## Appendix

## Summary of Contents

1. In Section "A Simple Model of Executive Constraints" I provide a simple formal model of policy making in the face of future scrutiny.
2. Table A1 gives the breakdown of Standard Bearers of Justice in my sample by Guild membership.
3. In Tables A2 \& A3. I give evidence that the relationship between the guild membership of the Standard Bearer of Justice was uncorrelated across time. First, in Table A2, via multinomial logistic regression, I regress the Standard Bearer's guild on the membership of the previous period's Standard Bearer. Second, in Table A3, I treat the outcome as a dummy taking on a value of one if the Standard Bearer belonged to either the Calimala (international merchant) or Cambio (banker's) guilds. Again I regress this dummy on its lagged value. Across specification I find that the leader's guild was independent across draws from the borse.
4. In Tables A4 \& A5 I provide evidence of balance in the guild association of the Standard Bearer across two observables. First, in Table A4 I show that the guild association of the Standard Bearer was unassociated with the number of non-trading days (holidays) in their term. Second, in Table A5, via multnomial logistic regression, I show that the guild association of each leader was unassociated with the month of the year in which they were drawn into office.
5. In Table A6 I replicate Table Ifrom the main text introducing MA, and AR components.
6. In Table A7 I replicate Tables $\square$ and $\Pi$ averaging the daily change in the price of the florin over each term in office.
7. In Table A8 I replicate Table $\Pi$ allowing the effect of the Standard Bearer's guild membership to vary with the guild composition of the priorate.
8. In Table A9 I replicate Table III from the main text, introducing additional ARCH and GARCH components.
9. In Table A10 I replicate Table III from the main text, now treating the main independent variables as the full set of guild effects instead of a dummy for the Calimala (international merchant) or Cambio (banker's) guilds.
10. In Table A11, I provide evidence that even the differences between these three occupational groups and the other major guilds were driven by extremely wealthy outliers. There, I replicate Table IV, now treating the outcome as the log of each asset category. Here, when logging the outcome variables, thereby accounting for
several extreme outliers, the differences in incomes across all groups becomes statistically insignificant for all categories of income.

## A Simple Model of Executive Constraints

To begin, consider the preferences over currency competitiveness of the decisive member of the electoral committee, $\theta_{a}$, which for simplicity, I set $\theta_{a}=0$. Assuming a quadratic loss, the utility of the decisive member of the committee is equal to $-\theta^{2}$ where $\theta$ is the observed level of competitiveness. Let the observed utility of the decisive member of the committee be equal to $-\theta^{2}=-x^{2}+\epsilon$ where $x$ the policy implemented by the Standard Bearer of Justice and $\epsilon$ is a mean zero random variable drawn from a symmetric, strictly unimodal, probability density function $f$. The committee does not observe directly policy $x$ but rather just their observed level of utility $-\theta^{2}$.

Consider a Standard Bearer of Justice who has a preferred level of competitiveness $\theta_{i}$ and who lives for two periods $\cdot 2$ In each period, if they are drawn into office they receive a payoff of $r-\left(\theta_{i}-\theta\right)^{2}$. Where $r$ is an exogenous "ego rent" associated with holding office and $-\left(\theta_{i}-\theta\right)^{2}$ is the component of his payoff he receives from policy. After being drawn and setting policy in the first period the leader faces a scrutiny to determine whether or not he will remain in the pool of candidates eligible to hold office in the second period. If the Standard Bearer is retained following scrutiny, with some probability $\delta$ he is drawn into office in the second period $\sqrt[3]{3}$ Since in the second period the Standard Bearer does not face reelection, if he is randomly selected, he will choose his optimal policy $x=\theta_{i}$ with the electoral committee, in turn, receiving $-\theta_{i}^{2}$ in expectation.

A strategy for the electoral committee is a cut rule that determines whether or not to retain a Standard Bearer of Justice in the pool of candidates for the second period, e.g. reject for re admittance to the borse if $-\theta^{2}>k \underbrace{4}$ A strategy for the Standard Bearer is a policy $x$. The decisive member of the committee will determine the optimal cut rule, $k^{*}$, by considering the response of the Standard Bearer of justice to any given rule $k$. Given some cut rule $k$ the Standard Bearer randomly selected into office will maximize

$$
\begin{equation*}
\underbrace{r-\left(\theta_{i}-x\right)^{2}}_{\text {Period } 1}+\underbrace{\delta\left(1-F\left(x^{2}+k\right) r\right)}_{\text {Period } 2} \tag{1}
\end{equation*}
$$

[^0]And will consider his payoff across two periods. In the second period, when there is no chance of reelection, by subgame perfection, the Standard Bearer will choose his ideal point, $x=\theta_{i}$. Hence in the second period they are only concerned with the ego rents, $r$, they receive from office which they obtain with some probability $\delta\left(1-F\left(x^{2}+k\right)\right)$ where $\delta$ is the probability of being randomly selected in a given period and $1-F\left(x^{2}+k\right)=$ $\left(1-\operatorname{Pr}\left(-x^{2}+\epsilon<k\right)\right)=(1-\operatorname{Pr}(\theta<k))$ is the probability they are retained in the pool of eligible candidates given a cut point $k$ and a policy $x$ in the first period. Taking first order conditions gives $0=2\left(\theta_{i}-x\right)-\delta r f\left(x^{2}+k\right) 2 x$, yielding

$$
\begin{equation*}
f\left(x^{2}+k\right)=\frac{\theta_{i}-x}{x} \frac{1}{\delta r} \tag{2}
\end{equation*}
$$

Equation 2 implicitly defines the best response of the Standard Bearer, $x$, as a function of the cut point $k$. Let this be called $x\left(k^{*}\right)$. Since the right hand side is decreasing in $x$, the committee (who is best off when $x=0$ ) can get $x$ closest to zero by maximizing the left hand side, $f\left(x^{2}+k\right)$. Because $f(\cdot)$ is strictly unimodal with mean zero, it reaches its maximum at $f(0)$. As such, the committee will set $k^{*}$ such that $k^{*}+x\left(k^{*}\right)=0$. Allowing $x^{*}=x\left(k^{*}\right)$, we can define

$$
\begin{equation*}
f(0)=\frac{\theta_{i}-x^{*}}{x^{*}} \frac{1}{\delta r} \tag{3}
\end{equation*}
$$

It follows that $x^{*}=\frac{\theta_{i}}{1+f(0) \delta r}$ and that $k^{*}=-x^{* 2} \cdot 5$ As such, the equilibrium policy chosen by a given Standard Bearer of Justice is just their preferred outcome weighted by their probability of being selected in future periods, the ego rents from holding office, and shape of the distribution of the random component, $\epsilon$.

## References

Kent, D. (1975), 'The florentine reggimento in the fifteenth century', Renaissance Quarterly 28(4), 575-638.

[^1]Standard Bearers of Justice by Guild Membership

| International Merchants | Sedentary Merchants | Others |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Calimala <br> [Great Merchants] (22.5) | Lana [Wool] (39.2) | Medici e Spezial [Doctors \& Apothecaries] (8.4) |
| Cambio [Bankers] (15.9) | Seta <br> [Silk] <br> (11.5) | Notai [Lawyers] (2.6) |
|  |  | Vaiai e Pelliccia [Furriers] (0.0) |
| (38.4) | (50.7) | (11.0) |

Table A1: The Breakdown of Standard Bearer of Justice's Guild Membership 1493-1433
Table A2

| Model: | 1. | 2. | 3. | 1. | 2. | 3. | 1. | 2. | 3. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Notait |  |  | Calimalat $^{\text {a }}$ |  |  | Medici e Spezial ${ }_{t}$ |  |  |
| Notait ${ }_{\text {t-1 }}$ | $\begin{gathered} -15.16 \\ (3522.00) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -15.56 \\ (3841.95) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -16.83 \\ (6104.61) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.91 \\ & (1.19) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.07 \\ & (1.23) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.71 \\ & (1.29) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -15.16 \\ (2033.42) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -15.36 \\ (2190.26) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -16.79 \\ (3837.22) \end{gathered}$ |
| Calimalat $^{\text {d }}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.07 \\ (0.96) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.22 \\ (1.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.17 \\ (1.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.40 \\ (0.48) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.66 \\ (0.51) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.52 \\ (0.53) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.03 \\ (0.84) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.13 \\ (0.86) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.24 \\ (0.88) \end{gathered}$ |
| Cambio $_{t-1}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.37 \\ & (1.20) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.17 \\ (1.22) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.82 \\ (1.34) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.66 \\ (0.56) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.80 \\ (0.58) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.20 \\ (0.64) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.37 \\ (0.74) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.33 \\ (0.76) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.47 \\ (0.84) \end{gathered}$ |
| $S^{\text {eta }}$ t-1 | $\begin{gathered} -14.75 \\ (1496.63) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -15.01 \\ (1574.32) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -16.30 \\ (2652.97) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.11 \\ & (0.71) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.00 \\ & (0.72) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.16 \\ (0.76) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.53 \\ (0.86) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.41 \\ (0.87) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.85 \\ & (0.92) \end{aligned}$ |
| Medici e Spezialt-1 | $\begin{gathered} -14.49 \\ (1646.81) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -14.55 \\ (1715.70) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -15.90 \\ (2688.55) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.37 \\ (0.68) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.50 \\ (0.70) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.16 \\ (0.73) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.08 \\ (0.89) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.23 \\ (0.90) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.17 \\ (0.94) \end{gathered}$ |
|  | Cambio $_{\text {t }}$ |  |  | Seta $_{t}$ |  |  | $\chi^{2}$ On All Lags |  |  |
| Notait-1 | $\begin{gathered} 1.02 \\ (1.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.18 \\ (1.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.30 \\ (1.15) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -15.16 \\ (1761.00) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -15.05 \\ (1800.80) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -15.86 \\ (3685.10) \end{gathered}$ |  | $p$ value |  |
| Calimalat $^{1}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.83 \\ (0.58) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.88 \\ (0.59) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.05 \\ (0.64) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.40 \\ & (0.61) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.16 \\ (0.64) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.35 \\ (0.67) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| Cambio $_{t-1}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.57 \\ (0.64) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.55 \\ (0.66) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.14 \\ (0.74) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.76 \\ & (1.09) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.57 \\ & (1.11) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.58 \\ (1.17) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 12.53 \\ & (.98) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 12.76 \\ & (.98) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15.20 \\ (.93) \end{gathered}$ |
| $S^{\text {eta }}{ }_{t-1}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.12 \\ (0.78) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.14 \\ (0.78) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.40 \\ (0.84) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.13 \\ & (0.68) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.29 \\ (0.69) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.31 \\ (0.74) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| Medici e Spezialt-1 | $\begin{gathered} 0.57 \\ (0.81) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.61 \\ (0.81) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.13 \\ (0.86) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.37 \\ & (0.87) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.20 \\ & (0.89) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.00 \\ (0.94) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| Scrutiny Effects Quarter Effects | $\begin{aligned} & \text { No } \\ & \text { No } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { No } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { Yes } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { No } \\ & \text { No } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { No } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { Yes } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { No } \\ & \text { No } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { No } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { Yes } \end{aligned}$ |

This table gives coefficient estimates from multinomial logistic regressions of the guild association of the Standard Bearer of Justice on its lagged value. Model 2 includes dummies for each scrutiny and model three includes dummies for scrutiny and quarter. The omitted category is the Lana (wool manufacturers). Standard errors in parentheses.

Table A3
Independence of Guild Association Across Sortitions

|  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Calimala $_{t-1}$ or Cambio $_{t-1}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.05 \\ (0.07) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.22 \\ (0.29) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.01 \\ (0.07) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.05 \\ (0.31) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.08 \\ (0.07) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.38 \\ (0.34) \end{gathered}$ |
| Model: | OLS | Logit | OLS | Logit | OLS | Logit |
| Scrutiny Effects | No | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Quarter Effects | No | No | No | No | Yes | Yes |

This table gives coefficient estimates from OLS and logit regressions where I regress a dummy taking on a value of one when the guild association of the Standard Bearer of Justice is either from the International Merchant or Banking guilds upon its lagged value. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table A4
Independence of Guild Association and Average Time Between Trading Days

|  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. | 6. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Notai ${ }_{t-1}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.03 \\ (0.08) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.02 \\ (0.08) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.02 \\ (0.08) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| Calimala $_{\text {t-1 }}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.04 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.04 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.03 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| Cambio $_{t-1}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.05 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.06 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.05 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| $\operatorname{Seta}_{t-1}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.00 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.00 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.00 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| Medici e Spezial ${ }_{t-1}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.06 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.05 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.04 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| Calimala $_{t-1}$ or Cambio $_{t-1}$ |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.03 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.04 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.03 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ |
| F-Stat on Guild Dummies | $\begin{gathered} 0.57 \\ (0.72) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.70 \\ (0.62) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.41 \\ (0.84) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| Scrutiny Effects Quarter Effects | $\begin{aligned} & \text { No } \\ & \text { No } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { No } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { Yes } \end{aligned}$ | No | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { No } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { Yes } \end{aligned}$ |

${ }^{* * *} p<0.01,{ }^{* *} p<0.05,{ }^{*} p<0.1$
This Table OLS estimates from a regression of the average time between trading days and the guild association of the Standard Bearer of Justice. The omitted category is the Lana (wool manufacturers). Standard errors in parentheses.
Table A5

| Model: | 1. | 2. | 3. | 1. | 2. | 3. | 1. | 2. | 3. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Notait |  |  | Calimalat $^{\text {a }}$ |  |  | Medici e Spezial ${ }_{t}$ |  |  |
| January | $\begin{gathered} 0.61 \\ (1956.23) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.58 \\ (2034.59) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4.24 \\ (19507.26) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.01 \\ (0.62) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.06 \\ (0.63) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18.43 \\ (6093.54) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2.69^{*} \\ & (1.11) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2.73^{*} \\ & (1.12) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 19.26 \\ (6933.55) \end{gathered}$ |
| March | $\begin{gathered} 15.92 \\ (1422.98) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 16.07 \\ (1484.59) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18.29 \\ (4320.54) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.10 \\ & (0.72) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.15 \\ & (0.73) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.04 \\ (0.75) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.40 \\ (1.20) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.38 \\ (1.20) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.45 \\ (1.21) \end{gathered}$ |
| May | $\begin{gathered} 0.61 \\ (1957.48) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.58 \\ (2036.63) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4.16 \\ (19513.84) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.90 \\ (0.63) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.94 \\ (0.64) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18.30 \\ (6093.54) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2.58^{*} \\ & (1.11) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.61^{*} \\ (1.12) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 19.10 \\ (6933.55) \end{gathered}$ |
| July | $\begin{gathered} 15.78 \\ (1422.98) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15.86 \\ (1484.59) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18.08 \\ (4320.54) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.08 \\ (0.62) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.10 \\ (0.63) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.24 \\ (0.67) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.96 \\ (1.17) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.97 \\ (1.18) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.08 \\ (1.18) \end{gathered}$ |
| September | $\begin{gathered} 15.58 \\ (1422.98) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 15.62 \\ (1484.59) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 21.20 \\ (19177.73) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.75^{* *} \\ (0.65) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.79^{* *} \\ (0.66) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 19.18 \\ (6093.54) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.45^{* *} \\ (1.12) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.50^{* *} \\ (1.13) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 20.05 \\ (6933.55) \end{gathered}$ |
|  | Cambiot $^{\text {t }}$ |  |  | Seta $_{t}$ |  |  | $\chi^{2}$ On All Lags |  |  |
| January | $\begin{gathered} -0.42 \\ (0.90) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.46 \\ (0.91) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 17.06 \\ (10624.45) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.78 \\ (0.84) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.77 \\ (0.84) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 38.01 \\ (9516.10) \end{gathered}$ | $p$ value in () |  |  |
| March | $\begin{gathered} 0.77 \\ (0.65) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.84 \\ (0.67) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.92 \\ (0.69) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.10 \\ & (0.97) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.12 \\ & (0.97) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.08 \\ (0.98) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| May | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.81) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.06 \\ & (0.82) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 17.41 \\ (10624.45) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.78 \\ (0.84) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.78 \\ (0.84) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 38.00 \\ (9516.10) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 29.34 \\ & (0.25) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 30.20 \\ & (0.22) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 14.47 \\ (0.95) \end{gathered}$ |
| July | $\begin{gathered} 0.57 \\ (0.72) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.55 \\ (0.73) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.66 \\ (0.75) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.86 \\ (0.84) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.86 \\ (0.84) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.95 \\ (0.85) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| September | $\begin{gathered} 0.55 \\ (0.84) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.50 \\ (0.85) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 18.03 \\ (10624.45) \end{gathered}$ | (0.84) | (0.84) | (0.85) |  |  |  |
| Scrutiny Effects | No | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | Yes | No | Yes | Yes |
| Quarter Effects | No | No | Yes | No | No | Yes | No | No | Yes |

This table gives coefficient estimates from multinomial logistic regressions of the guild association of each standard bearer of justice on the month of year in which he came to office. Model 2 includes dummies for each scrutiny and model three includes dummies for scrutiny and quarter. The omitted category is November. Standard errors in parentheses.

|  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Calimala | $\begin{gathered} 0.11^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.11^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.11^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.11^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.11^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ |
| Cambio | $\begin{gathered} 0.11^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.11^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.11^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.11^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.11^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ |
| Notai | $\begin{gathered} -0.08 \\ (0.08) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.07 \\ (0.08) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.08 \\ (0.08) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.08 \\ (0.08) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.07 \\ (0.08) \end{gathered}$ |
| Seta | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ |
| Medici e Spezial | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ |
| MA(1) | $\begin{gathered} -0.13^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.12^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.28^{*} \\ (0.17) \end{gathered}$ |
| MA(2) |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.02 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |
| AR(1) |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.12^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.12^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.15 \\ (0.17) \end{gathered}$ |
| AR(2) |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.03 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ |  |
| Scrutiny Effects Quarter Effects | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { Yes } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { Yes } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { Yes } \end{aligned}$ | Yes Yes | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { Yes } \end{aligned}$ |
| $\chi^{2}$ Test <br> Calimala $=$ Cambio | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.88) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.89) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.89) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.89) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.89) \end{gathered}$ |

Table A6: This Table gives the effects of guild membership on daily price levels. The Lana (wool manufacturers) are the baseline category. Robust standard errors in parentheses. The $\chi^{2}$ test of the null hypothesis that the coefficient associated with the Calimala (International Merchants) is equal to that for the Cambio (Banker's) guild. The p-value for this test is in parentheses below.

|  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Calimala $_{t-1}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.12^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.12^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
| Cambio $_{t-1}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.12^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.11^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
| $S^{\text {eta }}{ }_{t-1}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
| Medici e Spezial ${ }_{t-1}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
| Notai ${ }_{\text {t-1 }}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.08 \\ (0.09) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.07 \\ (0.09) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
| Calimala $_{t-1}$ or Cambio $_{t-1}$ |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.12^{* * *} \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.11^{* * *} \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} -0.05 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.07 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.04 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.02 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ |
| F-Stat on Calimala $=$ Cambio | $\begin{gathered} 0.00 \\ (0.96) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.04 \\ (0.84) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
| Scrutiny Effects Quarter Effects | Yes | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { Yes } \end{aligned}$ | Yes | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Yes } \\ & \text { Yes } \end{aligned}$ |
| T | 227 | 227 | 227 | 227 |
| $\mathrm{R}^{2}$ | 0.078 | 0.087 | 0.072 | 0.081 |

Table A7: This Table gives estimates of the effect gives the effects of guild membership on the average daily change in the price of the florin over each term in office. In columns 1-2 the Lana (wool manufacturers) are the baseline category. Robust standard errors in parentheses. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Calimala or
Cambia:

| Standard Bearer of Justice | $\begin{gathered} 0.17^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.16^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.16^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.17^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.16^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Number on |  |  |  |  |  |
| Priorate | $\begin{gathered} -0.03^{*} \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.03^{*} \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.03^{* *} \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.03^{*} \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.03^{* *} \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ |
| Standard Bearer of Justice $\times$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ |
| Time Between Trading Days |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.15^{* * *} \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.15 * * * \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ |
| Time Until Sortition |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.00^{* * *} \\ (0.0) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.00^{* * *} \\ (0.0) \end{gathered}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.01 \\ & (0.05) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.23^{* * *} \\ (0.07) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.11^{* *} \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.31^{* * *} \\ (0.08) \end{gathered}$ |
| Scrutiny Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Quarter Effects | No | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| $R^{2}$ | 0.0015 | 0.0015 | 0.010 | 0.0027 | 0.0112 |

Table A8: This table gives the effects of a Standard Bearer of Justice's being drawn from the Cambio or Calimala guilds as it varies with the number of priors also drawn from these guilds on changes in price levels. Robust standard errors clustered by term in office in parentheses. Coefficients are scaled by a factor of $10^{3}$.

The Effect of Calimala and Cambio Leader Membership on Price and Volitility of the Florin 1393-1431

Outcome: $r_{t}$

| Calimala or | $0.16^{* * *}$ | $0.11^{*}$ | $0.13^{* *}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cambio | $(0.05)$ | $(0.06)$ | $(0.06)$ |

Outcome: $\sigma_{t}^{2}$
$\begin{array}{lccc}\text { Calimala or } & \begin{array}{c}0.33^{* *} \\ (0.13)\end{array} & \begin{array}{c}0.34^{* *} \\ (0.16)\end{array} & \begin{array}{c}0.53^{* *} \\ \text { Cambio }\end{array} \\$\cline { 2 - 4 } \& \& <br> ARCH$\left.(1,21)\end{array}\right)$

| Scrutiny Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Quarter Effects | Yes | Yes | Yes |
|  |  | ${ }^{* * *} p<0.01,{ }^{* *} p<0.05,{ }^{*} p<0.1$ |  |

Table A9: This Table gives the effects of membership of the Standard Bearer of Justice in the Calimala or Cambio guilds on daily price levels and volatility. The top panel gives estimates of the effect on price levels and the bottom to the variance of the trading price. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

|  | 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Outcome: $r_{t}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Calimala | $\begin{gathered} 0.10 \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.15^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.15^{* *} \\ (0.07) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.12^{*} \\ & (0.06) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.14^{* *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ |
| Cambio | $\begin{gathered} 0.17^{* *} \\ (0.07) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.21^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.21^{* * *} \\ (0.07) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.19^{* * *} \\ (0.07) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.21^{* * *} \\ (0.07) \end{gathered}$ |
| Notai | $\begin{gathered} 0.08 \\ (0.14) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.13 \\ & (0.13) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.06 \\ (0.17) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.00 \\ (0.14) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.15) \end{gathered}$ |
| Seta | $\begin{gathered} 0.07 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.04 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.08 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.08 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.07 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ |
| Medici e Spezial | $\begin{aligned} & 0.13^{*} \\ & (0.08) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.08) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.12 \\ (0.08) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.06 \\ (0.08) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.07 \\ (0.07) \end{gathered}$ |
| Time Between Trading Days |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.10^{* * *} \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.10^{* * *} \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ |
| Time Until Next Sortition |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.00^{* *} \\ (0.00) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.00^{* *} \\ (0.00) \end{gathered}$ |
| Outcome: $\sigma_{t}^{2}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| Calimala | $\begin{gathered} 0.63^{* * *} \\ (0.24) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.36^{*} \\ & (0.20) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.62^{* *} \\ (0.27) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.51^{* *} \\ (0.23) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.55^{* *} \\ (0.25) \end{gathered}$ |
| Cambio | $\begin{gathered} 0.73^{* * *} \\ (0.21) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.45^{* *} \\ (0.18) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.76^{* *} \\ (0.25) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.62 * * * \\ (0.22) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.69^{* * *} \\ (0.24) \end{gathered}$ |
| Notai | $\begin{gathered} 0.63 \\ (0.63) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.68 \\ (0.48) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.71 \\ (0.70) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.63 \\ (0.58) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.62 \\ (0.63) \end{gathered}$ |
| Seta | $\begin{gathered} 0.15 \\ (0.23) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.08 \\ (0.21) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.24 \\ (0.25) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.13 \\ (0.21) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.17 \\ (0.23) \end{gathered}$ |
| Medici e Spezial | $\begin{gathered} 0.07 \\ (0.28) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.22 \\ (0.29) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.07 \\ (0.33) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.29) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.31) \end{gathered}$ |
| Time Between Trading Days |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.25^{* * *} \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.22^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ |
| Time Until Next Sortition |  |  | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.01 \\ & (0.01) \end{aligned}$ |
| $\operatorname{ARCH}(1,1)$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.45^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.40^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.38^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.45^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.39^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ |
| $\operatorname{GARCH}(1,1)$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.43^{* *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.00^{*} \\ (0.00) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.55^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.39^{* * *} \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.51^{* * *} \\ (0.07) \end{gathered}$ |
| Scrutiny Effects Quarter Effects | Yes <br> No | Yes <br> Yes | Yes <br> Yes | Yes <br> Yes | Yes Yes |

Table A10: This Table gives the effects of the guild membership of the Standard Bearer of Justice on daily price levels and volatility. The top panel gives estimates of the effect on price levels and the bottom to the variance of the trading price. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

|  | 1. <br> Tax Deductions | 2. <br> Public Debt | 3. <br> Private Investment | 4. <br> Real Estate | 5. <br> Total Assets |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Calimala | $\begin{aligned} & -0.21 \\ & (0.67) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.67 \\ (0.69) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.58 \\ & (0.69) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.25 \\ & (0.71) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.46 \\ (0.78) \end{gathered}$ |
| Cambio | $\begin{gathered} -0.57 \\ (0.88) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.90 \\ (0.90) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.91 \\ & (0.90) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.76 \\ (0.93) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.00 \\ (1.02) \end{gathered}$ |
| Seta | $\begin{gathered} -0.38 \\ (0.74) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.92 \\ & (0.83) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.55 \\ & (0.78) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.22 \\ & (0.80) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.43 \\ & (0.88) \end{aligned}$ |
| Medici e Spezial | $\begin{gathered} -1.08 \\ (0.99) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.57 \\ (1.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.40 \\ & (1.01) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.13 \\ (1.08) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.39 \\ (1.18) \end{gathered}$ |
| Notai | $\begin{gathered} -5.36^{* * *} \\ (1.37) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -5.66^{* * *} \\ (1.13) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -5.68^{* * *} \\ (1.29) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -5.74^{* * *} \\ (1.43) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -6.48^{* * *} \\ (1.52) \end{gathered}$ |
| T | 227.00 | 227.00 | 227.00 | 227.00 | 227.00 |
| $R^{2}$ | 0.10 | 0.12 | 0.11 | 0.10 | 0.10 |

Table A11: This Table gives the effects relationship between the Standard Bearer of Justice's guilds and the natural logarithm of different asset types held by members of their families as denoted in the Cataso of 1427. The baseline category is the Lana (wool manufacturers) guild. Robust standard errors in parentheses.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ This is intended to capture the fact that the Standard Bearer's main influence on policy was likely through informal influence as leader of the Priorate, not via its voting power for which it was just one of nine members.
    ${ }^{2}$ The main results hold qualitatively for any finitely lived agent. For tractability, I focus on an agent who lives two periods.
    ${ }^{3}$ We could similarly view this as a discount factor which combines both preferences over time and the probability of re-admittance to the borse.
    ${ }^{4}$ Kent (1975) Table 1.) finds that about $25 \%$ of candidates that previously held major office were not admitted to the borse.

[^1]:    ${ }^{5}$ Last, it must be shown that the second derivative of the standard bearer's utility is negative. This is equal to $\left(-2-2 r \delta\left[f\left(x^{2}+k\right)+2 x^{2} f^{\prime}\left(x^{2}+k\right)\right]<0\right)$. Which holds since $k^{*}+x\left(k^{*}\right)=0$.

