Towards a Study of the ‘Famiglia’ of the Sforza Court at Pesaro

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In recent years, scholars of the Italian Renaissance have revived an interest in the social customs of the period, directed towards a better understanding and evaluation of the modes of life of the Renaissance individual. Contemporary biographies, diaries and correspondence, as well as account books and inventories, which already had greatly stimulated the curiosity of our nineteenth- and early twentieth-century predecessors in the field, are once again being assiduously studied and gleaned for insights.

Another potential tool for these investigations has been overlooked more often than not: the structure of a courtly household, the famiglia.\(^1\) It should be said at this point that the term famiglia was an elastic one in the period under consideration, and that as a result its precise meaning in a given context is not always immediately clear to the modern reader. With reference to a courtly establishment such as that in Milan, Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino, Pesaro, and so forth, the title famiglia describes not only the family and relatives of the lord, but also the attendants, and will be used by me in the sense of all those who served the lord.

The famiglia, then, was composed of staff, who assisted the signore in the running of his state, and of domestics, whose concern was the lord’s personal well-being. The size and complexity of a famiglia depended on the political and economic rank of the court, but a basic framework will have been common to most. From the types of famigliari employed we can gain an idea of the administrative policies of the ruler, of his activities and social pretensions. The relationship between the famiglia and the lord was effective in both directions; that is, just as they served him, so he too had certain obligations on their behalf. Therefore, by studying the household, we can also learn something about how the court, in the narrower sense of the palace, functioned as a domestic unit.

The list of famigliari serving at the Pesaro court in the fifteenth century was compiled by me from a variety of sources (see Appendix below). Quite different and more fortunate is the situation in neighbouring Urbino. At the
beginning of the sixteenth century, a page who had once been in the employ of Federigo da Montefeltro, made a list of the former Duke’s *famiglia*, the names arranged under the headings of the appropriate offices.² Probably not all two hundred members noted by the page were in service at the same time; and the same applies to a chronicler’s statement that *Lo Ill.o Signor Duca Federico Feltrio Duca d’Urbino . . . teneva alli servizi sui, bocche No. 800 . . .*³ The Pesaro list covers an even wider time span than that of Urbino (the Sforza ruled in Pesaro 1445-1512; Federigo was lord of Urbino from 1444-82), and thus cannot reflect the actual structure of the court at any specific moment. It is almost certainly incomplete, since we can expect that documents which I have not yet had the chance to examine will reveal still more names. Nevertheless, for reasons pertaining mainly to the financial and political standing of the court, the Pesaro register, for the period of any one of its Sforza *signori*, will always be surpassed by that of Urbino.

Names and titles are little more than statistics until we know something about the duties of the *famigliari*. Once again Urbino enters into the picture, for there survives from the Renaissance an enlightening treatise entitled *Ordini et officii alla corte del Serenissimo Signor Duca d’Urbino*.⁴ The author, who remains anonymous although he must have been one of Federigo’s court, painstakingly describes the responsibilities of various functionaries, mainly domestic, down to details concerning their personal hygiene. The states of Urbino and Pesaro were structured similarly and were closely linked, not only geographically and politically, but also through inter-marriages, and therefore in an examination of the Sforza court we can safely be guided by some of the instructions written down in the *Ordini et officii* of Urbino.

Before embarking on a discussion of the Pesaro *famiglia*, it will be useful to introduce the court by way of a historical sketch of the town and its rulers.⁵ A port on the Adriatic to the south of Rimini, Pesaro had been a free commune since the late twelfth century. From the late thirteenth until mid-fifteenth centuries, the town was ruled by a branch of the Malatesta family, first in the guise of *Podestà*, and then as Papal Vicars. In 1445 the inept Galeazzo Malatesta sold the town to Francesco Sforza on the condition that Francesco’s brother, Alessandro, just married to Galeazzo’s granddaughter, Costanza Varano, be installed as a ruler. The negotiation was in fact highly irregular, since Pesaro was a vicariate of the Church, and it resulted in Pope Eugenius IV excommunicating all parties to the contract. But Alessandro, determined not to relinquish his newly acquired state, persevered and in 1447 Eugenius’s successor, Nicholas V, removed the ban and appointed him Papal Vicar.

Alessandro’s wife, Costanza, died that same year, leaving him with two children, Battista (future Countess of Urbino) and Costanzo, who were to
be his only legitimate offspring. In 1448 he married again, choosing Sveva da Montefeltro, half-sister of Federigo, Count of Urbino. The alliance was disastrous and after a few years ended as so many did, with the wife seeking refuge in a convent.

Like his father and brother, Alessandro was a professional soldier, an occupation that denoted long absences from home. While his two consorts were at the court, they could take care of whatever matters, state or otherwise, appeared on the agenda. By 1457 Sveva had fled, and the responsibility devolved upon Alessandro's son, ably guided during the early years by members of the staff.

Costanzo became Signore of Pesaro after Alessandro died in 1473. Two years later he contracted a brilliant marriage with Camilla d'Aragona, niece of King Ferdinando of Naples. Costanzo outlived his father by only ten years, and, having no legitimate children, was succeeded to the rule by his bastard son, Giovanni. Camilla, by many accounts a wise and charitable stepmother, shared the government of the town with Giovanni until he attained his majority in 1489. In May 1490, when he married Maddalena Gonzaga, Camilla left the court forever, withdrawing to the estate of Torricella, near Parma.

Giovanni married three times, his second union (1493-97) being the ill-fated one to Lucrezia Borgia. In October of 1500 he temporarily lost his state to his former brother-in-law, Cesare Borgia, but with the assistance of Venice was back in power in 1503. Giovanni ruled without further interruptions until his death in 1510.

The new Lord was the infant Costanzo II, a son Giovanni had with his third wife, the Venetian Ginevra Tiepolo. According to the terms of his will, Giovanni's natural brother, Galeazzo, was to be appointed regent until Costanzo II was of age. The heir, however, died within two years of his father's demise, after which Galeazzo prepared to assume power in his own name. But Pope Julius II, long interested in Pesaro, bought out Galeazzo, and added the town to the dominions of his nephew, Francesco Maria della Rovere, for whom he had already previously (1504) managed to secure the succession to the Dukedom of Urbino.

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By the time Alessandro Sforza ruled the town, the government of Pesaro can be described as a co-operative effort between the commune and the lord. Two councils, the consiglio generale and the consiglio di credenza (of nobles), constituted the main bodies of communal authority. The lord of Pesaro for his part, invested with the rule as Papal Vicar, governed in the name of the Church, at least in theory if not always in deed. However, clear distinction between communal and vicarial/seigneurial power is not in fact possible since the lord, if and when he chose, could have regulated the size,
and therefore the executive potential, of the two municipal councils. Furthermore, and the situation is not peculiar to Pesaro, an officer of the commune could at the same time have been in the employment of the signore. Thus it is not surprising to learn that the lord could intervene even in the appointment of municipal servants.

When compared to the organization of the administrative offices of the Duchy of Milan, the relative simplicity of the personnel at Pesaro is clearly indicative of the court’s secondary role in the political structure of fifteenth-century Italy. The staff assisting the ruler of Pesaro in running his state was headed by three ministers: the luogotenente, the segretario or cancelliere, and the referendario. The auditore, who counselled and had jurisdictional powers, also will have been an important functionary. Appointments do not seem to have been restrictive, for we read in the documents that an individual could serve in more than one high capacity simultaneously; and in at least two instances the Sforza’s personal doctor performed ministerial duties: Benedetto Reguardati da Norcia was physician and luogotenente of Alessandro, and Giovanni’s doctor, Bernardo Monaldi, was also his segretario, not to mention occasional agent in Venice.

Essentially the signore’s principal representative, the luogotenente obviously had to be someone fully in the ruler’s confidence. If satisfactory, he held his post for a long time and could survive a change of signori. For instance, the name of Niccolò della Palude is encountered frequently in the documents, first serving Alessandro, then Costanzo. Being one of high rank in the lord’s famiglia, the luogotenente was clothed and housed by his employer. In a debit account of Alessandro’s we can read that he had paid two lire, ten soldi, to a shoemaker for Niccolò’s boots, and further down in the same list is an entry amounting to twenty lire that he had given for clothes for Niccolò and Angelo (de Probis d’Atri, segretario ?). Niccolò lived in a room iuxta camera domicellarm of the Sforza residence. Giovanni’s luogotenente, Dulcius, still had his quarters in the ruler’s palace, but by the time of Guidobaldo della Rovere, in the mid-sixteenth century, the Duke’s luogotenente was assigned rooms in the newly constructed Palazzo Comunale.

Cancellieri, and the segretario, a superior cancelliere, handled correspondence and related matters. As the Urbino Ordini et affitij tells us, such officers should be pochi, pratici, boni, sufficienti et fidelissimi quanto più se possesse dire. The segretario kept the seal, which could also be delegated to a trusted cancelliere. Letters sent from the court did not leave without being checked by him, and he kept and filed incoming correspondence per modo che omne una, per minima, bisognando se retrovasse. Giovanni, in his will, echoes some of these recommendations: Item voglio, che tutte le expeditioni importante del Stato, passino
per mano de’ Turricella (his segretario/cancelliere), et che sotto lui se toglia uno Cancelliero per le expeditioni occorenti, le qual tutte si habbiano ad expedire secondo l’ordine et commissione di mio Fratello (Galeazzo).15

The referendario (sometimes called revisore), third of the three top state officials, administered the finances.16 Helping him and the cancellieri in the execution of their duties were the computista, cassiero, avvocato fiscale, scrittore, depositario, tesoriere, and maestro delle entrate.

Many of the officials engaged in state affairs had their working quarters in the palace. The cancelleria of the Pesaro court initially was located on the ground floor of the Sforza palace, near the entrance portico. By the early sixteenth century it had been moved to the upper storey of the residence, although still in the front wing, into the former music room. Near the ground floor cancelleria was the audientia of the referendario. It was most efficient to have the offices of the staff concentrated in one part of the palace, but the Pesaro residence, unlike that of Federigo da Montefeltro, was not built anew with few restrictions, and thus never achieved the ideal organization of spaces prescribed by Renaissance architectural theorists. In fact, documents reveal that in the 1450’s the room of the computista, at that time the Florentine Giovanni Battista dell’Antella, was in the rear wing of the residence, on an upper floor, close to the private apartment of the young Costanzo Sforza.17

A courtly staff was not limited to internal functionaries; important roles were played also by the oratori, or ambassadors, in foreign centres. They served primarily as diplomats and informers. We know that Alessandro had a man, Roberto Ondedei, in Venice; Costanzo sent Domenico di Barignano and Giacomo Probo d’Atria to Rome as oratori; Giovanni as well kept ambassadors at those two courts, and also in Milan. Like the luogotenente, the ambassadors were men of the utmost confidence, so that when they served well, they served long. Or, as Giovanni phrased it in his will: Item si mantenga sempre un’ Ambasciatore residente in Roma il quale per essere stato fedele, et haver diligentemente servito, non mi pare, se habbia ad mutare.18

Before turning from state to domestic officials, reference should be made to the Sforza’s other occupation as mercenary soldiers. It was a profession that in time of war required the maintenance of a large retinue of men-at-arms. When Alessandro was hired by the Venetian Republic in 1467, it is said that his contract stipulated 600 calvary and 2,000 infantry.19 Top officers were chosen from among the Sforza intimates. Costanzo, for instance, selected as two of his capi di squadra or squadreri, Niccolò di Barignano, his segretario, and Raniero Almerici, equitis, who in 1468 had been created Count Palatine, probably at the urging of Alessandro.

The Sforza court employed a large body of personnel, whose tasks ran
from the purely banal to the intellectual and spiritual. Household chores, for example the putting in order of rooms in the morning, were carried out by massari, as we can read in a letter of 1457 reporting on a domestic crisis. Their status cannot have been too low, however, for as is written in another letter of 1458 directed by Pier Sante da Sarnano to the Duchess of Milan, the twelve-year-old Battista during her father’s absence from the court was attended by numerous ladies-in-waiting and massare da bene.

A variety of servants were occupied with the preparation and serving of food at court. The Urbino Ordini et affiti recommended separate cooks for the famiglia, the guests, and the lord. We cannot be certain that the Sforza followed the prescribed arrangement since the documents found to date are virtually silent on this aspect of daily life at the court. The name of only one cook, Giovanni di Pietro alias Riccio del fu Scaramuccia di Torricella parmense, serving in 1493, has come to light. The only other information we have is that the kitchens in the Sforza residence were located below ground level. To inspect these quarters in the morning and at night was the duty of the scalco or siniscalco, who had to ensure that the lord was served according to his tastes. All matters pertaining to the lord’s table were his responsibility. The scalco was rated superior to all other servants, with the exception of the maestro di casa, ragioniere, and fattore generale, this latter in charge of the numerous country estates. Revealing for the confidential position of the scalco is a remark by the above-mentioned Pier Sante in the same letter of 1458: for the six-month period when Alessandro was away on a mission to France and the Netherlands, Marco Monaldi, his scalco, was the one who had la cura principale de Constantio ad ogni ora. Benedetto Reguardati da Norcia confirms this when he writes, likewise in a letter of 1458 to the Duchess of Milan: Per suo (Costanzo’s) guberno sta Marco Monaldi scalco. The eleven-year-old Costanzo at the same time had his own personal scalco, Francesco de maestro Angelo.

Assisting the scalco at the table was the credenziere, who saw to it that the silver and table linens were impeccably clean. He furthermore had to guard the silver and other precious things consigned to his care by the maestro di casa, scalco and maestro di guardaroba. In view of his extra duty as watchman, it was suggested that he live in a conveniently located room in the palace.

A splendid picture of the ritual at table can be gained from the description of Costanzo’s wedding celebrations in 1475. At the banquet, two siniscalchi, in this case the young relatives Carlo Sforza and Ercole Bentivoglio, were deputed to the head table. Each carried a golden baton to mark his elevated status among the attendants, and brought to the seated guests a golden basket filled with cutlery and napkins. Thirty garzoni and servitori helped the siniscalchi to wait.
On the occasion of such great feasts, and at times also for more ordinary events, musicians, singers and dancers would entertain. Costanzo's wedding meal was enlivened by *pifferi, trombetti, tamburini*, an organist and thirty-six singers.\(^{27}\) History has remembered the names of only two fifteenth-century *ballerini* at the court of Pesaro. Guglielmo *ebreo* was choreographer of the dances at Alessandro's wedding in December 1444, and later in 1463 he dedicated a dance treatise to Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan. The services rendered at Pesaro by the second *ballerino*, Giovanni Ambrogio, are not known, although a treatise by him figures in the Sforza library inventory drawn up in 1500. A letter written in 1466 by Giovanni Ambrogio reveals that shortly before that date he had come from the court of Milan to that of Naples to instruct the young Eleonora d'Aragona *alo ballare lombardi*.\(^{28}\)

Valet of the *signore* was the *cameriere maggiore*, assisting him to dress and undress, and ascertaining that everything in the lord's room was to his satisfaction. Should the *signore* decide to wear jewels, the *cameriere maggiore* was held responsible for their safety until they were restored to their place in the *guardaroba*.\(^{29}\)

The Urbino *Ordini et affiti* laid great stress on cleanliness and hygienics, and one of the people engaged to maintain the desired standard at court was the *barbiere*. Whereas the barber of the *famiglia* was required to be able to pull teeth and treat cirrhosis, the personal barber of the lord, *uno giovane pulito, discreto*, concerned himself with washing the hair of the pages, or of anyone else sent to him by the *signore*. He had to make sure that the cloths designated for use by the lord were kept white and clean, and the razors and other instruments in good working order. It was recommended that he have a shop in the palace, and in the case of Alessandro we know that his *barbiere* was assigned a room on the courtyard of the residence.\(^{30}\)

The *maggiodomo*, or *maestro di casa*, oversaw the entire domestic staff. Representing the authority of his master, he had to ensure that all the lord's orders were carried out. Accordingly, he was to be given a room in the palace in *honorato loco, dove el discorso de tucto sia facillissimo*.\(^{31}\)

Administering to the religious needs at court was the *cappellano*. We learn from the letter of Pier Sante, describing the situation at Pesaro during Alessandro's extended absence, that the young Battista and Costanzo had *el capellano che ogni di gli dice messa in casa*.\(^{32}\) When necessary the chaplain could also act as confessor. Regarding Alessandro, this service would not have been required after 1470 because on 29 May of that year he had been granted a *Bolla con uno breve apostolica de possere hautre dui confessori religiosi apresso se*.\(^{33}\) The *cappellano* was furthermore instructed to give the *maestro di casa* and the *scalco* two days notice of *tucte le vigilie comandate et quatro tempore et quaresima*.\(^{34}\)
An essential member of the famiglia was the humanist tutor. Instead of sending his children to be educated at a foreign court, such as that of Ferrara where he himself as a young boy had attended classes, Alessandro hired grammar masters to instruct Battista and Costanzo at home. One of these was Matteo da Sassoferato, father of the famous Pandolfo Colleuccio. Perhaps Matteo, also trained as a notary and cancelliere, did not possess all the humanistic skills desired by Alessandro, since in 1459 when the children had reached the ages of twelve and thirteen he replaced him with the more illustrious Martino Filetico, pupil of Guarino Guarini.

Like the Montefeltro, the Sforza of Pesaro owned a notable collection of manuscripts and employed a librarian to take care of them. Vespasiano da Bisticci, in his biography of Alessandro, wrote that he had uno uomo dotissimo con buona provisione sopra questa libreria. It is the only mention I have found to date of the Sforza librarian, and not even his name is known to us. A chapter in the Ordini et offitij outlining the librarian's responsibilities can also serve to shed light on the Sforza man's daily routine. Besides keeping an inventory of all the manuscripts, and a record of those lent out, the bibliotecario was required to shelve the works according to an orderly system so that any manuscript would always be easy to locate. He should endeavour to prevent thefts, of which there was always the danger when many people (multitudine) thronged in the library. The manuscripts were to be guarded from the silly, the ignorant, the filthy and the disgusting. Care was to be taken that no one creased pages or turned back to the same page too often, et, quando se mostrano a persona ignorante che per curiosità li volesse vedere, se non è di troppo auctorità, basta una ochiata.

Federigo da Montefeltro maintained a team of scribes and illuminators, but there is no evidence that Alessandro did the same. Probably he had to content himself with commissioning artists at foreign courts to produce the manuscripts for him. It is not until the time of Costanzo that we encounter the name of a copista at court, and it is still unclear if he was alone or part of a workshop.

Housing Federigo's library in the palace at Urbino was a room of modest dimensions, located at ground level between the entrance vestibule and the stairs to the upper storey. Also Alessandro built a library in his town palace, but it does not survive and once again Vespasiano's words remain the only reference to its appearance: . . . fece fare uno degnissimo luogo nel suo palagio con armarii intorno dove erano per ordine tutti quegli libri. Further evidence for concluding that the design and organization of the Sforza library must have been admirable is provided by a letter that Vespasiano addressed to Alessandro, requesting his highly-valued opinion on a new arrangement of the Medici library. We cannot be absolutely sure of the room's location in the Sforza palace, but I have
proposed elsewhere, on the basis of a late fifteenth-century document, that already from the time of Alessandro the library had been one of the rooms overlooking the garden near S.Agata.\textsuperscript{41}

Another part of the famiglia was occupied with construction and repair work at the court. Under the heading of Ingegneri, et Architetti the Urbino list proudly includes Luciano da Laurana and Francesco di Giorgio, two names difficult to surpass in the 1460's and 1470's.\textsuperscript{42} Although Alessandro sometimes requested Laurana's intervention in building projects at Pesaro, he never engaged him as court architect.\textsuperscript{43} The situation changed with Alessandro's son. From 1476 until his death in 1479, Laurana, who by then had left Urbino, figures in the documents as the engineer of Costanzo Sforza. It is to him that the design of the Rocca Costanza is attributed, the most important construction underway in Pesaro during those years. Cherubino di Milano was another of Costanzo's engineers, and he continued to work for Giovanni. A document of 1492 describes him as the superintendent of all work on fortifications, bridges, roads, dams, etc.

Finally, a word can be said about the recruitment of individuals for the household. In at least two instances, that of Francesco Becci and that of Marco Citara, we know that the servants had been merchants prior to their employment at court. Although to us such social mobility may suggest an enlightened tolerance, the procedure could have been simply the most expedient way of satisfying a need. The names of the famigliari at the Sforza court reveal that often members of the same family continued to serve for more than one generation, or that more than one individual of the same generation was engaged. In this regard, the most prominent family was that of the Almerici, who could boast at least six famigliari at the court, and who remained one of the most important aristocratic families of the town long after the Sforza had died out.

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The purpose of this essay has been twofold. On the one hand, I have tried to indicate the usefulness of studying the organization of a noble household, in the hope of encouraging similar examinations for other Italian courts. Furthermore, with the focus on Pesaro, I have wanted to begin to remove some of the obscurity that shrouds so many aspects of Renaissance life in that town, and to stimulate the search for more documents which would broaden and clarify our picture of the Sforza court.

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Notes


4 See n.2 above. All my references to the Ordini et affitij will be to the Ermini edition.


8 For instance, on 9 December 1488, Giovanni and Camilla nominated Vincenzo de' Fedeli of Pesaro and Alberto Alberti as the Ufficiali dei Pupilli; see Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.422. On 8 March 1496 Giovanni appointed Pier Matteo Giordani as Ufficiale dei danni, reconfirmed in 1498, 1499, and 1503; see Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.IX, cc.136-37.

9 For Milan see the excellent modern study by C. Santoro, Gli uffici del dominio sforzesco (1450-1500), Milan 1948, especially the introduction, pp.xv-xxxiii, where she defines the duties of the various officers. Also useful here is G. Rezasco, Dizionario del linguaggio italiano storico ed amministrativo, Florence 1881, rpt. Bologna 1966.

10 B. Feliciani, Sull'acquisto di Pesaro fatto da Cesare Borgia, Camerino 1900, p.53 n.2.

11 See the Ordini et affitij, pp.36, 37-39.

12 The accounts page is published in my dissertation (see n.5), pp.478-79; for the reference to Niccolò's room in the palace see my dissertation, p.483, docs. 17, 18.
13 For Dulcius see my dissertation, p.496 doc.70, p.497 doc.73, p.498, doc.76. For the Duke's luogotenente see G. Vaccai, Pesaro, Pesaro 1909, p.123.

14 Ordini et offitii, pp.76-80. The cancellieri and segretario should be "few in number, capable, superior and as faithful as possible;" the segretario filed the letters "systematically so that they could always be easily found again."

15 "I want Turriella to be in charge of all important correspondence pertaining to the affairs of state, and he should have a cancelliere to help him, and everything must be carried out according to the orders of my brother." Giovanni's testament will be fully transcribed by me in a forthcoming study.

16 But cf. Gundersheimer, Ferrara, p.56: the referendarius served as head of the cancelleria. Giovanni's will makes it clear that in Pesaro he was in charge of the accounts: Item che 'l faccia rivedere tutti i conti vecchi da qui in dretto, et chi ha ad dare dia, et chi ha ad havere sia soddisfatto, talmente che ogni uno habbia il suo credito, et se 'l non si potesse così al presente, satisfacciati quando si potrà, purché una volta siano contenti, et ch'el se striga tutti li conti vecchi, et ad questo sarà buono Marco Cithera (his referendario and maestro delle entrate) per essere instrutto.


18 "There should always be a resident ambassador in Rome, and if he is faithful and serves diligently, it is not necessary to replace him."


21 Feliciangeli, Alcuni documenti relativi all'adolescenza di Battista e Costanzo Sforza, Turin 1903, p.9.

22 Ordini et offitii, pp.51-54; for the Pesaro kitchens see my dissertation, p.167.

23 Ordini et offitii, pp.3-6, 54-57.


27 Tabarrini, Descrizione, pp.11, 12, 13, 37; see also Ordini et offitii, pp.64-65. Interesting in this connection is an article by M. Mamin, "Documenti quattrocenteschi di vita musicale alle Corti Feltresca e Malatestiana," Studi Urbanini n.s.B, anno XLVIII, 1974, pp.115-28.


29 Ordini et offitii, pp.16-19. See also Susech's comment on the Cambrieri del Duca (as published by Zannoni, Scrittori, p.82): per tenere a ordine le camerle e le sale et ad invitare le donne per le feste.

30 For a discussion of the principles of sanitation and neatness to be observed, see especially pp.20-22 of the Ordini et offitii; for the barber, pp.22-23. Regarding the location of the room in Alessandro's palace, see my dissertation, p.481 doc.7.
31 Ordini et offitij, pp.1-3. The maestro di casa should be given a room “in an honourable place, where it will be easy to discuss all matters.”
32 Feliciangeli, Battista, p.10. The children had “the chaplain who says the mass for them at home every day.”
33 “Bull with an apostolic brief allowing him to have two personal religious confessors.” See the inventory of Alessandro’s private papers in Bibl.Oliv. 441, c.20, but without the year; the date is given in Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VII, c.84.
34 Ordini et offitij, pp.63-64. The chaplain had to remind them of “all the fast-days ordered by the Church, the Ember Days, and Lent.”
36 Ordini et offitij, pp.75-76. And when the librarian “shows a manuscript to someone ignorant who wants to see it out of curiosity, if he is not an important person a quick glance will do.”
37 See my dissertation, p.142.
38 After having been closed for many years, and subsequent to a thorough restoration, the library was re-opened to the public on the occasion of the Convegno di studi su Federico da Montefeltro. P. Dal Poggetto gave a paper discussing this among other restorations: “Nuove letture di ambienti e opere d’arte federiciane: la Biblioteca, il Bagno della Duchessa, la Neviera.” See also Clough, “The library of the Dukes of Urbino,” Librarium vol.IX, 1966, pp.101-104.
39 Le vite, p.423: “he had a noble room built in his palace, with shelves all along the walls on which the books were set in a well-ordered fashion.”
40 A. Cagni, Vespasiano da Bisticci e il suo epistolario, Rome 1969, p.159.
41 See my dissertation, pp.179-81.
42 Zannoni, Scrifitori, p.82; Ordini et offitij, Appendix p.v.
43 See my dissertation, pp.190-94.

APPENDIX: The Sforza ‘famiglia’

Abbreviations:
ASF: Archivio di Stato of Florence
ASPN: Archivio di Stato of Pesaro (Notarile)
Bibl.Oliv.: Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro
Cinelli: C. Cinelli, Pandolfo Collenuccio, Pesaro 1880
Feliciangeli, Battista: B. Feliciangeli, Alcuni documenti relativi all’adolescenza di Battista e Costanzo Sforza, Turin 1903
________, Costanza: Notizie sulla vita e sugli scritti di Costanza Varano Sforza, Turin n.d.
________, Elisabetta: Notizie della vita di Elisabetta Malatesta Varano, Ascoli Piceno 1911
________, Lucrezia: Il matrimonio di Lucrezia Borgia, Turin 1901
________, Sull’acquisto: Sull’acquisto di Pesaro fatto da Cesare Borgia, Camerino 1900
________, Sveva: Sulla monacazione di Sveva Montefeltro, Pistoia 1903
Gregorovius: F. Gregorovius, Lucrezia Borgia, Stuttgart 1874
Miniature: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Miniature del Rinascimento, exhibition catalogue 1950
Olivieri, Appendice: A. Olivieri, Appendice alle memorie di Alessandro Sforza, Pesaro 1786
——, Diplovatazio: Memorie di Tommaso Diplovatazio, Pesaro 1771
——, Gradara: Memorie di Gradara, Pesaro 1775
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——, 1909: Pesaro, Pesaro 1909
——, 1928: La vita municipale sotto i Malatesta, gli Sforza e i Della Rovere, Signori di Pesaro, Pesaro 1928

Glossary
Allevato: one raised at the court
Armigero (Uomo d’arme): man-at-arms
Auditore: a counsellor with jurisdictional powers
Avvocato fiscale: magistrate of the revenue
Balestriero: crossbowman
Ballerino: dancer
Barbiere: barber
Bibliotecario: librarian
Cameriere maggiore: head manservant, valet
Cancelliere: chancellor

Cappellano: chaplain
Cassiero: treasurer
Castellano: commander of the fortress
Cavaliere: knight
Commensale: one who ate at the lord’s table
Commissario: commissary
Computista: accountant
Conservatore: constable in command of the town gates
Consigliere: counsellor
Consultore: counsellor
Copista: scribe  
Corriere: messenger  
Credenziere: head servant overseeing the table; originally one who tasted all the food to be served to the lord  
Curiale: courtier  
Damigella (Domicella, Donna di compagna): lady-in-waiting  
Depositario: treasurer  
Dispensiere: steward of the household  
Equitis: knight  
Fattore generale: steward of the estates  
Fornaio: baker  
Forniciaro: one who bakes bricks, etc.  
Garzone: young servant  
Giureconsulto: iurisconsult  
Luogotenente: lieutenant  
Maestro di casa (Maggiordomo): majordomo  
Maestro delle entrate: master of the revenue  
Maestro di guardaroba: master of the wardrobe  
Maestro di stalla: head of the stables  
Marescalco: head of the stables  
Massaro: domestic steward  
Muratore: brick-layer  
Notaio: notary  
Oratore: ambassador  
Procuratore: procurator, agent  
Piffero: piper  
Ragioniere: accountant  
Rappresentante: delegate, representative  
Referendario (Revisore): comptroller  
Sagitarrio: archer  
Scalco (Sescalco, Siniscalco): head servant overseeing the meals; originally denoted a carver  
Scrittore: official writer  
Scudiero: equerry  
Segretario: secretary  
Sopraintendente: superintendent  
Soprastante: overseer, usually of construction work  
Squadro (Capo di squadra): leader of troops  
Staffiere: messenger  
Tamburino: drummer  
Tesoriero: treasurer  
Trombeto: trumpeter  
Vicario delle gabelle e delle apppellazioni: officer in charge of taxes and appeals

Famigliari:
N.b. The order is alphabetical by first name. Included are members of the Malatesta court at Pesaro who continued to work for the Sforza. The dates given are those found in the documents. Where there is more than one year per entry, the archival and bibliographical references are arranged chronologically according to these dates.

Alberto Albergati da Bologna  
1503  
procuratore for Giovanni Sforza, to borrow money for the restitution of the Rocca Costanza  
Feliciangeli, Lettere, p.41 n.20

Alessandro di Matteo dei Collenucci di Pesaro  
1489, 1493  
capitano of Montelevecchie  
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI,cc.421, 418

Alessandro Pugliano (Pogliano) de Interamna (Introcinis, Introcinio) de Benevento (Rieti)  
1464  
famigliare of Alessandro Sforza  

Almerico Almerici  
1464, 1470, 1490; died 1492  
vicario delle gabelle e delle apppellazioni for Alessandro; podestà of Pesaro; avvocato fiscale della camera for Giovanni  

Almoro Brandolìn da Mestre  
1500  
oratore for Giovanni in Venice  
Feliciangeli, Sull'acquisto, pp.31-92, 32 n.1

Alo, detto Battaglino del fu Ranaldo di Arquata  
1457  
servo of Alessandro  
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.II, c.396
Renaissance et Réforme / 93

Alovisio (Aloisi, Luigi) Basicaretri
1457
credenziere and dispensiere of Alessandro
Feliciangeli, Sveva, p.56; Madiai, pp.95,97

Mro Andrea di Girolamo de S. Angelo
1509; dead by 1512
ingegnere of Giovanni

Angelo de Probis d'Atri
1457, c.1463, 1467
segretario, cancelliere, famigliare of Alessandro
Olivieri, Michelina, p.LIX; idem., Sforza, p.LXXIII; Madiai, p.96; Soranzo, Anonimo, p.243 n.1

Antonello del fu Matteo Panzano
1491
curiale of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.370

Antonello Picinino
1458
one of the servants named as having the care of Battista Sforza during Alessandro's absence 1457-58
Feliciangeli, Battista, pp.10,12

Antonello da Tortona
1492
siniscalco of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.II, c.17

Ms Antonio
Barbiere of Giovanni
Cinelli, p.57

Ser Antonio de l'abbate (family came from Brescia to Pesaro in 1393)
1458; died 1478
cancelliere of Costanza Sforza, then served Alessandro and Costanzo; named as having the care of Battista during Alessandro's absence 1457-58
Feliciangeli, Battista, p. 10

Antonio dalla Badia
1493
balestriero of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.II, c.106

Antonio da Brescia (same as Ser Antonio de l'abbate?)
c.1457, 1460s
cameriere, cameriere scalco of Alessandro
Madiai, pp.94, 97; Bibl.Oliv. 374, vol.I, c.57-57v

Antonio Ferrarese di Francesco Forzate
1457
allevato of Alessandro (he carried letters back and forth between Alessandro and his mistress)
Feliciangeli, Sveva, p.17; Madiai, p.112

Antonio di Gaspare gia di Monteciccardo
1498
capitano of Monte Gaudio
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.425

Ser Antonio de Strullis da Coldazzo
1430s; died c.1460
grammar instructor to Costanza Varano
Feliciangeli, Battista, p.6; idem., Costanza, p.17 note

Arcangelo Ayberti (d'Ayberto da Trevi)
scalco of Giovanni
Feliciangeli, Lucrezia, p.78; idem., Sull'acquisto, p.47 no.3, p.72 n.1

Ser Baldo del fu Paolo di Urbino
1486
maggiodomo of Camilla and Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.383v

Bartolommeo dei Cavaliere da Ferrara
1493
Giovanni's oratore at the court of Milan
Feliciangeli, Lucrezia, p.32 n.1

Mro Bartolomeo di Zanno da Vigevano (M. Bartolo Janini de Vigena)
1463, 1470
forniario of Alessandro

Battaglino da Rieti
1457
famigliare of Alessandro
Madiai, p.109
Battista di Lello degli Almerici da Pesaro
1512
capitano of the port

Battista de’ Moregni di Mantova
1490
cappellano of Maddalena Sforza dei Gonzaga in Pesaro
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.II, c.567

Battista Pollato
1515
cameriere of Galeazzo Sforza
ASF, Urbino, Cl.III, Fa. 38, c.209

Benedetto Reguardati da Norcia
born c.1398/99; 1453, 1457, 1458
doctor of Alessandro and Sveva; ministro and luogotenente of Alessandro; had the care of Battista during Alessandro’s absence 1457-58
Feliciangeli, Sveva, p.12; idem., Battista, p.10

Benvenuto
died 1467
squadrore of Alessandro
Paltroni, p.225

Berardino Samperoli
1458
companion to Costanzo (brother of Mattea, Alessandro’s mistress before Pacifica)
Feliciangeli, Battista, p.13

Don Bernabeo di Giovanni
1465
soprastante of construction on Alessandro’s palace

Bernardino
died 1510
fornairo di corte of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv.455, vol.II, c.161; Cinelli, p.133

Bernardino
1515
servant of Galeazzo
ASF, Urbino, Cl.III, Fa. 38, c.209

Ser Bernardino di Ser Gaspare Fattori
1503, 1512
procuratore for Galeazzo for the rendering of the Rocca Costanza; segretario of Galeazzo (also cancelliere of Pesaro)
Feliciangeli, Lettere, p.43 n.27

Bernardino Superchi
1497
tesoriere of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.IX, c.221

Bernardo detto Abbate dei Bossi del fu Pietro
1477
famigliare of Costanzo
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.II, c.455

Bernardo Monaldi
1503, 1504
segretario and medico of Giovanni; his agent in Venice
Feliciangeli, Lettere, p.42 n.21; idem., Lucrezia, p.43; Vaccai, Ginevra, p.168

Bertolda di Perugia
1457
donna di compagnia of Sveva
Madiai, p.108

Blaxio
1515
servant of Galeazzo
ASF, Urbino, Cl.III, Fa.38, c.209

Camillo Leonardi
1500
doctor
Feliciangeli, Sull’acquisto, p.44

Camillo Samperoli
1512
ambassador sent to Rome by Galeazzo
Feliciangeli, Lettere, p.10

Carlo del q. messer Benedetto della Reguardati da Norsia
1473
cavaliere of Costanzo
Carlo Sforza
born c.1461; 1475, 1481
\textit{siniscalco} at Costanzo’s wedding banquet
Tabarrini, p.14; ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.10, c.407v

Cesare Alberti
\textit{scalo} of Giovanni
Vaccai, \textit{Ginevra}, p.172

Mro Cherubino di Milano
1476, 1478, 1479, 1483, 1491, 1492; died 1494/95
\textit{muratore, muratoris ac etiam ingegnerii} of Costanzo; given patent of ingegnere by Giovanni (1491); sopraintendente di tutti i lavori di fortificazione, ponti, strade, chiuse, ecc., for Giovanni

Chiarelmo de Spoleto
1515
\textit{segretario} of Galeazzo
ASF, Urbino, Cl.III, Fa. 38, c.208v

Christoforo dell’erusini
1479, 1481
\textit{luogotenente} of Costanzo

Domenico
1500
\textit{maestro di stalla} of Galeazzo
Feliciangeli, \textit{Sull’acquisto}, doc.VIII, p.83

Domenico di Barignano
1474, 1481, 1490
sent by Costanzo to the Patriarch of Aquileia to announce his forthcoming marriage; ambassad or in Rome for Costanzo; \textit{procurator} for Giovanni

Ser Dominico
1468
\textit{cancelliere} of Alessandro
Olivieri, \textit{Sforza}, p.C

Carlo Sforza
born c.1461; 1475, 1481
\textit{siniscalco} at Costanzo’s wedding banquet
Tabarrini, p.14; ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.10, c.407v

Donato Stephano da Cotignola
1500, 1515
\textit{cameriere} and \textit{sescalo} of Galeazzo
Bibl.Oliv. 387, c.38v; Vernarecci, \textit{Libreria}, p.523; ASF, Urbino, Cl.III, Fa.38, c.208

Dulcius
1506
\textit{luogotenente} of Giovanni
ASPN, Matteo Lepri, vol.37, c.10; Domenico Zucchella, vol. 39, c.107

Ercole Bentivoglio
born c.1461; 1475, 1481
\textit{siniscalco} at Costanzo’s wedding banquet
Tabarrini, p.14; ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.10, c.407v

Ercole Sforza (illegitimate brother of Costanzo?)
born c.1461; 1475
\textit{cavaliere}
Tabarrini, p.13

Factorino Picinino
1458
one of the servants who had the care of Battista during Alessandro’s absence in 1457-58
Feliciangeli, \textit{Battista}, p.10

Federico
1476
\textit{cameriere} of Costanzo
ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.8, c.156

Federico del fu Ser Gualtiero di Bartolomeo da S. Angelo in Vado
1485
\textit{siniscalco} of Camilla and Giovanni

Filippo de Neapoli
1476
\textit{depositario denariorum} for construction of the Rocca Costanza
ASPN, Sepolcri, vol. 8, c.256

Fra Francesco d’Ancona
1466
confessor of Alessandro
Olivieri, \textit{Sforza}, p.XC
Francesco di Andrea dell'Iicci da Todi
1464, 1465, 1467, 1479, 1480, 1487
referendario o revisore of Alessandro; vice
podestà of Pesaro; giureconsulto and podestà
of Pesaro; auditore of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.IV, Sq.T, cc.21v, 42; ASF,
Urbino, C.I, Div.B, Fa.10, c.1042; Olivieri,
Sforza, p.XCVI; Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.II, c.461;
ASPN, Germano Germani, vol.4, c.249v

Francesco di maestro Angelo
1458
scalco of Costanzo
Feliciangeli, Battista, p.13

Francesco Arduini
1512
ambassador sent to Rome to plead for Galeazzo
Feliciangeli, Lettere, p.10

Francesco del fu (Orlandino ?) di Borgo S.
Donnino
1491
curiale of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.368v

Francesco di Bartolomeo da Crespolano
1482
servitore of Costanzo

Francesco del q. Stefano Becci (Bezio) da
Fiorenza
1473, 1486, 1493; died c.1510
a speziale (spice merchant) who became maggi-
diomo of Giovanni
455, vol.I, c.371; Olivieri, Diplovatatio, p.XIV;
Gregorovius, Appendix p.31, doc.9; Bibl.Oliv.
376, vol.I, c.327

Francesco dell'Iicci
1481
referendario and revisore of Costanzo
Vaccai, 1928, p.202

Francesco di Bonadia de' Zanchis
1464
famigliare of Alessandro
Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.II, c.103v

Francesco da Cotignola
1470, 1473
cassiero of Alessandro and Costanzo
Bibl.Oliv. 374, vol.I, c.106; Bibl.Oliv. 937,
vol.V, Sq.AB, c.13v

Francesco di Gerolamo da Monte Milone,
detto Milone
1491
staffiere and famigliare of Camilla
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.362v

Francesco di Guglielmo Verità di Verona
1460-64
famulus familiaris, marescalchus of Alessan-
dro
Soranzo, Cronaca sconosciuta, pp.96-97

Francesco del fu Orlandino di Borgo (same as
Francesco di Borgo S. Donnino ?)
1492
connestabile for Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.385

Francesco da Palude (son of Niccolò)
1479, 1480, 1490-93, 1494/95, 1497; died
before 1501
siniscalco of Costanzo; oratore of Giovanni at
Milan (1490-93); maestro di casa and maestro
delle entrate of Giovanni (1494/95, 1497)
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.II, c.462; Feliciangeli, Lu-
crezia, p.32 n.1; Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, cc.423-
24

Galeotto Agnesi da Napoli
after 1459; died 1462
secreterario and luogotenente of Alessandro
Feliciangeli, Battista, p.13

Gaspare
1456
cappellano of Sveva
Oliviery, Sforza, p.L

Gaspar de Cesena
1458
servant of Battista
Feliciangeli, Battista, p.12
Gasparino Ardizij (de Mediolana)
1465, 1473

doctor of Alessandro (who marries him to his
mistress, Pacifica); then doctor of Costanzo,
and also for the town of Pesaro
Olivieri, Sforza, pp.XCV-XCVI; Bibl.Oliv. 937,
vol.V, Sq.AB, c.13v

Giacometto da Caiazzo
1497
capitano dei balestrieri e sagitarri of Giovanni

Iacominus
1469
cameriere of Alessandro
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.X, c.149

Giacomo (Jacoming) (same as the above ?)
1497; died 1510
cameriere, cameriere maggiore of Giovanni
Feliciangeli, Lucrezia, p.43; Bibl. 455,
vol.II, p.161; cinelli, p. 133

Giacomino di Ferrara
died before April 1493
curiale of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.406

Giacomo di Ancona
1491
curiale and famigliare of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.374

Ser Jacomo dellis Bagarotti da Piacenza (da
Parma)
1473, 1475, 1485
cancelliere and segretario of Costanzo; segre-
tario of Camilla and Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.V, Sq.AB, c.13v; Ratti,
p.155; Vaccai, Le nozze, p.35; Bibl.Oliv. 455,
vol.II, c.11

Giacomo Biancuccio
1498; died 1510
depositorio del porto and tesoriere for Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.I, c.243; Bibl.Oliv. 455,
vol.II, c.161; Cinelli, p.133

Mro Jacomo di Ser Guido da Verona
1463
scrittore, scrivano, segretario of Alessandro
Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.IV, Sq.R, c.29v; Soranzo,
Cronaca sconosciuta, p.97

Mro Jacomo del q. Bartolomeo da Norsia
1463, 1464, 1465, 1468, 1473
ministro, fattore of Alessandro

Olivieri, Sforza, p.LXXI; Bibl.Oliv. 376,
vol.VIII, cc.226-27; Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.IV,
 Sq.R, c.43v; Sq.T, c.42; vol.V, Sq.Z, c.8v;
 Sq.AB,c.13v

Iacomo di Pero Banzo da Fossembrone
1440
castellano (with seven pages) of the Rocca of
Pesaro
Olivieri, S. Tommaso, p.88

Giacomo da Pesaro
1430s-1450s
humanist and notary
Saviotti; Feliciangeli, Costanza, p.19 n.3

Jacomo Piccinino
1457
allevato of Alessandro
Feliciangeli, Sveva, p.17

Giacomo Probo of Atria (de Probis d'Attri, son
of Angelo ?)
1481
ambassador for Costanzo in Rome
Bibl.01iv.376, vol.VI, cc.325, 325v-326

Mro Jacomo dellis Scotti da Marignano
1458
barbiere of Alessandro
Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.IV, Sq.Q, c.25v

Giacomo Venuti
1505
luogotenente of Giovanni

Gian Antonio da Cremona
1491
credenziere of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.385

Gian Francesco detto Riccio of maestro Tom-
maso (Bettini da Urbino) barbiere
1481, 1482
cameriere of Costanzo
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.II, cc.467, 469
Gian Pietro del fu Mro Tomasso calzolaio 1471
trombettiere of Alessandro

Gianozzo 1478
castellano
Olivieri, Lettera, p.V

Ginevra 1515
servant of Galeazzo
ASF, Urbino, Cl.III, Fa.38, c.209

Giorgio Attendolo da Cotignola 1500
castellano
Feliciangeli, Lettere, p.41 n.16; idem., Sull'acquisto, pp.39, 45, 46, 47

Giorgio Ayberti
scalco of Giovanni Vernarecci, L'incendio, p.791

Giovanni Andrea da Gambarano 1515
auditore of Galeazzo
ASF, Urbino, Cl.III, Fa.38, c.209

Giovanni di Antonio Guglielmini di Bellinzona 1491, 1493
cameriere of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, cc.384, 413v

Giovanni Antonio de Bresani da Cremona 1465
 cancelliere of Alessandro

Giovanni Antonio del Tonso 1468
corriere of Alessandro
Olivieri, Sforza, p.CIII

Giovanni Battista de l'Antella 1457
 computista of Alessandro
ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.1, c.145

Giovanni Battista de Narni 1467
cancelliere of Alessandro
Olivieri, Sforza, p.XCVII; Soranzo, Anonimo, p.242 n.2

Giovanni Benevoli (Bonavoglia) da Mantova 1489-91
secretario of Giovanni Feliciangeli, Sull'acquisto, p.56 n.3

Giovanni Germani 1490s, 1497
cancelliere of Giovanni; notaio of Pesaro; secre-
tario del comune (1497)
Olivieri, Gradara, p.97; Feliciangeli, Lucrezia, p.67

Giovanni di Giontarello da Pesaro c.1451
famigliare
Olivieri, Sforza, p.XLV

Giovanni da Lacha (dal Lago) 1478
one of Costanzo's squadra
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.I, c.344

Giovanni Maria Dino da Castelfidardo 1496-1500
luogotenente of Giovanni Feliciangeli, Sull'acquisto, p.53 n.2, p.57 n.1

Giovanni Ondedei 1499
capitano of Monte Baroccio
Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.I, c.344

Giovanni di Padovani 1481
fattore of Costanzo; astrologer
ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.10, c.407v; Vaccai, 1909, pp.84-85

Mro Giovanni di Pietro alias Riccio del fu Scar- amuccia di Torricella parmense 1493
cuoco of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, cc.411v-12

Giovanni de Roxellis da Aretrio 1469
luogotenente of Pesaro for Alessandro
Olivieri, Sforza, p.CV
Giulio di Piersante Bosi da Sarnano 1457
ministro of Alessandro Madiai, p.109

Giustiniano Castelli da Cremona c.1463
luogotenente of Pesaro for Alessandro Vaccai, 1909, p.43

Guglielmo da Pesaro 1444, c.1463
ballerino, choreographer of dances at Alessandro’s wedding; dedicated dance treatise to Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan Rodocanachi, p.198; Pellegrin, pp.40-41

Guido Antonio da Sajano born c.1479; 1499
cameriere of Giovanni Cinelli, p.93, and p.161 document

Hieronyma da Pesaro 1515
domicella of Ginevra Bentivoglio Sforza, wife of Galeazzo ASF, Urbino, Cl.III, Fa.38, c.209

Hieronymo 1515
cameriere of Galeazzo ASF, Urbino, Cl.III, Fa.38, c.209

Lanfranco de Corvis 1456-62

Lelio dei Maddaleni Capodiferro 1495
oratore of Giovanni at Rome Feliciangeli, Lucrezia, pp.24, 40

Leonardo qm Giovanni Botta da Cremona 1465, 1467, 1471

Leonardo dal Colle 1480
copista of Costanzo Vaccai, Le nozze, pp.28-29; Miniature, p.43 no.57

Lionino Giovanni di Bergamo 1492
armigero of Giovanni Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.392

Lorenzo de (...) 1515
cancelliere of Galeazzo ASF, Urbino, Cl.III, Fa.38, c.209

Lorenzo Lauti da Siena 1495
segretario of Giovanni; consigliere and procuratore for Lucrezia Borgia Feliciangeli, Lucrezia, pp.30, 31 n.3

Luciano da Laurana 1476, 1478, 1479
ingeognere of Costanzo ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.8, c.242; vol.9, c.190; Matteo Lepri, vol.10, c.138v

Ludovico Bergolini da Bologna 1457
famigliare and commensale of Alessandro Feliciangeli, Sveva, p.18; Madiai, p.97

Ludovico de Cardanis da Torricella di Parma 1493, 1497-1500, 1510; died 1510
cancelliere and segretario of Giovanni; drew up Giovanni’s will (1510) Gregorovius, p.31 document 9; Feliciangeli, Lucrezia, p.67; idem., Sull’acquisto, p.53 n.2; Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.II, cc.161, 199v; Cinelli, p.133

Ludovico da Pexia 1452
castellano of the fortress of Pesaro Olivieri, Zecca, p.212

Luigi di Bonabello da Salò 1500
sent by Giovanni to “ritirare certa quantità di perle lasciate dal padre Costanzo in deposito a Bonifacio Manerba di Brescia” Feliciangeli, Sull’acquisto, p.41
Maddalena del q. Petrozorzo de Almerici da Pesaro
1457-58
servant of Battista
Feliciangeli, Battista, p.9

Marco Citara
1494, 1497, 1498, 1503; died 1510
mercante who became referendario, maestro delle entrate and maestro di casa for Giovanni

Marco de Monaldi
1458, 1459, 1465
scalco of Alessandro; councillor; soprastante for construction on Alessandro's palace

Marcone del fu Giacomo
1486, 1495
uomo d'arme of Giovanni (before 1495)
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.415v

Margarita de li Ardoino da Pesaro
1457-58
servant of Battista
Feliciangeli, Battista, p.9

Margherita da Marzano di Napoli
1479
damigella of Camilla (married Francesco, son of Niccolò della Palude)
Feliciangeli, Lucrezia, p.32 n.1

Mariano di Tassolo alias il Perusino
1464
lived in the palace with Costanzo; occupation not known
Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.IV, Sq.T, c.18

Marino Grisanti
1447-48
rappresentante and procuratore of Alessandro, for the wedding between Alessandro and Sveva
Feliciangeli, Sveva, p.9

Martino Filetico
1459
Roman humanist; teacher of Battista and Costanzo
Feliciangeli, Battista, p.6

Matteo di Antonio de Callio
1445
cappellano of Costanza Varano Sforza
Sajanello, p.375

Matteo del fu Giovanni di Salò
1494
connestabile of Pesaro
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.413

Matteo da Sassoferrato dei Collenucci
1458; died 1465
grammar instructor to Battista and Costanzo; notaio and cancelliere
Feliciangeli, Battista, pp.6, 14

Ser Michele (is he identical with Ser Michele de Covardi, father of Vittoria, donzella of Costanza and Sveva? See Olivieri, Appendice, p.V)
1458
cancelliere of Alessandro
Paltroni, p.115; Feliciangeli, Sveva, p.76

Michele de Vittorini
1478
worked for Costanzo

Niccolò di Barignano
1467, 1473, 1474, 1475; died 1484 in Fano
famigliare of Alessandro; segretario and squadrero of Costanzo
Soranzo, Anonimo, p.243 n.1; Ratti, p.155; ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.7, c.150; Tabarrini, p.4; Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.I, c.336

Niccolò Pacediano
segretario of Galeazzo
Ratti, p.172 n.10

Niccolò della Palude
1465, 1474
luogotenente of Alessandro and Costanzo
Niccolò Pietro da Perugia (Nicolaus Petri de Perusio; Niccolò Perusino)
1457, 1475, 1476, 1478, 1481
famigliare of Alessandro; revisore of Costanzo
Felicianegi, Sveva, p.80; Madiai, p.96; ASPN, Sepolteri, vol.8, cc.68, 256; vol.9, c.190; Vaccai, *Le ville*, p.265; idem., 1928, p.202
Niccolò Porcinari de Aquila
1463/64
luogotenente of Pesaro for Alessandro
Olivieri, *Sforza*, pp.LXV, LXXX
Niccolò da Saiano
1481, 1491, 1493, 1500
famigliare of Costanzo; vicario della gabella; commissario and consultore for Giovanni; orator et procurator ac specialis nuntius for the marriage between Giovanni and Lucrezia Borgia; oratore speciale sent to Venice
Niccolò deli Savini da Santa Vittoria
1464, 1467, 1468, 1478
podestà of Pesaro; dottore in diritto and auditore of Alessandro; luogotenente for Alessandro and Costanzo
Nobilia da Parma
c.1457
donna di compagnia of Sveva
Madiai, p.109
Ser Orlandino di Ser Bartolino dei Superchi da Pesaro (da Tomba)
1447(48), 1458; died c.1471
cancelliere of the Malatesta and of Alessandro; drew up the marriage contract of Alessandro and Sveva
Felicianegi, *Sveva*, p.9 n.1; *idem., Battista*, p.10; Bibl.Oliv. 458
Pandolfo Collenuccio
1483
humanist; ambassador of Giovanni and Camilla in Rome
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, cc.328, 329
Pasquale Maripetro (Malipiero)
born c.1447; 1458
companion of Costanzo (cousin of the Doge of Venice)
Felicianegi, *Battista*, p.13
Petro
1515
servant of Galeazzo
ASF, Urbino, Cl.III, Fa.38, c.209
Petro de (...) (not same as above)
1515
cameriere of Galeazzo
ASF, Urbino, Cl.III, Fa.38, c.208
Pier Giorgio Almerici
1440s, 1457; died c.1468
famigliare of Elisabetta Malatesta Varano in Pesaro; famigliare and commensale of Alessandro
Felicianegi, *Elisabetta*, p.201; Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.IX, cc.177, 182
Piergiorgio Almerici
1512
ambassador in Rome for Galeazzo
Felicianegi, *Lettere*, p.10
Piergiovanni di Alessandro da Camerino
1491
armigero of Alessandro da Camerino
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.374v
Piermatteo Giordani
1492, 1508, 1512
capitano of Novilara; Count Palatine; ambassador in Rome for Galeazzo
Piero da Cornazzano
1457
cameriere and scudiero of Alessandro
Felicianegi, *Sveva*, p.23; Madiai, pp.94, 97
Piero Gentile di Varano (is he identical with Pier Gentile da Camerino, born c.1461, who carried the baldachin at the wedding of Costanzo and Camilla? Tabarrini, p.13)
c.1503; died 1508
oratore of Giovanni in Venice
Vaccai, *Ginevra*, p.168; Feliciangeli, *L'itinerario*, p.34 n.2
Piero Lodovico Piemontese
died 1456
cameriere of Alessandro (first husband of his mistres, Pacifica)
Feliciangeli, Sveva, p.15

Pier Ludovico Saraceni da Pesaro
1499
dottore and cavaliere; oratore straordinario sent to Venice by Giovanni
Feliciangeli, Sull'acquisto, pp.22, 23

Pier Sante di Marino Bosi da Sarnano
1455-58
ministro of Alessandro
Feliciangeli, Battista, p.9

Pietro Barignani da Brescia
1503
canonico; procuratore for Giovanni to borrow money for the restitution of the Rocca Costanza
Feliciangeli, Lettere, p.41 n.20

Prosero Montani da Fermo
1491
luogotenente for Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, cc.360, 371v

Raniero Almerici
born 1430, 1458, 1468, 1475, 1484, 1498,
died 1499/1501
nominated cavaliere aurato by Francesco Sforza; Count Palatine (1468); served Alessandro; capo di squadra for Costanzo; equitis serving Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.IX, cc.177v-78; Feliciangeli, Costanza, p.39 n.2; Tabarrini, p.4; Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.426; ASPN, Giovanni Germani, vol.16, c.224

Ricci del fu Ambrogio di Milano
1493
famigliare and curiale of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.409

Roberto Ondedei
1464, 1467, 1468
commisario for Alessandro; his luogotenente and segretario, and ministro in Venice
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VIII, c.220; ASF, Urbino, Cl.II, Div. B, Fa.10, c.1042; Soranzo, Anonimo, p.242 n.2; Olivieri, Sforza, p.CII

Sebastiano Spandolini
1500, 1503
famigliare of Giovanni
Feliciangeli, Sull'acquisto, p.41 n.3; Olivieri, Diplovatazio, p.IX

Mro Silvestro di Marco Sozzi dei Graziani da Cotignola
1476; died c.1491
castellano of the fortress of Gradara

Simone da Pesaro
1462
depositario for Alessandro and for Pesaro
Olivieri, Sforza, p.LXVI

Spilimbertus Bartholomei de Crispolano
1476
famigliare of Costanzo
ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.8, c.242

Staxio q. Staxii de Cotignola
1473, 1476
suprastantibus deputatis supra fabrica of the Rocca Costanza

Sveva
1457
damigella of Sveva Montefeltro Sforza
Feliciangeli, Sveva, p.35 n.2

Terenio
died 1510
dispensiere for Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.II, c.161; Cinelli, p.133

Thomasina
1515
servant of Galeazzo
ASF, Urbino, Cl.III, Fa.38, c.209

Thomasa
1499
cancelliere of Giovanni
Feliciangeli, Sull'acquisto, p.78 doc.III, p.79 doc.IV
Tommaso di Coldazzo
1496
capitano generale of the contado of Pesaro
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.422

Tommaso Diplovatazio
1489, 1492, 1506
called to Pesaro by Camilla in 1489 "per esercitarvi la carica di vicario delle appellazioni e gabelle;" avvocato fiscale della Camera for Giovanni; ambassador sent by Galeazzo to the Marquis and Cardinal of Mantua

Vittoria (daughter of Ser Michele de Covardi)
died 1488
doncella of Costanza and Sveva (married to Count Monaldino di Montevecchio)
Olivieri, Sforza, p.LIII; idem., Appendice, p.IV

Zongus q. Jacobi Lodovici de Pisauro
1483
one of the suprastantibus of the Rocca Costanza
ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.11, c.146