ARTISTS, ARTISANS AND CRAFTSMEN AT THE MDINA CATHEDRAL IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Stanley Fiorini

In the early decades of the sixteenth century the Mdina Cathedral was being given a face-lift. Gian Francesco Abela records how the roof of the nave was raised by the building of a clerestory pierced by windows to give the church-interior a lighter atmosphere and how the new wooden ceiling was decorated with engravings, paintings with Pauline and biblical themes, and florid arabesques in gold. He also records four inscriptions which he could still read, more than a century after the works were executed. Two of these recorded how the work was commenced in June 1520 when the Jurati were Petro Guevara, Martin Ingomes, Petro Stunica, and Manfred Caxaro, the Economio being Alvaro Casseres. The other two related how the work was completed under Jurati Raineli Calavà, Nicola Saguna and Antonio Bonello, who was also the Economio, the painter who depicted the ceiling was Alexander Patavins Civis Syracusanus.

This skeletal information can, by and large, be substantiated in all its details from the original mandati which are still extant at the Cathedral Museum Archives. But much else besides emerges from a thorough reading of these documents which give a fuller picture of what was happening. The mandati were authorizations by competent authorities, such as the Jurati or cathedral treasurer, to procurators for payments to individuals stating the amount and the reason for the payment; a receipt by the payee is appended in most cases. One can thus confirm, for example, who the Jurati and the Economio were in the year when Patavins started and finished the work. The object of this paper is to shed some light on the activities of a number of artists, artisans and craftsmen who worked for the cathedral in the period c.1515-c.1540, as revealed in the mandati documents.

THE CATHEDRAL CEILING

Preliminary work appears to have started in 1518 when a substantial amount of timber was imported. Mastru Nardu Borg was paid 2 uncie and 18 tari per so travaglu

1 G.F. Abela, Della Descrizione di Malta (Malta, 1647) 332.
2 The long series of Mandati in the Cathedral Archives [ACM] at the Mdina Cathedral Musecum [MCM] starts with the first volume for 1506; hereafter they will be simply denoted M1, M2 ... Some other mandati including earlier ones are to be found in ACM Misc. 36 which will also be quoted. The present author is preparing for publication a critical analysis and an abridged listing in tabular form of all mandati down to around 1550.
week (ad diem dominicanam inclusive) are encountered in which Mastru Luca Borg 
comu massaru dilu gloriosu Santu Paulu is authorized to pay “masti daxa, muraturi, 
et manuiali, intercludendo lu capu masbru per luvavu lu tectu.”9 Ten six of such 
mandati, one per week, out of the possible 32 weeks in the period 28 January - 9 
September 1520 are extant.10 It is therefore clear that the craftsman worked solidly 
for the whole of seven months to prepare the material. Often, additional information 
about purchases of material and costs of freight and transport are given. Thus, one 
counters payments for certi perni per lu tectu (perhaps, heavy bolts to secure 
the rafters together), rina (sand), carrirj di tavali et certa corda accatau ad opu di 
lu tectu, perni et conci, carrirj tavali dilu castellu ala chitati (again!), ix salmi di 
cauchina, 38 carriki per portari lu lignami et cauchina, 200 tavali, chenta chova et 
lignami di taglu et serracetti et altra lignami et nollu, and so on.11

Although some mention is made of rina and cauchina in the period January-August 
1520, the main purchases of stone and payments to stone masons appear only later 
in September of the year. One would have expected the stone-work to precede 
wood-work. By way of explanation one can suggest that during the first eight 
months of the year, the timber was being prepared and not actually laid in place. 
When all was ready, the old roof was dismantled, in the summer (and this would 
makes sense, weather-wise) when the few courses of the clerestory were erected and 
the timber roof assembled soon afterwards. It is certain that the water-proofing 
operation of capping the planks came months later in winter and spring of 1521.

Two names of stone-masons are encountered, Mastru Jorgi Vassald and Mastru 
Nardu Barbara, Vassald being employed the day following Barbara’s last payment. 
Vassald was probably the master-mason, but like Barbara, who was the mastru 
pirri attnari or stone cutter or even quarry owner (compare modern Maltese barriera 
with medieval pirrera), he was also engaged in stone-cutting, pirriatt. Barbara is 
encountered early on in May being paid for providing 200 cantunji et 6 capitelli 
parati ad opu di la prammata de dicta ecclesia per lu tectu.12 According to Abela, 
the ceiling was supported by eight rafters resting on pairs of columns. The overall 
plan can still be seen from a seventeenth-century design showing four pairs of 
columns flanking the main aisle and two pairs of half-columns abutting pilasters 
at the main altar and at the choir-loft (Fig. 1). In view of this lay-out my colleague 
Mr Mario Buhagiar interprets the six capitelli provided by Barbara as intended for

3 Ml (7.i.x.1518) f. 32. The changeu were not blocks of stone (Modern Malt. changaun), but thick blocks of wood, suitable for rafters; G. Piccio, Vocabolario Siciliano (Catania-Palermo, 1977) sub voce cianca.


6 Ml (19.viii.1520) f. 166: “per 300 charamidi ad opu de dicta ecclesia et lu tectu”; Misc. 36 (15.v.1529) f. 658: “… per charamidi per coracj lu tecti et tugli di dicta ecclesia”. The use of a pitched and tiled roof in late medieval Malta was much more common than hitherwise thought. Evidence for fairly widespread use in the Mdina/Rabat area has already been exhibited (S. Fiorini, Santo Spirito Hospital at Rabat, Malta: the early years to 1575 (Malta, 1989) 15-17), but further evidence keeps coming to light. It is known that no less than 2000 charamidi were bought by the Carmelites from Sicily in 1562 (Notarial Archives Valletta [NAV] Not. G. Muscat R376/43 (4.vi.1562) and the charamidi di Santa Paulu, that is, of the cathedral, also figure in other documents (ACM Procur [Pr 1(1595)] f.14v (Ind. VIII [1476], Procuratore Rogerio Caxario). The cathedral warehouses (mazazenti), which were contiguous with the church (M3 (31.x.1532) f.29), were also covered with charomidi (M2 (15.xi.1526) f. 340, (12.xii.1527) f. 317). Yet not the whole ceiling, and certainly not the campanile, could have been covered with charamidi as some references of 1538 seem to indicate: bactusmi per lu tectu di dicta ecclesia et campanaro levata la cauchina (M3 (8.30.xi.1538) ff.502, 496). The campanile was in fact surmounted by a wooden dome-like structure, probably hemispherical in shape, as the word qubba seems to suggest: tavali ki mancaru per lu cubba (ACM Pr 1 (12.xii.1474) f. 64).

8 Ml (24.xii.1520) f. 104, (28.xii.1520) f. 132, et passim. A number of carpenters surnamed Borg appear at Rabat at the turn of the sixteenth century; “Mastru Salu Borg dictu Haydu” (1495) and “Mastru Cola Borg figlio di Laydut” (1546) (Fiorini, Santo Spirito, 17).

8 Ml (5.i.1520) 206: Week’s payment including “la Jornata di lu Capu Masbru che si partio di Sercusa”.

9 Ibid., (19 ii.1520) f. 262, (6.viii.1520) f. 170 et passim.

10 In chronological order they are found at M1 ff. 206, 262, 250, 246, 260, 258, 242, 238, 228, 220, 216, 296, 200, 198, 194, 188, 184, 182, 174, 170, 162 respectively. The missing ones occur for the “weeks” beginning, 5 February, 19 May, 3 June, 20 July, 14 and 26 August.

11 M1 ff. 198, 202, 206, 220, 230, 244, 248.

12 Ibid., (2.v.1520) f. 222.
Mastru Luca Borg and Mastru Manfre Chakym also put in some 10 working-days each in his assistance.19

ALESSANDRO PATAVINO

Alessandro Patavino20 appears to have worked at the Mdina Cathedral on more than one occasion, but the longest stretch was his first visit between March 1520 and October 1521. The first reference to him occurs on 2 March 1520 when it is clear that his expenses to travel to Malta to paint the cathedral ceiling are being defrayed: a total of 15 uncis boni are paid to Bernardo Vital for 20 tavoli, presumably purchased abroad, and per succurriri ala mastra pingituri veniri ad pingiri lo tecto di dicta catedrali ecclesia.21 Soon afterwards no less than 12 uncis are paid directly to him to enable him to go abroad and purchase the coloured paints necessary for the job: per andar et comperar coloni et altri cosi necessari per pingiri lo tecto di la catedral ecclesia dondov JPps per pleia al Magnifico Signori Don Paulo dalagona di addimpliri sua promissioni.22 An entry dated 22 December 1520 confirms that Patavino was already in Malta by March of that year. It is a payment of floreniv et tareniv bon to the heirs of Gigllo Zammit in respect of eight months’ rent of a house where Mastro Alessandro the painter of the cathedral ceiling was residing during the period 1 April of the eighth indication to the end of December of the ninth indication.23 One concludes that payment of lodgings was part of Patavino’s remuneration. A similar payment of a year’s rent on behalf of Mastro Alessandro Padovano pictori seu mecantori dori alu tectu, this time to Petruccio Zammit, is recorded in October 1521.24 Several payments to Patavino at irregular intervals and for amounts varying between three and twenty uncis are recorded como salario per pittura e mecritilia di oru alu tectu; several of the receipts bear Patavino’s signature (Fig.2).25 The total payment to Patavino exceeded 150 uncis. Final payments a

13 There is an uncanny similarity between this reconstruction of the cathedral and a church that appears in a painting of the Madonna of Loreto made in 1507 by Alessandro Padovano, now in the Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Bellomo, in Syracuse; it depicts the Casa di Loreto as a three-aisled Romanesque church with a gabled tiled roof, having a single free-standing campanile, and a clerestory with three two-light windows on each side. Matteo Perez d’Aleccio’s engraving (c. 1580) showing the old cathedral is worth comparing.

14 M (27.v.1520) f. 210, (28.vii.1520) f. 190, (4.viii.1520) f. 180. The function of the canali is evident from a different context: “fari canali ala machazeni dicti cathedrales ecleseis per exiri laqua Infora ala roga” (M3 (30.xi.1521) f. 33).


16 M (19.i.1521) f. 443.

17 M. Fasani, Id-Dunqntani fjr-Rabat u fil-Birgu sa l-1620 (Malta, 1974) 70.


19 References as in fn. 19 and M (21.x.1520) f. 136; (4.ii.1521) f. 128, 126, 122; (24.xii.1520) f. 104; (7.1520) f. 98, 100; (4.ii.1521) f. 439; (4.iii.1521) f. 427; (7.22.iv.1521) f. 427; (27.iv.1521) f. 419; (4.ii.1521) 399, (24.vi.1521) f. 391, (4.i.1521) f. 379.

20 Usually referred to in these documents as Mastro Alessandro Paduano pictori or pingituri; each of the following spelling variations occurs once, Lixandro (M1 f. 403), and Padono (M2 f. 415).

21 M1 (2.iii.1520) f. 248.

22 Ibid., (23.i.1520) f. 256.

23 Ibid., (22.xi.1520) f. 106.

24 Ibid., (14.x.1521) f. 357.

25 Ibid., (30.iv.1521) f. 224, (11.vii.1520) f. 172, (4.ix.1520) f. 154, 120; (31.xi.1520) f. 102, (1.iii.1521) f. 431, (10.ii.1521) f. 451, 411; (7.18.v.1521) f. 403, 397; (8.vi.1521) f. 393, 37, (17.vii.1521) f. 387. Patavino’s work is variously described as pittura deurara (f. 120), pittura et mecritilia di oru (f. 102), opera che fa in pingirlo tecto (f. 224), or deuratura seu mecritil deuraturat ala tectu (f. 387). It appears to have been the practice that the same master who executed the painting was also responsible for the gilding; compare G. Bresc-Bautier, Artistes, Patriciens et Conférences (Rome, 1979), for example pp. 251-257, Documents LXI-LXIV, LXVII-A et passim. I am indebted to my colleague Mr Mario Buhagiar for bringing this publication to my attention.
complimento dila pictura and a complimento di xx miglara di oru li quali havi assectato alu tectu, amounting to more than 36 uncie were made in late 1521.26

Patavino appears to have been helped in his work by his son Joannello who, on just one occasion, appears receiving payment independently of his father; on that occasion he was paid one uncia.27 At other times he may have been included, anonymously, among the mastri et manuali per lavurari lu tectu, paid by Mastru Luca Borg.

A craftsman who was constantly at Patavino’s side was Mastru Paulu Burlo, baccituri di oru. He produced the gold leaf used by Patavino in mectir iu tectu by beating down the gold ingots. The variant Imburlo in the spelling of the surname suggests a Catalon origin, but his immediate provenance was Messina.28 On one occasion he was paid 22 tari which were restanti di so salario di baccituri oru ad opu di lu tectu . . . 22,500 pannelli di oru,29 but most of the time he must have been demanding payment in Sicilian money; he was paid in ducati in August 1520, on another occasion in ducati trionfi and at yet another time he was given trionfi sidichi di oru pro quelli baccitri . . . li quali ascendino ad unci a sei tarieni vinti novi et grana shadi.30 In spite of the fact that Burlo was a skilled craftsman, he was quite illiterate and could not even sign his own name; this is clear from the fact that all his receipts were signed on his behalf by a third party, often Salimbeni Cuglituru also of Messina, asserting openly perche non sachi scriviri.31 One can deduce that by the time the work was completed no less than a total of 32,500 pannelli di oru were produced by Burlo.32

The services of Patavino were required also later by the cathedral on more than one occasion. In April 1528 he was employed on a rather simple job of painting four ceremonial seats used by the cathedral chapter. He was paid ten tari per so travaglio per haver pinto quatro banchetti per assectarisi li canonici ad li cappi.33 It is hard to imagine how an artist of Patavino’s calibre could have been requested to come over from Sicily merely to paint four banchetti for a total remuneration of 10 tari. It is more likely that the purpose of the visit was of greater moment and that the opportunity of his presence was taken to request this very minor commission. Whether he executed any major work during his stay on that occasion, perhaps not for the cathedral, then that remains to be discovered.

He was again in Malta for more than a month a year later when he is known to have performed three important interventions on works of art at the cathedral. In June 1529 he renovated a painting in the cathedral ceiling. He also painted various candelabra (blanduneri), the tabernacle (per concamant uilu tabrunacula), and another receptacle for the pyx (per depinigi la caxa sive arnariu dila custodia ilu corpu di Christu).34 But perhaps most important of all was his intervention on the main altar-piece, the St Paul polyptych: per anectari et conczari la cona de dicta cathedrali; that this was probably only a routine cleaning can be deduced from the paulyt sum of eight tari that he was paid.35 A more drastic intervention (infra) on this retable was effected a decade later.

This was not the end of Patavino’s connexion with Malta. Some four years later he was engaged again on what appears to have been another minor task per mastria di iij blanduneri et loru deaurari et per una lasta di la cruchi di pumi deaurati et uno scannelu illu altoar maunari; for all this he was paid 2 unci 16 tari.36

GOLDSMITHS AND SILVERS Smiths

Returning to the earlier time around 1520 when the work on the ceiling was being carried out, one encounters a number of goldsmiths and silversmiths, both local and foreign, being commissioned by the cathedral.

In the years immediately preceding the structural alterations, the services of two, presumably Sicilian, silversmiths were required. At the end of April 1517, Frati Antonj di Mayda, the Vicar General of the newly elected Bishop Bernardo Catagnano, authorized the payment of 24 tari to the mastru arginterj Bartolomeo

27 Ibid., (14.ii.1520) f. 124: "... a Joannello figlio di Mastro Alexandre Infra pagamento diij servicij dila Mastru Alexanderu".
28 For the prefix Im-, S. Fiorini, "Catalan-Maltese connexions in the Late Middle Ages: An exploratory search in Maltese archives", in (Ed.) C. Martinez-Shaw, Proceedings of the Spanish-Maltese History Conference, 1990 (in print). The spelling Imburlo appears at M1 (9.vii.1520) f. 186 whereas the Messina provenance can be deduced from M1 (12.x.1520) f. 138.
29 M1 (7.7.1520) f. 96.
31 Ibid., (13.iii.1521) f. 426.
32 Ibid., (4.ii.1521) f. 437, 441.
33 M2 (10.iv.1522) f. 415.
34 Misc. 36, (8,19.vi.1529) ff. 620, 624. This tabernacle was used as a model for another built ten years later by the goldsmith Santorus Vella of Mdina for the Augustinian Priory in Rabat (NAV Not. G. Muscat R376/f 11 (vi. 1539) f. 318bx.)
36 M3 (21.vi.1534) f. 133. Compare Guillermo de Pisaro’s payment of 2 unci 1 tareno 10 grana for gilding two blanduneri at Alcarno in 1476 (G. Bautier-Breac, "Guglielmo Pesaro: 1430-1487, Le peintre de la croix de Cefalet et du polyptyque de Corleone?", Mélanges de l’Ecole Francaise de Rome - Moyen Age vol. 86 (1974) 244 Doc. IV). I should like to thank Mr Mario Buhtagiar for drawing my attention to this publication.
Maczuni per mastria in haviri conczato la coruna episcopali et croza episcopali et altri cose ecclesie. It is conceivable that Maczuni was absent from the island because the receipt of payment was made on his behalf by another silversmith, Mastru Joanni Scarpa. This same Scarpa, was engaged a number of times over a period of some twenty years so that, although clearly a foreigner, he must have been settled here; he appears, in fact, as a member of the town council in 1536. In 1515 he was paid one-and-a-half uncie per magisterio per haver deorato la spera dilu horologiuc civitas et ecclesie, and in 1520, he was paid no less than seven uncie boni per compliri la caxetta facta ad opus diu Corpus Domini and for other unspecified work. Scarpa was still in Malta in 1530, and working for the Cathedral in 1534, when he was commissioned and paid per conczatura et mastria diu Inchinseri et uno lamperj et certo argento per la conczatura. In 1519 Scarpa was commissioned to execute by far his most important work in the Cathedral that can still be admired to-day in the Cathedral Museum. The Cathedral possessed a New Testament of great antiquity which was also held in great reverence. It was the gospel on which solemn oaths, such as the oaths of office taken by Università officials, were taken. It was referred to as the libro di Santo Paolo because of the image of the Apostle inscribed on its cover. In 1519 Scarpa was entrusted with this evangelistarium to have its boards covered in silver and decorated with the image of St Paul and of other saints on one side and with a crucifixion scene on the other (Fig. 3). For this work he was paid 2 uncie 15 tari et sunno per sua mastria In haviri facto et operato labia coperta di lo evangelistaro dicti Sancti Pauli di argento figurato cum la figura di Santo Paul et altri figurig
At about the same time that Bonello is encountered, another goldsmith, Mastru deceaurauri Vincencio Vineciano, was executing work on a tabernacle for the cathedral. Vineciano was almost certainly a foreigner, probably of Venetian origin, who never appears again later. The tabernacle Vineciano was gilding was made by Mastru Carpentieri Cola Curmi, already encountered earlier engraving the new ceiling; he was paid five unci per fari la bara (or vara) di Santo Paulu.48 A difficulty of interpretation is here encountered because one cannot really differentiate between the letters ‘b’ and ‘v’ in initial position in scripts of around this time. The word bara meaning coffin cannot be entirely ruled out since the tabernacle could have been meant for the Maundy Thursday ceremony when the terminology used (to this day) is that of “interment” of the Blessed Sacrament; but then the term usually used, then (vide infra) as now, was Santo Sepolcro. On the other hand, the interpretation vara, or processional statue is also admissible if the tabernacle in question was meant as a receptacle for the Blessed Sacrament that was carried in solemn processions such as that held on Corpus Domini; this procession is well documented in the Mandati documents themselves.49 In view of the fact that very similar terminology with a clear interpretation in this latter sense is encountered in near-contemporary documentation for Sicily, the term vara is preferred.48

Vineciano commenced work around October 1521 when he was paid a deposit in advance (capara) for the work he was about to perform. Other payments followed in December of that year, and in each of the months between January and April 1522, when a final settlement was made bringing the total remuneration to 6 unci and 20 tari. The work is variously described as mastria dila deceauratura dilo tabernaculo, deauramento de la vara dila Corpus Christi, and mastria in posirj loru in la custodia sive vara Corporis Christi.48 In May 1522, then, he is made one further payment of 2 unci 12 tari a complimento de sua mastria et precu dili aczolul opera et fishe ad opu de la vara.48 It appears, therefore, that the finishing of the tabernacle was in azure and gold, probably complementing the general colour scheme of the main altar, a very attractive proposition, in the then current Romanesque Gothic style.48

46 M1 (2.ix.1521) f. 371, (18.i.1522) f. 342, (8.ii.1522) ff. 332, 326.
47 For example, M2 (5.ix.1524) f. 74: “tari xxvij per preceo di tanto vino che dis in sua taberna alii sonaturj dila festa di Corpus Christi”; (4.vii.1531) f. 463; Misc. 36 (9.i.1529) f. 646, (1.vii.1530) f. 724.
48 G. Bresc-Bautier, Artistes, 264-5: Doc. LXXVI (5.v.1454) “... ponere de auro et de voto quamdam varam ... ad opus Corporis sacratissimi Christi ... forma vare Corporis Christi majoris Panormitanca ecclesie”, interpreted to be similar to what Mongitore describes as “una custodia grande ... la quale portavasi in ispalia de 24 sacerdoti nella solennitati del Corpus Domini”.
50 Ibid., (6.v.1522) f. 306.
51 The crucifix on the main altar in the cathedral at Cefalù, made in 1468, was also painted “de azolul ultramarini et oro finiu” (G. Bautier-Bresc, Guglielmo de Pisaro, 242 Doc. 1).

CHURCH VESTMENTS AND ORNAMENTS

While work on the cathedral ceiling was still in progress the chapter spent close to 300 unci boni, an enormous sum of money at the time - compare the yearly salary of the protomodo which in that year came to 32 unci - on the acquisition of a capella di bruccato, which was a complete set of liturgical vestments made of brocade. This set, which included a cappa and two dunicelli cum loru frici et guarnimenti was bought in Palermo by the Magnifico Alexeno Catagnano (the Bishop of Malta was then Mgr. Bonifacio Catagnano whose predecessor was Mgr Bernardo Catagnano) to whom the money was sent through the Noble Andria Manduca and Ambrogio Falzono.52 The total amount came to 292 unci, 4 tari, 10 grami and the insurance, underwritten by several Mdina men who insured amounts varying between 5 and 20 unci, came to 10 unci 21 tari 18 grami. According to the insurance agreement, drawn up by Notary A. Rapa on 1 June 1520 (deed untraced), the insurers volino che la sicurezza si intendea et incurri dili Jornu et huria che dicta capella di bruccato si parti di la dicta felichi chititi per terra et marj et fin che sia Insalvamento In lo portu dila marina dila dicta chititi.53

Several other purchases of ornaments and vestments are recorded at this time. Two carpets were obtained from Magnifico Anfrano Camogi in 1534, most probably from abroad, at a cost of nine ducats, whereas Magnifica Imperia di Grugno procured another carpet sometime later.44 In 1532 a blanduneri dilo cero paschali was bought for fifteen carlini and, two years later, two pairs of blanduneri novi cum loru Intagliati cost one unci fifteen tari. Nearly 23 unci were paid to the Noble Nofrio Catanio Gerbino, a Genoese merchant, for canni quilum palmi tri et mezu di velluto carmasino et tila scandinissa per Inforaa per far certi tuniceli et amici; the sewing of these tunics and their accessories came to another 21 tari. Two albi novi in 1532 cost no less than six unci.55 Other purchases were certainly made abroad. In May 1535 no less than 70 ducatos auri in auro largos boni auri were refused to the Spaniard Nobili Peri Ruys de Vilaso who had transferred that amount to the Magnifici Paulo de Naos and Antoni de Armanza who were in Palermo purchasing damask and velvet for the Cathedral; the payment was in fact made to another Spaniard, Antonio Carrigolo who was Ruys’s creditor.56

52 Ibid., (27.iii.1520) f. 236. On another occasion Catagunico procured velvet from Palermo at a cost of 23 unci (M2 (17.vii.1525) f. 18).
53 Ibid., (2.iii.1520) f. 208, 240; (1.ii.1520) f. 209.
54 M3 (22.vii.1534) f. 131, (31.vi.1537) f. 444.
55 Ibid., (20.iv.1533) f. 73, 75; (10.xi.1532) f. 31.
56 Ibid., (5.ii.1535) f. 299, 298; (7.vii.1535) f. 270.
ARTISTS AT THE MDNA CATHEDRAL

THE CLOCK AND BELFRY

The cathedral had a free-standing campanile as can be deduced from Abela’s description and from the seventeenth-century plan. Besides the bells, the oldest of which dated from 1370 and came from Venice, the belfry also carried a clock. As the clock was considered to be also the town-clock, responsibility for its upkeep was shared between the Cathedral and the Università. The Università also paid for the ringing of the bells in connexion with guard duty and other municipal needs: per sonari la prima cum la campana dila prima Juxta solidum; per far si sonari la seconda ave maria che si sona a mezzu ura di notti ... la quali fu ordinata per lu capitano et Jurati di dicta chita; per la corda dila campana dila guardia quali intocca ali dai huri dila notti.

The town clock figures among the earliest extant town council agendas and in fifteenth-century mandati, but some time after 1500 it apparently fell into disuse as the next appearance it makes is around 1515, when it is evident that 7 unci was spent on repairs to the belfry, the clock itself, and its dial; all details are neatly laid down in the mandati and include per uno travo di castagna quali sta ala finestra dicti horologi; uno travo per lu ponti dila spere, mënza salma de calchina, per achito, argentio vivo, tartaro et sufaro, and per vino, panj et alii compania per lo dicto mastro et manualli. The names of a number of artisans and craftsmen are mentioned in this list, including Mastru Ginayno, probably a carpenter engaged in making the scaffolding (ponti), Mastru Jacubu who whitewashed the dial, and Joannu Micheli La Puccella who painted the dial. The gilding of the dial was done

Although the names of Antoni Callus and of Giglu Xucrib, who respectively constructed the Santo Sepolcro for Holy Week in 1537 and once made a ladder for the church, will not be forgotten, many other craftsmen who worked far more in the church must remain anonymously described merely as mastra. Thus, we will never know who made the velvet and silk frontal for the high altar in 1531, nor the maker of the Grandmaster’s or the Bishop’s cathedra in 1533 and 1538 respectively, nor the sculptor of a holy-water font on a tripod, although it is no great loss to Maltese art history not knowing who made the hinges of the choir stalls which were falling apart in 1523.

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57 For example, M2 (4 xii.15251f. 22, (16 xii.1526) f. 338, (15 xii.1527) f. 282, Misc. 36 (1. vi.1529) f. 618, M2 (20 v.1531) f. 465, M3 (20 v.1532) f. 9, (15 v.1533) f. 49.
58 M1 (9 v.1512) f. 381; M2 (22 v.1512) f. 176, (30 v.1530) f. 450; M3 (1. ii.1534) f. 163, (19 v.1538) f. 653.
59 M3 (3 v.1525) f. 276, (5 a.1535) ff. 252, 244; (23 v.1535) f. 180.
60 M2 (13 x.1528) f. 394.
61 M2 (20 v.1531) f. 469; M3 (23 v.1537) f. 465.
62 Ibid., (24 v.1531) f. 475; M3 (16 v.1533) f. 63, (7 x.1538) f. 500, (23 v.1537) f. 465.
63 M2 (24 x.1523) f. 44.
by Mastru Joannj Scarpa arginteri, already encountered, and the mechanical alterations and repairs were made by Mastru Vincenzo di Bruges, who was the town blacksmith.69

It appears that when the clock was finally made to work again, Mastru Vincenzo di Bruges was entrusted to keep it in good repair as is evident from a payment of three years’ salary for this job in 1518.70 For the next decade or so, a Don Leonardo Pisano appears to have taken over the task of conczari et tenenti in ordini la orologio di sonarji tuci li huri as is evident from several payments to him made both by the Cathedral and by the Università; he was paid two and a half unci annual for his labours and one uncia for the oil.71 Once during these ten years, the intervention of Mastru Vincenzo de Bruges was required.72 There was a crisis situation in 1533 when a reduced salary of two unci was acceptable to neither Don Leonardo nor to Frati Joannes Xebrisas; in fact in that year Mastru Joann De Muset, bombarderi di la Sacra Religione had to step in to keep the clock ticking. But by the following year Don Leonardo is encountered again, this time working in tandem with his son Simuni, in charge of the clock.73

Other works and repairs were needed later both in the clock tower and in the clock itself such as when in 1529 and again in 1534 Mastru Petro Blondeo had to provide chavi et toppi per conczamento di la porta dila campanaro and in 1530 the Augustinian Friar Joannes Xebrisas had to paint the dial again, or when the minute hand needed seeing to by the blacksmith Mastru Cola Xebrisas in 1532 (per fari la fileche dila spera dila arlogi) and again a year later by Mastru George Giniysi. In

March 1535, then, both Mastru Luca Borg and a Mastru Balistera from Gozo, were engaged on repairs, the latter ala porta dila campanaro.74

All these efforts were crowned with glory in 1537 when the tower was surrounded by a proud mast that carried the banner: per una antenna che si concezau per la bandera et per sua pinta et lauvuratu et conczatura che le concezau lo mastro et per chova et conczatura dilo orlogi et bastasi et mastria di conczari la troya (sic) di detto orlogi.75

THE GRAVES

The first three months of 1534 saw an upheaval of the church pavement as all graves within the church were being properly constructed with stone walls and slab (balati) roofing. Several loads of cantuni, hundreds at a time, were purchased and several mastri and manuali were engaged on a regular five- or six-day week basis. The stone-cutters’ names are not given but no less than 1,350 cantuni are known to have been moved and although the numbers of balati is rarely given, on one occasion 110 were bought. The work is generally described as per li sepulturi but the occasional odd reference such as in conczari li monimentu intro la dicta ecclesia, sheds more light showing that the graves were already in existence and were only being renovated. On one occasion cherti panni ad opus di li sepulturi were bought from the blacksmith Vincenzo di Bruges and on another occasion coffi et chova were needed. All the carrying of the heavy material was done by beasts of burden.76

Abela describes how the church had once been surrounded by chapels belonging to the wealthiest families of the island with burial rights in them. He notes how by the time he was writing, only the Monserrat chapel had survived belonging to the Gatt Desquanez family and refers also to the Vagnoli family chapel existing in 1410.77 In 1493 there was also an altar belonging to the Vaccaro family.78 As the primary aim of these chapels was the family’s right to be buried in them, it is very probable that gravestones were decorated, probably with the family’s coat-of-arms.

69 Misc. 36 (22.vi.1529) f. 625, M3 (30.viii.1533) f. 51, (21.ix.1532) f. 43, (22.iii.1533) f. 87, (5.ix.1534) f. 109, M3 (7.27.iii.1553) ff. 351, 343.
70 M3 (25.iii.1537) f. 448.
71 Ibid., (17,25.31.i.1534) ff. 171, 167, 165; (7,21.28.ii.1534) ff. 161,157, 159; (8,11.15.29.ii.1534) ff. 153, 151, 149, 145.
72 Abela, 331.
73 NAV Not. B. Sillato MS. 1069/1 (8.vi.1493) f. 36v. For a detailed description of these chapels, A.A. Caruana, Monografia Critica della Cattedrale Apostolica di Malta (Malta, 1899) 13.
as evidenced for similar burials in other churches.\(^{79}\) One such sarcophagus is encountered in 1535 when it had to be moved to allow repairs to the chapel where it belonged; 6 tari were paid for the wine given to the handymen, by way of payment, for handling the sarcophagus. The wording of the text is particularly interesting: Et pio dedito lii tari sey ponderis per una quartara di vino hayvi spiso per portari lo tabuto seu monumento Intro de dicta cappella che de novo si hayvi facto In dicta ecclesia.\(^{80}\) This sarcophagus perhaps belonged to the St John chapel of the De Maza family. Some time after moving the sarcophagus extensive works were in progress in this chapel: per la fabrica de la cappella di Santo Ioanni dili mazari; Mastro Antoni Habele and Mastro Joanni Vassallo were engaged in this work and Mastro Vincenzo [di Bruges] made the barra per la spiraglia de la ecclesia [sive cappella] di Santo Joanni [Intro la ecclesia cattedrali].\(^{81}\)

This information must be read in conjunction with the Apostolic Visitor Dusina’s comments in 1575 regarding burials in the cathedral: In ecclesia cattedrali predicta omnino fiant usque ad tres tumbas concameratas pro sepeliendis mortuis, nec posthac amplius sepeliantur humo revoluta, qui mos, et impletatem praeceptat, et ecclesiam deformat.\(^{82}\) A possible interpretation is that burials in the cathedral were of different kinds. There were burials for the nobles in side-chapels, embellished with marble sarcophagi bearing coats-of-arms and similar trappings. There were then the stone-chambered graves, which were being renovated in 1534, for those who could afford such burials but could not aspire to have their own chapels; these would include merchants, craftsmen and other middle-class families. But then there were also common graves in which the poorest among the faithful were buried, as these too had a right to a church burial; these were simply buried in the undignified humo revoluta manner denounced so often by Dusina. The texts could, in fact, be reconciled, due weight being given to the operative word omnino in the 1575 document - burials, IN THEIR ENTIRETY, had to be properly constructed, meaning that some were but others were not. However, one other comment in Dusina defies interpretation and seems to ignore completely the construction of chambered graves in 1534, documented above. When visiting the Monserrat chapel, Dusina had this to comment: “Intus dictum sacellum est tumba pro sepeliendis mortuis, et in ecclesia cattedrali non est alia tumba, nisi in dicto sacello, et in sacello Sancti Michaelis: sepelientur mortui revolta humo.”\(^{83}\) A satisfactory reconciliation of the two texts remains elusive.

THE FRONT DOOR

No sooner was the stone-work in the church interior completed than the cathedral was whitewashed; Simuni Bartolo supplied five salme of lime for the operation and Mastro Zaccaria Busayle provided the scaffolding.\(^{84}\) The cathedral façade was tackled next. Work on the main door began in March 1535, when the voussoirs for the arches were cut, and many petri and cantuni, including pecchi grossi di petra were purchased from the pirritari Mastro Nardo Barbera. Work under the master-mason Mastro Jayno moratuti dragged on till the end of the year.\(^{85}\)

A new wooden door was made of chestnut wood imported for the purpose from Sicily - per andarj in sicilia et accactari quantita di legnami di nuci per farti porti et guarnizioni - although some other timber was obtained locally later; thus, a piece of oak was supplied by the Magnifico Matheo Fauzuni - pecco di ruwur per li porti -, five beams were similarly obtained from Joanni Surdo - chino travi ad opu dili porti che si fanno novi, and fourteen tavuli viniciani were also procured.\(^{86}\) The master craftsman who made the door was Mastro Cola Curmi, already encountered, who also went personally to Sicily to choose the timber; a payment of twenty tari was made to Bernardo Cassar, Juliano Muscat, and Antonio Xeberras for insuring the material according to an insurance agreement in the Acts of Notary Joanni Rapa (deed untraced). He was helped by Mastro Joanni Calleya and their garsuni.\(^{87}\) Mastro Petro Blondoe made the iron hinges and probably also later lo braco di la porta grandi.\(^{88}\)


\(^{80}\) M (28.xi.1535) f. 190. In the receipt to the payment the sarcophagus is again referred to as lo tabuto. Some work on graves at about this time - calcina per concari sepultiur (M (8.xi.1535) - possibly related to graves in this chapel. In November 1536 the altar of the Holy Trinity was founded by the Mandacaus with burial rights in the cathedral; NAV Not. B. Caxaño R175/2 (9.xiii.1536) f. 82.

\(^{81}\) M (13.v.1538) f. 637, (15.vi.1538) f. 617, (11,28.viii.1538) ff. 569, 545; (18.ix.1538) f. 502; (6.xii.1538) f. 492. References at M ff. 535, 547, 573 possibly also refer to this project.

\(^{82}\) MCM AIM Misc 7 (Visitatio Dusina) p.16.

\(^{83}\) Ibid., p.25.

\(^{84}\) M (14,22,28.xi.1535) ff. 363, 359, 357; (7,14,iii.1535) ff. 353, 349; (10,iv.1535) f. 325, (6.vi.1535) f. 294.

\(^{85}\) M (14,iii.1535) f. 346: “Jorni chino di mastri e manuali che luvaramo li petri per li arkjati”. M (21,27,iii.1535) ff. 345, 343; (5,7,11,18,iv.1535) ff. 331, 329, 323, 321; (2,9,16,17,23,20,v.1535) ff. 315, 311, 307, 347, 296, 292; (6,13,21,25,27,29,vi.1535) ff. 286, 284, 280, 319, 278; (3,10,17, 15,27,29.vii.1535) ff. 274, 268, 264, 256; (8,14,22,27,30,viii.1535) ff. 246, 248, 238, 232, 224; (5,12,20, 25,ix.1535) ff. 220, 216, 214, 212; (7,10,17,25,31,x.1535) ff. 210, 208, 206, 204, 198; (6,14,22, 28,xi.1535) ff. 196, 194, 192, 190; (6,12,25,xii.1535) ff. 188, 186, 178. Mastro Jayno is possibly identical with Mastro Balistra from Gozo encountered earlier working on the campanile door; A Mastro Jayno Balistra ruled the king’s arms on the city gate in 1527 (M2 (10.vii.1527) f. 262).

\(^{86}\) Ms (30,iii.1538) f. 339, (6,vi.1535) f. 288; (31,vii.1535) f.254, (26,vi.1535) f.234.

\(^{87}\) M (7,17.v.1535) f.305; (4,17,vii.1535) ff. 272, 262; (28,viii.1535) f.230.

\(^{88}\) M (19,viii.1535) f.244; (26,i.1537) f. 481.
The main door being described here has in fact survived the ravages of the 1693 earthquake and can still be admired to-day as it was adapted to fit the doorway leading from the sacristy to the rebuilt cathedral. That the front door remained unscathed in 1693 is not an outrageous proposition as can be seen from the fact that the more fragile organ loft which stood directly above the door did not suffer any great damage, was in fact salvaged, and is still preserved in the Cathedral Museum. One can still make out the shape of the old main door ogive and, taking into consideration the sawn off parts of the panels at the two jambes, one can also compute the width and height to have been 216 cms and 397 cms, respectively. That this sacristy door was the 1535 door can be deduced from a partly mutilated inscription that can still be made out at the level of the springing of the arch. A probable reconstruction of the whole inscription is suggested to be:

[PER]ACTUM HOC OPUS // ANNO DNI. MDXX[XV]

The lower half of the first three characters is completely missing and so is the terminal V. What remains of the initial and penultimate letter is not clearly legible but is not incompatible with the present interpretation. The upper halves of the second and third letters are extant and permit a reading of E or F in second position, and a B, P or R in the third.

The last four characters of the inscription show that the year of construction came between 1520 and 1539. The suggested year 1535 tallies both with the evidence in the Mandati and with the bishop’s coat-of-arms, on the right hand side of the ogive, (Fig. 5) that shows that the door was constructed at a time when the Seo was vacant; this has been pointed out by Can. John Azzopardi. Bishop Tommaso Bosio took possession of the Maltese Diocese in 1539, and the Mandati themselves prove that there were Vicarii Generales Sede Vacante throughout the period October 1523 - 31 December 1538. Mr Mario Buhaqigari further noted that the script of the inscription is also consonant with the year 1535 and would have been in angular Gothic had it been earlier.

Mgr Mifsud’s suggested FACTUM ... MDXX, uncritically accepted by many, ignores the truncation at both ends and does not tally with the documented works of 1535 exhibited here, so that it is untenable; so also is a conjectured FRACTUM ... untenable, as the destruction of a door is hardly an event to commemorate. Mifsud’s sharp eye for relevant documentation, however, unearthed an interesting attestation, signed by four witnesses on 25.iv.1697, to the discovery of what they believed was the old cathedral door, found in the clock-tower when this was pulled down after the devastation of the 1693 earthquake. They give the measurements as larga palmi nove, et alta palmi dicieotto which tally with those of the present sacristy door. The description they give shows it to be different from the present sacristy door and the fact that they needed to record the important find suggests that it was in such a dilapidated state as not to warrant preservation. One can conclude that we now have the cathedral main door that was made in 1535, survived the 1693 earthquake, and adapted to fit the sacristy doorway, probably in 1695, we also know of the existence of an earlier door, discovered in 1697, which was probably the one that was discarded in 1535.

THE MAIN ALTAR

In his description of the cathedral, already quoted, Abela hints at the existence of quel trave, che sostenia, e regge il Crocifisso but makes no comment about its provenance. Here again the mandati can shed some light on the matter. By 1538 the major restorations described above were drawing to a conclusion and attention was then being given to interior decoration. A little known painter from Syracuse called Mastro Calcerano Orbelo (also written Lorubello (Fig. 6), de Lorbelo, De Laurobelo and de Lorobello) was commissioned to provide the Cathedral with a crucifix. It is not absolutely clear whether the crucifix was painted on wood or whether a figure of Christ was affixed to a wooden cross, but the fact that a pinturi was engaged to carry out the work would tend to give some more weight to the first opinion. The relevant texts read as follows: per lo crucifixo divi fari sublevato per la ecclesia, infra pagamento di la ymagini di Christu, la opera dilu crucifixo, per la factura dilu crucifixo, per dipingiri la cruchi et la contracruchi dilu cruflissu

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93 There is no evidence whatever of a door being adapted between the sacristy and the cathedral when the new sacristy was built under Caglaira in 1626 (MCM ACM Cl: “Conti della Fabrica della Sacristia che rende il Decano Vassallo del Anno 1626”). When the cathedral was being rebuilt after 1693, however, one encounters expenses in connexion with “la porta della sacristia che da in chiesa” (Conti 7 (22.i.1695) f. 37), and “a Mastro Guglielmo Alfard per giorno uno in metiti laporta della sacristia nel suo loco - tarenti 5°” (Conti 7 (26.i.1695) f.43).
94 NAV Not. N. De Agatiss R2021/II (3. viii. 1537) f. 84: Purchase at Birgu, by Calcerano de Laurobello pitto" citizen of Syracuse, of a white Christian slave called Francesca, aged 22.
ala matri ecclesia. One other reference that is illegible is unclear except for the date (30.v.1537) and the amount paid (5 uncie 18 tari); the total amount came to around 22 uncie.

The painting and gilding of the beam to which the crucifix was attached was painted by Mastro Joanni Cola La Puzella and his partner Mastro Cola di Fiderico, mastri pitturi who were payed in at least two instalments whose mandati survive: per pittura dilu dictu travu dilu crucifissio and a complimento di pittura et deaurotura dilu travu dilu crucifissio; another related payment was made alos pitturi per pingiri lu travu dilu crucifissio et dui ducati prezo dilu travu di sucta lu crucifissio et tareni dechinoni per altro travu dilu crucifissio et lavasti per bastasi luerti di cavalcatura, chova, saccodima et altri dispisi.26 The agreement between the pitturi and the cathedral was drawn up by Notary Giuseppe De Guevara.27 The gold-leaf used for the gilding cost five uncie and was imported from Sicily.28

Other major changes to the main altar and to the St Paul retable appear to have happened at that time. In May 1539 payment of 20 tari was made per concurzzi lu altaru maJuri di Santo Paolo, a scavari la cona, ad arrupidari (?) lo scannello di la cona maJuri, a lavaruri cordunj Jntagliati de dicta cona, et lavaruri la caza di la Corpu di Cristu, et affari et lavaruri lo scannello dilu altaru maJuri et lo tavlamento di detto altaru.29 From an entry under sundry payments for June 1539 it is clear that whoever retouched the polypych came from afar, possibly from abroad, as payment for his transport on horseback has been recorded: per cavalcatura alo pingturi che pingi seu renova la cona di Santo Paolo.30

CONCLUSION

It is clear that in the two decades between 1515 and 1535 the Mdina Cathedral was a beehive of activity during which vast sums of money were spent on rebuilding, improvements, renovations, and investment in new works of art. This paper has focussed attention on a limited assortment of activities, ignoring other equally important enterprises concurrently undertaken, such as the production of liturgical texts and the promotion of sacred music, discussed elsewhere.31 To make all this happen the treasurer had to for out an amount in excess of 2,000 uncie, a sum of massive proportions by any standard. There must have been a reason why precisely at this point in time all this was happening. An event that coincided with this outburst of activity was the concession in April 1520 of the Indult Hujusmodi supplicationibus by Pope Leo X.32 It has been a long-cherished dream and a hard-striven-for ideal of the Maltese Church supported by the municipal council and the people that ecclesiastical benefices of the Maltese church should benefit the local clergy and not foreigners as had so often happened in the past.33 Traces of the last throes in the protracted struggle to get the Holy See to consent and support this deserving cause can, in fact, be found in the Mandati themselves.34 It is not improbable that in

104 NLM Univ. 12 (20.xi.1519) f. 226: “Consillium ... ex quo cuitos et universitas habent litteras a Sacra Regia Magestate directas Sanctissimo Dominico Papa ne beneficia ecclesiastica existenta in dicta Jnsula ulterius conferentur exseris sed habitatoribus et Jnculis Jpsuis civitatibus ... si videat Jpsis de concilio pro obtinendo tam grande beneficio universalis multarum ecclesiasticarum ad expensas cathedrales”. M1 (11.i.1522) ff. 287-291: “Jntra pagamentillo dixxy uncii divi pagari dicta cathedra ad opus dicti biliu et concessioni dilu Santo Patri super li beneficii et dignitati Jpsuis Jnsule” ... “unciaquatru a Bertu Mascate nomine et pro parte di Salva Brifeta so compago per altr hnati Jpsu Saluvi per licistra di concursi di Joanni ilberti per so travaglio per solicitarli li execuioni di biliu et concessioni a quista Jnsula” ... “desi uncii chinco a Salva Brifeta seu misser Fiderico Bone for the expedicioni di biliu dilu Santu Patri”. M2 (18.xii.1522) f. 28: “a Bertu Mascate comuna procuratarii et commissionario di Salvo Brifeta per altranti havi Jpsu pagato in la expedicioni dila billa ad uj et dicta citta concessa per la Sancta dilu Papa circa li beneficii che non si pozzano conferari sinon ai orciu di dicta Jnsula ad complimento videlicet di ducati sej chentu che ci custauo dicta billa”; M2 (20.iv.1522) f. 32. NLM Univ. 12 (27.i.1516) f. 132Av: “Consillium ... ex quo Rey. Donpons Bartholomeus Bonavita obtinuit Jn beneficio dictie civitatibus et Jnsule ac sui clieri a Sacra Regia Magestate super eo quod beneficio Jn Jnsula existenci non conferentur exseris.” Ibid. (4.xi.1523) f. 333v: “Consillium super eo videlicet ex quo Magnifici Jurati Impedievent certa billa apostolica in personam Reverendissimi Domini Bonifacii Catagnano Episcopi melitensi et alia privilegia collacionem beneficium Jn personas familiarum dicti Reverendissimi Episcopi ob quod Reverendissimos Vicarii pretendunt dictos Magnificos Juratos Jnicesi in censuris ecclesie Interdixi eisdem Juratis Ingressum ecclesiari et participacionem sacramentorum”; (19.iv.1526) f. 405; “Consillium: Et etiam ex quo ad litteras Eigregiae Notarii Jacobi Scribenti qui scripsit Jpsis dominis Juratis ex romanu urbe et ex citiate neapoli qui si ipsi Jurati chi mandano chento ducati che ipso si obligava di furj concarsi la billa che li beneficii ecclesiastici di Malta non li piglano de cetero sino li orciu e che si sianno casattu illa verba che li Episcopo nostro di Malta pozzo darj ali soj consanguinie et familiarii ei commenxale et alia contenta in ipsa billa quod ad binc civitatem et sui cives ac orciu nondi pertinent...”
euphoria following the granting of the Bulla the church went on a spending spree to celebrate the event investing a lot of money in the embellishment of the mother church.

Be that as it may, the resulting activity is an assertion of a flourishing of the arts at the time and depicts a landscape that rather contrasts sharply with the view, so often presented by other documentation, of these islands immersed in dire poverty and on the verge of starvation.\(^{105}\) It is evident that the more prestigious works were executed by Sicilians of repute, like Patavino, some of whom were induced to settle here, as Scarpa did. Local artisans and craftsmen, like the La Puzzellas and the Bonellos who kept the secrets of the trade within the family came increasingly to the fore contributing important works.

It is a pity that the works of art which are here shown to have been executed have not been as fully documented as desired and the supporting notarial deeds of commissions which would have provided a deeper insight into the conditions in which they were wrought, are unfortunately generally lacking. One hopes that this vital documentation will eventually surface.

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\(^{105}\) NLM Univ. 12 (7.ii.1529) f. 498: "Consilium super eo videlicet ex quo in dicta Insula viget maxima penuria frumenti et victualium adeo che la genti mortino di fanj ..."

Courtesy: The Curator, Cathedral Museum.

   b. St Paul enthroned as depicted in the Evangelistaro.
   c. The Crucifixion as depicted in the Evangelistaro.

Note the similarities with Scarpa’s silver relief.

Courtesy: The Curator, Cathedral Museum.
3. c.

4. Mandatum for payment to Scarpa for work on the Evangelio and autographed receipt by Joanni Scarpa dated 16 iv 1519. (Mandati 1 ff 268-268v.)

Courtesy: The Curator, Cathedral Museum.
5. a. The Sacristy door.
b. Detail of inscription.

*Photo credit: Giuseppe Cassar. Courtesy: The Curator, Cathedral Museum.*
The autographed receipt by Calceano Lorubello dated 24.vii.1537. (Mandati 3 f. 428.)

Courtesy: The Curator, Cathedral Museum.