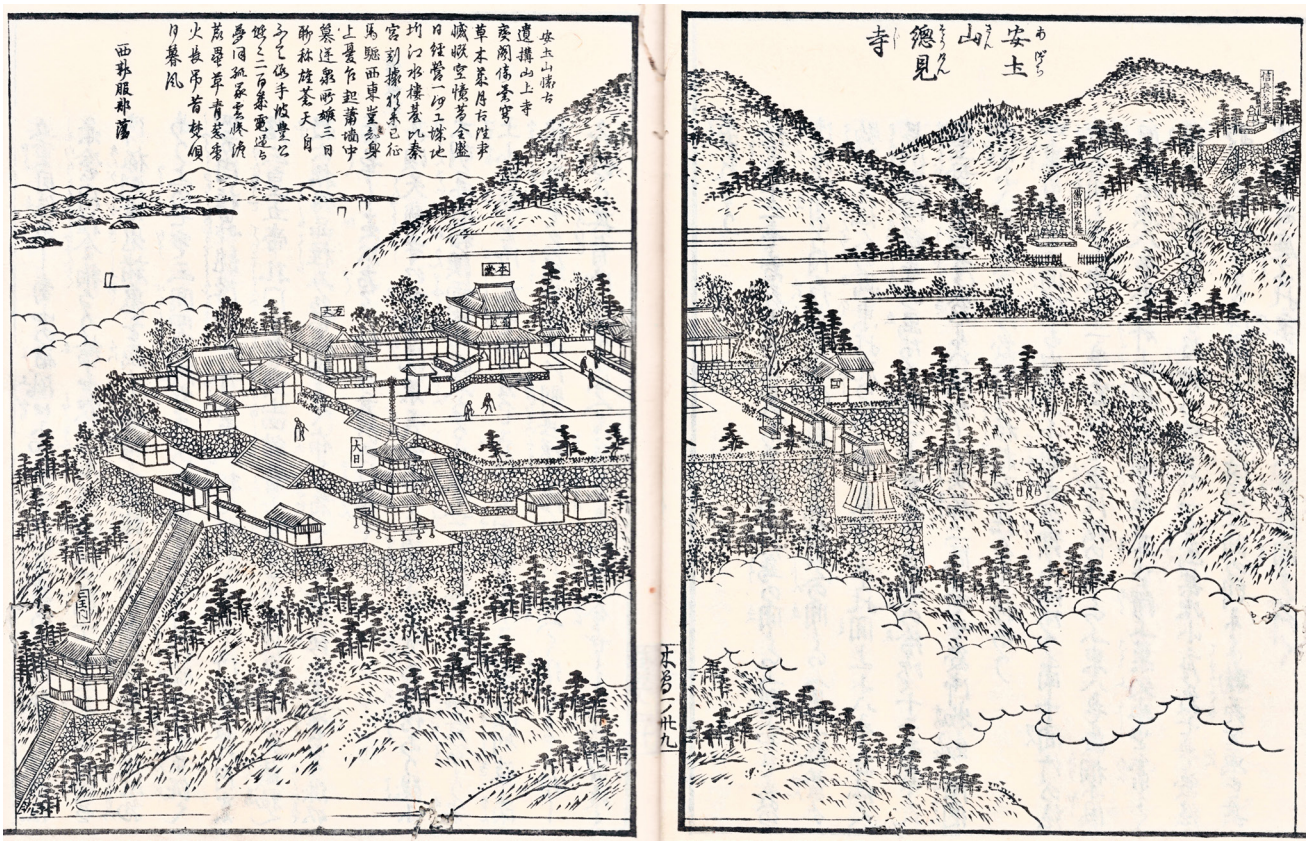

FIGURE 22. Akisato Ritō, "Azuchiyama Sōkenji," from *Kisoji meisho zue* (A collection of images of famous places on the Kisō Road), 1805. Private collection

not mentioned in her discussion, but they fall perfectly in line with her assessment of Pignoria's struggles and methodology. Lacking visual sources from Asia and eager to prove his main point on the Egyptogenetic origins of non-Christian religions, Pignoria found van Winghe's sketches, precisely because they were of Sōkenji, ideal for inclusion even though they strayed from the book's focus on iconography.

It is the draw of Nebuchadnezzar that, I contend, accounts for Pignoria's selection of van Winghe's sketches of the Azuchi Screens. It may be safely assumed, based on the similarity of Peiresc's and Pignoria's descriptions and the nature of van Winghe's surviving notebook—filled with a mix of images and notes—that the identification of the building as a temple on steep mountains came directly from notes accompanying van Winghe's sketches. Pignoria, as a self-proclaimed expert on the "Indies" and dependent on Jesuit accounts of Japan to compile the "Seconda parte," was almost certainly aware of Fróis's account. Consequently, when he encountered van Winghe's notes, he could have easily and independently connected the dots and identified Nobunaga as a "Japanese deity."[84] Worth noting also is that the names of Azuchi, Nobunaga, Sōkenji, or even Fróis may have been included in van Winghe's notes. The aforementioned Chacòn copy of Quetzalcoatl (fig. 9) reveals that while Pignoria borrowed from van Winghe's notes, he did so selectively. More information regarding Quetzalcoatl, such as the god's Mesoamerican origins, is included, but Pignoria did not transcribe everything available to him. Such omissions are consistent with the Japanese section of the "Seconda parte."[85] In

contrast to the section on Mesoamerican gods, Pignoria limits his discussions to descriptions and, thereby, on its surface sidesteps his overarching Egyptogenetic argument. Yet while less actively promoted, this argument still represented the core organizing pillar. Although an artificially drawn parallel, Fróis's comparison between Nobunaga and Nebuchadnezzar perfectly complemented his thesis of the new world containing echoes of the ancient past, and thereby justified the addition of van Winghe's Azuchi Screens sketches.[86]

Conclusion

For all of the efforts by Nobunaga and the Jesuits, it is a strange irony that the only vestiges of the Azuchi Screens are a pair of awkward prints based on sketches by an early Christian archaeology specialist and included in a book on religious iconography published a continent away. Nonetheless and while their story and character are complex, these prints represent critical windows onto the Azuchi Screens, its castle subject, and the reception and dissemination of information on Japan in European circles in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The proposition made here that the subject of *Page 569* is the Sōkenji Bishamon Hall is tentative, but it has multiple implications for future research. As related to the Azuchi Screens and their content, identifying a single point such as the *Page 569* building has the potential to open multiple new lines of inquiry. These include comparative analysis with the topography as well as determining the position of the viewer and the arrangement of castle and town on the left or right screen. Such inquiries may appear minor but have the potential to shed light on Nobunaga and the Oda clan's perception of the capital vis-à-vis Azuchi, and on the degree to which Hideyoshi relied on Nobunaga as a model for consolidating his authority. In other words, this identification may help in understanding critical unspoken assumptions about the definition of power and authority at a key moment in Japan's formation as it moved from the medieval to the early modern era. Such an identification would also have implications for our understanding of the development of Azuchi Castle and Sōkenji, in particular. Research into the main hall of Tsukubusuma Shrine 都久夫須麻神社 on the island of Chikubushima 竹生島 has revealed that it was originally a three-by-three-bay structure, conceived as a memorial for Hideyoshi's son, but then transplanted and expanded to five-by-five bays after being moved to Chikubushima.[87] This transformation is eye-catching as it seems to have echoes in the Bishamon Hall: as a transplanted building, as a structure that might have been expanded from three to five bays deep during the refurbishment Fróis describes, and even as a site of self-deification. In other words, it could shed light on the evolution of memorialization and self-deification during this era. In this new identification also lie the grounds for expansion of the excavations on Mount Azuchi. The form of any gate at the base of Mount Azuchi checking the start of the *Dodobashi-michi* is entirely unknown, and the site has never been excavated. Yet while the existence of a gate at this location is unknown, it is an obvious spot for a gate and as such, it represents a solid candidate for the subject of *Page 570*. As the initial entryway to the path leading up to Sōkenji, a pairing of gate and main hall is a logical one for van Winghe to have illustrated—that is, a start and a climax. Notably, such an arrangement is one that finds an echo in the Jurakutei Screen. If one assumes that the Azuchi Screens were similar in character to the Jurakutei Screens, then the comparatively low angle of the *Page 570* gate suggests that it occupied a spot in the lower register—that is, exactly where one would presume such a gate, located at the base of the mountain, to be found.

Finally, it is my hope that this reading of van Winghe's images reveals that, despite the Eurocentric views of their authors, their research into Japan and Asia and that of their peers merits

further inquiry. To be sure, the time that the three authors of *Page 569* and *Page 570*—van Winghe, Pignoria, and Esengren—likely spent considering the Azuchi Screens was not greater than a few hours or days at most. Moreover, Pignoria and Esengren never saw the screens "in the flesh." Yet, the two principal actors, van Winghe and Pignoria, were not passive or unaware observers. Both were well-read scholars with some knowledge of Japan and Japanese culture; both placed a premium on firsthand viewing and careful formal analysis; and their attention to detail shines through even in a copy of a copy. Interested in making sense of the new worlds and not yet weighed down by later, more fully formed colonialist attitudes, the work done by Pignoria and his peers represents a rich frontier for an understanding of European engagement with Asia, and accordingly merits reappraisal.

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Notes

1 Since the rediscovery of their existence by Hamada Seiryō 濱田青陵, the Azuchi Screens have appeared in many scholarly publications. Hamada Seiryō, "Azuchiyama byōbu ni tsuite" 安土山屏風について (Concerning the Azuchiyama Screens), *Bukkyō bijutsu* 仏教美術, no. 18 (December 1931). Alternatively named as the Azuchiyama Screens (*Azuchi-yama-zu byōbu* 安土山図屏風) or Azuchi Castle Screens (*Azuchi-jō-zu byōbu* 安土城図屏風), most mentions—for example, in studies related to Nobunaga, Eitoku, or the history of folding screens—are brief. Only a handful of more in-depth discussions of the screens exist. In Japanese, see Ōkuchi, Yūjirō 大口勇次郎, Shōsaku Takagi 高木昭作, and Sugimori, Tetsuya 杉森哲也, "Egakareta kinsei no toshi (ni)—maboroshi no 'Azuchi-zu byōbu'—" 描かれた近世の都市(二)「安土図屏風」(Early modern cities depicted [2] 'the Azuchi Screens'), in *Nihon no kinsei* (*hōsō daigaku kyōzai*) (Early modern Japan [Open University of Japan textbook]) (Tokyo: Hōsō Daigaku Kyōiku Shinkōkai, 1998), 82–97; Sugimori Tetsuya, "Toshi-zu byōbu no seiritsu to tenkai—nichiō kōryū no shiten kara—" 都市図屏風の成立と展開－日欧交流の視点から－ (The creation and development of cityscape screens: From the perspective of Japan-Europe exchange), in *Kinsei toshi no seiritsu (Toshi・kenchiku・rekishi 5)* 近世都市の成立(都市・建築・歴史 5) (The

establishment of early modern cities [city, architecture, history 5]), ed. Suzuki Hiroyuki 鈴木博之 et al. (Tokyo: Tokyo University, 2005), 317–24; Sakakibara Satoru 榊原悟, *Bi no kakehashi—ikoku ni tsukawasareta byōbu-tachi* 美の架け橋ー異国に遣わされた屏風たち (A bridge of beauty: Folding screens sent to foreign lands) (Tokyo: Perikan-sha, 2002), 32–40; Sakakibara Satoru, *Byōbu to Nihonjin* 屏風と日本人 (Folding screens and Japanese people) (Tokyo: Keibunsha, 2018), 514–24. In English, see Matthew P. McKelway, *Capitalscapes: Folding Screens and Political Imagination in Late Medieval Kyoto* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 165–67. The longer discussions are similar in character in that they list key primary sources and, by way of scrutinizing these sources, trace the limits of knowledge about the screens. Each also provides a short analysis, proportional to the limited record, on the screens' composition and their significance within the history of cityscape or folding screens. Research that focuses on related aspects of the screens and their afterlife, such as the Tenshō Embassy and van Winghe's sketches are referenced throughout this article.

2 The attribution to Eitoku is based on an entry discussing the screens in the imperial diary *Oyudono no ue no nikki* 御湯殿上日記, ed. Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū kansaikai hoi san: Oyudonono ue no nikki* (7) 續群書類従・補遺三: 御湯殿上日記 (7) (Continued literature compedium・Supplement 3: Diary of the palace attendant women serving 'Beyond the Bath' [7]) (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1934), 373. Issues related to this attribution are discussed in Tsuji Nobuo 辻惟雄, *Sengoku jidai Kanō-ha no kenkyū: Kanō Motonobu o chūshin to shite* 戦国時代狩野派の研究ー狩野元信を中心としてー(Research on the Kanō School in the Warring States period: Centering on Kanō Motonobu) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1994), 264; and McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, 165.

3 Through the course of my research on this topic, I have learned of multiple informal attempts by prominent Japanese scholars to engage with the Vatican to search for the screens. More recent efforts spearheaded by the Azuchi Screens Research Network (ASRN) have sought to move beyond a singular focus on the screens and to examine the role of the Tenshō and Keichō (1612–20) missions in cross-cultural exchanges of material culture. ASRN is composed of Aihara Gen 相原玄, Paola Cavaliere, Mark K. Erdmann, Shimbo Kiyono 新保淳乃, and Anton Schweizer, with affiliations to Kyushu University and the Odawara Art Foundation, Japan. ASRN was born of a 2005–7 Japanese initiative led by Cavaliere, Shimbo, and Wakakuwa Midori 若桑みどり (1935–2007), sponsored by the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations and Azuchi Town 安土町. The project was revived in 2016 thanks in large part to the generous support of the artist Sugimoto Hiroshi 杉本博司. This paper represents one of several that have been published and are planned as a product of ASRN's efforts. See also Mark K. Erdmann and Éliane Roux, "Recent Research on the Azuchi Screens," *Journal of Asia Humanities at Kyushu University* 9 (2024): 1–23.

4 Lorenzo Pignoria, *Le imagini de gli dei de gli antichi* (Venice: Appresso Euangelista Deuchino, 1624); Lorenzo Pignoria, *Seconda novissima editione delle imagini de gli dei delli antichi* (Padua: P. P. Tozzi, 1626); Lorenzo Pignoria, *Le imagini de gli dei de gli antichi* (Venice: Presso il Tomasini, 1647).

5 "Il già nominato Filippo Winghomio in certo suo foglio disegnò già i Tempij d'alcune Deità Giaponesi, situati sopra alcuni alti rupi, & raccontava d'haverli cavati dalli Pittori [*sic*], che gl'Ambasciatori Giaponesi portarono à donare a Papa Gregorio XIII." It was paintings, not painters, that were brought. Pignoria, *Le imagini de gli dei de gli antichi* (1624), 570. Translation by Anna Huber.

6 In English, see Michael Cooper, *The Japanese Mission to Europe, 1582–1590: The Journey of Four Samurai Boys Through Portugal, Spain and Italy* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2005), 208; and McKelway, *Capitalscapes*, 167. In Japanese, see Miura Masayuki 三浦正幸, ed., *Yomigaeru shinsetsu Azuchi-jō—tettei fukugen ◊ haō Nobunaga no maboroshi no shiro* よみがえる真説安土城: 徹底復元・覇王信長の幻の城 (The truth of Azuchi Castle reconstructed: A complete restoration of the phantom castle of the hegemon Nobunaga), Rekishi gunzō shirizu derakkusu 2 (Tokyo: Gakken, 2006), 93. Naitō Akira 内藤昌 takes it for granted that *Page 569* is a depiction of the *tenshu*. Naitō Akira, *Fukugen Azuchi-jō* 復元安土城 (Azuchi Castle reconstructed) (Tokyo: Kodansha Gakujutsu Bunko, 2006), 239. Studies also exist regarding the origins of the images but avoid discussion of their content. See Takemoto Chizu 竹本千鶴, "'Azuchi byōbu' o egakinokoshita Furandoru-jin"「安土図屏風」を描き遺したフランドル人 (The Fleming who sketched the Azuchi Screens), *Nichi-rangaku-kai kaishi* 日蘭学会会誌 (Bulletin of the Japan-Netherlands Institute) 34.1 (no. 57) (2010): 86; and Ōhashi Yoshiyuki 大橋喜之, "Eitoku no 'Azuchiyama byōbu' ni tsuite wakatta koto wakaranai koto" 永徳の安土山図屏風について分かたこと分からないこと (The known and

unknown about Eitoku's Azuchiyama Screens), in *Seiō kodai shinwa zuzō daikan [zokuhen]* 西欧古代神話図像大鑑 [続編] (Images of the gods of the ancients [second part]) (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 2014).

7 See Thijs Weststeijn, "Art and Knowledge in Rome and the Early Modern Republic of Letters, 1500–1750: An Introduction," *Fragmenta: Journal of the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome* 5 (2014): 1–12; and Sonia Maffei, *La riscoperta dell'esotismo nel Seicento: le "Imagini de gli dei indiani" di Lorenzo Pignoria* (Rome: Scuola Normale Superiore, 2020), 300–301.

8 The function and symbolism of Azuchi Castle is discussed in multiple sources. In English, see Jeroen Pieter Lamers, *Japonius Tyrannus: The Japanese Warlord Oda Nobunaga Reconsidered*, Japonica Neerlandica 8 (Leiden: Hotei, 2000), 105–10; George Elison, "The Cross and the Sword: Patterns in Momoyama History," in *Warlords, Artists & Commoners: Japan in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. George Elison and Bardwell L. Smith (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1981), 63–65; Kendall H. Brown, *The Politics of Reclusion: Painting and Power in Momoyama Japan* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1997), 105–10; and William H. Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, Nissan Institute/Routledge Japanese Studies Series (London: Routledge, 1996), 106–19. These discussions are, however, dated by their emphasis on the now largely debunked Naitō reconstructive *tenshu* model. My previous work has attempted to update this discussion; Mark K. Erdmann, "Azuchi Castle: Architectural Innovation and Political Legitimacy in Sixteenth-Century Japan" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2016), 162–242. In Japanese, see Akita Hiroki 秋田裕毅, *Oda Nobunaga to Azuchi-jō* 織田信長と安土城 (Oda Nobunaga and Azuchi Castle) (Osaka: Sōgensha, 1990); Miura, *Yomigaeru shinsetsu Azuchi-jō*; Senda Yoshihiro 千田嘉博, *Nobunaga no shiro* 信長の城 (Nobunaga's castles) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2013); and Kido Masayuki 木戸雅寿, *Yomigaeru Azuchi-jō よみがえる安土城* (Azuchi Castle reconstructed) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbun, 2003). For discussions as part of reconstructive models, see note 32 below. For further references, see Nobunaga Shiryō-Shū Iinkai 信長資料集編集委員会 and Gifu-shi Rekishi Hakubutsukan 岐阜市歴史博物館, eds., *Nobunaga kankei bunken mokuroku sakuin* 信長関係文献目錄 (Catalog of literature related to Nobunaga) (Gifu: Gifu-shi Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 2011).

9 Matthew Stavros, "The Shōkokuji Pagoda," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 45.1 (2018): 125–44.

10 This comparison to the Tōdaiji Great Buddha Hall was made at the time of the castle's construction. Gnecchi-Soldo Organtino, "De húa do padre Organtino do Miáco, de 1577," in *Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India, & Europa des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580*, ed. Manoel de Lyra (Evora: Impressas por mandado do Reverendissimo em Christo Padre dom Theotonio de Bragança, Arcebispo d'Evora, 1598), 1:408v.

11 Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570–1680*, Michigan Classics in Japanese Studies 18 (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998), 29–39, esp. 35.

12 Mark K. Erdmann, "Symbols of Failure, of Success: Samurai Culture and Martial Architecture," in *Samurai Transformed: Warrior, Culture, Class, Commodity*, ed. Rusty Kelty (Adelaide: Art Gallery of South Australia; Sydney: Japan Foundation, 2020), 246–330; Erdmann, "Azuchi Castle," 246–330. See also David Spafford, *A Sense of Place: The Political Landscape of Late Medieval Japan*, Harvard East Asian Monographs 361 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Arts Center, 2013), 169–213.

13 Miyakami Shigetaka 宮上茂隆, "Azuchi-jō fukugen" 安土城復元 (Azuchi Castle reconstructed), in *Nihon zenshū dai 14 maki shiro to chashitsu Momoyama no kenchiku・kōgei I* 日本全集 14 巻城と茶室桃山の建築•工芸Ⅰ (Complete works of Japan, vol. 14, castles and teahouses, Momoyama architecture and crafts I), ed. Tsuji Nobuo, Hirai Kiyoshi 平井聖, and Yabe Yoshiaki 矢部良明 (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1992), 165.

14 "Azuchi gotenshu no shidai" 安土御天主之次第 (Program of the Azuchi *Tenshu*), in Ōta Gyūichi 太田牛一, *Shinchō-kō ki* 信長公記, ed. Okuno Takahiro 奥野高広 and Iwasawa Yoshihiko 岩澤愿彦 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Bunko, 1969), 213–18. English translation: Gyūichi Ōta, *The Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga*, trans. J. S. A. Elisonas and Jeroen Pieter Lamers, Brill's Japanese Studies Library 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 254–57; *Azuchiyama-ki* 安土山記, modern Japanese transcription in Ōnishi Hiroshi 大西廣 and Ōta Shōko 太田昌子, *Azuchi-jō no naka no 'tenka' fusuma-e o yomu* 安土城の中の「天下」襖絵を読む (Reading the 'Tenka' sliding door paintings within Azuchi Castle) (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1995), 11. Annotated English translation: Erdmann, "Azuchi Castle," 493–501.

15 *Honchō gashi* 本朝畫史 (1691) and this evolution are discussed in Kawamoto Keiko 川本桂子, *Shinpen meihō nihon no bijutsu dai 21 maki Yūshō・Sanraku (Shōgakukan gyarari)* 新編名宝日本

の美術　第21　友松•山楽　(小学館ギャラリー) (New edition of treasures of Japanese art, vol. 21 Yūshō • Sanraku [Shogakukan Gallery]) (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1991); Yamamoto Hideo 山本英男, "Kanō-ha—gadan seiha he no michi—," 狩野派—画壇制覇への道— (The Kanō School: The path to dominating the art world), in *Muromachi jidai no Kanō-ha* 室町時代の狩野派 (Kanō School of the Muromachi period), ed. Yamamoto Hideo (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 1996), passim.

16 "*panos*": Gaspar Coelho, "Carta annua de Iapaõ q[ue] escreveo o padre Gaspar Coelho de Nangaçàqui, a quinze de Feuereiro do anno de 82 ao Padre Geral da Companhia de Iesu," in Lyra, *Cartas*, 2.1:fol. 39r.

17 "que são dourados e pintados": Luís Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, ed. José Wicki (Lisbon: Presidência do Conselho de Ministros Secretaria de Estado da Cultura Direcção-Geral do Patrimônio Cultural Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, 1982), 3:260.

18 Sugimori, "Toshi-zu byōbu no seiritsu to tenkai," 326; Ōkuchi et al., "Egakareta kinsei no toshi (ni)—maboroshi no 'Azuchi-zu byōbu'—," 96.

19 ". . . che colà chiaman Beobi, nell'un de'quali era effigiata a pennello la nuoua Città, nell'altro l'inespugnabil Fortezza d'Anzuciama. . .."; Daniello Bartoli, *Dell'historia della Compagnia di Giesv il Giappone: Seconda parte dell'Asia* (Rome: Nella stamperia d'Ignatio de'Lazzeri, 1660), 195. Translation by Anna Huber.

20 The grid pattern is noted in Coelho, "Carta annua de Iapaõ," 2.1, 36v. Mention of men riding oxen suggests the presence of rice paddies; Teodoro Panizza to Cardinal d'Este, April 5, 1585, transcribed in Tokyo Daigaku Shiryō Hensan-jo 東京大學史料編纂所, ed., *Dai Nihon shiryō dai jūichi hen bekkan no ichi tenshō kenō shisetsu kankei shiryō ichi* 大日本史料第十一編別巻之一天正遣欧使節関係史料一 (Greater Japan primary sources, vol. 11, suppl. no. 1, Materials related to the Tensho Embassy), Dai Nihon shiryō (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku, 1959), 246. Houses and infrastructure are mentioned in Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, 3:260. The presence of vassal estates is assumed based on their forced relocation to Azuchi; see Lamers, *Japonius Tyrannus*, 140–48.

21 Coelho notes that the pretense for Nobunaga gifting the screens was that they contained the Jesuits' "seu mesmo Collegio" (very own College). Coelho, "Carta annua de Iapaõ," 2.1, 39v.

22 Details regarding the seminary come from Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, 3:196–97; and Bébio Vieira Amaro, "A Brief History of the Jesuit Facilities in Azuchi: New Insights on their Architectural and Urban Features," paper presented at the online syposium "Beyond the Southern Barbarians: Repositioning Japan in the First Global Age," Kyūshū University, February 2021.

23 This reading is not only based on other screens, but on *tendō* 天道 ideology, dictating that a prosperous and happy populace were evidence of a legitimate ruler. Regarding *tentō*, see Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 89–91; Ishida Ichirō 石田一良, ed., *Shisō-shi 2* 思想?史 2 (History of ideas 2), Taikei Nihon-shi sōsho 23 (体系日本史叢書 23) (Tokyo: Yamagawa Shuppan-sha, 1976), 8–14.

24 The Jurakutei Screen has been regularly cited as a comparative model for the Azuchi Screens. Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, ed., *Tokubestu tenrankai Kanō Eitoku* 特別展覧会狩野永徳 (Special exhibition Kanō Eitoku) (Kyoto: Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2007), 270–71; Ōkuchi et al., "Egakareta kinsei no toshi (ni)—maboroshi no 'Azuchi-zu byōbu'—", 96; Sugimori, "Toshi-zu byōbu no seiritsu to tenkai," 326; Sakakibara, *Byōbu to Nihonjin*, 524.

25 Jurakutei also served as the site of two imperial progressions 行幸 (*gyōkō*). Although a progression never took place at Azuchi, Nobunaga's intention to hold one is generally accepted. Hashimoto Masanobu 橋本政宣, *Kinsei kuge shakai no kenkyū* 近世公家社会の研究 (Research on the early modern court society) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002), 162–79. For a contrasting view on the Azuchi progression, see Kawamoto Shigeo 川本重雅, "Gyōkō goten to Azuchi-jō honmaru goten—gyōkō to gyōkō goten no rekishi kara mita Azuchi-jō honmaru goten—" 行幸御殿と安土城本丸御殿～行幸と行幸御殿の歴史から見た安土城本丸御殿～ (The imperial progression mansion and Azuchi Castle Honmaru Mansion—The Azuchi Castle Honmaru Mansion seen via the history of imperial progressions and the imperial progressions mansions), in *Toshi to jōkan no chūsei—gakuyūgō kenkyū no kokonomi* 都市と城館の中世—学融合研究の試み—(Cities and castles in the medieval era: An attempt at interdisciplinary research), ed. Senda Yoshihiro and Yata Toshifumi 矢田俊文 (Tokyo: Takashi Shoin, 2010).

26 Tsuji Nobuo, "Jurakutei-zu byōbu ni tsuite," 聚楽第屏風について (Concerning the Jurakutei Screens), *Kokka* 国華, no. 871 (October 1964): 9–17.

27 Shiga-ken Kyōiku Iinkai 滋賀県教育委員会, ed., *Azuchi: Nobunaga no shiro to jōkamachi (hakkutsu chōsa 20-nen no kiroku)* 安土:信長の城と城下町(発掘調査20年の記録) (Azuchi: Nobunaga's castle and castle town [A record of the twenty-year excavation survey]) (Hikone: Sunrise, 2009), 28–37.

28 However, doubts remain as to whether these sites were estates. Akita, *Oda Nobunaga to Azuchi-jō*,

149–62; Matsushita Hiroshi 松下浩, "Azuchi-kō-jō-zu ni kan suru kiso-teki kōsatsu" 安土古城図に関する基礎的考察 (A fundamental study of the old Azuchi Castle map) *Kenkyū kiyō* 研究紀要 (Research bulletin), ed. Shiga-ken Azuchi-jōkaku chōsa kenkyū-jo, no. 1 (1993); Kido, *Yomigaeru Azuchi-jō*, 106–8.

29 Matsuoka Toshirō 松岡利郎, "Jōkakunai no shūkyō shisetsu ni kan suru ichi satsu" 城郭内の宗教施設に関する一考察 (A study on religious facilities in castles) *Chūsei jōkaku kenkyū* 中世城郭研究 (Research into medieval castles) 16 (2002): 168–93.

30 Kido, *Yomigaeru Azuchi-jō*, 83–98; Nakamura Yasuo 中村泰朗, "Azuchi-jō-den honmaru goten ni kansuru kōsatsu" 安土城伝本丸御殿に関する考察 (A study on the Honmaru Palace in Azuchi Castle), *Nihon kenchiku gakkai keikaku-kei ronbun-shū* 日本建築学会計画系論文集 (Journal of architecture and planning: Transactions of AIJ) 81.727 (2016): 2021–30.

31 There exist many *tenshu* reconstructive models. Naitō and Miyakami's models are the most famous owing to their heated debate and are often cited in discussions of Azuchi, but more recent models by Satō Taiki 佐藤大規 and Nakamura offer new, more compelling perspectives. In order of their creation: Naitō Akira, "Azuchi-jō no kenkyū (jō・ge)" 安土城の研究 (上・下) (Research on Azuchi Castle [vols. 1–2]), *Kokka* 988–89 (March–April 1976), and updated in Naitō, *Fukugen Azuchi-jō*; Miyakami Shigetaka, "Azuchi-jō no tenshu no fukugen to sono shiryō ni tsuite: Naitō Akira-shi 'Azuchi-jō no kenkyū' ni tai suru gimon (jō・ge)" 安土城天主の復原とその史料に就いて―藤昌氏「安土城の研究」に封する疑問― (上・下) (Concerning the reconstruction of the Azuchi Castle *tenshu* and its primary sources—Problems in Naitō Akira's 'Research on Azuchi Castle' [vols. 1–2]), *Kokka*, no. 998–99 (March–April 1977), and updated in Miyakami, "Azuchi-jō fukugen"; Satō Taiki, "Azuchi-jō tenshu no heimen fukugen ni kan suru shian" 安土城天主の平面復元に関する試案 (Research on the reconstructed floor plan of *tenshu* in Azuchi Castle, Shiga Prefecture), *Shigaku-Kenkyū* 史学研究 (Review of historical studies) 255 (February 2007): 1–22; Nakamura Yasuo, "Azuchi-jō tenshu ni kan suru fukugen-teki kōsatsu (sono ichi)—ikkai kara san-kai made no heyawari—" 安土城天主に関する復元的考察（その一）―一階から三階までの部屋割― (Study on the reconstruction of the Azuchi Castle *tenshu* [1]—Distribution of rooms in the first to third floors), *Kenchiku-shi gaku* 建築史学 (Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Japan) 76 (March 2021): 2–31.

32 The height is known, and the wide gables may be assumed via the description of the fourth floor in Ōta, *Shinchō-kō ki*, 213–18; and Ōta, *Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga*, 254–57. The material character is based on the color scheme described in Giovanni Francesco Stephanoni, "Carta do padre Ioão Frácisco, escreuco do Miàco ao primeiro de Setembro de 1580," in Lyra, *Cartas*, 1.4:480v; Coelho, "Carta annua de Iapaõ," 2.1:36v; and Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, 3:257–58. See also *Azuchiyama-ki* (note 14 above).

33 The form of the belvedere is known via Gyūi-chi's description. Ōta, *Shinchō-kō ki*, 213–18; Ōta, *Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga*, 254–57.

34 Akita, *Oda Nobunaga to Azuchi-jō*, 96–97; Miyakami Shigetaka, *Azuchi-jō—kirameku 'gojū' no fubu no rekishi* 安土城ー煌めく「五重」の布武の城 (Azuchi Castle—A glittering five-story castle of military might), ed. Ōmaru Nobuaki 太丸伸章, *Rekishi gunzō・meijō shirizu (3)* 歴史群像・名城シリーズ (3) (Historical portraits: Famous castles series) (Tokyo: Gakken, 1994), 72.

35 Adriana Boscaro, "The First Japanese Ambassadors to Europe: Political Background for a Religious Journey," *KBS Bulletin of Japanese Culture* 103 (August–September 1970): 1–20; Cooper, *Japanese Mission to Europe*; Derek Massarella, "Envoys and Illusions: The Japanese Embassy to Europe, 1582–90, 'De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium,' and the Portuguese Viceregal Embassy to Toyotomi Hideyoshi, 1591," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 15.3 (November 2005): 329–50; Hiroshi Sugimoto, *Hiroshi Sugimoto: Gates of Paradise* (New York: Skira Rizzoli in association with the Japan Society, 2017); Wakakuwa Midori, *Kuatoro ragattsi: tenshō shōnen shisetsu to sekai teikoku* クアトロ・ラガッツィ天正少年使節と世界帝国 (Quattro Ragazzi: The Tenshō Boys Embassy and world empires) (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2003).

36 Discussed in Erdmann and Roux, "Recent Research," 4–10. Known via Duarte de Sande, *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth Century Europe: A Dialogue Concerning the Mission of the Japanese Ambassadors to the Roman Curia (1590)*, trans. J. F. Moran, ed. Derek Massarella, ser. 3, no. 25 (London: Ashgate for the Hakluyt Society, 2012), 301–2; Guido Gualtieri, *Relationi della venuta degli ambasciatori giaponesi a Roma* (Rome: Francesco Zanetti, 1586), 90; Luís Fróis, *La première ambassade du Japon en Europe, 1582–1592: première partie, le traité du Père Frois (texte portugais)*, ed. and annotated J. A. Abranches Pinto, Yoshitomo Okamoto, and Henri

S. J. Bernard, Monumenta Nipponica Monographs 6 (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1942), 184–85.

37 Cornelis Schuddeboom, *Philips van Winghe (1560–1592) en het onstaan van de christelijke archeologie* (Haren: Geldermalsen, 1996), 272; Cornelis Schuddeboom, "Research in the Roman Catacombs by Louvain Antiquarian Philips van Winghe," in *Archives & Excavations: Essays on the History of Archaeological Excavations in Rome and Southern Italy from the Renaissance to the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Ilaria Bignamini, Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 14 (London: British School at Rome, 2004).

38 Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, PBL 2766. Reproduction and English discussion: Gert Jan van der Sman, "Dutch and Flemish Printmakers in Rome 1565–1609," *Print Quarterly* 22.3 (2005): 264. Dutch: Jan Hendrik Hessels, Jacobus Colius, and Abraham Ortelius, *Abrahami Ortelii, geographi Antverpiensis, et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum (Abrahami Ortelii sororis filium) epistulae: cum aliquot aliis epistulis et tractatibus quibusdam ab utroque collectis (1524–1628)*, Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae archivum 1 (Cambridge: Typis Academiae, 1887), 520–23.

39 Takemoto, "'Azuchi byōbu' o egakinokoshita Furandoru-jin;" Ōhashi, "Eitoku no 'Azuchiyama byōbu' ni tsuite wakatta koto wakaranai koto." I am grateful to Éliane Roux for showing me her unpublished research, further clarifying the transmission of these sketches.

40 Peiresc visited Tournai around 1606, whereupon he saw at least one of van Winghe's notebooks. He subsequently wrote to Jérôme to ask to borrow some of van Winghe's drawings, and Jérôme obliged prior to August 1612. Peiresc kept these loans until 1623 and expended considerable effort to have copies made of them. Schuddeboom, "Research in the Roman Catacombs," 31n16; Peter N. Miller, "The Antiquary's Art of Comparison: Peiresc and *Abraxas*," in *Peiresc's Orient: Antiquarianism as Cultural History in the Seventeenth Century*, Variorum Collected Studies (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 62.

41 Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, MS 1875, 308r–309r. Transcribed in Maffei, *La riscoperta dell'esotismo nel Seicento*, 338–41. Thanks to Éliane Roux for helping interpret this text.

42 ". . . Di più un tiempo de Giapponesi in cima ad un monte cavato dalle pitture che gli ambasciatori Giapponesi dorono a Greg[ori]o XIII di b[eata] m[emoria]. . . ." Translation by Éliane Roux.

43 Pignoria, *Le imagini de gli dei de gli antichi* (1624), 585.

44 Takemoto was the first to consider the relevance of the images to Pignoria's project. Takemoto, "'Azuchi byōbu' o egakinokoshita Furandoru-jin," 85. Maffei tentatively speculates that the objects in Peiresc's list that were not added to the 1626 [*sic*] edition were not of sufficient quality. Maffei, *La riscoperta dell'esotismo nel Seicento*, 335.

45 For discussions of his legacy, see Paola von Wyss-Giacosa, "Through the Eyes of Idolatry: Pignoria's 1615 Argument on the Conformità of Idols from the West and East Indies with Egyptian Gods," in *Through Your Eyes: Religious Alterity and the Early Modern Western Imagination*, ed. Paola Wyss-Giacosa and Giovanni Tarantino (Leiden: Brill, 2021); Sonia Maffei, "Cartari e gli dèi del Nuovo Mondoil Il trattatello sulle 'Imagini de gli dei indiani' di Lorenzo Pignoria," in *Vincenzo Cartari e le direzioni del mito nel Cinquecento*, ed. Sonia Maffei, Arti 15 (Rome: GBE/Ginevra Bentivoglio, 2013); Maffei, *La riscoperta dell'esotismo nel Seicento*; and Caterina Volpi, "Le vecchie e nuove illustrazioni delle Immagini degli Dei degli antichi Vincenzo Cartari (1571 e 1615)," *Storia dell'arte*, no. 74 (1992): 61–119.

46 Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini con la spositione de i dei de gli antichi* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1556). The text was popular due both to its accessibility, being written in Italian—that is, not Latin—as well as to the inclusion, from its 1571 edition on, of a series of woodcut illustrations by Bolognino Zaltieri (fl. 1566–1570). Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi: nelle quali si contengono gl'idoli, riti, ceremonie, & altre cose appartenenti alla Religioune de gli Antichi* (Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1571).

47 "Le vere e nove imagini de gli dei delli antichi di Vicenzo Cartari Reggiano. Ridotte da capo a piedi in questa nouissima impressione alle loro reali, & non più per l'adietro osseruate simiglianze. Cavate da' marmi, bronzi, medaglie, gioie, & altre memorie antiche; con esquisito studio, & particolare diligenza." Translation by Éliane Roux. Thanks to Roux for identifying the significance of the title as a summary of Pignoria's goals.

48 Despite these proclamations, the publication of the 1615 edition was met with criticism regarding the engravings' quality. Pignoria preemptively addressed this issue in his preface by stating that blame was not to be laid on him or Esengren, but on "the negligence of a few dozen carvers." Lorenzo Pignoria, preface to *Le vere e nove imagini de gli dei delli antichi* (Padua: P. P. Tozzi, 1615), n.p. Discussed in Maffei, *La riscoperta dell'esotismo nel Seicento*, 103.

49 Caterina Volpi, "Lorenzo Pignoria e i suoi corrispondenti," *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* 2 (1992): 60.

50 Discussed in Wyss-Giacosa, "Through the Eyes of Idolatry"; Maffei, *La riscoperta dell'esotismo nel Seicento*, 112–16; and Miller, "Antiquary's Art of Comparison," 94–95.

51 R. W. Littlebown, "Oriental Art and the Orient in Late Renaissance and Baroque Italy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): 244.

52 Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe: A Century of Wonder; Book One, The Visual Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 2:89, pls. 50–51.

53 Pignoria, *Le imagini de gli dei de gli antichi* (1624), 550.

54 Pignoria's verification of van Winghe's authorship of the Quetzalcoatl, and an exact correspondence with sketches and text in the van Winghe/Peiresc codex (the Ménestrier Codex, Vat. Lat. 10545), represent strong evidence that this is a copy of van Winghe's work. Further, many of the drawings in MS 1564 at the Biblioteca Angelica appear to have been taken from both the van Winghe/Peiresc and van Winghe/de Villers codices (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. Acq. Lat., 2343), suggesting that the copyist had access to multiple sources. Schuddeboom, "Research in the Roman Catacombs," 24–25. Thanks to Éliane Roux for clarifying this point.

55 Lists of buildings by dimensions may be found online at "Kuni shitei bunkazai-tō dētabēsu," 国指定文化財等データベース, April 21, 2025, https://kunishitei.bunka.go.jp/bsys/index. A list of relevant floor plans can be found in Bunkachō, Mainichi Shinbunsha, and Jūyō Bunkazai Iinkai, *Jūyō bunkazai 12 kenzōbutsu I* 重要文化財12建造物 I (Important Cultural Properties 12 buildings I) (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1973), 12:126, 29–31.

56 Examples of two-level structures with cusped windows are plentiful. While not all have cusped windows on the outer bays (e.g., Atsuda Shrine Chinkōmon 熱田神宮鎮皇門), they invariably possess symmetrical façade decoration. All examples of two-level structures with cusped windows in Eitoku's paintings have these fixtures positioned symmetrically in the outer bays.

57 For example, Rokuonji Kinkaku (Golden Pavilion), Jishōji Ginkaku 慈照寺銀閣 (Silver Pavilion), Nishi-honganji Hiunan 西本願寺飛雲閣, and Daitokuji Hoshun-in Donkokaku 大徳寺芳春院呑湖閣.

58 Based on floor plans of buildings designated as National Treasures or Important Cultural Properties. Bunkachō, Mainichi Shinbunsha, and Jūyō Bunkazai Iinkai, *Jūyō bunkazai 15 kenzōbutsu IV* (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1974), 15:110–16.

59 Based on floor plans of buildings designated as National Treasures or Important Cultural Properties. Bunkachō, Mainichi Shinbunsha, and Jūyō Bunkazai Iinkai, *Jūyō bunkazai 12 kenzōbutsu I*, 12:82–97.

60 Based on floor plans of buildings designated as National Treasures or Important Cultural Properties. Bunkachō, Mainichi Shinbunsha, and Jūyō Bunkazai Iinkai, *Jūyō bunkazai 16 kenzōbutsu V* (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1975), 16:108–17. Several additional points definitively disqualify the Azuchi Castle *tenshu* as the subject: (1) To arrive at that conclusion, it must be assumed that only the *tenshu*'s top stories are depicted. In this case, the fifth floor, known to have been octagonal in shape (see notes 14, 32), is either entirely illegible or conspicuously absent. (2) All other known depictions of *tenshu* in cityscapes are isolated motifs possessing nothing even close in resemblance to the background structural element. (3) No *shachihoko* finials are rendered. It is widely assumed, given their universal use in later *tenshu*, and as remains of *shachihoko* have been excavated at Azuchi, that they were employed at Azuchi.

61 While it is possible that Eitoku strayed from this habit in the specific case of the Azuchi Screens, an additional, already discussed misreading lends additional credence to the interpretation here. The reduction of the back right-corner eaves shares a function with the aforementioned half bays: Both edits shorten the reach of the eaves. In this shared function, these two edits appear to be products of a possible shared motive to make the *Page 569* building correspond more closely with European architectural norms.

62 Based on comparisons made in person and using various reproductions. Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎 et al., eds., *Rakuchū rakugai 1* 洛中洛外 *1* Kinsei fūzoku zufu dai-3-kan 近世風俗図譜第3巻 (Illustrated catalogue of early modern genre scenes) (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1983); Kawashima Masao 川島将生 et al., eds., *Rakuchū rakugai 2* 洛中洛外 *2*, Kinsei fūzoku zufu dai-4-kan 近世風俗図譜第 4 巻 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1983); Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館 and Nippon Terebi Hōsō Mōhen 日本テレビ放送網編, eds., *Tokubetsu-ten Kyotō—rakuchū rakugai-zu to shōheki-ga no bi* 特別展京都ー洛中洛外図と障壁画の美 (Special exhibition: Kyoto—The beauty of *rakuchū rakugai* paintings and sliding door paintings) (Tokyo: Nippon Terebi Hōsō Mōhen, 2013).

63 Thanks to Nakamura Yasuo for showing me the similarities between Maruoka Castle and the *Page 570* gate.

64 A new series of excavations began at Azuchi Castle in 2024, and discoveries announced at the end of the year showed that there is still much to be learned. Consulted here were the results of previous excavations. Shiga-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, ed., *Tokubetsu shiseki Azuchi jōseki hakkutsu chōsa hōkokusho I—ōtemichi, Dodobashiguchi-michi, Azuchiyama nanmen no chōsa* 特別史跡安土城跡発掘調査報告書 I— 大手道、百々橋口道, 安土山南面の調査 (Report on the excavation of the special historic site of Azuchi Castle I: Investigation of ōtemichi, Dodobashiguchi-michi, and the south side of Mount Azuchi) (Hikone: Shiga-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 2008).

65 Takemoto, "'Azuchi byōbu' o egakinokoshita Furandoru-jin."

66 *Aantekenboekje*, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, KBR 17872-3, fol. 64v; Takemoto, "'Azuchi byōbu' o egakinokoshita Furandoru-jin," 81–82. Takemoto posits that van Winghe likely assembled the list from sources such as Marc Antonio Ciappi, *Compendio delle heroiche et gloriose attioni, et santa vita di papa Greg. 13. raccolte da Marc'Antonio Ciappi Senese: Alla Santità di N.S. Papa Gregorio 14* (Rome: appresso Giovanni Martinelli, 1591), 81–82.

67 See note 39.

68 Takemoto, "'Azuchi byōbu' o egakinokoshita Furandoru-jin," 86.

69 "Determinou finalmente prorromper na temeridade, & insolencia de Nabucodonosor, pretendendo ser de todos adorado, não como homem terreno, & mortal, mas como le fora divino, ou senhor da imortalidade, & pera esseituar seu nesando, & abominauel desejo, mandou fazer hum templo junto de seus paços, em hum monte que está separado da fortaleza, onde esereueo o intéto de sua venenosa ambiçaõ em q diziadesta maneira, tresladado dela paó em nossa linguagem. Em estes grandes reinos de Iapaõna fortaleza de Anzuchiyarna nesta serra que vista de longe tausa alegri, & contentamento aos que a vem. Nobunanga senhor de todo o Iapaõ sez esta templo, por nome Soquénij. . . ." Luís Fróis, "Carta do padre Luis Froes sobre a morte de Nobunànga, pera o muito Reverendo, padre Geral da Cópanhia de Iesus, de Cochinocçú, aos cinco de Nouébro de 1582," in Lyra, *Cartas*, 2.1: 62r. Translation by Bébio Amaro.

70 Fróis's account is inconsistent with other records, including those written by Fróis himself. See Lamers, *Japonius Tyrannus*, 217–24.

71 Using Costa's list of sixteenth-century printed works on Japan, I have determined that between 1586 (when Fróis's letter likely arrived in Europe) and 1592 (the year van Winghe died), at least two publications (nos. 228, 233) contain, and several publications (nos. 204, 205, 207, 213, 229, 242, 271) very likely contain, Fróis's full letter. João Pailo Oliveira Costa, "Japan and the Japanese in Printed Works in Europe in the Sixteenth Century," *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies*, no. 14 (2007): 73–89. Thanks to Valeria Morelli helping search for these entries.

72 Reports were read aloud in Jesuit refectories. Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 63; Reinier Hesselink, *The Dream of Christian Nagasaki: World Trade and the Clash of Cultures, 1560–1640* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2016).

73 Takemoto characterizes reading into the images as, "ultimately, the realm of imagination"; "'Azuchi byōbu' o egakinokoshita Furandoru-jin," 86.

74 The figures in the *Imagini* prints are either overly Westernized (*Page 570*) or overly vague (*Page 569*), such that meaningful comparison of their attributes to figures in Eitoku's other cityscapes, to identify their identity or even class, is impossible.

75 ". . . lhe mandou fazer no mais eminente lugar do templo sobre todos os Fotoques hũa certa de charola, ou capelazinha sechada, onde o mandou pò. . . ." Fróis, "Carta do padre Luis Froes," 2.1: 63v. Translation by Bébio Amaro.

76 Ōta, *Shinchō-kō ki*, 373, 412; Ōta, *Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga*, 421, 65.

77 Ōta, *Shinchō-kō ki*, 373; Ōta, *Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga*, 421.

78 Yorikazu Okagaki and Shigeo Asakawa, "Hotoke o koeru Nobunaga—Azuchi-jō Sōkenji hondō no fukugen—," 仏を超えた信長ー安土城摠見寺本堂の復元 (To surpass even the Buddha: A study on the reconstruction of the main hall of Soukenji-temple in Azuchijo-Castle by Oda Nobunaga), *Tottori kankyō daigaku kiyō* 鳥取環境大学紀要 (Bulletin of Tottori University of Environmental Studies), no. 8 (June 2010): 31–51.

79 Dates on the ridge poles indicate that the *niōmon* dates to 1571 and the pagoda to 1454.

80 Okagaki and Asakawa propose one renovation and that the 1791 *Sōkenji keidai ezu* 摠見寺境内絵図 (Illustration of Sōkenji's grounds) represents a retrospective description of the building as it was during Nobunaga's day. Okagaki and Asakawa, "Hotoke o koeru Nobunaga," 48. Okagaki and Asakawa overlook a 1695 depiction (see fig. 21).

81 These include *Gōshū Gamō-gun Toyoura-mura to Suda-mura sanron tachiai ezu* 江州蒲生

郡豊浦村与須田村山論立会絵図 (Survey map of [territory] dispute in Toyoura Village and Suda Village, Gamō District, [Ō]mi Province; fig. 21); *Sōkenji keidai ezu*, *Keidai tsubosū nami tatemono meisai-sho* 「境内坪数並建物明細書」 (Detailed description of the rows of buildings in area of the temple grounds); and *Kiso ji meisho zue* 「木曽路名所図会」 (A collection of images of famous places on the Kisō Road; fig. 22). Listed in Okagaki and Asakawa, "Hotoke o koeru Nobunaga," 36.

82 Wyss-Giacosa, "Through the Eyes of Idolatry," 126.

83 Wyss-Giacosa, 110, 28.

84 Lamers notes the extent to which knowledge of Fróis's account of Nobunaga's death spread in the early seventeenth century: "All Jesuit histories of Japan since Luis Guzmàn ['s *Historia de las missiones*, 1601] have reported the story in full." Lamers, *Japonius Tyrannus*, 8:218; Wyss-Giacosa, "Through the Eyes of Idolatry," 105.

85 Wyss-Giacosa, "Through the Eyes of Idolatry," 106, 25–39.

86 Wyss-Giacosa, 108–9.

87 Andrew Mark Watsky, *Chikubushima: Deploying the Sacred Arts in Momoyama Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).