Hunting The Origins of the Trecento Caccia

by

Professor John Griffiths

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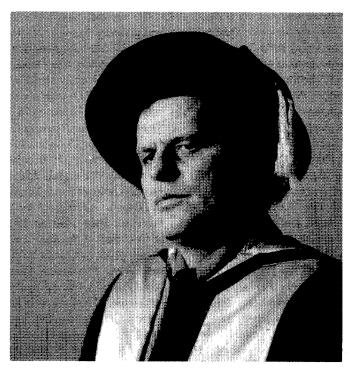
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Professor Gordon Athol Anderson, DMus (Adel), FAHA.

Professor Gordon Athol Anderson, who may be regarded as the first Australian scholar to have made a major impact on mediaeval musicology, had a most distinguished international reputation, particularly in the area of the music and poetry of the 13th century.

His contribution to scholarship was prodigious. His research was mainly concerned with a musico-liturgical interpretation of 13th and 14th century motets, the symbolic meaning of the texts and an interpretation and transcription of the complete corpus of *Notre Dame* and related *conductus*: research which culminated in the monumental 10-volume series, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus*.

Gordon Anderson held a personal chair in music at the University of New England from 1979 until his death in 1981. The Gordon Athol Anderson Memorial Lecture was established in his honour in 1983.

This is the 12th Gordon Athol Anderson Memorial Lecture. The first, Early Music Manuscripts in Portugal (unpublished), was given by Dr Wesley Jordan

and Mr Peter Maddox on 9 April 1983. The second, The Motets of MüC (Clm 5539 of the Bavarian State Library), was given by Professor Marie Louise Göllner on 3 May 1984. The third, The Harp and the Soul: Platonic Symbolism in Trecento Art and Music, was given by Professor Nancy van Deusen on 18 June 1985. The fourth, The Importance of Music, was given by Mr Alan Treloar on 8 October 1986. The fifth, Pope Joan in Legend and Drama: a case study in German medieval drama, was given by Ebba M van der Helder on 15 October 1987. The sixth, The History of Medieval Music: Are all our Premises Correct? (unpublished), was given by Professor Robert J Snow on 25 August 1988. The seventh, Politics of Austerity and Musical Style in Philip II's Escorial, was given by Mr Michael Noone on 27 October 1989. The eighth, Harmony in Ptolemy's Harmonics, was given by Professor Jon Solomon on 8 August 1990. The ninth, The Poetic Strength of Medieval Thought: A Tribute to the Work of Gordon Athol Anderson, was given by Professor Peter Platt on 29 August 1991. The 10th, Investigating Manuscript *091/B63 of the State Library of Victoria Treasure Trove or Pandora's Box?, was given by Carol J Williams on 13 October 1992. The 1993 lecture, Music in the Fourteenth Century: A Twentieth-Century Perspective (unpublished), was delivered by Mr John Stinson on 14 September 1993. The 1994 lecture. Then there is harmony (unpublished), was delivered by Professor Barry Conyngham on 6 September 1994. The 11th, The Chronology of Motet and Discant Passage and The Origin of Modal Notation, was given by Hendrik van der Werf on 29 March 1995.

Hunting the Origins of the Trecento Caccia¹

Italian secular polyphony of the 14th century comprises three genres, the madrigale, the ballata and the caccia.2 Until about 1360, the predominant type was the madrigal; sung poetry, usually about love, produced for the courts of Milan and Verona and their ruling families, the Visconti and the Scaligeri. The largest legacy of works of this period are by three composers: there are 12 by Magister Piero, 19 by Giovanni da Firenze, and 40 by Jacopo da Bologna. Later in the century, the ballata surpassed the madrigal as the vehicle for song composition, proliferating in Florence in the hands of composers such as Francesco Landini, Don Paolo da Firenze, Niccolò da Perugia and Andrea da Firenze. Some 600 examples of these genres are extant, 189 madrigals and 413 ballate. Comparatively few in number, the 26 surviving cacce present historical and evolutionary questions that up until now have not been resolved in a satisfactory or conclusive manner. Kurt von Fischer, now 35 years ago, elaborated a theory explaining the origin of *trecento* polyphony that appears to have stood the test of time. Within this theory, he encompasses the origins and development of the madrigal, its relationship to the caccia, the incorporation of madrigal techniques into the ballata and the later development of the ballata through the assimilation of French characteristics.³ The caccia, however, has remained an anomaly both with respect to its origins and development, its structure, and its relation to other repertories: both to the kindred rondellus and the more remote French motet in the so-called ars antiqua style of the 13th century. The purpose of this study then, is to clarify some of these problems. In doing this, I ought to acknowledge the influence that my activity as a lutenist and a scholar of 16th-century instrumental music has played in the formulation of the methodology I apply to the caccia. In effect, I shall examine the caccia as a species of theme and variations, or divisions on a ground.

For this study, I have restricted myself to works from the early period by the first generation of composers, therefore concentrating on the initial phase of the evolution of the *caccia* in which the ground-rules of the style were established. This group of early *cacce* comprises four by Magister Piero, three each by Giovanni da Firenze and Jacopo da Bologna, and one anonymous work preserved in the Rossi manuscript, the oldest source of trecento music.⁵ These works are listed in Table 1. My conclusions, however, extend beyond the confines of this group and have relevance to the entire repertory. The later works are all by composers associated with Florence: Niccolò da Perugia,

Francesco Landini, Vincenzo da Rimini, Magister Zacherias, Andrea, Donato, Gherardello and Lorenzo da Firenze.

Table 1. Cacce composed before ca 1360

Composer	Incipit	Form	Texture	Canonic distance (breves)	rests in the cantus (breves)	
anon	Or qua compagni	AA	32	9	4	
Piero	Cavalcando con un giovine	AAAAB	22	4	0	
Piero	Con bracchi assai	AAB	32	8	12	
Piero	Con dolce brama	A	32	14	6	
Piero	Ogni diletto	AABB	2 ²	4	0	
Giovanni	Con bracchi assai	AAB	32	6	11	
Giovanni	Nel bosco senza foglie	AB	32/33	6	4	
Giovanni	Per larghi prati	AB	32	10	24	
Jacopo	Giunge 'l bel tempo	AABB	22	8	2	
Jacopo	Oselletto selvagio	AB	32	4	4	
Jacopo	Per sparverare tolsi	AB	3 ² /2 ²	5	2	

The caccia, of course, is just as much a literary genre as a musical one: although some early examples follow the poetic tradition of the madrigal, its texts increasingly came to depict hunting scenes, at times with erotic overtones, but nonetheless appropriate for the canon, where one voice hunts the other. Among the 11 cacce from the early period, the majority of the texts are in the form of the madrigal: one or more tercets of verse, followed by a ritornello normally of a single couplet. In some of these texts the depiction of the hunt is made more vivid by the use of exclamations and dialogue, even within the madrigal form. In at least three of these songs, the hunt has an erotic tone that reinforces their affiliation with the madrigal. The hunters who take shelter from the storm in Con bracchi assai transform themselves into the lovers Dido and Aeneas, the rabbit pursued by the hunter of Nel bosco senza foglie turns into a beautiful woman, while the hunters in Giovanni's Per larghi prati are "graceful women and pretty girls, dresses tight and hair loose" who, after savagely "slaughtering

and capturing deer, roebucks, boars and wolves," enter "alone into the darkest hollows to rest in the shade":

Per larghi prati e per gran boschi folti, Leggiadre donne e vaghe donzellette, Vestite strette e coi capelli sciolti, Con archi, con turcassi e con saette, E con levrieri a man correaan cacciando Uccidendo e pigliando, Cervi, caprioli, cinghiali e lupi, Entrando sole ne' luoghi più cupi Per riposarsi all'ombra.

Only half of the texts of the early cacce, however, are directly related to the hunt.⁶ Of the others, three are love songs consistent with the madrigal style: perhaps the image of galloping on horseback in the opening line of Cavalcando con un giovine acorto and its pastoral setting may have prompted Piero to set it as a caccia; the description of the arrival of springtime and pastoral setting of Giunge 'l bel tempo de la primavera may possibly have prompted Jacopo to set that text as a caccia; but there is no obvious reason to explain why Piero may have chosen to set the courtly love text Ogni diletto ed ogni bel piacer as a caccia. Of the two other non-hunt texts in this group of cacce, Oselletto selvagio survives in two settings both by Jacopo, his other version as a two--, voiced madrigal. Again it may have been the allusion to the "wild little bird" that sets up his invective against unrefined singers "who all claim to be masters, composing ballads, madrigals and motets" that motivated him to choose the caccia as a vehicle, and it must surely have been the exclamatory dialogue and adventure on the high seas that prompted Piero to set Con dolce brama in canonic style.

The most common texture in the *caccia* is that of two canonic voices singing the same text over an independent tenor, probably intended to be played by an instrument. There are certain exceptions to this norm; in particular, a few *cacce* without tenors. In the manuscript sources, the two canonic voices are derived from a single written part which indicates the entry point of the second voice, and show the singer how to abbreviate the final bars of the second part in order that both voices cadence together at the end. In 18 of the 26 *cacce* the canonic technique is accommodated to the madrigal form, with canonic treatment of the tercets followed by a *ritornello*, either without canon or

establishing a new canonic pattern. Modern editions of all the *cacce* are to be found in the 24 volume *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*; those by Piero, Jacopo, Giovanni, and the anonymous Rossi MS work are also edited by Pirrotta in *The Music of Fourteenth Century Italy*; and the collected repertory of *cacce* is also available in a single volume edition by W Thomas Marrocco whose introduction presents an insightful general view of the repertory. Kurt von Fischer's article on the caccia in *The New Grove* also provides a concise summary of the field.

Other features of the works that are of relevance for my analysis are also given in Table 1. The form of each *caccia* is indicated schematically to show repetitions and the extent of the use of canon. As the texts of most of the works are related to the madrigal, each *terzetto* is indicated by A and each *ritornello* by B. Canonic sections are shown in bold type. The texture of each work is shown using the standard convention showing the number of voices as the base figure with the number of texted voices shown in superscript. Works shown 3² are written using the common texture of two canonic cantus parts over an untexted tenor, while 2² indicates those works without tenor. Two of the works appear in variant textural configuration in different manuscript sources. The columns showing the number of breves distance between canonic entries (canonic distance) and the total number of rests of a breve or longer in the cantus part are relevant to the discussion that follows. In most modern transcriptions the breve unit has a duration equal to one bar.

As we have observed, the earliest cacce survive in manuscripts that predominantly contain madrigals, especially the Rossi MS that dates from perhaps as early as 1325. Basing himself on internal evidence, von Fischer postulated that Italian polyphony has its "...beginnings in simple, indigenous types of music-making, arising from an originally instrumentally accompanied monody", and that consequently "the trecento style's evolution presents a progression from monophonic melody to accompanied melody, and from there towards the crystallisation of a 'free' discant style." Few would agree since Wright's thesis on French court musicians and the numerous investigations by Page and others that the works would have been "instrumentally accompanied", however I am convinced that the early madrigal is only a few steps removed from parallel unison singing or counterpoint in the Guidonian tradition. 10 Little by little, the tenor attained its melodic independence and, in this context, von Fischer concluded that the caccia "was not canonic at all to begin with, and that it originated not from a canon with the addition of a lower part but rather from a two-part setting with an added canonic part". 11 Pirrotta in 1947 had

made a similar argument. 12 My conclusion fully contradicts both trecento godfathers. I base it on the simple premise that, in the process of writing a canon, the composer needs to be aware of the relationship between every new bar of music and the notes with which it will sound simultaneously in the canon. This is, to me the essential weakness of von Fischer's argument. I do not think he was completely convinced himself about the statement cited above. If it is to be considered as anything other than unclear reasoning, then von Fischer must have been thinking of the period of the prehistory of the caccia because, with reference to what has just been quoted, he admits on the next page of the same article that "it would be a mistake to state that Giovanni or Piero composed two-part pieces first, adding the canonic voices later."13 Another study of the *caccia* by Toguchi attempted to reconcile the extant repertory with a theoretical description that antedates the early repertory by only a few years. 14 The anonymous Capitulum de vocibus applicatis verbis, conserved in the Biblioteca Marciano in Venice bound into a copy of Antonio da Tempo's Summa artis vulgaris dictaminis (1332) and written in Italy between 1315 and 1320—according to Gallo¹⁵— describes the principle of the *rondellus* and the rota as exemplified, for example, in the French chace which, in contrast to the caccia, lacks a tenor. 16 The treatise, first brought to scholarly attention by Debenedetti in the first decade of this century, describes the principle of circular canon of the rondellus and rota.¹⁷ According to this Italian writer:

Cacie sive Incalci, a simili per omnia formantur ut motteti, salvo quod verba caciarum volunt esse aut omnes de septem, aut omnes de quinque sillabis. Volunt etiam esse ad tot quot partes sunt et omnes volunt esse formate supra primam partem. In numero canentium habere vuit talis ordo qualis dictus est in mottetis, scilicet quod, quando unus ascendit, alter descendit, tercius firmus stet, quartus pauset, quintus rumpat. Et sic, cambiando officia, fiat diversitas decorata, inveniendo sepissime in consonantiis. Et pars illorum et omnes in fine, in consonantia se reperient quis in quinta, quis in octava; et caveant a tritono, ut dictum est supra im mottetis.

[Cacce or the pursuit of one part by a similar tune, are formed throughout in the same way as motets, except that the words of cacce must either be all of seven syllables or all five. They must be in as

many voices as there are lines, and all must enter within the first line. So that, if it were made to five lines, all five singers can sing the first line at once. In the general effect of those who sing, a like order should be observed to that prescribed for motets, namely that when one ascends, the second should descend, the third should stand firm, the fourth should pause, the fifth should use the shortest values. And thus as they exchange roles, let an elegant variety be created, very often finding itself in consonances. And let some of them, and all of them at the end, find themselves in consonance, one at the fifth, one at the octave; and let them avoid the tritone, as was said above of motets.]¹⁸

The writer draws various aspects of the caccia to our attention, none of which accord closely to the surviving repertory and therefore suggest that the surviving repertory is somewhat removed from the type of caccia being described. The first is the question of the syllabic quantification of caccia verse. Lines of five or seven syllables are closer to the style of the free-from texts associated with cacce that employ exclamatory text—seven-syllable lines more frequently than five—and in those texts which make no attempt to conform to the structure of the typically hendecasyllabic madrigal. Non-madrigal cacce frequently include heptasyllabic verses, but lines of five syllables are not found. The second point is that the writer is clearly describing a kind of rondellus or canon in many parts: "there must be as many voices as there are lines". This is interesting because this is what the writer believed the caccia to be at the time of writing, but the repertory shows us that it had evolved into something quite different within a short space of time. Thirdly, the author provides a formula for creating a melody that can function satisfactorily as a canon. The first two sections or segments of melody should use contrary motion—a common device in motet composition, the next voice should be composed with as little pitch change as possible, and further voices should use decidedly longer or shorter note values. Aspects of this description of compositional process are present in the surviving polyphonic repertory. His final point regards the use of consonance at cadential points as a means of providing harmonic unity to the music. The relationship between the caccia and the rondellus is, however, the point which I believe to be of greatest significance.

Motivated by this description of the *caccia*, the study by Toguchi cited was, above all, an experiment to determine if the extant *cacce* could be performed

as circular canons. Acknowledging the pre-existence of the *rondellus*, Toguchi concluded that

alla nascita della caccia tipicamente trecentesca avrebbe contribuito, almeno in parte, l'applicazione della tecnica imitativa della caccia archaica al testo del madrigale, e man mano che veniva elaborato lo stile arsnovistico, le cacce di questo genere avrebbero perso una certa elasticità per quanto riguarda il numero delle voci in imitazione e nel stesso tempo si sarebbe finito col preferire l'appoggio delle voci in imitazione con un tenor. 19

[contributing, at least in part, to the birth of the typical *caccia* of the trecento would have been the application of the imitative technique of the archaic *caccia* to the text of the madrigal, and little by little, as the ars nova style was developing, the *cacce* of this type would have lost a certain elasticity concerning the number of imitative voices and, at the same time, would have finished up preferring the support of a tenor for the imitative voices.]

This conclusion, although verbally complex, seems more adequately to explain the origins of the *caccia*. The essential element is the transformation of the technique of the *rondellus* into what became the normal type of *caccia*, but in my estimation, the survival of the old technique of circular canon as Toguchi proposes is improbable. In fact, this technique only functions in those *cacce* like *Ogni diletto* (the focus of Toguchi's study) which are composed without a tenor. The value of his study is that it does establish a link between the early treatise and the extant repertory. It is this relationship which I wish to explore in more detail and the process by which the early *rondellus* became transformed into something quite different.

Although the extent or the precise nature of French influence in 14th-century Italy is not known, the impact of French musical thought is evident enough. It is present in the core of the notation system which Marchettus of Padua codified in his *Pomerium* (1321–26) and which has undisputed links to Franco of

Cologne and Pierre de la Croix both in the notation of ligatures and in its system of rhythmic divisions. Similarly, the *caccia* description in the anonymous *Capitulum* seems to fit the French *chaçe* even more than its Italian counterpart. Whether of French origin or not, there seems to have existed in diverse parts of Europe a common oral tradition of canonic music. In comparing French, German and English remnants of this tradition Richard Hoppin has concluded that "the many similarities ... are obvious, but do not justify any assumption of a direct relationship between the ... pieces. Probably they stem from mediaeval equivalents of *Frère Jacques* and *Three blind mice*." The theory I wish to elaborate presupposes that there is truth in this statement.

Canonic pieces of this type necessarily have to be based on some kind of harmonic model, even be it implicit. The melodic design has to be in agreement with this harmony, to some degree at least. In effect, the model represents a form of harmonic ostinato to which the melody conforms although in reality this ostinato may not exist in sound, only as a notion of harmonic sequence. The melody is thus a kind of "division on a ground" (to borrow renaissance terminology), even if the ground be imaginary. Such schemes are based on a simple musical language of consonances built on the finalis and the neighbouring co-finals a tone above and below. The imperfect consonances of the third and sixth play a more critical role than in the majority of contemporary polyphony. The duration of this harmonic scheme is determined by what I will call the "canonic distance", the number of breve units (whole bars in most modern transcriptions) that separate each canonic entry. In the caccia repertory, this ranges between 3 and 31 breves. The evidence suggests that this notion of an "ostinato" was not unknown to the mediaeval composer. Tenor repetition in the 13th-century motet effectively produces this condition, and there are numerous motets whose tenors appear to have been chosen from chant passages that invite this kind of treatment. These range from motets based on short cantus firmi that are repeated frequently with essentially the same harmonisation, to others that have an internal structure that reinforces one predominant sonority. Of the former type, the well-known motet On parole—En Paris—Frese nouvelle from the last fascicle of the Montpellier manuscript takes a secular tenor Frese nouvelle, muere France which provides a four-bar ostinato repeated numerous times, each time to a virtually identical harmonisation.21 Of the latter type is the Aptatur tenor that is used in several motets in the Montpellier manuscript.²² Usually set in a short-short-long rhythmic pattern, each of the long notes is either a C, E or G, and the motetus and triplum part are customarily organised to give a C consonance on each. The tenor is itself quite short and is frequently stated twice, and the harmony

is organised to oscillate around the C sonority: one bar of movement directed towards C followed by one bar of C.

These motets suggest that the notion of repetition of an identifiable harmonic unit was not unknown to the mediaeval musician. To establish the case more firmly, let us examine some of the more rudimentary examples of *rondellus* that survive from the 14th century where this principle is also clearly evident. Rather than simply demonstrating the existence of the principle of harmonic ostinato, I wish to establish two models: one that uses repetitions of a fixed harmonic scheme, and another that uses a mutating scheme. With respect to the first, let us consider the canon *Laudemus Virginem* from the *Llibre Vermell*.²³ Its melody comprises three cells of two bars each, made into a three voice canon with a canonic distance of two bars between entries.

Example 1. Laudemus Virginem, bars 1-6



The music of bars 5–6 shows the three cells superimposed Reduced to one staff it shows an ostinato F-E-D, harmonised with fifths on its strong beats, and a third over the cadential E.

Example 2. Laudemus Virginem, harmonic reduction



More explicit is the famous English *rondellus*, *Sumer is a cumen in* which dates from about 1310, only slightly prior to the earliest *cacce*, and which is the oldest example of its species to survive.²⁴ In addition to its canonic melody, it has two repetitive tenor feet that share the same two phrases of melody through voice exchange and which result in a regular alternation of consonances based on F and G.

Example 3. Sumer is a cumen in, tenors



The fact that a work with this type of ostinato has been preserved is in itself proof of the existence in the mediaeval mentality of the musical process of ostinato with its related style of melodic construction. Given the voice exchange, the harmonic ostinato is, as in the previous example, also only two bars. By segmenting the melody into units of two bars, at what I term the "canonic distance", and by superimposing the segments, the regular adhesion of the melody to the "ground" is evident. The extensive use of thirds and chains of thirds is noteworthy, not only in this work but also in the *caccia* repertory. Melodic thirds permit flexible harmonic transformation or mutation of individual consonances—in the sense of chords—within an implicit harmonic scheme.

Example 4. Sumer is a cumen in, melodic segmentation

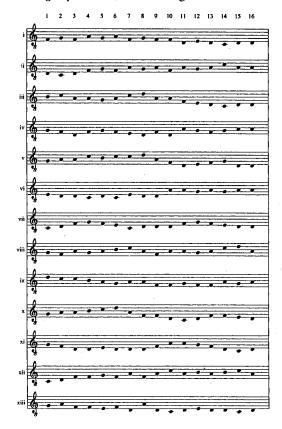


Now let us consider the second model: the mutating ostinato, an imaginary construct that becomes modified during the unfolding of a work. There are two conditions in which this can occur. The first is the use of compound aggregates of thirds in the polyphonic canon. For example, in a three-voice canon an F (the imaginary root of the relevant ostinato consonance) would normally be harmonised either by either A or C. The use of C, the fifth, prevents harmonic mutation. However, when only a third is used (F or A being doubled in one of the parts), a subsequent melodic segment may introduce a D at the corresponding point, changing the harmonic aggregate from F-A-C chain to D-A-F, effectively a change in the ostinato "harmony", and thus the shape of the imaginary ground. The second device that a composer may use to effect a change in an implicit ostinato is that of silence: a breve rest in a voice gives

the composer the freedom to alter the corresponding harmonisation that has belonged to that particular point in the harmonic scheme. This has an even more significant impact if the rest is of more than one breve, as sometimes occurs. Both these procedures are found in the *cacce* that will be examined presently. The process used represents what I would term continuous or mutable variation.

To see this process of mutable variation in another canonic tradition, we might briefly turn to *O virgo splendens* from the *Llibre Vermell*. It is a three-voice canon in unmeasured notation comprising 13 phrases of 16 notes each.²⁵ Example 5 presents the 13 segments superimposed. As a canon in three voices, however, it should be self-evident that no more than three successive segments will sound simultaneously.

Example 5. O virgo splendens, melodic segmentation



It is clear from the examination of any of the vertical columns of each of the 16 notes of the segmentation that no single harmonic scheme prevails consistently, and it is therefore impossible to make simple consonant harmonic aggregates for each note in the way that was possible for *Sumer is a cumen in*. There are many unisons, thirds and fifths and triads, but also dissonances of two kinds—the B-D-F diminished triad, and those which include seconds such as C-G-A. In the following diagram, the harmonies belonging to each of the groups of three segments are codified as they are heard together: i+ii, i+ii+iii, ii+iii+iiv etc. The dissonances are all shown with an asterisk, while the other notes are classified according to the lowest pitch or fundamental without indication of whether they are perfect consonances, imperfect consonances, or triads. This is a rather crude form of harmonic reduction but it serves to reinforce the point.

Table 2. O Virgo splendens - consonances

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
i+ii	D	C	D	F	G	F	F	G	F	F	D	- E	D	C	D	D
i+ii+iii	*	С	D	F	G	F	F	G	F	F	D	Е	D	С	D	D
ii+iii+iv	G	F	D	F	G	F	Α	G	F	D	F	Е	D	С	D	D
iii+iv+v	G	F	D	F	G	F	С	D	F	D	D	Е	D	С	D	D
iv+v+vi	Е	D	D	С	G	С	С	D	D	D	D	Е	F	G	D	D
v+vi+vii	С	D	D	С	*	С	С	D	D	D	D	Е	F	Е	D	D
vi+vii+viii	С	D	D	С	D	*	С	D	D	D	F	G	F	С	D	D
vii+viii+ix	*	*	F	G	F	Е	Α	D	D	D	*	*	F	A	G	D
viii+ix+x	G	F	A	G	A	G	A	F	F	D	*	*	F	F	*	D
ix+x+xi	G	F	*	В	Α	G	D	D	F	D	*	*	F	D	C	D
x+xi+xii	C	D	D	*	C	D	D	D	F	*	Α	G	F	*	С	D
xi+xii+xiii	C	D	D	D	E	D	D	D	D	A	D	E	D	В	C	D
xii+xiii	С	D	F	F	E	F	D	F	D	С	D	Е	D	В	C	D

It is impossible to reduce the harmonies shown on this grid to a single pattern or ostinato. There are, however, certain notes of the melody that remain rather more stable than others in the course of the work, above all, the last note of each segment which is either D or A, that is, belonging to a D consonance. Notes 3 (D alternating with F and A—the same constellation of thirds), 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15 exhibit more stability. In short, the second half of the melody appears more harmonically stable than the second half.

Examining the unfolding of the piece more closely, it commences clearly in a modal tonality of D, with the harmonisation of the first two segments (i+ii) built on the first half of segment ii, and the second half on segment i. By the third and fourth combinations (ii+iii+iv, iii+iv+v), the harmonisation is modified, although once again stable, beginning on G-F-D-G-F etc. The harmony continues to change during the next two combinations until arriving at segments vi+vii+viii, which is followed by four combinations of lesser clarity in which the greatest number of dissonances are found. The last two combinations (xi+xii+xiii, xii+xiii) once again become more stable as might be expected towards the end of a work. This table is one way of describing the

Within both models described, on either a fixed or mutable imaginary ground, it is the canonic distance that determines the length of the harmonic scheme. A parallel analysis of various *cacce* shows to what extent these principles described in the anonymous *Capitulum* may have served Italian composers, and explains how they may have adapted the principles of the circular canon to their new form. If we return to the argument of Toguchi, seen through this methodology, what he showed as that one *caccia*, *Ogni diletto*, may be performed as a circular canon because all of its melodic segments can sound simultaneously, and be in harmonic agreement together. Given that the composer of this work, Magister Piero, is the earliest known composer of such *cacce*, I would like to advance the following theory for the development of the *caccia* and then subject it to critical scrutiny:

- that the pre-history of the *caccia* lies in the circular canon, the *rondellus* or *chaçe*;
- that the earliest *cacce* were developed along similar lines and conform to my first model: variation on a fixed ostinato; and
- that the subsequent development of the form occurred according to the process variation on a mutable ostinato and allowed for the creation of works of greater sophistication and complexity.

Preliminary to applying the procedure of segmentation and superimposition of the canonic melodies of the *caccia* is that of their melodic simplification. They are much easier to manipulate if they are stripped of their florid ornamentation. In any case, most scholars would agree that the typical cantus lines of early 14th-century Italian melodies are florid elaborations of simple structures. I do not believe that it is artificial to reduce them to skeletons, nor that this falsely distorts their essential melodic design. In the following example (Example 6), the opening bars of *Ogni diletto* are reduced with principal notes written as void, and passing notes in black.²⁶

Example 6. Ogni diletto, bars 1-11 with melodic simplification



Ogni diletto is a caccia that is textually distant from the hunt. Its poetry takes the form of a madrigal, with the uncommon feature of a double ritornello. Even more unusual is its bilingual text that alternates lines in Italian and French. The song deals with longing and unrequited love, and is more readily identified with the troubadour and trouvère tradition than with the overt love themes of Italian poetry. Perhaps the poet's bilingualism is a deliberate reference to the French style of sentiment expressed. Multilingual poetry was not uncommon in Italy, particularly in the north, and goes back to the time of Dante. Nor is it the only multilingual song in the Italian repertory. One other such song is included in the Rossi manuscript, and there are later compositions by both Don Paolo and Niccolò da Perugia. The text of Piero's caccia is as follows:

Ogni diletto e ogni bel piacere a mis Amours el gens cor de ma dame, se sol pietà di me volesse avere. Son dolz regart con plus mir plus m'inflame Ma quella pur non me degna vedere ay las celui che n'est ois et clame.

Sofrir pur voglio ancora bien che merci me soit ore contraire.

Forse inanzi che mora vendra vers moi son cruel vis debonaire.

[Love has placed in my lady's noble heart every delight and every fair pleasure: if only she would choose to pity me!

The more I see her sweet gaze, the more I burn. Yet she does not deign to look upon me. Alas for him who pleads and is not heard.

Yet I willingly bear it, though I cannot now hope for mercy.

Perhaps before I die she'll turn to me, her cruel face benevolent.]

Only the tercets of the two-voice composition are set in canon. The ritornello is set in customary madrigal texture with the second voice assuming the more subservient tenor role. The canonic writing applies strictly to the first 25 bars of a total of 28; the last three of the second voice contain new music in order to effect a simultaneous cadence between the two voices. Example 7 presents the melody simplified and segmented in units of four bars according to the canonic distance. The segmentation reveals an extremely simple structure. The first bar is uniformly A except in the fourth segment; the second bar regularly alternates D and A, giving a perfect fifth; the third bar gives E in all segments; and the fourth is based on E with various harmonically consonant notes whose function is to produce an imperceptible link with the following segment. The aggregate shown in the example is the superimposition of all the notes of the segments in their original register. Dismissing the D which begins the fourth segment as an inconsequential variant, and replacing the accented passing note C in the last bar of the first and fifth segments with B which appears to be more significant, the final reduction results in a progression which in modern terms is the equivalent of a harmonic progression I-IV-V-V.

Obviously, the melody is elaborated on this fixed and relatively stable harmonic idea corresponding to the type of ostinato represented by my first model.

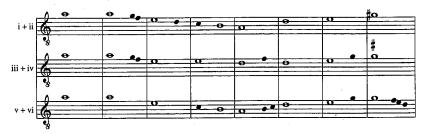
Example 7. Ogni diletto, cantus segmentation



The segments of *Ogni diletto* also distinguish themselves by their alternation of melodic direction: Piero's method was to complement each passage by another in contrary motion in the same way that is frequent in the melodic design of complementary motetus and triplum phrases in French motets of the 13th century. It also accords with the formula in the anonymous *Capitulum*

regarding the relationship of the second voice to the first. When seen as segments of twice the canonic distance (Example 8), the melody can be seen to be three variations on the same model with relatively few variants, especially between the double segments i+ii and v+vi. This is a composition of the greatest simplicity and clarity.

Example 8. Ogni diletto, compound segments



Of the other *cacce* without tenors, *Cavalcando con un giovine* by Magister Piero also conforms to the paradigm of a fixed implicit model, while Jacopo's *Giunge'l bel tempo* belongs to the second type.

Giunge 'l bel tempo is another non-hunt madrigal set as a caccia. Its text is a tribute to the arrival of springtime, to beautiful women, and to the joys of love.²⁸

Giunge 'l bel tempo de la primavera, Che nov'erbette dà, fior e viole; Cresce beato amor dov'esser vuole.

A' dolci versi d'uselletti fuora Van donne pe' ghirland'in compagnia, Seguendo lor amor drei tuttavia.

Ed ogni frutto del piacer germoglia, Chè sol consiglio fan d'amar di voglia.

[The lovely springtime has arrived, Sprouting fresh grass, flowers and violets; Love burgeons to prosper wherever it wishes. Outdoors, amid sweet birdsong, A company of women sallies forth for garlands, Pursuing their loves just the same.

And every fruit of pleasure bursts in bud, Because their sole counsel is to love willingly.]

As with *Ogni diletto*, only the *terzetti* are set canonically while in the *ritornello*, the two voices return to the normal manner of simultaneous declamation, with some melodic cross referencing, particularly in the closing melismas.

Simplification and segmentation of the cantus of the canonic section of Giunge 'l bel tempo produces a matrix of eight bars (the canonic distance) by eight segments, which represents the opening tercet setting of this caccia-madrigal. It commences with a scheme of D-D-F-G-A-Bb-D-F (segments i and ii), and ends, after subtle change as A-A-D-G-A-G-C-A (segments vii and viii). The first two bars are organised to reinforce a D-based consonance at the opening of each segment until nearly the conclusion of the canon. In segment viii, an E is suddenly introduced, producing a change to the harmonic regularity enjoyed up until this point. The third bar is built on an F-C fifth for the first three segments, but after the rest in this bar of segment iv, Piero evidently opted for a changed harmonic progression using the G-D fifth (segments v-viii). The fourth bar maintains the G-B-D chain constantly throughout. Bar 5 of the matrix could be interpreted either as a simple F-A-C chain constant throughout the work, although this simple aggregate perhaps obscures how the piece would actually be heard. In fact, the first three (or four) segments are simply on A, the F-C fifth is sounded for the first time in the fifth segment, and the music returns to A in segments vii and viii. Bars 6 and 7 experience a more varied set of transformations, and the final bar starts out on F reinforced with A, but concludes using the A-E fifth.

Example 9. Giunge 'l bel tempo, cantus segmentation



Conformity to the second model that we saw earlier in *O Virgo splendens* can be seen in several of the *cacce* with tenors that survive from the early *trecento*. Their compositional process appears to based on the cantus, rather than the tenor, and at every moment respecting the harmonic conditions that the canonic relationship imposes. The tenor, I believe to have been added as an afterthought, rather than the point of departure that it customarily is in works that belong to the organum-motet based tradition. The *caccia* tenor appears to be added in a manner analogous to the contratenor of a French *chanson*, serving to underline and complete the texture and harmony created by the initial conjunction of the two canonic voices. Two factors lead me to this conclusion. One is stylistic: *caccia* tenors frequently include long and irregular periods of silence that have no mathematical or text-related congruence. The second reason is that my experiments at segmenting tenors in the same way as cantus parts have usually produced vastly differing harmonic schemes to those resulting from the

segmentation of the cantus parts of the same *cacce*. From such analyses, I can only conclude that, once the *caccia's* cantus complex was composed and laid out, it was harmonised with a tenor that either ignored or consciously avoided reference to any model that may have been used in the composition of the cantus.

A markedly different caccia to those examined thus far is the anonymous Or qua compagni from the Rossi MS.²⁹ It is a work in which the immediacy of the boisterous poetic dialogue is brought to life through numerous musical devices. Against a background metre of senaria ytalica that canters in time with the racing steeds, the canon between the two voices is contrived to highlight the textual interjections and rivalry of the hunt. The placement of these interjections, the hockets and other special effects within the florid upper parts point to the skill with which the music was crafted. Whereas most cacce are either through-composed pieces with no sectional repetition, or created to fit the form of the madrigal, this work has two stanzas set to the same music, like madrigal tercets but without the concluding ritornello that a well-versed listener would come to expect:

- Or qua, compagni, qua, cum gran piacere: chiamat'i can qua tosto.
- Bocanegra, tòi, tòi.
- Biancopelo, sta qui, sta,

ch'una camoza a mi me par vedere.

- Di', dunde va? De qua.
- De qua? per qual via va?
- Per quel boscaio: guata, guata ascosa.
- Molton, Molton! Chi se'?

Chi se'? - I' son guardapasso.

Che voi, che voi? - Va' de qua.

- Non vidi che son molte? Piglia l'una.
- Quala vòi?
- Questa de drieto bianca, perch'io la vego stanca.

Nui tuti la seguimo cum effetto, cridando l'un a l'altro:

- Piglia, piglia! Sai, sai!
- Curi forte là, via là,

che 'n vèr la tana va quasi a deletto.

- Non pò fuzir? - Non pò, non pò, ché 'l can la tiene, né movre non si sa, perch'è smarita.

- Zafon, Zafon! Securi lì. ve' cum se rebufa.
- Va là, stu vòi. Za fala.
- l' temo che non morda, perch'è fera.
- Non fa, no.
 Cosi fo lì destesa
 per questo modo presa.

["Now come here, friends, here, let's enjoy this: call the dogs here at once."
"Blackmouth, here, here."
"Whitepelt, sit here, sit;
I seem to see a chamois." "Tell me, where from?" "From there."
"From there? going which way?"
"Through that thicket. Look, look, it's hidden."
"Molton, Molton." "Who're you?
Who're you?" "I am the look-out."
"What do you want? What do you want?" "Go that way:
don't you see they're many?" "Take this one."
"Which do you want?"
"The one with the white rump, because I see it's tired."

We all followed it successfully, shouting the one to the other:

"Catch it, catch it!" "Here! here!"

"Run hard there, that way, it's making right for the covert."

"Can it escape?" "It can't, it can't: the dog holds it at bay and it can't move because it's confused."

"Zafon, Zafon, run there, see how it struggles."

"You go there if you want to." "It's weakening."

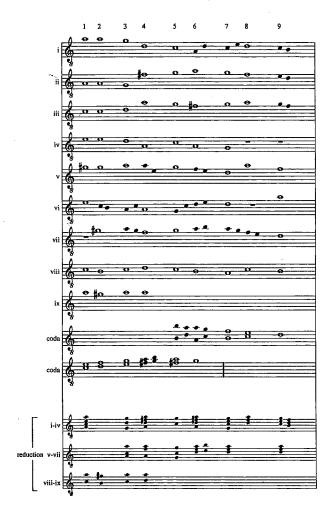
"I'm afraid it might bite, being wild."

"No chance, no."

Thus, lying down there, in this way it was captured.]

Segmentation of the cantus of Or qua compagni reveals a different conception to Ogni diletto. The harmonic diversity of its segments excludes the possibility of its being performed as a circular canon, even if its tenor were to be removed. The segmentation of the cantus line (Example 10) shows nothing like the consistency seen is previous examples. What does emerge, however, is that the cantus can be seen as harmonically divisible into three phases corresponding to the groups of segments i-iv, v-vii and viii-ix, followed by an independent coda. These are shown in the reduction at the foot of the segmentation grid. The most dramatic modification occurs at the beginning of the fifth segment. immediately following a longa rest, and with the substitution by G# of the initial notes of the first four segments belonging to the A-C-E chain. Without venturing any further, it can be seen that a series of mutations of the original harmonic sequence was effected by the work's composer. In this presentation of this example, notes representing the duration of an entire bar are as given as void, while notes belonging to bars with two principal notes are shown in black.

Example 10. Or qua compagni, cantus segmentation



My final example (Example 11) presents the melodic reduction of each segment in its harmonic context, that is, with each cantus segment shown with its corresponding canonic segment (i-viii+coda) in black notes, and the tenor (T1-T10) in void notes. Each staff is thus a segmentation in simplified form of the music as it sounds in performance. An even more complex picture of the harmonic mutation of the germinal set results from the analysis of this complex. No two segments show the same harmonic pattern and, vertically,

there is no single bar of the nine-bar segment that shows itself to be harmonically consistent or stable throughout the duration of the work. Thus, as the vertical boxes are intended to show, the first bar of the segment commences with a consonance built on A in segment I, in segment II it is modified to D, afterwards it reverts to A, and later is transformed into E and F before concluding. Each subsequent bar gives a similar result. This is far from the three transformations that were shown to apply to the segmentation of the cantus melody, and represents a more sophisticated elaboration of something that was initially quite simple. In fact, the harmonic dimension is diversified to the extent that it is impossible to reduce it to any form of idealised ostinato. Accepting my assertion that the tenor was the last voice to be composed, then it might tentatively be suggested that composers may have modelled their tenors either completely ignoring any harmonic conception that may have guided the construction of the cantus, or they may alternatively sought consciously to submerge the overly transparent harmonic conception of the cantus.

While I could continue presenting examples that would show further subtleties regarding the central issue, the selection presented has hopefully demonstrated my argument. The aim has been to relate the beginnings of the caccia with the wider European tradition of canon, rondellus, chace and caca, and to demonstrate the process by which it distanced itself from these kindred repertories. It is clear that many cacce survive disguised as canonic madrigals due to their texts which, in the majority of the works, conform to the madrigal form. Despite this allegiance, I would seek to distance the evolution of the caccia from that of the madrigal, and from the modern theories that have sought to align their musical procedures. What I have sought to demonstrate here is a clear relationship between the most simple tenorless cacce and other contemporary canons, based on the supposed concept of harmonic repetition. It has further been proposed that there may have been a subsequent phase of evolution in which we find works whose harmonic flexibility I have tried to explain as a mutable system of evolving variation of an initial scheme, and which produced works not only more difficult to categorise but also of much greater technical, artistic and expressive sophistication than any previous type of canonic composition had been able to achieve.

Example 11. Or qua compagni, harmonic elaboration



5. ONGNI DILECTO

Caccia - Madrigal

Magister Piero



Reprinted from W.T. Marrocco, *Italian Secular Music by Magister Piero, Giovanni da Firenze and Jacopo da Bologna*, Polyphonic Music of the 14th Century, Vol. 6 (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau Lyre, 1967) 12–13. Used with the kind permission of the publisher.



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6. GIUNGE'L BEL TEMPO

Caccia - Madrigal

Jacopo da Bologna



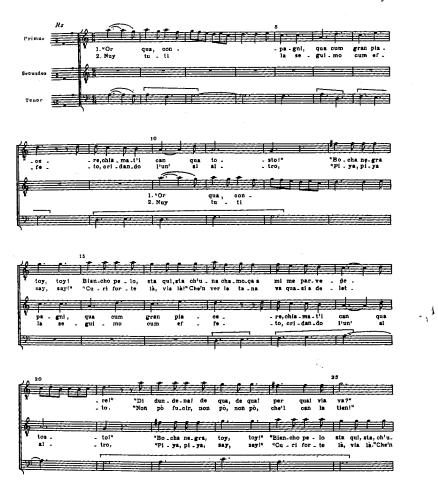
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5. OR QUA, CONPAGNI

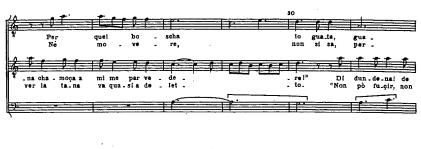
Caccia

Anonymous



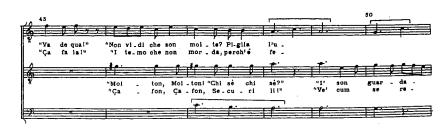
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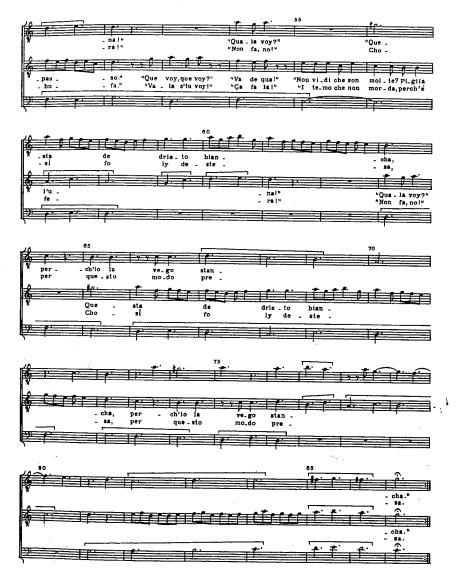








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Endnotes

- This paper arises from research conducted as part of The Fourteenth Century Music Project undertaken in Melbourne jointly by John Stinson (La Trobe University), Professor Giovanni Carsaniga (University of Sydney) and myself from 1985 to 1994. The insight gained from the various aspects of the research, from interdisciplinary dialogue, from the preparation of performance editions, and from involvement in performing and recording this repertory raised many of the questions addressed here and provided the impulse to seek their answers. The translations of trecento song texts below were prepared for the project by Professor Carsaniga.
- ² A comprehensive inventory of the repertory, composers, manuscript sources, plus a bibliography of modern editions, literature and recordings has been published by the Fourteenth Century Music Project and is available at the following internet website: <gopher://gopher.latrobe.edu.au:70/h0/Library%20Services/14thCentury%20Music%20Databases/music14>.
- Kurt von Fischer, "On the technique, Origin and Evolution of Italian Trecento Music", Musical Quarterly 47, 1961, 44–57.
 - ⁴ This latter relationship has not been pursued in the present study. The structural relationships that are evident from the segmentation that forms the basis of my analysis of the caccia, and the techniques of melodic construction, suggest that early Italian composers may have had much closer contact with French repertory than has generally been acknowledged.
 - ⁵ Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Rossi 215. This manuscript has been reprinted in facsimile as *Il codice Rossi 215: Roma, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Ostiglia, Fondazione opera pia don Giuseppe Greggiati*, ed. Nino Pirrotta, Libreria musicale italiana, Lucca, 1992.
 - ⁶ The texts depicting hunting scenes are: Or qua compagni, Con bracchi assai, Nel bosco senza foglie, Per larghi prati, and Per sparverare tolsi.
 - The cacce are found in volumes 4, 6, 7, 8 and 10 of Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 25 vols, eds L. Schrade and K. von Fischer, Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, Monaco, 1956–91; N. Pirrotta (ed.) The music of fourteenth century Italy, 5 vols, American Institute of Musicology, Rome, 1954–64; W. Thomas Marrocco, Fourteenth-Century Italian Cacce, 2ª ed., Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962.
 - ⁸ Kurt von Fischer, "Caccia", The New Grove, III, 574-6.

- ⁹ Kurt von Fischer, "On the Origins", 47, 50.
- Craig Wright, Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364–1419: A Documentary History, Musicological Studies 28, Institute of Medieval Music, Henryville, 1979; Christopher Page, "The performance of songs in late medieval France", Early Music 10, 1982: 441–50; Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Song in France 1100–1300, Dent, London, 1987; and "The English a cappella heresy", Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music, ed. Tess Knighton and David Fallows, Dent, London, 1992, 23–9.
- 11 Kurt von Fischer, "On the Origins", 43.
- Nino Pirrotta "La caccia e il madrigale trecentesco", Rivista Musicale Italiana 49, 1947, 121–442.
- ¹³ Kurt von Fischer, "On the Origins", 44.
- Kosaku Toguchi, "Sulla struttura e l'esecuzione di alcune cacce italiane: un cenno sulle origine delle cacce arsnovistiche", L'Ars Nova Italiana del Trecento III, Certaldo, 1970, 67–81.
- ¹⁵ F. Alberto Gallo, *Music of the Middle Ages II*, trans. Karen Eales, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, 119.
- ¹⁶ English translation in F. A. Gallo, *Music of the Middle Ages II*, 119–21; and partially in Marrocco, *Fourteenth-Century Italian Cacce*, xiii–xiv.
- ¹⁷ Santorre Debenedetti, "Un trattatello del secolo XIV sopra la poesia musicale", *Studi Medievali* 2, 1906–07, 67–79.
- ¹⁸ Gallo, Music of the Middle Ages II, 120-21.
- ¹⁹ Toguchi, 73–4.
- ²⁰ R. Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, Norton, New York, 1978, 371.
- Montpellier, Faculté de Medicins, H196, fols 368v-369v. See H Tischler (ed.) The Montpellier Codex, Recent Researches in Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 2-8, Madison: A-R Editions, 1978-85, No 319.
- This is the case, for example, in the motets Psallat chorus—Eximie pater—Aptatur (No 60) and Dieus, qui porroit—En grant dolour—Aptatur (No 278) from the Montpellier codex.
- ²³ See María Carmen Gómez Muntané, El Llibre Vermell de Montserrat: Cantos y Danzas, Papeles de Ensayo 5, San Cugat del Vallés: Libros de la Frontera, 1990, 90.
- See W. Apel and A. T. Davidson (eds), Historical Anthology of Music, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1949, Vol. 1, 44-5.
- ²⁵ A facsimile as well as modern edition is included in Gómez Muntané, *El Llibre Vermell*, 70–71 and 85–6.

- See W. Thomas Marrocco, *Italian Secular Music by Magister Piero*, Giovanni da Firenze and Jacopo da Bologna, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, Vol. 6, Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, Monaco, 1967, 12.
- In the Rossi manuscript, see L'antico dio Biber fra sette stelle (fols. 22v-23), edited in W. Thomas Marrocco, Italian Secular Music: Anonymous Madrigals and Cacce and the Works of Niccolò da Perugia, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 8, Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, Monaco, 1972, 53. Other examples of multilingualism can be found in La fiera testa che d'uman si ciba by Niccolò da Perugia and Sofrir m'estuet by Don Paolo.
- Giovanni Carsaniga has drawn attention to the strong affinities between this text and the sonnet *Io veggio il tempo de la primavera* by Matteo Frescobaldi (1297?–1348), and also with some stanzas from *Il Dittamondo* (III, xvii, 1–12) by Fazio degli Uberti (1300–1367?). See the commentary on this song in the booklet that accompanies the recording by The Ensemble of the Fourteenth Century (dir. J. Griffiths and J. Stinson), *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (Move Records, MD3091, 1987).
- Marrocco, Italian Secular Music: Anonymous Madrigals and Cacce and the Works of Niccolò da Perugia, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 8, Editions de L'Oiseau Lyre, Monaco, 1972, 72.



HUNTING
THE ORIGINS
OF THE
TRECENTO CACCIA

GORDON ATHOL ANDERSON MEMORIAL LECTURE



John Griffiths

