

## DOCUMENTS

### THE STATUTES OF THE CONFRATERNITY OF SAN MICHELE IN CAMAIORE, ITALY

L. GIOVANNA URIST

#### Introduction

The fourteenth-century statutes of the Confraternity of S. Michele of Camaiore, Italy, with additions made in the sixteenth century, offer an example of the rules and regulations for a lay religious group in a small Italian town in Liguria.<sup>1</sup> Confraternities in late medieval and early modern Italy allowed the laity to participate in pious rituals that had been typically reserved for the clergy, provided a strong fraternal network both socially and spiritually, and supplied opportunities for charitable giving both financially and through volunteer work. The statutes of the Confraternity of Camaiore, first composed in 1321 and then added to through the 1570s, exemplify these traditional qualities of an Italian *laudesi* confraternity.

In 1972, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin D. Zable donated the manuscript containing the statutes to the Syracuse University Special Collections Library. What happened to the manuscript between Camaiore and when the Zables acquired it is completely unknown. Since 1972, the Syracuse University Special Collections Research Center has provided a home for the manuscript.

The statutes have survived their voyage well. A contemporary wood binding, which has been identified by an unnamed auction house as oak, covers the manuscript. Some of the oak boards are covered with leather, which is nailed to the wood, although part of the leather is missing from the cover. At some point a latch was affixed to the cover, but has since fallen off. The title "Statuti dall' A.C. di S. M<sup>c</sup>. A<sup>o</sup>. M:D di. Camajore. critta nel 1321" is written in black ink on the wood portion of the front cover.<sup>2</sup> It seems as if the "s" in *scritta* has been concealed by leather, and it is unclear whether the leather covering has also hidden other words or letters.

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The author would like to thank Professors Dennis Romano, Matthieu Van der Meer, Alan Stahl, and Konrad Eisenbichler for all of their help and support with this project, and Thomas A. Guiler for his patience, love, and editing skills.

<sup>1</sup> The statutes use both the Latin *confraternitas* and the Italian *compagnia*, which scholars of confraternal studies tend to translate as *confraternity*. James Banker provided the reasoning for not using the English word company for the Italian *compagnia* "because that term is fixed in the modern mind as an economic entity," Banker, *Death in the Community*, 14. I agree with Banker's usage and will therefore use *confraternity* for both the Latin and Italian terms.

<sup>2</sup> *Ordinamenta Societatis disciplinato Sei Michaelis de Camaiore de anno 1321*, Camaiore, 1321, Uncatalogued MS 18 (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Special Collections Research Center), cover. Hereafter OSD.

Two pieces of paper were stuck between the front cover and the first folio of the statutes. The first is a note from Syracuse University Library Special Collections describing the manuscript as: “*Ordinamenta Societatis disciplinato Sci Michaelis de Camaiore (Pisa) de anno 1321.*” On the next line, the note continues: “*Manuscript on Vellum, written in Italian, bound in contemporary oak boards, leather back, end leaves formed fragment of an early Antiphonale (7”x5”).*” The other piece of sepia-toned paper seems to have been cut from auction records. It reads:

*Ordinamenta Societatis disciplinato Sci Michaelis de Camaiore [near Pisa] de anno 1321, MANUSCRIPT ON VELLUM, written in Italian in clear gothic characters, titles and initials in red, 11½ ll. with two additional leaves in a later hand, bound in contemporary oak boards, leather back (worn and clasp missing), the end leaves formed of a fragment of an early Antiphonale (7 in. by 5 in.) SAEC. XIV.*

Both of these descriptions indicate that Camaiore was under Pisa, however, the statutes themselves and historical record both prove that the town was Lucchese.<sup>3</sup> Since it appears that the latter piece of paper came from auction records, a brief attempt to track down the auction house and its records proved unsuccessful.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, other attempts at determining the statutes’ provenance have also been unsuccessful.

Glued to the inside cover is an early antiphonal used for both the pastedown and the flyleaf; it had been folded to form the end-sheet. After the antiphonal, the table of contents spreads over four pages, listing the initial twenty-six chapters, all written in 1321. The table of contents begins with a simple illuminated “I” in blue ink. The rest of the table of contents is written in red ink on lightly lined vellum. The body of the text is written in black ink. The sixteenth-century additions are also in black ink and do not contain any stylistic flourishes such as illuminated letters.

One of the later sixteenth-century authors numbered the folios on the top right hand corner of every recto folio. The sheets are in good condition other than for small tears to the fore-edge of the majority of the pages. These tears have affected only the numeration for chapters twenty-one and

<sup>3</sup> Dinelli, *Camaiore*, 263.

<sup>4</sup> There was no information about the sale of the manuscript in the *Book Auction Records*, which track book sales internationally, from August of 1971 to July of 1973, and records from *American Book Prices Current*, from 1970 to 1975. The auction records that were checked are: *American Book Prices Current: Autographs & Manuscripts*, Books A–G, vol. 85–89: 1970–1975 (New York: Bancroft-Parkman, Inc., 1976), D. Batho, ed., *Ninth General Index for the Book Auction Records*, vols. 66–69: 1968–1972 (Kent, England: Wm. Dawson & Sons Ltd., 1977), Gerald R. Dorman, *Book-Auction Records: A Priced and Annotated Annual Record of International Book-Auctions*, vol. 69 (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1973), and Gerald R. Dorman, *Book-Auction Records: A Priced and Annotated Annual Record of International Book-Auctions*, vol. 70 (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1974).

twenty-four, for which the “C” for “Capitolo” is missing in both cases. On folio 7 recto there is the first marking of a hole in the vellum. It seems that an insect eating away at the vellum caused this deterioration. Fortunately, the holes made by the insect do not interfere with the text because they are located in the bottom margin, below the text.

The first twenty-six chapters were written by the same hand and date from 1321. Beginning on folio 12 recto there are additions made to the statutes in the sixteenth century. First, a short section in Latin re-establishes the Confraternity of San Michele as being in the diocese of the Bishop of Lucca, Alessandro Guidiccioni.<sup>5</sup> Two unnumbered addenda in Italian follow. The first outlines how to elect a female hospitaller to run the hospital, which the confraternity administered, but which had grown significantly by the sixteenth century. The second requires the confraternity to check on the said hospitaller twice per week.<sup>6</sup> Another brief segment in Latin states that bishop’s notary and chancellor approved of the statutes and confirmed the confraternity’s continued existence under the bishopric. The Latin and Italian orthography in these four paragraphs are substantially different, though they are both dated 1559. The authors were possibly two different people, but it seems they used the same ink.

Four more rules were added to the statutes in the 1570s.<sup>7</sup> A chapter number indicates each new rule. The numbering was not continued from the 1321 chapter numeration, but instead recommences with the number one. The first two rules, dated 1572, emphasize attendance requirements. The third rule, from 1576, raises the number of times brothers were required to confess and take communion from once per year to at least three times per year. Finally, the last rule was added a month later and obliged prospective members to know the Our Father, Hail Mary, and the Creed before entering the confraternity.

The year 1828 is written in the centre of the page one line after these final four chapters. From the color of the ink, it seems that this author was responsible for retouching some of the faded script and adding accents on a spattering of words in the section from 1321. Opposite the final entry of 1828 is the back end-sheet, which is a sepia-toned, plain piece of vellum. A seventeenth-century writer took notes on the inside of the end-sheet. The author wrote “Adi 10 di Maggio 1614” at the top of the page. Parallel to the binding are three lines of text that are fairly illegible except for some numbers. It seems that the sheet was used for settling some financial accounts.<sup>8</sup>

The additions to these statutes demonstrate the changes that some Italian *laudesi* confraternities went through up to the sixteenth century. The

<sup>5</sup> OSD, fol. 12r. Alessandro Guidiccioni “il vecchio” (1523–1605) was bishop of Lucca from 1549 to 1600.

<sup>6</sup> OSD, fol. 12v.

<sup>7</sup> OSD, fol. 14r.

<sup>8</sup> OSD, fol. 15r.

added chapters in the sixteenth century point to the new emphasis on charity and personal piety. They also offer an interesting glimpse into how a small-town confraternity was affected by the changes implemented by the Council of Trent in order to bring confraternities more firmly under the control of the local bishop.

The Syracuse University Library Tag for this manuscript reads:

MS UNCAT. 18

77-1154

Syracuse University Library/Rare Books Department

Ordinamenta Societatis disciplinato Sei Michaelis de Camaioire (Pisa)  
de anno 1321.

Manuscript on Vellum, written in Italian, bound in contemporary oak borders, leather back, end leaves formed fragment of an early Antiphonale (7"x5").

Gift of:

Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin D. Zable

In memory of Marjorie Gartner, Daughter, Formerly on faculty<sup>9</sup>

UNIVERSITY OF SYRACUSE

#### CITED WORKS

##### *Manuscript Sources*

Syracuse, NY, Syracuse University Special Collections Research Center  
Uncatalogued MS 18, *Ordinamenta Societatis disciplinato Sei Michaelis de Camaioire de anno 1321*, Camaioire, 1321.

##### *Printed Sources*

Banker, James R.. *Death in the Community: Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988.

Dinelli, Paolo. *Camaioire: Dalle origini ai giorni nostri; Parte Prima: Dall'epoca preromana ai primordi del '500*. Camaioire: Arti Grafiche Camaioire, 1971.

Edler, Florence. *Glossary of Medieval Terms of Business, Italian Series 1200-1600*. Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1934.

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<sup>9</sup> Efforts to identify Marjorie Gartner were unsuccessful. Syracuse University records do not include any information for anyone by this name.

## Transcription

Infrascripta sunt capitula et ordinamenta  
societatis disciplinatorum sancti Michaelis de Camaione  
de anno 1321.

Capitolo i. <sup>1</sup>	Di fare il priore con tutti li altri officialj.
Capitolo ij. <sup>2</sup>	Che tucti li officiali siano tenuti fare li comandamenti facti dal priore.
Capitolo iij.	Di chi volesse entrare in detta compagna.
Capitolo iiij.	Di far la sua chappa e consegnarla.
Capitolo v.	Che ogni prima domenica del mese sia tenuto venire a vestirsi.
Capitolo vj.	Di dire ogni giorno cinque pater nostri con cinque ave marie.
Capitolo vij.	Di dire uno pater nostro con la avemaria quando si puone e leva da tavola da mangiare.
Capitolo viij.	Di digiunare tucte le vigile di nostra donna oltra le comandate.
Capitolo viiij.	Di osservare tucti li comandamenti di sancta matre chieça. <sup>3</sup>
Capitolo x.	Di chi incoresse nel detestabile peccato di sodomia.
Capitolo xj.	Di far leggiere ogni prima domenica del mese li nostri capitoli.
Capitolo xij.	Di tractare e parlare di tucte le cose appartenente a detta compagna di utilita e honore.
Capitolo xiiij.	Di non portare fuora la sua chappa ne di altri senza licentia.
Capitolo xiiij.	Di andare a santa <sup>4</sup> Laççaro il giorno de la sua festa e di altri tempi in altri luoghi.
Capitolo xv.	Di visitare li nostri confrati infermi.
Capitolo xvj.	Del misterio del giovedì sancto.
Capitolo xvij.	Di fare quatro infermieri e officio loro da fare.
Capitolo xviii.	Modo di fare quando uno de nostri confrati passasse di questa presente vita.
Capitolo xix.	Di andare a honorare li corpi di confrati passati di questa presente vita.
Capitolo xx.	Di far dire vii messe per ciascuna anima de confrati passeranno di questa presente vita.

<sup>1</sup> The sheets have been numbered on the top right hand corner of every right hand page. It seems this was done in 1576 by the scribe who wrote the addenda dated that year.

<sup>2</sup> The stylistic choice of representing a long “i” with a “j” has been retained in order to let the transcription resemble the manuscript as much as possible.

<sup>3</sup> The cedilla was used in words that are now spelled with a “z.”

<sup>4</sup> The original text uses the feminine form, santa, for the male saint Laççaro.

- Capitolo xxj. Di far la nostra festa il giorno del<sup>5</sup> nostro capitano messer san Michele di settembre.
- Capitolo xxij. Di confessarsi piu spesso che homo puo al meno una volta l'anno.
- Capitolo xxiiij. Di andare con la nostra tavola a processione il giorno della solemnita del corpus domini.
- Capitolo xxiiiij. Che nessuno possi esser della compagnia se non e vinto per li dui tertij.
- Capitolo xxv. Che chi uscira camarlingo fra giorni otto debbi dar buon pagatore.
- Capitolo xxvj. Che il camarlingo vechio habbi infra uno mese a mettere ogni suo residuo in mano del nuovo camarlingo.

### Capitolo j.

In nomine domini. Amen. Ordiniamo, determiniamo, e vogliamo che ogni anno il giorno della domenica di santa Laççaro tornati da pigliare il perdono e svestiti, il priore con li sindici saranno in quel tempo habbino a chiamare sei homini di detta compagnia li quali siano aprovat i e vinti per detta compagnia a bussili e pallotte, li quali di poi insieme con detto priore e sindici habbino a fare tucti li offitij per quatro anni c[i]oe priore, sindici, camarlingo, spidaleri, e comandatore<sup>6</sup> i quatro polise c[i]oe un priore per polisa, dui sindici per polisa, un camarlingo per polisa, uno spidaleri per polisa, e un comandatore per polisa, e cosi in sulla seconda, terça, e quarta polisa, e poi dette polise siano facte tutte su una misura e poi suggellate e cucite si mettino in una scatoletta overo pentorino nuovo e misso in la cassa di detta compagnia sotto la chiave, e poi il terço di di pasqua di resurrexio se ne chiavi una delle dette polise a sorte, e cui si trovera scripto in sudetta polisa sia offitiale di detta compagnia per uno anno, e cosi sequitare col nome di dio ogni anno sino in capo di quatro anni, e finito li quatro anni rifare detti offitij in simil modo et via per altri quatro anni, e cosi sequetare di bene in meglio a laude, honore e gloria di dio, e del nostro capitaneo messer san Michele.

### Capitolo ij.

Item ordiniamo che tutti li offitiali siano tenuti observare tutti li comandamenti a loro facti per lo nostro priore in le cose appartenente alla detta compagnia e de sindici, per che dice san Paolo che chi non obedisce al suo prelado, coe al suo priore, disobedisce a dio, pero vogliamo siano obedienti, non obediendo per ogni volta siano obligati di paghare soldi ij.

<sup>5</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.

<sup>6</sup> The document clearly reads "comandatore". Such a title raises a number of questions because it is not a title typically found in a confraternity's governing structures. To complicate matters, it is not used again in the statutes.

## Capitolo iij.

Anchora<sup>7</sup> ordiniamo se alchuno vorra entrare in detta nostra compagnia sia prima manifestato il nome suo al priore e sindici, e loro siano obligati fra xv giorni informarsi di sua qualita e costumi, e se parra a detto priore, e sindici ydoneo e di buon costumi ragionandone niente di meno con qualchuno di piu antiqui di detta compagnia sia sopra la conscientia loro ricevuto facendo sua offerta con la cappa in dosso, e poi ginochioni vadi a baciare e dare l'osculo della sancta pace prima al priore, e poi a tucti li altri confrati della compagnia allora congregati.

## Capitolo iiij.

Statuimo anchora che da poi che altri sara entrato in detta compagnia habbi tempo mesi tre a consegnare la sua cappa al camarlingho, e per infine che non ha comprato o fattosi<sup>8</sup> la cappa non habbi a ghodere nessuna cosa temporale ne spirituale che si farà<sup>9</sup> in detta compagnia, et etiamdio non si intendi essere de nostri, e quando fusse passato detti tre mesi, e detto tal novitio non potesse per evidente poverta comprare la cappa vogliamo che il priore con tutta la compagnia li presti denari per comprare detta cappa, a pagarli overo renderli fra tre mesi, oltra li tre primi passati.

## Capitolo v.

Et ordiniamo anchora che ogni fratello di nostra compagnia potendo senza legiptima cagione che ogni prima domenica del mese sia obligato, e debbi venire a vestisi<sup>10</sup> alla casa della nostra compagnia e accompagnare la nostra tavola dove al nostro priore parrà e piacerà,<sup>11</sup> e chi non puo venire sia tenuto a dire vii paternostri con vii avemarie, oltra allo obbligo delli v che siano tenuti a dire ogni giorno a reverentia di dio e della gloriosa<sup>12</sup> vergine Maria, e di messer san Michele nostro protectore, e di paghare soldi iiij ad arbitrio di detto priore.

## Capitolo vj.

Item ordiniamo che ciaschuno di nostra compagnia sia obligato ogni giorno dire v paternostri con v avemarie per le anime de passati de nostri confrati e benefactori.

<sup>7</sup> Marginal note in a later hand: "Vedi il capitolo aggiunto in ultimo sotto numero. 4."

<sup>8</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.

<sup>9</sup> A later hand added the accent on "farà".

<sup>10</sup> The two words "a vestisi" were written again with new ink. The ink used is most similar to the one used by the scribe who in 1576 penned the final addition to the charter.

<sup>11</sup> The same hand as the one who put the accent on "farà" added these two accents.

<sup>12</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.

## Capitolo vij.

Ancho ordiniamo che ciaschuno di nostra compagnia sia obligato ogni mattina, e sera, quando si puone a tavola per desinare o cenare ringratiare dio, e dire un paternostro, e una avemaria.

## Capitolo viij.

Ordiniamo anchora che ciascuno di nostra compagnia sia tenuto digiunare tutte le vigile di nostra donna, oltra a quelle siamo tenuti, salvo iusta cagione.

## Capitolo ix.

Item ordiniamo che ciascuno di nostra compagnia sia tenuto osservare tucti li comandamenti di sancta matre chieça, e di non tenere concubine, ne di fare altro vitio dishonesto, come di giocare a giuochi prohibiti sotto la pena di soldi x.

## Capitolo x.

Et ordiniamo anchora che chi incorresse nel detestabile vitio, e peccato abhominabile della soddomia incontenete sia privato, deciso,<sup>13</sup> e cancellato della compagnia, et defacto senza alchuna dimora.

## Capitolo xj.

Vogliamo e ordiniamo anchora che ogni prima domenica del mese tornato che e la compagnia con la tavola per svestirsi, lo nostro priore sia tenuto di far leggere li nostri capitoli a tutto lo consortio della nostra compagnia, accio che ciaschiduno sappia, e sia bene informato quello che ha a fare e osservare, e se alchuno volesse dire o proporre alcuna cosa in detta compagnia sempre debba dire in prima laudato sia dio, e poi narrare quello che vuol dire con reverentia e buon modo stando ritto e con la berretta in mano quando parlare volesse.

## Capitolo xij.

Item ordiniamo che lo nostro priore habbi dui sindaci a tractare e parlare di tutte quelle cose appartenente alla compagnia di utile e honore, e donde fusse odio ingegnarsi con loro industria di tractare pace e unione, e se alchuna discordia fusse tra uno de nostri confrati l'uno con l'altro siano<sup>14</sup> tenuti di rimettere ogni loro differentia che havesseno nelli soprascripti priore e sindici, e di stare a quella sententia e pena sara giudicato dalli soprascripti officiali sotto pena di soldi xx.

## Capitolo xiiij.

Et ordiniamo anchora che nessuna persona ardischa di portare la sua cappa ne di altri fuora del luoco della compagnia senza licentia del priore e sindici,

<sup>13</sup> The manuscript reads "deciso", but the meaning is clearly "reciso."

<sup>14</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.



e chi la portasse sia excomunicato per fine che non la riporta, e se vi fusse alchuno che non volesse essere de nostri lassi la cappa e vadi<sup>15</sup> alla buona hora.

#### Capitolo xiiij.

Statuimo apresso che lo priore comandi alla nostra congregatione di andare ogni anno il giorno di santa Laççaro c[i]oe la domenica del detto sancto vestiti con la nostra tavola a pigliare il perdono, e cosi il vernardi sancto e alle altre chieçe e a badia secondo sara comandato dal priore soprascripto alla pena di soldi iiij per in fine in x e da soldi x per infine in soldi ii per ciaschuno e ciaschuna volta, secondo parra al detto priore.

#### Capitolo xv.

Et anchora ordiniamo che ogni volta che lo nostro priore comandasse a qualchuno de nostri confrati che andasseno a visitare alchuno de nostri che fusse infermo, overo qualche volta che volesse raunare la compagnia c[i]oe tutti li confrati per far qualche nostra faccienda e non fusse obedito, habbi auctorita<sup>16</sup> detto priore condannare tale disobediante come di sopra a detto capitolo.

#### Capitolo xvj.

Comandiamo e ordiniamo anchora che il giovedì sancto la sera a buonhora tutti li confrati venghino<sup>17</sup> alla stantia della nostra compagnia a celebrare il divino mandato ad exemplo del nostro Salvatore che in tal sera lavo li piedi alli suoi sancti discipuli, e cosi vogliamo che il nostro priore lavi li<sup>18</sup> piedi a tutti li nostri confrati si come observa la sancta matre chieça alla pena di soldi iiij.

#### Capitolo xvij.

Item ordiniamo che la nostra compagnia habbi quatro infermieri<sup>19</sup> c[i]oe quatro visitatori d'infermi li quali siano obligati per remissione delli loro peccati con ogni diligentia e sollicitudine andare a visitare li nostri infermi fratelli, e con quelli stare di giorno e di nocte, e quelli exhortare e comfortare alla confessione e comunione la prima cosa, e se tali infermi havesseno necessita piu di una cosa che di un'altra detti visitatori vadino al priore a narrare il bisogno, e insieme propouere e provvedere al bisogno di tale nostro fratello infermo, e sovenirlo, e aiutarlo con quella carita, e possibilita che potra detta compagnia, e non facendolo detti visitatori cadino in pena di soldi iiij per ciaschuna volta.

<sup>15</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.

<sup>16</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.

<sup>17</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.

<sup>18</sup> The words "lavi li" and "come" were written again with new ink.

<sup>19</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.

## Capitolo xviii.

Anchora ordiniamo che quando uno de nostri fratelli passasse di questa presente vita sia manifestato al nostro camarlingo, o priore, e detto priore e camarlingo mandi otto de nostri confrati a metterli la cappa e cingerli il cordone c[i]oe al detto defuncto, e chi fusse a questo acto di pieta e carita disobediente chi non vi andasse di subito sia privato per uno anno di tucti li privilegij nostri, e non sia lassato entrare a nessuna nostra consolatione come rebello di Christo, e in capo<sup>20</sup> allo anno entri<sup>21</sup> con licentia delli offitiali dicendo sua colpa paghando niente di mancho soldi quatro.

## Capitolo xix.

Item ordiniamo che quando il priore farà<sup>22</sup> invitare li confrati a honorare li corpi de nostri fratelli che passerano di questa presente vita, vogliamo che quelli che saranno invitati a tale opera di misericordia con ogni sollicitudine, e devotione venghino alla congratione nostra, e vestiti a dui a dui colla cappa indosso vadino diriecto alla nostra tavola, o crocifixo con ogni pieta,<sup>23</sup> e devotione, silentio, a q[u]ello luogo o chiesa che saranno chiamati di haversi a congregare, e quelli che fusseno stati chiamati<sup>24</sup> a tal opera di pieta e misericordia, e per sua<sup>25</sup> obstinatione, impieta, e disobedientia non venisse a obedire a tale offitio essendo invitato e potendo, e persequitasse in tale disobedientia, et obstinatione per fino in tre volte sia privato<sup>26</sup> di tutti li suffragij, e fructi spirituali della nostra compagnia per uno anno, e paghi soldi vj pero niente di mancho, e poi parendo a detta compagnia sia privato in perpetuo.

## Capitolo xx.

Et ordiniamo anchora che lo priore con lo camarlingo faccino<sup>27</sup> dire vii messe per ciaschuna anima che passera di questa presente vita dei nostri confrati in luoco di septimo per remissione de suoi peccati, e questo si facci de beni e entrate di detta<sup>28</sup> compagnia nostra.

<sup>20</sup> Here "capo" is inserted into the text between "in" and "allo" with a carrot.

<sup>21</sup> Beginning here, the page until the line "...stati chiamati a tal" has been retouched with the later sixteenth century hand. The accents have been added also by the second hand.

<sup>22</sup> The later hand also added this accent.

<sup>23</sup> The later hand, again, also added this accent.

<sup>24</sup> From the beginning of capitolo xix until this point, one of the later scribes, most likely the final scribe from 1576, retouched the ink on this page.

<sup>25</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.

<sup>26</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.

<sup>27</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.

<sup>28</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.

## Capitolo xxj.

Anchora ordiniamo che il giorno di san Michele di settembre di fare la nostra festa di quella faculta che detta compagnia havera, e piu e mancho secondo piacerà e parra al priore e sindici di detta compagnia per honorare il nostro capitano messere san Michele che ne guardi da ogni male, e maxime da tutti quelli che volesseno a nihilare, e usurpare li beni di detta compagnia.

Capitolo xxij.<sup>29</sup>

Ordiniamo<sup>30</sup> che chiaschuno de nostri confrati si confessi piu spesso che puo almeno una volta l'anno, c[i]oe per la pasc[u]a di resurrexio, e chi contrafacesse sia expulso di tutti li privilegij nostri per uno anno, e se sequitasse per infino in tre volte in tale obstinatione, e peccato sia in perpetuo cavato e cancellato di detta compagnia, per che dice il savio che li buoni costumi piacereno a dio, e li cattivi costumi corrompeno li<sup>31</sup> buoni.

## Capitolo xxiiij.

Anchora ordiniamo che il giorno della solemnita del corpus domini tutti quelli della compagnia siano tenuti a venire a vestirsi alla [nostra]<sup>32</sup> detta compagnia, per acompagnare la nostra tavola, e andare a processione dirieto a quello sanctissimo sacramento con lumi in mano con la chiericia, e altre devote compagnie.

## Capitolo xxiiij.

Item agiungendo al capitolo tertio ordiniamo che qualunque persona volesse entrare in la nostra compagnia essendo visto prima la sua vita e constumi come dice in detto capitolo si<sup>33</sup> habbi a mettere a partito a bussili e pallotte, e non si intendi vinto, se non e vinto per li dui tertij della compagnia per cio congregata e non altramente.

## Capitolo xxv.

Ancho ordiniamo che qualunque persona uscira camarlingho sia tenuto, e debba infra otto giorni haver dato buono, e ydoneo pagatore, altramente non possi essere, e detta compagnia ne habbi da fare uno altro.

<sup>29</sup> Below the chapter heading there is a faint marginal note in what seems to be a later hand. It seems to say "vedi l'aggiunta" followed by two lines that are too faint to read.

<sup>30</sup> Another marginal note has been written here in a later hand: "Vedi l'aggiunta in ultimo sotto numero. 3."

<sup>31</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.

<sup>32</sup> The manuscript reads "o", but the intended meaning is clearly "nostra."

<sup>33</sup> "Si" is repeated twice, although it is broken up by a line change; it is, therefore, clearly a scribal lapse. It is not crossed out.

## Capitolo xxvj.

Et cosi vogliamo anchora ch' il camarlingo vechio fatto il suo conto e saldo infra un mese habbia a mettere ogni suo residuo in mano del nuovo camarlingo, il quale nuovo camarlingo possi, e sia tenuto non paghando a farlo pagare, e detta<sup>34</sup> compagnia darlo, e porlo per debitore alla vachetta del detto nuovo camarlingo, e cosi ne habbi a esser sindacato alla pena di perdere il suo salario, e di<sup>35</sup> non poter haver più offitio in detta compagnia.<sup>36</sup>

Alexander<sup>37</sup> Guidiccionus Dej et Apostolicae sedis gratia episcopus Lucae pro parte prioris et confratrum confraternitatis Sanctj Michaelis de Camaione predictae requisitae super capitulorum suprascriptorum<sup>38</sup> confirmatione ipsis capitulis et ordinationibus omnibus per nos visis et consideratis et niso quod tendunt ad honorem dei divinij cultus augmentum et ipsorum et fratrum devotionem et animarum salutem ipsa omnia capitula et ordinationes tamquam catholica et catholicas et salubris auctoritate nostra ordinaria quae<sup>39</sup> fungimur in hac parte aprobamus et confirmamus et ea omnia nec non omnia et singula presenta capitula per nos de nova edita mandamus observari per confratres dictae confraternitatis in virtute sancte obedientie capitula per nos edita sunt. Predicta vestra magnificentia.<sup>40</sup>

Ordiniamo et comandiamo che ugni anno nel tempo che si fanno gl'offitij di detta compagnia si debbia eleggere una donna di comoda età et di buona vita et fama che habbia d' haver cura di raccettare i poverj che capiteranno allo spedale et à quellj ministrare con carità le cose necessarie solite darsi à dettj poverj, et che debbia tenere buona cura di lettj et pannj lanj et linj che si tengano in esso spedale per uso dei pu[v]erj et che stiano nettj et non vadino a male con carico, debbia ugnj sera serrare dentro allo spedale i poverj che vi saranno che non possino uscire senza lej et non permettere che le donne dormino con gl' huominj anchora che dicesseno esser marito e moglie.

<sup>34</sup> An "i" was crossed out here.

<sup>35</sup> An "o" was crossed out here.

<sup>36</sup> The original text from 1321 ends at this point.

<sup>37</sup> The following section begins in a new hand. The added section is datable to October 1559.

<sup>38</sup> The manuscript reads: sup.<sup>orum</sup>. I have expanded this as *suprascriptorum* in order to be consistent with the rest of the transcription; however, there is a possibility that it could be an abbreviation for *supradictorum*.

<sup>39</sup> This "quae" could also be "quas."

<sup>40</sup> I sincerely thank both Dr. Alan Stahl for his suggestion that the flourish at the end of this line is probably "presente cum," that is "they are done with [the following order]" and Dr. Matthieu Van der Meer for his suggestion that the same flourish could be "Predicta vestra magnificentia" meaning "Your aforementioned magnificence." I leave both suggestions to the reader to make his or her own decision.

Item che ogni anno nel tempo come di sopra si devino fare duj visitatorj dello spidale li qualj al meno duj volte la settimana siano tenuti visitare esso spidale, et vedere come la spidaliere faccia il debito suo et sempre che saranno infermj in detto spidale siano tenutj provederlj del medico et delle cose necessarie per li dettj infermj nel modo che si prevede all'infermj della confraternità.

Item ordiniamo che i lettj delle donne si tenghano in una stanza separata da quella dellj huominj.

In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem has presentes nostras fierj et per notarium ac cancellarium nostrum institutum sub[s]cribi solitique nostri episcopalis sigillj iussimus et fecimus impressione munitj. Datum in castro Camaioris die vigesima nona mensis octobris Anni M. D LIX. Indictione tertia.

#### Capitolo 1:<sup>41</sup>

Item ordiniamo, et vogliamo che li nostri offitiali siano tenuti ogni prima domenica del mese eleggere otto di nostri confrate per accompagnare il santissimo sacramento quando va à comunicar' infermi nel Castello di Camaiore.

#### Capitolo 2:

Item anchora vogliamo che in perpetuo si debbino tutti li confrati ogni sabato sera, durante la quaresima venire à là oratione, à là casa della compagnia sotto quella pena che nel libro de decreti appare fatto Adi 6 di Gennaio 1572.

#### Capitolo 3:<sup>42</sup>

Item ordiniamo anchora et vogliamo che tutti li confrati de detta compagnia imperpetuo siano tenuti et obligati di confessarsi et comunicarsi trè volte l'anno, cioè per la pasqua di ressuretio: et per sancto Michele di settembre: et per la circoncissione del nostro signore, come per dicreto appare nel sopra-scritto libro adi 8 d'Aprile 1576.

#### Capitolo 4:

Item ordiniamo ancora che tutti quelli che vorranno entrare in detta compagnia siano esaminati da trè de piu antichi della compagnia, e non possano essere de nostri se non saperanno prima il Pater nostro et l'avemaria, et il credo, come per decreto appare sotto il di 2 di Maggio 1576.

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<sup>41</sup> Another new section begins here in clearer hand than the previous. The writer of this section dated his addition 1572.

<sup>42</sup> This short chapter is an addition from 1576. It seems that the scribe of the previous section and this scribe are the same person.

Adi 10 di Maggio 1614.<sup>43</sup>

Adi 13 dec.

recepti 21 [?] qs<sup>44</sup> 318 et s 1<sup>45</sup> L

Que Piero Dagsamarios remisat<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> This date is written on the top of the last page as if it were a header.

<sup>44</sup> Here again, I am grateful for the help of Dr. Alan Stahl, however it is unclear which monetary systems and measurements these notes use. It might be quarters or carats.

<sup>45</sup> Between the “1” and the “L,” an insect has eaten away at the vellum and this is therefore illegible.

<sup>46</sup> These last three lines are written parallel to the binding and contain information about accounts settled.

## Translation

Written below are the chapters and ordinances  
of the society of the disciplined of Saint Michael of Camaiore  
in the year 1321.

Chapter i	On electing the prior with all the other officers.
Chapter ii	That all the officers are required to follow the prior's orders.
Chapter iii	On those who wish to enter the said confraternity.
Chapter iiiii	On making one's cloak and delivering it.
Chapter v	That every first Sunday of the month one is required to come to put on the vestments [of the confraternity].
Chapter vi	On saying five Our Fathers with five Hail Marys every day.
Chapter vii	On saying one Our Father with one Hail Mary when one sits and gets up from the table for eating.
Chapter viiii	On fasting for all of the vigils of Our Lady beyond those commanded.
Chapter viiii	On observing all the commandments of Holy Mother Church.
Chapter x	On he who may incur the detestable sin of sodomy.
Chapter xi	On having our statutes read on the first Sunday of every month.
Chapter xii	On treating and speaking of all the things of utility and honour appertaining to the said confraternity.
Chapter xiii	On not taking one's cloak nor others' out [of the confraternity] without permission.
Chapter xiv	On going to St. Lazarus on the day of his feast, and in other places at other times.
Chapter xv	On visiting our sick brothers.
Chapter xvi	On the mystery of Holy Thursday.
Chapter xvii	On electing four nurses and their responsibilities.
Chapter xviii	What to do when one of our brothers passes from this present sent life.
Chapter xix	On going to honour the bodies of our brothers who have passed from this present life.
Chapter xx	On having seven masses said for the soul of each of our brothers who will pass from this present life.
Chapter xxi	On observing our feast on the day of our captain Messer St. Michael in September.
Chapter xxii	On confessing as often as one can, at least once a year.
Chapter xxiii	On going with our banner to the procession on the day of the solemnity of Corpus Domini.

- Chapter xxiv      That no one may enter into our confraternity if he has not won by two thirds [of the votes].<sup>1</sup>
- Chapter xxv      That who will be elected treasurer must be a paid-up member within eight days [of his election].
- Chapter xxvi      That the old treasurer has one month to put all of the residual funds in the hands of the new treasurer.

#### Chapter i.

In the name of our Lord. Amen. We order, determine, and wish that every year on the Sunday of St. Lazarus, [after] having returned [to the meeting hall] from receiving the indulgence and removed their vestments, the prior and syndics [in office] at this time have to call six men of the said confraternity, who have been approved of and have won election by the said confraternity using election boxes and ballot balls. These [six] men then, together with the said prior and syndics, have to elect all the officers for [the next] four years: that is, the prior, the syndics, the treasurer, the hospitallers, and the superior. [We order, determine, and wish that] four slips of paper are to be filled out, that is, [one should write] the name of one prior on a slip [of paper], two syndics on a slip, one treasurer on a slip, one hospitaller on a slip, and one superior on a slip. And [each man should do the same] for the second, third, and fourth slips of paper. And then all the said slips [should be] cut to the same size and then sealed and sewn, and the said slips should be put in a new small box or a small bag and put in the said confraternity's chest under [lock and] key. And then on the third day of Easter, one should pull one of the said slips by lot; and the person whose name is written on the above-mentioned slip will be the officer of the said confraternity for one year. And [one should pull slips to determine the names of all of the officers], proceeding this way in the name of God, [with one slip for each position] for every year until [names have been picked for offices for] four years. And once four years have passed, [the confraternity is required to] redo the [election of] offices in a similar method and manner [to choose men to fill the offices] for another four years. And to proceed in this way from good to better to the praise, honour, and glory of God and of our captain Messer St. Michael.

#### Chapter ii.

Item. We order that all of the officers are required to observe all of the commandments given to them by our prior in all things appertaining to the said confraternity and concerning the syndics, because, as St. Paul says, he who does not obey his prelate, that is his prior, disobeys God. Therefore, we want

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<sup>1</sup> This is in reference to the vote by the confraternity to admit new brothers. The confraternity would vote on a prospective member and he needed two-thirds of the brothers to vote in his favour for admittance.



them to be obedient. And every time they are not obedient, they are obligated to pay [a fine of] two *soldi*.

### Chapter iii.

Again we order if someone wants to enter into the said confraternity, he must first give his name to the prior and syndics. And they are obligated to inform themselves within fifteen days of his quality and habits. And if he will seem to the said prior and the syndics suitable and of good habits, [after] having consulted also some of the most senior members of the confraternity, let him be received on their conscience [into the confraternity] and let him make his offer with the cloak on his back, and then let him go on his knees to kiss and give a kiss of holy peace first to the prior, and then to all the other brothers in the confraternity congregated together.

### Chapter iiiii.

We also establish that after one will have entered into the said confraternity, he has three months to consign his cloak to the treasurer. And until he has bought or made the cloak, he may not enjoy any temporal or spiritual benefits that appertain to the said confraternity, and indeed he is not considered one of us. And if the said three months should pass, and such said novice is not able through evident poverty to buy the cloak, we wish that the prior with the whole confraternity loan him money to buy the said cloak. He must pay them or return the money [to them] within three months after the first three that have passed.

### Chapter v.

And we also order that every brother of our confraternity, who is able to come, lacking a legitimate excuse, is obliged every first Sunday of the month to come to dress [in his confraternal cloak] at the confraternity hall and accompany our banner to where our prior wishes and deems fit. And he who is not able to come is required to say seven Our Fathers with seven Hail Marys beyond the obligation of the five that they are required to say every day to the reverence of God and of the glorious Virgin Mary, and of Messer Saint Michael, our protector, and to pay four *soldi* according to the judgment of the said prior.

### Chapter vi.

Item. We order that every one in our confraternity is obligated to say five Our Fathers and five Hail Marys every day for the souls of those brothers and benefactors who have passed on.

### Chapter vii.

We also order that every one in our confraternity is obligated every morning and evening when he sets the table for lunch or dinner to thank God and to say one Our Father and one Hail Mary.

## Chapter viii.

We also order that each one of our confraternity is obliged, unless one has a just excuse, to fast on all the vigils of our Lady, beyond those which we are required [to observe].

## Chapter ix.

Item. We order that every one in our confraternity is required to observe all the commandments of Holy Mother Church, and not to keep concubines, nor commit any other dishonest vice like playing prohibited games, under the penalty of ten *soldi*.

## Chapter x.

And we also order that he who engages in the detestable vice and abominable sin of incontinent sodomy is deprived, rescinded, and written out of the confraternity, and removed without any delay.

## Chapter xi.

We also wish and order that every first Sunday of the month the confraternity, having come back [to the meeting hall] with the banner, disrobe. Our prior is required to have our statutes read to all members of our confraternity so that each one knows and is well informed of that which he has to do and observe. And if anyone wishes to say or propose anything in the said confraternity, he must always first say “praise be to God,” and then say that which he wishes to say with reverence, and stand in a good way with his cap in hand when he wishes to speak.

## Chapter xii.

Item. We order that our prior have two syndics to treat and speak of all the things appertaining to the utility and honor of the confraternity. And where there is hatred, [we order that he] do everything possible with great industry to bring about peace and union. And if there is some discord between one of our brothers, one with another, they are required to bring all of their differences that they have to the above-mentioned prior and syndics, and to abide by that sentence and punishment that will be judged by the above-mentioned officers under the penalty of twenty *soldi*.

## Chapter xiii.

And we order again that no person may dare to take his cloak or that of others outside the confraternity quarters without permission of the prior and the syndics. And whoever takes it will be excommunicated until he brings it back. And if he is someone who is not willing to be of our [confraternity], he should leave the cloak and go immediately.

## Chapter xiii.

Next, we establish that the prior ought to command our congregation to go every year on the day of St. Lazarus, that is the Sunday of the said saint, dressed, with our banner, to take the indulgence, and likewise on Holy Friday, and to the other churches and to the *badia*<sup>2</sup> according to what will be commanded by the above-mentioned prior under the penalty of four *soldi* up to ten *soldi* and from ten *soldi* to two *soldi* for each man and each time, according to whatever seems appropriate to the said prior.

## Chapter xv.

And we also order that every time our prior commands some of our brothers go to visit any of our brothers who are sick, or any time he wishes to assemble the confraternity, that is all the brothers, in order to tend to our business, and he is not obeyed, then the said prior has the authority to condemn those who are disobedient, like in the above-mentioned chapter.

## Chapter xvi.

We also command and order that early in the evening of Holy Thursday, all the brothers come to our confraternity's meeting hall to celebrate the divine washing of the feet according to the example of our Savior who, in such an evening, washed the feet of his holy disciples. And in this way we want that our prior wash the feet of all our brothers as Holy Mother Church observes under the penalty of four *soldi*.

## Chapter xvii.

Item. We order that our confraternity have four [male] nurses, that is four visitors for the infirm, who are obligated for the remission of sins, with every diligence and solicitude, to go visit our infirm brothers, and to stay with them during the day and night, and primarily to comfort and to exhort them to confession and communion. And if those infirm have greater necessity of one thing more than another, the said visitors should go to the prior to explain the need. And together [they should] propose and provide for the need of that sick brother of ours, and assist him, and help him with that charity, to the extent that the said confraternity is able. And not doing this, the said visitors incur a penalty of four *soldi* each time.

## Chapter xviii.

We also order that when one of our brothers passes from this present life, our treasurer or prior be alerted, and said prior and treasurer send eight of our brothers to clothe the said deceased with the [confraternity] cloak and fasten the cord around him. And whoever is disobedient in this act of piety and

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<sup>2</sup> It is clear that the authors of the statutes thought it was obvious to the reader that they were referring to the only *badia* in town, the Monastero di San Pietro, also known as the Badia di Camaioire.

charity, whoever does not go immediately, is excluded for one year from all our privileges. And he is not permitted to enter into any of our consolations as a rebel against Christ. And at the end of the year, he may enter with permission of the officers admitting his fault, and paying nothing less than four *soldi*.

#### Chapter xix.

Item. We order that when the prior invites the brothers to honor the bodies of our brothers who will pass from this present life, we wish that those who will be invited to such works of mercy come to our congregation with every solicitude and devotion. And [we order] that they go dressed with the cloak, two by two, behind our banner, or crucifix, in all piety, and devotion, and in silence, to that place or church where they will be called to gather. And those who will have been called to such works of piety and mercy, and by their obstinacy, impiety, and disobedience do not obey such officers, having been invited and being able to do so, and persisting in such disobedience and obstinacy up to three times are excluded from all of the suffrages and spiritual fruits of our confraternity for one year and pay six *soldi*, and nothing less, and then, [if it seems] to the said confraternity, be excluded in perpetuity.

#### Chapter xx.

And we also order that the prior with the treasurer have seven masses said for the soul of each of our brothers who will pass from this present life, in place of the seven for the remission of his sins. And this is to be done out of the goods and income coming into our said confraternity.

#### Chapter xxi.

Again we order that on the day of Saint Michael in September our feast be celebrated to the ability that the said confraternity will have, and more or less according to what will please and what seems [possible] to the prior and the syndics of the said confraternity to honor our captain Messer Saint Michael that he guard us from every evil, and especially against all those who wish to annihilate and to usurp the good of this confraternity.

#### Chapter xxii.

We order that each one of our brothers confess as often as he is able, at least once per year, that is for Easter, and he who would go against this [order] is expelled from all our privileges for one year. And if he persists in this way three times in such obstinacy and sin, he is removed in perpetuity and erased from the said confraternity, because the wise man says that good habits are pleasing to God, and bad habits corrupt the good.

#### Chapter xxiii.

We also order that on the day of Corpus Domini, all those of the said confraternity are required to come to dress themselves at the said confraternity in order to accompany our banner and to go in procession behind that most

holy sacrament with candles in hand along with the clergy and other devoted confraternities.

Chapter xxiii.

Item. Further to the third chapter, we order that each person who wishes to enter in our confraternity, after first having examined his life and habits as is said in the said chapter, must be put up for election with boxes and ballot balls. And he will not be considered to have won unless he is elected by two-thirds of the confraternity gathered together for that purpose and not otherwise.

Chapter xxv.

We also order that each person who will leave the office of treasurer is required, and ought within eight days to give good and suitable accounts, otherwise he may not be in the confraternity, and the said confraternity has to select another.

Chapter xxvi.

And thus we also wish that the old treasurer balance his accounts within one month, putting all his residual funds in the hands of the new treasurer, and if he does not do so, the new treasurer can and ought to make him pay, and the said confraternity can consider him to be, and can list him as a debtor in the account book<sup>3</sup> of the said new treasurer. And thus he [the new treasurer] has to be subjected to examination on penalty of losing his salary and of not being able to hold any more offices in the said confraternity.

Alessandro Guidiccioni, by the grace of God and the apostolic see, Bishop of Lucca, on behalf of the prior and brothers of the aforementioned confraternity of Saint Michael of Camaione, having been asked to confirm the above-mentioned chapters, after we had seen all these very chapters and ordinations and having considered them, and having seen that they pertain to the glory of God, the increase of divine worship, and the devotion of themselves<sup>4</sup> and of the brothers and to the salvation of souls, we approve and confirm with our usual authority, which we exercise in this matter, that all these very chapters and ordinations are Catholic and salutary. And we order that all these things and the present chapters individually, having been edited by us from anew,

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<sup>3</sup> In double-entry book keeping, a *vachetta* (or *vacchetta*), or account book (some use the term wastebook) was used as a book of primary entry. This is also related to the *vacchetta de' contanti*, or cash book. For more information on these medieval business terms, see Edler, *Glossary of Medieval Terms of Business*, 308.

<sup>4</sup> This might refer to the bishop and the prior.

be observed by the brethren of the aforementioned confraternity in virtue of holy obedience. Your aforementioned magnificence.<sup>5</sup>

We order and command that every year during the time when they elect the officers of the said confraternity, it is necessary to elect a woman of acceptable age and of a good life and reputation who has to care for receiving the poor that will be at the hospital and to minister to them with charity the necessary customary things to the said poor. And she ought to take care of the beds, woolen cloths, and linen cloths that they keep in the hospital for use by the children, and that they be clean, and they not go to ruin for lack of care. And she ought to lock the poor in the hospital every evening so that they will be there and they will not be able to go out without her, and she must not allow the women to sleep with the men even if they say they are husband and wife.

Item. Every year during the same time as above, they ought to elect two visitors for the hospital who are required to visit the said hospital twice a week to see that the female hospitaller is doing her duty and always when there are [any] infirmed in the said hospital. They are required to provide the infirm with a doctor and the things necessary for the said infirm in the same manner that they are provided for the infirm of the confraternity.

Item. We order that the beds of the women be placed in a room separate from that of the men.

To the faith of these men, all together and individually, we have ordered that these very documents be made and be signed by our notary and chancellor mentioned below and we have ordered and made them to be reinforced with the imprint of our customary Episcopal seal. Given in the Castle of Camaiore on the 29<sup>th</sup> day of October in the year 1559. In the third indiction.

#### Chapter 1:

Item. We order and wish that our officers be required every first Sunday of the month to elect eight of our brothers to accompany the most holy sacrament when it goes to the infirm for communion in the Castle of Camaiore.

#### Chapter 2:

Item. We also wish that in perpetuity all the brothers come to prayer every Saturday evening during Lent at the confraternity hall under that penalty [written] in the book of decrees on 6 January 1572.

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<sup>5</sup> I sincerely thank both Dr. Alan Stahl for his suggestion that the flourish at the end of this line is probably “cum,” that is “they are done with [the following order]” and Dr. Matthieu Van der Meer for his suggestion that the same flourish could be “Predicta vestra magnificentia” meaning “Your aforementioned magnificence” referring to the bishop. I leave both suggestions to the reader to make his or her own decision.

Chapter 3:

Item. We also order and wish that all brothers of the said confraternity be required and obliged to confess and take communion three times per year in perpetuity, that is for Easter, and for Saint Michael in September, and for the circumcision of our Lord, as the decree appears in the above mentioned book on 8 April 1576.

Chapter 4:

Item. We also order that all those who will wish to enter into the said confraternity be examined by three of the most senior [members] of the confraternity, and that they will not be able to be one of us if they first do not know the Our Father, the Hail Mary, and the Creed, as per the decree that appears under 2 May, 1576.

1828

This 10 May 1614.<sup>6</sup>

This 13 Dec.

received 21 [?] qs 318 et s 1 L

That Piero Dagsamarios resent

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<sup>6</sup> This date is written on the top of the last page as if it were a header.