CHURCH MUSIC AND MUSICIANS
IN LATE MEDIEVAL MALTA
Stanley Fiorini

The Maltese legends centred on the figure of Count Roger have it that the Count banished the Muslims from these islands and, among other achievements, reconstructed the cathedral and established in it canories and benefices.\(^1\) It is well known that events did not quite happen that way. The process of re-Christianization was a slow one and the people long remained, in their large majority, Muslims; an Italo-Byzantine exiled in Malta for decades in the mid-twelfth century moans that his co-inhabitants were 'sons of Agar the godless';\(^2\) in 1175 Bishop Burchard describes the island as infested with Saraceni; and as late as 1241 it is patently clear from Abate Gliberto's census that the population was in its great majority Muslim.\(^3\) Yet the administration entrenched by Roger I in 1127 was undoubtedly Latin. Besides government functionaries, soldiers, and merchants, the establishment also included the Church and particularly the Mdina cathedral. Admittedly, the earliest document relating to the cathedral building does not antedate 1299,\(^4\) but long before, the presence of an active church is in evidence. The see of Malta is already mentioned in 1156, Bishop Johannes of Malta, albeit absent from the island, is active in 1168, and Johannes Zafarana Maltensis Canonicus is documented in 1244.\(^5\) If the Maltese cathedral had its canons by 1244, then this is a sure sign that the Divine Office used to be sung then. In fact, a somewhat later reference to a Cantor of the Cathedral confirms this.\(^6\)

More than two centuries had to pass from these very early indications of musical activity at the cathedral for more solid evidence to come to light. This evidence comes in the form of receipts for payments to various individuals whose employment by the cathedral was necessitated by its liturgical services. Reference is made to the organists, the choir-masters, and the scripturi or copyists that produced the liturgical books. The object of this note is to present what evidence has been gleaned on this activity up to around 1540.

The cathedral appears to have employed a cleric, on short-term contracts, to teach cantus firmus, probably to be interpreted as plain chant, to its chapter and clergy, certainly from 1515 onwards. Originally these tended generally to be foreigners but by 1530, only Maltese are encountered. In 1515 Don Andriotta Scavuni was paid ten tari per month in haviri recto scola di canto fermo in decorazioni dicte

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\(^2\) A. Pertusi, 'Le isole Maltesi dell'Epoca Bizantina al Periodo Normanno e Svevo (Sec. VI-XIII) I Descrizioni di esse del Sec.XII al Sec.XVI', Byzantinische Forschungen 5 (1977) 289.
\(^3\) A.T. Luttrel, "Approaches to Medieval Malta", MM, 32,38.
\(^6\) Text of 29 vii. 1274 in V. Laurenza, 'Malte nei Documenti Angiolini del R. Archivio di Napoli', Archivio Storico di Malta 8(1) (1936-71 Doc.XL p.36; "Ego Alexander Malte ecclesie Cantor predictis interuis et me subscripsi".
In 1517 one encounters Mastro Canturi Don Nicola Catalanò, in 1523 the Maltese Don Domenico Vella, and in 1527-28 Don Andrea de Federico nicknamed ‘huayne’ (little eye), also Maltese, who were all paid at the same rate; in 1533 Venerabili Misser Joan Aloysi Scagluni, canturi conducto ad insignari lo clero, was paid twice as much for six months. Thereafter, several references to work by the Maltese Padre Petro Callus of the Augustinians are encountered. He taught chant to six clerics for a whole year starting in July 1535. Callus must have made quite a bit of money giving private tuition in canto fermo to clerics who were willing to pay for individual attendance. Thus, in November 1535, Callus bound himself by contract to teach cantus firmus to Don Antonio Vitali for a fee of 24 tari; lesson were to take place every day during sext and vespers at the master’s convent; a similar contract was signed the following March in favour of Don Francesco Falca. Twelve years later, Callus was still active in this field. Between 1537 and 1539 Don Simuni Ferriolu is described as

Mastro di scuola. Jn choro dictum cathedralis per insignari li yaconj et altri che havisiaro bigognu cantarj et diri tucu quelle fachissi buisgo in lo officio di dicta cathedrali ecclesia.

It is being suggested here that cantus firmus refers to plain or Gregorian chant, one of the accepted meanings in contemporary literature. Of interest also in this context is the somewhat later reference to canto Gregoriano e (canto) figurato which seminarists were expected to practice according to the rulings of the diocesan synod of 1590. It is clear that canto figurato is here used in opposition to canto Gregoriano. This is a clear allusion to polyphonic music.

Going back to cathedral choir-masters, the last mentioned Ferriolu was for a long time in the 1530s also one of the organists at the cathedral. Evidence for the existence of an organist there, however, antedates this by several decades. The earliest reference found to date, in fact, goes back to 1494 when Venerabili Frati Joannes (de Rapis) occupied that position; he was paid an annual salary of 10 unce, often being remunerated in kind. Soon after this de Rapis died and in April 1496, Don Lorenzo Vagnolo signed a contract with Bishop Valguarnera binding himself to play the cathedral organ as necessary for an annual salary of 6 unce. Just two months later, another contract was signed with Don Nicola de Virmiglia who appears to have replaced Vagnolo and whom he bound himself to teach; perhaps Vagnolo’s performance turned out to be not of the highest calibre.

From 1515 onwards for the next thirty years or so, the scene became dominated by Don Lorenzo Caxaro, one time Vicarius Generalis of the diocese. In spite of his standing in the church and right from the start, his position as organist was challenged both from abroad as well as from within; the question of salaries appears to have been the issue. It was discussed in the town-council whether Caxaro, who was being paid 10 unce annually, should be replaced either by the Sicilian Honorabili Mastro Petro Fauczuni, who was demanding 12 unce, or by the Maltese deacon Ximuni Ferriolu, very much Caxaro’s junior, who was prepared to accept only 5 unce. Caxaro managed to hold on; he was further paid an extra unca annually to pay the bellows-blower, who in 1514 is known to have been Cola dili Nasi nicknamed di Santu Pau. A second attempt to dialogue Caxaro was made by Petro Falsuni’s faction in the town-council in 1522. Falsuni’s expertise in dismantling and reconstructing the organ, which was then badly in need of repairs — menzo guasto — was again appealed to. It appears that the post was in fact given to Fauczuni but for some unstated reasons he could not take up the position, so that Caxaro in effect for a second time managed to remain enounced, only with a difference; Ferriolu made a second come-back for the post and this time managed to secure a joint position with Caxaro. The situation was formalized in 1524 when they were given an eight-year contract, whereby a total of eleven unce was to be divided between them, 5 to the senior Caxaro and 5 to the junior Ferriolu, ‘obligat insoludum a sonari accordari et fari accordari li organi’.

8 Ibid. (26.i.1617) 75. Contract in acts of Notary Pietro de Alaymo (untraced) signed on 1st January.
9 Ibid. Mandati M3 (22.x.1523) 42.
10 Ibid. 11.274.409: ‘Don Andria de federico dicto huayne...Don Andrea auoynu’.
11 Ibid. Mandati M3 (22.viii.1533) 53.
14 Ibid. (7.i.1536) 240v-241.
16 MCM ACM Mandati M3 (3.vii.1539) 597. See also ff.454,458b,635, and ibid. Mandati M4 (20.v.1539) 207.
The much needed repairs to the organ referred to in 1522 were carried out, under Caxaro’s supervision, by a *maestro organista* brought over from Sicily for the purpose.  

The rivalry between Caxaro and Ferriolu is very much in evidence in 1532. Ferriolu’s appointment to a canony was taken as a pretext to dispense with his services, particularly since Caxaro simultaneously offered to start accepting only 10 unci for his unaided services instead of the 11 previously paid to both organists jointly. The situation did not last long; within the year Ferriolu re-appears demanding equal shares with Caxaro. The tussle went on. The following year Caxaro and Ferriolu reverted to the original 6:5 ratio of payment, but thereafter Caxaro emerged as the sole victor. One can say that Ferriolu got removed by being promoted to choir-master in 1535, as discussed earlier, and not without a reason. In that year Caxaro appears as joint organist with his natural but illegitimate son Salvo; no doubt, Salvo was being groomed for the place all along, which explains why the good vicar general was holding on so desperately to the post.  

But then the cathedral organ was silenced. In 1537 it again badly needed seeing to. This time it is clearly stated that Petro Faucrunci from Sicily, who had shown keen interest in being employed as organist twenty years earlier, was employed to effect the necessary repairs. Six unci worth of tin were brought by Faucrunci himself from Palermo for the purpose, the money covered also the insurance. Other material, including copper wire (*filo di rami sive ferru*) was obtained later. A contract was drawn up on 16 April 1538, whereby Faucrunci bound himself to fix the instrument for an overall fee of 15 unci. Several payments were made to Faucrunci, including ones for work on the *bancuni di contrabaxu et conducti*.

42 **Ibid.** Mandati M3 (30.xi.1538) 496 and Mandati M4 (5.i.1539) 245. See also Mandati M4 (7.i.1539) 237 Document V.  
43 **Ibid.** Mandati M3 (29.iv.1538) 7.  
45 **Ibid.** Mandati M3 (29.iv.1538) 7.  
46 **Ibid.** (18.iv.1533) 79: ‘11 unci Donno Laurencco Caxaro et Donna Ximun Ferriolu insoludum a omu jusu la mitati’.  
47 **Ibid.** (15.iv.1534) 143.  
48 **Ibid.** (16.i.1535) 361: ‘Donno Lorenzo Caxaro et so figlio Salvo oblighi insoludum a sonari li organi et fari minari li maestri’. **Ibid.** Mandati M4 (11.i.1536) 79, (13.x.1543) 284, (11.xii.1543) 266. See also G. Wettiger, ‘Connubiumage among the clergy of Malta and Gozo ca.1420-1500’, *Journal of the Faculty of Arts, 6* (1977) 171, where reference is made to the contract of employment of the Caxaro, father and son, as in the act of Not. Brandoni Caxaro (NAV R.175/1 (24.vi.1535) 142v).  
50 **Ibid.** Mandati M3 (5.v.1537) 456.  
51 Among the several payments to Faucrunci (cf. Footnotes 41-44) reference is often made to this contract variously described as in the act of Notary G. Buttigieg or in those of Notary Brandoni Caxaro; unfortunately, it could not be traced in earlier paper.  

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*dilu organi*, *per factura et concussatu dili registri*, *per fari la caxa sive bancuni dilo organi grandi*, as well as for *pelli per li organi*, which were skins used either to reinforce the bellows or to make the wind-chest air-proof. The terminology used suggests that a fairly large organ was then in use.

The example set by the cathedral was followed by other churches. The earliest recorded instance of installation of an organ outside the mother church, noticed to date, is that of Santu Maria Jesu at Rabat, which was purchased in 1548. The organist in the 1550s is known to have been none other than Mastro Petro Falsuni; he died in Malta in February 1560. It is not unlikely, however, that the Augustinians, for example, who provided teachers of music for the cathedral earlier on, also had their own organ. It is further known that in the 1620s the Dominicans at Rabat needed to replace the organ that had been wrecked during the corsair incursion of 1551, so that it is very likely that an organ had been installed there for some time before that.

Besides musicians and teachers of music, the cathedral also employed a number of men, versed in letters, in the production of her liturgical books. The most prolific period in this respect, as well as the earliest encountered to date, is the decade 1527-1538. Liturgical books must have been in use all along, but after 1527 and in keeping with the general trend of renovation at the time, it appears that a whole new set of liturgical books was being commissioned then. Various names of copyists are recorded, including both local and foreign *scriptori* or scribes. Don Petro La Crucchi, probably a Sicilian, was commissioned to copy various psalters

42 Ibid. Mandati M3 (30.xi.1538) 496 and Mandati M4 (5.i.1539) 245. See also Mandati M4 (7.i.1539) 237 Document V.  
43 Ibid. Mandati M3 (25.x.1538) 511.  
44 Ibid. (11.vii.1538) 587.  
45 Archivio Provinciale O.F.M. Malta, Ma.1 f.61: ‘Item li organi custoaro uccj trenta in tempore guardianni li organi di malta 1545’. Access to this document has been kindly provided by Rev. Fr. George Aquilina O.F.M.  
46 Archivio Archipresbiteri Cathedralis Melitae, Liber Baptismatorum, Confirmatorum, Matrimoniorum et Defunctorum I (26.ii.1560) 779.  
47 M. Fadda, Id-Dunnikani fir-Rabat u fil-Birgu as 1.1620, (Malta, 1974) 45.

Some biblical and liturgical texts of paramount historical interest and which must have been in use at the cathedral well before the period under discussion, are still extant and rightfully jealously guarded in the cathedral museum. Prominent among these is the Codex Evangeliorum Melitensis, a XII-century codex of the four gospels on parchment with miniatures and a very fine silver cover bearing an image of Saint Paul not unlike that on the famous reliable at the same museum. It is possibly identified with the Liber Sancti Pauli, referred to in NLM Univ I (20.vi.1473) f.249v, on which solemn oaths used to be taken, as was certainly the practice in later centuries. This codex has been studied, in the context of the Codices Siciliani Normanni, by the German scholar Valentino Pace in his work *Untersuchungen zur Sicilianischen Buchmalerei* (pp.431-496 of an unidentified journal); this unfortunately incomplete reference has been kindly provided by Can. J. Azzopardi, Curator of the Mdina Cathedral Museum. Of extreme interest to the musicologist are two Antiphonaria written in the rare Aquitanian (as opposed to Gregorian) notation.

48 The sources being utilised in this study are a particularly rich fount of information on activities at the cathedral at the time; a lot can be deduced particularly on artistic activity. This point will be elaborated in the critical study accompanying the full publication of this material.
in 1528, whereas one particular psalter was entrusted to Frati Joanni Xebiras of the Augustinians. It is hardly surprising to learn that Xebiras was an expert both at writing Latin inscriptions (he was commissioned to produce a marble plaque marking the adv:nt of L’Isle Adam in 1530), and at painting; he was employed to paint the dial of the cathedral clock in 1533. In 1535 Don Victorio (de) Manuelli was brought over from Trapani and worked here for more than two years, copying an antiphonario. It appears that he spent an initial period of three months in Malta in 1535; record of payment of rent in this connexion is extant, and so are his receipts for various payments. Two contracts were subsequently signed in 1536 and in 1537 in this regard. Thereafter, payment of two years’ rent was effected on his behalf in 1537, and several other payments for his work, that is, completed in August 1537, were also made that year. Other work was entrusted to local copyists, both members of the Order and Maltese; among the former one finds the French knight Fra Matheus Arsemol who, in 1536, copied a ‘graduale’ for the cathedral. Among work produced by Maltese copyists one finds various antiphonarii and a psalterium copied by Clerico Joannes Bartolo in 1537, and a graduale produced by Frati Joannes Antoni Junni of the Dominicans in 1538. It is recorded that the parchment skins were obtained by Manuni through Magnifico Anfrano Camagi of Palermo; he was paid for the horse he had to hire between Licata and Palermo to fetch the skins. Camogi is mentioned on more than one occasion obtaining skins for this purpose. Several purchase orders are recorded during this period and some explicitly stated to have been purchased locally; two payments were made to Frati Matheo dilo Episcopo of the Conventuals in 1529 for the preparation of these skins. A somewhat later contract for the copying of a liturgical book is particularly interesting insofar as it is explicitly stated that the text was according to the Gallican Rite. This rite, which was in use also in Sicily, was banned from the Maltese diocese by Duzina in 1575.

The binding of the books was also done locally by the two De Cachi priests – Don Antonello, and Don Leonardo. In one other instance a layman, Antonello Lazu, is mentioned as doing this work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Grateful thanks to Rev. Can. John Azopardi, Curator of the Cathedral Museum, for his generous and valuable assistance, and to Dr. Hugo Agius Muscat for stimulating conversations on the subject.

Since the writing up of this note, Can. J. Azopardi kindly brought to my attention the work ‘La Cappella Musicale della Cattedrale e i suoi Rapporti con la Sicilia’, Musica Sacra in Sicilia tra Rinascimento e Barocco (1985) 47-67, which surveys the musical activities at the cathedral to present times. The two papers can be viewed as complementary to each other.

A SELECTION OF DOCUMENTS

Document I

Authorization of salary payment to Frati Joannes de Rapis and three receipts.

MCM ACM Misc.36 (23.1.1494) 65.66.

f.65 xxiiij Januariij XIIij Jndictionis m occclxxxviiiij Nuy don michelj faucunz vigiar generali di lo Reverendissimo Signurj episcopu di la citatiji di Malta Juffre de sguanes Joannes de Nava nardu calava et paulu vaccaru iurati civitatis predicte comandamo a vuj honorabilij perj curauana ycomino et procuraturj de la eclezis catedralij sancti pauli dicte civitatis ky di li fratij Joannij rajpi organista salariato per sonarj li organj x ponderis sive uncj decji et su pro salariu di lu presentj anno incomenzandu di lo primo Jornu presentu mensis Januariij perfina al prin-

60 G. Wettinger and M. Faddini O.P., loc. cit.
61 C.A. Garufi, Ubi Nuslalij nel Medio Evo in Sicilia (Palermo, 1897) 33.
62 NLM Libri. Ma 643 p.401 et passim.
65 MCM ACM Mandati M4 (24.1.1529) 3, (8.v.1530) 54, (4.iii.1539) 221.
ciipiu di ginnaro proxime sequenti i quali dianji che darriti di tercuz in tercuz more solito richipenda da ipsu solito more apoeca de recepto et a cautela vj ficimo farj lu presentj comandamentju di nostri propri manu subscriptum et confirmat.

+ Nos Donnus michael de falsourcuius generalis confirmamus
+ (vacat)
+ Ego goffriderus de sguaneus Juratus confirmo
+ Ego leonardus calava Juratus confirmo
+ Eu paulu vaccaru Joratu confirmu
+ Ego Johannes de Nava Juratus confirmo.

xxvjº Januarij Eu fratrj Johannj derapia confessu haviirj richiputu di paulu zurkj pro partj et nomine di Misser Perj caruana unciij ij et unaltra uncza per manu di Misser raynerj calava et tarj x di notarj paulu lu qualj mj donau xiiiij pulinj di fruxunj et cussaj su contentu di lu primu tercuz ky mi divia lia ecclesia di Santu Paulo per lu meu salariu unci(arum) x anno quolibet Et perky sasfisiatj accusi faczu la presentj manu propria.

xixº marciij

Eu fratrj Johannj de rapis confessu haviirj richiputu per manu di lu nobili misser perj caruana comu procuraturj di la matrj ecclesia unciij ij et tarenj x et uncza una per manu di fratrj Johannj Antonij pro partj di lu supradictu misser perj li qualj unciij ij et tarenj x su di lu secundu tercuz di lu meu salariu di sonarj li organj a Sanctu Paulo araxunj di unciij x pro annu et perky sta cuasi la veritaj faczu la presentj manu propria.

f.65v (vacat)

f.66  xxiijº septembries XIIIº Jndictionis

Eu fratrj Johannj de rapis confessu haviirj et richiputu di lu nobili misser perj caruana per manu di cola bindinu unciij ij dicu unciex duj et tarenj xviiij di lu mastru di la scola li qualj richippi alu misi di Jungnettu (sic) passatu lu qualj mastru dila scola divia unciex a alu diictu misser perj la qualj unciex richippi eu et decticu di tarenj xij alu diictu misser perj rumasiru mj poy trj florinj supradictj et tari sey di trj palinj et menceu di carisiak ky mj vindu notarj paulu et tarj xij li qualj appi di xumunj so figliu et cussi hauu lu complementu di tuctu lultimu tercuz che su uncli iij et tarenj x dicu unciex trj et tarenj dechj.

Document II

Notarial deed for salary payment to Don Laurenczo de Vagnolo


f.48  d.c. xviijº eiusdem  Salarium

Document III

Notarial deed appointing Don Nicola de Virmiglia as cathedral organist, stipulating the salary and, inter alia the condition to instruct the cleric of Vagnolo in organ playing.


f.51v  Eodem  Locacio Organiste

Pro ecclesia cathedrall melite contra Testamur quod Reverendissimius dominus Don Jaymus de Valguarnera Episcopus melitani et Magnifici Domini Donnum Nicolaum de Virmiglia Antonius Gact desguanes Nobilia laurenccus di falsou et nobilis manfridis de caxaro tamquam yconomus ecclesialis ecclesie melitani conderunger Venerabilem dominum Nicolaum de virmiglia presentem et se locanem etc. ad sonandum organa dicte cathedrall ecclesie anno uno continuo et completu incipiendo a crastina die primo madij per uncias auj decem ponderis generalis solvendas detercio Jntercio Jta et protu solitum erat solvq quandam fratrj Johannj de Raps predecessor organista eiusmodi dominj nicolai cum condicione quod dictus dominus nicolaus tenetur supe promit et se obligavit quod eodem salario docere et instruere prefatum dominum clericum laurenccum de vagnolo ad sonandum dic- ta organa durante dicto anno et cum reservatione quod si uerit frater antonius de Castro Johannes dictu pericunj ad licteras eiusdem Reverendissimi domini Episcopi Jam sibi transmisset quod oo caso dictu dominus nicolaus debeat se abstinere a dicta locazione et cedere Jpsam conductionem dicto fratri/Antonio et
recipere salarium solutum pro rata temporis servitii promictentes dicti contrahentes etc. ad invicem promiserunt omnia habere etc., Obligantes dicti conduentes bona et redditus dicte ecclesie cathedrales dictus vero locator personam suam obligando etc., Unde etc.

Testes Nobilis paulus de vaccaro nobilis orlandus de burdino Egregius Notarius paulus de bunello et alii etc.

Document IV

Notarial contract whereby Frati Petru Callus of the Augustinians binds himself to teach cantus firmus to Don Antonio Vitali for a fee of 24 tari.

NAV Not. Brandan Caxaro R175/1 (15.xi.1535) 187.

Eodem

Testamur quod presens coram nobis Venerabilis Frater Petrus Callus ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini civitatis meliveti sponte promisit convenit et se similiter obligavit venerabili donno Antonio vitali presenti etc. ipsum donnum Antonium instruere et docere cantum firmum ad ommem examinacionem interroga- cionem et responsionem Jntonarj et cantarj li gr.... et cognoscere omnes tonos cantus quo supra donnus Antonius tenetur quotidie accedere ad conventum dicti ordinis Jn hora de mesno giorno et vesperij ad habendum lectionem dicti cantus pro qua causa dictus donnus Antonius promisit solvere dicto de callus stipulantii etc. tarenos xxiiiij et quibus alias habuisse(? ) dictus de callus a dicto donno Antonio presente etc. tarenos sex Ratoes(? ) aios tarenos sex promisit solvere Jn festo pascatis resurrectionis dominice primo venturo Reliquos tarenos duodecim cum fiere(?) doctus bene cognoscere cantum Jntonare sine aliqua excepcionc etc. Que omnia etc.

Et Jta Juraverunt testes Reverendus donnus lucas balthalus Reverendus donnus laurencius caxaro clericus petrucius de falsono.

Document V

Authorization for payment to the cathedral steward for expenses of various items relating to the repairs of the cathedral organ.

MCM ACM Mandati M4 (7.ii.1539) 237.

Die viijº februarij XLº Indictionis 1539 Nuj don luca bortalc vicario generali diocesis meliventane sede vacante et Jnfrascriptj Juratj notabilis civitatis et Jsule meliveti Commandamo a vuj nobilj andrea manduca olim yonomo et procuraturj dila cathedralj ecclesie sanctj pauli che de quillo restanj debiturj digitaj darj pagarj et assignarj a mastro Joanj comu massaro de dicta ecclesie tarj vintj sey grana dechj ponderis dichimo tr.xxvj gr. x ponderis et su per Jornj octu de dicto mastro Joanj che adJutao alo dicto mastro petru de farj lu contrabaxo deio organj et as- tarj et lavuraj li formj et posarilj et per farj li scalj novj et conczarj lu travo dilo crucixxo et per sectj Jornatj a francisco dusj que mnavra lu organj et per chova per dicto organj et scalj et per chira per dicto organj et per ligna per farj focu per soldarj li cannolj dilo organj et a mastro vicenso bruges per uno catanaczo et a vostra cautela vj havemo facto farj lo presentj comandamento de nostri proprij mano subscripto et confirmato luqualj recipiritj cum apoca de recepere more solito unde etc.

+ Ego donnus lucas balthalus vicarius quo supra confirmo
+ paulu dili nisi Juratu confirmu
+ Michelj falsun Juratu confirmu
+ salvo cumbo Jurato Confirmo
+ leonardus Calava Juratus confirmo

die viijº februarij XLº Indictionis 1538

Eo mastro Joanj calleya massaro cathedralj ecclesie sanctj pauli per la presentj confesso havirj reciputo de vuj nobili andria manduca olim yonomo et procuraturj di dicta cathedralj ecclesie tarj vintj sey grana dechj dilj qualj piglaj partj per Jornj otto ho servito in dicta ecclesie et lo resto pagaj adiverij partij ad opo di dicta cathedralj ecclesie como contenj ut supra per cautela vostra et per non sapirj scrivrirj a cautela vostra vj ficij farj la presentj per mano di alberto muscato dico tr.xxvj gr.x