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#### **Title**

European Musical Instruments in Sixteenth-Century Japanese Paintings

#### **Permalink**

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4sq8n5t9>

#### **Journal**

Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography, 24(1 & 2)

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#### **Publication Date**

1999

Peer reviewed

## EUROPEAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY JAPANESE PAINTINGS

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The first Japanese encounter with the Western world in the mid-sixteenth century was symbolic: the introduction of Christianity and the arquebus.<sup>1</sup> The Jesuit Francis Xavier came to Japan with the intention of spreading Christianity, and the Portuguese merchants planned to open a lucrative trade with the Land of Gold. At the time of their arrival, Japan was in the middle of Sengoku Jidai (the Age of the Country at War). The declining political and military powers of the Ashikaga shogunate afforded the feudal warlords ample opportunities to gain control of the central government and become dictators of the entire country. The traditional tactics of war were decisively changed after the warlords discovered the destructive power of the arquebus. Immediate access to this weapon and other European technologies became a crucial task for any who had the desire to advance his ambition or who strove for mere survival. Therefore, it was politically and militarily a necessary strategy for the warlords to court both the Jesuits and the Portuguese merchants. The Europeans unquestionably took advantage of the situation according to their own particular interests. For the Jesuits, the safety of the missionaries and permission to propagate Christianity were at stake.

In principal, the Jesuits prohibited the excessive use of music in the liturgy and were reluctant to utilize music as a means of attracting prospective converts. But, the missionaries soon realized the effectiveness of European music and musical instruments when spreading Christianity in Japan. This change of policy prompted the importation of European music (such as Gregorian chants and secular vocal and instrumental music) in a steady flow for the next fifty years, until all the foreign missions and most of the merchants were expelled for security reasons. At schools attached to the seminaries, the missionaries taught the children of the converts how to celebrate mass in both Latin and Japanese (often with organ accompaniment), how to stage religious dramas in Japanese, and how to play European musical instruments, mainly the bowed stringed instruments (generically called the *viola* or *viola d'arco*) and keyboard instruments (generically called *cravo*), perhaps supplemented with rudimentary instructions on theory and notation.<sup>2</sup>

After the introduction of Christianity, the Jesuits became largely responsible for the importation of European musical instruments to Japan. European musical instruments attracted not only the converts but also non-Christians. As early as 1551, Francis Xavier made a gift of a keyboard instrument, perhaps a single-manual clavichord, to Ohuchi Yoshitaka, the warlord of Yamaguchi, in exchange for obtaining permission to propagate Christianity in his feudal territory.<sup>3</sup> A Jesuit document of 1581 mentions the importation of two organs, a *cravo*, and a *viola*, which were transported to Azuchi, the seat of the then military dictator Oda Nobunaga. When Alessandro Valignano met the dictator Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Kyoto in 1591, the Tensho-Shonen-Shisetsu (the four Japanese young noblemen who had traveled in Europe as emissaries for several years) performed a song, accompanying themselves on a harp, a lute, a rebec, and "un grave cimbalò". After the performance, Hideyoshi took each instrument in his own hands and asked about its structure and playing techniques. Sensing that Hideyoshi was enormously interested in European musical instruments, Valignano also showed him a *viola d'arco* and a portable organ. It was probably the physical beauty and mechanical peculiarity of the instruments that aroused Hideyoshi's curiosity. He must have particularly been fascinated by the *grave cimbalò*. This instrument was likely the one Ascanio Colonna had presented to the Tensho-Shonen-Shisetsu in Alcalá, a "precious clavicembalo all encrusted with mother-of-pearl" that Colonna had specifically ordered from Rome.<sup>4</sup> The Jesuits also established workshops that produced organs (perhaps with bamboo pipes) and *violas d'arco*.



1 A-B. Anonymous, European genre painting. The left side of a six-fold screen. Painting on paper, 102,5 cm × 308 cm (each panel). Eisei Bunko Foundation, Tokyo.



1 C-D. Anonymous, European genre painting. The right side.

In addition to Gregorian chant and musical instruments, the Jesuits also imported religious paintings, not only to adorn the altars of newly built churches and the walls of the seminaries, but also to show them to new and prospective Christian converts. This served as a rudimentary way of explaining the Christian doctrines that had met with some difficulty in comprehension among the less educated classes because of the language barrier. The demand for such paintings increased after successful attempts at converting a substantial number of the populace and the opening of churches and seminaries. The demands for the paintings of secular subjects also increased after the Jesuit missionaries realized the usefulness of paintings as gifts to the non-Christian warlords who showed enormous interest in all aspects of European culture, such as political systems, landscapes, everyday customs, and most importantly the tactics of warfare and the newest technologies. Particularly popular among the warlords were depiction of European scenery and towns, war scenes, world maps, and portraits of princes and soldiers in armor.

The Jesuits resolved the lack of supplies by training converts to learn the European style of painting, so that they could themselves produce the much-needed sacred and secular paintings.<sup>5</sup> Around 1600 there were about twenty Japanese artists, called *dogicos pintores* by the Jesuits, who contributed to the production of watercolor paintings, oil paintings, and copperplate prints. Faithful copying of the imported paintings was the basic discipline by which Japanese painters learned to master the European style. They strove to imitate the originals as accurately as possible. European eyewitnesses testified to the Japanese painters' rapid progress. The Jesuits supplied the models. In addition, when the Tensho-Shonen-Shisetsu came back to Japan in 1590, they brought a number of paintings of sacred subjects as well as a printing press.

Considering the Jesuits' intention of using the paintings as a tool to teach the gospels, the production of religious paintings must have been their priority. Such paintings, either the European originals or the Japanese copies, however, do not survive in great quantity. This situation can best be explained by the change of policy towards the Christians in the mid-seventeenth century. Many religious paintings were destroyed or hidden when the persecution of the Christians intensified. "The Coronation of the Virgin" in Sendai Hakubutsukan is a rare extant example of religious subject that depict musical instruments; two angels play trumpets.<sup>6</sup> This is a pictorial manifestation of the Psalms that advise praising the Lord with every conceivable way of music-making, often including variety of instruments.<sup>7</sup> Another symbolic use of musical instrument in biblical context is King David. David was a musician and was believed to be the author of the Psalms. His attributes are a crown and a stringed instrument. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, David was often depicted with a psaltery, harp, or bowed stringed instrument. A series of portraits of kings and princes by a Japanese artist includes the portrait of a king playing a harp. The presence of a crown and a musical instrument strongly suggests that this is a depiction of King David, or the painter superimposed the image of King David on a contemporary king.<sup>8</sup>

Several secular paintings made around 1600 by Japanese painters depict other kinds of music-making and of European musical instruments. Most of them appear in the *byobu-e* (panel-screen painting). The subjects were usually pastoral, depicting European landscape and everyday life in panoramic view. The instruments depicted are mostly stringed instruments popular in the sixteenth century, such as viols, lutes, harps, and vihuelas de mano. European painters favored painting these instruments in the hands of saints and angels, legendary musicians and



2. Anonymous, European genre painting. Six-fold screen. Painting on paper, 112,2 × 302 cm (each section). MOA Bijutsukan, Atami.

mythological figures, princes and courtiers, clergy and merchants, noble women and courtesans, as well as professional musicians. The painters sometimes conveyed symbolism by depicting those instruments, cosmic harmony or earthly pleasures.<sup>9</sup>

Although various kinds of European musical instruments had been imported, constructed, and played by the time that Japanese painters were learning the European style of painting, there is no evidence that the musical instruments they depicted were based on those actually present in Japan. In fact, the inaccuracies and discrepancies found in the Japanese paintings suggest that the Japanese painters had no first hand experience of the structures and performance practices of the instruments they depicted.

The lute was the most popular secular musical instrument in sixteenth-century Europe. Publications and manuscripts for this instrument far outnumbered these for other instruments. The production of lutes, lute strings, and other accessories was a lucrative international business. Professionals and amateurs took up the instrument, some of them even becoming virtuosi. Painters favored to depict the lute for various reasons, often symbolic. Indeed, many courtiers, merchants, clergy, noblewomen, and courtesans thought that it was fashionable to be portrayed with a lute, no matter whether they had ability to play the instrument or not. Therefore, it is quite understandable that the most frequently depicted instrument in Japanese paintings is the lute. There survive seven depictions of the lute: one in Eisei Bunko in Tokyo (thereafter abbreviated as Eisei), two in MOA Bijutsukan in Atami (thereafter Atami), one in Nagasaki Kenritsu Bijutsu-hakubutsukan (thereafter Nagasaki), one in Namban Bunkakan in Osaka (thereafter Osaka), one in Fukuoka Art Museum, and one in Kunaicho Gyobutsu.<sup>10</sup> The Japanese lute has an oval-shaped body, a long fingerboard, a square peg-box, a sound-hole near the joint, several tied frets, several strings, and the pegs inserted from the back of the peg-box.



3. Anonymous, A lady playing stringed instrument. Painting on paper, 80×38,5 cm. Nagasaki Kenritsu Bijutsu-hakubutsukan.

The structural characteristics of some of the lutes in the Japanese paintings indicate that the Japanese painters used the same original, or copies made from the same original, or one is a copy of another. This is especially apparent in the lutes depicted on the *byobu-e* from Eisei and Atami [figs. 1 and 2]. Not only are the structural details of these instruments almost identical, but also the posture of the players and listeners, as well as the entire scenery. There are, however, some minor differences: the manner of the right-hand plucking motion, the location of the left-hand fingers on the frets, the shape of the edge of the bridge, and the number of pegs. Almost identical with the lutes in Eisei and Atami, but conceivably not made from the same original, is the lute in Nagasaki [fig. 3]. A solitary lutenist's left-hand fingers press on the same frets as the lutenist in Eisei does. Her right-hand index and middle fingers, however, are extended outward, while these fingers of the lutenists in Eisei and Atami are bent inward. The anchoring of the little finger on the sound-board (the technique widely used in the sixteenth century) is suggested in Eisei and Atami, but quite

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4. Anonymous, A detail showing music making, from the panel representing a hunting scene. Painting on paper. Osaka Namban Bunkakan.

inconceivable in Nagasaki because of the location of the little finger just above the strings. In Nagasaki, the lute is held not quite horizontally as the other lutenists; the top of the peg-box is as high as the top of the player's head. Although the lute in Osaka [fig. 4] also resembles the lutes in Eisei, Atami, and Nagasaki for its overall structure, there are some minor but significant differences. The lute in Osaka has six strings on the fingerboard, ten pegs, twelve frets, and decoration of the lower side of the body and fingerboard. These differences suggest that the Japanese painters made their own observation of the originals and used their own techniques of imitation.

Several physical features found in the Japanese lutes do not conform with those described in instructional manuals, depicted in paintings, or found in surviving lutes of sixteenth-century Europe. First of all, the length of the fingerboard in the Japanese lutes is almost equal to or longer than the length of the sound-board. Several sizes of lute made by Wendelin Tieffenbrucker show that in sixteenth-century Europe the fingerboard is shorter than the sound-board, although the ratio of the length between them varies depending on the size of the instrument. Secondly, the sound-hole in the Japanese lutes is located near the joint with the neck. The European lute usually has its sound-hole at the middle or towards the middle of the soundboard. Finally, the Japanese lutes have a rectangular peg-box which bends slightly backward, with the pegs inserted from the back of the peg-box. Since its evolution from the Arabic 'ūd in Spain in the thirteenth century, the lute had a triangular peg-box set back almost 90 degrees, with the pegs inserted from the sides.<sup>11</sup>

The length of the fingerboard and the location of the sound-hole may be considered as minor technical errors made by painters who had never seen or closely studied the instrument. The shape and angle of the peg-box and the manner with which the pegs are inserted, on the other hand, are major discrepancies that could not have been made without having had some models. Indeed, all of these structural features are also found in the vihuela de mano depicted in the Japanese paintings. Moreover, the posture of the players of the lute and those playing the vihuela de mano is quite similar; for example, the way the instrument is held and the angle the player's head declines. These similarities and peculiarities suggest that the Japanese artists created a hybrid instrument by transferring some of the structural features of the vihuela de mano to the lute.

Unlike the other European countries where the lute was the most dominant plucked stringed instrument, it was the vihuela de mano that was popular in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>12</sup> The vihuela de mano generally has a gently



5. Anonymous, European genre painting, detail. Painting on paper. Kobe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan.

incurving waist, a thin body, a long neck with several frets, eleven strings, a rectangular peg-box that is bent slightly backward, a flat bridge, and a sound-hole. A musical instrument depicted in the Kobe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan [fig. 5] and another by a painter who signed his work as Nobu[kata] in the Museum Yamato Bunkakan in Nara [fig. 6], show structural features quite similar to those of the *vihuela de mano*.<sup>13</sup> One peculiar feature, however, is the shape of the soundboard with its incurving cornered waist. This feature has caused confusion among art historians and musicologists regarding its identification as a *vihuela de mano*.

The *vihuela de mano* indeed had the incurving cornered waist, not in its sixteenth-century standard type, but in the fifteenth-century prototype. A Flemish theorist and composer, Johannes Tinctoris, in his music treatise *De inventione et usu musicae*, written in Naples about 1480 and published there between 1481 and 1483, described the origin and physiognomy of an instrument, thus: "Indeed the invention of the Spaniards, the instrument which they and the Italians call *viola* and the French *demi-luth* is descended from the lute. However, it differs from the lute in that the lute is larger and shaped like a tortoise-shell whereas it [the *viola*] is flat and in most cases curved inwards on each side."<sup>14</sup> The artists from the kingdom of Aragon in Valencia began from the mid-fifteenth century onwards to depict such stringed instruments.<sup>15</sup> The *vihuela de mano* with a gently incurving waist, on the other hand, began to appear in increasing numbers in Spanish paintings of the late fifteenth century and became the standard type in the sixteenth.<sup>16</sup> After its invention, the *vihuela de mano* (called *viola da mano* in Italy) quickly became quite a fashionable musical instrument among professional instrumentalists and amateur dilettanti in both Spain and Italy. The original type of *vihuela de mano* with its incurving cornered waist was still found in the early sixteenth-century Italian paintings, but disappeared shortly thereafter.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the presence of a fifteenth-century instrument that became obsolete within a century is puzzling.

Some of the paintings imported by the Jesuits date from the third or fourth quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> This suggests that the instrument depicted in Kobe and Yamato was in vogue at the time the Japanese painters were making copies of European paintings. The popularity of the *vihuela de mano* began to wane in Spain and Italy by the end of the sixteenth century. Its declining in popularity was due to changes in musical style and taste. The instrument that replaced the *vihuela de mano* was the guitar. The guitar shares similar structural features with the *vihuela de mano*, for the Renaissance guitar was invented in Spain in the early sixteenth century, based on the later type of *vihuela de mano*.<sup>19</sup> The two instruments differ both in their size of body and number of strings; the guitar was smaller and had four courses (the number increased to five by the end of the sixteenth century). The instrument in the Kobe and Yamato pictures is a five-course one, for the presence of nine pegs indicates five courses (four double-strung courses and a single-strung course); there are eight strings in Yamato.<sup>20</sup> The shape of the sound-board





6. Nobu[kata], Lady playing stringed instrument (vihuela de mano).  
Painting on paper, 55,2 × 36,9 cm. Yamato Bunkakan, Nara.

(shallow figure-eight shape) and the size of the entire instrument (medium), however, do not allow this instrument to be classified as guitar.

If the Japanese vihuela de mano is modeled on the prototype of European vihuela de mano, there is a minor structural discrepancy. The vihuela de mano with an incurving cornered waist is usually depicted as having either a triangularly shaped peg-box (bent like the lute) or a sickle-shaped peg-box (bent slightly backwards) with the pegs inserted laterally. The vihuela de mano with a gently incurving waist, on the other hand, usually has a flat rectangular peg-box which is set back at a slight angle with the pegs inserted from its back. The Japanese vihuela de mano has an incurving cornered waist but its peg-box is rectangular, with the pegs inserted from the back. Moreover, the location of the pegs in the Kobe instrument does not structurally make sense. There are eight pegs (four each) in two rows at the left side and a peg at the right side.

Aside from the shape of the sound-board, the shape of the peg-box, and the way the pegs are inserted, there are two other details that may cast doubts about the instrument depicted in Kobe and Yamato being the earlier type of vihuela de mano: the number of strings and the playing technique. The vihuela de mano commonly had six courses of strings. There is no concrete documentary evidence to support the vihuela de mano having had five courses when it was first invented. But the existence of five-course lutes in the late fifteenth century suggests that the vihuela de mano also had the

same number of courses at the time, considering the close association in structure and performance practices between these two instruments. The instrument in the Kobe and Yamato depictions is played with the fingers. During most of the fifteenth century, the plectrum-plucking technique was used. The finger-plucking technique was, on the other hand, invented in the 1460s and became more dominant as the century progressed.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, some of the early sixteenth-century depiction of the vihuela de mano with an incurving cornered waist show the players using the finger-plucking technique.

Did the Japanese artists create a hybrid instrument as they did when they depicted the lute, as a result of making mistakes or of introducing structural features foreign to the vihuela de mano? Another stringed instrument that has incurving cornered waist is the viol, which had a close association with the vihuela de mano. When the vihuela was first invented in the mid-fifteenth century in Valencia, it was a dual-purpose instrument, played either with a bow or a plectrum.<sup>22</sup> Then the vihuela developed into two distinct instruments; the vihuela de mano and viol. The playing technique and structure were drastically changed to accommodate the individual purpose and needs. It is, however, doubtful that the Japanese painters knew the early history of the vihuela and represented it in their depiction of the instrument.

The viol depicted in the Japanese paintings supports the theory that the original paintings for the instrument in Kobe and Yamato were indeed made in the late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century. A number of structural features of the viols depicted in Eisei and Atami indicate that these two Japanese viols are not the late sixteenth-century standard type [fig. 7]:<sup>23</sup> the Japanese viols are very small, the fingerboard is long and slim, the length of the fingerboard including the peg-box is greater than the body length, the upper and lower sections of the sound-board



7. Anonymous, European genre painting, detail of the upper left corner of fig. 1C. Eisei Bunko Foundation, Tokyo.

are equally wide, the shoulders are curved forming a right angle with the fingerboard, the fingerboard is not raised but connects straight to the body, the sound-hole is round, the peg-box is square-shaped, and the string holder is short and small. These structural features are also the main characteristics of the Valencian viol, a transitional type of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.<sup>24</sup>

Is the Japanese vihuela de mano a unique relic of a hybrid instrument cultivated in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century when the earlier type of vihuela de mano was undergoing its transitional stage of transformation? Was the original type of vihuela de mano continuously cultivated until the end of the sixteenth century in some parts of southern Europe (Italy, Spain, or Portugal) from whence many Jesuit missionaries and merchants came, although the current search for documentary and pictorial evidences does not support its existence? Did the Jesuits have access to old paintings or new copies of old paintings when they exported European paintings to Japan, despite many of the identified paintings, drawings, and maps date from the third or fourth quarter of the sixteenth century? These questions still remain to be answered.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> For the Jesuit mission in Japan, see C.R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1951); Michael Cooper, ed., *They Came to Japan: An Anthology of European Reports on Japan, 1543-1640* (repr. ed., Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, Center for Japanese Studies, 1995); George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, Council on East Asian Studies, 1988).

<sup>2</sup> For the early cultivation of Western music in Japan, see Arimichi Ebisawa, *Yōgaku denrai-shi: Kirishitan jidai kara Bakuma-*

*tsu made* (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto-kyōdan Shuppan-kyōku, 1983); David Waterhouse, "Southern Barbarian Music in Japan", *Portugal and the World: The Encounter of Cultures in Music: Sixth Colloquium of the International Council for Traditional Music*. Ed. by Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1997) 351-77; Hirovuki Minamino, "Musical Offering to Taikoh: European Music in Sixteenth-Century Japan, *Discoveries: South-Central Renaissance Conference News and Notes XVII/1* (fall 1999) 3-5, 13.

<sup>3</sup> The fact that the instrument had to be transported to Asia makes it likely that it was a small rectangular clavichord rather than

a Flemish- or Italian-type harpsichord. About the clavichord in Spain, see Beryl Kenyon de Pascal, "Clavichordios and Clavichords in 16th-Century Spain", *Early Music* XX/4 (November 1992), pp. 611-30.

<sup>4</sup> For their European trip, see Eta Harich-Schneider, "Renaissance Europe through Japanese Eyes: Record of a Strange Triumphant Journey", *Early Music* I/1 (January 1973), pp. 19-25; and Judith C. Brown, "Courtiers and Christians: The First Japanese Emissaries to Europe", *Renaissance Quarterly* XLVII/4 (winter 1994), pp. 872-906.

<sup>5</sup> For the European influence in Japanese painting, see Mitsuru Sakamoto, *Shoki Yofu-Ga, Nihon-no-Bijutsu* 80 (Tokyo: Shibundo, 1973), passim.

<sup>6</sup> Reproduced in Sakamoto, *ibid.*, pl. 13. The survival of this painting may be due to its owners. It has been speculated that this painting was brought back to Japan in 1620 by Hasekura Tsunenaga, emissary to Pope Paul V sent by a warlord Date Masamune who was planning a secret trade deal with the West against the Tokugawa government's policy. The painting may have been presented to Masamune and remained in this ruling family or Hasekura's descendants.

<sup>7</sup> For the angel concert, see Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 137-49.

<sup>8</sup> Reproduced in Sakamoto, *op. cit.*, pl. 29; esp. see pp. 103-10, for the possible original.

<sup>9</sup> It is doubtful that the Japanese artists were aware of their European counterparts' intentions.

<sup>10</sup> All reproduced and discussed (except the lute in Nagasaki and Fukuoka) in Sumio Omata, "Plucked Instruments in the Iconographical Sources in the 16th-Century Japan", *Gendai Guitar* 124 (May 1977), pp. 40-45, pls. 6, 7, 8, and p. 47 (no plate number). The lute in Kunaicho shows the back side of the instrument. The lute in Fukuoka is reproduced in Yoshio Miyama, ed., *Musical Instruments in Namban Art* (Tokyo: The Study Group for Musical Iconography, Japan, 1989, fig. 5).

<sup>11</sup> For a summary of the history and structure of the lute, see Klaus Wachsmann, James W. McKinnon, Ian Harwood, and Diana Poulton, "Lute", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. XI, pp. 344-46. Tieffenbrucker's lutes are reproduced in *ibid.*, pp. 348-49. For lute instruction works of the sixteenth century, see Hiroyuki Minamino, *Sixteenth-Century Lute Treatises with Emphasis on Process and Techniques of Intabulation* (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1988).

<sup>12</sup> On the vihuela de mano, see John Milton Ward, *The Vihuela de mano and its Music (1536-1576)*, (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1953); Antonio Corona-Alcalde, "The Viol da mano and the Vihuela: Evidence and Suggestions about Their Construction", *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* XXIV/1 (1984), pp. 3-32; and John Griffiths, "At Court and at Home with the Vihuela de mano: Current Perspectives on the Instrument, its Music, and its World", *Journal of the Lute Society of America* XXII (1989), pp. 1-27.

<sup>13</sup> There is another vihuela da mano with the same shape as Kobe and Yamato (private collection, Osaka). Reproduced in Miyama *op. cit.*, fig. 2.

<sup>14</sup> The surviving sections are reproduced in Karl Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris (1445-1511) und sein unbekannter Traktat "De*

*Invention et usu musicae"* (2nd ed., Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1961), pp. 27-46; and the sections on instruments are partially translated in English in Anthony Baines, "Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's *De Invention et usu musicae*", *The Galpin Society Journal* III (1950), pp. 20-25. The translation is taken from Laurence Wright, "The Medieval Gittern and Cithole: A Case of Mistaken Identity", *The Galpin Society Journal* XXX (1977), p. 21. For the treatise, see Ronald Woodley, "The Printing and Scope of Tinctoris's Fragmentary Treatise *De invention et usu musicae*", *Early Music History* V (1985), pp. 239-68.

<sup>15</sup> See Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 38-60. Several depiction of this instrument from the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Spain are reproduced in *ibid.*, pls. 18, 19, 20, 21, 32.

<sup>16</sup> Reproduced in *ibid.*, pls. 25, 26, 34, 36.

<sup>17</sup> Reproduced in *ibid.*, pls. 47, 55, 58. The cultivation of the viola da mano in Italy is discussed in Hiroyuki Minamino "The Viola da Mano in Renaissance Italy: A Synopsis", *Lute Society of America Quarterly* XXXIV/1 (February 1999) pp. 6-9; and *idem.*, "The Spanish Plucked Viola in Renaissance Italy, 1480-1530", *Early Music* (forthcoming).

<sup>18</sup> The identification of the original paintings is discussed in Sakamoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-66. See also Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art of the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

<sup>19</sup> On the association between the vihuela de mano and the guitar, see Antonio Corona-Alcalde, "The Vihuela and the Guitar in Sixteenth-Century Spain: A Critical Appraisal of Some of the Existing Evidence", *The Lute: The Journal of the Lute Society* XXX (1990), pp. 3-24. On the guitar in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see John M. Ward, "Sprightly and Cheerful Musick: Notes on the Cittern, Gittern & Guitar in 16th- & 17th-Century England", *The Lute Society Journal* XXI (1979-81), passim; and James Tyler, *The Early Guitar: A History and Handbook* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980).

<sup>20</sup> This kind of discrepancy, however, is common in the European paintings that depict stringed instruments with fingerboard. If there was any string omitted, it was usually the highest. This is also a problem in the harp depicted in MOA Bijutsukan (reproduced in Sakamoto, *op. cit.*, pl. 8) and the harp in a private collection (reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 37, pl. 29). The number of strings on these harps is much fewer than the European counterparts; discussed in Omata, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-40.

<sup>21</sup> On the invention of the polyphonic manner of playing, see Hiroyuki Minamino, "Conrad Paumann and the Evolution of Solo Lute Practice in the Fifteenth Century", *The Journal of Musicological Research* VI/4 (1986), pp. 291-310.

<sup>22</sup> On the invention and early dissemination of the viol, see Woodfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-79.

<sup>23</sup> Reproduced in Omata, *op. cit.*, pls. 9, 10. Omata, *op. cit.*, p. 44, reports that there are perhaps four single strings attached to a square peg-box. The standard sixteenth-century viol has six single strings.

<sup>24</sup> For a summary of the structure of the Valencian viol, see Woodfield, *op. cit.*, p. 69.