

## II. THE GREAT SHIP FROM AMACON

Although the Macao Carrack can only claim a modest three score years of life against the two centuries enjoyed by its more famous contemporary, the Manila galleon, yet it has left its mark in History and in Art. These huge ships, which excited the wonder of contemporaries in much the same way as the great Cunarders do with us, ploughed the China Sea in the typhoon season carrying Jesuit missionaries for Japan, Japanese Envoys for Europe: Portuguese merchants, captains and pilots; Dutch gunners, lascar sailors; negro slaves, Korean, Japanese and Chinese *mui-tsai* between Nagasaki, Macao and Golden Goa. The cargoes of silk, gold and silver bullion which they carried were the most valuable in the world, whilst this precious freight was supplemented by pedigree Arabian horses, Bengal tigers and peacocks. This picturesque past is vividly portrayed in the picture-screens of one of the most colourful schools of Japanese classical painting.

Between 1550 and 1615, the Macao-Japan trade was chiefly carried on by means of the annual *Não* or *Nau*. No exact equivalent for this word exists in English, but its import is 'great ship', and these *Nãos* were usually termed 'Carracks' by the English and Dutch, although the Portuguese seldom or never used the Iberian equivalent *Carraca* to describe their *Nãos*. Carracks are frequently mentioned in medieval documents, but the Portuguese East-India Carracks which acquired such fame for their stupendous size and burden attained their greatest celebrity in the second half of the 16th century. A typical example was the colossal *Madre de Deus* which was taken by the English off the Azores when homeward bound from India in 1592, and which was rated by Hakluyt as a 1,600 ton ship. The difference between a *Não* and a galleon is confusing. Broadly

speaking, a *Não da Carreira da Índia* or East-India Carrack was a large merchant vessel, broad in the beam, with high poop and fore-castle, lightly gunned and an indifferent sailer; whereas a galleon (in Portuguese *galeão*) was primarily a war vessel and a lighter and handier ship in every way. This distinction however was not always a hard and fast one, and in the first half of the 17th century it became very difficult to draw an exact line between galleons and *Nãos*.

Up to about 1540, both *Nãos* and galleons were of less than 400 tons burthen, but during the reign of Dom John III, the former type frequently attained 800-900 tons. Experience showed that these unwieldy Carracks, overladen and overcrowded as they usually were, proved inferior in seaworthy qualities to ships of smaller tonnage. Accordingly the next monarch, Dom Sebastian, promulgated a law in 1570 to the effect that no *Não da Carreira da Índia* should be of less than 300 or more than 450 tons. This measure was apparently successful, as according to one seventeenth-century authority, not a single one of these carracks suffered shipwreck during this King's otherwise unfortunate reign. Under the Spanish domination of 1580-1640, this rule was allowed to lapse, and a pernicious reversion was made to the practice of building annually two or three large *Nãos* of over 1,000 tons each, instead of five or six galleons of between three and five hundred. The shipwreck rate immediately rose alarmingly; and Severim de Faria alleges that of twenty-two ships (including seventeen *Nãos*) which left India in the years 1590-92, only two reached Lisbon.

It is no wonder therefore that many of the experienced Portuguese officers supported Admiral João Pereira Corte-Real when in 1622-1635 he tried hard to persuade the Iberian government to revert to the tonnage laid down by the law of 1570, but his efforts were only partly successful. In fact in some ways the position worsened; for whereas galleons had formerly rarely exceeded 600 tons, some were now built of 800, 900, or even 1,200 tons. The famous 1,200 ton *Santa Tereza*, destroyed by the Dutch at the battle of the Downs in 1639, is called *Não* or *Carrack* in some contemporary accounts, and *galleon* in others. Before

1622, Portuguese *Nãos* had usually four flush decks, but smaller types of three or even two were also built, and these latter were sometimes called *Navetas*. Here again is another source of confusion, as the term *naveta* was also applied to small frigate-type India-built vessels which contemporary Dutch and English records call "yachts" or "frigates". The *Naó* was however a distinctive feature of Portuguese naval architecture, and no other nation built such "mountains of wood" as Corte-Real scornfully termed them. Even the Treasure ships from the Spanish Main were not so large, and a contemporary writer asserts that a Portuguese Indian could take four times as much cargo as the largest Spanish galleon on the Atlantic run. It must be added that this does not seem to have applied to the Pacific, as some of the galleons sailing between Mexico and Manila were as large as the average Portuguese Carrack. Incidentally both the Manila galleon and the Macao Carrack were called the "Silver-ship" by contemporaries, as the former was famed for the silver plate it carried from the Mexican and Peruvian mines for the purchase of Chinese silks and other goods at Manila; whilst the latter was celebrated for the silver bullion it carried from Japan for the purchase of Chinese silks, gold and musk at Canton and Macao.

The best and most seaworthy of these *Nãos* were built in the Indo-Portuguese yards at Goa, Damão, Bassein and Cochin, those of the last two places being the most esteemed on account of the excellent teak wood of which they were constructed. The yards at Lisbon and Oporto built both carracks and galleons, but it was realized that the pinewoods of Portugal provided inferior material to the teak forests of Malabar; and instructions were repeatedly issued from Lisbon for the construction of ships in India in preference to Europe. A somewhat similar state of affairs prevailed in the Philippines, where the superiority of locally-built vessels over those built in Spain was often pointed out. But even the Spaniards at Manila preferred India-built Portuguese ships when they could get them, as exemplified by the remarks of Navarrete in his *Tratados* of 1676. A Manila report on available shipping in 1618, refers to the *Naó São Lourenço* "which was

built in India over 23 years ago" and had 3 flush decks, a quarterdeck and fore-castle. Another report of the following year stated that ships built in Portuguese India were not only incomparably cheaper than those in the Philippines but lasted ten times as long, owing to the superiority of teak over all other woods for durability and resisting worm-rot. Perhaps the most famous of these India-built carracks was the *Cinco Chagas*, or *Five Wounds of Christ* built by the Viceroy, Dom Constantino de Braganza, at Goa and which made eight voyages between India and Portugal between the years 1560 and 1584. Another worthy of record was the 1,600 ton Cochin-built *Santa Cruz*, which took the Dutch gunner Dirk Gerritszoon to Japan in 1585, and his more famous compatriot Jan Huygen van Linschoten from Goa to Lisbon four years later.

The routine voyage of the Macao carrack once the Japan trade had got into its stride was after the following pattern. The annual carrack, with the Captain-Major on board, left Goa in April or May, laden with woollens, scarlet cloth, crystal and glass ware, Flemish clocks, Portuguese wines, Indian chintzes, cotton and calico piece-goods. If, as was usual, a call was made at Malacca, part of the cargo would be exchanged for spices; aromatic woods like sandal, eagle and aloes wood; sharkskins and deer-hides from Siam. From Malacca the carrack sailed for Macao, after a long or short stay according as to whether or not it missed the monsoon. At Macao a ten to twelve months wait was usually necessary, since the Chinese raw and finished silks which formed the bulk of the cargo for Japan could only be obtained at the half-yearly sales at Canton in January and June, whilst the carrack generally reached port between June and August. These unwieldy monsters did not of course go upriver to Canton, nor even to the bar at Whampoa like the 18th century East-Indiamen, but remained in Macao roads whilst the silks and other cargo were brought down either the Pearl River or the West River in lighters. The carrack finally left for Japan next year with the south-west monsoon between the end of June and the beginning of August, the voyage to Southern Kyushu taking anything from twelve to thirty days. The ship remained in port until the north-east monsoon set in at

the end of October or beginning of November; and subsequently set sail for Macao with her precious cargo of silver bullion at any time between November and March. The only commodities exported from Japan besides silver, were curiosities such as lacquer cabinets, boxes and furniture, painted gold-leaf paper screens, (*hyobu* hence the Portuguese *biombo*) kimono, swords, pikes, and in later years, copper. Although there were some years when the export of gold was important, silver retained the chief place among the exports for as long as the trade lasted.

At Macao, the bulk of the silver was usually unloaded and used for the purchase of next year's cargo of silks; whilst gold, Chinese silks and piece-goods, musk, pearls, ivory, and porcelain were taken on board for Goa. The reason why the trade proved so profitable was that silver was worth much more in China than in Japan, whereas the contrary was true of silk; since the Ming Court prohibited all direct trade between the two empires, the Portuguese cashed in as the indispensable middlemen. Of the other articles, the gold, whether bought in Japan or China could always be profitably disposed of in India, where its value was greater than in either; whilst the lacquer, porcelain and curios fetched large sums in Europe. The copper was chiefly used for casting bronze cannon, first at Goa and after 1629 at Macao, where the gun-foundry established by Manoel Tavares Bocarro remained the most famous in the Far East for twenty years. The round voyage from Goa to Japan and back might last as long as three years if a lengthy call was made at Malacca, or a monsoon missed at Macao. These seasonal delays account for the fact that sometimes there were two (on one occasion even three) Captain-Majors of the Japan Voyage in Chinese waters. Before 1571, the Great Ship went successively to Bungo, Hizen and Omura ports, but after the foundation of Nagasaki that year, this place became the official entrepot for the Macao trade; consequently the Carracks frequented it with increasing regularity in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and from 1600 onwards invariably. The voyage which began at "Golden Goa" thus ended normally at the "Long Cape", if Nagasaki given its literal translation.

Some half-dozen *Alvarás* or grants of a Voyage to China

With two exceptions these rules remained substantially unaltered down to 1623, when the governorship of Macao was separated from the voyage. The principal amendments were that the post of Custodian of Deceased and Absent Persons' Property at Macao was taken from the Captain-Major and made a municipal appointment in 1589; whilst in 1593 and again in 1610, it was ordered that any Captain-Major who wintered in Macao, or otherwise failed to carry out his journey, should forfeit his turn to his successor, regardless of his nominal seniority. It might be added that the Portuguese paid at this time no harbour or other dues in Japan on their ships or goods, whilst those at Macao were very light and frequently reduced by bribery. Beyond the annual presents to the Shogun and a few officials which amounted in all to 25,000 ducats, they had no taxes or imposts to worry about.

These carracks often carried Chinese pilots—mostly Fukien seamen apparently — to assist their Portuguese colleagues. Many of these latter were exceptionally competent seamen, as may be judged from a perusal of their *Roteiros* (Rutters or sailing-directions) for navigation between China and Japan, whose clarity and accuracy have been warmly praised by the late J. C. M. Warnsinck and other naval historians with practical maritime experience. Whilst on the subject of these *Roteiros*, it may be mentioned that some were translated into Japanese for the use of native pilots. One of these manuscripts dated 1622, compiled by a Nagasaki seaman from the dictation of a Portuguese pilot named Manuel Goncalves, survived the vicissitudes of time and was printed in Tokyo thirty years ago. The contents include directions for finding one's position at sea by means of the Southern Cross; tables for finding the altitude of the sun at noon, definitions of nautical and astronomical terms; use of the astrolabium and compass; difference between Gregorian and Julian Calendars, and so forth. The manuscript also contains a series of rutters from Nagasaki to various ports in South China and Indo-China, of the type printed in contemporary editions of the *Exame de Pilotos* by the Portuguese Cosmographer-Royal, Manoel de Figueiredo, at Lisbon between 1608 and 1625, and from one of which this unique

and Japan for the period 1563–1571 have survived obscurely in print, and from a collation of these, the Captain-Major's privileges and responsibilities can be summarised as follows.

He was entitled to make the voyage to China and Japan in a carrack or ship of his own, fitted out at his own expense; but if he could not afford this, he could freight one of the King's ships in India, if one was available, and if he could produce adequate financial backers and guarantors. If he needed any ships' stores or provisions from the Royal Yards, these were to be supplied (if available) at prevailing prices. He was to hold the rank and office of Captain-Major over all Portuguese ships and subjects he might meet on the high seas, or find in the ports of China and Japan at which he might call. On reaching Macao he could either go on to Japan in a ship or junk of his own, or freight one belonging to someone else. If he went to Japan in person, he was to be recognised as the Captain-Major of all Portuguese residing there. This with the proviso that he should not find another Captain-Major in China or Japan with a commission dated prior to his own; for in cases where two Captain-Majors found themselves in the same port, the one with the oldest commission was to be regarded as the holder of the post as long as they were in company. All grants and commissions took effect in chronological order. During the outward and homeward voyage, he was empowered to act as Custodian of the Property of Dead and Absent Persons, whether of the ships' company or in Macao, China or Japan during his stay there; unless these persons had formally nominated another trustee or custodian in their Wills or in due legal form, in which case the Captain-Major must hand the property intact over to them. This post of Custodian of Deceased and Absent Persons' Property was likewise only to be exercised if anybody with a previous commission was not present. In consideration whereof, all Captains, Pilots, Masters, and members of the ship's companies, as well as all persons living or visiting the said ports of Macao, China and Japan, were thereby formally required and ordered on the part of the King to acknowledge and obey their lawful Captain-Major, on pain of incurring the prescribed punishment and penalty if they refused.

BOXER, *Fidalgos in the Far East*

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Luso-Japanese nautical treatise was undoubtedly derived. Such was the esteem in which Portuguese nautical skill was held in Japan at the time, that for some years all Japanese junks sailing overseas to S. E. Asian ports were compelled by government laws to carry Lusitanian pilots. Thus the superior local knowledge of the Chinese and Japanese pilots was complemented by the theoretical and technical skill of the Europeans; until the latter had attained the necessary local knowledge and the former acquired the additional technical qualifications. Whilst discussing these points, we may as well consider here why it was that the Portuguese took such a long time to discover Japan and Formosa after they had frequented the South China Sea since 1513.

The explanation is that after they had reached India, the Moluccas and China, the Portuguese were no longer primarily interested in discovery, but in trade. This was quite natural, and in so far as East Asia was concerned, they had no reason to go cruising around those stormy seas looking for new worlds to conquer, when first China and then Japan provided a more than sufficient outlet both for their commercial greed and their religious zeal. It must be remembered that from the time that Vasco da Gama took on board Arab pilots at Malindi to guide him to the Malabar Coast, the Portuguese had, wisely and inevitably, relied on native pilots to show them the way to the other Asiatic maritime ports of whose existence they had heard. With the help of Arab, Gujarati, Javanese, Malay and finally Chinese pilots, they made their pioneer voyages from Malabar to Ceylon and 'The Golden Chersonese'; from Malacca to the Sunda islands, Java, the Moluccas, Sumatra and Siam; from Malacca again to Canton, thence to Ch'uan-chow, Ningpo and finally and accidentally, if inevitably, to Japan. Once they had attained these enormous commercial markets and fertile mission-fields, they had neither the time nor the inclination to indulge in organised voyages of discovery *per se* such as had led them down the West coast of Africa round the Cape of Good Hope to Sofala, and to the shores of Labrador, New Foundland and Brazil. Hence their pioneer voyages to the civilised states of Asia were

made with the help of Asiatic pilots; and their pure discoveries were virtually limited to places like Madagascar, New Guinea, Korea (and possibly even Australia) which they discovered when forced off their proper course by stress of wind and weather. This fact does not detract from their skill as seamen or enterprise as merchants; for obviously they would have been foolish in the extreme to have entrusted themselves and their ships to the uncharted coasts and unknown seas of the Orient, when they could readily obtain the services of experienced pilots in these perilous waters. Once they had found the way however, they dispensed, as a rule, with their Asiatic teachers, and not merely followed but improved on their store of nautical lore; as may be seen from numerous 16th century *Roteiros* printed in translation by Ian Huyghen van Linschoten. These clear and exemplary sailing-directions proved invaluable to their Dutch and English successors, and formed the foundation stones of the magnificent English Admiralty Pilot Handbooks of the present day.

The Japanese called these Carracks and galleons, *Kurofune* or 'Black ships', presumably because of the colour of their hulls, and this name was revived for Commodore Perry's ships three centuries later. They evidently made a great impression, as well — they might, being the largest ships then afloat on the Seven Seas. It is these Great Ships which form the favourite theme of one of the most characteristic forms of Portuguese influence on the art of Old Japan, the so-called *Namban-byobu*, or "Southern Barbarian screens" to give the literal translation. This type of art is peculiar to Japan, and possesses some clearly-defined characteristics which render examples thereof easy of identification.

The commonest type of *Namban-byobu*, and the kind to which the term is applied *par excellence*, has only one subject for its theme — namely, the arrival of a Portuguese ship in Japan, with the accompanying scenes on the disembarkation of the passengers and crew, and their meeting with Japanese and missionaries ashore. These screens are of either the eight-, six-, four- or two-leaf variety, the six-leaf being the most common and the two-leaf the rarest.

entering the vessel's arrival in Japan, with the missionaries' welcome to their compatriots on landing. The superb pair of screens in the University at Kyoto, perhaps the best-known and most frequently reproduced set of *Namban-byobu*, belongs to this last kind.

The majority of these screens were evidently executed for *daimyo* or for wealthy merchants interested in the foreign trade, since the materials used are very expensive and they are frequently painted by leading artists of the Kano and other famous contemporary schools. They are characterised by a most lavish use of gold (very rarely silver) leaf for the background, and the details are painted in with a profuse use of expensive colours such as powders of malachite, lapis-lazuli, gold-leaf, etc.

Very few are signed, but most of them are painted in the style of the Kano school, several of the better known being attributed to Kano Yeitoku, to Kano Sanraku and to Kano Naizen. Others are ascribed to artists of the Tosa school, which to the uninitiated is not always easily distinguishable from the Kano-ryu; and some of the later — and inferior — productions are the work of Jokei and other artists of the Sumiyoshi school. A curious feature of these screens is that they were not painted in Nagasaki, as the casual student might pardonably imagine, but by Kyoto and Sakai artists, some of whom, however, may have gone to Nagasaki to acquire local colour and derived inspiration from the stately Lusitanian ships and fidalgos who frequented that port. Quite obviously some screens were painted by men who had never seen a European ship, whilst the detail and accuracy of others afford equal proof that the men who painted these latter were not only consummate artists, but travellers who had been aboard these ships as well.

Some ill-informed and superficial European critics have thought to identify certain definite episodes in these *Nambanbyobu*; one explanation which has found wide acceptance among art critics, who ought to know better, is that the scene depicted is the meeting of Fernão Mendez Pinto and St. Francis Xavier, at Funai, in Bungo, in the year 1551. A little reflection will show this to be demonstrably untrue, for apart from the fact that these *Namban* screens were not

The subject is always treated in the same way. On the left-hand side (as the spectator looks at the screen) is depicted the Portuguese ship arriving or anchoring in the bay; in the centre we see a procession of cavaliers or fidalgos, headed by the *Capitão-Mór* and followed by a numerous retinue of slaves and attendants, wending their way to meet (as a rule) a missionary group on the right; this procession is known as the *Namban gyoretsu* or "Southern Barbarian Procession". The right-hand side of the screen is devoted to a religious or semi-religious *motif*, for here we see missionary priests and friars of the various orders, amongst whom the black-gowned Jesuits are usually the most conspicuous, advancing to welcome the oncoming Portuguese procession. Usually there is a church or convent in the background where a priest can be seen celebrating mass. Japanese Christians wearing half-Europeanised *hakama*, (divided skirt) and with rosaries round their necks, or in their hands, are usually also in evidence in this part of the screen. Often enough, a more homely touch is provided by the Japanese mother holding up her infant in arms to see the strange foreigners, or by parents pointing out the Southern Barbarians to their older children. Other details which are typical of this type of screen, and may be discerned on nearly all of them, are the negro sailors or lascars sporting in the ship's rigging and performing acrobatic feats — sometimes with disastrous results — in the shrouds or on the yardarms; the white and black Arabian steeds led in the procession, and the cages with hawks, peacocks, tigers, antelopes and other examples of Indian fauna which the Portuguese used to bring to tickle the fancy of Hideyoshi and his courtiers. Viewed as a whole, then, the panorama presented on these screens falls clearly into three parts. The secular or worldly motive supplied by the Portuguese on the left, and the religious or spiritual world typified by the ecclesiastical scenes on the right, both being connected by the intervening *Namban gyoretsu*. Looked at another way, the left-hand side represents *Namban* or Portuguese India and the right-hand side *Japan*. Sometimes these screens are in pairs; one screen showing the Portuguese ship setting out from its home port, presumably Goa or Macao, and the other screen repres-

made until about forty years later, Pinto and his companions brought no Arabian horses with them, neither is there a solitary shred of evidence to justify this purely imaginary and fantastic ascription. At this time the Jesuits had no regular Church such as is shown on the screen, nor were there anything like the number of Padres here depicted (ten) at that time present in Japan. The Portuguese costumes are also of a later date, apart from many other valid reasons which can be brought against it. Others have sought to identify the scene with that enacted at Nagasaki on the return of the Jesuit *Visitador* Father Alessandro Valignani in 1590, with the Kyushu envoys who had been to Rome. This identification has something to support it at first blush, since a tall man in the sombre Jesuit gown usually figures prominently in the missionary group, and it is tempting to identify him with the *Padre Visitador*, for Valignani was a man of uncommonly tall stature. The embassy also brought two Arabian horses as a present from the Viceroy of India to Hideyoshi, and a black and a white Arabian steed are frequently depicted in the procession. Here again, however, there is the incontrovertible objection that Valignani and his companions arrived from Macao in a junk, and not in the usual *Não da viagem*.

It is therefore certain that these *Namban-byobu* depict no particular isolated incident, but just a general representation of the picturesque side of Portuguese intercourse with Japan. At the same time, it is quite conceivable that the return of Valignani's mission in 1590 provided the original inspiration for this type of screen, since none is known to have been made prior to that date; and we learn from missionary records that a special effort was made to fit out all the Portuguese accompanying the Envoy as magnificently as possible, in order to outshine a Korean embassy which was likewise on its way to interview the Taiko, even the negro slaves being provided with velvet liveries and golden collars!

Be this as it may, these screens, or the best of them, were evidently produced between 1590 and Ieyasu's definite prohibition of Christianity in 1614, the majority of them being painted by artists of the Kano and Tosa schools at

Kyoto and Sakai, probably for Christian daimyo or wealthy connoisseurs with exotic tastes. It is possible, however, that their appeal was more general, and that cheaper and less gorgeous screens were produced for the humbler samurai or *hatamoto*. This cannot be stated with certainty, since the only screens which stood any chance of survival after the ruthless persecution and virtual extirpation of Christianity under the first three Tokugawa Shoguns, were those few which might have been concealed by powerful daimyo. If this form of art had its popular side, — and the contemporary craze for aping Portuguese dress, manners, food, and even on occasions speech, goes some way to prove it, — then it may be regarded as the precursor of the later *Nagasaki-e* or Nagasaki colour-prints which flourished at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries and were inspired by the sight of the Hollanders and their shipping in old Nagasaki.

The definitive prohibition of Christianity in 1614 did not mean the immediate end of the *Namban-byobu*, though the fundamental design underwent a significant change. It was no longer safe to represent Catholic priests or churches, any more than their associated paraphernalia like crosses and rosaries. Accordingly, we find that the right-hand half of the screen no longer represents missionary or evangelical scenes, but has been transformed into a purely Japanese background. Instead of the priests and their acolytes, we have Japanese townsmen or merchants coming to bargain for the foreigners' goods; instead of the celebration of mass in church or chapel, we see junketings in an inn where the Portuguese merchants are entertained by their hosts. The crosses surmounting the church roofs have gone, and their place has been taken by Buddhist symbols. Gone likewise are the crosses and rosaries with which the Japanese converts depicted on the earlier screens are so freely decorated, and their dress has lost its Lusitanian touches. Even though rendered thus comparatively innocuous, the *Namban-byobu* did not long survive the prohibition of Christianity, and it is probable that they ceased to be made in this style even before the final expulsion of the Portuguese and the rigorous prohibition of anything to do with them in 1639–1640.

favourite patterns employed. The faithfulness of detail is apparent not only by comparison with the engravings of De Bry in the work of Linschoten — for these screens are far more colourful and natural than the stilted posings in the Dutch copper-plates — but by such instances as the rosaries carried by the Portuguese as they walk, or by the long lace or calico handkerchiefs held in their hands, after the fashion of the elegant ladies in the pictures of Velasquez or other contemporary Iberian painters.

An interesting sidelight on the popularity of the Portuguese from the "great shippe of Amacon" is afforded by the following extract from a letter of Jacques Specx, the Dutch Factor at Hirado, written in November 1610. . . . "The ship coming from Maccauw usually has about 200 or more merchants on board, who go ashore at once, each one of them taking a house wherein to lodge with his servants and slaves; they take no heed of what they spend and nothing is too costly for them; and sometimes they disburse in the seven or eight months that they stay in Nagasaki more than 250,000 or 300,000 taels, through which the populace profit greatly; and this is one of the reasons why they are still very friendly to them".

Although the *Náo* or Carrack held pride of place amongst the Portuguese shipping which visited Japan from the days of its discovery until 1618, other types were also used. Galleons were employed on several occasions, their burthen being usually about 600 tons. Contemporary Spanish and English sailors highly commended their qualities, but they never replaced the more unwieldy but more commodious carracks. Incidentally, the Carracks had a much better record of seaworthiness in the dangerous China Sea than they did in the less stormy Indian and south Atlantic Oceans, for only one is definitely recorded as having been lost in a typhoon. A contemporary Portuguese "expert Pilote's" description of these stor . . . can hardly be bettered. "Nowe to understand the meaning of this word *Tuffon*, it is a *Chinisch* word, which the Portingales also doe holde without altering the same, and signifieth a storme or Tempest, which you commonly finde in those voyages from *China* to *Japon*. If you faile of it sometimes, it is not often, it commeth

*Namban-byobu* of a type are, it is true, to be found occasionally during the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, but in such a degenerate form as to be hardly recognisable for what they are intended to be. These bastardised specimens appear to have originated in Sakai with the Sumiyoshi school. The stately Portuguese fidalgos of the earlier screens have become hardly distinguishable from Chinese merchants in dress and appearance, and no casual observer would take them for Europeans. The European ship is either absent altogether, or rendered in so grotesque a form — sans masts, sans sails, sans everything — as to be practically unrecognisable. The old half-secular half-religious theme has completely gone, and the scene usually depicted on these screens is bargaining over merchandise in the market-place between these pseudo-Portuguese and Japanese traders. This type of *Namban byobu* must be distinguished from the late eighteenth-century adaptations or copies of the old sixteenth-century originals which began to make their appearance about the Temmei-Kwansei periods (1780–1798). These last came into being owing to the renaissance of interest in Western Art, and Science which took place in Japan during the last quarter of the eighteenth century thanks to the influence of the Dutch scholars or *Rangakusha*. They can be easily distinguished from the originals of the Kano and Tosa schools by their comparative crudity and numerous mistakes of detail — thus the Portuguese cavaliers are depicted in their sixteenth-century costume, but with the long hair and wigs of the eighteenth-century Hollanders — an incongruity which has tripped up the busy modern forger of "old" screens more than once.

Finally, one other point must be mentioned about the genuine *Namban-byobu* of the Keicho period, 1596–1614. That is their great value and interest for the study of the iconography of both Japanese and Portuguese of the time, especially the latter. We have no sources whatever (if we except a few engravings in works like Linschoten's *Itinerario* published in 1596) for the study of the dress and costume of the Portuguese in Asia at that period, save for these *Namban-byobu*. From these we get an excellent idea of the kind of clothes they wore, the materials used and the

and beginneth from one point, and do runneth with a continual storme almost about all the points in compasse, blowing most stiffely, whereby the poore Sailers have worke ynough in hande, and in such sort, that not any stormes throughout all the orientall Indies is comparable unto it, wherefore it is necessary to looke well to it, and to chose your times, that by calmes sodainely you bee not inadvisedly overtaken, as every man that hath sayled those wayes, can sufficiently shewe you, and every one or most part of them have found it to be so".

In consequence of the vulnerability of both carracks and galleons to the attacks of the Dutch and English ships which infested Far Eastern waters from the dawn of the 17th century, the practice of sending the whole of the Sino-Portuguese cargo in an annual carrack or galleon to Japan was abolished in 1618. The voyage was now made in a squadron of lighter vessels of the types known as *pataxos*, *navetas* and *galiotas*. Of these, the *Pataxo* corresponded to the contemporary English *pinnace*, and might be anything between 100 and 300 tons. The *Naveta* seems to have had no exact English equivalent, and the term was even, as we have seen, applied on occasion to small carracks of 5–600 tons. Normally however, a swift dispatch vessel of 200–300 tons seems to have been the kind of ship intended. In the case of the China-Japan voyage, the type usually employed between 1618 and 1640 was the *galiota* (English *Galliot*) which, like the *pataxos* seem to have averaged about 2–300 tons. They were so familiar a sight in the harbour of Nagasaki that the word *galiota* became part of the Japanese vocabulary and they were called *karuta-sen* in state documents of the time.

In addition to these purely European types of ships, the Portuguese also made use of Chinese sea-going junks for the Japan voyage. Modern writers seem to have forgotten how large some of these were; nor were the Chinese alone, although they were certainly ahead of other Asiatics in this respect. Both Portuguese and Chinese sources state that some of the large Kwangtung and Fukien junks were very big indeed, much larger in fact than the 300–400 ton ships of the reign of Dom Manuel I. A large Kwangtung war junk had 3 decks and carried a crew of 2,000 men, whilst some trading

junks were even bigger. The Jesuit missionaries in Japan wax eloquent over the size of some of the junks built by Nobunaga and Hideyoshi circa 1580, one of them going so far as to say that Hideyoshi's flagship was as large as a Portuguese *Nao*. This however is unlikely, and the Taiko showed himself particularly anxious to obtain the loan of two carracks for his Korean campaign in 1592, his failure to secure them being one of the causes of his break with the Jesuits — or so some of them believed. Finally we may mention the junk which was flagship of the Javanese fleet routed by the Portuguese off Malacca in 1512. This took three years to build, carried over a thousand fighting men, and its hull was proof against the shot of the Portuguese bombards. "It was an amazing thing to see" wrote Fernão Peres de Andrade, the victorious Portuguese Admiral, "because the *Anunciada* near it did not look like a ship at all." It is not surprising that he adds that it was the largest ship hitherto seen in those parts. Although he does not say so, it seems probable that Chinese shipwrights had a hand in its building, as there is nothing to show that Javanese or even Arab or Gujarati ship-builders were capable of constructing vessels of this size. But be this as it may, the fact remains that the 'Great Ship from Amacon' was the largest ship in the world in its day and generation, and if only for this reason its memory deserves rescuing from oblivion.

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