

## CLAUDIO SANTORI

### *The stolen cadences*

If the name of Orazio Tigrini, the composer and theorist from Arezzo, is still well known to musicologists,<sup>1</sup> this is due more to the treatise *Il Compendio della musica nel quale si tratta dell'arte del contrapunto*, printed by Amadino in 1588 and honoured with a second edition fourteen years later in 1602,<sup>2</sup> than to his actual music. As Walter Dürr writes, “the compositions of Tigrini show his sure technique and his sceptical attitude to all hazardous and experimental things, but they do not distinguish themselves in any way from the similar works of his contemporaries”.<sup>3</sup> Instead, the treatise has earned him a secure place in the empyrean of the Renaissance theorists, and hence the consideration of later historians and musicologists, signally Burney<sup>4</sup> and Ambros.<sup>5</sup>

Among the first to recognize the importance of Tigrini's treatise in modern times was Wolfgang Boetticher, who back in 1962 drew attention to the invaluable role it played in spreading Zarlino's teaching: “Among the theorists of values we should also mention Orazio Tigrini, whose *Compendio della Musica* was widely acknowledged as a counterpoint tutor during the last years of Lasso and Palestrina”.<sup>6</sup> After all, it is legitimate to imagine that the daily practice of singing, especially in the schools, was rather to be learned from slighter books of more immediate comprehension than from Zarlino's ponderous – and somewhat jumbled – tome. Of such compendia Tigrini's is the most interesting and effective example.

Tigrini's *Compendio*, which is mainly dependent on the third and fourth books of Zarlino's *Istitutioni armoniche* (though at every step one can also easily identify passages lifted almost bodily from Aaron's *Lucidario in musica* and above all Vicentino's *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*), undoubtedly demands reassessment. In fact if Zarlino's system influenced the successive development of music theory, by laying the foundations for the principle of modern tonality (and thus directing problems debated by theorists for some two millennia to a universal and satisfactory resolution), Tigrini

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<sup>1</sup> See the biographical note at the end of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Facsimile edition of the second edition of Tigrini's work: New York, Broude Brothers, 1966.

<sup>3</sup> WALTHER DÜRR, “Tigrini, Orazio” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 17 vols., edited by Friedrich Blume, Kassel-Basel, Bärenreiter, 1949-1986, vol. 13, coll. 411-413.

<sup>4</sup> CHARLES BURNEY, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, London, n.p., 1776-1779, vol. 3, pp. 174-175.

<sup>5</sup> AUGUST WILHELM AMBROS, *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. 4, Leipzig, Leuckart, 1878, pp. 683-684.

<sup>6</sup> WOLFGANG BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeite*, Kassel-Basel, Bärenreiter, 1958, p. 782.

surely deserves credit for popularizing such a complex and abstruse subject. His achievement in this respect was indeed considerable, for he commanded an extraordinary capacity for synthesis and boasted a style of astonishing clarity that discarded all that was superfluous and vain.<sup>7</sup> Indeed his work was so effective that it crossed the Alps and imposed itself throughout Europe as a short (but not for that reason superficial or deficient) introduction to the *arcana* of counterpoint. Again it is Burney<sup>8</sup> who tells us that Thomas Morley, in his *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall Musicke* (published in 1597 and unquestionably the most celebrated theoretical treatise written in English),<sup>9</sup> appropriated many music examples from Tigrini's *Compendio*, without citing his source and hence passing them off as his own. As we shall see below, the examples in question are all the cadences for six voices.

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The *Compendio* is divided into four books. The first discusses the general elements of theory, starting from a preliminary dissertation on sound and the voice, then moving on to the theory of consonances and dissonances. The second book opens with the statement that compositions must begin with a perfect consonance (a fundamental rule of counterpoint dating back to Franco of Cologne and the first of Tinctoris's eight rules). Tigrini then enters the heart of the compositional matters by examining the succession of perfect and imperfect consonances and dwelling on part movement in contrary motion and the manner of composing for two, three, four, five and six voices. The most interesting thing in the second book, however, is the firm and unconditional condemnation of the practice of applying the words of the liturgy to popular melodies, which were often licentious or even bawdy in origin (as we know very well from the use of songs like *L'homme armé* and *Je suis déshéritée* by Palestrina himself). Here we see the author in an unusual role, in a polemical and combative mood (book II, cap. XII, p. 36):

uolendosi comporre una Messa sopra qualche soggetto non si comporrà sopra Madrigali, Battaglie, o altri simili soggetti dai quali più presto nasce mala soddisfazione appresso chi sente quelle sorti di canti... che domine ha

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<sup>7</sup> In this respect Tigrini was also aided by the printer, as was immediately noted and underlined by Burney, who commended the use of *large roman type* instead of what he calls *italic type*, which was awkward to read, as is borne out by a glance at Zarlino's *Istitutioni Harmoniche*, printed in Venice by Francesco dei Franceschi Senese in 1573 (see DANIEL HEARTZ, "Typography and format in early music printing", *Notes*, XXI, 1966-1967, p. 702).

<sup>8</sup> BURNEY, *A General History*, pp. 174-175.

<sup>9</sup> Modern edition: THOMAS MORLEY, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music (A plaine and easie Introduction to practicall Musicke)*, edited by R. Alec Harman, London, Dent, 1966.

da fare la Messa con lo *Uomo armato*, o con *Filomena*, o con il *Duca di Ferrara*? [...] Essendo stata introdotta la Musica nella Chiesa di Dio per incitare gli animi degli Uomini a Divotione, quando si sentono simili sorti di canti, non solo non hanno questo effetto, ma piuttosto gli incitano alla Lasciuita come se fossero ad ascoltare qualche mascherata o altri simili Canti lasciui & teatrali.

Wishing to compose a Mass on a certain subject, one must not compose on madrigals, battles or other similar subjects, out of which an unseemly satisfaction is more likely to be generated in those who hear these sorts of song... What on earth has the Mass to do with the *Amed Man*, *Filomena* or the *Duke of Ferrara*? [...] Considering that Music was introduced into the Church of God to incite the souls of men to devotion, when they hear similar sorts of song, not only do they not have this effect, but rather they incite them to lasciviousness as if they were listening to some masquerade or other similar lascivious and theatrical songs.

This was a tirade that greatly pleased Burney, who even attributed to Tigrini a priority in this type of condemnation: “This author is the first in my recollection who has censured the impropriety and absurdity of composing music for the church upon the subject of old and vulgar ballad tunes.”<sup>10</sup>

The third book tackles the theory of the modes, examining each in great detail and outlining for each their “formation, principles, cadences and nature”. He naturally admits twelve modes, in accordance with Zarlino’s orthodoxy (though he overlooks the evolution of Zarlino’s thought from the *Isitutioni* to the *Dimostrazioni*). And by substantially rejecting chromaticism, he showed himself to be more Zarlino than the master himself. Indeed he seems to have been unaware of the profound changes in technique and taste then taking place; after all by 1588 Marenzio’s first books of five-voice madrigals were already circulating. His failure to grasp the immense possibilities inherent in chromatic procedure is the only objectively weak point of the *Compendio*. Instead of referring to the instances of open-mindedness in Zarlino, Tigrini adopts a conservative stance and ignores them entirely, only reporting the passages of condemnation. In this way he effectively betrays his readers (though in perfectly good faith) and tries to anchor them to positions that were by then obsolete. Fortunately, as a composer Tigrini did not always practice as he preached. For example, in *Cantata un tempo* from his first book of six-voice madrigals he achieves surprising expressive results through the refined use of moderate chromaticism.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> BURNEY, *A general History*, pp. 175.

<sup>11</sup> See this madrigal in our arrangement for flute and piano in *Pagine stravaganti*, Milan, Carisch, 1985.

Finally, the third book deals with the cadences for three, four, five and six voices. The examples, which are all original, constitute the most interesting part of the work. Those for six voices are particularly fine and it is no surprise that it was precisely these that were ‘borrowed’.

Of particular interest is the Introduction to this book, for here he sketches what we might call an ‘identikit’ of the musician. In other words, he attempts to define the identity of a true musician, expressing the need for a perfect balance between technical mastery and spiritual-cultural training. Tigrini distinguishes between “knowing how to do” (*saper essercitare*) and “knowledge” (*sapere*). He is proud of having both gifts and considers the musical art to be both science and poetry. And in the preface to his *Musica super Psalmos omnes* he stresses the fact that “mundi animam et sensibilia omnia et quae citra sensum utcumque uiuunt, non absque harmonia regi ac permulceri”. He deplores the fact that singers were commonly called *musici* and does not fail to denigrate them with cutting irony. Indeed he anticipates Benedetto Marcello’s *Teatro alla Moda* by almost a century and a half when he asserts that “there is no less difference between the governor and the town crier [...] indeed the same as that between light and darkness” (*non è minor differenza tra il musico e il cantore che tra il podestà e il banditore [...] anzi tale quale è tra la luce e la tenebra*). And he severely castigates those (a numerous category, it would appear) who are

tanto presuntuosi & arroganti, che se bene non sanno a pena conoscere le note non si vergognano di fare il maestro di capella [...] musicastri che mai li veggo per le nostre chiese squadernare tanti libri & alzare le braccia quanto più possono a ciò si vegga che loro sono i Maestri di Capella, che non mi venga riso, parendomi vedere quell’asino tanto bene descritto dal Sig. Aliciato, che portando quel Tabernacolo addosso, al quale vedendo inginocchiarsi il popolo, & credendo che facesser Riuerenza a lui, si fermava [...] sallo Iddio quanto sia grande e spesso lo scandalo che il più delle volte danno agli uditori...che il più delle volte quando si celebrano i diuini officii non pare che altrimenti si lodi iddio, ma che combattiamo tra di noi. Uno discorda con l’altro, il Discepolo non accorda col Maestro, né un Discepolo è d’accordo con l’altro [...]

so presumptuous and arrogant, even though they scarcely know the notes, that they are not ashamed to work as *maestri di capella* [...] bogus musicians that I never see around our churches, showing off all their books and raising their hands for all they are worth so that all can see that they are masters of the chapel, without being moved to laughter, since in them I see the ass so well described by Signor Aliciato, which carried the tabernacle on its back and stopped when he saw the people kneeling before it, believ-

ing they were paying homage to him [...] God knows how great and how often is the scandal that they generally give to listeners ... for most of the times they celebrate the divine offices it seems that one cannot praise God without engaging in combat. Each is in discord with the other; the pupil fails to agree with the master, and no pupil agrees with any other [...]

It reminds one of Verdi's well-known outburst – which was different in style and context, but not in its target – against the “petty masters who know nothing of music except the grammar, and even that poorly” (letter to Tito Ricordi, 2 January 1873). And as for the amusing thumb-nail sketch of the master wildly gesticulating as he conducts with innumerable books in his hands and the bitter description of tussles in the singing gallery, how can one fail to see in them references to Signoretti and the Palm Sunday ‘strike’ (about which see the *Biographical Note* below)?

The fourth book tackles the treatment of fugues and canons of all sorts and concludes with a detailed examination of syncopation, the beat, rests, ligature, prolation and the dot. Chapters X and XI of this book are among the most interesting of the whole work: they deal with “*contrapunto alla mente*” which the author gives evidence of himself having practised, while at the same time discouraging its use in so far as it is the source of infinite errors. Again his condemnation is unconditional, and again it meets with Burney's full approval: “It appears from this Compendium that *Contrapunto alla mente* or extemporaneous discant upon a plain song was still practised in the churches of Italy: at page 125 instructions are given for this species of musical divination.”<sup>12</sup> Tigrini concludes in a peremptory manner: “True counterpoint on a cantus firmus – occurs when first it is written: because in that done extemporaneously it is almost impossible not to make innumerable mistakes” (*Il vero contrapunto sopra il canto fermo – si è quando prima si fa scritto: perché in quello che si fa alla mente è quasi impossibile che non si facciano infiniti errori*) (*Compendio*, libro IV, p. 115<sup>13</sup>). Though the two chapters are informative about the secrets of the 16th-century practice of improvised counterpoint on a cantus firmus and are interesting, lively and rich in learning, they are actually written by Vicentino (give or take a few words).<sup>14</sup> Which wouldn't be at all surprising, were it not that Tigrini cites only a passage of Gaffurius as his direct source. On the subject of extemporaneous counterpoint it is also worth remembering that just twenty years later Amadino's printing presses in Venice were to publish the *Festino nella sera del Giovedì Grasso*, in which

<sup>12</sup> BURNEY, *A General History* Charles Burney, p. 175.

<sup>13</sup> The indication of “page 125” by Burney is wrong, unless he is referring to the edition of 1602, which I haven't been able to examine and which could be paginated differently.

<sup>14</sup> *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*, Rome, Barrè, 1555, book IV, cap. XXIII.

Adriano Banchieri included his famous *Contrapunto bestiale alla mente*, an entertaining parody certainly inspired by the memory of so many ‘bestialities’ heard in the chapels (“a dog, a cuckoo, a cat and an owl for fun / did *contrapunto a mente* over a bass (*un cane, un cucco, un gatto, un chiù per spasso / fan contrapunto a mente sopra un basso*)).

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Although, as we have briefly illustrated, the four books of the treatise are not without interesting aspects that still await adequate analysis and wider exposure, it is above all the question of the ‘stolen cadences’ that deserves further consideration. For though by now it is accepted (with all due respect for the differing opinions, as we shall see) that the ‘robbery’ did occur, no one to date has gone to the trouble of publishing the famous cadences together, so that an immediate comparison can be made. It is the task of the following pages to summarize the matter briefly and to fill this small gap.

Tigrini explains: “The cadence is a certain action made by the parts of the song that shows that it marks the goal of the conclusion of the utterance or song (*La cadenza è un certo atto che fanno le parti della cantilena, il quale dimostra che vuol significare di far cadere il fine della conclusione del parlare, o della cantilena*)”. In short it represents in music “what the comma and full stop [represent] in oratory” (*quanto la virgola & il punto nell’oratione*). After distinguishing the cadences into major, minor and minimal, Tigrini explains that they can be simple, diminished and accidental (i.e. where accidentals occur). Moreover, he also reveals an exceptional talent for devising the examples (which are indeed composed with the utmost care throughout the *Compendio* and are all his own work, with very rare exceptions).

As we said, the first to notice that Morley had committed plagiarism was Burney, who writes as follows:

The cadences which he has given in three, four, five and six parts, and which are good examples of ecclesiastic counterpoint, have been almost all used by Morley without once mentioning Tigrini’s name either in the text or catalogue of authors whom he’s cited.<sup>15</sup>

However, there is no trace of this statement in the works of the later scholars, for Ambros, Eitner, Fétis, Schmidt and even Dürr overlook the matter. We have to wait for the fifth edition of *Grove* to find a mention, though not in the entry “Tigrini”, where the theorist is disposed of in just a few lines (also riddled with error, incidentally), but under “Morley”. Here, at the end we read as follows:

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<sup>15</sup> BURNEY, *A General History*, p. 175.

Here again Morley has been charged with plagiarism on the ground that some of his examples are the same as some which Tigrini gives in his 'Compendio della Musica' (1588). But in these examples both Tigrini and Morley are simply showing the best ways of making formal closes and as the best are not unlimited in number, it is not surprising if, in a crowd of others, the same examples occur in different textbooks [...] there is no reason to suppose that he ever saw Tigrini's book.<sup>16</sup>

In these words, dating to the mid-1950s, there is an evident concern to defend the affronted honour of English music. The writer, Godfrey Arkwright, was incidentally a scholar of distinction, but here he indulges in a form of sterile nationalism that is not free of a certain acidity. As an example, just note the course irony of the expression "in a crowd of others", to underline the fame and greatness of Morley, with whom the obscure and unknown Tigrini has dared to be linked. Besides, as has already been noted, the belittling of Tigrini in a dictionary of the size and ambitions of *Grove* can surely be explained only in polemical terms. In fact it is no surprise that the author of the entry on "Tigrini" is again Arkwright.

In the successive edition of the *New Grove* the approach changes, though not greatly. The new author of the "Morley" entry, Philip Brett, avoids the question entirely and disposes not only of Tigrini's name, but also of his predecessor's absurd argumentation, limiting himself to an anodine observation (which he duly takes pains to qualify) and referring the reader to Harman's preface (about which, see below). Thus writes Brett at the end of his discussion:

The book is indeed based largely on the authority, and sometimes the very examples, of authors who are mostly but not always acknowledged (see Harman's edition for the details). Yet Morley's method of presenting his material is original and well-considered and his literary style delightful.<sup>17</sup>

I feel there can be no doubt that with the phrase "and sometimes the very examples" Brett was referring to the question of the 'stolen cadences', about which his predecessor had commented so dubiously.

It is worth noting, *en passant*, that the new author of the "Tigrini" entry in the second edition of the *New Grove*, Imogene Horsley,<sup>18</sup> repeats all the mis-

<sup>16</sup> GODFREY ARKWRIGHT, "Morley" in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed., 10 vols., London, Macmillan & Co., 1954-1961, vol. 5, pp. 502-503.

<sup>17</sup> PHILIP BRETT, "Morley" in *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols., ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 12, pp. 579-585 (reproduced without substantial variants in the second edition of 2001, vol. 17, pp. 126-133).

<sup>18</sup> IMOGENE HORSLEY, "Morley" in *The New Grove*, 2nd ed., vol. 25, p. 473.

takes made by Francesco Coradini in his study on the musical chapel of Arezzo.<sup>19</sup> So she still gives Tigrini's date of birth as 1535 (the true date, 10 July 1541, had been published in 1987),<sup>20</sup> still signals his presence as *maestro di cappella* in Orvieto between 1571 and 1587 (about which see the *Biographical Note* below) and finally overlooks the second edition of the *Compendio* of 1602.<sup>21</sup>

But to return to the subject, we are faced with a singular case of an episode that in itself is somewhat banal (for what are a few cadences copied into a work of the depth and weight of Morley's *Plaine and easie Introduction*?) becoming – thanks to the punctilious pleading of Arkwright (first) and the elegant *glissato* of Brett (later) – a matter that needs to be cleared up definitively. A misplaced nationalism, we repeat, has misled the English authors of the *Grove*, inducing them to underestimate both Tigrini (in particular) and the influence of Italian music in 16th-century England (in general).

In the age of Morley, who was a contemporary though younger than Tigrini, a marked interest in Italian music was a common feature of English musical life. Indeed, to find a faithful mirror of the current musical trends in Italy, one need only look north of the Alps, and particularly to England, which became a loyal imitator and avid consumer of Italian music. Of the musicians mentioned by Henry Peacham in *The Complete Gentleman* (a fairly successful English attempt at imitating Castiglione's *Cortegiano*) there are fourteen

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<sup>19</sup> FRANCESCO CORADINI, "La Cappella Musicale del Duomo di Arezzo dal sec. XV a tutto il sec. XIX", *Note d'Archivio*, XVI, 1937, pp. 161-170.

<sup>20</sup> CLAUDIO SANTORI, "Il Compendio della Musica di Orazio Tigrini", in *Annuario del Liceo Ginnasio "F. Petrarca" di Arezzo*, Calosci, Cortona, 1987, pp. 165- 201. I have recently discovered that Cordini indeed published Tigrini's true certificate of birth, again in *Note d'Archivio*, but in the year after writing the article on Tigrini, *en passant* and in a different context (Nov.-Dec. 1938, p. 248). For this reason the information escaped the attention of all subsequent scholars, including Horsley.

<sup>21</sup> In the first edition of the *New Grove* (vol. 18, p. 820) Horsley had reported the titles of Tigrini's works somewhat summarily, indicating as complete the *I libro de' madrigali a quattro voci* of 1573 (lacking the Altus), the *Musica super psalmos omnes liber primus et secundus* of 1579 (of which only the Cantus and Altus survive) and the *Il libro de' madrigali a sei voci* of 1591 (lacking the Tenor). In fact the only work by Tigrini to survive complete is the *I libro de' madrigali a sei voci* of 1582. Also lacking were bibliographical references (duly added in the second edition). The very long, complete title (which Horsley did not see fit to transcribe even in the second edition) of Tigrini's only work of sacred music is: *Horatii Tigrini Arretini Musica super psalmos omnes qui totius anni Completorium cursu ad Vesperas decantari solent, maxima cantorum commoditate contexta, non solum puerilibus sed etiam paribus, nec non quatuor ac quinque vocibus si placet. Nunc primum in lucem edita, una cum Canticis Beatae Mariae Virginis, liber primus et secundus.*



composers, of whom eleven are Italian.<sup>22</sup> As for Morley himself, he was certainly not extraneous to all of this. Indeed he was the most fervent supporter of the Italian style, which he placed above every other, and his *Plaine and easie Introduction*, by far the most widespread source of information on contemporary music, constantly refers to Italian practice and Italian models, to the extent that Kerman has even written that this influence was such as to “disqualify Morley altogether as an impartial witness”.<sup>23</sup>

Morley attributes to the Italians the invention of double counterpoint (“double descant”) and praises the respect that the Italian musicians reserved for one another, whereas in England (he claims) they attacked one another for all they were worth. Obviously, since he was writing in 1597, he was unaware of the attack Artusi was about to launch on Monteverdi (1600-1603). Instead he was most likely impressed by the first pages of Tigrini’s treatise, which contain the reciprocal (and rhetorically ornate) attestations of esteem of Aretino and Zarlino. If we are not greatly mistaken, this detail further confirms the hypothesis that Morley was thoroughly acquainted with the *Compendio*.

On Morley’s part the borrowing of Tigrini’s cadences was therefore an act of routine procedure. He found Italian music congenial and the cadences in question a perfect model of their kind (to be honest, not even Zarlino’s were as fine and effective). It was therefore only logical and natural that he should make use of them. Perhaps he should have cited his source, but the 16th century was not a century given to such scruples, either in England or anywhere else. Even Tigrini himself (as we mentioned above) pillaged without compunction, taking material not only from Zarlino, whom he cites abundantly, but also from Aaron and Vicentino, whom he mentions only scantily. In this

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<sup>22</sup> Of this very important work there is a modern edition by Oliver Strunk in 1950. The musician most highly favoured in England towards the end of the 16th century was certainly Marenzio, who is represented by as many as six madrigals in the *Musica Transalpina* of 1588, the most important of the Elizabethan anthologies, in which Italian music has the lion’s share: 41 madrigals out of a “great set of books”, as the editor Nicholas Yonge calls it, that included 57 works, not counting two anonymous pieces. Now it is true that Morley was surrounded by colleagues who were much less drawn to Italian music than himself (not even his teacher William Byrd shared his enthusiasm!), But thanks to his prestige and to his direct example (which showed how the Italian elements could be assimilated), he ended up by attracting a great number of composers into his circle, thereby decreeing its immense popularity. In the later anthologies, like the *Musica Transalpina II* of 1597 and Thomas Watson’s collection of 1590, the Italian element is almost exclusive. It is worth noting that these anthologies were formally of the Flemish type, in other words composed of a large number of madrigals, on the model of that of Pierre Phalèse, which contained a good 48. In Italy the number was generally much lower: the largest was the *Lauro Verde* which contained 33 madrigals, all for six voices.

<sup>23</sup> JOSEPH KERMAN, *The Elizabethan Madrigal*, New York, American Musicological Society, 1962.

regard it is worth re-reading a pertinent passage from the *peroratio* of the *Plain and easie Introduction*:

As for the examples, they be all mine own, but such of them as be in controverted matters, though I was consailed to take them of others, yet to auoid the wrangling of the enuious I made them my selfe, confirmed by the authorities of the best authors extant.

To me this is an *excusatio non petita* that has every air of confirming the well-known proverb that *the tongue ever turns to the aching tooth*. A direct comparison between the cadences given by Morley and Tigrini shows beyond any shadow of doubt that they are perfectly identical in almost half of the cases. To be exact, the number of ‘stolen cadences’ is 53 out of a total of 108.

However, the evident Anglocentric approach of *Grove* (which has never completely disappeared, as we have seen, and has merely limited itself to dropping the extreme positions of Arkwright, which can be classified as instances of obtuse nationalism) is fortunately superseded by Morley’s modern editor, R. Alec Harman, who observes with sober lucidity:

There has been some dispute as to whether or no M. copied some or all of his examples of closes from Tigrini’s *Compendio della Musica* (1588). Arkwright, in *Grove* (vol. iii, p. 520) dismisses the suggestion, stating that M.’s notation and arrangement are different from Tigrini’s and that “there is no reason to suppose that he ever saw Tigrini’s book”. The latter statement is impossible to prove either way, but as to the notation and arrangement the subjoined table leaves no doubt. Arkwright’s statement that the number of satisfactory closes is limited and that therefore some of the examples in both books are bound to be identical *would be valid if there were not so many that are identical*.<sup>24</sup>

The italics are naturally our own: for Harman himself is in no doubt about the matter and he follows up the statement with a table in which he compares pp. 225-240 of his edition (corresponding to pp. 142-146 of Morley’s original) with pp. 79-94 of Tigrini’s treatise. Then commenting on the famous passage of the *peroratio* quoted above, he cannot help exclaiming:

This statement, of course, does not include those examples which M. has avowedly taken from other composers, e.g. Striggio and Renaldi in Part I, but it makes it all the more surprising that he does not mention Tigrini in the “Closes” on pp. 229-240.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> MORLEY, *A Plain and Easy Introduction*, p. 241, n. 1.

<sup>25</sup> MORLEY, *A Plain and Easy Introduction*, p. 306, n. 5.

Harman, however, does not consider it necessary to give any music examples, but merely limits himself to indicating the corresponding pages of the respective texts. Since (I repeat) nobody, to my knowledge, has ever taken the trouble to publish the ‘stolen’ cadences in context and since we feel that direct comparison is in any case a useful exercise, here below we have reprinted all the six-voice cadences as they originally appear in each treatise. It is also worth adding that even Westrup, in a short, but cogent review of the *Compendio*, raises the subject and ends up by giving Morley in a friendly dressing down:

Arkwright argued that as cadential formulas were universal at that time the resemblance could not only be accidental; but since this is not the only case where Morley displayed a lack of frankness, one is inclined to regard the defence as shaky.<sup>26</sup>

There is no question, obviously, of putting Morley on trial, for his reputation is not even superficially affected by such a minor issue. Nor are we interested in knowing who his advisers were, or who he meant when he referred to “wrangling of the envious”: for these are things that belong to all ages and all climes. When he was alive, Tigrini was quite capable of defending himself from the wrangling of the envious. After his death, however, he surely has the right to see his work recognized. And this is what I have tried to do, not because of any misplaced attachment to a fellow-countryman, but just so that Tigrini can take his rightful place among the great writers of the 16th century.

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<sup>26</sup> JACK ALLAN WESTRUP, review of the facsimile edition of Tigrini’s *Il Compendio della Musica*, in *Music and Letters*, XLVII, 1966, p. 358.

APPENDIX  
*Biographical Note*

Orazio Valerio Romolo Tigrini was born in Arezzo on 10 July 1541, as is attested under that date in the book of the *Battezzati in Pieve* from 1534 to 1547: “A di 10 luglio f(u) b(attezzato) oratio valerio e Robolo (= Romolo) figliolo di Mattia di paulo da rezzo p(er) me S(er) Amico boddi”. The date c.1535, given by Francesco Coradini (see above, notes 19 and 20) and repeated in all the reference works, is therefore unfounded. He came from a poor family (his father, Matteo, was a cobbler) and he displayed his musical talent at an early age, becoming the favourite pupil of Paolo Aretino: a point that played an important role in his training and about which he always expressed pride (when mentioning his youth in the *Compendio*, he refers to “the time of Paolo my master”). From the papers of the old *Confraternita di Murello* (a society founded in the 13th century, perhaps in opposition to the *Fraternita dei Laici*, that ran a seminary and a hospital) we know that on various occasions he received donations of money and gifts of books. For example, when only thirteen, on 26 October 1554, he had “amore Dei, lire una soldi dieci” (Archivio capitolare del Duomo di Arezzo, *Entrate e Uscite della Fraternità dei Chierici dal 1554 al 1555*, fol. 40) and the next year, on 12 March, he was given a classical text, the plays of Terence: “A Horatio di Matia u(n) Terretio” (*ibid.*, fol. 30; a gift that also testifies to the skills possessed by this fourteen-year-old). In November 1559 he acquired another valuable classic: “A ser Oratio di matt(e)o chiabbattino l(ire) dua amore dej che co(m)pra el se(con)do Thomo del orationj de cicerone” (*ibid.*, 1559-60, fol. 14v).

He was seventeen when Paolo Aretino, with two other canons of the Pieve, personally paid for his expenses when they took him to sing in that church. This important document is found in the *Deliberazioni del Capitolo di Pieve*, libro II, fol. 131v, preserved in the archive of S. Maria della Pieve: “[...] infrascripti dom(i)ni can(oni)ci [...] conduxerunt Horatium Matt(ie) chericum aretinum ad canendum in dicta capella dicte ecclesie cum salario dictorum canonicorum de suo proprio [...] stariis quinque grani solvendis iuxta ordinem [...]”. He was ordained subdeacon in 1561 (*ibid.*, 1562-63, fol. 17v) and the following year received an unspecified sum of money “pro emen(do) Ioseph(um) Zarlinum” (*ibid.*, from 1558 to 1616, fol. 21v): thus he made his first encounter with a text that was to influence his whole life as a scholar and would lead him, after over twenty years of familiarity, to the writing of the *Compendio*. The date was 5 June 1562: he was just 21 and had not yet been ordained priest. Five months later, on 29 October, he was elected *maestro di canto* of the cathedral. This promotion cost him the enmity, first concealed, then increasingly overt, of certain *mansionari*, among whom the musician Francesco Signoretti. Indeed Signoretti became an implacable personal

enemy, and with good reason: for it was he who had held that very post since 1555. Among the hostile actions aimed at Tigrini the most blatant was the abstention from divine service in the cathedral of Signoretti and three other *mansionari* (two of whom musicians) on Palm Sunday 1563. The protest, a genuine strike, failed in its purpose because the chapter, far from sacking Tigrini, as the four would have liked, confirmed his position and punished the perpetrators of the deed, condemning them as “delinquents” (the “*poena contra plures mansionarios delinquentes pro eorum demeritis*” is to be found in *Deliberazioni*, C of 1562-66, fols. 40-40v, Archivio di Pieve).

Nonetheless, Signoretti, aided by his supporters, continued to manifest his hostility to Tigrini in every possible way. And eventually, by resorting to calumny and intrigue, he succeeded in having him dismissed on 29 April 1571 after a meeting of the chapter that must have been somewhat stormy, since the decision was taken with a majority of one vote only (*Deliberazioni*, D of 1566-83, fol. 91). Only in 1587, by which time he had firmly established himself as a composer, was Tigrini unanimously reinstated and offered the positions of both *maestro di canto* and *maestro di cappella*. According to Coradini, after his dismissal from Arezzo, from 1572 he spent a few years at the chapel in the Duomo of Orvieto. This claim, however, is unfounded, given that my own examination of the capitular books of the cathedral has revealed not the slightest trace of Tigrini. Again this information (in certain cases embellished with a further distortion, not attributable to Coradini: that in Orvieto he was even *maestro di cappella*) has duly found its way into all the reference books and hence needs to be definitively expunged. Instead, for those same years we have found Tigrini regularly mentioned in the *Vacchette delle Messe* preserved in the archive of Chiesa Concattedrale of S. Maria della Pieve, from the chapter of which he also appears to have been regularly paid for services as an organist (see, for example, *Entrata e uscita del Capitolo di Pieve*, 1574-75, fol. 50v, Archivio Capitolare di Pieve: “A Ser Horatio Tigrini nostro organista adi sopra [29 November 1574] D(anari) quattordici tanti a lui a conto del suo servitio che tanti hibbe lui detto in casa mia”: the use of the word “nostro” shows that it was not an occasional service rendered). From other documents it turns out that from 1568 Tigrini rented an estate at Bagnoro, one of the most pleasant localities of the Arezzo area (*Deliberazioni Capitolari di Pieve*, 1485-1569, fol. 320), and was also titular parish priest of the (no longer standing) church of S. Giustino (*Liber A Defunctorum Fraternalitatis Clericorum*, 1501-1631, fol. 147). Indeed, in the archive of the Curia Vescovile of Arezzo (*Visita Apostolica del 1583*, t. I, fol. 42) there is even a detailed description of an apostolic visit made on 28 March 1583. From this important document it turns out that Tigrini was present because “..ipse rector sacramentum ipsum (communion) ministrat viris separatim a mulieribus ... matrimonia publicat in ecclesia secundum formam decreti

Concilii Tridentini” . He was therefore a zealous parish priest who was also up to date with the latest liturgical injunctions, but not so interested in the physical appearance of the church which the visitor “vidit ...in suis parietibus male se habere, eos decrustatos fuisse”; it was therefore ordered that “capellas indecenter ecclesiam occupantes demoliri, et parietes decrustatos incrustari et dealbari de bono calce”.

Tigrini’s career during the sixteen crucial years of his life can therefore be summarized as follows:

- 1572-73 He withdraws to the estate at Bagnoro and devotes himself to composition: the First Book of four-voice madrigals is dated 15 April 1573.
- 1574-76 Organist in Pieve. In 1574 he was *camarlingo* of Murello in Arezzo. Such was the name of the confraternity of all the city priests and diocesan parish priests that assembled every year to oversee the management of the church attached to a hospital.
- 1577-78 Activities and residence unknown at present.  
He publishes the *Musica super psalmos omnes* in Arezzo. He is *cancelliere* of Murello.  
He is certainly in Arezzo, since he appears regularly in the *vacchette di messe*. He is absent in the first five months of 1580 and in the last four months of 1581.
- 1582 He appears regularly in the *vacchette di messe* for the whole year.
- 1583 He receives an apostolic visit in his parish church of S. Giustino on 28 March. He is appointed *provveditor delle scritture* (i.e. secretary) of Murello.  
During these two years Tigrini’s activities and residence are at present completely unknown.  
He is appointed *priore* of Murello for the first time.
- 1587 He resumes the direction of the cathedral chapel and also takes on the position of *maestro di canto*.

Tigrini died on 15 October 1591. His death certificate runs as follows: “On 15 October 1591, of Matteo Tigrini, priest and canon of the Pieve, prior this current year of Murello, parishioner of the church of S. Giustino; on the above day he passed on to a better life. He was buried in the church of S. Bernardo, the burial place chosen in his lifetime. He was taken by the Olivetan friars of that place, dressed in his friar’s robes and that much I attest. Requiescat” (*Liber A defunctorum Fraternitatis Clericorum*, of 1501-1631, at fol. 147). Among his other positions, therefore, he was a prior of Murello and also an Olivetan monk, expressing the wish to be buried in the habit of his order. The document, however, strangely makes no mention of his activities as a musician.

He left a book of four-voice madrigals (Venice, Gardano, 1573, surviving incomplete) and two books of six-voice madrigals (respectively Venice, Gardano, 1582 and Venice, Amadino, 1591, the latter also incomplete). In 1579, Gardano also published two books of Tigrini's sacred music, which Boetticher later tracked down in the archive of the Duomo of Faenza. Unfortunately they are also incomplete, for only the Cantus and Altus parts survive (for the exact title, see note 21).

Concerning his services as an organist, there is written evidence of the full approval of both the ecclesiastical authorities and the faithful. But at the present state of research there are no extant works for this instrument. The magnificence and beauty achieved during the performances in the cathedral under his direction are attested in various sources. I would like to conclude with a note I found in the *Libro dei Ricordi* by Jacopo Sinigardi from Arezzo:

I remember that on the said 17th [February 1589], the first Friday of Lent, there were the obsequies of the deceased *monsignore* [the bishop, Cardinal Stefano Bonucci] and the cathedral was full of many people and great honours were done; and a fine office was said with fine music for two choirs, that is, in the two pulpits. Then with the organ accompanying the musicians singing the psalms of the Nocturne, many citizens went to keep them company and a fine thing was done (manuscript in the Biblioteca della Fraternita dei Laici in Arezzo; tomo II, fol. 36v).

This account is particularly important also because it is the first official source on the use of a double choir in the cathedral of Arezzo, an evident Venetian influence (though the practice was unquestionably older, as is proved by the existence in the cathedral archive of music, like the psalms of Matteo Asola for eight voices, that called for a double choir (see F. CORADINI, *La Cappella Musicale del Duomo di Arezzo*, p. 16).