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FRANCESCO MALIPIERO, ANTONIO DA ROMA:  
ANOTHER MUSICAL CONNECTION?

In a paper delivered at the Basel part of these linked conferences, I made the case that Francesco Malipiero, bishop of Vicenza 1433-1451, may have been at least as enthusiastic a patron of polyphonic music as his predecessor, Pietro Emiliani, under whose benign patronage the manuscript Bologna Q15 was compiled and used<sup>1</sup>. I will start by summarising that case.

Malipiero was welcomed to Vicenza with a motet by Beltrame Feragut whose final lines proudly emphasise the musical community in Vicenza<sup>2</sup>:

Exultet celum laudibus, aer, pontus et terra,  
musicorum nobilium societas preclara  
psallentes: eia, eia, beata nobis gaudia.

'Let sky, air, sea and earth exult', and the illustrious society of noble musicians singing 'eya, eya, blessed joys be to us'.

He was however not present in person for his installation as bishop, which was carried out by proxy by the archdeacon Antonio da Cadianis on 26 May 1433<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For Emiliani's support of music, see my "Pietro Emiliani's Chaplain Bartolomeo Rossi da Carpi and the Lamentations of Johannes de Quadris in Vicenza", *Il Saggiatore musicale* (1995), pp. 5-16; "Music and the Early Veneto Humanists", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 101 (1998 Lectures and Memoirs), Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1999, pp. 101-130; M. Bent, *Bologna Q15: The Making and Remaking of a Musical Manuscript*. Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition, 2 vols., (Lucca, LIM, 2008), henceforth cited as Bent, Q15. On 16 October 1431 Emiliani explicitly endowed benefices for three young clerics to learn *cantus figuratus* (Vicenza, Archivio Capitolare 3676, libro N, Pace, f. 17) cited in G. Mantese, *Storia musicale vicentina* (Vicenza: Banca Cattolica del Veneto, 1956), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, MS Q15, n. 271, ff. R269v-270, A298v-299, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. misc. 213, ff. 3v-4. See Bent, Q15, vol. I, pp. 3, 228.

<sup>3</sup> In identifying Malipiero rather than Emiliani as its original addressee, I called it a 'welcome motet', without asserting that it was used his installation, when Nosow assumes it and other pieces were performed, and that the composer Feragut was present; R. Nosow, *Ritual Meanings in the Fifteenth-Century Motet* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 218 and 226-227. G. Mantese, *Memorie storiche della chiesa vicentina*, 5 vols. (Vicenza: Scuola tip. Istituto S. Gaetano, [1952]-1974), III/2 (1964), pp. 122-123 says that the Vicentine chronicles do not disclose the date of Malipiero's entry, but that he was there by early June. For the proxy entry, see ed. J. S. Grubb, *Family memoirs*

Malipiero's known cultivation of music could have been one factor in the Vicenza chapter's elaborately documented election of him as their next bishop. His *familia* included at least two (or perhaps three) polyphonists:

1. Guilelmus Musart, quondam ser Petri de Bruxella, priest, notary, Malipiero's chaplain, archpriest of Castello, user, indexer and annotator of Bologna Q15 (see below). He was regularly with Malipiero from at least November 1422, until he disappears and probably dies around 1440. He was admitted in person to the Council of Basel on 15 March 1434 in his capacity as archpriest of Castello, while the Vicenza delegation was there<sup>4</sup>;

2. Johannes Vilet de Francia *cantore*, who was in Malipiero's household in the first year of his bishopric and presumably accompanied him to and from Basel, but is not documented after the end of 1434. On 29 Nov 1433 he is referred to as «Johanne filio Jachobi Vilette de cameraco»; he may be the singer of the same name documented in Savoy together with his brother between 1441 and 1454<sup>5</sup>;

3. a further musical suspect is another northerner who often witnessed documents together with other known musicians: Malipiero's chamberlain, and later a chaplain, Johannes Baudini quondam Egidii de Flandria.

Although mostly resident in Vicenza, Malipiero was often at his house in Venice, in contrà Sant' Angelo, especially in his later years. As well as his *familia*, he had close associations with known musicians in the Vicenza chapter, including mansionary singers, and at least two musical canons who often served as witnesses but are never described as singers in those documents. Bartolomeo Rossi da Carpi had been Emiliani's primary chaplain, left his music books to the Vicenza chapter at his death in 1453, and commissioned the volume containing the polyphonic Lamentations by de Quadris. Giovanni Gasparo de Leocornis was the *preclarus cantor* to whom Ciconia dedicated his *De proportionibus* before 1412; he played an active role in the recruitment of Malipiero for Vicenza (as a signatory to the document and one of the two messengers and *scrutatores*).

from *Verona and Vicenza* (Rome: Viella, 2002), Arnaldi chronicle, p. 18 (from Vicenza, Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana, MS 153, f. 24).

<sup>4</sup> Ed. J. Haller, *Concilium Basiliense, Studien und Quellen*, 8 vols. (Basel, 1896-1936), III, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> See R. Bradley, "Musical life and culture at Savoy, 1420-1450" (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1992). I am grateful to Peter Wright for alerting me to this connection. Johannes and his presumably younger brother (*Jacobus petit Villette*) were singers in the Savoyard chapel from 1440 until at least 1454, with an absence 1442-1445. Jacobus continued in the duke's employ until 1466. The Jacobus de Vilette who was active at the Aragonese court of Naples in 1473 was probably the singer at Savoy (Bradley, pp. 138-139). That the Vicenza singer's father was also called Jacobus further encourages the identification; they came from Cambrai.

Also often in Malipiero's company was Giovanni Gasparo's layman brother Niccolò, who might well have shared his brother's early musical education and also been a singer. Giovanni Gasparo must have been about 50 when he attended the Council of Basel as a named member of the Vicenza delegation, praised for its singers on 17 July 1434: «would the bishop of Vicenza release the singers he had brought with him»<sup>6</sup>. This could imply, or include, Malipiero's personal entourage, as well as beneficed singers of the cathedral chapter. Soon after his arrival in Vicenza, Malipiero wrote letters attempting to release the loans on which the composer Matteo da Brescia's legacy for a singer-priest depended; in this he was more pro-active than Emiliani had been.

We should now review Malipiero's earlier career. Born c. 1388-9, he was a well-educated scion of a noble Venetian family and obtained his doctorate in canon law before taking priestly orders as a Benedictine. Between 1412 and 1417 he is frequently present as a witness at Paduan degree ceremonies in the bishop's palace and the cathedral<sup>7</sup>. At those ceremonies, he was often together with Pandolfo Malatesta, who I have suggested was Du Fay's primary Malatesta patron<sup>8</sup>. Dario Canzian, author of the article on Malipiero in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, surmises that he had a house there. He names the historian Giovanni Mantese as the source for the appellation *decretorum doctor*, but this degree is well attested as part of Malipiero's normal title in documents. In the graduation records he is described in succession as abbot of various monasteries in the Croatian diocese of Zadar ('Jadren', Zara): St. Peter of Roboa, St. Michael, St. Crisogono, and SS. Cosmas and Damian, for which, and probably for the others, the abbacy was an honorary title. That monastery had earlier been situated in Biograd na Moru, with a dedication to St. John the Evangelist. After the Venetian takeover of that city in 1409 it was translated to the nearby island of Pasma; the monastery was built at the southern end of the island on the hill Čokovac above Tkon. It seems to have been at the time in a sorry state, with few monks, but was restored in 1418 during Malipiero's tenure, as recorded in an inscription in his honour on the front of the church:

<sup>6</sup> 17 July 1434, «...in sacra deputacione pro communibus... Dominus Abbas de Verona retulit quod dominus episcopus Vincensis ob reverenciam concilii licenciavit cantores quos conduxerat». Haller, *Concilium Basiliense*, III, p. 151.

<sup>7</sup> G. Zonta & G. Brotto, *Acta graduum academicorum Gymnasii Patavini ab anno 1406 ad annum 1450* (Padua, 1922).

<sup>8</sup> "Petraich, Padua, the Malatestas, Du Fay and *Vergene bella*", *Bon jour, Bon mois et bonne estraine: essays in honour of David Fallows*, ed. F. Fitch and J. Kiel (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), pp. 86-96.

HAEC ECCLESIA FUIT COMPLETA 1418.  
 TEMPORE R. P. DOMINI FRANCISCI MAURIPETRI  
 HONOR. ABBATIS SANCTORUM COSMAE ET DAMIANI D. M.<sup>9</sup>

From 1422-1427 he was abbot of the Benedictine monastery of San Cipriano on Murano in the diocese of Torcello<sup>10</sup>, but appears to have lived on the mainland, mainly in Costa di Rovigo, in property owned by his monastery, and in nearby Padua. A notarial volume entirely in the hand of the above-mentioned Guilelmus Musart shows that the first year or two of Malipiero's abbacy (1422-1423) was spent in Padua and Costa<sup>11</sup>. Both men thus had access to Paduan circles during the period when the bishop of Vicenza, Pietro Emiliani, was living there with his musical entourage almost continuously in 1420-1425. The volume starts on 10 November 1422, with such a neatly self-conscious beginning that it might have marked the beginning of Musart's service with Malipiero.

From 1418 Malipiero had begun to apply for bishoprics in the Venetian domain, and participated in the *probe* for Treviso (1418), Zadra (1420), Castello (1425), when he was elected by the chapter but not yet appointed, and was finally appointed (bypassing the *proba*) to Split on 27 January 1427. Along with many other sees along the Dalmatian coast, the archdiocese of Split was in Venetian control from 1420, which brought some stability to the region. Malipiero was the first Venetian appointment to that archbishopric in January 1427<sup>12</sup>. Despite a tenure of only 18 months, and some absence from his see, he nevertheless earned a favourable inscription dated November 1427 in the cathedral of St Domnius at Split where he is described as 'ever lovable in character and life':

Tempore quo Franciscus erat  
 Foscareo proles

<sup>9</sup> See D. Farlati, *Illyrici sacri*, 8 vols. (Venice, Sebastiano Coleti, 1751-1819), III, pp. 371-372.

<sup>10</sup> From 10 Feb. 1422: Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Mensa patriarcale*, S. Cipriano, b. 84.

<sup>11</sup> «Ego Guilelmus musart [sometimes 'filius', then 'condam'] petri de brabantia clericus cameracensis diocesis, imperiali auctoritate notarius...», Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Mensa patriarcale*, S. Cipriano, b. 138, libro F (Musart), ff. 1, 6 and *passim* (1422-1423). The next documents in his hand are from 1429, by which time he had become a priest and his father had died: «Et ego presbiter guilelmus quondam Ser petri musart de bruxella (or, sometimes, 'de bursellis') camera-censis diocesis», Vicenza, Archivio della Curia vescovile, N3 (= busta 21), *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Various dates have been given for the start of his bishopric. The most authoritative seems to be IX. Kal. Feb., the usual form for papal letters at this time, i.e. 24 January. The omission of 'Kal' from the document or a copy could have misled some to give the date as 9 February, notably Mantese, *Memorie storiche*, III/2 (1964), p. 120, citing G. Cappelletti, *Le chiese d'Italia dalla loro origine sino ai nostri giorni*, 21 vols. (Venice, 1844-1870), X, p. 238.

Dux Venetum & virtute sua  
 Clarissimus Orbi  
 Et Cleri Maripetro suis  
 Dum Presul adesset  
 Moribus & vita Franciscus  
 Semper amandus  
 Et quo Spaletum Jacobus  
 Racione gubernat  
 Gabriel & cunctis Celorum  
 Laudibus equus  
 Mille quarter centum dum  
 Phebus volveret annos  
 Et jam ter nonos Novembris  
 Mense peractum<sup>13</sup>.

He was absent in Rome from at least March 1428 to 16 July, when he finally obtained from Martin V the bull of appointment to Venice (Castello) following the translation of bishop Petrus Donatus from Venice to Padua<sup>14</sup>.

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From the start of my archival searches in Vicenza, I was struck by the frequent presence as a witness of Malipiero's suffragan, Antonius de Roma, *episcopus croyensis*, a resident and beneficed priest in the Vicenza diocese, and therefore largely or entirely absent from his see in Dalmatia. He was regularly in Malipiero's company from soon after the bishop's arrival in Vicenza in 1433, and was present at the Council of Basel at the same time as the Vicenza delegation, being admitted on 2 April 1434<sup>15</sup>. The latest reference I have located is 16 April 1442 (see note 29). Antonio must have died by 1445, when his successor as suffragan to Malipiero was in place. I had put out of my mind the possibility that this Antonius de Roma could be the composer Antonius Romanus, thinking it unlikely that a San Marco singer would be a bishop; and surely there must be

<sup>13</sup> Farlati, *Illyrici sacri*, III, p. 372: «Absentia Francisci, et brevitatis Pontificatus impedimento fuit, quo minus multa & praeclara suae religionis ac sapientiae monumenta relinqueret».

<sup>14</sup> According to K. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi, sive, Summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series...* (Regensburg, 1898-), I, 16 June 1428. Eubel cites a later folio in the same volume for Malipiero's appointment to Castello on 16 July. Farlati, *Illyrici sacri*, III, p. 373, gives 17 kal. Aug. 1428, correcting (from an unspecified Vatican document) Ughelli's '17 kal. Sept.'.

<sup>15</sup> Haller, *Concilium Basiliense*, III, p. 55: *domini episcopi Metensis et Croyensis*; this formula is omitted in MS R.

several if not many men from Rome in the Veneto called Antonius. But just as the circle of attested musicians in Malipiero's circle has grown, and this Antonius is frequently in their company, the absence of any other men of this name led me to treat this circumstance as suggestive, and to look more closely into his credentials, and into his bishopric. I will explore the case for identifying the composer not only with Gallo's generally accepted documentation of the San Marco singer Antonius de Roma, but also with Malipiero's suffragan of the same name.

Antonius Romanus is known as the composer of three mass movements and three motets, all in Bologna Q15, one with a concordance in Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216, and an incomplete ballata in Oxford, Canon. misc. 213. The Q15 works are mostly copied in stage I, before 1425; those in stage II may be recopies of works that were originally present in stage I. His three motets are all occasional pieces, two for Venetian doges. *Ducalis sedes / Stirps Mocinico* (n. 243) is for doge Tommaso Mocenigo, elected 1414. The concordance in BU lacks the name of Mocenigo, replacing it with 'N'; it is without contratenor, and attests notational translation. *Aurea flammigeri* (n. 219) is for Gianfrancesco Gonzaga of Mantua. A date of 1414 is possible; later dates that have been suggested must be excluded because they postdate its copying in the old layer before 1425. *Carminibus festos / O requies* (n. 206) is for doge Francesco Foscari, elected 1423<sup>16</sup>.

Alberto Gallo proposed, and it has been generally accepted, that this composer can be identified with the priest-singer and *magister cantus* Antonius de Roma documented at San Marco in 1420, and the San Marco singer and *rector scholarum* at SS. Apostoli in 1425:

3 March 1420, Antonius de Roma appears as magister cantus (following «magistri Anthonii Fabri intitulato in sancta maria formosa»): «ad scolis magistrum Anthonii de Roma magister cantus ad adiscendum»<sup>17</sup>.

20 July 1425 «presbiter Antonius de Roma cantor sancti marci et rector scholarum SS. Apostolorum» was witness to a will<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> See the commentaries in Bent, Q15, I, pp. 221, 215, 211.

<sup>17</sup> Venice, Archivio storico della Curia patriarcale, [liber actorum] 1420-24, f. 34v, reproduced in *Antonii Romani Opera*, ed. F. A. Gallo, *Antiquae Musicae Italicae Monumenta Veneta Sacra*, 1 (Bologna, 1965), p. XIII.

<sup>18</sup> Noted in *Documenti per la storia della cultura in Venezia ricercati da Enrico Bertanza, riveduti sugli originali e coordinati per la stampa da Giuseppe Dalla Santa*, tomo 1: "Maestri, scuole e scolari in Venezia fino al 1500". *Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione veneta di storia patria*, Ser. I, vol. XII (Venice 1907), p. 309. Gallo is misleading about the 1425

The will is in an interesting collection of (mostly pregnant) women's wills 1414-1430, some autograph, some vernacular<sup>19</sup>. As well as being a notary, Marcus Basilius (Marco Baseggio) was the parish priest of SS. Apostoli, and clearly did a brisk testamentary trade with his female parishioners, using clerics of that church as witnesses. There is thus in this case no special significance or connection to the author of the will, *dona coleta uxor ser jacobi de francisco de contrata de angeli* (n. 212). A different *rector scholarum* was in place until at least 7 July 1423 (mag. Jacobus de Saxolo, n. 186), and a new one from at least 30 July 1427 (mag. Paulus de Venzono, n. 181). Since then, several factors have prompted me to reopen the question of his identity.

He was *episcopus croynensis*: but exactly which Dalmatian bishopric was Antonius appointed to? This has been a point of scholarly confusion and debate; however, no previous commentator knew about the Vicenza dimension, which seems to resolve the issue. I will review the case chronologically; the earliest evidence that was presented seems unambiguous. Luke Wadding, the seventeenth-century Franciscan historian, reported briefly under 1425:

antonius venturae episcopus croensis: «In libris consistorialibus occurrunt ...[list].. Frater Antonius Venturae de sancto Blasio Romanus ad Croensem, olim sub Archiepisc. Dyrachino. VI. Idus Octobris»<sup>20</sup>.

Daniele Farlati, the eighteenth-century Jesuit chronicler of Dalmatian bishops and bishoprics, evidently located this Vatican document. He seems to cite it directly, adding information not in Wadding, but he neither repeats Wadding's location in the consistory court records, nor gives a more precise reference; and I have not hunted it down:

Provisum est 6 idus Octobris Eccl. Croen. in Arbonia, Albania, vacan. per mortem de pers. Fr. Antonii Venturae de Sancto Blasio de Roma ordinis Min & iungitur, quod intra tres menses vadat ad residentiam<sup>21</sup>.

reference, leaving the impression that the rector scholarum, like the 1420 magister cantus, refers to San Marco: «Antonius de Roma che in una nota dell'amministrazione ecclesiastica del 3 marzo 1420 è qualificato magister cantus e in un atto notarile del 20 luglio 1425 è indicato come cantor S. Marci; gli stessi documenti ne precisano, oltre l'attività musicale, la condizione di presbyter e la professione di magister o rector scholarum». Gallo, p. V.

<sup>19</sup> Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Notarile, testamenti*, busta 355, notary Marcus Basilius ('Baseggio Marco'), n. 212.

<sup>20</sup> L. Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (Rome, 1655), vol. X, 89.VIII. In the Vicenza archives, he is never called de Ventura, or Venture, and only occasionally identified as 'frater'.

<sup>21</sup> Farlati, *Illyrici sacri*, IV, p. 415.

This seems to indicate quite clearly that Antonius was appointed to the bishopric of Kruja, which was under the archdiocese of Durrës in Albania – Farlati's non-italic gloss to the document's 'Arbonia' outside the quoted material<sup>22</sup>. Wadding calls him 'Antonius Romanus'; Farlati, 'de Roma'. He was a Franciscan, which corresponds to the very occasional appellation 'frater' in Vicenza documents. His name was 'Venture' or de Ventura. 'De sancto Blasio' seems to have no particular relevance to the Roman church of that name: I take it to refer to the major Franciscan convent of San Biagio in Palestrina, 40 km from Rome (described in one document of 1426 as 'Palestrina prope Urbem')<sup>23</sup>.

Farlati laments Antonius's apparent absence from his see, but what neither he nor others knew is that he was for most if not all of this time in Vicenza, acting as suffragan to Malipiero. Farlati has practically nothing to say about Antonio's tenure, because he left no surviving paper trail in Dalmatia, and perhaps even never went there, let alone honoured the requirement to take up residence within three months. In fact, Antonio had good reason to stay away from Kruja. Farlati takes the opportunity to give a long disquisition here on the tumultuous events following 1430<sup>24</sup>, saying reproachfully that the see was badly in need of care, especially after the death of Johannes, Scanderbeg's father<sup>25</sup>. George Kastrioti Scanderbeg, born in 1405 into the noble Kastrioti family, is regarded as Albania's major national hero, because of his effective resistance against the Ottomans in the fifteenth century. In his youth they took him hostage and forced him to fight for them, but he deserted in 1443, using his military skills to recapture Kruja from the Ottomans, who had held it since 1415, and became its ruler. He then led twenty years of resistance and victories, including withstanding three sieges of Kruja, before his death in 1468, the year of the next known appointment of a bishop of Kruja, Petrus de Brutis. Thus, for the duration of Antonio's bishopric, Kruja was in Ottoman hands and certainly unsafe.

<sup>22</sup> P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae, quotquot innotuerunt a Beato Petro Apostolo* (Regensburg, 1873), p. 404, has 'Ecclesia Crojensis (Epirus)'.

<sup>23</sup> In *Bullarium Franciscanum Romanorum Pontificum constitutiones, epistolas, ac diplomata continens: tribus ordinibus Minorum, Clarissarum, et Poenitentium a seraphico patriarcha Sancto Francisco instituit concessa ab illorum exordio ad nostra usque tempora ...* (Rome, 1759-1904), vol. VII (1904), ed. K. Eubel.

<sup>24</sup> Farlati, *Illyrici sacri*, IV, pp. 415-430, 15 folio pages in double columns in Latin.

<sup>25</sup> I owe to Noel Malcolm this identification of the 'Joannes' whose death is bemoaned (and mis-dated) by Farlati. He was Gjon (Ivan) Kastrioti, the father of Scanderbeg, as indicated by the reference to his sons (including Georgius, i.e. Scanderbeg) and his wife (Voisava).

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When we turn to the listing of bishops in Eubel's standard reference work, Antonius is listed not under 'Croyen' in Albania, but as bishop of 'Croacen', named as a suffragan of Split in Croatia. Eubel's authority was a Vatican bull not known to Farlati; the obsolete shelf-number was sleuthed and converted for me by Alejandro Planchart. Vat. Reg. Lat 255 appoints the same man, the Franciscan Antonius Venture de Roma, on the same day, to a different see in a different country and different archdiocese. Both cannot be right<sup>26</sup>.

Apart from the major contradiction as to which diocese is meant, each document 'knew' things that the other did not – Farlati that Antonio was from San Biagio (unlikely to have been invented), Eubel the name of an indirect predecessor Gualterius, and that he was an ordained priest ('ad te ordinis ordinis fratrum minorum professorem in sacerdotis constitutum'). There are differences of wording ('de Roma' versus 'de Urbe'), and Farlati's gloss of 'Arbonia' (as Albania), a term not otherwise used by Farlati of Kruja, which further suggests that he is copying from a document.

Eubel notes that Gams (who was following Farlati) has Antonius as bishop of 'croyen', or croyensis, a suffragan of Durrës, but overrides this, judging his 'new' bull to be more authoritative than the report of Wadding-Farlati-Gams. But neither he nor later scholars have taken seriously the case for weighing the earlier report as having independent authority, derived from a different (albeit as yet unlocated) Vatican document. Colleagues experienced in Vatican archives assure me that papal documents are not infallible, and that such errors are not unprecedented.

'Croacen' is not known to Farlati as a suffragan of Split. Nor do Eubel's fourteenth-century bishops of 'Croacen, suffr. Spalaten', Jacobus, Henricus and Bernardus, occur in any lists of suffragans of Split known to Farlati. Eubel follows these with a Gualterius, and our Antonius Venturæ. Both Eubel and Farlati give as bishops of 'Cro(j)en in Epiro': Romanus, Andreas, Gregorius, Andreas. After a lacuna, Farlati then gives our Antonius from 1425. Eubel adds a Gualterius from 1400, named in his bull as Antonio's predecessor, speculating that he

<sup>26</sup> I subsequently found that Eubel published an abbreviated (and slightly inaccurate) version of this document in *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. VII. Eubel refers to an indirect predecessor of Antonius, one Gualterius (who is not given any dates under 'Croacen'), and a Gualterius who apparently started as bishop of 'Crojen' on 20 Feb 1400, the last listed for 'Crojen' in that volume, just as Antonius is the last for 'Croacen'. However, Eubel reports that Gualterius transferred in 1405 to Bova (Boven), 20 years earlier, so he cannot have been Antonius's immediate predecessor. Farlati does not know about Gualterius, who turns out to be another red herring.

may be the same as the Gualterius who precedes Antonius in his listing for Croacen, suffragan of Spalato<sup>27</sup>. Because Farlati did not know Eubel's document, he did not know about Gualterius, whose identity is disputed. Eubel's Reg. lat. document seems to be the only source for claiming Gualterius as a predecessor of Antonio (albeit not a direct one), not known to Farlati, and the only source for declaring Croacen to be a suffragan of Split. In Eubel's volume II (1914), Croacen has become Cro(y)acen, and only one bishop is listed, of later date (Nicolaus de Monte, from 1476). For 'Crojen (Croja) in Epiro' Eubel starts with Paulus in 1458. Table 1 shows the extent of the confusion.

Antonio's appointment in late 1425 preceded Malipiero's as archbishop of Split, but if 'croyensis' was indeed cognate with Croacen, Antonio would have become a suffragan to Malipiero when he took up his archbishopric there in 1427. At first, and until it became clear that both Malipiero and Antonio were at least partly absent from their sees (Antonio probably wholly so), I wondered if that could have been how they became acquainted. But Daniel Farlati's exhaustive eight folio volumes on Dalmatian bishops list no such suffragan of Split, and raise no doubts about 'Croyen' being Kruja<sup>28</sup>. Two factors confirm that it was indeed to Kruja in Albania that Antonius was appointed:

1. Eubel and Žugaj try too hard to give credence to the bull that appoints Antonio to the non-existent 'Croacen, suffragan of Split'. In accepting the Reg. Lat. bull as decisive, they did not give due weight to the testimony that Wadding and Farlati must have been looking at a different and conflicting Vatican document from the Consistorial court.

2. The second and crucially deciding factor in favour of Kruja, unknown to previous scholars, are the ways Antonio's bishopric is spelt in Vicenza, by notaries in his presence, as a witness to documents, either so authorised by him or phonetically interpreted.

<sup>27</sup> Eubel vol. I lists as bishops of 'Cro(j)en in Epiro': Romanus 1286, 1298; Andreas, 1318, 1320; Gregorius, Andreas, el. 1366, Gualterius 1400 (ob. Joannis!). Farlati gives Romanus 1286, Andreas, 1318, Gregorius, Andreas, 1367, Antonius 1425.

<sup>28</sup> At this point I was greatly helped by Noel Malcolm's unsurpassed knowledge of the Balkan states, and am most grateful to him for bibliographical guidance and discussion of the conflicting evidence. See M. Šufflay, "Die Kirchenzustände im vortürkischen Albanien. Die orthodoxe Durchbruchzone im katholischen Damme", in L. von Thallóczy, ed., *Illyrisch-albanische Forschungen*, 2 vols. (Munich and Leipzig, 1916), I, pp. 188-281: 218-227; M. Žugaj, "Hrvatska biskupija od 1352 do 1578 godine", *Croatica christiana periodica*, year 10 (1986), n. 17, pp. 92-112, and n. 18, pp. 1-26, and O. J. Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien (1392-1479)* (Munich, 2001).

In Vicenza he is consistently called 'croyen' or 'croyensi' by the main chapter notary Matteo Pace, 'croin' (with abbreviation sign above) or 'croen' by the episcopal notary Gabriel Angussolis, and occasionally other variants, 'crogiensis' by the notary Francesco Baono in the 1430s and early '40s, and once 'croginensis'<sup>29</sup>; these latter could well be phonetic variants of Farlati's 'crojensis'<sup>30</sup>. Antonio was admitted to the Council of Basel in 1434 as the 'episcopus croyensis'. All of these forms can only refer to Kruja.

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Feudi and collations of benefices of the early years of Malipiero's Vicenza episcopacy are spottily documented, but are sufficient to show that Antonius de Roma was already present in Vicenza, and as Malipiero's suffragan, before they all went to the Council of Basel in or from January 1434. On 26 October 1433 in Vicenza, presbiter Antonius de Roma renounced the rectorship of Gambellara, but it cannot be established from when he had held that benefice. This indication of beneficial trading does not rule out that he had earlier associations with Vicenza and the Emiliani circle, such as to account for his compositions being almost uniquely preserved in Bologna Q15, though I have found no references to him prior to Malipiero's arrival. On 4 November 1434 he was appointed rector of Onara, also without being named as bishop. An undated reference in the same series from 1434 calls him *episcopus croyensis*, and suffragan to Malipiero<sup>31</sup>. He is regularly present from 1433 until at least 1442. Malipiero's personal entourage and chapter representatives at Basel included the known musicians Giovanni Gasparo, Guilelmus Musart, and now, if this identification holds, Antonius Romanus; all these were there at the same time as Brassart and others, and were admitted in person, in addition to presumably more musicians not individually admitted or named. It was from this pool that Malipiero was requested to release to the Council chapel the singers he had brought with him. They evidently

<sup>29</sup> Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, Miscell. 2079, p. 624; I am grateful to Vittorio Bolcato for locating and sending an image of this page. This is a copy of Vicenza, Archivio di Stato, Ospedale San Marcello, busta 37, libro H, 1262-1519, where f. 129v is in turn a late copy of a document of 16 April 1442 in the *episcopatu*. Witnesses include Bartolomeo da Carpi, and 'rev in Christo patre d. Francisco Antonio de Roma episcopo Croginensis et suffraganeo'. 'Francisco' may be an erroneous extension from 'frater', as this Franciscan is occasionally styled.

<sup>30</sup> Noel Malcolm has found later references to 'Crogia' for Kruja – which would make 'croacensis' a phonetically plausible adjective: J. N. Tomić, *Gradja za istoriju pokreta na Balkanu protiv Turaka krajem XVI i početkom XVII veka* (Belgrade, 1923), pp. 324 (document of 1602), 445 (document of 1607).

<sup>31</sup> Vicenza, Archivio vescovile, *Collazioni beneficij*, 1/0752, ff. 16v, 32, and unfoliated.

included both members of his *familia* and of the Vicenza Chapter. If he did so release them, this may have been for rather a short time, because Malipiero and others seem to have been back in Vicenza by 19 August 1434.

There is one other consideration which might enhance the circumstantial case for Malipiero's suffragan and companion, bishop Antonio da Roma, being our composer as well as the former San Marco singer and teacher. Antonio's immediate predecessor and successor as bishop of Kruja are not known, if indeed they were appointed; he evidently died by 1445. The next known *episcopus croyensis* (after a 20-year gap), appointed in 1468, was Petrus de Brutis, who also served as suffragan and lieutenant to a bishop of Vicenza, Cardinal bishop Battista Zeno (1470-1501). Petrus was a literary humanist, known mainly for antisemitic tracts following the famous alleged murder at Trent of the Christian child, Simon. But he had also been *rector scholarum* at San Marco (perhaps for grammar, not necessarily for music). Could there have been some precedent or continuity of patronage, both from San Marco and to Vicenza? This provides important confirmation that it was possible to make the transition from that post to one of the numerous Dalmatian bishoprics that came under Venetian control from 1420 or earlier<sup>32</sup>, and thus provides further encouragement to identify Antonio de Roma the San Marco singer and *rector scholarum* with Antonio de Roma *episcopus croyensis*, suffragan to Malipiero and his frequent companion, who was also regularly in company with other known musicians in Malipiero's circle already mentioned – in addition to several cathedral mansionary singers, the canons Bartolomeo da Carpi, Giovanni Gasparo (and perhaps his brother Niccolò), Johannes Vilet *cantore*, Guilelmus Musart, perhaps Johannes Baudini, and others.

A surprising finding is that at least seven fifteenth-century occupants of these Venetian-appointed Dalmatian bishoprics also had strong links to Vicenza, as suffragans or *locotenenti* to bishops of Vicenza. Just five (out of several dozens) of these suffragans, all in different archiepiscopates, are held by men with (mostly later) Vicenza connections, some of them with several Vicenza-related occupants. Their responsibilities as deputies indicates that they were largely or entirely absent from their sees, which were often impoverished, unsafe or undesirable because of the threat of Ottoman raids, and it seems that they were therefore often held *in absentia*, and necessarily supplemented by other benefices.

<sup>32</sup> Farlati, *Illyrici sacri*, VII, p. 299, and Šufflay, "Die Kirchenzustände im vortürkischen Albanien", p. 220.

### *The bishoprics*

- CROYENSIS (KRUJA, ALBANIA), archdiocese of Duracen' (Durrës), Antonius de Roma 1425- 1440s, Petrus de Brutis 1468-74.  
 SUACENSIS (SHAS/ SVAČ), archdiocese of Antibarensis (Bar, in Montenegro; Antivari), Antonius de Fabriano 1446 (next named successor 1510)<sup>33</sup>.  
 ARBENSIS (RAB), archdiocese of Jadertina/Jadren (Zadar, Croatia), Marinus 1414-23?, Nicolaus 1443-51.  
 OTTOCIENSIS (OTOČAC), archdiocese of Spalato (Split, Croatia: Farlati lists incumbents only from 1461), Johannes Chiericati 1492-3  
 CATTARO (KOTOR, MONTENEGRO; from the 12<sup>th</sup> century this counted as a suffragan of Bari, in Italy), Marino Contarini 1429-, *Bernardus* 1453-, Angelus Faxolis 1457-1459, *Marcus*, Petrus de Brutis 1474-93, Johannes Chiericati 1493-1513?

### *The incumbents*

- Antonius Venture de Roma, *episcopus croyen'*, 1425- mid 1440s, suffragan in Vicenza from 1433
- Antonius Severinus de Fabriano, bishop of Shas (Suacia) from 1446, suffragan to Malipiero in Vicenza from mid 1440s
- Petrus de Brutis, *episcopus croyen'* (1468-74), then of Kotor from 1474-93 (d.); suffragan and lieutenant to Cardinal bishop Battista Zeno in Vicenza
- Nicolaus *episcopus Arbensis* (Rab, Croatia)
- Marinus Contareus, *presbiter Castellan'*, bishop of Kotor (1429-30 - 1453-4?).
- Angelus Faxolis (Angelo Fasolo), bishop of Kotor 1457-59, and then from 1459 of Modone, lieutenant to bishop Pietro Barbo, Vicenza, 1463
- Johannes Chiericati (from a distinguished Vicenza family) bishop of Ottocien' (1492-3) and Kotor (d. 1514)

Antonius is also sometimes referred to in Vicenza as the bishop of S. Eleuterius, the name of the chapel at which his main Vicenza benefice was held, and adjacent to which he lived. His successor as suffragan to Malipiero was another

<sup>33</sup> Šufflay, "Die Kirchenzustände im vortürkischen Albanien", p. 220 (referring to Farlati, *Illyrici sacri*, VII, p. 299), reports that the income of the archbishop of Antibari was minimal, and that bishops of Shas/Svač lived mostly in Italy because their residence was almost in ruins. Bishop Paul transferred in 1446 to Drivastum (Drisht) and was succeeded by Antonius Severinus de Fabriano, Antonius Romanus's successor as suffragan to Malipiero.

Franciscan, Antonius Severinus de Fabriano; he too held a Dalmatian bishopric, in this case Shas (or Svač; Suacium, Suacen'), a suffragan of the archbishopric of Rab (Bar, Antibarensis), from 1446. In Vicenza, he inherited the same benefice and title as his predecessor, and was likewise sometimes known as the bishop of S. Eleuterius.

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What do we know about him that is new? That he was a professed Franciscan in priestly orders, his name was de Ventura, and that he kept regular company with Malipiero and with known musicians. If he was indeed the composer, some of his compositions date from before 1425, and all of them may do so; composition was often a youthful activity. We have no way of knowing whether he continued to compose; it is not unlikely that he did, given his relatively small surviving output.

I have outlined the new evidence, even stronger than for his predecessor Emiliani, of Malipiero's interest in and patronage of polyphonic music, and of musicians in his *familia* who are regularly in his company as witnesses to documents. Antonio was part of this demonstrably musical circle and, if the same man, not the only Venetian *rector scholarum* to hold the bishopric of Kruja while acting as suffragan to the bishop of Vicenza. While of course subject to future challenge or improvement, I propose that Antonius de Roma, *episcopus croyensis*, is a credible candidate to be both the San Marco singer and the Q15 composer.

Table 1

Farlati, croyensis	Gams, croyensis cites and depends on Farlati	Eubel, vol. I Cro(j)en vol. II Croyen	Eubel, vol. I Croacen vol. II Cro(y)acen
		Gregorius	Jacobus
Andreas 1367-	Andreas 1367-	Andreas	Henricus
			Bernardus 1391-
		?= Gualterius 1400-1405 Feb. 20. [fn. transfertur 1405 ad Boven]	Gualterius (ep. Boven from 1405)
Antonius 1425-	Antonius Venturae O.S.Fr. 1425- prov. 10.X.	?= Antonius 1425-	Antonius 1425-
		Silvester	
		Paulus 1458-	
Petrus de Brutis 1468-74	Petrus de Brutis 1468-tr. Cathar 1474	Petrus de Brutis 1468-1474	
N.N. ca. 1475 =			= Nicolaus de Monte 1476-
1498 Joannes			

## ANCORA SUL TESTO DI AVE YHESU CHRISTE VERBUM PATRIS

Nella relazione presentata al congresso sul tema "Urbanität, Identitätskonstruktion und Humanismus: Musik, Kunst und Kultur zur Zeit des Basler Konzils" svoltosi a Basilea nei giorni 19-20 agosto 2011 e intitolata *Ipotesi sulla tradizione testuale del mottetto "Ave, Yhesu Christe verbum Patris"*<sup>1</sup> avevo cercato di sostenere l'ipotesi che il testo di questa preghiera, recitata o cantata, anche in forma di mottetto, durante la messa al momento dell'Elevazione<sup>2</sup>, potesse essere un ampliamento dell'invocazione «Ave Ihesu Christe verbum Patris, filius Virginis, agnus Dei, salus mundi, hostia sacra fons pietatis». L'ipotesi di una progressiva aggiunta di invocazioni, in forma di veri e propri versetti (o strofe) parzialmente rimati o assonanzati – e di cui l'invocazione suddetta rappresenta appunto il primo –, potrebbe essere confermata dalla circostanza che le versioni pervenute presentano spesso un numero variabile di strofe, fino a un massimo di dodici<sup>3</sup>. Osservavo, comunque, che la versione in cinque strofe (chiamate anche «Quinque salutaciones») aveva raggiunto una certa diffusione già dalla fine del Duecento-inizi Trecento figurando, come ci informa André Wilmart, nel manoscritto Additional 16975 della British Library databile alla fine del XIII secolo e in un rituale risalente agli inizi del XIV inserito nel manoscritto 115 della Bibliothèque Municipale di Amiens, un antifonario notato del XII seco-

<sup>1</sup> La relazione di Basilea, che fa parte integrante del presente intervento, è attualmente in corso di stampa nei relativi "atti" curati da Matteo Nanni. Per tutte le notizie storiche e bibliografiche relative alle fonti citate rimando, tranne qualche caso, alla relazione letta al congresso di Basilea, ora menzionata. Ricordo che l'idea di questa ricerca è nata da alcune osservazioni fatte da Margaret Bent a proposito del mottetto a tre voci *Ave Yhesu Christe verbum Patris* contenuto nel famoso codice Q15 custodito nel Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, del quale la Bent ha curato una splendida edizione in facsimile a colori edita dalla LIM di Lucca.

<sup>2</sup> Nel Laudario trecentesco Banco Rari 19 (d'ora in poi: BR 19) della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze si legge, però, la seguente didascalia: «In honore Domini nostri Ihesu Christi sequentia».

<sup>3</sup> Esistono perfino versioni ritornellate; nella relazione di Basilea avevo segnalato quella con il ritornello *Ave Virgo de qua nasci* presente nel cosiddetto "Burnet Psalter" conservato nella Biblioteca universitaria di Aberdeen. Ora sono in grado di indicare anche un'altra fonte: Mantova, Biblioteca Comunale, manoscritti Polironiani, 164, cc. 44v-45r, del XV sec. ("Ave Domine Yhesu Christe verbum Patris"), cfr. *Catalogo dei manoscritti polironiani. I. Biblioteca Comunale di Mantova (mss. 1-100)*, a cura di C. Corradini, P. Golinelli e G. Z. Zanichelli, Bologna, Pàtron, 2008 [1ª ed. 1998], p. 174, n. 61 (Storia di San Benedetto Polirone, III, 1). Ringrazio la prof.ssa Paola Besutti per il cortese aiuto e per il materiale bibliografico che mi ha gentilmente fornito.