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 serviti 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 offitij 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 offitij* 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.⁶ 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 Madalena 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*.⁷ Thus it is not surprising to learn that the lord could intervene even in the appointment of municipal servants.⁸

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.⁹ 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*.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ 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 domicellarum* of the Sforza residence.¹² 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.¹³

Cancellieri, and the *segretario*, a superior *cancelliere*, handled correspondence and related matters. As the Urbino *Ordini et offitij* 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*.¹⁴ 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 occorrenti, 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' Ambasciadore 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.²⁰ 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*.²¹

A variety of servants were occupied with the preparation and serving of food at court. The Urbino *Ordini et offitij* 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.²² 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.²³ 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) *governo sta Marco Monaldi scalco*.²⁴ 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.²⁵

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.²⁶

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 offitij* 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 *maggiordomo*, 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 dì 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 haute 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 Sassoferrato, father of the famous Pandolfo Colenuccio. 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 provvisione sopra questa libreria*.³⁵ 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 mustrano a persona ignorante che per curiosità li volesse vedere, se non è di troppo auctorità, basta una ochiata*.³⁶

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.³⁷

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.³⁸ 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*.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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.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.⁴² Although Alessandro sometimes requested Laurana's intervention in building projects at Pesaro, he never engaged him as court architect.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

- 1 Cardinal's *famiglie*, on the other hand, have received considerable attention; see, for instance, A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Cardinali di Curia e "Familiae" cardinalizie . . . 1227-54*, 2 vols., Padua 1972, especially pp.443-516; N. Zacour, "Papal Regulations of Cardinals' Households in the Fourteenth Century," *Speculum*, (1975), pp. 434-55; K. Weil-Garris and J.F. D'Amico, *The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's De Cardinalatu*, Rome, 1980; D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, Baltimore, 1983, pp.38ff. An examination of a royal household, but primarily from the administrative point of view is included by A. Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, Oxford, 1976, pp.54-90. Some stirrings of interest in the functions of a Renaissance courtly household can be found in W. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara*, Princeton, 1973, pp.51ff, 285-96. An excellent and stimulating account of noble households, but in England rather than Italy, is in M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, New Haven, 1978.
- 2 Vatican Library cod. Urb. lat. 1204, *Memoria felicissima dell'illustrissimo signor duca Federico e della sua famiglia che tenea*, cc.97v ff. The author is Susech of Casteldurante. G. Zannoni published it, but not without mistakes, in *Scrittori cortegiani dei Montefeltro*, Rome 1894, pp.80-85; the errors are corrected by L. Venturi in "Studi sul Palazzo Ducale," *L'Arte* vol. 17, 1914, pp. 470-71. Also G. Ermini printed it, as the Appendix to his publication of the Vatican Library cod. Urb. lat. 1248, *Ordini et offitij alla corte del Serenissimo Signor Duca d'Urbino*, Urbino 1932. See also C.H. Clough, "Federigo da Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts, 1468-82," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* vol.36, 1973, pp. 131-32 and n.17. At the *Convegno di studi su Federico da Montefeltro*, Urbino 3-8 October 1982, P. Peruzzi delivered a paper entitled "Ordine et officij: lavorare a Corte," stressing the political significance of the household. A list of court officials exists also for Ferrara in the fifteenth century, contained in the chronicle of Ugo Caleffini, Vatican Library cod. Chig. I.I.4; see Gundersheimer, *Ferrara*, pp.285ff.
- 3 Clough, "Federigo," pp.131-32. The chronicle is published by G. Baccini, "Ristretto di fatti d'Italia e specialmente d'Urbino dal 1404 al 1444," *Zibaldone*, Florence 1888, p.93.
- 4 See n.2 above. All my references to the *Ordini et offitij* will be to the Ermini edition.
- 5 For what follows see my dissertation, *Alessandro Sforza and Pesaro: A Study in Urbanism and Architectural Patronage*, Princeton 1982.
- 6 See for instance Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana (hereafter Bibl.Oliv.) 455, vol.1, cc.129-31: Supplica di Nofria moglie del fu Niccolò delli Balignani (*sic.*) da Pesaro a Costanza, moglie di Alessandro Sforza, che governava in assenza del marito a Roma (22 March 1447); c.190: Ordine di Sveva Sforza, in assenza del marito Alessandro, al Conte Vano dei Bonifazi da Sarnano, Podestà di Pesaro per l'appello d'una causa che verteva tra Bonaccursio di Pietro de' Monaldi e Madonna Raffaella figlia di Giovanni di Oddo di Taddeo delli Ranieri (22 April 1450); c.326: Madonna Sveva, moglie d'Alessandro Sforza, sottoscrive una supplica del Dottore Antonio Silvestri per alcuni beni comprati da forestieri (2 January 1455); 455, vol.II, cc.153-63: La Contessa Sveva dispensa della guardia per l'età Pietro Buxio (22 May 1456).
- 7 Clough, "Sources for the Economic History of the Duchy of Urbino, 1474-1508," *Manuscripta* vol.10, 1966, p.9; Gundersheimer, *Ferrara*, p.292.
- 8 For instance, on 9 December 1488, Giovanni and Camilla nominated Vincenzo de' Fedeli di 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. Feliciangeli, *Sull'acquisto di Pesaro fatto da Cesare Borgia*, Camerino 1900, p.53 n.2.
- 11 See the *Ordini et offitij*, 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 offitij*, pp.76-80. The *cancellieri* and *segreteria* 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 Turricella 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 hà ad dare dia, et chi hà 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, purcha una volta sieno 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.
- 17 See my dissertation, pp.166, 171, 480-81 doc.5, 487 doc.31, 490 docs. 44, 46, 491 doc.50, 492 doc.51, 493-94 doc.59.
- 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."
- 19 G. Soranzo, *Cronaca di Anonimo Veronese 1446-1488*, Monumenti di Storia Patria, ser.3. Cronache e diari, vol.IV, Venice 1915, p.243. A very useful study, explaining *condottieri*'s contracts, is that by M. Mallett, "Venice and its Condottieri, 1404-54," in *Renaissance Venice*, ed. Hale, London 1973, pp.121-45.
- 20 A. Madiati, "Nuovi documenti su Sveva Montefeltro Sforza," *Le Marche* vol.IX, 1909, p.111. But cf. *Ordini et offitij*, pp.58-59, on the *massaro*.
- 21 Feliciangeli, *Alcuni documenti relativi all'adolescenza di Battista e Costanzo Sforza*, Turin 1903, p.9.
- 21 *Ordini et offitij*, pp.51-54; for the Pesaro kitchens see my dissertation, p.167.
- 23 *Ordini et offitij*, pp.3-6, 54-57.
- 24 Feliciangeli, *Battista*, pp.10, 13.
- 25 *Ordini et offitij*, pp.10-11.
- 26 M. Tabarrini, *Descrizione del convito e delle feste fatte in Pesaro*, Florence 1870, p.14.
- 27 Tabarrini, *Descrizione*, pp.11, 12, 13, 37; see also *Ordini et offitij*, pp.64-65. Interesting in this connection is an article by M. Mamini, "Documenti quattrocenteschi di vita musicale alle Corti Feltresca e Malatestiana," *Studi Urbinati* n.s.B, anno XLVIII, 1974, pp.115-28.
- 28 Guglielmo's treatise is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, cod. ital. 973; see G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario dei manoscritti italiani delle biblioteche di Francia*, vol.I, Rome 1886, p.172. On Guglielmo see also E. Motta, "Musica alla corte degli Sforza," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* ser.2, vol.IV, anno XIV, 1887, pp.62-63 n.2; E. Rodocanachi, *La Femme Italienne à l'Epoque de la Renaissance*, Paris 1907, p.198; F. Malaguzzi Valeri, *La corte di Lodovico il Moro*, vol.I, Milan 1913, p.539; *Arte lombarda dei Visconti agli Sforza*, exhibition catalogue, Milan 1958, p.89 no.271; E. Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza*, Supplement, Florence 1969, pp.40-41. The inventory of the Sforza library is in Bibl.Oliv. 387, see on c.36 the work entitled *Io. Ambrosio ballarino*. A. Vernarecci has published the inventory: "La libreria di Giovanni Sforza," *Archivio Storico per l'Umbria e le Marche* vol.III, 1886, see p.518. A treatise by Giovanni Ambrogio is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, cod. ital. 476; see Mazzatinti, *Inventario*, p.98. The letter by Giovanni Ambrogio is published by Motta, "Musica," pp.61-62; see also *Storia di Milano*, vol.IX, Milan 1961, p.814.
- 29 *Ordini et offitij*, 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 camere 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 offitij*; 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."
- 35 *Le vite*, ed. A. Greco, vol.I, Florence 1970, p.423: "a most learned man, well paid, who is in charge of this library."
- 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, *Scrittori*, 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

_____, *L'itinerario*: "L'itinerario d'Isabella d'Este Gonzaga attraverso la Marca e l'Umbria nell'aprile del 1494," *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche* n.s. vol.VIII, 1912, pp.1-119.

_____, *Lettere: Lettere di Galeazzo Sforza al fratello Giovanni signore di Pesaro ottobre - novembre MDII*, Sanseverino-Marche 1915.

_____, *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

Madiati: A. Madiati, "Nuovi documenti su Sveva Montefeltro Sforza," *Le Marche* IX, 1909, pp.94-142.

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
 —, *Lettera: Lettera sopra un medaglione non ancor osservato*, Pesaro 1781.
 —, *Michelina: Della patria della B. Michelina e del B. Cecco*, Pesaro 1772
 —, *S. Tommaso: Memorie della badia di S. Tommaso in Foglia*, Pesaro 1778
 —, *Sforza: Memorie di Alessandro Sforza*, Pesaro 1785
 —, *Zecca: Della zecca di Pesaro e delle monete pesaresi dei secoli bassi* in G.A. Zanetti, *Nuova raccolta delle monete e zecche d'Italia*, vol.I, Bologna 1775, pp.179-246.
 Paltroni: P. Paltroni, *Commentari della vita et gesti dell'illustrissimo Federico Duca d'Urbino*, ed. W. Tommasoli, Urbino 1966
 Pellegrin: E. Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza*, Supplement, Florence 1969
 Ratti: N. Ratti, *Della famiglia Sforze*, vol.I, Rome 1794
 Rodocanachi: E. Rodocanachi, *La Femme Italienne à l'Epoque de la Renaissance*, Paris 1907.
 Sajanello: G.B. Sajanello, *Historica Monumenta Ordinis Sancti Hieronymi Congregationis B. Petri de Pisis*, vol.II, 2nd ed., Rome 1760
 Saviotti: A. Saviotti, "Giacomo da Pesaro," *Archivio Storico per l'Umbria e le Marche* IV, 1888, pp.73-81.
 Soranzo, *Anonimo*: G. Soranzo, *Cronaca di Anonimo Veronese 1446-1488*, Monumenti di Storia Patria, ser.3, Cronache e Diarii, vol.IV, Venice 1915
 Soranzo, *Cronaca sconosciuta*: "Di una cronaca sconosciuta del secolo XV e del suo anonimo autore," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* XIII, 1907, pp.68-103
 Tabarrini: M. Tabarrini, *Descrizione del convito e delle feste fatte in Pesaro*, Florence 1870
 Vaccai, *Ginevra*: G. Vaccai, "Il quadro votivo di Ginevra Tiepolo," *Rassegna Marchigiana* VII, 1928-29, pp.167-72
 —, *Le nozze*: "Le nozze di Costanzo Sforza con Camilla di Aragona," *Picenum* XIX, 1922, pp.28-37
 —, *Le ville*: "Le ville del monte Accio e la società pesarese nel secolo XVI," *Picenum* XVIII, 1921, pp.260-68.
 —, 1909: *Pesaro*, Pesaro 1909
 —, 1928: *La vita municipale sotto i Malatesta, gli Sforza e i Della Rovere, Signori di Pesaro*, Pesaro 1928
 Vernarecci, *L'incendio*: A. Vernarecci, "L'incendio della libreria di Giovanni Sforza," *Archivio Storico per l'Umbria e le Marche* III, 1886, pp.790-92.
 —, *La libreria*: "La libreria di Giovanni Sforza," *Archivio Storico per l'Umbria e le Marche* III, 1886, pp.501-23

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
Connestabile: constable in command of the town gates
Consigliere: counsellor
Consulore: 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 compa-*
gnia): lady-in-waiting
Depositario: treasurer
Dispensiere: steward of the household
Equitis: knight
Fattore generale: steward of the estates
Fornaio: baker
Forniciario: one who bakes bricks, etc.
Garzone: young servant
Giureconsulto: jurisconsult
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: farrier
Massaro: domestic steward
Muratore: brick-layer

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
 Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.I, cc.440v-441; Sajanello,
 p.377; Olivieri, *Sforza*, p.LXXXIV

Notaio: notary
Oratore: ambassador
Procuratore: procurator, agent
Piffero: piper
Ragioniere: accountant
Rappresentante: delegate, representative
Referendario (*Revisore*): comptroller
Sagittario: 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
Squadrero (*Capo di squadra*): leader of troops
Staffiere: messenger
Tamburino: drummer
Tesoriere: treasurer
Trombetto: trumpeter
Vicario delle gabelle e delle appellazioni:
 officer in charge of taxes and appeals

Almerico Almerici
 1464, 1470, 1490; died 1492
vicario delle gabelle e delle appellazioni for
 Alessandro; *podestà* of Pesaro; *avvocato fis-*
cale della camera for Giovanni
 Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.II, cc.630v-631; Bibl.Oliv.
 376, vol.I, c.442v; Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.412;
 Olivieri, *Diplovatazio*, p.XI

Almoro Brandolin 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

Alovisio (Aloisi, Luigi) Basicaretri

1457

credenziere and *dispensiere* of Alessandro Feliciangeli, *Sveva*, p.56; Madi ai, pp.95,97

Mro Andrea di Girolamo de S. Angelo

1509; dead by 1512

ingegnere of Giovanni

Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.II, c.139v; ASPN, Domenico Zucchella, vol.47, 2 April 1512, page un-numbered

Angelo de Probis d'Atri

1457, c.1463, 1467

segretario, *cancelliere*, *famigliare* of Alessandro Olivieri, *Michelina*, p.LIX; *idem.*, *Sforza*, p.LXXIII; Madi ai, 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

Madi ai, 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; Madi ai, p.112

Antonio di Gaspare gia di Montecicardo

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

maggiordomo 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

forniciaro of Alessandro

Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.IV, Sq.S, c.39; ASPN, Matteoli, vol.3, 13 January 1470, page un-numbered

Battaglino da Rieti

1457

famigliare of Alessandro

Madi ai, p.109

Battista di Lello degli Almerici da Pesaro
1512

capitano of the port

Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.I, c.534; Bibl.Oliv. 455,
vol.II, c.137

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

squadrero 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

sopristante of construction on Alessandro's
palace

Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.IV, Sq.S, c.14v; ASPN,
Sepolcri, vol.2, c.235v

Bernardino
died 1510

formaio 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

Madiati, 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 delli Reguardati
da Norsia
1473

cavaliere of Costanzo

Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.V, Sq.AB, c.13v

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

Cesare Alberti
scalco of Giovanni
Vaccai, *Ginevra*, p.172

Mro Cherubino di Milano
1476, 1478, 1479, 1483, 1491, 1492; died
1494/95

muratore, muratoris ac etiam ingegnerii of
Costanzo; given patent of *ingegnere* by Gio-
vanni (1491); *soprintendente di tutti i lavori*
di fortificazione, ponti, strade, chiuse, ecc., for
Giovanni

ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.8, cc.162v, 242; vol.9,
c.190; ASPN, Matteo Lepri, vol.10, c.138v;
Bibl.Oliv. 384, c.229; ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.11,
cc.137, 146; Vaccai, 1909, p.80; Bibl.Oliv.
376, vol.I, c.64; Feliciangeli, *Sull'acquisto*,
p.58; Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.I, cc.258, 259v-260

Chiarelmo de Spoleto
1515
segretario of Galeazzo
ASF, Urbino, C1.III, Fa. 38, c.208v

Christoforo delli Perusini
1479, 1481
luogotenente of Costanzo
ASPN, Matteo Lepri, vol.10, c.138v; Vaccai,
1928, p.202

Domenico
1500
maestro di stalla of Galeazzo
Feliciangeli, *Sull'acquisto*, doc.VIII, p.83

Domenico di Barignano
1474, 1481, 1490
sent by Costanzo to the Patriarch of Aquilea to
announce his forthcoming marriage; ambassa-
dor in Rome for Costanzo; *procuratore* for
Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.I, c.330; Bibl. Oliv. 376,
vol.VI, cc.325, 325v-326, 332v-333

Ser Dominico
1468
cancelliere of Alessandro
Olivieri, *Sforza*, p.C

Donato Stephano da Cotignola
1500, 1515
cameriere and *sescalco* of Galeazzo
Bibl.Oliv. 387, c.38v; Vernarecci, *Libreria*,
p.523; ASF, Urbino, C1.III, Fa.38, c.208

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

Ercole Bentivoglio
born c.1461; 1475, 1481
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
cavaliere
Tabarrini, p.13

Factorino Picininio
1458
one of the servants who had the care of Battista
during Alessandro's absence in 1457-58
Feliciangeli, *Battista*, p.10

Federico
1476
cameriere of Costanzo
ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.8, c.156

Federico del fu Ser Gualtiero di Bartolomeo da
S. Angelo in Vado
1485
siniscalco of Camilla and Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.I, cc.383-85

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

Fra Francesco d'Ancona
1466
confessor of Alessandro
Olivieri, *Sforza*, p.XC

Francesco di Andrea delli Piccini da Todì
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, Cl.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
Felicciangeli, *Battista*, p.13

Francesco Arduini
1512
ambassador sent to Rome to plead for Galeazzo
Felicciangeli, *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
Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.I, cc.138-39

Francesco del q. Stefano Becci (Bezio) da
Fiorenza
1473, 1486, 1493; died c.1510
a speciale (spice merchant) who became *mag-*
giordomo of Giovanni
Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.V, Sq.AB, c.13v; Bibl.Oliv.
455, vol.I, c.371; Olivieri, *Diplovatazio*, p.XIV;
Gregorovius, Appendix p.31, doc.9; Bibl.Oliv.
376, vol.I, c.327

Francesco delli Beni
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
cassiere 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; Felicciangeli, *Lu-*
crezia, p.32 n.1; Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, cc.423-
24

Galeotto Agnesi da Napoli
after 1459; died 1462
segretario and *luogotenente* of Alessandro
Felicciangeli, *Battista*, p.13

Gaspare
1456
cappellano of Sveva
Olivieri, *Sforza*, p.L

Gaspar de Cesena
1458
servant of Battista
Felicciangeli, *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 sagittari of Giovanni

Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.I, cc.389-90

Iacominus

1469

cameriere of Alessandro

Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.X, c.149

Giacomo (Jacomino) (same as the above ?)

1497; died 1510

cameriere, cameriere maggiore of Giovanni

Feliciangeli, *Lucrezia*, p.43; Bibl. Oliv. 455, vol.II, c.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 familiare of Giovanni

Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.374

Ser Jacomo delli Bagarotti da Piacenza (da Parma)

1473, 1475, 1485

cancelliere and segretario of Costanzo; *segretario* 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

depositario 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 Fossombrone

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 di Atria (de Probis d'Atri, son of Angelo ?)

1481

ambassador for Costanzo in Rome

Bibl.Oliv.376, vol.VI, cc.325, 325v-326

Mro Jacomo delli Scotti da Marignano

1458

barbiere of Alessandro

Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.IV, Sq.Q, c.25v

Giacomo Venuti

1505

luogotenente of Giovanni

Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.II, cc.260-61

Gian Antonio da Cremona

1491

credenziere of Giovanni

Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.385

Gian Francesco detto Riccio di maestro Tommaso (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
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.I, c.374

Gianozzo
1478

castellano
Olivieri, *Lettera*, p.V

Ginevra
1515
servant of Galeazzo
ASF, Urbino, C1.III, Fa.38, c.209

Giorgio Attendolo da Cotignola
1500
castellano
Felicciangeli, *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, C1.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
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.X, cc.145v, 146; Bibl.Oliv. 937, v.IV, Sq.T, c.40; Olivieri, *Sforza*, p.LXX;
Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VII, cc.81, 346-48

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

Giovanni Battista dell'Antella
1457
computista of Alessandro
ASP, 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
segretario of Giovanni
Felicciangeli, *Sull'acquisto*, p.56 n.3

Giovanni Germani
1490s, 1497
cancelliere of Giovanni; *notaio* of Pesaro; *segretario del comune* (1497)
Olivieri, *Gradara*, p.97; Felicciangeli, *Lucrezia*, p.67

Giovanni di Giontarelo 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
Felicciangeli, *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
ASP, 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
Madaia, 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

cancelliere of Alessandro
Olivieri, *Sforza*, pp.LXVI-LXVII; Bibl.Oliv.
374, vol.I, cc.56-57

Helio dei Maddaleni Capodiferro
1495

oratore of Giovanni at Rome
Felicciangeli, *Lucrezia*, pp.24, 40

Leonardo qm Giovanni Botta da Cremona
1465, 1467, 1471

cancelliere and *segretario* of Alessandro
Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.IV, Sq.T, c.41v; Bibl.Oliv.
376, vol.X, c.146; Olivieri, *Sforza*, pp.XCV,
CIX

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
Felicciangeli, *Lucrezia*, pp.30, 31 n.3

Luciano da Laurana
1476, 1478, 1479

ingegnere 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
Felicciangeli, *Sveva*, p.18; Madaia, 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; Felicciangeli,
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"
Felicciangeli, *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 Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.411v; Feliciangeli, *Sull'acquisto*, p.53 n.2; ASPN, Giovanni Germani, vol.16, c.224; Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.II, c.161; Cinelli, p.133

Marco de Monaldi

1458, 1459, 1465

scalco of Alessandro; councillor; *sopraistante* for construction on Alessandro's palace

Feliciangeli, *Battista*, p.10; Olivieri, *Sforza*, p.XLVIII; Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.IV, Sq.S, c.14v; ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.2, c.235v

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 Sassoferato 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

Bibl.Oliv.376, vol.VII, cc.98-99

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

Nicolò Pacediano

segretario of Galeazzo

Ratti, p.172 n.10

Niccolò della Palude

1465, 1474

luogotenente of Alessandro and Costanzo

Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.IV, Sq.S, c.15; vol.V, Sq.AB, c.14v

Niccolò Pietro da Perugia (Nicolaus Petri de Perusio; Nicolò Perusino)

1457, 1475, 1476, 1478, 1481

famigliare of Alessandro; *revisore* of Costanzo Feliciangeli, *Sveva*, p.80; Madiati, p.96; ASPN, Sepolcri, 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

Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.II, c.320v; Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, cc.372v-73; Gregorovius, Appendix p.31, doc.9; Feliciangeli, *Sull'acquisto*, pp.16, 43

Nicolò delli Savini da Santa Vittoria

1464, 1467, 1468, 1478

podestà of Pesaro; *dottore in diritto* and *auditor* of Alessandro; *luogotenente* for Alessandro and Costanzo

Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.II, c.120; Soranzo, *Anonimo*, p.243 n.1; Vaccai, 1928, p.202; Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.II, c.457

Nobilia da Parma

c.1457

donna di compagnia of Sveva

Madiati, 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

Feliciangeli, *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)

Feliciangeli, *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

Feliciangeli, *Elisabetta*, p.201; Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.IX, cc.177, 182

Piergiorgio Almerici

1512

ambassador in Rome for Galeazzo

Feliciangeli, *Lettere*, p.10

Piergiovanni di Alessandro da Camerino

1491

armigero of Giovanni

Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.374v

Piermatteo Giordani

1492, 1508, 1512

capitano of Novilara; Count Palatine; ambassador in Rome for Galeazzo

Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.IX, cc.136, 80; Feliciangeli, *Lettere*, p.10

Piero da Cornazzano

1457

cameriere and *scudiero* of Alessandro

Feliciangeli, *Sveva*, p.23; Madiati, 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 mistress, 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

Prospero 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

Riccio 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, CLI, 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

Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.II, c.453; Bibl.Oliv. 376, vol.VI, c.370

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

suprstantibus deputatis supra fabrica of the Rocca Costanza

Bibl.Oliv. 937, vol.V, Sq.AB, c.13v; ASPN, Sepolcri, vol.8, c.242

Sveva

1457

damigella of Sveva Montefeltro Sforza

Feliciangeli, *Sveva*, p.35 n.2

Terenzio

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

Olivieri, *Diplovatazio*, pp.V, X, XI; Bibl.Oliv. 455, vol.I, c.372

Vittoria (daughter of Ser Michele de Covardi)

died 1488

donzella 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 *suprstantibus* of the Rocca Costanza

ASP, Sepolcri, vol.11, c.146