

The 1495 Statutes of the Roman Confraternity of the Gonfalone

The Roman confraternity of the Gonfalone emerged from a series of amalgamations in the last two decades of the fifteenth century and went on to occupy number of public roles in the devotional life of Renaissance Rome. Through its union with the confraternity of the Raccomandati di Maria, it inherited responsibility for the miraculous image of the Virgin in Santa Maria Maggiore, who went on the feast day of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August) to greet her Son, the miraculous image of the Saviour, who was carried by the confraternity of San Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum to visit her (Chapter XXXIII). From another Marian confraternity of the Forty Holy Martyrs in Trastevere, it acquired an oratory with a dwelling attached, and an *ospedale* (an almshouse or hospice for the indigent; Chapter XLVII). A third Marian confraternity met in the old church of Santa Lucia, in the Parione *rione*, near the Tiber. They too were responsible for an *ospedale* and its *spedaliere*, the resident caretaker of the hospice, and in second half of the sixteenth century their oratory was rebuilt as the Oratorio del Gonfalone, and decorated with the splendid scenes of the Passion that have just been restored. A fourth group was based in the little church of the Annunziata, a sanctuary richly endowed with relics, well outside the city walls, on the Via Oratoria between the Via Ardeatina and the Via Appia. It too had a hospice, and was itself a pilgrim destination on the feast of the Annunciation (25 March) and again on May Day. A fifth Marian confraternity, of Santa Maria Maddalena began its life a hospice, founded by Frate Acuto of Assisi, close by the Pantheon. By the time these statutes were drawn up, the hospital had become the Gonfalone's women's hospice, in tandem with the men's hospice at the Santi Quaranta Martiri. A sixth group, a flagellant youth company of San Pietro e San Paolo had already joined by 1495, and when the new church of Santa Lucia (Santa Lucia Nuova in via dei Banchi Vecchi) was built in the first half of the sixteenth century, and a new oratory dedicated to St Peter and St Paul was built on the site of Santa Lucia Vecchia, subsequently replaced with the oratory we see today. No statutes of the constituent groups survive: their amalgamation was approved by Innocence VIII in 1486, and the present statutes, the first to reflect the new amalgamation, are dated 1495, with addenda from 1496 and 1497.

An early *bastardello* (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone 1197, fols. 22r–27v; cf. Chapter LXXIX), which must date to some time between 1486 and 1489, sets out the amalgamated confraternity's consolidated obligations through the year. Using the income it received from the houses it owned all over Rome, the confraternity maintained its assets; performed the play of the Passion of Christ (first at the basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and later in the Colosseum); maintained its chapel, chaplains and lantern in the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, and celebrated the feast of the Assumption there; provided priests and participants for at least sixteen processions annually, together with candles, porters to carry the processional banner; sent priests and brethren to parishes throughout Rome to say suffrage masses for the souls of those who had left legacies to the confraternity for this purpose; celebrated the feast days of the patrons of its oratories; and on the feast day of St Lucy, it provided dowries for seventeen poor but honest and legitimately born Roman virgins. This last ceremony that was subsequently transferred from Santa Lucia to Santa Maria Maggiore, after the

amalgamation of a seventh confraternity, the *Raccomandati di Maria* in the church of Santa Maria in Araceli, custodians of yet another miraculous icon of the Virgin, the *Salus Populi Romani*, and of the hospital of Sant'Alberto.

The statutes provide a remarkable insight into the devotional life of ordinary God-fearing laymen who worked together to ensure the salvation of their immortal souls. The aim of the statutes, as of all good law, was to provide a framework within which men could live and die well. Money, decision-making, general behaviour are handled in such a way that men will avoid pitfalls of corruption, nepotism, greed and other divisive behaviour. Oaths are taken as solemn guarantees of honest behaviour, that is, behaviour that brings honour to the individual and the collective whole; breaches of faith lead to perpetual expulsion from the group.

The language of the statutes is unadorned and very specific, despite frequent lapses in syntax as sentences become too long. I have chosen to translate as much as possible, even at the risk of using obsolete English words, rather than leaving key words in Italian. The key terms *guardiano*, *sindaco*, *camerlengo*, *segretario* (also called *cancelliere*), *spedaliere*, *computatore*, *fattore*, *mandatario* and *sollecciatore*, are translated respectively as “warden”, “syndic,” “treasurer,” “secretary” (for both terms), “hospital custodian,” “accountant” (“auditor” may be more appropriate, but for the fifteenth century this term would mean ‘one who hears cases and submissions’, rather than ‘one who inspects financial accounts’), “steward,” “mandatary,” and “bailiff.” The last three terms proved the most difficult: the duties of the three are similar but quite distinct, and each with a certain dignity.

The specificity of the statutes is remarkable: they met a need to continue a wide range of differing traditions but at the same time integrated those traditions into a single coherent code of practice that would protect the consolidated assets, continue the spiritual obligations, and protect the collective good name of the company. Lacking, however, is any prescription for the ordinary devotional rituals within the confraternity: meetings with prayers, hymn-singing and flagellation. That information must be gleaned elsewhere, and in particular from the archive of the Confraternity, preserved in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone. From that source we gain the impression that the brethren of the Gonfalone are engaged in constant ritual activity that has them weaving a processional web of intercession and devotion across the city.

These statutes, however, are preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale of Palermo, MS 2.Qq.D.91, and the soiling, underlining and finger marks around Chapter VI show that this members did indeed read that page when they entered the confraternity and swore on the gospel to observe the statutes. This codex was noted by Gennaro Maria Monti in his survey of confraternities in Italy, but was unknown to Ruggieri, Amati, Adinolfi, and other the major historians of the Gonfalone. It was edited by Anna Esposito in 1984.¹ There is no indication of how the statutes came to be in Palermo, but they were no longer in regular use after the statutes were revised and printed in 1584² and

¹ Esposito, Anna. “Le ‘confraternite’ del Gonfalone (secoli XIV–XV),” *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma*, 5: *Le confraternite romane, esperienza religiosa, società, committenza artistica*, ed. Luigi Fiorani [Proceedings of conference of the Fondazione Caetani, Rome, 14–15 May 1982], Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1984, 91–136. Esposito’s detailed introduction, pp. 91–104, provides an extensive description of the constituent parts of the confraternity, and I thank Professor Esposito for sharing her encyclopedic knowledge of Roman confraternity archives with me.

² *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternità del Gonfalone, approvati & confermati dalli Superiori* (Rome: Bartholomeo Bonfadino and Tito Diani, 1584). After 1539 the performances of the Passion play had ceased, and the principal Easter devotion was to go in a flagellant procession on Maundy Thursday to

again in 1633.³ In preparing this translation and introduction, I have referred both to her edition and to the original manuscript (which contains numerous scribal errors, and in particular the confusion of r and c, as he misread the gothic script of the original). I have noted my conjectural emendations to her edition at the end of my translation.

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visit the Holy Sepulchre placed in the Pauline Chapel at St Peters, and to see the Veronica and the Lance that were displayed on that day (Chapter XXIX).

³ *Statuti della venerabile Archiconfraternita del Confalone* (Roma: Stampa Camerale, 1633) with a *Breve narrazione dell'origine, e progressi delle Venerabile Archiconfraternità del Confalone*, cc. B 2r-4r, the basis of "history" of the confraternity in the eighteenth-century guide books. By 1633, flagellation had all but ceased, but the regular devotions described may well be a continuation of older practices:

Concerning the spiritual exercises to be done by the Brethren of the Archconfraternity both in the Oratory and outside. Chapter XL Every Sunday and stipulated feast day, our brethren are exhorted to come in their habits to our oratory, to sing the Office of the glorious Virgin Mary our advocate and mistress, and to attend mass and all the other things that will be done, with all modesty and reverence, and when they enter the Oratory for this purpose, if the Office has not begun they will say *Pax vobis*, but if it has begun, without saying anything they should go in their habits to the altar, and having knelt down they should not get up until the Governing Warden, or whoever is in his place, signals by ringing his bell, and then they should get up, bow first to the altar and then to the officials, and go to their place, and they cannot take off their habits until the service is over, without the express permission of the Governing Warden or whoever is in his place, and when somebody is given permission, that person must notify the Vicar, himself or through the person who writes the list of those who have attended, as detailed above.

At the end of the Office, they will say the Paternoster and the Avemaria once, with the prayer for sick brethren.

Every evening in Lent, after the Avemaria bell has rung, they will come to sing in the Oratory the Seven Penitential Psalms, with the litanies and prayers, calling in one of our chaplains. On the Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of Holy Week, they will come during the day to sing the great Easter Office (pp. 62-3).

[Statutes of the Venerable Company of the Gonfalone in Rome]

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- 30 On the chaplain of Santa Maria Maddalena
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- 34 What our revenue is to be spent on
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- 59 On the penalty for any person who might foment division in the company
- 60 On not entering into any extraordinary expense unless property is first recovered in place of the entitlements to wine that were sold during the term of the guardian *messer* Stefano Infessura and his companions
- 61 On the archive of the papers of our company
- 62 On the inventory of the properties and possessions of the company
- 63 On the contract book
- 64 On the *Specchio* ledger
- 65 On the book of bequests and relicts
- 66 On the book of the marriage ceremony
- 67 On the book of debtors who are not members of the company
- 68 On the book minuting deliberations
- 69 On the treasurer's ledger
- 70 On the extract of the inventory for the treasurer
- 71 On the four books for the accountant
- 72 On the book that has all the names of the dead and of the living of our company
- 73 On the book where all the plays that are done by our venerable company are recited

In the name of the Lord, Amen. In the year of grace MCCCCLXXXV, and in the pontificate in Christ of our father and lord, Alexander VI, lord and pope by divine providence, in the second year of his pontificate.

Chapter I

These are the constitutions and statutes created and ordered with mature thought by the whole body of the venerable company of the Gonfalone of the fair city of Rome and solemnly approved by everybody for the best healthy administration of the company and for its exaltation, and to the honour, praise and glory of our Redeemer Jesus Christ and of his glorious and

immaculate mother, the Virgin Mary, of St Peter and St Paul, first of the apostles, and of the glorious Forty Holy Martyrs, of St Mary Magdalene, and of St Lucy, our particular protectors and advocates. May they grant us grace to be able to live in this confraternity according to the orders and norms of these statutes and to abide by them for all time, for the faithful administration of all the property of the company and for the salvation of our souls and the extension of Christian religion and for the peace, union and concord of our company, and may almighty God grant to preserve and enhance it forever. Amen.

On the penalty to be incurred by any person who does not respect the present statutes
 6 Chapter II

So that no person in our venerable company can glory in his wickedness in disregarding breaching the commendable statutes created for the exaltation and glory of the company, we resolve and ordain that any official or other person who might dare to commit or divert, do or say anything against what is set out in these statutes or any one of them shall incur the penalty for false swearing, from which he cannot be absolved except by our prior, once all the company's interests have been satisfied, in accordance with a document which the secretary shall give to the prior in the name and on the behalf of the members of the company. And any contract or diversion of assets that might be issued in contravention of the form and ceremony that is required shall be null and void, as if the whole company had expressly voted against it, and if the prejudice to the company is more than ten ducats, then it shall be put to the vote whether he is to be struck out of the company, and if the majority is for striking him out, then his name shall be read out publicly by the secretary and torn up and burnt, and immediately he shall be erased and struck out from the books and the board. But if he were to remain in the company, or if the prejudice were less than ten ducats, in any case all three wardens, or two of the three, are to have the name of this man who has not observed the statutes written as above in the *Specchio* ledger in the section of the real debtors, and the day shall be recorded, and for the next six years he cannot be elected to office in the company, nor during that time can he vote in the assembly on any matter of the company, even in electing the Thirteen. And if this is not done, the wardens shall incur the same penalty as if they had transgressed themselves. And the statutes are to be read out once a year, that is, on the first Sunday or day of the month in which the officials are elected and in the general assembly, all in summary if there is not enough time, and on that day everybody is to swear anew to observe them in the hands of the officials who are present, and if they cannot all be read, then all the most necessary and pertinent ones shall be read to the officials who are elected that morning.

On how to amend the present statutes 6 Chapter III

If it happens from time to time that for the expedience, honour or advantage of our company some of our statutes are to be changed, the following procedure is to be adopted: the men of the company should be summoned together in Santa Lucia, in Santa Maria Maddalena or in Santi Quaranta or in our [oratory of] San Pietro e Paolo, and the mandataries should make written reports, which shall be shown and read aloud by the secretary in the assembly. When the written proposal concerning the amendment has been read in the name of the wardens, then the voting box

and balls shall be put out,⁴ and the secretary shall record the vote obtained, and this procedure is to be followed, but it cannot be put to the vote unless there are at least forty members of the company altogether are in the assembly, and among them by necessity there shall be two of the wardens and eight of the Thirteen and the treasurer, otherwise the amendment and vote passed shall be null and void.

How those who enter the company are to be received 7 Chapter IIII

In order avoid the company of men of ill repute and scandalous life, which can be countered easily at the beginning but remedied only with difficulty later on, with the result that a single bad deed can corrupt all good deeds, we resolve and ordain that if anybody wants to enter our venerable company, first and above all he is to be proposed in a general assembly by the wardens and the name of the person who might wish to enter is to be recorded in writing by our secretary, and on the same day the whole company is to be asked to kindly make enquires about his condition, and the wardens shall entrust it in particular to two members of the company to do so in secret, having required them to swear to use diligence and to report the truth. And if someone were found who might know of any vice on his part and did not wish to say so publicly, he is to pass the information in writing to the wardens without his name, and if he is found to be ill-living, when the wardens have discussed this information with whomsoever they deem appropriate, if they find that he is truly ill-living, then no vote is to be taken on his entrance into our company; but if there are good reports of the life of this man, then the wardens are to report in the assembly that they have good reports and the secretary shall write everything down and then he shall say that it is the wardens' opinion and wish that a vote be taken as to whether this good man is to be accepted and then they should cast their [votes using the black and white] beans and the result obtained should be recorded by the secretary and this procedure shall be observed and a man cannot be voted on, for any reason, on the same day or in the same assembly as he is proposed, but only on subsequent occasions.

The obligations of the members of the company 7 Chapter V

When it has been decided and passed that somebody shall enter our venerable company, we resolve and ordain that in the first subsequent assembly and mass, before the mass begins, he is to present himself to the treasurer of our company with a white wax candle weighing one pound and with a new habit, and at the end of the mass the treasurer and one of the Thirteen shall lead him before the priest where the secretary shall be sitting with the statutes in his hand, and if he knows how to read, he shall make him read and swear to the chapter concerning the obligations of the men of the company and the chapter of the oath that the men have to keep, and if he does not know how to read, the secretary shall read the two chapters to him and he shall swear with both hands: when he has done this, wearing his habit and holding his scourge, the priest shall recite the usual prayers and receive him with the kiss of peace and likewise the wardens and one by one the others. And the same morning the secretary shall write his name publicly on the board and then in the book, with each one paying our mandataries at least one groat to the value of five *baiocchi* for his entrance, otherwise if any detail

⁴ Members voted by casting a black ball (in favour) or a white ball (against) into a box. In in other places a black or white bean was used.

of this ceremony is missing then he shall not be deemed to have been admitted and the wardens shall be guilty of false swearing as above and may be struck from office and new officials created.

The form of the oath for those who enter the company 8 Chapter VI

Because the fear of God is wont to work great things in the minds of men, we resolve and ordain that any person who is to enter our venerable company shall swear corporally with both hands as follows in this chapter, that is thus: "I swear by the sacrosanct gospels of God to be good and faithful to this venerable company of the Gonfalone with all my life; and to observe without fail all the present statutes and constitutions; and to obey the wardens, and in matters that are honourable and to the advantage of the company, as far as I am able; and setting aside every interest of my own or of others, all benevolence, all fear and all ill-will, with love diligence and faith to solicit and procure the honour, advantage and exaltation of the oratories, houses and properties of the company; [and] to accept and carry out every office to which the company might appoint me unless I have a legitimate excuse for not carrying it out and which is to be declared by the wardens and syndics; and to render account of such office at the end of my term to the syndics and not to appeal against their judgement as is set out in that chapter [of the statutes], as far as I am able. And likewise I swear that I will go to each and every procession, funeral, assembly, anniversary and mass of the company to which I am called [*added later: unless I am prevented (see the amendment in the last statute, Chapter LXXIII)*]. Further, to say for the soul of every one who dies, at his funeral, five Paternosters and five Avemarias, and at the anniversary masses at every church for each body a Paternoster and an Avemaria. And likewise I swear not to sell, not to alienate or pawn anything at all belonging to the company without the express permission of the all the members of the company, nor to find myself in negotiation or discussion against the honour, advantage and exaltation of our venerable company. And so I pray almighty God, his glorious mother, St Peter [and] St Paul, first of the apostles, and the Forty Holy Martyrs, [*added later: and St Albert,*] and St Mary Magdalene and St Lucy, our protectors and advocates, that they will direct me to saying and doing what gives pleasure to them, and brings salvation to my soul and glory to this holy, pious and commendable company."

On the number of officials that the company must have 8 Chapter VII

For the good government of this commendable company we ordain the following men and officials among whom the care and administration of all our oratories, properties, possessions, cases, income and expenditure shall be distributed, as is more clearly set out in the following chapters, that is, three wardens [*added later: and one adviser*], one treasurer, two syndics of the officials, one prior, thirteen councillors, one or more procurators for our cases, one accountant, four or six supervisors for the plays, a secretary, a warden for the chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, twenty-six priests for the masses, processions, anniversary masses and funerals, four chaplains for our oratories, a choir master, one or two stewards, the bailiffs for our cases, four mandataries, three hospital custodians for Santa Maria Maddalena, Santa Lucia and Santi Quaranta.

On the elections of the wardens and other officials 8 Chapter VIII

Since it is appropriate that where one discusses things of greater importance one must use even greater diligence, we resolve and ordain that in electing the wardens on whom depends the good or ill that is done in this venerable company, on the first Sunday of the month of December, all the men and brothers have been called to meet in Santa Maria Maddalena at the Mass of the Holy Spirit. When the mass has ended they are to go to the room above the hospital, and as they enter each man shall show the warden that he is not carrying any offensive weapon, otherwise he must leave. And the wardens shall sit at one end, with an altar in front of them, with two candlesticks and lighted candles; in the middle, an open missal where the crucifix is and the seals; on the right hand side the volume containing these statutes, and on the left the *Specchio* ledger and the voting box. First of all the secretary shall read aloud the present statutes, if possible, otherwise, the most necessary as is contained in the chapter on the penalty for not respecting the present statutes, and when they have been read, once again one by one he shall make them swear to keep them as set out above and then likewise he shall read the debtors and those who have breached the statutes and he shall have recorded them in a list which he shall place to lie on the altar and the people written there cannot receive any exemption whatever, and if they pay immediately they can be nominated and elected officials for that year. Then it shall be appropriate for anybody who wants to propose any matter for the company, provided that there is no discussion of the people named on the list; when this has been done, all the brethren should divide up according to their *rioni* and each *rione* shall elect one of the Thirteen, according to their knowledge that he is a man sensitive to⁵ the honour and advantage of our company, and these Thirteen shall go in order to swear on the missal with two hands to do make the best choice that they can, setting aside all reward, entreaty, fear and hate. Then, when the wardens, the syndics, the treasurer, the new Thirteen, the secretary and the mandataries are left alone, the Thirteen can withdraw and discuss among themselves whomever they like, and if anyone has been nominated to their group that is not acceptable to the majority of the group, then he cannot be nominated as an official. Then they shall go and nominate before the old wardens one man for Thirteen from whatever *rione* they like, and when these names have been read by the secretary they shall be voted on by ballot among the Thirteen and the three that have the most votes shall be wardens and they shall swear the first day they take up office on the missal, or in the full assembly, to carry out their office well and in full, 'leaving behind and setting aside', as the Thirteen have sworn, and their term of office shall begin on the first day of January. Furthermore, [*added later*: the Thirteen are to elect that one of the wardens currently holding office who is best qualified to remain as adviser for the full term of the newly elected wardens and] a man cannot be elected in any way and to any office if he is of ill repute, or has been convicted of any serious crime or excommunicated, or has succumbed to worldly things, or has been a soldier, and likewise such men have no right to vote in the election of officials.

On the precedence of the wardens one over the other 9 Chapter IX

In order to avoid the disputes that sometimes are wont to emerge among the newly elected and confirmed wardens in regard to the order of precedence among them, we resolve and ordain that if such controversy

⁵ A two-word space has been left and *tenero* ('sensitive - ') has been added later.

arises, then all the Thirteen shall meet with the secretary in the oratory of San Pietro e San Paolo, and after mature discussion one shall precede the other in accordance with their decision or their vote, having taken into account degrees, nobility, offices held, age, and every circumstance, and if any of the wardens does not accept quietly what is so determined then he can and may not exercise his office that year, and that is to be recorded by the secretary.

On the office and powers of the wardens 10 Chapter X

We resolve and ordain that the wardens are the beginning, head and guide of our whole company and they can order and command each and every person in matters that are lawful and to the advantage and honour of the company, and each person shall pay them due reverence. They shall be governors and administrators of all the properties and possessions of our company, and they must and they can elect the prior of the priests for one year and likewise the twenty-six priests and so on for the anniversaries; and likewise make provision for the chaplains of the Annunziata and our other oratories, and for the singers and the hospital custodians and the mandataries. Further, they are to elect the supervisors of the Passion. And they shall make provision for the procurators, notaries, stewards and bailiffs, with the consent at least of the Thirteen, when the matter has been noted in a general assembly; they shall be able to make and revoke tenancy agreements for the company's houses year by year and likewise spend up to ten ducats on necessary repairs to our oratories, with the consent of the treasurer, and they can provide for alms to be disbursed to the needy and sick as is the custom, up to the sum of two ducats, and also spend and have paid all the money that is necessary for the company's court cases and for ordinary feast days in our oratories, for stipulated stipends, for bread and beans, or for any other things that are necessary and customary for the Annunziata, for anniversary masses and other things, as is the custom, and is contained in the chapters relating to these matters. And they shall command and constrain the treasurer once a month to show his accounts, and have recorded in the *Specchio* ledger all the debtors and transgressors of the statutes, as is set out in that chapter. Further, they shall make provisions in times of plague, and they shall provide for the visitors and women the stipends that are due and honourable, as is set out in that chapter. Further, they shall issue all the authorisations for any money that is to be paid by the treasurer throughout the year, and they shall keep a key to the archive of the company's papers and books.

The obligations of the wardens 10 Chapter XI

Because the wardens, who have great authority, are required to perform tasks that are necessary and to the advantage of our venerable company, we ordain and resolve that their lordships are required and obliged at least once every month, among the three of them, to have visited all our oratories, and every Saturday they are to meet with the treasurer, with the syndics and the Thirteen, as is deemed necessary by their lordships, in the oratory of San Pietro e San Paolo or in any of our oratories where they shall discuss the necessary business [*added later*: in order to resolve all difficulties], and every first Saturday of the month they shall review the treasurer's accounts for the previous month, and follow up overdue debtors, and if they fail to exercise diligence, the wardens can be condemned to pay the equivalent amount. Further, they shall be required and obliged to provide for the feast days of the Annunziata and to supervise the expenditure and provision of the things

that that are necessary throughout the year. Further, to help in all the things that are necessary for the Passion and other plays that are done at the request of the whole membership of the company. And the day that the Passion is done they are obliged to be present, one of them with the supervisors on the stage, together with the treasurer, and the other two wardens shall go dressed in their habits together with the other men of the company who have donned their habits. Further, they shall provide or ensure the provision of the things that are necessary for the feast day at Santi Quaranta, at San Pietro e San Paolo, at Santa Maria Maddalena and at Santa Lucia and for the marriage ceremony. Further, they shall be required to visit all our properties and keep them from ruin and from usurpers, as far as they are able. Further, to keep urging all our procurators and bailiffs in our court cases. Further, to have all the contracts of our company registered by the secretary. Further, to provide and have provision made for all the needs of the dead and the funeral ceremonies that pertain to us. Further, to have a mass said on every first Sunday of the month in Santa Lucia or whichever of our oratories they please. And, whenever it might be necessary, to call a meeting or assembly of all the men of the company or part of them, as required. Further, to have the usual anniversary masses performed and the wax provided, and to give candles as is customary, and likewise with regard to the candles at Candlemas. Further, to make provision for every other need and requirement, as protector, head and guide of the whole membership of the company, and they cannot by any means at all withdraw or receive money from the ordinary or extraordinary income or any other kind of the company's income, and if they do, then the men of the company are obliged to determine unanimously to strike them from office and to create new wardens. And at the end of the year of their office, they shall be required to go before the syndics and give account of their administration to the syndics, who shall be appointed by the membership of the company. [*Added: And one of the wardens can keep an income and expenditure book in the same way as the treasurer.*]

On the election of the treasurer of the company 12 Chapter XII

No less diligence, we ordain and resolve, is to be used concerning the election of our company's treasurer than concerning the wardens, since he has in his hands all our assets and income, on which our whole company depends and such commendable works as are performed by its men, wherefore we resolve that the same procedure is to be observed in relation to the election of the treasurer as is observed in the election of new wardens as set out above, with this difference: that the Thirteen shall be required, in the oath that they swear as above, to swear further not to elect any man who is anybody's son or who has sought and intrigued to be treasurer in any way. And in the case that any of the Thirteen nominated a man who to four of the other members of the Thirteen did not seem suitable, then he cannot be put to the vote, and that member of the Thirteen cannot nominate another. Further, if somebody is nominated who is sworn by two of the other members of the Thirteen to be a person who has sought and intrigued as above, that person is not to be put to the vote, and the member of the Thirteen who nominated him shall be struck from office and in the first meeting of the assembly, the men of that *rione* shall be required to elect another member to the Thirteen.

On the office of treasurer 13 Chapter XIII

We resolve and ordain that the treasurer, having first given his undertaking to keep good account and to satisfy the this chapter, is to preserve and take care of all the company's movable assets, both precious and not precious, as he receives them by inventory from the old treasurer in the presence of the wardens and the syndics, old and new, and he is to receive all its ordinary and extraordinary income, and make all the payments that fall due and are duly certified during his term of office. Further, he shall have a key to the archive of papers and books and he can give orders in matters that are useful and honourable to the stewards, chaplains, mandataries and hospital custodians, and he can install and remove tenants in the houses belonging to our company, just as the wardens do, provided they do not give explicit instructions to the contrary; and, if he conducts himself well, the wardens and the Thirteen can give him one barrel of new wine and one quart of grapes. Further, he shall have authority to spend on anything that is necessary, up to the sum of one Roman florin, and if he pays or spends any more than that, even to the clear advantage of the company, without a mandate signed by at least two of the wardens, then his account is not to be settled, and he shall be guilty of false swearing, as above. And he shall be required to keep his accounts in mercantile fashion in a book, and a summary of the inventory of properties, and every first Saturday of the month, he shall report on his accounts to the wardens in San Pietro e San Paolo or in our other oratories, and at the end of his year he shall be required to consign by inventory within eight days all the movable assets, and within one month he shall consign his account book to the authorised syndics and he shall pay immediately however much the syndics sentence him to pay without any exception, and if he does not hand over the property or the book within the terms specified he shall be stained with infamy and false swearing and struck from the company in perpetuity. Further, if he acts so that anyone except him receives and accepts income in cash, then the treasurer, in addition to this penalty, is required to repay it to the company out of his own money, and the syndics shall put it on his account, and the syndics shall have the authority to be able to condemn him as they see fit and to have him arrested if they suspect he will flee.

On the election and office of the syndics 12 Chapter XIII

Because everybody knows that how important it is to judge and examine past officials so that it can be established whether they have acted well or ill, and so that according to their deeds they may be rewarded as they deserve, we resolve that the Thirteen men elected can agree to nominate two good and experienced men as syndics, otherwise each man should nominate someone and there should be a ballot, and the two that have the most votes are elected, and they are required within a month from the time the book is submitted to have audited the old officials and revised all their accounts provided that they are not impeded by the old officials or by some legitimate and evident impediment, as may determined by the new wardens, otherwise, at the end of the one month they can no longer give a judgement, but two new syndics should be nominated, and the old ones shall be declared guilty of false swearing.

On the office of the thirteen councillors and the visitors to the sick 12 Chapter XV

Since we wish to proceed in an orderly fashion in relation to the expediting of our business, because it is difficult to call the entire membership of the

company to a meeting for every slightest thing, we resolve that the thirteen councillors nominated at the election of the wardens, as is contained in the chapter on their election, have also to elect the treasurer and the syndics and they remain in office for the next year, and all the things they expedite they have the authority of the whole membership of the company except in the cases in which the general assembly is expressly required according to these present statutes, or when the assembly is opposed. The Thirteen councillors are required twice a month to visit the sick and needy men of the company and also others in need outside the company, and to comfort them and give them an offering on behalf of the wardens, to whom they report on these sick and needy, and these sick and needy are to be provided for and assisted according to the wishes of the wardens and each of the Thirteen is to have a list of the men of our company in his *rione*. And if any of the officials so elected become unavailable, other new officials can be elected by the same procedure, in the presence of the current wardens, and they are to meet each time with the wardens where they have their meeting, or be guilty of false swearing, being cited and reported in the written list, and a majority of them shall have the authority of all the others who do not appear. Further, they must provide and examine, deliberate and decide together with the wardens and the treasurer which of the proposed virgins should be married on the feast of St Lucy, and these councillors cannot be nominated by any other *rione* than their own, except on the one day at the election of the officials, if there is no person from that *rione*, and then, or rather, if during the year, one of them were to become unavailable, the wardens shall be required to summon all the men from the *rione* to nominate a new councillor. And for that year they cannot communicate any of their votes by word of mouth, but, since they are legitimately so precluded, they can send their votes or the name of the person whom they wish to substitute and for how long, by sealed statement to the secretary and the secretary shall record this in the book of Deliberations. [Added: And when two members of the Thirteen are nominated from one *rione*, the person who has most ballots in the box remains.]

On the office of prosecutor of cases 13 Chapter XVI

So that the company's requirements and court cases should not want for advice and assistance, we resolve that the entire membership of our company or the majority of it, together with the wardens must and may nominate one or more procurators to defend or appeal our cases, oratories, and possessions, and these shall be given full authority as required. And such nomination shall be notarised by our secretary and if necessary he shall draw up a public document of it. And the procurators can be elected on the voices if the wardens and other company members present are in agreement, and they shall be given an gratuity for extraordinary matters as deemed appropriate by the wardens and the Thirteen, except for the regular procurator who shall have as his gratuity every year from our income up to five barrels of new wine and two quarts of grapes, and he is obliged to appear in all the ordinary and extraordinary cases of our company and to prepare or dictate all the documents necessary for them. But if there happen to be more cases in the Commissary Court or in the Rota, the wardens and the Thirteen can give them or remunerate them with more than the new wine, according to their conscience. And likewise, if they do not do their duty, the wardens can revoke and annul them, and in their place constitute and appoint new procurators,

after the membership of the company has been called together as set out above for the purpose of such revocation and constitution.

On the office of supervisors of the plays 14 Chapter XVII

We resolve and ordain that the wardens, on the first Sunday of February, are to announce the four or six supervisors of the Passion and other the other plays that are to be done that year, according to the wishes of the wardens, and having recorded the names in a statement, they are have them read by the secretary of the company, and then immediately have them informed of it by the mandataries. These supervisors shall be responsible for all the plays that are do be done and celebrated, according to their judgement and the order and form of the statutes, spending not more than thirty ducats according to the old regulations unless, after prior notification and deliberation in the assembly, as is the custom, they have been granted permission by the company to spend something more. These thirty ducats or more shall be given to them in three parts: the first part ten, the second part ten, the third part ten. Further, the wardens and the treasurer shall be required to offer a supper for each gathering of the musicians, as the supervisors shall require, and all the officials and men of the company shall be required to help and find properties and other things that are necessary, according to their means. And the supervisors may for their requirements give orders to the mandataries and the hospital custodians, and prohibit any official or other person in the company, on the day when the Passion or any devotion is being performed, from coming on to the stage, allowing to enter there no other people except one the wardens and the treasurer and the people who are needed for the singing or for any other purpose necessary to the plays, and such people, along with the supervisors, shall wear some costume appropriate to the play, and the wardens may not allow anybody on to the stage, but shall make and decorate a decorous area on one side to hold all the men of the company, where the men may not enter unless they are wearing their habits. And the one warden who is to remain on the stage shall be the one nominated by the supervisors, and the other two, also dressed in their habits, are to come with the procession from Santa Lucia, dressed in their habits, according to the chapter on the Passion and other plays. And the first time that the supervisors meet together and accept their office, this present chapter and statute shall be read to them, and after the plays, they shall be required to present their accounts to the wardens and the treasurer within one month, and in accordance with the lists they have submitted in the assemblies and not compiling them from the calculation of these accounts made by the wardens and treasurer themselves, as is set out more fully in the statute. And the wardens are to administer the oath to the supervisors that they will fulfil their office faithfully and diligently, observing our constitutions, especially the present chapter and the chapter on the Passion of our LORD and other devotions, Chapter XLI, and these two chapters are to be read to them when they take their oath.

On the office of accountant 14 Chapter XVIII

Since we wish to provide in a mature way in respect of the management of our income, which is often the subject of some confusion, on account of the various changes of officials, who cannot in a short time gain a real knowledge and understanding of all our business, and in order to avoid all ill intent, we resolve and ordain that the members of the company shall nominate from

among themselves one or more suitable and upright gentlemen, who shall be put to a ballot, and the one who has the most votes shall be the accountant of the company for as long as it pleases, and he shall be required at the beginning of each term of office of the wardens, along with the old treasurer, to consign and read out to the new one all our possessions, by means of an inventory, just like our secretary. Further, he shall be required to keep a book in the mercantile style where day by day he shall record the income and expenditure as the treasurer does, and every first Saturday of the month he shall reconcile his book with the treasurer's book, in the presence of the wardens, and if there is any income up to and including that Saturday that he has not recorded in the book, or if he has recorded some expenditure that is not true, then two florins are to be deducted from his regular salary each time, and the book is to be handed over at the end of his office to the syndics, just like the treasurer. Further, he is to appear in all our cases and pursue them along with our procurators, and keep a *bastardello* notebook⁶ where he shall note day by day the progress and the expenses of the cases and on the [first] Saturday he shall provide a report and accounts to the wardens, failing which, for each time, he shall lose two florins as above, and this penalty of two florins shall be added to the salary of our steward. Further, he shall be required to keep a *bastardello* where he shall record each year the overdue debtors who have not settled according to the *Specchio* ledger and the other book, after the term of the outgoing treasurer; and another *bastardello* where all the bequests that we are owed, and with all diligence he is to recover these debts and bequests, but without handling or receiving any money without the express permission of the treasurer; and if he fails in his duty by negligence or [by acting] at the instance of any person except the whole company, for each time he shall lose two florins of his salary, which shall be given to any person who makes this known or be distributed according to the wishes of such a person, and the money that is recovered from overdue debtors and bequests shall be handed directly to the treasurer and he shall put them in the book separately with the extraordinary income, balancing the entries of the *Specchio* ledger every month of those who have paid; and likewise for the *bastardelli* of the accountant. Further, he shall be required to intervene in all the contracts that are drawn up in relation to the company, and in purchases and sales of any property, with the wardens and treasurer or any other person. And he is to intervene with the officials wherever necessary in relation to oratories, properties, furnishings, plays and our feast days, maintaining always due reverence for and obedience to the wardens, and for this the company shall be required to give him a gift as a reward for his labours each year. And the accountant in all our business may give orders to stewards, hospital custodians, chaplains and mandataries or other bailiffs, provided he does not act against the express wishes of the wardens and treasurer.

On the office of the secretaries 15 Chapter XIX

In order to keep the accounts of our income and of the movable and immovable assets of our commendable company and to maintain a style that is worthy of praise and above dispute, we resolve and ordain that the company shall elect by voting one or two secretaries as it sees fit, after they have twice made diligent enquiry in the assembly concerning their lives and their suitability, and these secretaries shall be required to read to each official

⁶ *bastardello*: long, narrow volume, approximately 100 x 300 mm, much the proportions of a modern legal brief.

who has been nominated the statute that pertains to his office and make him swear to observe it, and if he⁷ does not then each time he shall lose one florin of his salary; and he shall be required to make a record of all the contracts in which the company might have an interest, and register them in a book and also make them public where necessary, and the wardens shall consign this book to them, and the book is to be kept in our archive, and when they want it to make a record there of some contract, they cannot keep it with them for more than three days at a time, and if they do keep it longer, or if they do not register a contract there within one month of its signing, then each time they shall lose from their salary one florin, which shall be added to the accountant's. Further, they shall be required to take part in every general or special assembly, and especially every first Sunday of the month and every Saturday, whichever oratory the wardens or the Thirteen gather, and make record in a *bastardello* of all the proposals and deliberations and decisions taken in the assembly. Further, they shall be required to maintain and keep in order with their own hands the *Specchio* ledger and the inventory, as the wardens command, in the presence of the company and with its permission. Further, they shall be required to record of all those who enter the company according to the form of the statutes and to read them the chapter on taking the oath; and as their gratuity, our company shall be required each year to give them, in addition to what they might have from other parties, one barrel of new wine and a quart of grapes for each of them and for the instruments that they publish at the request of the company, the secretaries may not request any other gratuity.

On the office of the bailiffs of our cases 16 Chapter XX

To be better able to satisfy the requirements of our company's various legal cases, we resolve and ordain that if it is necessary our company can meet together as is its custom to nominate and appoint, on the voices, if they are unanimous, otherwise by ballot and vote, one or more bailiffs and people from outside our company who are capable of pursuing our requirements and our cases as the company wishes; and they shall be required every Saturday, in San Pietro e San Paolo, to report in writing about the progress of those cases and for their gratuity they shall be given as much as the assembly deems appropriate or votes to give them; and if they do not do their duty it shall be in the power of the wardens to strike them from office.

On the office of the stewards 16 Chapter XXI

Since it is necessary for the administration of our oratories and possessions to have some hardworking and energetic people to perform certain tasks, we resolve and ordain that the wardens and the Thirteen may appoint one or more suitable stewards who shall be approved by the whole company and shall be required to serve in all these tasks, from the pursuing of legal matters down, that is, at all the feast days of our oratories and at the marriage ceremony. Further, all the processions, plays, meetings or masses that might be held throughout the year, and to carry there and back all the properties and equipment belonging to us and to others that might be used in the feast days, processions, marriage ceremony, meetings and masses. Further, they shall be required for funerals and anniversary masses, and they are to keep account of the wax with the treasurer. Further, they shall be required to carry

⁷ subject has changed from plural to singular, but it still refers to the secretaries.

the bread to the Annunziata. Further, they shall be required to display the processional banner at Sant' Apostolo every first Sunday of the month after the supper for the women, and they are to assist and follow up on all the building works and repairs of our oratories and properties and above all obey in all useful and honourable matters the wardens and then the treasurer or the accountant in all the things that the stewards are to do by virtue of the present chapter, and if they were to fail in any of these things or if they were not to obey, they are to be fined one florin each time from their salary, and the treasurer can spend the florin on alms or some other company necessity, and each of them can be given as his gratuity up to twenty-four ducats each year.

On the office of the mandataries 20 Chapter XXII

Since our company cannot be run without mandataries, we resolve that the wardens with diligence are to nominate and appoint up to four mandataries as they see fit, who shall be required to obey the wardens whenever they wish to summon or call the priests or other members of the company, all or in part, as ordered, or as requested in writing; and they also shall be required to report in writing to our secretary. Further, they shall be required to come to all our processions and all anniversary masses or funerals and masses and perform their usual duties, and they are each to be given as their gratuity up to five florins each year. Further, they shall have for each anniversary mass one candle each and for any funeral the usual emolument. Further, they shall have for each person who enters the company one *carlino* or one *grosso* altogether as an offering, but on any occasion when they might fail to carry out any of the above duties, or failing to summon someone, they shall incur a penalty of one *carlino* each time, deducted from their salary. And if they so deem, the wardens shall remove them from office and appoint others.

On the office of the hospital custodians 20 Chapter XXIII

For the better care of our oratories which fall into disrepair without good care, we resolve that the wardens may appoint as they see fit a suitable person in Santa Lucia who shall be the custodian responsible for the hospital and have the usual room in the church and take care of opening and closing it and cleaning the church and taking care of the candles and all the other furnishings it might contain at his own risk. Further, he shall be required to assist on feast days and at mass, at meetings, and at anniversary masses and at funerals, as far as he is able, and likewise they may appoint another in the usual place at Santa Maria Maddalena, [and another] in the hospital of Santi Quaranta, and they are to be given no more the usual places and rooms, and they may not invite there any people of ill repute nor even of good repute, except their wives and children, or others by the express will of all the members of the company, who may, if they are able, give them alms if their behaviour is satisfactory.

On the penalty for refusing any office 20 Chapter XXIII

So that the election of the officials, from among the men of good standing, should have the proper effect, and such elections easily enhance the standing of our company, we resolve that if any person who is elected, according to the form of the present statutes, to any of the offices contained in the chapter on the penalty for false swearing, and renounces that office, he shall be recorded in the *Specchio* ledger with those who have broken the statute for ten years, or

struck out of the company if the general assembly so deems, unless he had a legitimate excuse, which must be judged by the assembly or by the wardens.

On the time within which nobody can be an official more than once 20 Chapter XXV

Since it is appropriate that every suitable person in our company should take part in its government, we resolve and ordain that nobody may be elected warden more than once in a four year period, and likewise for the office of treasurer, of syndic and of prior of the priests. Further, nobody may be elected the Thirteen representative of his *rione* more than once in the space of three years, unless there were no other men from the *rione* in the company, and in order that everybody should share the burden, nobody may be nominated supervisor of the plays more than in the space of ten years; for the other officials, it shall be left to the will of the company.

On the office of prior of the priests of the company 20 Chapter XXVI

Since it is appropriate that every college should have some leader and authority so that it is governed in a more orderly fashion, we ordain that the wardens at the beginning of their office shall elect a prior among our priests who shall be their leader and who may and must command them when necessary to say or to sing mass and the gospels or epistles, responses, verses and similar necessary things, and to take the copes and **go more to one church than to the others** when the anniversary masses are done. And he shall be required to serve communion on the feast day of the Assumption in our chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore, sharing half the alms from that communion, and he may, together with the wardens, strike out those who do not obey and put others in their place. He may also absolve those who breach our statutes as is written in the first chapter; and the prior shall receive as alms twice the sum that is given to each of the other priests. Further, for every funeral one pound of wax, and for ordinary processions he shall have twenty *carlini* altogether, which he shall divide among the other priests and himself, and each time he sings the mass for the month or for some feast day he shall have one *carlino* each time, and likewise he shall have two candles altogether for every morning of an anniversary mass; and when he has finished all the anniversary masses for the year he shall have as his emolument for sung, spoken and circular masses⁸ thirty *carlini* and no more, provided he does every thing that the other past priors have always done on the usual anniversaries, [*added later: and the prior is to sing the masses himself*].

On the twenty-six priests for the anniversary masses and our other requirements 20 Chapter XXVII

To avoid any demands from the priests and the confusion that arises, we resolve and ordain that the wardens at the beginning of their office should confirm or nominate anew a total of twenty-six priests and the chaplains of our oratories, who are to come to all the anniversary masses and funerals of our company's dead and sing vespers and mass on our feast days and the masses that are said every month in Santa Lucia, and to our processions and other oratories as the prior will ordain, and they are to be obedient to the prior; and for every procession they shall receive from the company the same

⁸ The phrases 'messe cantate o lecte et circolo' (Ch. 26) and 'messe cantate o lecte et circuli' (Ch. 27), together with the references to the 'circulo' in Ch. 43 on anniversary masses, refer to High Mass (sung), Low Mass (read), and some circular form of the mass, which repeated as the celebrant moves from tomb to tomb around the church.

portion as the prior, and on the morning of an anniversary each of them shall have a candle every three churches and likewise for sung or spoken and circular masses. And in all each one shall have at the end of all the anniversary masses twenty *carlini* and no more. And if any one of them fails to attend the processions and masses and other obligations, he shall be penalised three *bolognini* each time by the steward and the treasurer, who shall keep account; and each of the priests, with the exception of the chaplains of our oratories, shall be required to pay our treasurer when he first enters our company five *carlini* for candle wax in honour of our holy protectors, otherwise he may not be admitted.

On the chaplain of the Annunziata 20 Chapter XXVIII

We resolve and ordain that the wardens and the Thirteen, if necessary, should appoint if necessary a chaplain in the oratory of the Annunziata as they see fit, and he shall be required to say mass in the oratory every Sunday and every feast of obligation, and first of all he shall be required to give his surety for the items that will be consigned to him and to do what is required according to his obligations and to maintain the oratory vineyard. And the treasurer and the steward shall hand consign to him by inventory all the items in the oratory, and the church furnishings, according to the inventory, and he shall have as his gratuity the vineyard and all the alms and the money from the poor box and the offerings, except the offerings and the alms of the feast of the Annunciation in March. Further, he shall have the meadow that is next to the oratory and in addition they may give him a salary of up to twenty ducats in *carlini*, or less if possible, and he shall the emolument for processions even if he does not come, and a jug of oil a month for the lamp and candles for masses and wafers.

On the chaplain of the Santi Quaranta 20 Chapter XXIX

Since we desire to make mature provision for the governance of our oratory of Santi Quaranta, we resolve that the wardens, at the request of all the members of the company, should appoint as they see fit in that oratory an ordained chaplain to say mass, a suitable man of good repute who shall give his surety as above, and he shall be required to say mass every Sunday and on the feasts of obligation, otherwise on all the feast days, and he shall reside continuously in the oratory and he shall have care of it, keeping it clean and neat as is fitting, and our company shall be required to give him as salary every year ... [*Crossed out later*: Further, four pairs of wax candles each year, each pair weighing one pound, and to give him all the other things that are necessary for the masses,] and if he misses any masses he loses half a ducat from his salary for each time, on the word of any person of the company or other neighbours, if the wardens receive sworn statement in their hand, and they shall also have the authority to remove him if he does not carry out his required duties in the oratory.

On the chaplain of Santa Maria Maddalena 20 Chapter XXX

We resolve and ordain that the above chapter should serve for the appointment of the chaplain of Santa Maria Maddalena, who shall have the usual designated room next to the main door of the church, without any salary [*added later*: the company reserving its wishes].

On the chaplain of Santa Lucia 20 Chapter XXXI

Likewise, in providing for our oratory of Santa Lucia, we resolve and ordain that the officials are to appoint a priest of good reputation as chaplain in Santa Lucia, who shall be required to give appropriate surety for the church furnishings and the items in his room, as they shall be consigned to him by inventory by our treasurer, and he shall be required to say mass in Santa Lucia Nuova twice a week, between weekdays and all the Sundays that the company does not have a solemn mass sung; and he shall be assigned one of the two new rooms in Santa Lucia Vecchia, and he shall be provided by our treasurer with all the necessary wax, and wine and wafers for the masses, and if he were at any time to fail to say mass or have it said, or to behave disreputably, it is in the power of the wardens to remove him from the oratory.

On the company's singers 20 Chapter XXXII

To the greater glory of almighty God and of his glorious mother, of St Peter [and] St Paul, first of the Apostles, of St Mary Magdalene, of St Lucy and of the Forty Holy Martyrs, our protectors, we resolve and ordain that, if all the members of the company so wish, it may retain in the oratory of San Pietro e San Paolo or in Santa Lucia Vecchia or in another of our oratories, a teacher of polyphonic singing, who shall be required to serve our company with all the voices necessary for a chapel at mass on the feast of the Annunciation in March. And likewise on the feast of St Peter and St Paul and of St Mary Magdalene and of St Lucy and of the Forty Holy Martyrs and in the processions that are ordered by the members of the company and in addition at all the masses on the first Sunday of the month where the company shall have it sung. Further, he shall be required to teach singing to all the men of the company or their sons who might wish to learn, and in addition to his room it can give him as his gratuity up to the sum of ten ducats in *carlini* a year, and for any mass or vespers that he misses, he shall lose half a ducat from his salary each time.

On our chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore 20 Chapter XXXIII

So as not to disrupt our ancient and worth traditions, we resolve and ordain that the wardens together with the Thirteen are to appoint as they see fit a worthy person of the company who shall take care of our chapel of the *Raccomandati* in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, which he shall have maintained out of our revenue, and he shall take care of the chalice and our furnishings for the mass that are in the church and inventoried, and every Wednesday and every Saturday and every feast day of Our Lady he shall have a mass said for the soul of the dead of our company, and on the feast of the Assumption he shall have the chapel adorned with myrtle and lighted lamps and two big candles in honour of the glorious Virgin Mary, and likewise on the day when the general rogations go to the church, and the wardens are to instruct the treasurer to give him eight barrels of new wine from our revenue for the masses, and the due gratuity, and for all the other requirements of the chapel.

What our revenue is to be spent on 20 Chapter XXXIII

So that everybody understands clearly that our revenue is turned to pious and commendable works, we resolve that our income be spent first of all on the repairs of all our oratories and properties, and then on marrying virgins on St Lucy's day, according to the provisions of the chapter on the marriage

ceremony. Further, that it be spent on furnishing, adornment and decoration for our oratories. Further, on the plays, by will of the whole company; [and] on the anniversary masses and on funerals when the members of the company order that somebody be honoured at the expense of our revenue. Further, on assisting the poor and the sick, according to the provisions. Further, on records, books, registers, salaries of procurators, of notaries and bailiffs, and of mandataries for all our requirements and cases. Further, on the stipulated emoluments and salaries of our officials, of the chaplains, and the expenses for the masses, the singers, the stewards or other people who might have salaries approved by all the members of the company. Further, for the ordinary feast days at the Annunziata and the bread that is sent there for distribution. Further, for the feast day at Santi Quaranta, at San Pietro e San Paolo, at Santa Maria Maddalena, and at Santa Lucia [*added later*: at Sant'Alberto, at Santa Maria Maggiore and in Araceli]. Where the income is spent on any other thing without the express and solemn deliberation of the members of the company, as is required for extraordinary expenditure, the wardens and the treasurer shall be required to repay the company from their own money everything that has been spent on these extraordinary items.

On the gratuities for the notaries in our cases 21 Chapter XXXV

So that no fraud nor malice may arise concerning the gratuity for the notaries of our regular cases, we resolve that our company shall be required to give the notaries of the papal vicar as their gratuity for all our cases that are brought before their court in all each year two ducats in *carlini* and no more, except for copies, instruments and registers, and in the event of our cases being brought to [civil court on the] Capitol, that salary is to be given to a notary who will be nominated by the company to be the sworn notary in our cases. And this payment shall be just for the swearing of proceedings and reports, but when it is a question of cases in the Commissary Court or in the Rota, the company shall be required to pay the notaries according to their rates, and for registers and instruments, as agreed between the wardens and our procurators who will pursue the advantage of the company as much as possible.

On the feast days at the Annunziata 21 Chapter XXXVI

We resolve and ordain that the wardens shall be responsible for having a *rugio* of bread⁹ taken [to the Annunziata] to distribute on All Saints' Day. Further, thirty loaves of bread for each Sunday from the first Sunday <in ... > until the first Sunday in May, to be distributed to the women who come seeking it in our oratory at the Annunziata. Further, they shall provide for the feast of the Annunciation to be celebrated in March and likewise on this day they shall arrange the distribution of two *rugia* of bread and two barrels of wine and a basket and a half of fish and half a *rugio* of beans and oil and salt, and make arrangements with the treasurer and the stewards concerning the festival which comes on the first Sunday in May, and to have distributed a *rugio* of bread, a barrel of wine, half a wether and two lambs and as much more as might seem necessary to the wardens and the treasurer.

On the feast day at Santi Quaranta 21 Chapter XXXVII

⁹ *Rugio*, or *ruggio* (pl. *rugia*, *rogia*, *ruggia*): a dry measure equivalent to nine *staia* or bushels.

We resolve and ordain that the wardens together with the treasurer shall be required to provide for the feast day at Quaranta Martiri, that is to have two vespers and a mass sung, and to have the usual sermon preached and to have a *rugio* of bread and half a *rugio* of beans distributed among the poor and to provide for all other necessities for this feast day.

On the feast day at San Pietro e San Paolo 22 Chapter XXXVIII

We resolve that every year, to honour the union of our company and oratory of San Pietro e San Paolo, our company is required to celebrate the feast day of these glorious princes with vespers and a solemn mass, at which all members of the company are to be present, and in this feast day no more can be spent than usual.

On the feast day at Santa Maria Maddalena 22 Chapter XXXVIII

We resolve that in the oratory of Santa Maria Maddalena, her feast day is to be celebrated every year with great devotion, with two vespers and a solemn mass and the usual sermon, and for this feast day the wardens and the treasurer and the accountant are to provide an appropriate supper for all the men of our company in the hall where the wardens are created, at the expense of the company. Having first discussed the order and the expense with the Thirteen and the syndics, assembled for this sole purpose, and having made a list, which the treasurer may not change otherwise it shall be at his expense, they are to nominate four good men, who are to go in two pairs to invite on behalf of the wardens all our brethren, according to the lists. And at the end of the supper they shall ask two mandataries or stewards to carry two silver basins along the table in front of each person to collect whatever offering is made to defray the expenses, and the treasurer shall accompany one of the basins, and the accountant shall accompany the other, and at the end of the collection it shall be counted by the two people appointed to do so and registered as income with our other extraordinary income.

On the feast day at Santa Lucia 22 Chapter XXXX

In praise and honour of almighty God and of his glorious Mother and of our advocate St Lucy and for forgiveness of our sins and exaltation of this venerable company we resolve and ordain that the feast of St Lucy is to be celebrated with decorations, festivity, the usual illuminations and celebration of two vespers and a mass sung by a bishop, if one can be had, and at the end of the mass there is to be a procession with the bishop in pontifical and a sermon, and our priests or brothers with all our officers and men of the company, each of whom shall have in his hand a white wax candle with a painted cardboard holder, as the wardens and treasurer shall order, and after the bishop the virgins who are to be married by us shall follow, dressed in sky-blue dresses at our expense, with similar lights and holders in their hands, accompanied by several Roman matrons and by our prioress who shall lead and guide them, and other women as appointed by the wardens. And the procession is to go by the direct route as far as the street that turns up to Sant'Orsa and there turn into the street to Monte Giordano, and when it reaches the piazza it should turn to the right and come out into Pizzo Merlo, then go down the street that comes from the Chiavica towards Pozzo Bianco and then return to Santa Lucia Nuova and there each person, light in hand, shall go and kiss the hand of the bishop and make an offering, as much as they are able, in the bowl which shall be placed on either side in front of the

high altar with custodians appointed by the wardens; and for the virgins a suitable place shall be prepared with drapes and curtains, where they can be guarded with many gentlewomen before the procession and then when it is finished until they are given their leave by the officials. On this feast day no more that is customary and honourable may be spent, and our mandataries are to take part, dressed similarly in sky blue, with staves in their hands, appointed to assist from time to time. And the procession begins with the bell, and with a mandatory who leads it, and then the wooden candlesticks, then the cross of the friars or priests who follow them, and after them shall follow the men of the company, with lights in their hands, two by two, with the wardens remaining to the end, and then the big gilded candlestick and the singers, and then the stilt-walkers with the big silver candelabra, followed immediately by the processional banner and then our priests in regalia and the bishop in his pontifical and then the dowered virgins in order, accompanied by the women, as is our custom.

On the Passion of our Lord and other plays 23 Chapter XXXXI

Since the origin and foundation of this venerable company is the performance every year of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of other mysteries or martyrdoms of saints, as the members of the company as a whole shall determine, we resolve and ordain that the supervisors, as set out above, may spend each year on the Passion twenty-five ducats, not including the suppers, or more after discussion, as is set out in the chapter on the supervisors, and they may have it performed in our place in the Colosseum or in any other place determined by the company, short or long, as the supervisors shall determine. And the other officials and the men of the company shall be required to help them in everything, especially in finding properties and musicians, and in organising for the musicians, when they meet or rehearse the Passion, a decent meal and supper where and when the supervisors ask them to. Further, the wardens shall be required to send people about the usual places, and especially to the preachers, whom they are to exhort to expedite their sermons so that they do not delay the Passion. And on Good Friday, no man of our company may come on to the stage or any other place set up for the flagellants without his habit, on pain of being convicted for false swearing and being recorded in the *Specchio* ledger among the transgressors, except for the one warden nominated by the supervisors, and the treasurer and up to six supervisors, and other persons who might be necessary for some purpose in the Passion, dressed in some costume appropriate to the Passion and other plays, each with the warden and treasurer and supervisors. The other wardens and other office-bearers and the men of the company shall be required to gather in Santa Lucia at the service, and there they are to attire themselves devoutly in their habits which each one is to have at home before the day, and then they shall come in procession with the crucifix to the Colosseum and arrange themselves in the place that the supervisors have prepared for them, and they are to stay there in silence for the whole Passion. And it is finished, they are to return again in procession to Santa Lucia. Further, the wardens and the treasurer shall be required to organise a suitable supper for all the musicians and officials and other people who have assisted in the play in any function necessary for the stage, and not for anyone else, according to a list that shall be made by the warden who remains on stage in the Colosseum, with a similar procedure to be followed in the other plays. And in the Colosseum, when the Passion is finished, two of

our members dressed in their habits are to keep watch with torches on a Crucifix, in the appointed place and decorated with our *pallium*, so that groups of people can go to the Crucifix for their devotions and offer alms.

On the order of the marriage ceremony 24 Chapter XXXXII

To provide inform and instruct the new officials about the procedure for marrying the virgins on St Lucy's day, we resolve that about one month before the feast day the wardens, the treasurer and the Thirteen must meet and there receive in writing the names of the virgins who are proposed, and of their fathers and mothers, and the Thirteen shall divide up the virgins among them and make diligent and detailed examination as much of the lives and habits and moral goodness of the virgins as of their fathers and mothers, in secret through their neighbours and acquaintances. And the virgins should be Roman by father or mother, in their fourteenth year or more, of good and commendable life and habits, legitimately born of good, honest parents in need [who] might non marry them from their own resources, and from the virgins of such condition whose names are put forward, the seventeen officials shall select as many in number as the general assembly has approved, and for those who have been approved, [there shall be] a dowry likewise of an amount determined by all the members of the company, and these dowries, guaranteed by all the company's assets, are to be paid to them, when they are be legitimately married. And when the payment is actually made, the people closest to the virgins are to provide bond and obligation, in real assets with suitable guarantors, for the amount of the dowry. And in the case of the dowered girl dying without legitimate children, then the dowry and amount shall be returned to the company; and all the contracts that are required for the dowries are to be drawn up by our secretary and transcribed in the book of marriages. Further, it is solemnly forbidden for any of the officials or any other person to reveal these virgins or their fathers or mothers or name them to anybody. And when they are given the promise of a dowry, their relatives must declare that they have not been dowered in any other company, otherwise they may not receive a dowry from our company.

On anniversary masses 24 Chapter XXXXIII

In order to provide due commemoration of the souls of those members of our venerable company who have passed on, which are relieved of some sin through masses and other pious prayers that are said, we resolve and ordain that our company shall be required every year at the time determined by the wardens to celebrate, for the souls of those who have left something to our company, one anniversary mass in each church where these dead are buried, according to our book. And a Requiem mass shall be sung in the church with a sung responsory at the end around the chest, and there are to be as many Requiem masses as there are bodies of the dead, and they are to carry two big candles and the chest and the *pallium*, and candlesticks with two candles next to the chest, and these anniversary masses may on no account commence before sunrise and full day light, and no more than [*over erasure*: six or eight] can be celebrated each day [*added later*: unless necessary], until they have finished all the churches where we have such departed brothers, and all the men of the company are to be summoned to these masses, and they shall be required to remain in each church during the services, and not leave until the circular mass is finished. Further, two of them shall be required by the guardians to hold the big candles when the body of our Saviour is elevated

until the Paternoster, and likewise until the responsory is sung, and to offer one *quattrino*. And likewise the women of the company, and to these men and women the wardens must give in each church one candle and two for other officials at the rate of *** a pound, and they shall light them when the Corpus Domini is raised and during the circular mass. And likewise the priests are to receive one candle each [*over erasure*: every three churches from the women's accounts] and, as alms, the sum that is set out in the chapter concerning twenty-six priests for the anniversary masses. And during the offertory in each church the prior shall be required to announce and read the names of the dead of that church and to order a Paternoster and an Avemaria to be said for the soul of each one, and all the men and women of the company who are present shall be required to obey him, and then [he shall read] a papal warning or excommunication concerning the property of the company and continuing confession. And at these anniversary masses they may not give a candle to anyone who has not attended attend or who has come at the end of the anniversary mass, otherwise they shall be guilty of false swearing and required to repay the company for them out of their own money. And after the said four churches¹⁰ each morning the candles shall be reweighed by the treasurer and the steward, and account is to be kept of them, and also of the alms that are given to the priests and of the offerings that are received, leaving aside the two candles for each warden and for the treasurer, and one for the steward and one for each mandatary and [*crossed out later*: for the hospital custodians, and] the same number [*added later*: for every church where the anniversary masses are celebrated].

On the funerals to be conducted for those who die 25 Chapter XXXXVIII

To honour the bodies of the dead of our company, according to commendable custom, we order that if any person makes a bequest to our company, or if it is requested because the dead person was a member of our company, the wardens shall be required to have all its members and priests summoned and to have the *pallium* brought for the litter with the cushion and the ten large candles, and candles for the men, and cloaks for the mandataries. And before the body is borne away, they shall be required to approach the heirs and the mourners in order, with the mandataries at the front, dressed in our cloaks, and to choose who is to carry the body from the house to the funeral bier, which shall be carried to the church by the people so chosen or by others of the company, changing places as required, and everybody else shall have white lighted candles in their hands, and shall proceed in order, two by two, in front of the bier, and when they reach the church they shall go to the appropriate place where the wardens shall distribute the candles as they do for the anniversary masses; and with these candles lit, when the other offices and sermon have finished, they shall go around the body in a circle, saying five Paternosters and five Avemarias for the soul of the departed and there a responsory is to be sung by our priests and the candles of the circle and the mandataries and all the other expenses of that day are to be paid by the heirs and executors of the dead person and in addition they are pay our company *** except when the general assembly, in accordance with due process, has decided expressly to pay such expenses from our own income, in recognition of someone or because he has left a bequest to the benefit of our company.

¹⁰ See "four to six" above, over erasure.

On ordinary processions 26 Chapter XXXXV

Because since ancient times our company has gone on endless processions, we resolve to reduce them to those that are most necessary, so that everyone may take part more easily. We resolve that all the men and women shall be required to come on processions with our most devout processional banner, accompanied by all the big candles and our priests and with the usual bell, that is from the church of San Sebastiano to the Annunziata on the feast day of the Annunciation in March, and on the day of her festival, that is the first Sunday in May. Further, on the three days of rogation before Ascension, with all the clergy to the usual places. Further, on St Mark's day with the general litanies from San Marco to San Pietro. Further, to Santa Lucia when we do the marriage ceremony, according to the chapter on the marriage ceremony, and whenever the membership of the whole company expressly and solemnly so orders [*added later: provided they are not engaged in other business*].

On the provisions to be made in time of plague 26 Chapter XXXXVI

It is a worthy and deserving act of consideration to provide for the protection of miserable mortals when they are so often abandoned by their own relatives, and for this reason we resolve and ordain that in time of plague, twelve suitable men shall be nominated from the company or from some other place, and twelve women, without false promises, who are to go two by two to visit the plague-stricken of the company or other worthy people and to offer them alms or to assist them from our resources and urge them towards health, to receiving confession and the sacraments, and concerning the disposal of their property and worldly goods, as prudent men do, and to commend our company to them, and if they accept, they shall be assisted from our funds and provided with one or two of the women to assist with housekeeping, and when they come to die, the twelve men are to bury them and perform the funeral ceremony dressed in their habits; and if the dead are members of the company, then it shall be required to accompany them from afar, along with the twelve, who together with the women are to receive a proper and appropriate payment and part of the movable assets that the dead leave, to be determined at the discretion of the wardens, who shall have full authority in this case concerning every necessary provision.

On the offerings that might come to our company 26 Chapter XXXXVII

Since we also desire to assist through our company any people who are sick and weak or abandoned, we ordain that if anyone wishes to give themselves together with their property into our hands, then if the general assembly so wishes they are to be accepted, that is, the women into Santa Maria Maddalena and the men into the hospice at Santi Quaranta, and there they are to be cared for diligently according to their assets, and if these are not sufficient then they are to be assisted from our revenue according to the discretion of the wardens.

On the women who enter our company 26 Chapter XXXXVIII

To provide a structure for the women who enter our company, we resolve that the steward or others shall take their name and shall propose them to the assembly where the wardens shall commission one of the Thirteen to gather information about her and if he finds her to be of good repute he shall report at the first subsequent assembly and there it shall be voted on and approved

that she should enter ***¹¹ And then in front of the priest she shall swear to be good and useful to the company and do all the things that the role of women as are contained in the chapter and in ***¹² of these statutes and likewise the other usual ceremonies.

On the prioress to be elected among the women 27 Chapter XXXIX

We resolve that the prioress of the women of our company shall be the leader and guide of these women for one year's duration of her office and that she should be the leader and guide together with the officials of the procession of the Virgins on the feast of our advocate St Lucy and in all the other processions, and she shall receive on all these occasions candles for two other women.

On the obligations of the women 27 Chapter L

We resolve that the women shall be required to take part in the processions, masses and anniversary masses and on feast days as is contained in the relevant chapters on these matters. Further, they shall be required to go every first Sunday of the month to Sant' Apostolo to the sermon and in that church from among themselves every year they are to nominate the prioress, and for one year they shall revere her, and this prioress shall be nominated.

[How assemblies are called and how to proceed against transgressors]

How the assembly is called and how much power it has 27 Chapter LI

Since it often happens that, through the negligence of the officials and men of the company who do not come to assemblies, much useful business comes to nothing, we resolve that provided that the required assembly has been summoned and reported in writing to the secretary, the wardens may make decisions on all our business with only those who are present, unless it were a matter that involved the expenditure of more than ten ducats, with the exception that in life or long term tenancy agreements, or the purchase or sale of things pertaining to the company, or establishing and deciding new and unusual expenditure, or other important contracts. In such events [*in margin*: Read the amendment in the last statute.], since the well-being of the company is involved, all the members of the whole company shall be summoned in advance by our mandatories, twice specifically for such a decision, and the mandatories shall report on their summons with a list to the secretary. Then just those who assemble after the second summons shall have the same authority as the whole membership of the company solemnly gathered, and if they act otherwise, beside incurring the penalty for false swearing, whatever they decide shall be null and void and they shall be required to make restitution for any damage or cost that the company suffers on account of such decision. Further, if a father and son or two brothers together take part together in the assembly, their words or votes shall count only for a single person, and as for the election of the officials, otherwise [*added in margin*: for this] they shall count for as many people as are present.

On old debtors and bad administrators 27 Chapter LII

In order that nobody should dare to desire to enrich himself at the expense of the company and give others occasion to speak ill, which would easily be

¹¹ Space left for about six words.

¹² Space left for one word.

the ruin of this commendable company, we resolve that the old debtors who are on the books, once the syndics have had a list made, shall be passed to the wardens, and to the accountant who shall register them in a *bastardello*, and with all diligence and the rigor of the law if necessary they shall have these debts paid to the accountant; and if at the end of their office they have not been paid by fault of the accountant, they shall be put on his account and he shall pay them out of his money, and the syndics shall penalise him in this way; but if it is the fault of the wardens or through their negligence, the syndics shall bypass the accountant and penalise the guardians for the sum of the old debtors, and if these debtors make threats or menaces or create expense for the company beyond what is honest, they should solemnly be struck from our brotherhood by all the members of the company and with all asperity made to pay all that they owe and all other expenses.

On how someone is struck out of the company 28 Chapter LIII

Wishing to make provision against men's perfidy and iniquity, so that no man can glory in his wickedness, we resolve and ordain that any dishonest misappropriator, usurper, bad administrator or any person who brings scandal to our good existence, or transgressor of these statutes, as is written above in the second chapter, and further, anyone who appeals against the sentence of our syndics to any but the judgement of some good man of our company, all the aforementioned are to be struck and cancelled from our company, in perpetuity and with loss of privileges, after they have first been proposed by the wardens and then voted on in the assembly, by our secretary. And when it has been resolved that they to be struck out, the secretary shall hand to the hospital custodian an authorization with the name of the person who has been voted out, and the hospital custodian, in the middle of the assembly, shall burn it with a wax candle, and the secretary shall erase him from the book and from the board. Notwithstanding this, if the person is our debtor, he is to be forced to pay all that is owed, and they cannot be struck off unless they have been summoned and heard in the full assembly, in case they have any legitimate defence. And people so struck off can never be re-admitted even by the full membership of the company.

On how company property is lent 28 Chapter LIIII

Since the company's property is often lost after it has been lent to somebody without due diligence, we resolve and ordain that no object or property of the company may be lent to anybody without written authorisation which shall be signed by the three wardens or by two of them at the request of the treasurer, and every time that anything is lent, the treasurer shall be required to record it in his notebook, that is, when and what and to whom it is lent and when it might be given back, in the section on income and expenditure, and whenever the wardens or the treasurer lend [...] the present chapter, each of them that transgresses, as well as being condemned for false swearing, shall be written in the *Specchio* ledger with the transgressors and shall also be required to repay the company for the item lent and not returned and all other damage and loss incurred for these things by the company.

On how things are proposed in our assemblies 28 Chapter LV

To avoid any confusion and so that everybody may freely state his opinion in our assemblies, we resolve that once somebody has made some proposal in

the assembly, the proposer is to leave the oratory where the assembly is being held and if the proposer is a member of the company he is not to speak¹³ the proposal, nor can he cast any vote. When such assemblies are finished the wardens shall report on the deliberations of the company to those who have made the proposal, without naming anybody who has been against it in any way, or incur the penalties listed above and below.

On not revealing matters concerning our company 29 Chapter LVI

Further, we resolve that any person who might reveal the secrets or deliberations and orders, the virgins who are to be married, their fathers and mothers or their names and surnames and other details, against the rules of the statutes and against honesty, shall incur the penalty for false swearing and be banned from our company for three years, and if, after he has been readmitted, he sins again with a similar revelation, then he shall be struck off in perpetuity from the company as an example to all evil-doers.

On not rescinding orders of past officials 29 Chapter LVII

To limit the variety of men's appetites, we order that the decrees made by the past wardens concerning the company's matters, property, appointments, decisions and contracts may not without legitimate cause be struck out or rescinded by the wardens and Thirteen who follow except by the express wish of all the members of the company.

On not selling nor alienating any company assets 29 Chapter LVIII

Wishing to make provision against anyone who might set aside the good of our company for some personal and particular gain or through carelessness, we resolve that no property of the company may in any way be rented out in perpetuity, nor may any property, vineyard or house, or entitlement to rent or produce of two florins or more be sold, nor may these things ever be assigned down to the third generation, except by all the members and by the express shall of the company, and these things may not be assigned to anybody who might have property adjoining and continuous to our properties and houses, so that our properties are not, in part or in full, subtracted with time, as we know from experience often happens.

On the penalty for any person who might foment or initiate division in the company 29 Chapter LVIII

So that each person receives appropriate penalty for his malicious intent, we ordain that any person who might urge division in our pious and commendable company, from which many deeds flow that are worthy of praise, or who might attempt to disrupt the membership of our oratories, shall be deprived with dishonour of our company forever, as set out above, and may never be readmitted, and evidence of such attempts to procure discord must be given by three men who shall swear to it [in writing] in the hands of the wardens and the treasurer.

¹³ The text read *non abbia sa/pere* ('he is not to know), with *sapere* written over two lines.

On not entering into any extraordinary expense unless possession is first recovered in place of the entitlements to wine¹⁴ sold during the office of the guardian messer Stefano Infessura and his companions 30 Chapter LX

Since we desire with all diligence not only to maintain but also to increase the income of our company and to remove ways of squandering it, because if we do not provide in this way it shall soon be the ruin and disgrace of this venerable company, we ordain that no person may spend any sum of money on building, constructing or buying, making exceptional repairs in our oratories and properties or in anyone else's, nor doing any play except the regular one of Good Friday, according to the letter of the Statute, until the officials have acquired new income to the company in place of the entitlements to wine that were alienated in the time of Giovanni Battista Picchi and *messer Stefano* <Infessura>, the wardens of the time [1493], and their companions, and they are to spend on acquiring such income-earning capital the same amount of money as all these entitlements were sold for, and the said money should be found from the ordinary and extraordinary income and from bequests to the company.

On the archive of the papers of our company 30 Chapter LXI

For the preservation of our books and papers we resolve and ordain that our company shall have a wooden archive in our oratory of San Pietro e Paolo where all our books, contracts and other papers are preserved diligently and in order, and the inventory of these books and papers shall be made by the hand of the secretary and attached inside this archive, and it shall be locked with two keys, one of which shall be kept by the wardens, the other shall be kept by the treasurer.

On the inventory of the properties and possessions of the company 30 Chapter LXII

For the good government of all our income and property, we resolve and ordain that the company shall have a parchment book called *Catasto* where all our income and property shall be diligently registered in order, by letter and by number [*added at bottom: or rione*].

On the contract book 30 Chapter LXIII

Further, it is to have a big paper book where the secretary is to register all the contracts relating to our company, as is set out in the chapter on the secretary.

On the Specchio ledger 30 Chapter LXIII

Further, another paper book called the *Specchio* where, in proper order, all the old¹⁵ debtors of the company are to be written every year, carried forward from the old treasurer's book or extracted from the *Catasto* in the mercantile style, and the amounts and why, and the payments when they are made, and the judgements of the syndics of the officials. And in one part of this book shall be written separately the transgressors of these present statutes and the length of time they are to be penalised, and when that time has expired they

¹⁴ *resposte del vino*: this appears to be "wine futures", that is, committing/selling all the expected income from the vineyard (or rent from a house, in the case of *censo*). i.e. alienating not the asset itself but all the income from it.

¹⁵ The Italian *veti* is probably a *veti* (Latinism, 'old').

are to be struck from this book, and in this book no writing or cancellation by the hand of any person except by the hand of the secretary is to be valid.

On the book of bequests and relicts 31 Chapter LXV

Further, a paper book where all the bequests shall be recorded of any person who has left anything to the company in life or in death and the name of the heirs and when the payments of the bequests shall be made, and the obligations that those who made the bequests have placed on us, for anniversary masses or other things, and likewise nobody may write there except the secretary, as above.

On the book of the marriage ceremony 31 Chapter LXVI

Further, a paper book in which there shall be an alphabetical register of the girls who are married, the amount of the dowry, the payments and the obligations, citing the contracts at such a page of the book of contracts, and likewise there shall be a record of the dowries that are returned to the company and the restitution, and nobody shall write in it except the secretary, as above.

On the book of debtors who are not members of the company 31 Chapter LXVII

Further, a paper book where, at the end of his term of office, the secretary shall write in his own hand, as above, all our debtors who are not members of the company and the payments that they make, to be done alphabetically and in the mercantile style, that is, on one page per year, carrying them forward the book of the old treasurer, or extracting them himself from the *Catasto*, according to the chapter on the secretary and the accountant.

On the book minuting deliberations 31 Chapter LXVIII

Further, the secretary shall be required to have a fat paper *bastardello* in which he is to register all the proposals, decisions and protests, the election of officials, at every assembly, made both by the assembly itself and on its behalf or by the officials.

On the treasurer's ledger 31 Chapter LXVIII

Further, a paper book where in good order and in the mercantile style, as set out in the next chapter, the treasurer shall be required to record all the ordinary income he receives and likewise the expenditure. Further, in another separate part of the book he shall record all the extraordinary income and expenses, salaries, and in another part the wine that we have from our properties, and at the end of the treasurer's term of office, debtors that are still outstanding are to be carried forward by the secretary's own hand, as is set out in the next chapters.

On the extract of the Catasto inventory for the treasurer 31 Chapter LXX

Further, the treasurer is to have each year a paper notebook with a summary in order, or by letter, of all the properties and income of the company and who occupies them and how much they pay, and he must receive the money and give full account to the syndics, recording in the margin 'so-and-so paid so much' and citing his big book by number, at such-and-such a page, and cross-referencing this way from transaction to transaction.

On the four books for the accountant 32 Chapter LXXI

Further, a paper book in the same order **[in which (something missing)]** he shall record all our income, as the treasurer does, year by year. Further, a *bastardello* where every year he shall carry forward and copy the **true [(?old) Palermo]** debtors from within our company from the *Specchio* and the payments he receives from them, and he shall have them registered by the secretary in the *Specchio* and he shall provide full account as is set out in the chapter on the accountant. Further, he shall have another *bastardello* in which, writing in the same order, he shall record the payments received from all the other debtors who are not members of the company, as is set out in the chapter on his office. Further, a *bastardello* where all the bequests that are owed to us are to be carried forward from their book, keeping the same order in which they are to be received. Further, a *bastardello* where from one Saturday to the next he is to record and mark down all his efforts in our cases and the expenses that they entail from time to time.

On the book that has all the names of the dead and of the living of our company 32 Chapter LXXII

Further, a little parchment book, where all the names of the men and women who enter our company are to be recorded, in order of *rione* and of parish where they are buried, and likewise they are to be inscribed on two boards, that is, on one all the names of the living by *rione* and on the other all the commemorations that have to be made in the anniversary masses, that is, for whom and where.

On the book where all the plays that are done by our venerable company are recorded 32 Chapter LXXIII

Further, a parchment book where the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ is to be recorded, and every other play that might be performed by our company. And the book may not be lent to anybody nor removed from our premises except for the our requirements of the plays and such devotions.

Reform of the preceding statutes 32 Chapter LXXIII

To modify several of these chapters which were raising some doubt in the minds of men who, for their various occupations, cannot follow all the ceremonies and our other solemnities of masses, processions, funerals and anniversaries, and assemblies, as is set out in the fifth chapter on the oath that is sworn by those who enter our company and in other subsequent ones, we resolve and, reforming what is above, we ordain that any person who violates the statutes concerning these solemnities and ceremonies or assemblies, by offering from one *carlino* up, to the collection bowl for our marriage ceremony, in addition to what he usually throws in even without this transgression of the statutes, shall be freed of all stain of perjury and every other penalty contained in the statutes concerning the processions, assemblies, masses, funerals and anniversary masses. Further, we resolve anew, and reforming Chapter LII on how the assembly is held, where it talks about the things that are necessary for the advantage etc., we ordain that if at least thirty people from the company members appear at the first of the two meetings, along with two thirds of the Thirteen, together they shall have the

same authority as the whole membership of the company in matters discussed by that statute.

In the year of Our Lord MCCCCLXXXVI the venerable confraternity of the Gonfalone united with the venerable chapter of Santa Maria Maggiore of the city of Rome. And then the confraternity of Santa Maria in Araceli and Sant'Alberto joined to the confraternity of the Gonfalone, under the wardenship of the venerable *messer* Francesco Filippini, incumbent in perpetuity in the basilica of the First of the Apostles of the City, and of the noble gentlemen Mario Normanno and of Antonio Filippuzzi and as treasurer the faithful young man Domenico Pulicati, approved as treasurer also the following year by the will and consent of all. The same year the ceremony of dowering young girls was moved from our oratory of Santa Lucia to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore on the Feast of the Snow, on which day or most holy lord Pope Alexander VI conceded plenary indulgence to the church as a subsidy for the act of dowering. Further, in the same year our lord Pope Alexander VI ordered that the magnificent wardens of the confraternity of the Gonfalone should be given every year a *pallium* embroidered with gold, similar to the *pallia* given to the sacred image of the Saviour, for the image of our blessed and glorious Virgin Mary who is carried to meet the image of the Saviour on the feast of the Assumption, at the expense of the apostolic Camera, and in that Camera there is an order registered for this *pallium* in the second book called *Diversorum* of our lord, Pope Alexander, folio 104, copied with diligence by Francesco Filippini.