Le Concert
des voix et des instruments
à la Renaissance

Actes du XXXIVe Colloque International d'Études Humanistes
Tours, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance,
1-11 juillet 1991

Études réunies et présentées
sous la direction de Jean-Michel VACCARO

RAFFAELLO CAVALCANTI'S LUTE BOOK (1590)
AND THE IDEAL OF SINGING AND PLAYING

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It is true that Josquin left behind no music specifically composed for lute or organ and that Francesco da Milano wrote no chansons, Masses or motets. But this should not suggest that players did not sing and singers did not play during the Renaissance, for there is ample testimony – biographical, archival, and icono-graphical – that the formation of a sixteenth-century musician was directed towards competence in both vocal and instrumental music performance.

The compositional exclusivity exercised by a Josquin or Francesco is not because they either "sang" *or* "played", but is the result of their highly specialized roles as court musicians. Francesco was not *required* to compose chansons. His role was unequivocally that of a lutenist, even though his fantasias were clearly influenced by the contemporary chanson, early madrigal, Mass, and motet repertories. Thus, his training also included elements common to the musical education of a singer or composer of vocal music. Because of the primacy music historians usually place on professional sources – that is, those with a clear courtly pedigree – over amateur or peripheral sources, we sometimes overlook fundamental aspects of this type of homogeneous training that took place during the Renaissance. Moreover, household and commonplace manus-cripts (teaching books, personal anthologies, etc.), being divorced from courtly needs and demands, shed light on the musical upbringing of singers and instrumentalists of the sixteenth century and confirm their common training.

Nowhere is the marriage between singing and playing – the activity that constitutes the "truly beautiful music", according to Castiglione – better revealed than in amateur manuscript lute and song books of the late sixteenth century. Because of their "domestic" status, these books have been largely neglected as sources of information about musical pedagogy and personal repertories during the Renaissance. Containing music for solo lute, voice and lute, pedagogical material, intabulations, and formulas for singing *stanze*, these "mixed repertory" books reveal a musical training that is unstratified and comprehensive with regard to vocal and instrumental styles. The place of origin and dating of these sources are significant. Most of them are of Florentine provenance, copied between 1574 and 1623, making them roughly contemporaneous with the activities of the Florentine Camerata and forming a cohesive set that connects theory and practice of that period. More importantly, these lute books show how the lines of the Mei / Galilei network were tapped into by semi-professional and amateur musicians of the late sixteenth century and routed into their domestic musical practices.

This article will examine the specific repertory of *arie da cantare* contained in the largest and most important of these books, the so-called "Cavalcanti Lute Book", Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique Albert 1er, Ms II 275, dated 1590. Owned and signed by Raffaello Cavalcanti, a nobleman and descendant from one of Florence's oldest families, the manuscript is a comprehensive anthology of solo lute music of the sixteenth century. But *Cavalcanti* is also a valuable source of solo vocal music with lute accompaniment,

containing many arrangements of Italian madrigals, *napolitane, villanelle,* and *canzonette,* as well as both *arie da cantare* and *arie da ballare e cantare* [1]. This manuscript, then, blurs the distinction between a vocal and instrumental source, revealing instead the harmony of both traditions that was fundamental to a sixteenth-century musical formation.

The vocal music in *Cavalcanti* falls into two categories : 1) songs in which only a text (that is, without an autonomous mensural melody) appears below the tablature, and 2) songs without even a text, in which only an intabulated lute formula, or chordal scheme, is provided as an accompaniment to which any poem in *terza* or *ottava rima (stanze)* might be sung. Regardless of the category, the melodies for the songs are to be taken from the bass voice in the intabulated lute accompaniments. When text is provided (first category pieces) it is not at all difficult to reconstruct the vocal part. When text is not provided, however, as in the works of the second category, the performance traditions are not immediately evident. Rather, the performance of these works belongs to the tradition of improvised song of the Renaissance. Entitled *terza rima, aria da cantare, aria alla siciliana,* and *aria per i stanze,* these formulas in *Cavalcanti* give us a glimpse of the unwritten accompanimental methods that were probably used by the *cantori a liuto* when singing improvised song to their instruments [2]. Such formulas appear with increasing frequency in Florentine lute books of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, underscoring what appears as a veritable "canonization" of the unwritten tradition in the light of Florentine musical humanism. The present study will provide the first investigation of pieces from the second category towards reconstructing aspects of the unwritten tradition and to emphasize the integration of instrumental and vocal styles in the training of a sixteenth-century musician [3]. Furthermore, I will attempt to show how these pieces reflect larger issues of humanistic influence on lute sources of the late Renaissance.

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By the time of Vincenzo Galilei's *Dialogo,* the inputs of humanistic thought on instrumental sources, as in vocal music, became more noticeable and practical. This can be seen clearly in Florentine lute books, which show an increased effort towards the nurturing of what I shall call the art of "singing and playing"; that is, the idealized imitation of the ancient airs with lute and voice. The poetics of singing and playing constitute a basic value of humanism. When the young Gaspare Pallavicino wished to know which was the best music among vocal and instrumental styles, Federico remarked that it consisted in "fine singing, in reading accurately from the score and in attractive personal style, and still more in singing to the accompaniment of the viola" [4].

The history of the *cantore al liuto,* which developed in the northern courts of Italy in the late fifteenth century, is well known [5], and recent work has come closer to recovering some of the "unwritten" elements

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(1) For a general overview of the vocal music contained in *Cavalcanti* (including some transcriptions), a list of concordances, and a complete inventory of the manuscript, see Leslie Chapman Hubbell, "Sixteenth-Century Italian Songs for Solo Voice and Lute", 2 vols., Ph.D., Northwestern University, 1982, p. 461-95.

(2) See David Nutter, "Ippolito Tromboncino, 'Cantore al Liuto'", *I Tatti Studies,* 3 (1989), p. 129-30.

(3) In her section on the Cavalcanti Lute Book, Hubbell discusses only the works of the first category.

(4) This discussion takes place in the Second Book of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano.* The translation is taken from *Baldesar Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier,* trans. George Bull, New York, Penguin, 1976, p. 120. For an exploration of the musical themes in *The Courtier,* see James Haar, "The Courtier as Musician : Castiglione's View of the Science and Art of Music", *Castiglione : The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture,* ed. R. Hanning and D. Rosand, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1983, p. 165-89.

(5) On the origins, see Lewis Lockwood, "Pietrobono and the Instrumental Tradition at Ferrara in the Fifteenth Century", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia,* 10 (1975), p. 115-33; also, William Prizer, "The Frottola and the Unwritten Tradition", *Studi Musicali,* 15 (1986), p. 3-37. For the later incarnation of this tradition, see Nutter, *op. cit.*

of that practice when it was in the hands of the *improvvisatori* [6]. Although testimonies to the unwritten tradition can be found in the printed frottola repertory and its subsequent arrangements by Bossinensis and Antico (1509, 1511, and 1520, respectively), it is difficult to find printed works for voice and lute by the middle of the sixteenth century – not coincidentally, from just after the death of Ariosto in 1533 – a period during which the bulk of that century's solo lute music was published. Zarlino may have considered the practice of solo singing to instrumental accompaniment as a dying art [7], but the continuity of the tradition is noted by Pietro Aaron, and confirmed by several important manuscript sources [8]. In the last third of the sixteenth century this practice received theoretical recognition by Vincenzo Galilei, whose fusion of humanistic ideals and the practical lutenist is an important landmark in the evolution of the lute player. Howard Brown has shown recently that these ideals were cultivated by Vincenzo early on in his career, before his involvement with Girolamo Mei, and can be detected by the music he chose to intabulate in his first book of lute music of 1563 [9]. This style was disseminated through an important, insular, but still unrecognized Florentine lute tradition, which chronicled the changing aesthetics in Florentine music during the last decades of the sixteenth century. The Bottegari and Cavalcanti lute books testify to the confluence of these two traditions – musical humanism and a particularly Florentine approach to lute music – in late sixteenth-century Florence. As we shall see, the art of singing and playing is the meeting place for vocal and instrumental styles in its clever synthesis of the genres of intabulation, arrangement, variation technique, and accompanied song. The Florentine sources show that the practice of singing and playing, of which Vincenzo Galilei was a strong advocate and contributor, was integrated into the pedagogical training of the lutenist well into the late sixteenth century, and continued to be a significant part of the amateur lutenist's pastime.

As a spokesman for lute music during the second half of the sixteenth century and a chronicler of the instrument's new roles, Vincenzo Galilei remains the most reliable authority. His own career as a lutenist runs parallel to the stylistic direction taken by lute music of the period, and his influence is particularly noticeable on Florentine manuscripts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which combine solo lute music with simple airs for singing and playing on the lute. The impact of humanistic thought on the career of Vincenzo Galilei has been explored quite extensively in the writings and translations of Claude Palisca, and little can be added to Professor Palisca's detailed account of the Florentine Camerata and its sources [10]. Galilei's career as a lutenist, however, remains in only a dim light despite the fact that it was his role as a lutenist that helped him formulate an ideal music involving the lute that was faithful to the poetics of the text.

It has gone mostly unnoticed that in the process of studying and commenting on ancient texts about Greek music, Galilei, through the help of Mei, may have uncovered information not only about the ancient styles of

(6) See James Haar, "Arie per cantar stanze ariostesche", *L'Ariosto : La musica, i musiciste*, ed. Maria Antonella Balsano, Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1981, p. 31-46 ; also, Peter G. Laki, "Arie da cantar ottave", unpublished paper. I would like to thank Peter Laki for allowing me to consult a copy of his paper after its delivery at the Fifty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Oakland, California, 1990.

(7) See Claude Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 1985, p. 371-73.

(8) See Nutter, *op. cit.*, p. 128-29. Ivano Cavallini notes a decline of the *improvvisatori* at court during the sixteenth century, a statement that cannot be accepted at face value, and he points to a rise in improvisers of a lower class who were more connected to the life of the piazzas. See his "Sugli improvvisatori del Cinque-Seicento : persistenze, nuovi repertori e qualche riconoscimento", *Ricercare*, 1 (1989), p. 23-40.

(9) See Howard Mayer Brown, "Vincenzo Galilei in Rome : His First Book of Lute Music (1563) and its Cultural Context", *Music and Science in the Age of Galileo*, ed. V. Coelho, Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992, p. 153-84.

(10) The most important of Palisca's writings on the subject are : *Girolamo Mei : Letters on Ancient and Modern Music to Vincenzo Galilei and Giovanni Bardi*, American Institute of Musicology, 1960 ; 2d ed. 1977 (Coll. «Musicological Studies and Documents», 3) ; *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, cited above, and *The Florentine Camerata*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1989.

singing, but also about the low esteem in which ancient authors held the instrumental virtuosi of their day. That instrumental music constituted purely technical display, rendering it unable to affect the listeners in a morally beneficial way, would have been a powerful blow to Galilei the lutenist. This issue never took center stage with the Camerata and is alluded to only at the end of Mei's seminal letter to Galilei of 8 May 1572 [11]. According to the ancient texts to which Galilei was exposed, instrumental music had the effect of turning people into "vulgar artisans". For Aristotle, neither the aulos nor kithara were conducive towards fulfilling music's highest goal of moral education, but were instruments that served only "to excite the emotions". Echoing the sentiments of Plato, Aristotle wrote that purely instrumental music was suited only for the competitive games, where musicians "battled" one another with their respective arsenals of technical weaponry : "The player does not pursue [an education on solo instruments and in performance on them] to improve his own virtue, but to promote the pleasure of the listeners", continued Aristotle in his *Politics*, "a depraved pleasure at that, and for this reason we reckon the task to be appropriate not to free men, but to menials" [12]. Humanistic musical writings of the late sixteenth century pondered not only the theories behind the wonders of ancient music, but also the damaging information they had unearthed about the role of the solo virtuoso and his place. It is not a coincidence, therefore, that Italian lute books of the 1590s are seldom exclusively for solo instrument, but contain music for singing and playing see TABLE 1) [13]. And in the Cavalcanti Lute Book, pieces for lute and voice, and formulas for reciting poetry or *stanze*, exactly as Galilei had proposed as models for composers to follow [14], appear prominently.

TABLE 1. – "MIXED" FLORENTINE LUTE MANUSCRIPTS
(i.e. containing works for solo lute and lute and voice), ca. 1574-1623.

	Source	Repertory
1	1574. Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Mus. Ms C311 ["Bottegari Lute Book"] [15]	5 pieces for solo lute ; 127 songs
2	ca. 1580. Lucca, Biblioteca Statale Ms 774 [16]	76 pieces for solo lute ; 7 songs

(11) See Claude Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata*, p. 73-75.

(12) Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. Andrew Barker, *Greek Musical Writings I : The Musician and his Art*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 179. In his *Dialogo*, however, Galilei nevertheless believed that instrumental music *did* possess the ability to move the affections *senza parole*: "Do not doubt, even if Zarlino appears to be in disagreement in chapter seven of the second part of his *Institutioni*, that the sound of an instrument produced with artistry without the use of words, has, as I mentioned above and as Aristotle has stated, the nature to imitate custom [in a moral fashion], and has in itself a great ability to produce in the souls of the listeners the *affetti* that please the expert player." [*Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna*, Florence, 1581, p. 90 : "[...] non ne dubitate punto, se ben il Zarlino é di contrario parere nel capo 7 della seconda parte delle sue *Institutioni*, che il suono dello strumento fatto dall' arte senza l'uso delle parole, aveva secondo che io vi accennai di sopra, & come vuole Aristotile, natura d'imitare il costume, & averlo in se, & grandissima facultà d'operare ne gli animi degli uditori gran parte degli affetti che al perito sonatore piacevano."]

(13) See the following sources listed in Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600 : A Bibliography*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1965, (2nd ed., 1979) : Vecchi 1590₈, 1595₁₀ and 1597₁₄ Verovio 1590₉, 1590₁₁, 1592₁₁ and 1595₁₀ ; Gastoldi 1594₇ ; Vicenti 1591₁₄₋₁₆ ; Bellasio 1592₁, Terzi 1599₁₁.

(14) See Claude Palisca, "Vincenzo Galilei's Arrangements for Voice and Lute", *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th Birthday*, ed. by Gustave Reese & Robert J. Snow, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, p. 207-32.

(15) See Carol MacClintock, ed., *The Bottegari Lutebook*, Wellesley, Wellesley College, 1965 (Coll. «The Wellesley Edition», 8).

(16) This source is described by Carol MacClintock, "Notes on Four Sixteenth-Century Tuscan Lutebooks", *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 4 (1971), p. 1-8. A more thorough examination of the vocal repertory is in Hubbell, "Sixteenth-Century Italian Songs", p. 516-520. See also John Walter Hill, "*O che nuovo miracolo!* A New Hypothesis about the *Aria di Fiorenza*", *In cantu et in Sermone : For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday*, ed. F. della Seta and F. Piperno, Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1988, p. 302-304.

Source	Repertory
3	ca. 1580. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms Magl. XIX 109 [17]	51 pieces for lute; 17 pieces for solo voice
4	1580-1590. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés.Vmd.28	39 pieces for solo lute; 26 songs
5	1582. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms Magl. XIX 168	19 pieces for lute; 3 songs
6	1590. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique Albert 1ᵉʳ, Ms II 275 ("Cavalcanti")	167 pieces for solo lute; 81 songs (see the inventory of vocal pieces in Hubbell, "Sixteenth-Century Italian Songs", p. 474-76)
7	1595. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Magl. XIX 30	46 pieces for lute; 7 songs
8	1590-1600. San Gimignano, Biblioteca Comunale, Fondo San Martino, Ms 31	65 pieces for lute; 5 songs
9	1590-1600. Haslemere, Private Library of Carl Dolmetsch, Ms. II. C. 23	19 pieces for solo lute; 2 songs
10	1600-1610. Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royale de Musique, Ms. Littera S No. 16.663	18 pieces for lute; 4 songs
11	1607, 1623. Naples, Biblioteca del Conservatorio "S. Pietro a Majella" Ms 7664	99 pieces for solo lute; 6 songs with lute; 2 pieces for cittern; 3 songs with cittern; 1 piece for guitar
12	1610-1620. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Mus. Rés. Vmf. Ms 50 [18]	10 pieces for solo lute; 5 pieces for solo guitar; 2 pieces for guitar and voice

Biographical information is scarce on the Raffaello Cavalcanti who signed this large book and dated to 20 January 1590. The Cavalcanti name, however, is an old and important one in Florentine history that belonged originally to a "bluest of blood", noble Guelph family [19]. At 104 folios and almost 250 pieces, *Cavalcanti* rivals the Siena Lute Book [20] (The Hague, Gemeentemuseum Ms. 28 B 39) as one of the largest and most important manuscripts of Italian Renaissance lute music. But this is where the similarity ends. *Cavalcanti* is the personal anthology, possibly didactic, of an amateur lutenist, rather than the book of a

(17) The Florentine manuscripts are also described in Bianca Becherini, *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1959.

(18) Complete descriptions and thematic inventories of items 5-12 (excluding n° 6) are in Victor Coelho, "The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music : A *Catalogue raisonné*", Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1989. A revised and much expanded version of this study is forthcoming from Garland Inc, New York, in 1994.

(19) Eric Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1973, p. 205. Information on the Cavalcanti family has been taken from the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, Società Grafica Romana, 1979, vol. 22, p. 618. The line extending from the family's founder, Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti, in the middle of the thirteenth century, includes the poet Guido, a friend of Dante; Andrea (fl. 1412), who was adopted by Brunelleschi; Bartolomeo, who knew Marsilio Ficino; Giovanni, the author of *Istoria Fiorentina*, and the writer Andrea (fl. 1610) who was admitted into the Crusca. A portrait of Guido Cavalcanti (with the Apollonian and Medicean symbol of a crown of laurel) hangs in the terzo corridoio of the Uffizi in Florence.

(20) A facsimile edition of this manuscript has been published as *Tablature de luth Italienne dit* Siena Manuscrit *(ca 1560-1570)*, ed. Arthur Ness, Geneva, Minkoff Reprints, 1988. See the review by Victor Coelho in *Notes*, 46 (1989-90), p. 1060-63.

professional player, as *Siena* appears to be [21]. Unlike the demands of a professional court manuscript, *Caval-canti* transmits a more diverse repertory than *Siena*, and one that cuts cleanly across the various genres of instrumental and vocal music of the age. It contains pieces that may be seen as representative not only of Florentine lute music, but of the Florentine musical reforms spearheaded by Vincenzo Galilei. Beyond this, *Cavalcanti* is one of the most comprehensive and revealing sources in the entire century of *arie da cantare*.

The profile that the contents of *Cavalcanti* give of its owner is that of a progressive young musician, well-schooled in the canon and equally attuned to the humanistic currents that flowed through Florentine music of his time. He was, above all, a lutenist who possessed considerable technical ability along with an extraordinary knowledge of the lute repertory. *Cavalcanti* is one of the central manuscript sources for the music of Francesco da Milano, containing out of eleven pieces by the great lutenist, two of his most difficult fantasias. Added to this is a musical repertory of enormous breadth, including dozens of galliards, settings of the *passamezzo*, and other dances that are more or less typical of Renaissance lute books. The care with which the manuscript was copied extends to the use of terms to designate the key of particular pieces [22] and by the many composer attributions and performance directions found throughout the book [23]. Raffaello Cavalcanti's tastes were adventurous as well. The manuscript contains toccatas at least a decade before the genre becomes popular in Italian lute music, as well as settings of the Ruggiero (to which I shall return), and a ricercar based on a *fuga* by Claudio Merulo, which may demonstrate Cavalcanti's knowledge of the keyboard repertory, particularly so since the model has concordances with many interesting and conflicting attributions [24].

But let us return to carving out a profile of the manuscript's owner. Had Raffaello Cavalcanti lived only twenty-five years earlier, his manuscript would have been an anthology of a radically different nature. Being a virtuoso lutenist, Cavalcanti might have included in his hypothetical manuscript a larger body of abstract instrumental music, such as fantasias or ricercars, genres which fill Italian lute books from the 1540s, but become more scarce by the 1580s and '90s. A more striking difference, however, would have been the inclusion of intabulations of madrigals and French chansons. Lutenists had reflected and even contributed to the popularity of these vocal genres through their arrangements and subsequent publications. These intabulations comprised a bulky and significant portion of sixteenth-century instrumental music, and the process of intabulation as a musical exercise was accorded a position within the sophisticated procedures of parody and paraphrase. One of the most important points about these intabulations is that in the process of transforming a vocal model, the lutenist learned about the craft of musical composition. Such lessons as the art of transposition, the ornamenting of a superius or paraphrasing of a thematic borrowing, how to fill in rests in the original with new material that is not alien to the musical style of the model, and how to use notes in the highest range of the instrument, are all crafts of compositional technique that lutenists learned in the process of setting vocal models to their instrument. With the transformation of the chanson and madrigal

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(21) On the distinctions between professional, pedagogical, and personal repertories, see Victor Coelho, "The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music", p. 10-13.

(22) Such as (assuming a lute tuned in G) : "in soprano" = pieces in f; "in chiave" = pieces in C; "in mezzo" = pieces in G; "in guilio" = pieces in F; "in tenore" = pieces in g.

(23) Among the many names in *Cavalcanti* are attributions to Malvezzi, Messer Giovanni (who may be the same as the Giovanni da Milano found elsewhere in the manuscript as well as the composer of the *Pavana di [Mes]sr. Giovanni* in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Magl. XIX 179), Santino Garsi da Parma, Guradino, Francesco da Milano, and Mons. Balabart (or Balahart = ?Ballard).

(24) Entitled "Ricercare sopra una fuga di Claudjio da Coreggio", the work is based on a piece that survives in the following sources : 1) Johannes Woltz, *Nova Musices Organicae Tabulatura*, Basel, 1617, pt. III, no. 15, attributed to Merulo; 2) Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek 40615 (the manuscript is no longer there, however; Robert Judd informs me that it is possibly in Tübingen); 3) Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. MCXXVIII, no. 19; 4) Turin, Ms. Foà, fol. 64v, entitled "Canzon J.L.H". [= Hassler]. I would like to thank Robert Judd of the California State University, Fresno, for assisting me in locating these concordances.

in the late sixteenth century, intabulations begin to disappear in Italian lute sources, and with them, techniques that were acquired and used around making these intabulations. Nevertheless, as vocal music changed lutenists kept abreast by continuing to imitate, through arrangements, the current stylistic trends. The intabulations of madrigals, motets and chansons that are commonly found in lute books of the early to mid-1500s give way to arrangements of the mostly homophonic *arie, balletti, napolitane*, and *villanelle* that were so popular towards the end of the century. These instrumental settings of vocal models aim more towards a simplified arrangement of the vocal model; the procedures of elaboration and transformation are no longer important issues.

But the main difference between the hypothetical and real lute books of Raffaello Cavalcanti is that all the pieces in the earlier version probably would have been for exclusively instrumental performance. By contrast, the inclusion of works for solo lute and lute and voice in *Cavalcanti* and other Florentine lute manuscripts of the 1580s and slightly later, reflect the larger changes in musical thought of the late Renaissance. As humanistically-inspired musicians and theorists such as Vincenzo Galilei sought to codify the venerable traditions of the *cantore al liuto* and bring music and poetry towards an ideal relationship, lute books begin to reveal such attempts in a practical way [25]. In the Cavalcanti manuscript, these works are to be sung and played by the same individual, following closely along the lines suggested by Galilei in his arrangements for voice and lute. The presence of pieces for singing and playing in *Cavalcanti* may well reveal some specific details of a late sixteenth-century lutenist's musical training, and it underscores the importance of books like *Cavalcanti* as sources for the study of musical pedagogy in the Renaissance. It has always been difficult to trace the musical formation of instrumentalists of the Renaissance. We have not been able to identify the lutenist's equivalent of the *schola cantorum* or cathedral schools for singers before the late sixteenth century, and we must assume that the training of both professional and amateur lutenists took place through an apprenticeship tradition between teacher and student. A reconstruction of this essentially "craft" tradition is possible, however, through an examination of the many surviving amateur lute sources. The Cavalcanti lute book and others like it can provide just such evidence of what must have been a typical training for a lutenist of the 1590s, and it confirms that for Raffaello Cavalcanti, singing and playing was an activity that was integrated into his training as a competent lutenist. Like Vincenzo Galilei, Raffaello Cavalcanti was first and foremost a lutenist, not a singer. Therefore his interest in singing to the lute was significant in his own pedagogical program of learning music, which appears to have been comprehensive (see PLATES 1A & 1B). Similarly, his activities in singing and playing reveal a non-fragmented approach towards music and practical solutions to text/music relationships. As a source of lute music, then, *Cavalcanti* reveals an integrated musical training that combined digital competence, singing and playing, and most importantly, a humanistic regard for the poetics of music.

Similar to the manuscript works for lute and voice by Vincenzo Galilei, and as I have already pointed out above, the songs in *Cavalcanti* do not contain an autonomous vocal part in mensural notation. In texted songs the words are written out below the lute part; the player sings by following the bass voice of the tablature. In the version of Cipriano's *Ancor che col partire* (fol. 53v) given as EXAMPLE 1, the notes that begin the bass part have been circled. Since the bass entry to Cipriano's madrigal does not appear until just after the work begins, the initial texture must be rendered by lute only, and there are other sections, too, where the work becomes purely instrumental when the bass voice drops out.

The result is a mixture between the instrumental process of intabulation and the accompanied air. This hybrid form is in fact identical to some of the pseudo-monody arrangements of Vincenzo Galilei for

(25) See Claude Palisca, "Vincenzo Galilei's Arrangements for Voice and Lute".

PLATE 1A. – *CAVALCANTI*, FOL. 1V, SHOWING THE *MUTAZIONE* OF HEXACHORDS AND MENSURAL DURATIONS

lute and voice [26]. In having to account for the imitative texture whether or not the singer is participating, the lutenist would have to be skilled at the process of intabulation. Thus, in arranging a polyphonic vocal model for solo voice and accompaniment, the instrumental procedure of intabulation is still very much integrated into the work. Striving towards Galilei's high standard for intabulation, as we know from *Il Fronimo* (1568/1584), Cavalcanti's intabulations are voiced correctly, despite the technical difficulties that result, and little to no material of the original is omitted in the arrangement.

The use of a bass voice for the performance of Cavalcanti's arrangements is another link to Galilei's prescriptions for the imitation of ancient airs. In the *Dialogo*, Galilei placed primacy on the bass voice for its role as a foundation for all of the other parts, because it moves with the greatest harmonic compulsion. Moreover, the bass voice was considered as the part that contributed the "air" to the composition, by which Galilei meant a certain melodic structure. In its reductions for bass voice, *Cavalcanti* is thus much closer

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(26) Such as Vincenzo's arrangement of Ferretti's *Se ben di sette stelle*, published and transcribed in Palisca, "Vincenzo Galilei's Arrangements for Voice and Lute", p. 228-30.

PLATE 1B. – *CAVALCANTI*, FOL. 2, SHOWING CLEF COMBINATIONS

to Galilei's ideal than is the more famous lute book of Cosimo Bottegari, whose pieces are arrangements for high voice and a supporting accompaniment [27].

The extensive selection of works for singing and playing found in *Cavalcanti* are not, unfortunately, coherently organized in the table of contents provided by the compiler of the manuscript. Under the heading of "Arie da Cantare" (fol. 2v), one finds a listing of both the textless instrumental formulas for reciting verses in *ottava* or *terza rima* (identified above as category 2), as well as texted *napolitane*, *canzonette*, and *villanelle*, genres which spill over into the next sub-heading of the table of contents entitled *Madrigali e Napolitane* (fol. 3) [28]. TABLE 2 is a transcription of the "*Arie da Cantare*" category from the table of contents :

Ex. 1 : *Cavalcanti*, fol. 53v, *Madrigale di Cipriano [Anchor che col partire]*
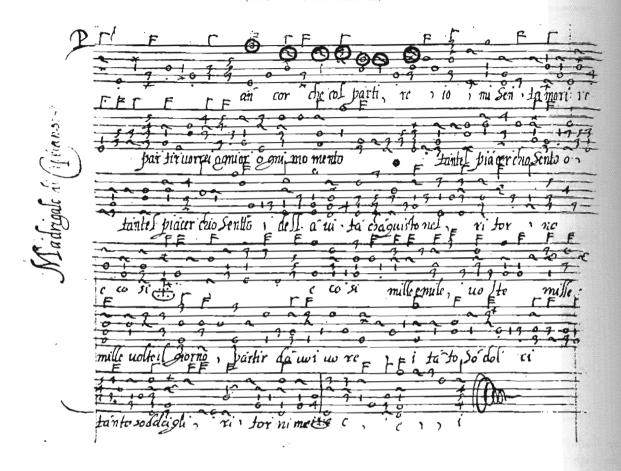(bass notes are circled)

Table 2. – Inventory of *Arie da Cantare* from Cavalcanti [29]

| 1 | 8v | *L'Aria da Cantare detta non piu' guerra / L'Aria da Ca[ntare]* [30] | Without text. Other text settings : Balsamino (1594; VE 209); Cacconi (1602; VE 450), *Non più guerra pietate*; Capilupi (1599; VE 484); Girolamo della Casa (1590; VE 682); de Monte (1586; VE 772); Peter Phillips (1598; VE 2213). |

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(29) The sigla used in this inventory is as follows : VE = Emil Vogel, Alfred Enstein, François Lesure, ed., *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, 3 vols, Pomezia, Staderini-Minkoff, 1977); Lincoln = Harry B. Lincoln, *The Italian Madrigal and Related Repertories : Indexes to Printed Collections, 1500-1600*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1988. Information on concordances (i.e. *San Gimignano* and *Kraków*) is found in Coelho, "The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music".

(30) Words in bold designate variants of the title found in the table of contents.

2	11	**L'Aria del Gazella a caso un giorno**	Without text; not based on Wert's original, nor on Galilei. Other text settings: Piccioli (1588 VE 2218), *A cas'un giorno m'avento un dardo poco lontano*; Pinello de Gherardi (1571 VE 2227). Lute concordance in *San Gimignano*, fol. 22.
3	11v	*Rugieri da Cantare in piu arie di* **Santino da Parma**	
4	13	**Aria alla siciliana** / *Ciciliana Aria*	
5	14v	**L'Aria di cantare terzi** / *Gagliarda da Ba[llare] e l'aria da Cantare*	
6	20	*Terza rima*	
7	34v	**Aria afettuosa p[er] i stanze** / *Aria per i stanze*	Without text
8	35	**Aria di ruggieri fuor di pesta** / *Rugieri Spostato*	
9	36	*Non avete a temer che in forma nuova aria*	Without text. Partially concordant with D. Lauro, *Madrigali a tre voci* (1590), in Lincoln, p. 302; concordance in *Kraków*, fol. 8v, for chitarrone (without text).
10	50	*Napolitana, Non e amor che mi ferisce in core*	Tablature with text = Giovanni Piccioni *Il terzo libro delle canzoni* (1582), p. 17; see Lincoln, p. 487.
11	51	*Vola vola pensier fuor dal mio petto* [Tasso]	Tablature with text; = Emanuel Adriaenssen, *Pratum Musicum* (Antwerp, Phalese, 1584), *Aeria à la Italiana*, fol. 58v; also in *San Gimignano*, fol. 13v, without text. In the lute manuscript Florence, Magl. 109 it is attributed to Nola. See Hubbell, pp. 492-93 for a transcription.
12	52	*Napolitana, Amor ecco colei ch'è la caggion'*	Tablature with text; doesn't match versions in Lincoln.
13	54	*Vorrei saper da tuoi occhi immortali*	Tablature with text. Not concordant with settings by Macque or Regnart but possibly concordant with Berardo (1588); lute concordance in *San Gimignano*, fol. 25 (transposed up a step with text).
14	54v	*Hor ch'ogn animal ripose*	Tablature with text. Text also set by Vecchi (see Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 1597₁₄) and Lauro (1590) VE 1485; lute concordance in *San Gimignano*, fol. 7v, *Vilanella*. See Hubbell, p. 485 for a transcription.
15	54v	*Napolitana Aria Ladra Crudel tu m'hai*	Tablature with text. Other text setting in Francesco Sale, *Canzonette, Vil[l]anelle et Napolitane per cantar'et sonare con il liuto* (1598; VE 2535).
16	55	*Napolitana Aria Poi che in tutto tu m'hai*	Tablature with text. Text also set by Comanedeo (1602, VE 603); Belli (1593, VE 318); Neriti (1593, VE 2033).
17	55	*Napolitana Aria Non so faccia mia bella*	Tablature with text. Other settings in Massarengo, *Canzonette alla napolitana* (1591, VE 1759); Torelli (1593).
18	54v	*Napolitana Aria Donna poi che non*	

19	56	*Aria del frate* [From Table of Contents : "Aria dell.S". doesn't appear by that name on designated folios 86v-87; only Romanesca and 2 Napolitane]	Without text.
21	89v	*Villanella Questi son quei begl' occhi*	Tablature with text. Music in Gallo (1597; see Lincoln) matches in *Cavalcanti*, but not the same text.
22	90v	*Villanella Questi son quei begl' occhi*	Tablature with text. Same music as in anon, *Canzonette Spirituali... a tre voci* (Rome, Gardano, 1585), cited by Lincoln, p. 760; also set by Lauro (1590, VE 1485); Macque (1581 VE 1545); Martaro (1591, VE 1960).
23	92v	*Villanella francese O giovinette*	

With the exception of the *napolitane* and *villanelle*, which do not appear to be any different than other settings of these forms in *Cavalcanti*, the works in this category of "Arie da Cantare" belong to the old and venerable tradition of *cantar stanze*. This tradition derived from the *improvvisatori*, the Italian poet-singers who performed epic and lyric poetry with instrumental accompaniment, normally on the lira or lute. Both the manner in which these verses were sung and their accompaniment were based on formulas : short repeated chordal sequences, chordal schemes, including the Folia, Ruggiero and Romanesca, and certain melodic types. This tradition became of primary importance to Vincenzo Galilei, whose proposals on the art of singing and playing extend from his promotion of the natural song, unaffected by counterpoint. It is not a coincidence that Florentine lute books of the 1580s and beyond contain numerous pieces that are no more than formulas for reciting verses, and short works entitled *terza rima, arie da cantare, bassa a canto* [31] and short settings of the Ruggiero and Romanesca basses appear alongside the solo lutenist's typical repertory.

In recent work by James Haar, the traces of the *improvvisatori* have been detected and discussed in collections of printed madrigals and other collections of vocal music, usually in those that set *ottave* of Ariosto [32]. Some of these elements became integrated into the mainstream during the sixteenth century, such as the formulas of the Ruggiero and the Romanesca. Other common elements of the improvised tradition drew on short phrases of repeated notes and a characteristic falling third (see EXAMPLE 2).

In general, Haar has been able to collate enough common material among these madrigals to show that there does exist some idea of a normative in the so-called improvised repertory. However, the majority of the examples published by Haar are drawn from multi-voiced vocal music and thus offer evidence only of certain melodic or bass formulas which have been extracted from larger compositions. There are, in other words, conclusions given only to half of what constitutes the improvised tradition, for this practice involved not only singing, but also playing. Any discussion of accompanied song, whether improvised or not, must take into account the role of the instrument in the totality of performance. Bossinensis' prescriptions of certain ricercars to precede his arrangements of frottole (1509, 1511) give us a good idea of how skilled a lutenist ought to be to accompany song. In the Cavalcanti Lute Book, we have evidence not only of the melodic types common to the unwritten tradition, but of the accompanimental patterns used by the accompanist. These patterns may well have been

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(31) In Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Fondo Magl. XIX 105, fol. 14. See the description in Coelho, "The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music".

(32) See also H. Colin Slim, "An Iconographical Echo of the Unwritten Tradition in a Verdelot Madrigal", *Studi Musicali*, 17 (1988), p. 33-54.

Ex. 2 : Tuttovale Menon, *Madrigali d'amore a quattro voci* (Ferrara, 1548),
Aere da cantar stantie [33]

Se'l sol si sco - st'e la - sc'i gior - ni bre - - vi

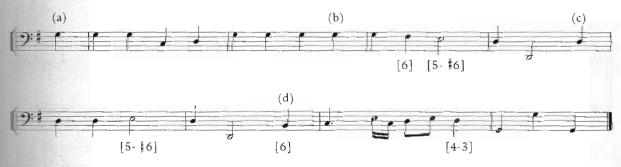Quan - to di bell' ha - vea la terr' a - scon - - - de.

passed on for generations, just as the melodic vocal types cited by Haar; indeed, lute patterns for accompanying *ottava* and *terza rima* are decidedly archaic in nature, and the close similarity among pieces entitled *Terza rima* in Florentine lute manuscripts betrays their origin in an unwritten tradition.

The third piece under Cavalcanti's rubric of "Arie da cantare", the *Ruggiero da cantare in piu arie*, reveals some of the contributions of the instrumentalist within the art of singing and playing. The Ruggiero has always been linked generally to Ariosto, and particularly to the recitation of *stanze*. Einstein believed its name derived from a famous passage in *Orlando furioso*, and it is generally agreed that the bass pattern of the Ruggiero has a history that goes back at least to the fifteenth-century *improvvisatori*. The Cavalcanti setting seen in EXAMPLE 4 presents several possibilities for performance. The version is fairly characteristic of the genre; the theme falls into four clear phrases (marked a, b, c, d), as seen in EXAMPLE 3.

An *ottava rima*, such as the famous "Rugier qual sempre fui" from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, is synchronized quite easily with the bass voice, as we would expect. But the Ruggiero does not come to a stop after the first complete statement of the chordal scheme. Four variations ensue (marked I-IV), in which the first introduces different voicings, the second uses higher notes on the lute, the third retains the texture but in different voicings, and the last introduces divisions in both upper and lower parts. In performing this with an actual *ottava*, as the title suggests and which I have reconstructed, the variations could be used as interludes between strophes, or as an animation of the text which would continue to be sung to the opening strain. If this is how the piece was intended to be realized, it would illustrate the incorporation of soloistic

Ex. 3 : Ruggiero bass progression (*Cavalcanti*, fol. 11)

(a)   (b)   (c)

[6] [5- ♯6]

(d)

[5- ♯6]   [6]   [4-3]

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(33) Cited in Haar, "Arie per cantar stanze ariostesche", p. 38.

Ex. 4 : *Cavalcanti*, vols. 11-11v : *Rugieri da cantare in piu arie / di Santino da Parma*

[Rug - gier, qual sem - pre fui tal es - ser vo -

- glio fin al - la mor - te e piu se, piu se puo -

- te]

lute technique and variation procedure with the principle of singing improvised texts. On its most basic level, this Ruggiero was composed to serve three functions : singing, playing, and singing and playing.

This kind of flexibility between voice and instrument underlies the fifth piece of the "Arie da cantare" category, the *Gagliarda da Ba[llare] e l'aria da cantare*, also titled *L'Aria da cantare terzi*. Here, Cavalcanti uses a standard galliard rhythm while retaining the repeated notes and drop of a third that were characteristic of some of the unwritten traditions for singing *stanze* in pieces excavated by Haar. The dual function of this work is made clear by its title, which suggests that many other dance pieces of the Renaissance may have served as formulas for reciting *stanze*. It also introduces the intriguing notion that the words "Aria da cantare" could refer to a traceable melody, but there are no connections between phrases in this piece and other pieces entitled *aria da cantare*, other than the characteristics I have mentioned (EXAMPLE 5).

The formula *Cavalcanti* gives for the *terza rima* (EXAMPLE 7A) is the most revealing of the improvised tradition, both in singing to and playing the lute. Pieces exactly like this fill Florentine lute books of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but they do not appear with any frequency in non-Florentine sources. This regional exclusivity may confirm the awareness on the part of lutenists of the musical reforms proposed by Florentine humanists, and may even reveal a manuscript tradition pivoting around Vincenzo Galilei, whose examples for singing terza and ottava are contained in manuscript fragments in his own hand.

EX. 5 : *CAVALCANTI* FOL. 14V, *GAGLIARDA DA BAL[LARE] E L'ARIA DA CANTARE*

The solution to reconstructing the performance of these *terza* formulas is deceptively simple. These chordal settings provide three phrases, one for each hendecasyllabic line of a single terza stanza. In pieces such as the *Aria in terza rima* from the Bottegari lute book (fol. 24v) [34], *La 4/3 [terza] rima* from Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Magl. XIX 106 (fol. 3), and the *Terza rima* from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vmd. Ms 50 (fol. 2v), there are eleven chords or notes played on the lute for each poetic phrase; in other words, each syllable of each eleven-syllable line of the *terza* receives a note-against-note accompaniment. (With only a few exceptions, Tuttovale's *Aere da cantar stantie* in EXAMPLE 2 uses the same syllable-to-tone relationship.) The entire formula is repeated as often as needed, depending on the number of stanzas in the poem. EXEMPLES 6A & B give two of these formulas from different Florentine lute manuscripts, to which I have set the opening terza from Dante's *Inferno* in order to show how the formulas were used in practice.

The similarity of these pieces is striking. Both are in G beginning on D (assuming a lute tuned in G), they contain exactly identical successions of chords, and the examples use barlines to mark off the end of each hendecasyllabic unit. The Paris version has a slight extension at the final cadence, while the Florentine setting both extends the final phrase and contains a short coda, which probably functions as a *ripresa* between verses. Even the standard rhythmic nuances used in declaiming the *endecasillabo* are mirrored in the lute accompaniments. Since eleven-syllable lines in *terza rima* have a fixed accent on the tenth syllable of every

Ex. 6a : Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vmd. Ms 50 fol. 2v
(without rhythmic indications in manuscript)

Ex. 6b : Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Magl. XIX 106 fol. 3, *La 4/3 [terza] rima*
(rhythmic indications are ambiguous in manuscript)

[Nel mezzo del cammin di nos - tra vi - ta mi ri-tro-vai per u - na sel - va os-cu - ra

Che la diritta via e - ra smar - ri - ta _____]

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(34) Transcribed in Carol MacClintock, ed., *The Bottegari Lutebook*, p. 75.

line, as well as a frequent stress on the sixth – e.g. "Nel mezzo del camm*ín* di nostra *ví* ta" – the tenth chord (or note) of each phrase is accented, either by the use of the seventh course (φ) in a chord, a change of chord or by a chord that is more thickly-voiced than others in the phrase (6b, second phrase, penultimate chord). In *Florence 106*, it is also possible to see how the sixth syllable is accented in the accompaniment by the rhythmic shift from semiminim to minim at that point. The *Cavalcanti* and *San Gimignano* formulas for singing terza confirm the details given by these remnants of the improvised tradition of singing and playing (EXAMPLES 7A & 7B).

These two examples are similar in almost every respect to EXEMPLES 6a-b : they are both in G beginning on D, the rhythmic structure is practically the same, and the three phrases proceed to the same cadences – phrase 1 begins on D and moves to F; phrase 2 begins on F and returns to the dominant D; and phrase 3 moves from D to a final cadence on G. Yet the Cavalcanti and San Gimignano versions form a distinct and separate pair from the others by the slight chordal alterations they share in the middle of the first phrase, and in the manner in which the end of the first phrase is ornamented. Each also provides a tasteful *ripresa* (or *ritornello*) at the end to return to the first phrase. Such reprises were normally improvised, as we know from directions in the Bottegari lutebook [35]; the Cavalcanti and San Gimignano *riprese*, therefore, provide frozen images of these previously improvised passages. In summary, the similarity between all of these versions suggests a formula derived from a well-established oral tradition, one that may go back as far as the *improvvisatori* themselves – in fact, the archaic chordal structure of these examples evokes the older Folia scheme.

An oral tradition may similarly rule the performance of the *Aria alla Siciliana* (no. 4), which appears in *Cavalcanti* with a very loosely-structured rhythmic organization. According to Cavallini, popular improvisers (lower class merchants, comedians, actors and others associated with "piazza" life) favored the poetic forms of the siciliana, ottava and strambotto, which they sung to popular melodies and chordal schemes. Pieces entitled *Passamezzo siciliano*, which could have easily served this exact purpose, do in fact appear in early seventeenth-century Italian lute manuscripts [36]. The *Siciliana* in Pietro Millioni's guitar book of 1627 (p. 55) is not only specifically intended to accompany an improvised song, it is precise about where in the piece the voice is to enter ("Qui s'incomincia à cantare"), and it includes a preludial section for the guitarist, a ritornello, and a designated repeat for the final verse ("Si ripiglia al'ultimo verso") [37]. Thus, Millioni's work reflects a characteristic procedure in the improvised practice of singing *siciliane*.

One final example will conclude this survey of *Cavalcanti*'s contribution to the ideal art of singing and playing. EXAMPLE 8 is another textless work, entitled *Arie per i stanze*. When pieces with this title appear in the Bottegari Lutebook, they are designed for singing a poem in *ottava rima*. Two musical phrases are usually provided, corresponding to two 11-syllable lines of *ottava*. To sing one verse of *ottava*, then, the formula must be played four times. The Cavalcanti setting is designed for a *terza*, however, not an *ottava*, and the close parallels it has with the *terza rima* formulas we have discussed above illuminate the style of improvised accompaniments of Ariosto's time and earlier. In EXAMPLE 8, exactly three phrases consisting of a total of thirty-three chords or notes are provided for three eleven-syllable lines (3 × 11). A bar line then

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(35) After the *Aria da Stanza di C. B.* (fol. 21v ; MacClintock, ed., *The Bottegari Lutebook*, p. 64), Bottegari writes that "the beginning follows without a ripresa". Since this direction appears nowhere else in the book, the improvising of a ripresa between verses for most, if not all of the strophic settings can be assumed.

(36) In Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fonds Conservatoire National Rés. 941, fols. 29, 30. This manuscript is described in Coelho, "The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music". See also Dinko Fabris, "Influenze stilistiche e circolazione manoscritta della musica per liuto in Italia e Francia nella prima metà del Seicento", *Revue de Musicologie*, 77 (1991), p. 323-33.

(37) See Cavallini, "Sugli improvvisatori del Cinque-Seicento". p. 34-35, which includes a facsimile of Millioni's *Siciliana*.

Ex. 7A : *Cavalcanti* fol. 20, *Terza rima*
Ex. 7B : San Gimignano, Biblioteca Comunale, Fondo San Martino ms 31, fol. 2,
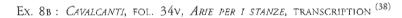*La terza rima*

separates this section from the *ripresa*, an embellished IV-V-I progression that acts as a connecting refrain to repeat the formula for other verses. As in the *terza rima* pieces, the first phrase cadences on F and the second phrase cadences on the dominant, in this case, C (in first inversion). The first phrase is also similar to the corresponding section in the *Gagliarda da Ballare e l'aria da cantare*, discussed in EXAMPLE 5, a connection that may merit further investigation.

In this study, I have chosen to treat the appearance of works for singing and playing in the Cavalcanti Lute Book as an example of humanistic thinking about music in late sixteenth-century Florence, and as an open window to the integrated vocal and instrumental training of a Renaissance musician. The cultivation

Ex. 8A : *CAVALCANTI*, FOL. 34V, *ARIE PER I STANZE*, FACSIMILE

Ex. 8B : *CAVALCANTI*, FOL. 34V, *ARIE PER I STANZE*, TRANSCRIPTION [38]

of such works is extraordinary within the context of a "solo" lute manuscript, and it reveals the close similarity between the proposals made by Vincenzo Galilei toward the ideal accompanied air and the musical training of amateur lutenists in Florence. Given these connections to Galilei, it would appear important to expose instrumental sources to the same humanistic scrutiny that we have traditionally placed on the important vocal sources of the period. By looking at the Cavalcanti Lute Book in this context, we can learn about the comprehensive knowledge lutenists had about vocal music of their time and their sensitivity to subtle shifts in vocal styles, their cultivation of accompanied "pseudo" monody, their retention of aspects of the unwritten tradition, and of their own desire, through the art of singing and playing, for a more natural harmony between voice and instrument in the Renaissance [39].

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(38) Only the pitches are given here, the rhythms requiring too much editorial interpretation to reconstruct.
(39) I am currently working on a complete critical edition of the Cavalcanti manuscript, to begin with the instrumental works.

Le Concert
des voix et des instruments
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Actes du XXXIVe Colloque International d'Études Humanistes
Tours, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance,
1-11 juillet 1991

Études réunies et présentées
sous la direction de Jean-Michel VACCARO