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Count Freducci's Nautical Charts, Papal Cartography, and Transmission: A Reply to Article by Chet Van Duzer (2017)

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Introduction

The comment on my paper concerning Conte di 'Ottomano' Freducci by Professor Chet Van Duzer is welcome for a number of reasons. Chet Van Duzer, in his *BLJ* article, 'Nautical Charts, Texts, and Transmission: The Case of Conte di Ottomano Freducci and Fra Mauro' (pp. 1-4), points out the inherent biases one encounters in interpreting descriptive legends on non-traditional nautical charts, and he reiterates a point I made: namely, that the recondite nature of some of the new information that nautical charts by Count Freducci include are of particular interest to shed light on the process of commissioning and creating nautical charts in Medieval and Renaissance Italy.¹

¹ Chet Van Duzer, 'Nautical Charts, Texts, and Transmission: The Case of Conte di Ottomano Freducci and Fra Mauro', *eBLJ* (2017), Article 6, pp. 1-65.

Professor Van Duzer's article addresses the legends on three essentially unstudied nautical charts by Conte di 'Ottomano' Freducci. Van Duzer also says of this chartmaker, that he was active from 1497 to 1539 (p. 3).² The first of these three charts is Freducci's 1529 nautical chart in London, British Library, Add. MS 11548. The description of Add. MS. 11548 in *The List of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MCDCCCXXXVI-MDCCCXL* (London, 1843), in the section for 1839, p. 3, is very brief and is incorrect with regard to the coat of arms on the map.³ The chart is mentioned by Heinrich Winter, 'Scotland on the Compass Chart', *Imago Mundi*, v (1948, pp. 74-7), who says that the name in the signature is illegible; but in his review of this volume of *Imago Mundi* in *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, x-xiii (1950, pp. 1016-8), on p. 1017 Marcel Destombes says that he saw the chart before World War II, and at that time he was able to read the name as 'Freducci'. The second chart is in Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, MS 2720, which is very similar to Add. MS 11548, but is in poor condition. The third chart by Freducci which has long legends was sold at Christie's on 20 May 1998; the placement, length, and initial letters of these legends indicate that they are very similar to Add. MS 11548.

Professor Chet Van Duzer is quite correct in asserting that the first of these three charts is Freducci's 1529 chart (pp. 5, 16, 20). I see no reason, however, to presume that the illegible part of the signature is to be read as 'Conte di Ottomano'. I may add the compass rose design as proof that both the nautical charts in London, British Library, Add. MS 11548, and in Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, MS 2720, are actually the work of Freducci. Long and short radial lines are drawn on the chart paper in red, blue and yellow, and can be assigned to Freducci with total confidence. As the French language prevailed at the court of the Norman Kings in Italy, pure French expressions have been preserved in heraldry. Thus the green tincture in a coat of arms is termed *vert*, bright red is termed *gules*, and blue is termed *azure*; *argent*, a metal that is white, and signifies silver, is always left plain. This is how Freducci signed the chart, and the compass rose is drawn in red, blue and yellow, colours that appear in the Freducci family coat of arms (see fig. 1).⁴

² In full accord with Tony Campbell, 'Census of Pre-Sixteenth-Century Portolan Charts', *Imago Mundi*, xxxviii (1986), pp. 67-94. See also Tony Campbell, 'Census of Pre-Sixteenth-Century Portolan Charts: Additional ('E') Entries', available at <http://www.maphistory.info/portolanextra.html> [accessed 22 July 2011].

³ The description reads as follows: 'A CHART of Europe, the Black Sea, and the Mediterranean, drawn in 1529 for Cardinal Giulio Feltri della Rovere. On vellum, measuring 2 feet 10 inches by 2 feet. *Ital.* [11, 548]'. Feltri is a mistake for Feltre, Duchy of Urbino.

⁴ The colours of the coat of arms may be described thus: '*D'azzurro, alla testa di leopardo al naturale, dalla cui bocca escono tre ramoscelli fogliati di due pezzi di verde, ciascuno fiorito d'argento bottonato di rosso*'; that is, *Azure*, a natural leopard's head couped at the neck, in his mouth three

However, *Eufreducius*, or *de Eufreduciis*, is the ancient spelling of the surname, which appears to be delivered from the Latin *Eufredutius* and *de Eufredutiis* to designate the Freduccis, a powerful family of counts and valiant soldiers in Fermo Counties which formed the Pontifical province of Ancona, in surviving documents from Rome, Fermo, Ancona, Florence and Pisa from the late thirteenth through the early sixteenth centuries. Giovanni Freducci styles himself 'Vester Johannes de Eufredutijs de Firmo Miles et Comes' in a letter from Fermo to Cosimo I dei Medici in 1439 (see fig. 2).⁵

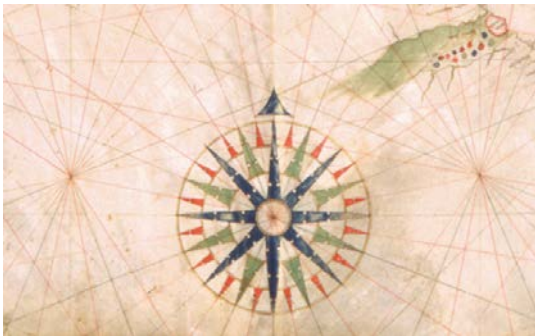


Fig. 1. The compass rose by Freducci. Detail. Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Fondo: Carte nautiche 15. Su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e del turismo, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, autorizzazione Prot. n. 4053. È fatto espresso divieto di ulteriore riproduzione o duplicazione con qualsiasi mezzo.

flowers *argent*, seeded *gules*, stalked and leaved *vert*. The colours of the shield, as understood in heraldry, are as follows: *Azure* is blue, *Vert* means green, *Gules* is red, *Argent* is white. For the Freducci coat of arms see Pompeo Litta, *Euffreducci di Fermo* (Milano, 1868), fasc. 9; Giovanni Battista di Crollanza, *Dizionario storico blasonico delle famiglie nobili o notabili italiane estinte e fiorenti* (Bologna, 1886), Vol. 1, Freducci, or, Eufreducci, p. 435. Leopard meant the heraldic lion 'passant gardant'.

⁵ Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ed.), *Archivio Mediceo Avanti il Principato (M.A.P.). Inventario* (Roma, Ministero dell'Interno Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, 1966), ii, Indice dei mittenti delle lettere, p. 410, Uffreduzi Ludovico (letter signed by *Senator Ludovicus de Uffridutis de Firmo. Firmo die 24 Sept. 1461*), doc. n. 180 *recto*. filza x); p. 208, Uffreduzi Giovanni (letter signed by *Vester Johannes de Eufredutijs de Firmo Miles et Comes. Fermi die primo Julij 1439*), doc. n. 286, filza xi). And Pierre Gauthier, 'Nuovi documenti intorno a Giovanni de' Medici detto delle Bande Nere. Continuazione', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Quinta Serie, Tomo xxx (1902), Firenze, Presso G. P. Vieusseux, pp. 326-362: N.° 92, Breve di Leone X a Giovanni (ASFi, Diplomatico, Mediceo), Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, sub anulo Piscatoris, die xvi iulii mdxx, pontificatus nostri anno octavo (pp. 338-339).

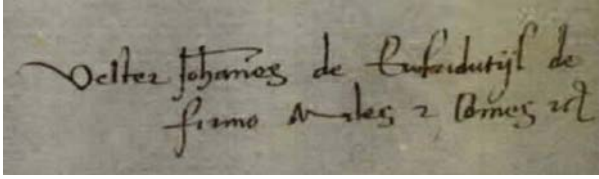


Fig. 2. The Freducci signature, 1439. Vester Johannes de Eufredutijs de Firmo Miles et Comes. Fermo, 1 July 1439. Letter to Cosimo I dei Medici, Florence. Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Mediceo Avanti il Principato, vol. i, filza xi, doc. n. 286.

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Fig. 3. The Freducci signature, 1556. Angelus Eufredutius. Angelo Freducci's latest surviving atlas of 1556 (Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana MS. 646). Detail. Autorizzazione n. 18/2019. Mantova, Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana, Prot. 0059277-06.09.2019.

And, further, an atlas by Angelo Freducci, namely Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana MS. 646, dated 1556, displays the Latin version of the family surname, *Eufredutius* (see fig. 3). The Latin signature is clearly visible today in the margin of the map of Italy. It reads as follows *Angelus Eufredutius Anconitan[us] Composuit Anconae In anno d[omi]ni MDLVI* (*Angelus Eufredutius Anconitanus Composuit In anno domini MDLVI*). The signature on the map is written with south at the top. And in Rome (Biblioteca Casanatense, MS. 4866) is another atlas of the period, which is dated 1556. The Latin signature reads as follows *Angelus eufredutius Anconitan[us] composuit Anconae MDLVI*.

Angelo also made a chart and two other atlases in the same style. The following list with Italian and Latin names has all his surviving works in chronological order. There is one extant chart by Angelo now preserved in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, II 292 CP), dated 1547; the Italian signature reads as follows *IHS M^a Virgo - Angelo de Conte Freducci de Ancona lafacta nelanno MDXXXXVII* (*Ihesus Maria Virgo - Angelo de Conte Freducci de Ancona la facta nel anno MDXXXXVII*). In Warsaw (Biblioteka Narodowa, Zbiory, Nr inw. O. 2401) is the first atlas of the period by Angelo Freducci, whom the history of cartography knows only from his signature on map 1 (Italy, Central Mediterranean Sea), which is dated 1554; the Italian signature reads as follows *Yhs M^a Virgo - Angelo de Conte Freducci*

Anconitano leafatte nelanno 1554 (Yhesus Maria Virgo - Angelo de Conte Freducci Anconitano le à fatte nel anno 1554). In Greenwich (National Maritime Museum, MS. 58-078/P36) is the second atlas of the period, which is dated 1555; the Italian signature on map 2 (Italy, Central Mediterranean Sea) reads *IHS M^a - Angelo de Conte Freducci Anconitano leafacte in Ancona nel MDLV (Ihesus Maria - Angelo de Conte Freducci Anconitano le à facte in Ancona nel MDLV)*.

Now, we have on one hand a chart (1547) and two atlases (1554, 1555) signed by *Angelo de Conte Freducci Anconitano* in the Italian language; and, on the other hand, two atlases (1556) signed by *Angelus Eufredutius Anconitanus* in the Latin language. The preposition 'de' (de Conte Freducci) is translated literally as 'of'. The Latin surname *Eufredutius* points to the Freducci family, settled, according to an old family pedigree, in Fermo Counties (Comitatus Firmanus) as early as 1274.⁶

And so Professor Chet Van Duzer (pp. 4, 14, 19) is wrong when he maintains that 'an atlas by Conte di Ottomano Freducci's son Angelo, namely Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale MS. 636, dated 1556, is stylistically very similar to Borgiano V'. No doubt Angelo never styles himself the son of 'Conte di Ottomano Freducci' as he never styles himself otherwise than 'de Conte Freducci' and 'Angelus Eufredutius'.

This article attempts now to address both the ignorance and apathy of historians of cartography and geographers when dealing with Anconitan chartmaking in Medieval and Renaissance times.

⁶ Marco Tabarrini, 'Sommaro cronologico di carte fermane anteriori al secolo XIV con alcuni documenti relativi alla storia della città di Fermo e del suo distretto riferiti per esteso', in Gaetano De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache della città di Fermo pubblicate per la prima volta ad illustrate dal cav. Gaetano De Minicis* (Firenze, Regia Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province della Toscana, dell'Umbria e delle Marche, 1870), Regesta Firmana (Codice Diplomatico Fermano), Num. 355, Divisio bonorum inter nobiles de Falleroni (in Macerata, apud locum Fratrum Minorum, coram fratre Leone guardiano): Pacta inter dominos de Falleroni pro divisione bonorum, 31 Maggio 1274, pp. 447-52.

Conclusive Proof: a Pedigree of Three Generations of the Freducci Family was placed on Official Record at the Military Order of Santo Stefano in Pisa

By a fortunate coincidence I hit upon an official document in September 2019. We have Letters Patent under the Great Seal, dated at Ancona, the 12th February 1563, which prove in the clearest manner that Angelo Freducci the chartmaker (active 1547-1556) was not the son of 'Conte di Ottomano' Freducci, but the son of 'Conte Freducci'. The document preserved in the Pisa archives provides evidence that Angelo's father was *dominus Comes Eufreducus*. In his application for admission to the Military Order of Santo Stefano, Pisa, Tuscany, the Italic Kingdom, Giovanni de Eufreducci's Angelo's son had no difficulty establishing his patrician lineage in 1563: his mother was a member of the old noble de Torolionis family of Ancona, and his family quarterings included the aristocratic de Urbevetris of Ancona and de Scalamontibus of Ancona. On the occasion, the Antiani Civitatis Ancone, the Aldermen of the city of Ancona, drew up Letters Patent confirming the Papal bulls under the lead seal, and they had them all recorded in their secretary's office in Ancona, and in the registry of the ecclesiastical court.

The official document has four pages put one inside of the other and sewn together. A Notarial deed was drawn up by Vincenzo Onorio, of the diocese of Ancona, notary public by Papal authority, testifying that the notary had been present with the witnesses and their expected testimony on 11 February 1563. The notary forged the document at the behest of 'dominus Angelus Eufredutius nobilis Anconitanus'. The Letters Patent of the Aldermen of the city were dated Ancona, 12 February 1563 (pridie jdus Februarij), under the Great Seal of the city of Ancona and given in the name of *Ancon Dorica Civitas Fidei* (see fig. 4).⁷

⁷ Pisa, Archivio di Stato, Fondo: Ordine di Santo Stefano, Provanze di nobiltà 1562-1808: filza n. 8, inserto n. 9, provanza di nobiltà del Cavaliere Giovanni di Angelo Freducci di Ancona; 11 and 12 February 1563; Latin; paper; 4 sheets, sewn together with string along the long side; folded in four horizontally, in good conditions. See also Stemmi dei Cavalieri dell'O.S.S. nella Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa (Palazzo della Carovana), Cartella: Ioannes Eufredutyus Anconetanus MDLXII, Ubicazione stemma: Sala azzurra, n. 252; available at <http://www.docstar.sns.it/index.html>.



Fig. 4. ASPi, OSS filza 8, ins. 9, provanza di nobiltà del Cav. Giovanni di Angelo Freducci di Ancona, Antiani Civitatis Ancone. Letters Patent under the Great Seal, 11 and 12 February 1563, fol. 1, the coats of arms of the Freducci (de Eufreduciis) and the Orvieti (de Urbevetricis) families. And Notarial deed (attachment to the Letters Patent), fol. i. Previa autorizzazione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività culturali e del Turismo - Archivio di Stato di Pisa (05.12.2019).

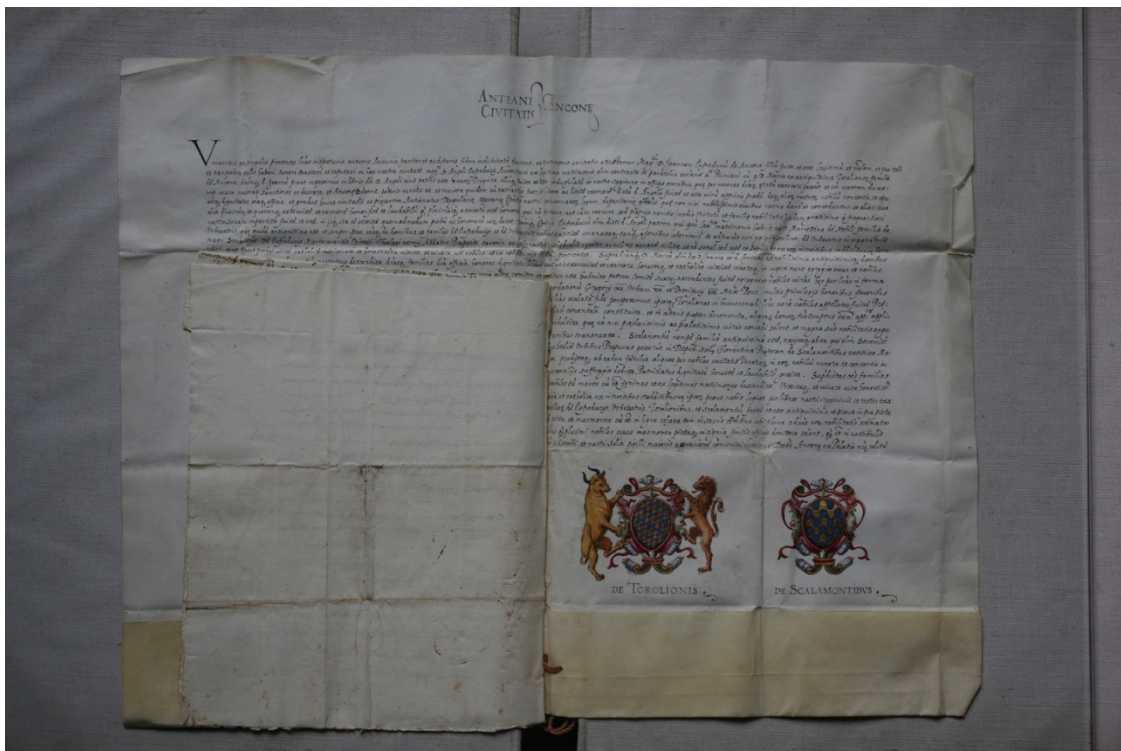


Fig. 5. ASPi, OSS filza 8, ins. 9, provanza di nobiltà del Cav. Giovanni di Angelo Freducci di Ancona, Antiani Civitatis Anconae. Letters Patent under the Great Seal, 11 and 12 February 1563, fol. 2, the coats of arms of the Torogliani (de Torolionis) and the Scalamonti (de Scalamontibus) families. Previa autorizzazione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività culturali e del Turismo - Archivio di Stato di Pisa (05.12.2019).

I am presenting for the first time biographical information on Angelo Freducci, whom the Letters Patent describe as a man of the noble rank in Ancona. In 1563 Angelo Freducci had been married for more than thirty years and was the father of Giovanni and Domenico. By virtue of his office as Alderman of the city of Ancona, or, *officium Antianatus* as they call it, Angelo was a Magistrate for the city. At the municipal level local utilities were regulated by the Board of Aldermen. The division of finance and accounts (*Regularia*) was responsible for all the operations of the *Antianatus*. Angelo served as municipal accountant in 1563 (*Antiani Civitatis Ancone, Letters Patent, fol. 1, line 5, 'et praesertim Antianatus, Regulariae'*).

And thus Angelo Freducci was one of the officers to whom the business of keeping up accounts was committed. The story of Angelo as told by the Aldermen of the city of Ancona in the Letters Patent dated at Palatio Residentiae, 12 February 1563, is of great interest for what it may tell or imply about the relations between the Aldermen in the office of accountants (*regulatores*) and the elected chief Captains of the Anconitan armed Fleet during that period. The revised edition of the Statutes and Ordinances, published by senatorial authority in 1566, gives notice of the *Armata Sancti Chiriaci* (*Armata of St Cyriacus*). The *Armata Sancti Chiriaci* – the Latin name for an armed Fleet – was in the harbour of the town of Ancona. As we will see again later, the point that interests us most deeply in the Statutes is the question of the chief Captains who were employed in the armed Fleet at Ancona. The Statutes of the city of Ancona provided that 'There shall be no Captain in the *Armata* of St Cyriacus, except those who are appointed by, and sworn before the said Accountanting Officers of the Aldermen'. Collector agents constitute a separate branch of the Board of Aldermen and have power under the Statute to examine Captains before they are appointed chief Captains of the *Armata* on 1 April of each year ('*Kalendis Aprilis extrahatur*').⁸ This Fleet history explains the origin of charts and atlases signed by 'Angelo de Conte Freducci' or 'Angelus Eufredutius': he was a collector agent (in *Regularia*) from the office and place of Aldermen of the city of Ancona.

The port of Ancona situated about 6 miles northwestward of Mount Conero is the only port between Gargano and Venice sufficiently capacious to receive sailing vessels of large tonnage; it is in the form of a sector limited by the curving shore comprised between St Cyriacus (modern Guasco) and Astagno Hills and two

⁸ Battista Ferretti iureconsulto (Joannes Baptista Ferrettus Anconitanus IV.D. Comes, et Eques), *Constitutiones, sive Statuta magnificae civitatis Anconae, novissime decreto Senatus impressa*, (Ancona, Excudebat Astulfus de Grandis Veronensis, 1566), *De Officiis Collatio Prima, De officia Syndicatorum Communis Anconae*, Rubrica 8, pp. 7-8; *De Deveto Officialium Civitatis Anconae per Consilium eligendorum*, Rub. 34, p. 26; *Ordo pro Armata Sancti Chiriaci*, Rub. 35, pp. 26-7. The book cover shows the Great Seal of the city of Ancona and in this were still shown the three lilies of gold.

protecting natural moles. The ancient part of the lower mole is crowned by Trajan's arch built in honour of the Emperor of the Romans.⁹ Ancona cathedral is dedicated to St Cyriacus the Martyr, the patron saint of Ancona; it stands on the site of the former acropolis of the Greek city, the Guasco Hill which overlooks Ancona and its gulf. The hill, however, was renamed Guasco Hill, after a French officer named Cesare Guasco in 1570.

Thus in the genealogic proofs of patrilinear and matrilinear nobility mention is made of Angelo's mother-in-law, Contessa de Scalamonti, daughter of Count de Scalamonti, Ancona. The Aldermen of the city of Ancona by their Letters Patent recall in 1563 that both the noble Toroglioni and Scalamonti families were deeply rooted in the port of Ancona and its history (fol. 1). The port of Ancona was well-fortified but much of Medieval and Renaissance Ancona was destroyed during the Second World War. The Piazzaforte Pontificia of Ancona, the old city wall of the port, was destroyed, but port doorways could be restored. There are six Gothic doorways (Portelle) for access. The doorway called 'Portella delli Toroglioni' reminds us of the period of Papal absence from Rome, the period of Papal Avignon. In 1375 Cardinal Roberto Amadeo de conti Gibennesi, as the apostolic Legate of Pope Gregory XI de Beaufort and Rector of *Marchia Anconitana*, arrived in Ancona, and communicated the object of his mission to the chief magistrates. The Legate ordered a galley, a *galea grossa*, to be built, and to be armed to go to Marseille, France, or Transalpina Gallia as the Aldermen of the city of Ancona call it in Latin in 1563. The Anconitan magistrates elected Nicolò, or as the said Letters Patent grant under the Great Seal of the city of Ancona, Nicolaus Torolionus, son of Bartolomeo de Torolionis, of noble rank, Captain of the company. Nicolò then set sail for Marseille near the mouth of the Rhône. Leaving Avignon on 13 September 1376, Pope Gregory XI departed from Marseille on 2 October with captain Toroglioni and the Anconitan galley escorted by thirty-one galleys from Genoa. The chief galley, which had command over the rest, was called *capitana d'Ancona* in the history of the Papal Marine. The Pope embarked at Marseille and after four months of difficult travel, during which he endured a number of storms, he reached Rome via the Tiber on 17 January 1377. As a reward for the great service which Nicolò Toroglioni had rendered in this operation, Pope Gregory bestowed the title of Count of Cassero upon him and his successors; Cassero Castle (modern Camerata Picena) rises in the Bishopric of Ancona. Giuliano Saracini tells us that the wall-space between 'Portella sotto mare', the last gate at Point San Primiano, and 'Portella delli Toroglioni' was adorned with coats of arms. Both the coats of arms of Antonio Scalamonti and Domenico Bompiani, guardians of the port of Ancona, were in a stone erected in 1470. And the coats of arms of Andrea

⁹ Battista Ferretti, *Constitutiones* (see n. 8), Parte Prima, Opinione Nona et ultima, pp. 32-3.

Benincasa, Francisco Cuneo and Ludovico Senili, captains of the port, were cut in stone in 1497.¹⁰ The coat of arms of the noble Toroglioni was then displayed over the Anconitan Portella; the wavy lines on the shield are the heraldic way of representing the waves of the sea, namely 'barry wavy *or* and *azure*'. These are the arms of the Toroglioni and the Scalamonti families granted by the said Letters Patent in 1563 (fol. 2), but have slight differences in decoration (see fig. 5).

Maria's brothers, in fact, still hold the title of 'comites Cassari' in the Letters Patent dated at Ancona in 1563, and they display their coat of arms (fol. 1; see fig. 4). Maria de Torolionis (modern Toroglioni), Angelo's wife, was the daughter of Giovanni and Contessa de Scalamontibus (modern Scalamonti) his wife.

The City, Counties and District of Ancona were composed of contiguous territory and were to be distinguished ('in Civitate, Comitatu, et Districtu Anconae'). Accordingly, the Statute made a difference relative to the election to the office of Alderman (de officio Antianatus). Officers who were not born in the City of Ancona could not be elected (see 1566, 'in officio Antianatus, et Regulariae'; De deveto, Rub. 34, p. 26). No doubt, then, that Angelo was born in the City of Ancona.

Banners, bearing the arms of *de Eufreduciis*, were then familiar objects in the City, Counties and District of Ancona. The present family assumed the arms of Ludovico the Elder Freducci from Fermo as their paternal coat, at the time of the marriage with Caterina Nardi at Ancona circa 1450.¹¹ The three roses with the

¹⁰ Giuliano Saracini, *Notitie Historiche della Città d'Ancona* (Roma, 1675), Parte Seconda, Libro Nono, pp. 210-11, Anni di Christo 1375; Parte Seconda, Libro Duodecimo, p. 477, Anni di Christo 1673, 'Nella muraglia del Porto, nella strada, detta sotto mara vicino a San Primiano; vi sono tre altre Arme, con la seguente iscrizione, che dice *D. M. Ant: Scalamontes de Grimaldi; Dominicus Paguli de Bomplanis, Anconae Portus, Praefecti; ex publico Aere, murum hunc, funditus construi Curaverunt [...]* MCCCCLXX'; p. 478, Anni di Christo 1673, 'Nella Muraglia del detto Porto; fra la sudetta Portella [Portella vicina a S. Primiano], e quella detta delli Toroglioni, vi sono tre altre Arme, con la seguente iscrizione, che dice *Andrea Benincasa, Francisco Cuneo, et Ludovico Senili, Portus Capitanei, ad maritima propugnacula, Patriae construentibus [...]* MCCCCLXXXVI'. For primary sources see also Angelo Guglielmotti, *Storia della Marina Pontificia nel Medio Evo dal 728 al 1499* (Firenze, 1871), II, Lib. III, Cap. XI (Cap. Niccolò Torriglioni), 1376, pp. 89-102, and note 115.

¹¹ Francesco Ferretti, *Pietra del paragone della vera nobiltà discorso genealogico de conti Ferretti con varie notizie Historiche, e riflessioni sopra i pregi della Nobiltà. Alla Maestà Christianissima di Luigi XIV* (Ancona, 1685), pp. 116, 124-32, 346. For the connection between two branches of the family, the Freduccis who lived in Fermo and the Freduccis who lived in Ancona, see also Giorgio Viviano Marchesi (patrizio Forlivese), *La Galleria dell'Onore Ove sono descritte le Segnalate Memorie del Sagr'Ordine Militare di S. Stefano P. e M. e de' Suoi Cavalieri colle Glorie antiche, e moderne dell'Illustri Loro Patrie, e Famiglie dentro, e fuori l'Italia* (Forlì, 1735), Parte Prima all'Altezza del Serenissimo Gio. Gastone Gran Duca di Toscana Gran Maestro dell'Ordine, Ancona, pp. 35-36: 'Giovanni d'Angelo

colours *reversed* are from the Freducci family coat of arms. In heraldry, a lambel, or label, is a charge resembling the strap crossing the horse's chest from which pendants are hung. The coat of arms of the Normans, at the time of King Charles I of Anjou, the first king of the angevin dynasty who ruled over Naples and Sicily (1226 or 1227-85), bore on a blue field three golden lilies, or *fleurs-de-lys*, with the addition of a lambel of three points *gules*, which, in heraldry, is a brilliant shade of red. Before this period the *fleurs-de-lys* had been more in number, and they were scattered over the entire surface of the royal banner. After the Anconitan intervention on the side of Charles I of Anjou and the closing of the Battle of Benevento in 1266, however, Ancona reduced the number of the *fleurs-de-lys* in its own banner to three, and thenceforward the three lilies of gold appeared in the banners and seals of the municipality of Ancona. We see the seal on the cover of the 1566 book of Statutes.

Accordingly, the descendants of the Freducci family in Ancona should bear, on their coat of arms, three lilies of gold and a lambel of three points *gules* from the civic coat of arms of Ancona, thus producing a distinct heraldic ensign. We see it in the Letters Patent 1563. Of these two coats of arms, the earlier of Fermo may be distinguished as Freducci ancient (see fig. 13 below), and the later as Freducci modern (see fig. 4).

This document, though not so important for the history of cartography, is nevertheless of great interest, as connected with the histories of the noble houses and aristocratic families in Ancona, and with other public genealogies of the period. As testified from the many examples given in the document, namely, in the consent in writing of the notary (the sewn folio, line 23), 'Giovanni Freducci and Domenico declare the surname of Count Freducci, the father of the said Angelo their father, and are legitimately descended from the noble family of de Eufredutijs in Ancona'. Giovanni and Domenico also declare that they never engaged in the vile mechanical arts, ('d. Angelo Euferdutio nobile Anconitano dixerunt, et testificaverant Mag. cos instantes d. num Iohanne[m] et d. num Dominicu[m] dicti d. Angeli Euferdutis de Ancona filios fuisse, et esse nobiles Anconitanos, et nullam exercuisse seu exercere artem vilem seu (ut vulgo aiunt) mechanicam [...] et interrogati in causa scientias, deposuerunt cognomine d[omi]num Comitem Euferdutiu[m] patrem supradicti d[omi]ni Angeli patris supra dictos d. Iohannis Euferdutij et d. Do[mini]ci fuisse ex nobili familia de Eufredutijs de Ancona, et artem aliquam mechanicham no[n] exercuisse toto tempore vitae suae et dictum d[omi]num Comitem patrem dicti d. Angeli suscepisse ex legitimo matrimonio de nobili d[omi]na Maretina filia q[uondam] Nobilis viri d[omi]ni Dominici de Urbeveteris de Ancona supra dictum d[omi]num Angelum euferdutium'; Notarial deed, fol. i, lines 17-25; see fig. 5).

Freducci, 9 Marzo 1562. ab Incar. Illustre in Fermo, e conosciuta in Italia, fu la prosapia Freducci, madre di segnalati, e celebri Personaggi'.

Navigation in its theory and practice is classed among the noble liberal arts. Mechanical arts are those wherein the hand, and body are more concerned than the mind, and which are chiefly cultivated for the sake of the profit; they are popularly known by the names of trades; they take their denomination from 'machine'. Liberal arts are those that are noble, and ingenuous; or which are worthy of being cultivated 'without any regard to lucre arising therefrom'. Such are poetry, music, painting, grammar, rhetoric, the military art, architecture, and navigation.¹²

In the Ecclesiastical States the practice of trade was incompatible with nobility. Nobles must not have derogated from their nobility by merchandise or traffic. By Papal brief, dated Rome, 7 June 1644, for the first time Pope Urbanus VI very wisely provided that merchandise should be no prejudice to nobility in the community and city of Ancona.¹³

In this valuable and hitherto unknown and unpublished document, reproduced here for the first time, the Aldermen of the city of Ancona (Antiani Ancone Civitatis) as officers from the nobility placed a pedigree on official record at the Order of St Stephen in Pisa in 1563 (see figg. 4-5). The document opens with a statement that Angelo was born of legitimate marriage between two nobles, the lord Count Eufreducius as he was once called and Mariettina de Urbevetris his wife, both members of senatorial families ('D[omi]numque Contem Eufreduciu[m] olim dicti d. Angeli patrem, qui ipsu[m] leg[iti]mo matrimonio habuit ex D. Mariettina de' Nobilis familia de Urbevetris quae quide[m] antiquissima est et semper ipsos, oêsque de domibus et familijs de Eufreducijs et de Urbevetris nobiles extitisse, emanasseque tanque a fontibus uberrimis, et adfuerunt viri egregij scilicet, de Urbevetris in magna Urbe magni Senatores De Eufreducijs [...] equites ac miles auratae militae, et no[n] semel sed sepe et sepius').

As the senators of Rome ('in magna Urbe' in Letters Patent) were taken out of the body of the patricians, they were appointed by the Popes. In fact, among the senators of the Roman States were Giovanni Freducci (*Iohannes de Eufredutijs de*

¹² Ephraim Chambers (ed.), *Cyclopaedia: or, An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London, 2nd ed. 1738), i, 'Art'.

¹³ 'Constantis fidei ac sinceræ devotionis affectu, quo dilecti filii Communitas et homines Civitatis nostræ Anconitanæ Nos, et Romanam reverentur Ecclesiam, inducimur, ut ea illis libenter concedamus, quæ ad eorum utilitatem et commodum dignoscimus pertinere. §1 Cum itaque sicuti idem Communitas et homines Nobis nuper exponi fecerunt. ipsi sericeam et lanariam artes necnon cerarum, coriorumque ac lanarum et vallonearum vulgo nuncupatarum mercaturam ac bancheriorum seu campsorum artem opera personarum nobilium ejusdem Civitatis, absque eo quod propterea earumdem personarum nobilitati praejudicaretur exerceri posse [...]'.

Firmo Miles and Comes) (see fig. 2), and his son Ludovico Freducci (*Senator Lodovicus de Uffridutis de Firmo*) in 1445-1453 and in 1454-1464 respectively.¹⁴

In lines 7-10 on folio 1 a space of two letters is left out since a paper wrinkle or a faulty fold on the reverse has spoiled the writing on the obverse (see fig. 4). In line 7 the erased word is *Com'tem* in the line string 'Dominumque Comitum Eufreducium olim dicti d. Angeli patrem fuisse' (Antiani Civitatis Ancone, Letters Patent, fol. 1). In any case, the Notarial deed of 11 February 1563 attests twice that the said lord Count Eufredutius, by his wife Mariettina a daughter of Domenico de Urbeveteris, was father of the said Angelo and grandfather of Giovanni and Domenico in Ancona ('et interrogati in causa scientias, deposuerunt cognomine dominum Comitum Eufredutium patrem supradicti domini Angeli patris supra dictos d. Iohannis Eufredutij et d. Dominici fuisse ex nobili familia de Eufredutijs de Ancona, et artem aliquam mechanicham non exercuisse toto tempore vitae suae et dictum dominum Comitum patrem dicti d. Angeli suscepisse ex legitimo matrimonio de nobili domina Maretina filia quondam Nobilis viri domini Dominici de Urbeveteris de Ancona supra dictum dominum Angelum eufredutium' (Notarial deed, attachment, fol. i, lines 23-25. See fig. 4).

Repeatedly in the document of 1563 we see that *Comes*, Count, is a title of nobility, not a proper name; and *Contessa*, Giovanni Freducci's maternal grandmother, was a daughter of Count de Scalamontibus ('dominum comitem de Scalamontibus'. Notarial deed, fol. ii, lines 3-4). The Latin word originates in Trento on the Adige River where it is first attested by Notarial deed in the form *domina Contessa* in 1157.¹⁵ And the word passed unchanged into the Italian language. Likewise, for example, speakers of Old Italian knew the form *dominus Contes*, *domini Contis*, and *dominum Contem*; both the forms *Comes* and *Contes* are recorded from Latin texts.¹⁶

¹⁴ Alfonso Salimei, 'Serie cronologica dei senatori di Roma dal 1431 al 1477. Contributo alla storia del Senato romano', *Archivio della R. Società romana di Storia patria*, Voll. liii-lv, 1932, pp. 41-176 (especially pp. 133, 169), Giovanni de Uffreduccis (Uffreduzzi) da Fermo (1445-46); Ludovico Uffreducci da Fermo (1453), Ludovicus de Offredutijs firmanus (1454), Ludovico de Eufreducci (de Uffredutiis) da Fermo (1464), Ludovicus de Offreducijs (1465).

¹⁵ See, for example, Emanuela Curzel, Sonia Gentilini, Gian Maria Varanini (eds), *Le pergamene dell'Archivio della Prepositura di Trento, 1154-1297* (Bologna, Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento: Fonti 2, 2004), Le pergamene della Prepositura, pp. 308, 402-3. And Marina Benedetti, *Inquisitori lombardi nel Duecento* (Roma, 2008), p. 49, note 32.

¹⁶ Attested by Piergiorgio Peruzzi, 'Prime note sulla vita e sull'opera scientifica di Francesco Tigrini da Pisa', *Studi Medievali*, Spoleto, s. iii, 31 (1990), pp. 853-99 (especially p. 881, anno 1361); Pompeo Compagnoni (ed.), *Memorie storico-critiche della Chiesa e de' vescovi di Osimo* (Roma, 1782), iii, 'Lezione CLXX di Fra Piero I. Atti dell'anno 1375', p. 183; Francesco Liverani (ed.), *Le catacombe e*

I, based on close observation of the original, say that in all three cases I have to do with the same word, *Comitem* in the accusative case. Each word carefully includes a dot above each vowel i. It is to conform *verbatim* to the requirements of the Order's Statute, as expressed in chapter four in Italian, specifically to appoint Earls, *Conti*, of high status. The Order had been instituted in the year 1561, by Cosimo dei Medici, Second Duke of Florence and Siena, First Grand Master of the Order and Grand Duke of Tuscany, Iron Crown.¹⁷

A pedigree of three generations has been recorded, which is headed by Count Freducci; he married Mariettina de Urbevetris, the daughter of Domenico, of the patriciate of Ancona which was a firmly established set of families. Count Freducci and Mariettina had a son, Angelo, married to Maria de Torolionis (Antiani Civitatis Ancone, Letters Patent, fol. 1, lines 2 and 7. Notarial deed, fol. i, lines 28-29; fol ii, lines 1-3). The entry descends to the issue of Angelo and of Maria his wife. Maria was the daughter of Giovanni de Torolionis and *Contessa* de Scalamontibus was her mother ('Suprad[ict]amque d[omi]namque Maria[m] olim ex D. Joanne et d. Contessa ex nobilissimis antiquissimisque dominibus et familijs Toroliona, et Scalamontiu[m] respective descendisse, d[ict]asque familias d[ict]am officiam, honores, dignitates huius civitatis exercuisse et exercere, honesteque, et catholice vixisse, vivereque, et vigere nunc egregios cives, et nobiles, et fratres d[ict]ae Mariae in actuque comites Cassari cum oneribus, muneribus, et honoribus, eos vero alter comitem et equitem esse, habuisse patrem Comite[m] suosque ascendentes fuisse egregios et nobiles viros, haec per l[ite]ras in forma Breviu[m] olim concessas motu proprio propter eorum benemerita sub plumbea bulla' (Antiani Civitatis Ancone, Letters Patent, fol. 1, lines 10-12).

Still further on, in the Notarial deed, the said *contessa* de Scalamontibus is described as the noble daughter of *comes* de Scalamontibus; the said Count de Scalamontibus also never engaged in the mechanical arts and never took public money, neither did Angelo de Eufreducciis ever practice the mechanical arts, or take public money ('supra dictos d.num Iohanne[m], et d. Dominicum ex nobili d[omi]na

antichità cristiane di Chiusi (Siena, 1872), 'Bolla di Eugenio IV per la elezione del vescovo di Chiusi. Copia mandati Alexii episcopi clusini, 1438', p. 319; and others.

¹⁷ *Statuti Capitoli et Constitutioni del Ordine di Santo Stefano. Fondato et dotato dal Illustr. et Eccell. Signor Cosimo Medici Duca II. di Fiorenza et di Siena. Con gratia et Privilegio* (Firenze, 1562), 'Del modo di ricevere i Cavalieri', Titolo Secondo: In che modo i Cavalieri del Ordine di Santo Stephano deveno esser ricevuti alla professione', pp. 9-10, Capitolo iiiii, Della qualità di coloro che deveno esser'accettati nel ordine: 'Non vogliamo che nessuno, il quale non sia legittimamente nato possa ammettersi alla professione del ordine della nostra Religione se già non fusse figliuolo d'alcun Signore di titolo, come son Duchi, Principi, Marchesi, o Conti di grande stato'; p. 10, Capitolo v, Delle Probationi che si debbono fare inanzi che alcun si accetti.

Maria filia q.dam Mag.ci d.mi Iohanni de Toroglionis nobilis Anconitani de legiptimo matrimonio et ex nobili d.na contessa filia Mag.ci d.ni generi de Scalamontibus nobilis Anconitani, dictumque d.num comitem du[m] vixit exercuisse o[ne]ra offitia, et munera publica huius civitatis, nec no[n] d.num Angelum supra dictum viventem pariter offitia, et munera predicta exercuisse et exercere'; Notarial deed, fol. ii, lines 1-3).

This way of distinguishing the various components of the nobility recalls that of the late medieval orders, nobles and people, with the latter divided into merchants and artisans. The lower status of the latter is evidenced by the frequent reference to the mechanical arts and their practitioners as non-nobles in the 1563 document. It turns out that the purpose of Anconitan charts and atlases signed by a chartmaker as a member of the patriciate was not that of merchandise. The existence of the armed Fleet of St Cyriacus required Angelo Freducci as Alderman to invest heavily in charts and atlases.

The pedigree ends with Giovanni the applicant Knight and Domenico, the sons of Angelo and Maria in 1563. Giovanni was then thirty years of age, according to his father Angelo's books in Ancona (Antiani Civitatis Ancone, Letters Patent, fol. 1, line 3). The grants are contained in Letters Patent of Gregory XI, Urban VI, Boniface IX, Pontifices Maximi, in the form of Papal bulls under the lead seal, and in other letters by Pope Urban VI (line 13).

This, then, is the basic source material on which I have relied extensively in the pages that follow.¹⁸ It is recorded, and there is no reason to doubt, that Giovanni Freducci, the son of Angelo, was admitted as Knight of the Order of St Stephen, at Pisa, in 1563. As a Knight of Santo Stefano, Giovanni's chief duty was to participate in the Order's maritime campaigns via Porto Pisano and Livorno to rescue Christians who had been captured by Infidel forces (*Statuti*, 1562, 'Regola dei Cavalieri di Santo Stefano', Tilolo Primo, p. 2, Capitolo iii, Dell'Uffitio, et professione de' Cavalieri). Giovanni will be present as Knight and *Comes* in Ancona when the Order's favourable report is given to his cousin Lelio Freducci (Freduccj and de Eufredutiis), the son of Andrea, the grandson of Lillo in Latin Letters Patents, an applicant for the knighthood on 9 December 1581. The proper name is rendered both Lelio and Lillo in the Latin text. Giovanni Angelo's son is thus described in the Notarial deed of 23 September 1581 (see fig. 6): 'D[ominus] Joannes Eufredutius Comes: datarius religionis ex militie S.ti Stephani Antianus' (fol. xi, lines 16-17).¹⁹

¹⁸ I wish to thank Massimo Sanacore and Daniela Staccioli, Archivio di Stato, Pisa, and Laura Cirri, Stemmi dei Cavalieri dell'Ordine di Santo Stefano nella Scuola Normale Superiore, Comitato scientifico, Pisa, for their advice with various questions I encountered in tracking down documents.

¹⁹ Fol. ix, lines 16-17. Pisa, Archivio di Stato, Fondo: Ordine di Santo Stefano, Provanze di nobiltà 1562-1808: filza n. 40, inserto 27, Processo di nobiltà del Cavaliere Lelio di Andrea Freducci di

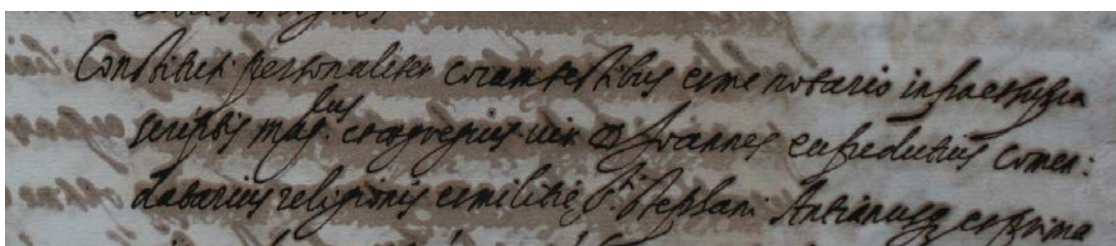


Fig. 6. Joannes Eufredutius Comes, 1581. Giovanni Angelo's son. ASpi, OSS, filza 40, ins. 27, Processo di nobiltà del Cavaliere Lelio di Andrea Freducci di Ancona. Antiani Civitatis Ancone, Letters Patent, and Notarial deed of 23 September 1581, fol. xi (lines 16-17). By Permission of the Archivio di Stato in Pisa (05.12.2019)

The document executed by the public notary shows the following coats of arms depicted in full colour in 1581 (fol. ix): Freducci, Bartolucci, Toroleonj, Benincasi. In the first place, an aspirant for Knight in the Order of St Stephen had to prove his direct descent from four noble families on both sides; the proof of gentilitian quarterings takes in the father, mother, grandfather and grandmother, on

Ancona, Antiani Civitatis Anconae, Lettere Patenti, 5 Octobris 1581; fol. i; signed by Ambrosius de Ciceribus et Commessarij, Datum Anconae, In Palatio nostrae solitae Residentiae, 30 7mbris [Septembris] 1581 - v Octobris 1581 - viiii Dicembre 1581, fol. ix - fol. xxv; in palatio Episcopali praesentibus: *signum* of 'Petrus Baptista a Porta' public notary by apostolic authority. In good conditions.

both the father and mother's side.²⁰ The proofs of nobility for four descents on both sides must be made by arms and registers, signed by the notary within whose jurisdiction the candidate was born, by whom they are sent to the Grand Master of the Order, and there undergo another examination by the Knights of that Military Order in Pisa, who have the power to reject them. At the bottom of the Ancona document of 1563 are these following coats of arms depicted in full colour (see figg. 4-5): de Eufredutiis, de Urbevetris, de Torolionis, de Scalamontibus. Although unfortunately the Biblioteca Comunale Benincasa, the Ancona city library, was destroyed as a result of bombing attacks (1943/1944), and the historical collections, with their nineteenth-century inventories, suffered serious damage, nevertheless the surviving document of Ancona with the Great Seal still attached traces the story of three generations of the Freducci family in Ancona. And, above all, Freducci's full story might have been lost to us for ever had the document not been preserved on official record by the Order of St Stephen in Pisa.

Then shortly thereafter I discovered authorized secondary sources on the Military Order of St Stephen in 1735, where further generations of pedigree were traced and placed on official record at the Military Order. Giorgio Viviano Marchesi discovered in the archives of the Order that Giovanni, the son of Angelo Freducci, was descended from the highly distinguished family of Freducci in Fermo. Oliverotto absolute Lord and then Tyrant of the State of Fermo, was a descendant of the Freduccis; he might have become the most distinguished member of the family, and given peace to his country, but instead of this, he was cruel and caused innocent blood to flow. After which he, too, was killed in the same cruel manner. From Ludovico Freducci of Fermo, Esquire, the son and heir of Giovanni Freducci, Esquire, derived the branch of the Freducci family which settled at Ancona, and of which was Giovanni, Angelo's son, the Knight of the Order of St Stephen, at Pisa, 1563 (1562 in the Pisan calendar). Ludovico who as pretor or judge resided first at Florence, in Tuscany, in 1433, and afterwards at Ancona, was appointed senator at Rome in 1455 and 1465. On marrying in 1450 Caterina Nardi, widow of Antonio Ferretti Count of Castel Ferretto, Ancona Counties, Ludovico Freducci claimed his right to enrollment as a noble of Ancona. This gave Ludovico the senator and descendants the right to be classed among the nobility of city.

²⁰ *Statuti Capitoli et Constitutioni del Ordine di Santo Stefano* (see n. 16), 'Del modo di ricevere i Cavalieri', Titolo Secondo, p. 10, Capitolo v, Delle Probationi che si debbono fare inanzi che alcun si accetti.

A pedigree of five generations has been officially recorded and published by the Order of St Stephen in 1735, which is headed by Giovanni the Elder Freducci.²¹ He is *Johannes de Eufredutijs*, who styles himself 'de Firmo Miles et Comes' in the Italian letter from Fermo to Cosimo I dei Medici in 1439 (see fig. 2).²² The entry descends to his son Ludovico Freducci in Fermo, who married in 1450 Caterina Nardi widow of Antonio Ferretti Count of Castel Ferretto of Ancona. By his wife Ludovico had a son, from whom are descended the Freduccis of Ancona. The entry ends with Angelo's son Giovanni, the aspirant Knight in 1563. On the other hand, in 1735 the author of the secondary source was not interested in considering together two families that stem from the same trunk. This needs to be complemented by news from other primary sources: chronicles, inscriptions, municipal registers of deliberations. From these sources we learn that the Freduccis of Ancona kept the right to hold municipal offices in Fermo and had access to these ordinary rights. In reality, Ludovico and Caterina Nardi had three children, Giovanni, Pier Nicolò (Piernicolo), and Stefania.²³ Giovanni Freducci the son of Ludovico and Caterina took for his first wife Caterina, daughter of Niccolò Fogliani in Fermo; by her he had Tommaso, killed in 1498, Oliverotto the future 'rector, head and commissary general' and Count of the city of Fermo, taken and strangled in 1502, and Battista, who died before the year 1514. Giovanni, meanwhile, married for his second wife Mariettina de Urbevetris, another *gentildonna*, daughter of Domenico a patrician of Ancona, whose name we learn from the Letters Patent 1563; they had a child, Angelo. Then the Turkish pirates killed Giovanni. Ludovico the Senator survived his son Giovanni in 1491, and lies buried in the same vault, at the Blessed Sacrament

²¹ Marchesi, *La Galleria dell'Onore* (see n. 11), pp. 35-36, 'Giovanni d'Angelo Freducci, 9 Marzo 1562. *ab Incar.* Illustre in Fermo, e conosciuta in Italia, fu la prosapia Freducci, madre di segnalati, e celebri Personaggi'; p. 36, 'Lelio d'Andrea Freducci, 17 Marzo 1581 *ab Inc.*'.

²² Patrizia Licini, 'La cartografia nautica dei Freducci come testo, contesto e ipertesto della Signoria di Fermo, in Simonetta Conti (ed.), *Amate sponde. Le rappresentazioni dei paesaggi costieri mediterranei. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi a cura di Simonetta Conti. Gaeta, 11-13 dicembre 2003, Complesso monumentale della SS. Annunziata* (Formia, June 2007), Sezione 2. Le Coste dei Navigatori (Referees Corradino Astengo, Vladimiro Valerio, Simonetta Conti), pp. 245-91 (especially p. 267, and note 24).

²³ Fermo, Consigli di Cernita, 6 January 1476 (Giovanni ricevuto in Cernita in luogo di suo fratello Piernicolo); January 1478 (si propone a Priore: Giovanni di Ludovico Uffreducci *propter senectutem patris*; 22 June 1478 (Piernicolò può esercitare gli uffici municipali per Ludovico Eufreducci suo padre assente); 7 January 1480 and 27 March 1480 (si ha che Stefania sorella di Piernicolò e figlia di Ludovico Eufreducci moglie in prime nozze di Giacomo Paccaroni si rimaritò in Ancona). See Giuseppe Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo. Commentario storico', *Il Saggiatore Giornale Romano*, Num. 9 and 10, An. II, Vol. III, 30 Jun. 1845, pp. 267-10 (pp. 270-71, notes 13-16); but here note the false reading in the municipal registrations, where Piernicolo (modern Pier Nicolò) has been wrongly read for Pierfrancesco in 1845.

Chapel, Fermo. The sole source of information about Giovanni's second marriage and violent death is the epitaph that his father Ludovico wrote on the occasion.²⁴

We have now rehearsed the whole of Count Giovanni Freducci's relations mentioned in documents and traced the genealogic position of Angelo his son. From this branch descend the present Giovanni the Knight of the Order of St Stephen, at Pisa, 1563, and Domenico his brother.

The first dated chart showing the 'Count of hoctomannum Freducci' signature (*Comes hoctomanni fredutys = Comes hoctomanni fredutijs*), in Latin, is from the year 1497, namely his nautical chart now in Wolfenbüttel (see fig. 7). The second surviving chart showing the 'Count of hoctomanno Freducci' signature (*Conte de hoctomanno freducci*), in Italian, is from the year 1512, namely the nautical chart, in atlas, in Perugia (see fig. 8). The third surviving chart showing the 'Count of Hectomanno Freducci' signature (*Conte de Hectomāno freducci*), in Italian, if the reconstructed year is 1515, represents Florida for the first time; the Freducci ocean chart is in Florence (see fig. 9). There are no surviving charts and atlases between 1515 and 1524 (New York, Hispanic Society of America, K24). The last dated chart showing the 'Conte de Octomanno Freducci' signature (*Conte de Octomāno freducci*, or *Loctomāno*), in Italian, is from the year 1539, namely his nautical chart, in atlas, in Bologna (see fig. 10).

²⁴ As time went on, Giovanni Freducci had more wives and more children. This is grounded upon the words on the ancient stones of the family chapel floor 'Joanni Patri clarissimo Equiti eximiis Italiae Praeturis, et presertim Florentiana pro tradita sibi summa Reipublicae [...] Silvagiae quondam Matri pudicissimae Matrones et Galeotto Germano Jur. Consulto, Joannique Filio ob vitam a Turcjs Piratis ereptam publico luctu explorato, ac coeteris uxoribus filiis nepotibus nuribusque suis sepulchrum cum sacello a Ludovico equite celeberrimo viro gravissimo pie dicatum' in the epitaph inscription. Giovanni was buried in the church of San Francesco d'Assisi at Fermo. Ludovico Freducci, Esquire, was his father. From a transcript of the original by Giovanni Panelli d'Acquaviva, *Memorie degli uomini illustri* (Ascoli, 1757), i, pp. 401-2. Also transcribed by Raffaele de Minicis, *Le iscrizioni fermane antiche e moderne con note* (Fermo, 1857), p. 116, N. 322. Inscriptions of historical value, however, were removed when the church floor was repaved, 1839. An original document, dated 1491, reads: 'constituta in Ecclesia Sancti Francisci de Firmo in Cappella D.ni Ludovici Eufreductii'; see Vittore Crivelli, Stefano Papetti, Pietro Zampetti, *Vittore Crivelli e la pittura del suo tempo nel Fermano* (Milano, 1997), p. 93, 'Vittore habitator Firmi' signed the contract to paint the chapel of Ludovico Freducci in San Francesco, Fermo, 17 October 1491.



Fig. 7. The Freducci signature, 1497. Comes hoctomanni fredutijs (small letter dotless j). Freducci's earliest surviving map, his chart of 1497 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 99, Aug. 2°). Detail. By permission of the Herzog August Bibliothek.



Fig. 8. The Freducci signature, 1512. Conte de hoctomanno freducci. Freducci's 1512 atlas, c. 4v (Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, MS. 2915, c. 4v). Detail. Su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e del turismo, Archivio di Stato di Perugia, autorizzazione Prot. Dicembre 2019.

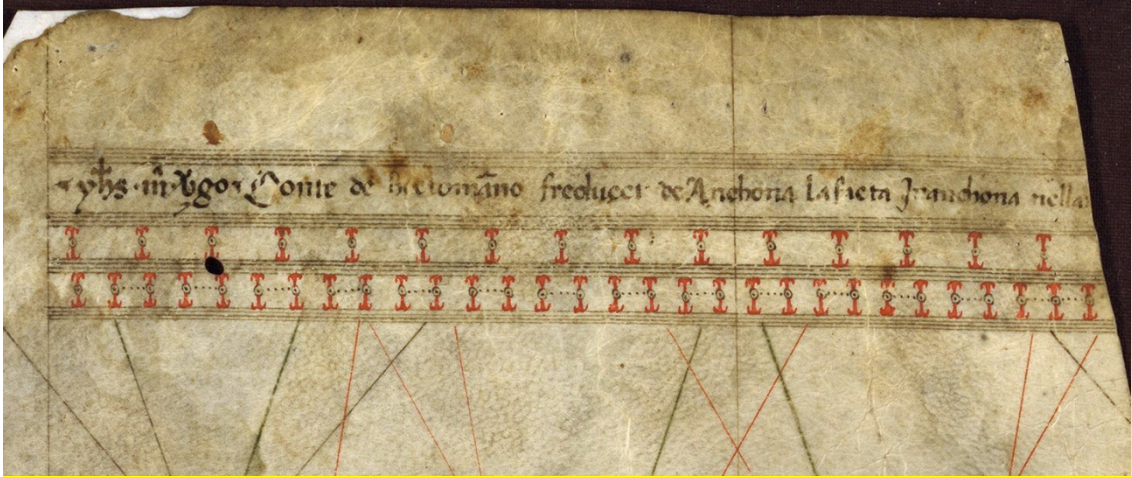


Fig. 9. The Freducci signature, 1515. Conte de Hectomano freducci. The earliest map to have the name Florida, November 1515 (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Fondo: Carte nautiche 15). Detail of the partially destroyed signature. Su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e del turismo, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, autorizzazione Prot. n. 4053. È fatto espresso divieto di ulteriore riproduzione o duplicazione con qualsiasi mezzo.



Fig. 10. The Freducci signature, 1539. Conte de Octomano freduccj. Last dated map, in atlas, 1539. Model by Ludovico Freducci, 1512, and 1515 (the Atlantic, the Caribbean, and northeastern South America down to the part of Brasil lying north of 15 degrees, south latitude). Detail (Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Fondo Speciale Carte e Atlanti Nautici, Atlante di Ludovico Freducci). Prot. N. 519/IV. Autorizzazione 03.10.2019. Immagine fornita con filigrana.



Fig. 11. The Freducci signature, 1555. Angelo de Conte Freducci (Greenwich, Maritime Museum, MS 58-078/P36, Repro ID: f1762, Central Mediterranean). Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (Reproduction rights, invoice 26641/2006).

The first dated chart showing the 'Angelo of Count Freducci' signature (*Angelo de Conte Freducci*), in Italian, is from the year 1547, namely his nautical chart in Brussels. Angelo made two portolan atlases in this same period: the one in Warsaw, dated 1554, and the other, in Greenwich, dated 1555. An Italian signature (*Angelo de Conte Freducci*) appears on both the two Freducci works (see fig. 11). The last dated maps showing the 'Angelus Eufredutius' signature (*Angelus Eufredutius*), in Latin, are from the year 1556, namely his nautical maps, in atlases, in Rome and Mantua (see fig. 3). Angelo resumed the ancient Latin surname of the family in Fermo. In conclusion, my preliminary study of all the signatures available, first, confirms that charts and atlases signed by Count of hoctomannum / Hectomanno / Octomanno Freducci range in date from 1497 to 1539. It then suggests that charts and atlases signed by Angelo 'of' Count Freducci and 'Angelus Eufredutius' range in date from 1547 to 1556. It seems plain, then, according to the history of cartography, that two are the already accepted chartmakers from that family, Count of Octomanno Freducci (supposedly active 1497-1539) or 'his son', Angelo (fl. 1547-56).

However, rather than the two already accepted chartmakers from that family, Count of Octomanno Freducci or Angelo Freducci, in a succession of articles since 1991, based on close study of a wide range of historical sources, I have proposed instead a radical revision of the identity and sequence of Freducci chartmakers. The discovery of both the unknown Letters Patent in Pisa dated at Ancona in 1563, and the secondary source on the Military Order of St Stephen Pope and Martyr published in 1735, where further generations of pedigree were traced, puts me in a fair way to solve the whole affair.

Othman the Founder of the Ottoman Dynasty is a Misnomer leading to Nothing

Chet Van Duzer (p. 4) maintains that 'Charts and atlases signed by Conte di 'Ottomano' Freducci range in date from 1497 to 1539, so he had a remarkably long career as a cartographer, but we have very little biographical information about him' according to the history of cartography. Having read Chet Van Duzer's review of my work, I must now answer and correct some of the criticism so unfairly levelled against me. However, before tackling two of the major historical errors Chet Van Duzer has made in his article I shall sort out some of his smaller accusations.

Chet Van Duzer (pp. 4, 8-9) has noted that 'Angelo Freducci was Conte di Ottomano's son'. Conversely, the absence of such declaration on Angelo's charts and atlases does not allow us to reach this conclusion. Van Duzer has also noted that (p. 4) 'the cartographer's grandfather, named Lillo Ferducci (note the different spelling of the surname), was a merchant and went from Ancona to Turkey, basing himself in Gallipoli, a bit more than 200 km west of Constantinople (modern Istanbul), during the reign of Sultan Murad II (1421-1451). Lillo earned the trust and protection of the sultan, in part by ransoming Turks who had been captured and put up for sale as slaves by Christian forces. After Lillo had spent some years in Gallipoli, his family called him back to Ancona. The sultan tried to persuade him to stay; Lillo felt obliged to go, but promised the sultan to return, and to name his firstborn son Othman, after Othman or Osman (d. 1326), the founder of the Ottoman dynasty. Lillo returned to Ancona, married, and had a number of children; he named the firstborn Othman Lillo. Othman Lillo wished to follow his father's example and establish himself as a merchant in Gallipoli, but was unable to do so because of the poor state of the family's finances. Yet relations between the Ferducci family and the sultanate remained close. Following the fall of Constantinople to Ottoman forces under Mehmed II (reigned 1444-46 and 1451-81) in 1453, Mehmed did a favour for the family; according to Othman Lillo, he did it because of the esteem in which he held the Ferduccis: he liberated Othman Lillo's brother-in-law Angelo Boldoni, who had been taken prisoner, and returned the fully laden ship that the Turks had taken from him. In order to nurture the relationship with the sultanate and curry Mehmed II's favour, Othman Lillo commissioned the humanist Giovanni Mario Filelfo to write an epic poem praising the Turks, and particularly Mehmed II'.

As a result, Chet Van Duzer has put forward an absolute and unquestionable dogma: 'This family history explains the source of the name 'Ottomano' in the name Conte di Ottomano Freducci: he was Othman, Lillo's son' (p. 8). Chet Van Duzer then reaches a verdict (p. 9): 'Patrizia Licini has maintained that Conte di Ottomano Freducci was actually two cartographers, Ottomano and Conte di Ottomano, and attributes Freducci's 1497 chart to the former, and also identifies the former with

Oliverotto Freducci da Fermo, who died in 1502. This interpretation is forced and implausible, depending for example on reading what is clearly 'conte' in the signature of Freducci's 1497 chart as 'comes', and on accepting that 'Otomanno' in the signatures on Freducci's chart is a corruption of 'Etemanno', the name of a region over which Oliverotto Freducci's family had control. This interpretation also ignores the information we do have about the Freducci family; and does not give a satisfactory answer for why Oliverotto Freducci da Fermo, if he made the map, did not simply sign his own name. In addition, the violent nobleman Oliverotto Freducci, though he may well have known the Adriatic, does not seem on the face of it a likely candidate for a chartmaker, who were sometimes masters of ships'.

I read instead what is clearly 'Comes' in the signature of Freducci's 1497 chart in Latin as 'Comes', contrary to what Chet Van Duzer maintains (p. 9). He evidently reads a word ('conte') in Italian for another word ('comes') in Latin, and he believes that 'Conte' is a proper name in the signature. If Freducci's 1497 chart, now Cod. Guelf. 99, Aug. 2°, of the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, is examined (see fig. 7), however, it will be found that the signature *Comes hoctomanni fredutijs de Ancona Composuit MCCCCLXXXVII* indicating the title, or territorial dignity, appears to be quite different in signification from the one that Van Duzer reads. Then, the Aldermen of the city of Ancona deputed for the purpose of executing any office within the same town, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal dated 12 February 1563, would grant to the Grand Master of the Order of Santo Stefano in Pisa that the noble Freducci family never engaged in the vile, mechanical arts. Trading as a merchant was incompatible with nobility in the Anconitan State. Since they were old nobility, no one from the Freducci house ever held a workshop, since they were not merchants.

And, second, Chet Van Duzer concludes that my interpretation also ignores the information they do have about the Freducci family. Chet Van Duzer, based on an unsigned preamble to a poem, has recorded a pedigree of three generations, which is headed by Lillo *Ferducci* (note the different spelling of the surname), born in Ancona, a merchant in Turkey. The entry descends to his firstborn son Othman, after Othman or Osman (d. 1326), the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, and to his grandson Conte, a name proper here, the maker of the 1497 chart now in Wolfenbüttel, a man who is not even named in the poem. Such stories, however, belong to the domain of poetry rather than historical fact. In fact, the poem *Amyris* has come down to us in a transcript which some anonymous copyist made, and the

penwork is in patterns characteristic of Florentine ateliers.²⁵ The copy is unsigned and undated. The title derives from the Arabic word 'emir'. And these are the names of father and son in Latin: *Lillus Ferduccius* and *Othman*. Filelfo, if he wrote the poem, did not leave any original texts. No other copies survive. The unsigned preamble in prose is followed by four books in verse. In the fourth book only the reader finds the signature of the author Filelfo (Marius Philelfus, book 4, line 1481). In contrast, the historical method discourages scholars from attempting to use the poems as certified sources because such information as they do provide is often distorted.

Chet Van Duzer (p. 9) is correct only when he writes that 'Professor Licini has also maintained that an anonymous and undated nautical chart in Jesi (Biblioteca Comunale Planettiana, Sala Planettiana, no shelfmark), west-southwest of Ancona, should be attributed to the school of Freducci. This passage Chet Van Duzer accompanies with a copious note (n. 23), in which once again he tries to show, that 'Licini also discussed this map, but without addressing the question of attribution, in 'The Ottoman Conquest of Armenia from a Portolan Italian Chart of Iesi', *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, i-ii (1997-98-99), pp. 56-65'.

Judgments which do not correspond with truth. On close observation of the original, evidently on stylistic grounds, I actually attributed the Jesi chart to 'the Freducci family from Ancona' in 'The Ottoman Conquest of Armenia from a Portolan Italian Chart of Iesi' in 1999. The issue was generously sponsored by the Islamic Organization for Medical Sciences, Kuwait. This partial chart is now in Jesi (Biblioteca Comunale Planettiana, Sala Planettiana, Direzione: Carta Nautica). As to the chart's authorship, I settled on the Freduccis, on the grounds that 'The standard area coverage of a portolan chart was next extended to include interior and decorative but highly significant details to take in portions of land, though late exemplars like the portolan chart from Jesi, probably by the hand of the cartographers Freducci,⁴ can already be regarded as an innovative mixture of nautical and geographical charts' (p. 56), and note 4 (p. 65): 'The Freducci (Eufreducci) family of Ancona descended from the main line of Fermo', and also that 'Certain features, such as the manner of drawing the coastal line of the Adriatic Sea and the eastern Mediterranean islands, reveal a close affinity with the sea charts by the Freducci family from Ancona.⁶' (p. 59), and note 6 (p. 65): 'E. g. the six charts in *Periplum seu Circumnavigatio* signed "Jesus Maria Conte de Hoctomanno Freducci

²⁵ Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, *Amyris*. Poème en l'honneur du sultan Mehmet II, de Gian Mario Filelfo, Ms. Lat. 99. Place of origin: atelier florentin. Exemplaire unique. The first report on the codex was in 1856 when Guillaume Favre and Jacques Adelert produced a fragmented edition.

de Anchona la facte nell'anno 1512," Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, which perfectly correspond in both coast line and topography, but here the interior continental portions of land in the north-east and south-east are completely absent'. There is evidence from which I could conclude that 'In August 1464, Piccolomini, by then Pope Pius II, called for a new crusade against the Sublime Porte, which was to sail from the port of Ancona, the very place where the Freducci, the probable authors of the Jesi *portolano*, compiled their charts' (p. 64), on the grounds that 'The sea portions are generally the same as those in other maps by the Freducci family, and they probably served as a model in their laboratory' (p. 59).²⁶

But surprisingly enough, Chet Van Duzer (n. 23) has challenged this fact, accusing me of not addressing the question of attribution in my 1999 study. Further, I do not accept that 'Otomanno' is a corruption of Etemanno. I never even read the word 'Otomanno' on charts. Rather, I accept that 'hoctomanni' in the signatures on Freducci's 1497 chart is placed in the genitive case depending on a substantive in the Latin form that is 'hoctomannum' from Italic-Norman vocabulary. As mentioned above, since 1999 I have read 'Conte de hoctomanno' in the signature of Freducci's 1512 nautical atlas in Italian now in Perugia (see fig. 8); and 'Conte de Hectomanno' in the signature of Freducci's 1515 ocean chart in Italian now in Florence. I know of no earlier published image of the 1515 chart signature in detail (see fig. 9). The signature reads as follows *yhs · m^a · Vgo · Conte de Hectomāno freducci de Anchona la facta in Anchona nellan [sic] (yhesus · maria · Virgo · Conte de Hectomanno Freducci de Anchona la facta in Anchona nell'a[nno] [year erased])*. I conclude that despite the similar spelling, no direct connection is traceable with the name 'Ottomano' after Othman or Osman (d. 1326), the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, whether from 'hoctomannum' in Latin or 'Hectomāno' that is 'Hectomanno' in old Italian, or Etemanno if I would modernize it. In 1515 Ludovico, the only son and heir of Tommaso Freducci, first son of the first house of Giovanni, was next heir to the title after the death of his uncle Oliverotto, second son of the first house of Giovanni, who died without issue in 1502 (Ludovico's father being dead in 1498).

The point that does arise from all this is that Van Duzer ignores the information we do have about the noble Freducci family of Fermo in the Pontifical province of *Marchia Anconitana*, and makes unwarranted and unsubstantiated assumptions about the identification of the Fer-duccis, vile merchants in Ancona who only wanted to do business in Turkey, and the Fre-duccis, a powerful family of counts in Fermo and Ancona one branch of which house would have been merged

²⁶ Patrizia Licini, 'The Ottoman Conquest of Armenia from a Portolan Italian Chart of Iesi', *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, i-ii (1997-98-99), pp. 56-65 (pp. 56, 59, 64; p. 65, List of maps; p. 65; and note 6 from p. 59).

in them. A pedigree of twelve generations from *Eufredutius*, the son and heir of Petrus, son and heir of Falerone, in Fermo Counties (Comitatus Firmanus), has been places on official record at the Camera Apostolica, Rome, at the Archivio di Stato, Fermo, at the Archivio di Stato - Archivio Mediceo Avanti il Principato, Florence, at the Archivio di Stato - Fondo dell'Ordine di Santo Stefano, Pisa.

Passing on undocumented information can be catastrophic in genealogy. Moreover, it was not me who attributed Freducci's 1497 chart to a member of the noble Freducci family of Fermo, an officer in the Pontifical domains. As I pointed out in my articles (see Fermo, 2005, and Valladolid, 2006), *Comes hoctomanni fredutiis*'s work belonged to the Papal Marine. In 1876, Angelo Guglielmotti, who is a recognized authority on matters pertaining to the history of the Papal Marine, notes: 'Allato (i.e. A lato) a tanti altri cartografi genovesi e veneziani non disdegnerà la comparsa del Crescentio di Roma, e dei Benincasa d'Ancona; e con essi entrerà quel *Freduccio* che per primo segnò nel 1497 la declinazione della bussola'. When Guglielmotti writes his book in 1876, he knows no other family than the Freduccis of Fermo in the March of Ancona, Roman States. Now, we see it in the fact that the Papal secular Kingdom had no standing Army, but rather relied on drawing militias from the population. The Pope of Rome secured official baronial recognition of titles in the Roman States. Such baronial recognition only gave a count, or earl, the legitimate power of recruiting troops in his province and naming officers; and the consent of the local militia men enrolled for such county was equally required. In any case, as Guglielmotti observes, scuffles and fights between and among Pontifical leading families, such as the Baglioni of Perugia, the Vitelli of Città di Castello, the Varani of Camerino, the Sforza of Pesaro, the Freducci of Fermo, alternatively called Uffreducci, the Feltri of Urbino, the Malatesta of Rimini, the Orsini of Rome and the Colonna and the Conti across the whole country of Rome, were frequent. But in reality they were always dependent upon Rome and had duties to perform towards the Roman States which had been assimilated into the Pope's dominion.²⁷

²⁷ Angelo Guglielmotti, *La guerra dei pirati e la marina pontificia dal 1500 al 1560* (Firenze, 1876), Vol. 1, Libro Primo, Capitano Lodovico del Mosca, Cavaliere Romano (1500-1503), x, pp. 35-36, Il capitano Cintio [Benincasa] nobile anconitano, Portolani e cartografi anconetani, La declinazione della Bussola segnata primeramente da loro [Freduccio 1497]; Libro Secondo, Capitano Baldassarre da Biassa, Gentiluomo Genovese (1503-1513), ii, p. 60: 'Allora gli Estensi di Ferrara ... i Bentivogli di Bologna, ... i Malatesta di Rimini, gli Sforzeschi di Pesaro ... gli Uffreducci di Fermo ... gli Orsini, i Conti, i Savelli, i Gaetani, [...] i Farnese per tutta la campagna romana, erano in continui tafferugli tra loro e cogli altri, a pubblico danno... ma sempre più o meno dipendenti da Roma, sempre attenenti a quello Stato che era venuto nel dominio dei Pontefici (1506)'; p. 420, Ancona e Anconitani, I Cartografi anconetani, 1, 35; v. Uffreducci; p. 432, Freducci v. Uffreducci; p. 450, Uffreducci, fam. ancon. e sue Carte idrogr., Libro Primo, p. 36. Largely quoted in Patrizia Licini, 'Il contributo della cartografia

In the domain of the Pontifical history, *Freduccio* was, thus, among the most distinguished Anconitan cartographers who played a part in embedding radical innovation into the Papal Marine in 1497.²⁸ The Italian word *bussola* is the name of the compass among the English cartographers. In Guglielmotti's estimation, Freducci's 1497 chart is the first chart illustrating compass declination ('la declinazione della bussola') in the history of cartography. The information has been entirely eliminated today.

Since 1497 the history of the Papal Marine has known no other family than the noble Freducci family of Fermo within the Papal province of Ancona. *Freduccio* the chartmaker is from the same family. There is no doubt it is the same family because of Niccolò Bonafede's records. He served as Bishop of Chiusi until his death in 1533. And he knew both Oliverotto (*Liverotto Freduccio*, 1497-1502) and Ludovico *Freduccio* (1520) his nephew quite well.²⁹

In 1876, the only thing that Guglielmotti, the historian of the Papal Marine, did not do was to discover who *Freduccio* was. I did, and I will give my reasons. There was only one Count Freducci in the Anconitan peerage in 1497: Oliverotto. And this,

nautica della "Marca di Ancona un tempo detta Piceno" all'età dell'impresa di Cristoforo Colombo e Juan Ponce de León', in Comitato Nazionale delle Celebrazioni di Cristoforo Colombo, Ministero per gli Italiani nel Mondo, Ministero per gli Affari Esteri, Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Madrid, Regione Marche (eds), *Cartografia e Storia Naturale del Nuovo Mondo. Manoscritti, Libri ed Incisioni tra Italia e Spagna nei secoli XV e XVIII. Giornata Nazionale per le Celebrazioni di Cristoforo Colombo – 12 ottobre 2005* (Fermo, 2005), pp. 85-174 (p. 106, and note 69; p. 119, and note 130; p. 130, and note 174); and Patrizia Licini, 'La contribución de la cartografía náutica de la Marca de Ancona en otro tempo llamada Piceno, en época de la impresa de Cristóbal Colón y Juan Ponce de León', in Diputación Provincial de Valladolid, Comune di Fermo, Comitato Nazionale delle Celebrazioni di Cristoforo Colombo (eds), *Cartografía e Historia Natural del Nuevo Mundo. Libros, grabados y manuscritos en Italia y España entre los siglos XV y XVIII* (Valladolid, Diputación de Valladolid, 2006), 'V Centenario de la muerte de Cristóbal Colón, 1506-2006 – Valladolid, Sala de Esposiciones Palacio de Pimentel 12 de abril – 28 de mayo de 2006', pp. 105-28 (p. 121, and note 52).

²⁸ Only five years before, the real test of the theory of compass declination came when men began to navigate the Western Ocean. Then the compass began to act very strangely. On his first voyage in 1492, Christopher Columbus noted that far from pointing the true north, his compasses showed a declination most of the time, depending on the longitude, and that rarely ever did they point true north as they did at a point 2° 1/2 east of the Island of Corvo in the Azores, where, he reported, there was no variation. That which belongs to Christopher Columbus, is not the first observation of the existence of the variation (which is noted in the map of Andrea Bianco in 1436); but the remarks which he made on 13 September 1492, that 2.5 degrees east of the Island of Corvo in the Azores the magnetic variation changes, passing from NE to NW. For general discussion of the line without magnetic variation see Charles R. Weld, *A History of the Royal Society with Memoirs of the Presidents. Compiled from Authentic Documents* (London, 1848), 2, p. 429.

²⁹ Monaldo Leopardi di Recanati, *Vita di Niccolò Bonafede: vescovo di Chiusi e ufficiale nella corte Romana* (Pesaro, 1832), pp. 136-47.

of course, means that all the charts dated after 1502, when Oliverotto Fregucci as Count and Tyrant of Fermo was murdered on the orders of Cesare Borgia, are the work of one or more chartmakers intermediate between Oliverotto and Angelo. I did it on the ground of preventing the history of cartography from proceeding to more erroneous assumptions about Anconitan chartmaking. Ancona, the capital, which gave the name to the whole province in 1497, is situated on a bay of the Adriatic Sea; the chief towns of this province were Ancona, Fermo, Jesi, Camerino, Macerata. *Marchia Anconitana*, however, was a Papal province and it was not under the Italic Crown—the Iron Crown. Nevertheless, the first major mistake that Van Duzer and historians of cartography make is to ignore that Ancona and its *Marchia* (modern Marche) formed the Ecclesiastical State in Medieval and Renaissance times. In addition, Ancona was not a town in a province of Italy. Ancona and its State developed upon the judiciary and administrative apparatus of the Roman States, or Ecclesiastical States, together with the various offices and departments, by means of which Popes for centuries would manage their cities and patrimonies.

And, what is more, Van Duzer feels justified in commenting on *Amyris*, a poem in four books, even while indirectly admitting that he himself has not read the poem up to the end. His description of the poem, in fact, does not adequately reflect the content of book four. Perhaps the second major mistake that Van Duzer made was to decide to skip book four. Ironically, Gian Mario Filelfo wrote the poem in four books the first three of which glorified Mehmed II the Sultant and Conqueror before reversing field and in the last book calling for a crusade. Contrary to what Van Duzer at present has suggested, Mehmed II, or, as Filelfo calls him, 'Ferox Mahomettus' (*Amyris*, book 4, line 1434), is not the name of the person praised in the poem.

The dedicatee's identity is revealed for the first time in book four, the only signed book, at line 1367, 'At tu, dux Galeaz'. The dedicatee is Galeazzo Maria Sforza, fifth Duke of Milan (lines 1367 and 1444), son and heir of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti his wife. The *terminus ante quem*, the final cut-off point before which *Amyris* must have been written, was June 1475, when a traitor opened the gates of Kaffa, Capha in the poem, to sultan Mehmed II; and the *terminus post quem* was December 1476. In fact Duke Galeazzo was assassinated in the conspiracy of the Visconti, at Milan, on 26 December 1476.

Filelfo signs and grounds his book four in a world of reference, which concentrates on the conquests by Mahomet II, or Mehmed II.³⁰ This book points to Fermo. Filelfo

³⁰ Giovanni Mario Filelfo, Aldo Manetti (ed.), *Amyris, de vita et gestis Mahometi Turcorum imperatoris* (Bologna, 1978), Libro IV, lines 1330-9: Sic Pontus, cui fama fuit tam digna vetustis /

first reminds Duke Galeazzo of the insidious danger. The Dukes of Genoa had made famous Corsica, Cyprus and Thracia by winning sea victories and planting colonies there when Mehmed's conquest of Constantinople in 1453 weakened Pera, the Genoese colony near Constantinople, which faded into nothing by the century's end (book 4, lines 1330-9). Since 1347 Kaffa (modern Feodosija) the great Genoese trading base on the eastern edge of the Crimea (modern Russia, and Ukraina) had been under attack from the Turks when the Ottoman Turks of Mehmed II entered it to take control of the whole peninsula in 1475. They overran the Genoese trading posts in the peninsula and took the Khan of the Crimean Tartars prisoner to Constantinople (modern Istanbul, Turkey). The Black Sea, Pontus in the poem, formed Scythia's southern boundary. Ancient Scythia lay between the Danube in the west and the Tanais (modern Don) in the east (lines 1330-35; 1438-40). To modern geographers Scythia is known as Tartary and Russia.

On 6 June 1475 Mehmed II expelled the Genoese, and subjected the peninsula to the Ottoman Turkish Empire, permitting the government to remain in the hands

Sculpta voluminibus, Tanaisque Scythaeque rigentes, / Et Thraces et Cyprus item, Corsique subacti /

Olim a principibus Genuae, quos legerat urbis / Iudicium, timuisse queant quae taela gerebant / Et quam saepe dabant classem, navesque superbas / Ii populi Genuae! Nunc ad tam tetra ruerunt / Supplicia, ut Paeram primum Mahomettus habere, / Tum queat et Capham, tum perdere saepe minetur / Marte Chium, cogatque sibi praestare tributum. Lines 1367-9: At tu, dux Galeaz, qui tam iuvenilibus annis / Successisse patri datus es, qui sydera tangit, / Mente sacer, nam fama polos supereminet omnis; lines 1380-3: Nonne pater tuus is Picaeno praefuit agro, / Praeter et Anconen, reliquas dominator in urbes? / Nonne et dictator Romano praefuit usque / Concilio patrum? Lines 1383-90: Ante ausus temptare fuit? Quin pace quievit / Italia hoc sub patre tuo: nec Turcus ovabat / Tunc adeo hostili spolio, nec classe fremebat / Tam grandi; Bosnos tantum cogebat et illos / Qui nihil Italiae damnive metusve parabant. Lines 1394-1401: Paera fuit tunc capta, novae cum moenia Romae / Nondum erat ille tuus genitor, qui dicere Paeram / Posset iure suam, fuerat Fraegosa propago / Dux Genuae. At postquam Franciscus Sphortia dux est / Insubrium Ligurumque simul, nec Capha subacta est / Nec Chios temptata ulli, nec is ista tulisset / De se unquam fieri, valido qui Marte tueri / Est solitus reliquos. Defendit Gallica regna. Lines 1432-40: Quid Genua est, desint cum quae sibi regna tot annos / Classeque non una, non parvo milite, nummis / Non paucis quaesita? Ferox Mahomettus habere / Pergit et insistit castris et classe potenti. / Ut corpus nihil est, si desint membra, nec ipsum / Stare potest; Genuae sic debilitata feruntur / In praeceps si membra sacrae. Iam Capha profanos / Excepit dominos, Tanais iam servit, habentque / Quos audire Scythae possint parere coacti. Lines 1444-57: Ergo, age, dux Galeaz, certa qui laude Marias / Cognitus es mundo belloque togaque verendus; / Accipe taela manu, propriis quae e finibus hostem / Hunc arcere queant, nec eum patiari minaci / Fronte tuis saevire viris, nec bella parare. / Sint satis haec egit quae nuper, quae metuebas / Haudquaquam, regni fidebas viribus. Esse / Iusta solent, ne quando aliquis, nisi causa supersit / Pugnandi sibi iusta, alias temptaverit urbes. / Sed Mahomettus habet nova iura, atque audet in omnis / Extendisse manus, nec tantum Christicolarum / Nomen ei est odio: Persasque Scythasque secutus / Est castris. Dum regna queat cumulare, licere / Cuncta putat, legesque suae sine crimine mittunt. Text available at www.perseus.tufts.edu in the edition by Manetti.

of the native Khans, but closing the Black Sea (Pontus) to Western Europe. In 1475, with the loss of Kaffa in the Crimea by the Genoese, the last route to Christian Georgia and Asia not in Muslim hands passed under Ottoman control. Even if Antonio Loredan, Proveditor della Armada, had succeeded in repelling the Turkish attack on Shkodër (Scutari) on 7 September 1474, Albania, Venetian dominion (book 4, line 728), matters would have stood exactly as before.

Meantime, Francesco Sforza was the fourth Duke of Milan (Insubrium) from March 1450, until his death in March 1466. Filelfo's motive for writing a poem about the Ottoman Turks was to show Sforza's ability as prominent anti-Turkish bulwark, and press for action. Francesco was Duke Galeazzo's father. On 13 April 1464 the Luigi Fregoso faction deposed Archbishop Paolo Fregoso Duke of Genoa (Ligurum) in one of those intrafamilial disputes that resulted in Francesco Sforza Duke of Milan becoming Lord of Genoa for the first time (lines 1394-1401). When Constantinople (modern Istanbul) surrendered in May 1453, Pera (Paera) the last Genoese colony near Constantinople delivered its keys to Mehmed II by virtue of a capitulation which seemed to secure the rights and privileges of the Peratian colonists. Mehmed swore to observe the treaty by God and the Prophet, by the seven volumes of the faith, by the 124,000 prophets, and, lastly, by the swear that he bore; yet a fortnight after, he entered Pera, caused the greater part of the Roman fortifications on the land side to be demolished, removed the heavy artillery from the ramparts, and ordered the inhabitants to be disarmed. Pera was thus threatened with ruin. Pietro Fregoso was Duke of Genoa at this time. Eleven years passed before Francesco Sforza Duke of Milan (Insubrium) took over administration of Genoa the mother-city from Paolo Fregoso Duke of Genoa in 1464. And thus Francesco Sforza your father (tuus genitor), Filelfo writes to his dedicatee, Duke Galeazzo Sforza, had nothing to do with the capitulation of Pera, after the walls of Constantinople, the new Rome, had been battered down (lines 1394-1401).

Now, 1475-76, Filelfo appeals directly to the dedicatee, Duke Galeazzo Maria. In 1440 the Ottoman Turks obtained possession of Bosnia (Bosnos), a dominion of the Crown of Hungary.³¹ Even then, the poet says, the Turks did not dare navigate the Adriatic Sea to Italy (lines 1380-90).

Yet what interests us more than Sultan Mehmed II is the fact that at this point of the poem Filelfo has thought to remind Duke Galeazzo of Duke Francesco Sforza his father as the dominator of Ancona and its State, or, as the Romans called it, *ager Picaenus*, before he was Duke of Milan in 1450: 'Nonne pater tuus is Picaeno praefuit

³¹ Johannes Gerhard Mejern von Berghen, *Spicilegium observationum historico-geographicarum de Bosniae Regno Hungarici Quondam Juris Occasione Armorum Caesareorum Hoc Anno MDCCXXXVII In Bosniam Motorum* (Lugduni Batavorum / Leiden, 1737), Chap. IV, pp. 71- 88 (p. 79).

agro, / Praeter et Anconen, reliquas dominator in urbes?' (book 4, lines 1380-3). Filelfo here refers to further cities (urbes) belonging to the country of Ancona. Meantime, we will note that Francesco, and Giovanni Mario Filelfo, father and son, were born at Tolentino in *Marchia Anconitana*, the father in the year 1398, and the son in 1426.³²

In fact, Francesco Sforza resided in that Pontifical province of Ancona as a lay Pontifical vicar and was created Gonfaloniere of the Roman Church by Pope Eugenius IV Condulmer, from December 1433 to August 1447.³³ Sforza ruled the Anconitan March for the next fourteen years. During that time, he fought with skill and success for Visconti the third Duke of Milan, and against him. Eight years after the conquest of the Anconitan March, Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti were married. As the last member of the ducal house of Visconti, Bianca was popular in Milan, Lombardy, and enormously important as the source of Francesco's claim to succeed Filippo Maria Visconti third Duke of Milan 'by right'.

And then we come to a little-known part of the story. By the Podestà and the Lords Priors Governors of the City of Fermo, Francesco Sforza was appointed Count of Fermo, from 3 January 1434 to 20 February 1446. As the Pontifical vicar of Ancona, Sforza was appointed to command Towns (line 1381, 'Praeter et Anconen, reliquas dominator in urbes'). In the Roman law, these *Comites Urbium*, Counts of Towns, were of a meaner degree, than the *Comites Provinciarum*. The Podestà, by an act passed the 3 January 1434, granted full powers and authority over the town of Fermo, the fortress called Girfalco (now demolished), its District, and Fermo Counties (Comitatus).³⁴ The official title of *Dominus Firmi* is *Comes Firmi*, or, *Conte di Fermo* in documents in Latin and Italian now in the archives at Fermo. The ritual of investiture should follow the ancient precedents as established by the investiture ceremony of Mercenarius de Monte Viridi in 1331. And round about the vicar's baldachin (cum umbrella supra caput) were twelve young boys clothed in white

³² On Francesco Filelfo 'Anconitanus' see the well-documented study by Rocco Borgognoni, 'Francesco Filelfo *Anconitanus* (con una lettera di Benedetto Silvio a Giacomo Filippo Foresti)', in Gilberto Piccinini (ed.), *Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche. Atti e Memorie N.° 111 (2013)* (Ancona, 2016), pp. 133-52.

³³ Agostino Peruzzi, *Storia di Ancona dalla sua fondazione all'anno MDXXXII* (Pesaro, 1835), vol. ii, libro xiii, pp. 267-8; libro xiv, p. 306.

³⁴ John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldry* (London, 1724), of Precedency, p. 27. Guillim, Pursuivant at Arms, very well explains that Earls came from the Saxon word *Ear-ethel*. They are in Latin called *Comites*, because in the Roman Empire, *Comitatus* was called the Court of the Prince, and those who attended the Emperor were called *Comites*, or, his Companions. They were appointed to be Governors of the several countries of the Empire, which were from there called *Comitatus* or *Counties*, and Earls are to this day designed Earls of such a shire. Some were likewise appointed to command Towns, and so these *Comites Urbium*, were of a meaner Degree, then the *Comites Provinciarum*.

garments, each holding a baton in his leather-gloved hand during the procession to divine offices on 3 January 1434. Among these were Ludovico and Galeotto. They were the sons of Giovanni Freducci, Soldier and Count of Fermo (see fig. 2), and Selvaggia his wife; the two were the nephews of Tommaso Freducci.³⁵ And then, as to the titles, by which Giovanni Freducci is designated *de Firmo Miles et Comes*, they appear to carry the most indisputable marks of the Roman Church: a Militia-man is a Knight of the Order of the Golden Militia of Rome (*Aurata Militia*), the Papal Order of Knighthood conferred upon those who have rendered distinguished services in propagating the Catholic faith according to the Letters Patent in 1563 (fol 1, line 11. See fig. 4). A Count of Fermo Counties is a *Comes Provinciae* as the military superior of the *Comes Civitatis* in the Roman States.

Count Sforza's expectation of being named the Duke of Milan's heir was strengthened on 14 January 1444 when Bianca Maria Visconti the Duchess his wife bore him a son named Galeazzo Maria.³⁶ Francesco and Bianca Maria's first son and heir was born on 24 January 1444 at Girfalco, Fermo. Galeazzo Maria the Firman would be the dedicatee for Filelfo's poem. The name of the dedicatee is thus inseparably connected with Fermo, Anconitan State. Sultan Murad II (1421-1451), in the meanwhile, defeated the Christian coalition at the Second Battle of Kosovo in 1448; the First Battle of Kosovo had taken place in 1389.

Bianca, only daughter and heir of Filippo Maria Visconti third Duke of Milan, was the last descendant of the Dukes of Milan. And thus Galeazzo Sforza, born at Fermo, was the eldest son and successor of Francesco Sforza, first Count of Fermo, and afterwards Duke of Milan. And it may surprise some readers to learn, that Count Giovanni Freducci was pleased to stand 'compatrie', godfather, in person to the Count of Fermo's son, and named him Galeazzo Maria in 1444; the other godfather being the Florentine ambassador.³⁷ His full baptism name was Galeazzo Maria, the second name arising from the family traditions of the Visconti. For this Filelfo speaks in praise of Mary when in the poem *Amyris* he exhorts Duke Galeazzo to fight the good fight for Roman justice (toga) in 1475. Murad's son Mahomet II, or Mehmed II, took command on his father's death in 1451. Now, Mehmed II (1451-1481) follows

³⁵ 'Cronaca fermana di Antonio di Niccolò notaro e cancelliere della città di Fermo dall'anno 1176 sino all'anno 1447', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 69; Manuela Vitali, Silvia Catalino, Corrado Fanti, *Fermo, la città tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: la piazza e il corso, centro di vita urbana* (Cinisello Balsamo, 1989), p. 79.

³⁶ 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo edite ed inedite', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 149 NN. 137-41; pp. 151-3 NN. 152-57; p. 156 N. 171 (Archivio Priorale of Fermo, Letters Patent, 976); p. 158 N. 180; pp. 158-9 N. 183.

³⁷ Vitali, Catalino, Fanti, *Fermo* (see n. 35), p. 79.

a new law in the history of the Ottoman dynasty: he can attack Christian, Persian and Scythian castles (castris). The name of Mary in Filelfo's fourth book serves to reinforce action (Ergo, age, dux Galeaz, certa qui laude Marias [...] sed Mahomettus habet nova iura; book 4, lines 1444-1456).

To say that something was a joke is not to say that it was not serious in Renaissance Italy. It seems to me that line 1444 (Ergo, age, dux Galeaz, certa qui laude Marias) in book four recalls Galeazzo Maria's birth year in Fermo.

Giovanni Freducci, Count in 'Comitatus Firmanus' (Fermo Counties), was named a Senator of Rome by Pope Eugenius IV on 5 January 1446.³⁸ With the city of Fermo in turmoil, however, Francesco Sforza Count of the city of Fermo left and retired with Alessandro his brother to Camerino in February 1446. The two brothers had accepted the terms of capitulation the Cardinal of Fermo had proposed. They left the summit of Girfalco Firmano, and gave the sum of 10,000 gold florins to the community of Fermo.³⁹ Count Freducci died in April, 1450.⁴⁰

Even this brief summary of events reveals that the dialogical context is crucial for our understanding of Filelfo's fourth book of the poem. For this book is a palinode, literally, an 'again-ode' (palin-ode), that is a response to an earlier speech, an ode in which the author retracts a view or sentiment expressed in an earlier ode.⁴¹ Filelfo told Duke Galeazzo that he was thinking how to express his rejection of the old policy in 1475. As a point of methodology, this means that we cannot simply extract the earlier speech and treat it as a semiautonomous or free-standing entity. Instead, we have to examine the palinode with reference to the unique dramatic situation in which it occurs.⁴²

³⁸ Salimei, 'Serie cronologica dei senatori di Roma dal 1431 al 1477 (see n.)14, pp. 133, 169, Giovanni de Uffreduccis (Uffreduzzi) da Fermo (1445-46).

³⁹ 'Cronaca fermana di Antonio di Niccolò notaro e cancelliere della città di Fermo dall'anno 1176 sino all'anno 1447', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 95, and note 230.

⁴⁰ Fermo, Archivio di Stato, Consiglio di Cernita, 11 Aprile 1450.

⁴¹ Thus, even if Hankins mistakenly believes that Francesco Sforza, fourth Duke of Milan, is Filelfo's dedicatee, he committed no error in considering *Amyris* as a palinode. One of the most interesting cases is Giovanni Mario Filelfo, who in Hankins's words, 'was forced to turn the fourth book of his *Amyris* into a palinode; the first three books had praised Mehmed's conquest of Constantinople, while the last, with gross inconsistency, ended by calling on Francesco Sforza to take the Cross'. See James Hankins, 'Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Literature in the Age of Mehmed II', in *Dumbarton oaks papers*, 49 (1993), pp. 111-207 (pp. 130-131); *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance: I. Humanism* (Roma, Storia e Letteratura: Raccolta di Studi e Testi 215, 2003), p. 322, and note 61.

⁴² For the mythic tale in the palinode as a philosophic practice of examining the grounds of action, see Daniel S. Werner, *Myth and Philosophy in Plato's Phaedrus* (Cambridge, New York, 2012), 3.1, pp. 44-50.

However, Chet Van Duzer perceives the unsigned preamble to book one of *Amyris* as the semiautonomous or free-standing entity obeying and accomplishing commands and desires. Of course, it is not a matter simply of quoting a verse here or there that randomly occurs in some book or the other, and then taking that verse as historically accurate. We must take into account the nature of our sources and to apply rigorous criteria to them in order to separate the facts from the fictions. Preambles, poems, and legends are not official records of history. Without launching into a full-scale discussion which space certainly does not permit I will offer a few comments on some important points.

Restoring Tradition

Undoubtedly, *Eufredutius* is the Latin signature of Angelo the chartmaker in Ancona at the middle of the sixteenth century, and *Freducci* was his Italian surname. The three branches of the family come from Falerone Castle in Fermo Counties and trace their descent from *Eufreductius*, son and heir of Petrus in 1276.

Several sources document the fact that the name was first recorded in Mainardo Castle in the land of Monte Fortino (modern Montefortino) at the mouth of the River Tenna, Fermo Counties, Papal province of *Marchia Anconitana*. There is a Notarial deed narrating that the delivery of possession of the feudal property by Petrus de Fallerone (modern Falerone) the superior to his vassals has been made in 1276. He held Mainardo Castle in his right, being titled *dominus*. His wife was Gualtieruccia the daughter of Gentile da Varano Lord of Camerino. In 1276, Petrus and *Eufreductius*, the sons and heirs of Petrus de Fallerone, and Altadia signed the ratification document. Altadia was the daughter of Rogerius and the wife of Petrus.⁴³ On 31 May 1274 the controversy which had long existed among seven nobles in Falerone, concerning respective rights of jurisdiction, was thus amicably terminated. *Domini* Petrus and *Ufreductius* de Falerone, in presence of *dominus* Fulcone da Podio Riccardi the vicar and rector of *Marchia Anconitana* in the name of Pope Gregory X Visconti, gained rights of jurisdiction over half of the castle of Falerone and furnaces ('castrum de Fallerone'; 'ad fornaces de Fallerone'), but they had now to do homage to the Pope and to the Roman Church, and swear faithfulness

⁴³ Tabarrini, 'Sommario cronologico di carte ferme anteriori al secolo XIV' (see n. 6), Regesta Firmana, Num. 363, p. 458, 'Castrum Montis Fortini: Instrumentum ratificationis venditionis, factae per dominum Petrum de Fallerone Iohanni Scambii, sindaco Montis Fortini, de Castro Mainardo et villa de Valle cum vassallis; ratificatae per dominum Eufreductium et dominum Petrum filios dominorum Falleroni, et dominam Altadiam filiam quondam domini Rogerii, uxorem praefati domini Petri; et venditionis sextae partis dicti Castrum Mainardi et villae de Valle dicto Scambio, communis Montis Fortini sindaco, pro pretio sexcentum quadraginta [librarum]; de anno Domini 1276'.

to him as his liege lords.⁴⁴ After the Falerone riots, however, in 1380 the Lords Priors of Fermo forced *Uffredutius*, the son of Paulus, to reside in the city of Fermo; Falerone Castle would be guarded by his militia who dwelt around, as prescribed by Statute.⁴⁵ The persons are the same: in 1387 *Freduccius* Pauli of Fermo, the son of Paulus, appears as the Podestà of Volterra, Tuscany.⁴⁶ It was at this point that Fermo made a surname variant of *Eufredutius*, *Freduccius*, which in the plural became *Freducci* in official records; *Freducius* was yet another surname variant of *Eufredutius*.⁴⁷

There were only a few counts that controlled a geographically defined unit of administration north and south of the River Ete Vivo at the Papal conquest of Ancona and Fermo in 1273. In Fermo Counties (Comitatus Firmanus), hereditary *comites* were all feudatories of the Holy See, or, lay Pontifical vicars. Titles of nobility were governed by special civil norms based on bloodline. The Pontifical hereditary vicars were the most valiant soldiers, and numbered among them the most celebrated *condottieri*. And eighty were the manors of the county court of Fermo that the Pope gave to his nobles by Costituzioni Egidiane (Fano, 1 May 1357).⁴⁸ This also explains why the *Firmanus* (Fermano), properly so called, was identified by the words *civitas Firmana ejusque comitatus et districtus*, on the one hand, and *provincia (Marchia Anconitana)* on the other. These words were used to distinguish between the titular province of the *comes* and his earldom, the land he controlled within it. In Fermo Counties, castles stood like sentinels: Falerone, Montechiaro (Mogliano), Monte San Pietrangeli, Petritoli, Smerillo, Grottazzolina, the first giving title of Earl, *Conte*,

⁴⁴ Tabarrini, 'Sommario cronologico di carte fermene anteriori al secolo XIV' (see n. 6), Regesta Firmana, Num. 355, Divisio bonorum inter nobiles de Fallerono (in Macerata, apud locum Fratrum Minorum, coram fratre Leone guardiano): Pacta inter dominos de Fallerono pro divisione bonorum, 31 Maggio 1274, pp. 447-52.

⁴⁵ Fermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Estratti di Cernite (Verbali dei Consigli Comunali), anno 1380, 18 settembre, 'commotum erat Castrum Falleroni'.

⁴⁶ Lorenzo Aulo Cecina, *Notizie istoriche della città di Volterra alle quali si aggiunge la serie de' Podestà, e Capitani del Popolo di essa (Pisa, 1758)*, Serie de' Podestà di Volterra, p. 267, Anni, 1387, *Freduccius Pauli de Firmo, ex D. num. 67*.

⁴⁷ *Eufredutius* is the 1563 Letters Patent (Notarial deed, fol. i, lines 17-25), and in the Acts of Camera Apostolica at Rome in 1520 (see n. 108). See also Ianus Matthaëus Durastantes, *Francisci Pamphili, Praestantiss. Poetae Sanctoseverinatis, Picenum. Hoc est de Piceni, quae Anconitana vulgo Marchia nominatur; et Nobilitate, et Laudibus; Opus* (Macerata, 1575), Liber Tertius, p. 98, 'Phalaria: ex qua a Gothis jam funditus eversa, Phalarion[um] nobile Castell[um], vulgo Falleroni. Ludovicus *Freducius*, Oliverotti Patritij Firmani'; p. 99, 'exercitus in Ludovico *Freducium* Dux'; p. 106, 'Ad mare castellum, Firmanus Portus [...] Dicta, quid haec fuerit romana Colonia firma. Et tenuit stabilem semper amica fidem. Egregiam laturus erat Liberocetus [Oliverocetus] ad astra'; p. 108, Ludovicus *Freducius*.

⁴⁸ Giuseppe Michetti, *Aspetti medievali di Fermo. Dal dominio dei Franchi alla fine del medio evo* (Fermo, 1981), II, pp. 78-9, 92-107.

Comes, to several of the Freducci family.

To put it in context, the Marca of Ancona is the only country which has two rivers with the same name in the same jurisdiction. There is Ete Vivo in south central Fermano and Ete Morto in north Fermano. They are not connected in any way. The Living Ete, as to translate it in some way, pours directly into the Adriatic Sea; about a mile beyond which was Port Fermo (modern Porto San Giorgio). The Dead Ete pours into the River Chienti (Abbazia di Santa Croce al Chienti). Variants of the river name were *Aeta*, *Eta*, *Ete*, *Letum*, *Leto*, *Lotto*, *Leta*, *Lete*, *Lethe* in Medieval and Renaissance literature. The old name of the River Ete is variously spelt in books, and on maps:

1. in a Notarial deed, *Eta* (July 1023);⁴⁹
2. in *Ministeria in Comitatu Firmano* from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, *Aeta* (usque flumen *Aetam*. 1099), *Eta Morta* (April 1100), *Eta* (Plano de *Eta*. December 1054?), and *Ete* (in *Ete*; in *Eta*. March 1054);⁵⁰
3. in the Fermo diocesan records, during the Pontificate of Honorius III, flumen *Letum* (3 March 1222);⁵¹
4. in the inventory of goods and lands of Ponzano Monastery, *Ete* (iuxta flumen *Ete*. 27 January 1450);⁵²
5. in Biondo Flavio's work *Italia Illustrata* first published in 1474, *Letum vivum* and *Letum mortuum* in the original text, or, *Leto vivo* and *Leto morto*, and also *Letomorto*, in translation in 1543;⁵³
6. in the Latin chronicle on the deeds of Oliverottus Ufredutius, *Leti fluminis* (1502);⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Tabarrini, 'Sommaro cronologico di carte ferme anteriori al secolo XIV' (see n. 6), *Regesta Firmana*, Num. 3, pp. 299-300, 'Permutatio de Monte Cretactio'.

⁵⁰ Delio Pacini, *Per la storia medievale di Fermo e del suo territorio* (Fermo, 2000), pp. 50, 71-75 and note 17; pp. 116, 118, 119, 121, 401, 411 note 62; p. 382 note 88; p. 398 note 127.

⁵¹ Ferdinando Ughello, *Italia Sacra sive de Episcopis Italiae* (Rome, 1647), tomus ii, *Firmani Episcopi* (1219-1222), col. 775.

⁵² Pacini, *Per la storia medievale di Fermo* (see n. 49), p. 213.

⁵³ See extensively Flavio Biondo (Blondus Flavius), *Roma restaurata, et Italia illustrata di Biondo da Forlì. Tradotte in buona lingua volgare per Lucio Fauno* (Venice, 1543), p. 129 *recto* (*Letovivo f.*, che va poco, e si mescola col Chiento); p. 130 *recto* (cinque miglia lunge da Porto Fermano è la foce di un torrente, chiamato *Leto morto / Letomorto* fiu. Piceno citta). As Jeffrey A. White notes in the 2005 edition, it appears from par. 23 on the Ete Morto that Biondo has the two confused; see *Italy Illuminated* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), Books 1-4, p. 427). See also Licini, 'La cartografia nautica dei Freducci come testo, contesto e ipertesto della Signoria di Fermo' (see n. 21), p. 266, and note 21.

⁵⁴ 'Cronaca Fermana di Luca Costantini segretario del Comune di Fermo in continuazione di quella di Niccolò', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), pp. 102-3, 'MDII et die viii januarii, hora x et die sabbati, Oliverottus Ufredutius rediens Firmum, [...] Portum in finibus Leti fluminis constructurum civitati proficuum dicebat spondendo'.

7. on the *Tavola Nuova della Marca d'Ancona* by Girolamo Ruscelli in the 1561 (Venice) edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, Lotto morte (Dead Ete, name confused with Living Ete);
8. on the map entitled *Marcha Anconae, olim Picenum 1572* in the 1573 (Antwerp) edition of *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* by Abraham Ortelius, Leta morta and Leta viva.
9. on the map entitled *Marca d'Ancona olim Picenum* in 1640-67 by Willem Janszoon Blaeu, Leto vivo f. (fiume) and Leto morto torrente;
10. English and German hand-books to Italy knew the River Lete Morta as 'Dead Lethe' and 'den todten Lethe' respectively.⁵⁵

The determinative articles *Lo / lo* and *Le / le* always elide before a vowel in modern Italian (L' and l'). As noted earlier, Eta and Ete were first documented in Latin in 1023-54. As to the early Italian versions of this river, however, I will only say that between Quattrocento and Cinquecento the use of the apostrophe to show that a vowel was elided had not yet been introduced. So we grasp units of words instead of separate words (Leta, Lotto, Leto, Lethe, Lete), and hence the river's name Lotto on Ruscell's map 1561.

And here I attempt to give a philological explanation of the word 'hoctomannum' in Latin from *Comes hoctomanni fredutij de Ancona*, 1497 (Wolfenbüttel), 'de hoctomanno' in Italian from *Conte de hoctomanno freducci de Anchona*, 1512 (Perugia), and 'Hectomanno' in Italian from *Conte de Hectomāno Freducci de Anchona*, 1515 (Florence). During the invasion of the Roman States in 1060-1069, the word *aehtemannum* was introduced by the Norman barons in their daily intercourse of speech with their serfs and domestics. It is attested in Anglo-Norman law texts that *aetemannum* (pl.) means 'serfs of the manorial domain' (English Historical Documents 1042-1189). This name sometimes means 'serfs', and 'estate'. Variants are *ethemannus* and *ehtemannus*. And *etemanno* or *etman* as a high officer in the household of a king, prince, or noble originally having charge of the cavalry but later usually in command of the military forces is still used in Italy in 1855. The French used the word *æhteman* to mean marshal, or seneschal.⁵⁶ A captain in the German ranks will be *der Hauptmann*.

⁵⁵ *Bradshaw's illustrated hand-book to Italy, North and South including Sicily and Sardinia* (London, 1865), 1, p. 146; Georg von Martens, *Das malerische und romantische Italien* (Stuttgart, 1848), 1, Adriatische Appenninenflüsse, p. 226.

⁵⁶ Felix Liebermann (ed.), *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1906), Zweiter Band (Erste Hälfte: Wörterbuch), p. 6, 'aehteman; pl. dt: -nnum leibeigenen Leuten herrschaftlicher Domäne Rect 9,1; ethemannus (Var. ehte-) Q. Ersetzt durch aecrem - ebd. — aehtamen statt eatha men II Atr 5,2 Q Hs. R = athemen Hn 70,7a'; p. 689, 'unfrei; s. [...] aus dem identischen Wort Fränk. Dialekts aber ward Seneschal, Marschall; Gefolge æhteman; auch æht. See also David A. E. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early*

The term *aehteman*, from Old English *aeht* (property, possessions, riches, goods; deliberation, council) could also signify *servus* (slave); the *aehtemen* who appear in the estate survey *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* (The Services due from Various Persons) are closer to the slaves than to the pre-Conquest dependent peasants before 1066.⁵⁷ The document is the Saxon version which dates probably from the tenth, and the Latin translation from the twelfth century.

We should remember that Anconitan and Firman juries grew out of the Roman and the Norman heritage in Papal Italy (1052-1266). The Norman Conquest of 1069 brought about Law French and the creation of some Italian words with French influence in Agro Piceno now administratively divided into *Marchia Anconitana* and *Marchia Firmana*.⁵⁸ In the short term, Pope Gregory's relations with the Normans remained uncertain. An exacerbating factor, however, was the continuing predations of the Normans, not least upon Papal lands. At his Lent synod in Rome in 1078, Gregory VII collectively excommunicated all Normans who were endeavouring to invade the lands of St Peter in the March of Fermo and the Duchy of Spoleto; he went on to proscribe those who were besieging Benevento, those who sought to invade and to plunder Campania, and beaches, and Sabina, and Tiber County. The feudal homage rendered to Pope Gregory VII by Robert Guiscard of the Hauteville dynasty the Duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, on 29 June 1080, concerning the Papal investiture of Salerno, Amalfi and part of the March of Fermo ('et pars marchiae Firmanae') on 6 June 1080, had then secured the lands of St. Peter from the south (Gregorii vii Registrum, liber vii).⁵⁹ So the repetition of the

Medieval England: From the Reign of Alfred until the Twelfth Century (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 174, and note 56. See also Ferdinand von Mengden, *Cardinal Numerals: Old English from a Cross-Linguistic Perspective* (Berlin and New York, 2010), The Partitive Construction, p. 211, 4.35, *æhtemennum* (serf); David R. Howlett, *The English Origins of Old French Literature* (Dublin, 1996), p. 168, *ehtemannus*; Tito Dellaberenga, 'Russia', *Il Diavoletto. Giornale Triestino*, 17 Febbraio 1855, Anno viii, p. 190: 'Il granduca successore come grande etemanno di tutti gli eserciti cosacchi, indirizzò ai Cosacchi del Don un autografo che chiude con un desiderio di pace'.

⁵⁷ Ann Williams, 'Lost Words: Kentish Society in the Eleventh Century', *Medieval Prosopography. History and Collective Biography*, xx (1999), pp. 51-74 (p. 72).

⁵⁸ Gian Rinaldo Carli, *Dell'origine e del commercio della moneta e dell'istituzione delle zecche d'Italia dalla decadenza dell'Impero sino al secolo Decimosettimo* (Haja, 1751), XI. Delle zecche istituite nel secolo XIII, pp. 195-196: 'Nell'anno MLXIX Alessandro II Papa recuperò dai Normanni Fermo, e 'l Piceno.

⁵⁹ Erich Caspar (ed), 'Gregorii vii Registrum. Lib. V-IX. Das Register Gregors VII. II, Buch V-IX', *MGH, Epistolae selectae, Tomus ii, Fasciculus ii*, Berlin, 1923, Liber viii (Buch viii), 1 bis, Investitur Robert Guscards durch Gregor VII. Ceprano, 1080, Juni 6, pp. 515-6. And Ludewicus Weiland (ed.), 'Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum. Tomus I Inde ab A. DCCCCXI usque ad A. MCXCVII', *MGH, Legum sectio IV*, Hannover, 1893: 390. 391. *Gregorii VII. Concilium Romanum. 1080. Mart. 7.*, p. 554, '390. Propositio Rudolphi Regis et Principum Imperii'; p. 556, '391. Gesta Concilii. Gregorii vii Concilium Romanum, 1. Sequentes statuta sanctorum patrum, [...], A.D. 1080, Nr. 391', 4.

investiture of the Norman princes by each new Pope was the means by which the Papal curia demonstrated the vassal's dependence on the superior authority of the Papacy. The shire was the highest tier of Firman local administration, and a vital link in the maintenance of royal influence in the Roman regions. By 1080, 'the serfs of the manorial domain who had certain obligations to their lord' could be synthesized by just one word across the Norman lands: the term *aehtemannum*.

Our primary means of access to the administrative life of Fermo Counties is through the surviving written word in the form of those Freducci's signed charts that happened to have been preserved. The Italic-Norman word *hoctomannum* appeared for the first time on Count Freducci's 1497 chart now in Wolfenbüttel. Records, in both meanings of the word, show that the important office of seneschal of Fermo was enjoyed by Oliverotto Freducci, Count, under the temporal sovereignty of Pope Alexander VI Borgia. This may be seen on reference to the charter by which the Lords Priors Governors of the City of Fermo confirmed the higher dignity of Count of Fermo Counties and Count of the City of Fermo in June 1497.

The title of *Comes hoctomanni fredutijs* (1497), *Conte de hoctomanno* (1512) or *Conte de Hectomanno* (1515), appears to have been used by members of that family on maps, until the historic counties of Fermo were formally abolished by Pope Paul III Farnese in 1541, while the Firman Civil War was still being fought. As a matter of fact, the last atlas which has come down to us from *Conte de Octomāno freduccj* was made in 1539 (Bologna). The model used here may have been one by Ludovico the Younger Freducci.

The Lords Priors Governors of the City of Fermo summoned Oliverotto Freducci to the government palace on 6 June 1497. They agreed to the proposition of the citizens, namely, to prevent tumults among the defenders of the castles locally situated within the separate jurisdiction of the City and County of Fermo. The purpose was to establish a Guard, if commanded by Oliverotto Freducci their beloved *condottiere* (conductor), a noble citizen of Fermo, of high repute, at the outpost of Ripatransone, the frontier fort on the Adriatic Sea. The Lords Priors appointed Freducci 'rector, head and commissary general' with full power to establish order in the geographical areas of such net, Counties, and City. Oliverotto was then granted to capture rebel soldiers who were straggling about through the country. Rebel soldiers from all the castles in Fermo Counties could be sentenced to

Item si quis Normannorum terras sancti Petri, videlicet illam partem Firmanae marchiae, quae nondum pervasa est, et ducatum spoletanum, et Campaniam, necnon maritimas atque Sabinam, et comitatum tiburtinum.

death for their contumacy; i.e. all the sentences and measures against rebellion leaders had to be ratified in advance. It is therefore very likely, that Freducci's 1497 chart (Wolfenbüttel) was signed by Oliverotto Freducci the *condottiere*, in the same year when a more general jurisdiction was conferred upon him in June. Having acquired a high military reputation in the command of a stipendiary militia, Oliverotto was nominated 'rector (i.e. vicar), head and commissary general', the commanding commissar of the Army who was based in Fermo Counties; the Counties in *Comitatus Firmanus* were divided into circuits; each commissar in the Counties at stake was requested to follow the commands of the commissary general, to support and to aid him. Next, Pope Alexander VI Borgia in August 1497 appointed eight governors of the lands in his province of *Marchia Anconitana*.⁶⁰

A few months later, Andrea Doria, the great *condottiere* of Genoa, engaged in the service of Fermo in April 1498. He was appointed prefect, or governor or procurator, if you prefer, of the land of Monte San Pietrangeli within the context of the feud between Fermo and Ascoli Piceno. There, Count Tommaso Freducci, elder brother of Oliverotto, was killed in a faction fight while acting commissary for grain and provisions on 20 June 1498.⁶¹ So Ludovico succeeded his father Tommaso Freducci as Count of the manor of Falerone when he was little more than two years old.⁶² Since his father's brother, Oliverotto, was murdered in Senigallia on the orders

⁶⁰ Francesco Filippini, 'Liverotto Freducci tiranno di Fermo. Documenti', *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le province delle Marche*, Ancona, Gustavo Morelli, 1895, vol. i, pp. 65-189: Documenti. 1. Registro di lettere dei Priori di Fermo 1496-97 (Biblioteca comunale di Fermo), N.° 3 A Liverotto (Tibi strenuo et nobili viro Liverotto Ufredutio civi et conductorio nostro amatissimo salutem. Cum nostri animi et officii sit terram Ripetransonem ita militibus et stipendiariis munire [...]. Quo circha te antedictum Liverotto ibidem preficimus et omnium stipendiariourum qui nostro ere ibi sunt rectorem caput et commissarium pleno arbitrio deputamus, concedentes vices nostras et plenam facultatem ea faciendi tam ad custodiam et ipsius loci defensionem quam ad cetera peragenda que tibi ad hoc expedire videbuntur; [...]. Firmi vi iulii 1497), pp. 150-151; 5. Archivio diplomatico della Biblioteca comunale di Fermo n. 1441, indice Hubart, N.° 4 Alexander Papa VI, Rome apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die xxviii augusti MCCCCLXXXVII, pp. 151-3. And Patrizia Licini, 'Andrea Doria di Genova, i Freducci da Fermo e una carta nautica inedita firmata Freducci', in Ciro Robotti (ed.), *Città Castelli Paesaggi Euromediterranei. Storie rappresentazioni progetti: Atti del Sesto Colloquio Internazionale di Studi, Capua Castello di Carlo V 1-2 Dicembre 2006* (Lecce, 2009), pp. 307-31 (p. 318, and note 63).

⁶¹ Licini, 'Andrea Doria di Genova, i Freducci da Fermo' (see n. 59), p. 316, and notes 38, 45, 46. For historical sources see 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo edite ed inedite', ed. De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 286, and note 10 and 11.

⁶² 'Cronaca Fermiana di Luca Costantini segretario del Comune di Fermo in continuazione di quella di Niccolò', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 102: 'MCCCCLXXXVIII, et die XX junii, Thomas Ufredutius moritur apud Montem Sancti Petri predicti, ibi Firmanis dimicantibus; quorum prefectus erat Andrea Doria Genuensis'.

of Cesare Borgia during the night of 31 January 1502, Ludovico Freducci was also, by birth and descent, Count of the Hectomanno. In fact, he styled himself in Italian, *Conte de hoctomanno* in Freducci's 1512 atlas (Perugia), and *Conte de Hectomāno* as the abbreviated form of *Hectomanno* on Freducci's 1515 chart (Florence) (see figg. 8-9).

The Firman countryside retains place-names left from Roman and Norman-Swabian rule (1056-1266).⁶³ *Picenum* was the Regio V in the Augustan territorial organization of Italy circa 60 A.D. in Roman times. This would be popularly called the Marca of Ancona, as first attested in 936. In addition, there is only one site in Regio V that corresponds to Pliny's description, and that is the plateau of *Castellum Firmanorum* situated on the shore of the bay of modern Porto San Giorgio, on the north side of the Ete Vivo which Pliny does not name (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, iii,112). As far as we know, Ete Vivo and Ete Morto are attested for the first time in a Notarial deed dated 1023, in the post-Roman period (see n. 49).

Thus the word *aehtemannum*, taken literally, may indicate the region of the double River Ete. Of course, a paleographic transcription of a text follows specific norms. Scribal abbreviations are marks used by medieval scribes writing in various languages, including Old Italian. To that effect, a *vinculum* (overbar, macron) above a letter indicates a missing *-m* or *-n*, as in *Hectomāno* for *Hectomanno* on Freducci's ocean chart in Florence (see fig. 9). It can additionally be noted that H/h is not aspirated both in Latin and Italian, because in itself it is no letter. Being mute, initial h/H is dropped in the modern Italian word *Octomāno* in the atlas of 1539 (see fig. 10). The suffix *-manno*, however, was not shortened in *-mano*.⁶⁴ Never do we find

⁶³ Licini, 'La cartografia nautica dei Freducci come testo, contesto e ipertesto della Signoria di Fermo' (see n. 21), pp. 245-91. For the suffix, see Maria Giovanna Arcamone, 'Cognomi da antroponomi di origine germanica in Campania', in *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. Sezione Germanica*, 28-29 (1985- 86), pp. 17-38.1985 (p. 34).

⁶⁴ A feature of scribal shorthand, the macron, also makes its appearance in Freducci's handwriting. A macron (from the Greek word *matron*, 'long') over a letter in a word signifies the omission of the following letter, hence contributing to an abbreviation: for instance, *attēd* and *cō*, meaning 'attend' and 'come' respectively. I have expanded scribal abbreviations, taking the macron over the vowel *a* to indicate *n*. All scribal abbreviations are expanded and are shown in square brackets. Strange enough, in his study of 1894 Casanova transcribed the signature as reading 'Conte de Hectomaño Freducci de Anchona la Facta in Anchona nella' but then the study's title does not stem from the authorship inscription on the chart. He so completely modernized it, by internal alterations, as to confer on it the character of a new inscription in the cover page: 'Conte di Ottomanno Freducci'. See Eugenio Casanova, *La carta nautica di Conte di Ottomanno Freducci d'Ancona conservata nel R. Archivio di Stato di Firenze (con una fotozincografia)* (Firenze, 1894), 'I. Descrizione della Carta', pp. 3-6. The chart had been property of Pio Istituto de' Bardi when it was deposited in Archivio di Stato in Florence in 1891.

the term 'Ottomanno' or 'Ottomano' on Freducci's charts. It is strange enough to find, that the original spelling *Hectomanno* was not retained for the title of Casanova's study in 1894, and the word *Ottomanno* was for the first time printed on the cover page by the editors (see n. 49). It would therefore seem that the editors in Florence decided to write the place name in Italian with a double t but in the word 'Octomanno' as it appears in the 1539 atlas now in Bologna. Since 1894 the place name has been frequently misspelled in literature on non-philological grounds, with a double t. In no case, however, could we read Ottomano in Italian and Ottoman in English after Othman or Osman (d. 1326), the founder of the Ottoman dynasty.

The chart in Weimar is attributed to Freducci, though the signature is now illegible (Weimar, Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Kt 400 - 246 E Ms). In 1915, Edward Luther Stevenson gives a tentative reading of the signature as '*Comes...*' [or *Contes*] at the start of the authorship inscription. However, Chet Van Duzer (p. 10) maintains that 'Stevenson gives a tentative reading of the signature as '*Contes he... composuit ancone d no Mccccclx...*' and the chart may be confidently attributed to Freducci and to the end of the fifteenth century; specifically, between 1481, when Bayezid II came to power, and 1499, as the part of the date that is legible indicates a date before 1500. So this chart is more or less contemporary with Freducci's 1497 chart in Wolfenbüttel'.⁶⁵ I think Van Duzer gave us the wrong year Mccccclx (1560). Clearly, his interpretation is forced and implausible.

Chet Van Duzer (p. 13) has maintained that compass roses are absent from Freducci's 1497 chart (Wolfenbüttel), his chart in Weimar, and his 1524 chart in the Hispanic Society, so the compass roses on the Lucca chart are a somewhat unusual feature for Freducci. It is not unusual at all. The undated chart by Freducci in the Biblioteca Statale of Lucca (MS. 2720) has two compass roses in northern Africa, one from the 1515 ocean chart of Freducci, his chart in Florence, and the other from the 1472 chart of Grazioso Benincasa Anconitanus in Venice (Museo Correr, Port. 5). A compass rose is present on Freducci's 1515 ocean chart (Firenze, Fondo: Carte nautiche 15). Moreover, one half compass rose is shown on Freducci's 1529 chart in London (British Library, Add. MS. 11548). Two half compass roses are drawn on Freducci's 1547 chart in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, II 292 CP). The map of Italy included in the 1533 Freducci atlas in the Newberry Library of Chicago (Ayer MS Map 8) on the one hand, and the map of southern Spain, the Balearic

⁶⁵ Tony Campbell has noted that 'Today, it is possible to read, imperfectly, only '*Comes...*' [or *Contes*] at the start of the authorship inscription but a century or more ago much of the same wording as that found on the clearly signed Ottomanno Freducci chart of 1497 in Wolfenbüttel could apparently be made out'. See Tony Campbell, 'Census of Pre-Sixteenth-Century Portolan Charts: Additional ('E') Entries', available at <http://www.maphistory.info/portolanextra.html> [accessed 22 July 2011]. See also Chet Van Duzer, in his BLJ article (2017), p. 10.

Islands, Corsica, Sardinia and all of northern Africa, included in the 1539 Freducci atlas in the Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio of Bologna (Fondo Speciale Carte e Atlanti Nautici, Atlante di Ludovico Freducci) on the other, have compass roses. Compass roses were then a not unusual feature in Freducci's works.

As far as Freducci's compass rose, the first chart to show it appeared in 1515 (Florence), a mere eight years after Freducci's 1497 chart was made. And thus it represents an important innovation by Ludovico Freducci. Chet Van Duzer is not correct, however, when he writes that Freducci's chart in the Archivio di Stato in Florence is a signed but undated nautical chart. The truth is that someone carefully cut the parchment with a pair of sharp scissors or a razor blade guided by the straight edge of the signature box (see fig. 9). There is some part of the chartmaker's signature remaining: the two incomplete words *nellan* are to be reconstructed in Old Italian into the unit *nell'anno* (in the year) and an apostrophe would be added for clarity (*yhs · m^a · Vgo · Conte de Hectomāno freducci de Anchona la facta in Anchona nellan [sic] = yhesus · maria · Virgo · Conte de Hectomanno Freducci de Anchona la facta in Anchona nell'a[nno] [sic]*).

This ocean chart covers a much greater geographical area than traditional nautical charts: it includes not only Western Europe and West Africa, but also much of the Atlantic, the Caribbean, and northeastern South America down to the part of Brasil lying north of 15 degrees, south latitude. Freducci's ocean chart was obviously drawn from Juan Ponce de León's own charts. Casanova studied the chart in detail in the late nineteenth century, and suggested that it should be dated to circa 1515. Chet Van Duzer (p. 12), however, noted that this date is probably too early. In fact, more recent studies, he notes (n. 31), have focused on the map's depiction of Florida. Van Duzen makes reference to the comment column iv.6 by Alberto Capacci (1992; see n. 84) and to the study by Colonel Douglas T. Peck (2001), a retired USAF pilot who turned to a study of the history of early seafaring and navigation upon retiring.

The immense utility of the history of cartography deserves perhaps a more minute consideration. It is certain, that Van Duzer ignores my study as a member of the Comitato Nazionale delle Celebrazioni di Cristoforo Colombo (1504-1506 2004-2006) about this chart that Freducci made at Ancona from Juan Ponce de León's own charts during the papacy of Leo X Medici. It must not pass unnoticed, that the membership of the Comitato was voted by the Ministero per gli Italiani nel Mondo, Ministero per gli Affari Esteri, Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Madrid, Regione Marche (see n. 27).

Freducci's Works and their Context

As John Brian Harley notes, 'the basic rule of historical method is that documents can only be interpreted in their context. The rule applies equally to maps and nautical charts, which must be returned to the past and situated squarely in their proper place and period'. Context is simplistically portrayed as 'general historical background. What is still lacking is a grasp of context as a complex set of interactive forces, a dialogue with the text — in which context is central to the interpretative strategy. We tend to regard context as 'out there' and the maps we are studying as 'inside'. Only when we knock down this barrier — this false dichotomy between an externalist and an internalist approach to historical interpretation — can map and context be studied in an undivided terrain'.⁶⁶

So, since 2004 I have maintained that Freducci's ocean chart in Florence (Fondo: Carte nautiche 15) had its setting in Ancona in the context of the Pontifical State during the papacy of Leo X Medici, from Florence.⁶⁷ This chart shows Juan Ponce de León's Florida voyage from March to September 1513. Ponce set sail from San Germán de Puerto Rico with three vessels on Thursday afternoon, 3 March, traversing the Caicos and Bahamas. He was commissioned by King Fernand of Castille to explore the Atlantic Ocean in search for the isle of Bimini. Eventually, Juan Pérez de Ortubia León's captain found the isles of Bimini, Acacoa and Ciguateo, and went back to Puerto Rico on 20 February 1514. Freducci's map depicts the peninsula of Florida (*T. Florda*), Bimini, Acacoa and Ciguateo, but it leaves out all the features of the Pacific Ocean.

Chet Van Duzer (p. 4) has maintained that 'an examination of the legends on Add. MS. 11548 will shed light on the process of commissioning and creating nautical charts in Renaissance Italy, on Conte di Ottomano Freducci, about whom we know little, and on the transmission of cartographic information from Fra Mauro into the sixteenth century'. But historical sources, and not legends, shed light on the process of commissioning and creating nautical charts in Renaissance Italy, on *Conte de Hectomanno Freducci de Anchona*, about whom we know a great deal, and on the transmission of cartographic information from Papal Ancona into the sixteenth

⁶⁶ John B. Harley, edited by Paul Laxton, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore and London, 2002), Chap. 1 Text and Context in the Interpretation of Early Maps, pp. 37-8.

⁶⁷ Licini, 'Il contributo della cartografia nautica della "Marca di Ancona un tempo detta Piceno" all'età dell'impresa di Cristoforo Colombo e Juan Ponce de León' (see n. 26), pp. 134-60; and Licini, 'La contribución de la cartografía náutica de la Marca de Ancona en otro tempo llamada Piceno' (see n. 26), pp. 117-28.

century'.

The process of commissioning and creating nautical charts in Renaissance Ancona, the Papal province of *Marchia Anconitana*, is, of course, much more complicated than the examination of Juan Ponce de León's Florida voyage from March to September 1513, with a further account in February 1514, to see if the coast contour has been transposed on the chart by Freducci. According to John Brian Harley, the three aspects of context are the context of the chartmaker, the contexts of other charts, and the context of his society (see n. 66).

The point is to present an analysis based on historical archives, and the authoritative evidence that they alone can provide. But before we start we need to be reasonably confident of the chartmaker's full name, and the men he served with. Otherwise it is impossible to start researching a person who did not exist. Conte Ferducci (note the different spelling of the surname), the son of Othman, the grandson of Lillo, was a man *in nubibus*, a mere fictitious name, as no such person existed. Their nationality is misunderstood even by those who tend to regard the information they do have about the 'Ferducci' family as historical fact. Once we identify that Ancona was the Papal town where the ocean chart as text was produced, then we can find out the context in which Conte de Hectomāno Freducci (note no different spelling of the surname) worked.

On 15 March 1513, a great promotion took place in the Papal Marine in the meantime—Paolo Vettori from Florence received another destination, being appointed Captain-General of the Church's Fleet. He was engaged in patrolling at Argentario and Circèò, in the Pontifical zone.⁶⁸ The convenience of these arrangements is perceived when we observe the situation of the places *monte argentar* and *c[apo] circelli* on the nautical charts. Rome at the mouth of the River Tiber is in the middle of the coast halfway between points Agentario and Circèò.

And in early 1514 Ponce de León was back to Castille to report to Fernand the Catholic, King of Castille, Aragon and Naples, on his expedition; Fernand was so impressed that he gave him a patent, or official permission (Cédula Real), to sail back to 'La Florida y Biminy', on 27 September 1514, at Valladolid. In Seville, fifty miles from the open sea, meanwhile, Peter Martyr of Anghiera (Pietro Martire di Anghiera) the Protonotarius Apostolicus at the Royal Court of Castille and Aragon had the duty to inform *Sua Beatitudine* Pope Leo X dei Medici the Lord of all Christians that Juan Ponce de León had discovered Florida and the Fountain of Youth

⁶⁸ Guglielmotti, *La guerra dei pirati e la marina pontificia* (see n. 26), Vol. 1, Libro Terzo, Capitano Paolo Vettori, marchese della Gorgona (1513-1526), Cap. viii, pp. 160-1 (1518).

'which makes old men young' as we understand from a letter about *Fons Juventutis*, that is, the Fountain of Youth as the Indians of Cuba call it, at the end of 1514.⁶⁹ The Pope of Rome was the first to be informed of the geographical discoveries, after the mandate of the Papal bull 'Ea, que pro bono pacis' of Pope Julius II della Rovere had been carried out in all countries of Europe on 24 January 1506; the agreement, as laid down in the Treaty of Tordesillas 1494 and sanctioned by the Pope in 1506, was abrogated more than 250 years later in the Treaty of Madrid in 1750. Only the Pope of Rome could convey to the King of Spain and the King of Portugal such rights of conquest over large parts of the earth's surface, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over lands not yet discovered. It may be said that most of the charts and atlases signed by Freducci in the Papal State of Ancona were made when the Church of England was still in communion with the Pope of Rome and professed the doctrine of the Pope of Rome, until 1530 when an Act of Parliament abolished payment of money to Rome. In 1529, a schism took place in the Church of Germany, a protest was entered against the decrees of the Pope, and a separation took place.

Since 15 March 1513 Paolo Vettori Marquis of Gorgona the brave and zealous officer from Florence had been appointed to the office of Captain-General of the Church's Fleet when Pope Leo X sent his brother Giuliano dei Medici and Ludovico Freducci of Fermo to accomplish a nuptial mission in Paris in December 1514. Paolo Vettori was the third in the Medici legacy. Giuliano dei Medici made an agreeable impression on Filiberta of Savoy the bride, and conferred with the future King of France Francis I. The dynastic marriage between Giuliano de' Medici and Filiberta of Savoy, Francis's maternal aunt, took place in Turin on 9 January 1515.⁷⁰

The Medicean papacy can operate only in the context of the society it finds

⁶⁹ Simonetta Conti, 'Juan Ponce de León, l'isola di Bimini e la fonte dell'eterna giovinezza', in Carla Masetti (ed.), *Chiare, fresche e dolci acque. Le sorgenti nell'esperieza odeporica e nella storia del territorio. Atti del Convegno di Studi San Gemini, 18-20 ottobre 2000* (Genova, 2001), pp. 43-57 (pp. 44, 50). Royal documents in Real Academia de la Historia (ed.), *Catálogo de la colección de D. Juan Bautista Muñoz. Documentos interesantes para la historia de America* (Madrid, 1955), ii, pp. 443-5, 1.358-1.385.

⁷⁰ Torino, Archivio di Stato, Mazzo 206, fascicolo 206.1, 1514 e 1515, p. 20, Descrizione: Volume mancante in principio, ed infine, contenente copia di contratti, infeudazioni, concessioni, vendite, procure, ed altri atti passati dal Duca Carlo di Savoia con Filippo di Savoia Conte del Genevese, e Barone di Faussigni, Gio. de' Grimaldi, Giuliano de' Medici, Filiberta di Savoia, e Giovanni Paolo Pagnano; unitamente al Trattato di Matrimonio tra i predetti Giuliano de' Medici, e Filiberta di Savoia. 1514. e 1515. And 'Annali di Fermo di Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', ed. De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1504 (Dicembre), p. 252. See also Licini, 'Il contributo della cartografia nautica della "Marca di Ancona un tempo detta Piceno" all'età dell'impresa di Cristoforo Colombo e Juan Ponce de León' (see n. 26), pp. 134-60; and Licini, 'La contribución de la cartografía náutica de la Marca de Ancona en otro tempo llamada Piceno' (see n. 26), pp. 117-28.

itself in.

It is thus essential to evaluate the way that the Pope's power operates in that society and to understand how critical it is for us not to lose the heritage of Anconitan chartmaking. In 1913, however, historian Louis Scisco in his preliminary study of the Freducci chart of Florida made an error by wrongly attributing, in 1515, the town of Ancona to the Crown of Italy: 'The Freducci map is of Italian construction, having been made at Ancona by Conte di Ottomanno Freducci'.⁷¹ Since then, until today, scholars have continued to repeat this error. A town and port in the Roman States, Ancona was not under the Italic Crown—the Iron Crown.

The Pontifical State, created in the first middle age, survived until 1870; the first authentic document of Pontifical sovereignty dates back to the eighth century. In 1515 the story of Ludovico the Younger Freducci as Count of Firman castles in the March of Ancona is one of great note both in the Annals of Fermo and in the Acts of the Camera Apostolica at Rome. As soon as Pope Julius II della Rovere died, the Annals by Giovan Paolo Montani say, Ludovico Freducci (Eufreduccio) at the head of his armed men left Perugia for the castle of Falerone and the city of Fermo in February 1513.⁷² When Pope Leo X dei Medici had the honour to sit in St Peter's chair on 9 March 1513, by Papal brief dated 20 March 1513 from St Peter in Rome to the Lords Priors Governors of Fermo, he readmitted Ludovico and his militiamen into the city, 'against the common enemy of both the Church and Fermo'. According to the 1513 Papal brief, all acts of confiscation of property by Julius II since August 20, 1504, were declared null and void. At the same time Pope Leo exhorted Antonio della Rovere in Fermo, who was the cousin of Raffaello della Rovere, not to revenge. This document refers to Oliverotto (Liveroctus) Freducci as the Count and Tyrant of Fermo, and it goes back in time. During the pontificate of Alexander VI Borgia, on 8 January 1502 some of Oliverotto's soldiers rushed out from concealment and massacred Giovanni Fogliani, Oliverotto's maternal uncle. Oliverotto killed Niccolosa Fogliani his first cousin, Raffaello della Rovere her husband and their two young sons, and other citizens. In January 1502, Raffaello was the son of the soon-to-be Pope Julius II della Rovere.⁷³ Machiavelli, the constant apologist of Cesare

⁷¹ Louis D. Scisco, 'The Track of Ponce de Leon in 1513', *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, xlv (1913), pp. 721-35 (p. 721).

⁷² 'Annali di Fermo di Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), pp. 255-6.

⁷³ Pope Leo's March 20, 1513 brief is transcribed in Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo' (see n. 22), pp. 309-10): 'Dilectis filiis prioribus et comunitati civitatis Nostrae Firmi. Leo PP. X. [...] Post ea quae post nostram ad summum apostolatus apicem assumptionem aliis nostris vobis scripsimus, intelleximus Ludovicum quondam Liverocti nepotem collecta seditiosorum manu moliri plurima ut civitatem istam nostram ingredi, et illius non solum pacificum statum, sed et aliarum

Borgia, has characterized the members of this group, in his first *Decennale*, lib. i, p. 66. After this murder Oliverotto mounted his horse, rode through the streets of Fermo, and formed a government of which he made himself the head. On 31 December 1502, however, Cesare Borgia entrapped Paolo Orsini and Francesco Orsini Duke of Gravina at the sea fortress of Senigallia where Oliverotto Freducci was also taken and strangled, together with Vitellozzo Vitelli his brother-in-law, just one year after he had committed parricide in having his uncle Giovanni Fogliani assassinated.

Bulls and briefs were dispatched *per cameram* and went through the chancery. As the official records of the Camera Apostolica at Rome are the only records of their kind in the Roman States, it is only through these registers that a title by descent to an estate and the right to the arms of the sovereign counts can be established. It was customary for each succeeding Pope on his accession to confirm the privileges of Fermo Counties in the Roman States, making express mention of the Freduccis. So most spelling variations of surnames or given name variations are documented in the lines of descendants. Just over one year after the tragedy, on 20 August 1504, Pope Julius II della Rovere declared Battista Freducci and other citizens rebels. The Pope ordered the Legate to the Pontifical province of *Marchia Anconitana* to confiscate the estate of Battista who had joined the faction of his brother Oliverotto in 1502 and supported the massacre of the della Rovere family in Fermo. Thus, we see, that *de Eufredutiis* and *Eufreductius* appear in the Pope's brief to the Lords Priors and Community of the city of Fermo in 1504.⁷⁴ The surname

circumvicinarum civitatum atque locorum perturbare possit. Cui rei nostro pastorali ut incumbit officio paterne occurrere volentes; [...] verum vobis permittimus ut eundem Ludovicum quique illi fuerint adjumento et auxilio omni poena afficiatis et pro hostibus nostris Ecclesiaeque ac vestris ut praefertur habere vobis liceat [...] Volumus etiam provideatis ne citra juris cognitionem dilecti filii Antonini de Ruere bona aliqua molestia vel jactura afficiantur. Datum Romae ap. S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die 20 martii 1513. Pontificatus nostri anno primo'. And 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo edite ed inedite', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), pp. 193, 282. See also William Roscoe (Fourth Edition. Revised by His Son, Thomas Roscoe), *The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth* (London, 1846), vol. i. chap. vi, pp. 224-33.

⁷⁴ Pope Julius's August 20, 1504, brief is transcribed in Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo' (see n. 22), pp. 308-9: 'Dilectis filiis prioribus et comunitati civitatis Nostrae Firmi. Julius PP. II. (Datum Romae ap. S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die 14 augusti 1504 Pontificatus nostri anno primo) [...] et ob occupationem istius civitatis et bonorum ejusdem per quemdam Liveroctum de Eufredutiis factam et caedes iride subsequutas gravia et pene intollerabilia damna perpessi fuistis, [...] adeoque de debitis taleis censuum et affictuum per vos annuatim persolvi consteis Camerae Apostolicae satisfacere [...] Quumque et postmodum post dicti quondam Liverocti obitum certus processus per Legatus Provinciae nostrae Marchiae jusque cura contra quosdam iniquitatis filios Baptistam Eufreductium, Erculem Acetum, [...] praefatique Baptista et coeteri nominati Apostolicae sedis et

variant corresponds exactly with that of Angelo Freducci in his Latin signature *Angelus Eufredutius* in the two atlases dated Ancona 1556 (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS. 4866; Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana MS. 646).

On 21 February 1513, Pope Julius II della Rovere, the Genoese, died. The Pope had acted much more as a Renaissance Prince than as head of the Universal Church. Three weeks later, Cardinal Giovanni dei Medici, son of the great Florentine Lorenzo the Magnificent and Clarice Orsini his wife, was elected, while still very young, on 11 March 1513, and his election was favourably received. The greatgrandson of the banker, Cosimo, chose the name of Leo X. The new pontificate seemed likely to be more peaceable. Settlements by diplomacy rather than declarations of war could be expected of a man like this. Roger Aubenas has noted that this became evident in matters affecting relations with France. The new Pope, Leo X dei Medici, had to find a way of concluding the Italian Wars around Milan, Lombardy, which had received fresh impetus from the accession of Francis I, the new King of France, in January 1515. Now, the King was even allied by marriage to the family of Medici (see n. 70). The time was well chosen. Each of the two adversaries desired an interview which might put an end to a situation in which everyone was awkwardly placed. The interview between the Pope and the French King was at Bologna on 11 December 1515. They remained in Bologna until 15 December. For almost a century the Church in France had been without authority, torn between two masters both equally inclined to absolution when the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) was eventually superseded by agreement of December 1515. And the French crown gained greater control over Church appointments in France.⁷⁵

How deep the influence of Ludovico Freducci was on Pope Leo deserves further investigation. I found that during his teens Ludovico was appointed a *paggio*, page-boy, at Florence at the Medici court at the age of eleven; of which, however, I shall speak further on. In December 1515, the Medicean Pope made proposals of alliance to Francis I the King of France, who eagerly listened to them, and they had the conference at Bologna, on the northern edge of the Papal States, in which a concordat was agreed upon. The Concordat of Bologna, 11-15 December 1515, was an agreement between Pope Leo X dei Medici and King Francis 1 of France that Francis negotiated in the wake of his victory at Marignano (modern Melegnano), 16 km southeast of Milan, Iron Crown, on 13-14 September 1515. Since February 1513

dictae civitatis rebelles declarati, eorumque bona Camerae Apostolicae praedictae confiscata fuissent'.

⁷⁵ Roger Aubenas, 'IV. The Papacy and the Catholic Church: Contrasting character and policy of Leo X: the Concordat of Bologna', in George R. Potter (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History. Volume I The Renaissance 1493-1520* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 84-6.

Maximilian Sforza, the son of Ludovico Sforza surnamed il Moro, had recovered the Duchy of Milan, and driven the French out of Lombardy when the Battle of Marignano was fought between an Army of Germans, Swiss and Sforzescans on the one hand and Francis 1 the new King of France on the other. Together the Germans, Swiss and Sforzescans were defeated. Ten thousand men were slain in the disastrous Battle of Marignano. After which, the Army retired, leaving Francis I master of all the *Milanese*. Leo X, in the meanwhile, had been in hopes that Francis would never be able to enter Italy. During the time between the King's arrival in Italy in August, and the Battle of Marignano (13-14 September 1515), the Pope was under great perplexities. He had sent an Army into Lombardy, to support the Duke of Milan under the Iron Crown. But when he heard King Francis had surmounted the difficulties of the Alpine passage, he sent orders to Lorenzo dei Medici who commanded his Army, to commit no hostilities against the French. At the same time, the Pope sent a message to the King of France, to let him know that his Army was there only to guard Piacenza and Parma (ancient Lombardy beyond the River Po).⁷⁶ Since Prégent de Bidoux had defeated Admiral Edward Howard in Battle near Brest at the centre of Western Brittany on 25 April 1513, the King of France then commanded in person at Milan, with Bidoux by his side in November 1515. Throughout this period, the issue of a compromise agreement began pulling attention away from Lombardy, even while the military campaign was still under way. Pope Leo also signed a contract (*condotta*) with Ludovico Freducci for two hundred cavalymen. Ludovico then led his body of cavalymen to Fermo, where they were nobly equipped and greatly admired. Ludovico and his cavalymen, in company with general Lorenzo dei Medici, headed for Florence between February and March 1515. In Summer 1515 Ludovico Freducci with his horsemen then marched to Bologna to sustain Lorenzo dei Medici his general. In the meantime, Fermo's chronicles say, Cardinal Giulio dei Medici the Pope's Legate moved to Bologna and resided there all summer and fall with a view of observing the movements of the King of France in Lombardy. Soon after the French conquest of Milan in September 1515, Captain Ludovico Freducci left Florence, and advanced towards the March of Ancona, his State. Back in Fermo, he led his cavalymen to winter 'on the nearby lands of the Church' at the end of October 1515.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Archivio di Stato di Firenze (ed.), *Carteggi delle Magistrature dell'Età Repubblicana. Otto di Pratica* (Firenze, 1987), vol. i, Legazioni e commissarie, a cura di Paolo Viti, parte i. p. 436; Francesco Guicciardini, *Istoria d'Italia* (Milano, 1838), iv, libro xii, cap. v, p. 277.

⁷⁷ 'Annali di Fermo di Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1514-1515, pp. 251-4. See also Licini, 'Il contributo della cartografia nautica della "Marca di Ancona un tempo detta Piceno" all'età dell'impresa di Cristoforo Colombo e Juan Ponce de León' (see n. 26), pp. 146-8, primary sources at notes 213-20; and Licini, 'La contribución de la cartografía

Was Ancona the place where the Freducci ocean chart depicting Florida for the first time was designed (Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Fondo: Carte nautiche 15). These times coincide with the winter break in military operations at the end of October 1515. The Medicean Pope, in the meanwhile, in view of the stipulation of the Concordat of Bologna in December, left Rome for Civitavecchia in maritime Etruria on 1 October 1515. An infinite number of lords accompanied him in this expedition, the chief of whom were Giovan Paolo Baglioni from Perugia and Vitello Vitelli from Città di Castello according to Giorgio Vasari in his *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (1550). Civitavecchia was then a massive rectangular fortress with four heavy artillery corner-towers, designed and structured by engineer Antonio da Sangallo the Younger from Florence in 1515. As to the lords, Giovanni Paolo Baglioni was Ludovico Freducci's maternal uncle, and Vitello Vitelli was Camillo's son. This Camillo was brother-in-law to Giovanni Paolo Baglioni the Lord of Perugia. The history of the Papal Marine adds some interesting particulars: the captains who converged on Civitavecchia in October 1515 were the same men who, in December, then followed the Pope towards Bologna to the conference with Francis the King of France. In fact at the first sign of danger, still in Civitavecchia the captains had been quick to suggest to their sovereign, the Pope, that they should escort him.⁷⁸ Captain Ludovico Freducci was then ordered home according to Fermo's chronicle (see n. 77).

On 30 November 1515 then Pope Leo X passed through Florence, on his way to Bologna. The Pope entered Bologna on the seventh day of December; two days later Francis I the King of France arrived, received by two apostolic legates, Nicolò Fieschi the Cardinal of Genoa and Giulio dei Medici the Cardinal of Florence who had gone to the Pontifical borders of Reggio (modern Reggio Emilia) for that purpose in summer. The Pope and the French King remained three days together and lodged in the same place.

I should add, in the context of the depiction of Florida on the Freducci ocean chart at Ancona, the French claim to northern North America. It is recorded of Francis I, that wishing to rival Charles V King of Spain in the New World, as he had already rivalled him in the Old, he observed, 'My brothers the King of Spain and the King of Portugal have divided America between them, but I should like to know what clause in the last will of Adam bequeaths it to them, and disinherits me'. To support, therefore, this claim, to a share in the heritage, and disregarding the Papal bull *Ea*,

náutica de la Marca de Ancona en otro tempo llamada Piceno, en época de la impresa de Cristóbal Colón y Juan Ponce de León' (see n. 26), pp. 123-4, primary sources at note 65.

⁷⁸ Guglielmotti, *La guerra dei pirati e la marina pontificia* (see n. 26), Vol. 1, Libro Primo, Capitano Paolo Vettori, marchese della Gorgona (1513-1526), Par. IV, 1515 (Ottobre), pp. 135-8.

quae pro bono pacis of Pope Julius II della Rovere who in 1506 had granted in full right the whole new continent, together with all its islands to Fernand the King of Castille and to Manuel the King of Portugal, Francis the King of France sent Giovanni da Verrazzano a Florentine captain, with four ships across the Atlantic Ocean to make discoveries in 1524. Provisioned for eight months, Verrazzano sailed from Dieppe with *La Dauphine* and *La Normandie* in 1524 during the first year of the pontificate of Clement VII formerly Giulio dei Medici the Cardinal from Florence in Bologna. Verrazzano accordingly set out on his destination in the year 1524, making three successive voyages, and planting the arms of the King of France on various parts of the American coast. He touched the American coast at what is now Florida and Cape Breton Island (Capo delli Brettoni), and Nova Scotia (modern Canada), according to Giovanni Battista Ramusio the Venetian editor. Certainly Ramusio's accounts of New France testify to the discovery (the letter of Giovanni da Verrazzano to Francis I dated Dieppe, Normandy, 9 July 1524, the first and second relation of Jacques Cartier dated 1534 and 1535, and the discourse of Jean Parmentier).⁷⁹

Now, suppose this. Suppose Captain Ludovico Freducci was ordered to make the ocean chart of the new discoveries. He signed the chart, at Ancona, and opened the negotiation for the concordat in Bologna in December 1515. At the end of 1514, Peter Martyr of Anghiera the Protonotarius Apostolicus at the Royal Court of Castille and Aragon had informed Pope Leo X the Lord of the Christians that Juan Ponce de León had discovered Florida and the Fountain of Youth. At the beginning of December 1515, Ludovico Freducci, who had been wintering near Fermo 'on the nearby lands of the Church' since the end of October, rode to Bologna. The time required to draw even the most elaborated portolan chart. An ink text contains Venetian letters of the utmost interest, among which is one dated Granada, 21 August 1501, and addressed to Domenico Malipiero by Angelo Trevisan (Trivigiano). Trevisan was private secretary to Domenico Pisani, the Venetian ambassador to Castille. It is as follows: 'I have had so much to do with Columbus, that we are now on intimate terms, and I have a great friendship for him. He is at present here in great want, out of favour with the sovereigns, and with little money.

⁷⁹ Giovanni Battista Ramusio (ed.), *Terzo Volume delle Navigazioni et Viaggi Nel Quale Si Contengono [...] Le Navigazioni fatte dipoi alle dette Indie, poste nella parte verso Maestro Tramontana, dette hora Nuova Francia, scoperte al Re Christianissimo, la prima volta da Bretoni et Normanni, Et dipoi da Giovanni da Verrazzano Fiorentino, et dal Capitano Cartier. Si come dimostrano le diverse Relationi, tradotte di lingua Spagnuola et Francese nella nostra, et raccolte in questo volume* (Venezia, 1556), folio 417, 'Discorso sopra la Terra Ferma delle Indie Occidentali dette del Lavorador, de los Bacchalaos, et della Nuova Francia' (Giovanni da Verrazzano Fiorentino et scorse tutta la costa fino alla Florida, 1524); folio 441 ('alle Isole di Canada Hochelaga Saguenai et altre, al presente dette la Nuova Francia', 1535).

Through him I have sent in Palos, a place where only sailors and men acquainted with Columbus's voyage live, to have a *Carta* made at the request of your *Magnificenza*. It will be extremely well executed, and copious and minute in respect to all the newly discovered countries. There is no such chart here save one in the possession of the said Columbus, nor is there any man who can make one. I shall have to wait some days for the same, because Palos, where it is to be made, is seven hundred miles from here; and then when it is finished I do not know how I can send it, as I have ordered it to be made of a large size that it may be handsomer' (transl. H. HARRISSE, 1866).

The last technical words in the letter are, 'l'ho fatta fare del compasso grande'. The town of Palos, now known as Palos de la Frontera, is a segment of the port system in the Gulf of Cádiz, in southern Castille.⁸⁰ Because of the unusually large scale (compasso grande) of the ocean chart commissioned from Trevisan in 1501, it has taken them at Palos 'some days' to get the portolan chart ready for use. Under normal circumstances a chartmaker was able to make a chart within the three weeks quoted by Nicholas Comberford, a mid-seventeenth-century English chartmaker.⁸¹

It took Freducci less than three weeks to draw the ocean chart showing Florida as an Island as Juan Ponce de León saw it in 1513. The chart is signed *·yhs · M · Vgo · Conte de Hectomāno freducci de Anchona la facta in Anchona nellan [sic]*. The signature is clearly legible but incomplete, as part of the neck has been removed with a clean cut, apparently intended to remove only the date (see fig. 9).

As a member of the Comitato Nazionale delle Celebrazioni di Cristoforo Colombo (1504-1506 2004-2006), I have always maintained that Freducci's chart of Florida was made for the Pope of Rome, his Lord and Sovereign. In 1944, David O. True came to the same conclusion from different premises: 'Freducci knew his Florida and contributed more to our knowledge than we might expect from any such single document'.⁸²

Had I given credit to Giuseppe Caraci I should not have discovered Anconitan

⁸⁰ Marco Foscarini, *Della letteratura veneziana libri otto di Marco Foscarini cavaliere e procuratore* (Padova, 1742), Vol. I, Libro IV della Istoria Forestiera, pp. 426-7; Jacopo Morelli, *Lettera rarissima di Cristoforo Colombo* (Bassano, 1810), pp. 43-4.

⁸¹ Tony Campbell, 'Portolan Charts from the Late Thirteenth Century to 1500', in John Brian Harley and David Woodward (eds), *The History of Cartography, Volume One: Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago, 1987), pp. 371-463 (p. 436, and note 465).

⁸² David O. True, 'The Freducci Map of 1514-1515: What it Discloses of Early Florida History', *Tequesta*, iv (1944), pp. 50-5 (p. 55).

chartmaking inside a Papal context.⁸³ Further, Caraci is grossly mistaken in ascribing to the Italian Kingdom (upper Italy) the cartographers of the Benincasa and Freducci families, which actually were subject to the Ecclesiastical State of Ancona flying the Papal flag, or as they called it then—the Keys banner. One key is silver to symbolize the Pope's civil authority, and the other is gold for his spiritual authority.

This means that more recent studies on the map's depiction of Florida tend to support uncritically Caraci's interpretation. Capacci is troubled first by the complete lack of biographical sources about Freducci between 1497 and 1539. Thus said, even if lacking proof, he then maintains that Freducci was in no privileged position in Ancona. Based on the same premises, Peck's conclusion 'The Freducci mapmaking house in Italy was far removed from Seville which was the source of cartography related to Spanish discoveries' is simply mistaken.⁸⁴

The violent nobleman Oliverotto Freducci seems a likely candidate for a chartmaker

Now Chet Van Duzer (p. 9) addressed to me the following observation 'In addition, the violent nobleman Oliverotto Freducci, though he may well have known the Adriatic, does not seem on the face of it a likely candidate for a chartmaker, who were sometimes masters of ships'. That Professor Van Duzer should reach such a conclusion is both surprising and disappointing in view of what I wrote. Neither can

⁸³ Giuseppe Caraci, 'The Italian cartographers of the Benincasa and Freducci families and the so-called Borgiana map of the Vatican Library', *Imago Mundi*, x (1953), Reprint Edition 1967, pp. 23-49 (pp. 25-9): 'As regards the time when the Freducci lived [...] Only in the case of a few cartographers, who occupied official positions and consequently could utilize secret and important documents, do we find a greater correspondence between the contents and the date of the map. [...] Now, there is no doubt that Conte di Ottomano Freducci was not in such a privileged situation. [...] All this makes us think that Casanova has assumed too early a date for the Florentine map [1513-5]. But there are other things to confirm this thesis. The main basis for Casanova's opinion lies in the fact that Freducci's map, while recording the discovery of Florida, an event which had taken place on March 27, 1513, totally ignores the discoveries by Vasco Núñez de Balboa, who was the first to see the Pacific on September 25, 1513 [...]. Neither the maps nor the reports however became general knowledge before a certain lapse of time, and they remained available only to a small number of persons, at least until their diffusion was no longer considered in some way to be detrimental to the interests of the powers directly concerned. [...] This is also true of Balboa's discovery. If it could first become known in Spain in March 1514, a cartographic draft of it could not reach the mother country before the end of June of the next year, and the west coast of the Adriatic Sea certainly much later still [after 1527]'.

⁸⁴ Alberto Capacci, 'Scheda iv.6', in Guglielmo Cavallo (ed.), *Due mondi a confronto 1492-1728. Cristoforo Colombo e l'apertura degli spazi* (Roma, 1992), ii, pp. 649-50; and Douglas T. Peck, 'The Depiction of Florida on the Early Conte Ottomano Freducci Map', *The Portolan. Journal of the Washington Map Society*, N. 50, Spring 2001, pp. 24-27 (p. 27).

I get any accurate information as to what the charges against me are, because there are no quotations contained in the passage at all. I must say, I am surprised Van Duzer concluded that Oliverotto Freducci does not seem a likely candidate for a chartmaker, who were sometimes masters of ships.

Van Duzer thus simply ignores the primary sources I cited, which include the detailed Firman chronicles where contemporary and later evidence was quoted at great length.⁸⁵ Fusta is a kind of vessel of incredible swiftness. Towards the end of 1502, Oliverotto Freducci did not stop tormenting the city of Senigallia with his fusta at the time of the siege and surrender.⁸⁶ On 3 November 1502, when about ten o'clock p.m. officers from the Port of Fermo (modern Porto San Giorgio) inform his Magnificence Oliverotto that one of his fuste was dispatched to reach destination.⁸⁷ In 1502, at Port of Fermo at the mouth of the River Ete, Oliverotto Freducci as Count of Fermo authorized a privateer with his fusta to plunder enemies along the Adriatic coast.⁸⁸ On 31 December 1502 Oliverotto had his fusta ready, and sailed away for Senigallia on the sea. Here Cesare Borgia gave order to strangle Oliverotto on the very day after he had landed.

At the council at Palazzo dei Priori on 6 July 1497, the year of Freducci's chart (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 99, Aug. 2°), the Lords Priors Governors of Fermo ordered that the militia forces in the Counties of Fermo be under the command of Captain Oliverotto Freducci a noble citizen as 'rector, head and commissary general' (see n. 60). In fact, the signature reads *Comes hoctomanni fredutijs de ancona composuit · MCCCCLXXXXVI*, a signature fully within history. In the signature on Freducci's chart, we read the Norman word *ahtemannum* in the variant form *hochtommannum* to mean the estates over which a receiver has been appointed. This signature on Cod. Guelf. 99, Aug. 2°, says that the chartmaker has been appointed commanding commissar (prefect) of the Army in the Counties of Fermo since 1497. Military tasks were combined with jurisdiction and with powers of government from the City of Fermo, State of Ancona, the temporal throne of the

⁸⁵ See, for example, Licini, 'Andrea Doria di Genova, i Freducci da Fermo' (see n. 59), p. 320, and note 74; p. 321, and note 82.

⁸⁶ 'Annali di Fermo di Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 238. See also Licini, 'La cartografia nautica dei Freducci come testo, contesto e ipertesto della Signoria di Fermo' (see n. 21), p. 269, and note 29-30; and Licini, 'Andrea Doria di Genova, i Freducci da Fermo' (see n. 59), p. 320, and note 73.

⁸⁷ Filippini, 'Liverotto Freducci' (see n. 59), pp. 65-189: Documenti. 1. Registro di lettere dei Priori di Fermo 1496-97 (Biblioteca comunale di Fermo), N.° 35 A Liverotto, pp. 181-2, Firmi, iii novembre 1502. See also Licini, 'Andrea Doria di Genova, i Freducci da Fermo' (see n. 59), p. 320, and note 74.

⁸⁸ 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo edite ed inedite', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 189.

Roman States. An example of this idea is the appointment of the Bishop of Spoleto as commissar of the Army in the Counties of Ancona by Pope Eugene IV, in 1444. The basic idea, though, was the separation between the civilian powers of government and military action, which in the end prevented the military commander from interfering in any genuine actions of government. The duty towards the governing lords in whose service Oliverotto entered was also based on a free contract.⁸⁹

Oliverotto set up his own armed forces of soldiers and a body of fifty crossbowmen in the marine defence of Ripa (modern Ripatransone) and was deputed commissioner for Offida at the mouth of the River Tronto. He received a salary from the Lords Priors Governors of the city of Fermo (see n. 60). A week later, many Jews of Ripa were robbed of any remaining valuables. And forthwith Oliverotto Freducci gave order to his mariners who were guilty of such acts to return the stolen belongings to the Jewish victims on 12 July 1497. It was a good policy to take a written inventory of belongings and place them within the safe protection of his castle enclosure at Le Grotte (modern Grottammare).⁹⁰ Four years later, in March 1501 the Lords Priors of Fermo sent a letter to Pope Alexander VI Borgia, informing the Holy See of their decision to put all things and people in Fermo Counties, Fermo District, and City, under the power of Oliverotto Freducci, or, as they call him, *Liveroctus Ufriductius*. By Papal brief, Freducci of Fermo was thus endowed with power 'to do anything for the maintenance of peace and security' in December 1501. Pope Alexander VI Borgia communicated his orders to his Lieutenant of the province of *Marchia Anconitana* and to the Lords Priors of the city of Fermo.⁹¹

According to the title's chronology, in the State of Ancona, Oliverotto Freducci, rector, or Count of *hochtomanum*, assumed the title in June 1497. The title would continued in the house of *Hectomanno*, to the late Ludovico Freducci, Oliverotto's nephew, whose 1512 atlas is preserved in Perugia; and Leo the Pope granted him legal status in March 1513 (see n. 73).

⁸⁹ A commanding commissar of the Army in Ancona Counties (Comitatus Anconitanus) is not to be confounded with a *condottiere*. See Carl Schmitt, *Die Diktatur* (Berlin, 1994, 6th edition. 1st 1921), pp. 52-55, especially p. 54. Also, in translation, as *Dictatorship* (Cambridge, 2014).

⁹⁰ Filippini, 'Liverotto Freducci' (see n. 59), pp. 65-189: Documenti. 1. Registro di lettere dei Priori di Fermo 1496-97 (Biblioteca comunale di Fermo), N.° 4 A Liverotto, p. 151, Firmi, 12 julij 1497; and Licini, 'Andrea Doria di Genova, i Freducci da Fermo' (see n. 59), pp. 318-319, and note 64.

⁹¹ Filippini, 'Liverotto Freducci', (see. n. 59), Documenti. 25. Registro di Lettere dei Priori di Fermo 1501-1502, pp. 171-2, Lettera ad Alessandro VI (Adeat etim noster Liveroctus Ufredutius), Firmi, xi martii, carte 218; Documenti. 1. Registro di lettere dei Priori di Fermo 1496-97 (Biblioteca comunale di Fermo), pp. 160-1, N.° 19 Archivio diplomatico della Biblioteca Comunale di Fermo, Cass. xvii n. 1386, Indice Hubart: Alexander Papa VI, Rome, die xv januarii 1502.

The Freducci Signature shows a Macron over the Final 'a' of 'Hectomāno'

First, Chez Van Duzen admits that charts and atlases signed by Conte di 'Ottomano' *Fre-ducci* range in date from 1497 to 1539, so he had a remarkably long career as a cartographer, but they have very little biographical information about him; next Van Duzen accuses me of ignoring the information they do have about the *Freducci* family, which is headed by Lillo *Fer-ducci*. It is not a simple matter, however, at least for me, to speak about the *Fer-ducci* family and pretend its members belong to another family. After Constantinople had been taken in 1453, the Ottoman Turks began to recognize the strategic significance of the Adriatic Sea leading to the River Tronto and Fermo Harbour.

Van Duzer's observation is erroneous and simply makes it irrelevant to evaluating his theory. But he made an even greater mistake. It is a fundamental mistake not to include any town, land and county court from the River Tronto to the River Po on the Adriatic coast, and from the Argentario to Circèo on the Tyrrhenian coast, in the domains of the Pontifical history from Rome in 1497-1556.⁹² The Pope of Rome, the royal sovereign of the Papal secular kingdom, was also the sovereign head of the Christian Church, uncontrolled by none, and from whose authority there was no appeal.

Unfortunately, Van Duzer says (pp. 4, 8) did not read to the end of the poem *Amyris*, though, for if he had, he would have discovered the fourth book promotes an Anconitan crusade against Mehmed II, otherwise named Ferox Mahomettus by Filelfo himself in 1475 (book 4, lines 1432-40). Van Duzer ignored the fourth book; for otherwise he would not have maintained that 'Charts and atlases signed by Conte di 'Ottomano' Freducci range in date from 1497 to 1539, so he had a remarkably long career as a cartographer, but they have very little biographical information about him. But one aspect of his family history about which there are records bears discussion here, as it sheds light on one of the legends on Add. MS. 11548. The cartographer's grandfather, named Lillo Ferducci (note the different spelling of the surname), was a merchant and went from Ancona to Turkey, basing himself in Gallipoli, a bit more than 200 km west of Constantinople (modern Istanbul), during the reign of Sultan Murad II (1421-1451). Lillo earned the trust and protection of the sultan, in part by ransoming Turks who had been captured and put up for sale as slaves by Christian forces. After Lillo had spent some years in Gallipoli, his family

⁹² Guglielmotti, *La guerra dei pirati e la marina pontificia* (see n. 26), Vol. 1, Libro Secondo, Cap. I, Par. II, p. 61.

called him back to Ancona. The sultan tried to persuade him to stay; Lillo felt obliged to go, but promised the sultan to return, and to name his firstborn son Othman, after Othman or Osman (d. 1326), the founder of the Ottoman dynasty. Lillo returned to Ancona, married, and had a number of children; he named the firstborn Othman Lillo. Othman Lillo wished to follow his father's example and establish himself as a merchant in Gallipoli, but was unable to do so because of the poor state of the family's finances. Yet relations between the Ferducci family and the sultanate remained close. Following the fall of Constantinople to Ottoman forces under Mehmed II (reigned 1444-46 and 1451-81) in 1453, Mehmed did a favour for the family; according to Othman Lillo, he did it because of the esteem in which he held the Ferduccis: he liberated Othman Lillo's brother-in-law Angelo Boldoni, who had been taken prisoner, and returned the fully laden ship that the Turks had taken from him. In order to nurture the relationship with the sultanate and curry Mehmed II's favour, Othman Lillo commissioned the humanist Giovanni Mario Filelfo to write an epic poem praising the Turks, and particularly Mehmed II. Filelfo wrote this poem, titled *Amyris*, between 1471 and 1476; the title derives from the Arabic word 'emir'. This family history explains the source of the name 'Ottomano' in the name Conte di Ottomano Ferducci: he was Othman Lillo's son. It also explains an interesting feature of Add. MS. 11548, Lucca MS. 2720, and the similar chart by Ferducci which was sold at Christie's'.

Van Duzer's interpretation stands totally unsupported by any evidence whatsoever, contrary to every historical testimony which we possess. The *Ferduccis* had no close ties with the Ottoman sultanate. Piracy presented an enormous problem to the Anconitan and Firman government, and to the *Ferduccis*, the powerful family of counts in Fermo and Ancona. The Turkish pirates murdered Giovanni Ferducci in 1491; the inscription, his epitaph, was erected by his father Ludovico, Esquire, residing at Ancona, Senator of Rome, and at present, 1491, one of the magistrates of Fermo. The inscription presents Giovanni as the founder of two lines of descent, previously mentioned (see n. 24). At this point it was clear that from Bosnia the Turks dared then navigate the Adriatic Sea to the Italian peninsula. Historical sources report that the inhabitants of the coastal towns were also faced with the constant threat from the Turkish pirates who were infesting the Firman coast. Another example is the report, dated 22 July 1478. Commissioners and magistrates did not want the Ottoman Turks to approach the main trenches of the Firman line and put greater emphasis on the defence of the outpost of Ripa (modern Ripatransone) under the orders of the officer commanding the marine post: 'Super facto armate et navigio magno Turcorum qui dicuntur de proximi debent venire ad parte istas maritimos et providere de omnibus opportunis ad defensionem loci: ferri impiendo bombardas, ciacherbooctanas, et fieri facere scoppittis, corazine et omnia alia emere et facere pro ut eis videlis'. In 1480, the Ecclesiastical State began to build

fortifications of the port city of Ancona by means of loans.⁹³

We must not forget that these were the effects of the reign of Mehmed II the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire (reigned 1444-46 and 1451-81), or, as Giovanni Maria Filelfo calls him in his 1475 poem, *Ferox Mahomettus*. Nonetheless, according to Chet Van Duzer (p. 8), in the preamble Othman Lilli *Fer-ducci* in Ancona commissioned the humanist Giovanni Mario Filelfo the author to write 'an epic poem praising the Turks and particularly Mehmed II'.

But the reality is that in book four Giovanni Mario Filelfo exhorted Galeazzo Maria Sforza the Duke of Milan born in Fermo, his dedicatee, to a crusade against the Turks between June 1475 and December 1476. And Francesco Filelfo his father, in the meanwhile, had written a long essay-letter to Charles the Bold in April 1474, exorting the Duke of Burgundy to a crusade against the Turks; in the splendid dedication codex, Francesco Filelfo repeated his plea in another letter two years later.⁹⁴ History is not a subject for contemporary fiction's inquiry; one is either acquainted with the documented facts or one is not.

Chet Van Duzer (p. 9) has maintained that the legend listing the kings of the Turks in British Library, Add. MS. 10132, mentioned above, 'is further evidence of this connection between the Freducci family and the sultanate'. See legend 8. Therefore, we must go to other sections of his BLJ article to find what the 'further evidence' of this connection between the *Fre-ducci* family and the Ottoman sultanate means. And then we are told that (pp. 28-9): 'Further, as demonstrated above, the Freducci family had close ties with the Ottoman sultanate. It would make sense that a cartographer whose family had ties to the sultanate would be the first to compose a legend about the Ottoman sultan and empire (see Legend 8 below), and the fact that this legend casts the sultan and his realm in an entirely positive light makes it even more likely that the author had ties to the sultanate. For while a few Renaissance humanists had positive views of the Turks, and others saw them in neutral, pragmatic terms as trading partners, the general attitude toward the Turks in Renaissance Europe was overwhelmingly negative'. So we understand this as the starting point of all evidence (p. 8): 'This family history explains the source of the

⁹³ Gabriele Cavezzi, Alberto Silvestro, 'Aspetti della pirateria in Adriatico. Potere o contropotere marittimo?', in Ufficio Storico della Marina Militare, Commissione Italiana di Storia Militare (ed.), *Aspetti ed attualità del potere marittimo in Mediterraneo nei secoli XII e XVI. Atti del Convegno di Storia Militare tenuto a Napoli, in Castel dell'Ovo, dal 27 al 29 ottobre 1997* (Roma, 1999), pp. 29-48. See also Ripatransone, Archivio Comunale, Registri dei Consigli, vol. viii, p. 103; and Libri delle Cernite dei Marini di Fermo, 3 May 1487, cc. 414 *recto* - 415 *recto*.

⁹⁴ See extensively Jeroen De Keyser, 'Arundel 163. From Milan via Bruges to London', *Scriptorium*, 66 (2012), Part 1, pp. 166-73 (p. 167, note 6).

name 'Ottomano' in the name Conte di Ottomano Freducci: he was Othman Lillo's son. It also explains an interesting feature of Add. MS. 11548, Lucca MS. 2720, and the similar chart by Freducci which was sold at Christie's'.

History, however, is not made by poems, and legends. Primary sources are found in archives and other repositories of historical records. The corresponding legend 8 on London, British Library, Add. MS. 10132, offers no further evidence of any connection whatsoever between the Freducci family in Ancona and the sultanate in 1529. This section is simply descriptive, presenting observations about the characteristics of the Great-Turk. Chet Van Duzer gives a translation (pp. 45-6): 'This emperor, who is called the Great Turk, is the greatest of those men and has three crowns and other empires, other realms and dominions, and is lord of many treasures and riches. These places with great obedience are under his control: the Adriatic Sea, all of Greece, Bosnia, the Peloponnese, Serbia, Turkey, and many islands — places abounding in all the delectable things that can be found anywhere'. Van Duzer also adds a commentary: 'As mentioned above, this is the first legend on any nautical chart that offers a detailed description of Turkey, and thus represents an important innovation by Freducci; it is likely that the decision to compose this new legend, which contains nothing negative about the sultan of Turkey, was motivated at least in part by the close ties between the Freducci family and the Ottoman sultanate detailed above. The reference to the sultan's three crowns, which alludes to his dominion of Greece, Asia, and Trebizond, suggests that the sultan in question is Mehmed II (1432-1481): there are portraits of Mehmed II with images of three crowns, and an impressive bronze in the Ashmolean Museum of c. 1480 that depicts Mehmed II on a victory chariot, holding personifications of Greece, Trebizond and Asia with a lasso in the back of the chariot. I have not been able to find a list of the regions conquered by Mehmed II which is a close match for that given by Freducci, so it is not clear what textual source he was using. As mentioned earlier, Freducci's chart that was sold at Christie's also had a long legend about Turkey, but much of the text went missing with a piece of parchment that was lost from the chart'.

This explanation, adopted by Van Duzer, rests on the utterly unproved supposition that the *Fre-ducci* family, or better, the *Fer-ducci* family, and the Ottoman sultanate held close ties as 'detailed above'. It seems obvious that the existence of the close pre-existing ties 'detailed above' requires further investigation by Van Duzer to determine exactly what I should have known. Above all, it cannot be known from legend 8 that the *Fer-ducci* family had such close ties to Mehmed II the Great Turk the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, i.e. to Ferox Mahomettus in the fourth book of the poem *Amyris*. I would also like to comment that whilst not 'detailed above', these ties never existed from a historical point of view. History is a subject where accuracy is essential. Otherwise it is fiction. Historical primary

sources attest that the Anconitan situation was opposite in the same year when the Freducci's chart was drawn, 1529 (London, British Library, Add. MS. 10132). On the morning of 5 August 1529 the Lords Priors Governors of Fermo order that the Port of Fermo (modern Porto San Giorgio), in the souther part of the March of Ancona, shall be guarded; they suspect that the Turks are intent on crossing the Adriatic Sea: 'Portus custoditur propter suspicionem Turcarum via maris'.⁹⁵

I think therefore Chet Van Duzer (p. 8, and n. 14) is wrong to rely on secondary sources. It is not the outline of Freducci's family history that is supplied briefly and somewhat vaguely by Delfina Giovannozzi in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* in 1960-98 ('Freducci, Conte. Figlio di Ottomano', 1998, vol. 50). By distorting the plain meaning of words in the dialogues entitled *I Diporti Notturni* by Francesco Ferretti in 1580, Giovannozzi maintains that the first chartmaker was 'Ottomano Freducci, the son of Lillo or Lelio, nicknamed "the Turkish man of Ancona" for his devotion to Murād and ministers, who had been a merchant in Constantinople at the time of its fall to Mahomet II in 1453'. Ferretti, Knight of Santo Stefano, gives no hint, however, to 'Ottomano Freducci' in 1580.⁹⁶ Giovannozzi also refers to the Annals of Ancona by Bartolomeo Alfeo (B. Alfei), namely, to the Anconitan revolution, A.D. 1532, but this portion of the work was first published by Antonio Leoni from the sole surviving copy without any reference to Freducci in 1832. A modified version of Alfeo's text appeared in pro-papal print in 1870 when the Papal States were incorporated into a unified Reign of Italy. The fact that the expression 'conte de Ottomanno Freducci' as Angelo's father in 1532 is included in the 1870 version of the text stems from an addition in 1635 when Francesco Tellini freely emended the copy-text; the insert makes reference to the nautical chart showing Florida and the group of islands located off the northeast coast of the New World. Finally, Giovannozzi maintains that Giovanni Freducci, Knight of Santo Stefano, was the brother of Conte Freducci Ottomano's son, and Angelo was his son.⁹⁷ The Letters Patent dated at Ancona in 1563, none the less, absolutely deny the 1998 pedigree alleged by Giovannozzi. The result is an incredible confusion in the branches of the *Fre-ducci* family in 1998. The pedigree of 'conte de Ottomanno

⁹⁵ Fermo, Archivio di Stato, Comune di Fermo, Cernite, Atti di Consiglio e di Cernita dal Comune di Fermo, Anton Maria Marini (ed.), *Rubrica degli atti di Consiglio e di Cernita del Comune di Fermo*, MS, sec. xvii, vol. i, c. 415 *recto*.

⁹⁶ Francesco Ferretti, *I Diporti Notturni. Dialoghi Familiari del Cap.o Franc.o Ferre.ti Cav.ro dell'Ordine di Sa.to Stefano. Con la Dimostrazione Figurale Intagliata da Michel'Angelo Marrelli Anconitano 1579* (Ancona, 1580), Notturmo Secondo: Qui si raggiona della pratica della Chorographia, Geographia, et Cosmographia, cap. ii, p. 10: 'degni di lode li Gentilhuomini Freducci, Anconitani nostri compatriotti, delli quali le carte che per li tempi passati sono ite a torno et c'hora anchora vanno, sono state, et al presente sono reputate bonissime'.

⁹⁷ This pedigree confuses generations and is incorrect as to the direct male line of descent.

Freducci' was not compiled from authentic material, according to the laws of heraldry.⁹⁸ A fictitious pedigree could be of no use to the history of cartography.

And it is true that Agostino Pertusi's article, 'The Anconitan Colony in Constantinople and the Report of Its Consul, Benevento, on the Fall of the City', contains a good account of Lillo and Othman Lilli *Fer-ducci*, whose family had connections to the Ottoman ruling family.⁹⁹ But Pertusi never took the liberty (or would it be licence?) to substitute the one name for the other.

One last note: I must remind Chet Van Duzer, that charts and atlases signed by Count of Octomāno Freducci include the preceding vowel *ā* with a macron on top to indicate that the double consonant *n* has been dropped. We see it in the Italian signature of Freducci's 1515 ocean chart in Florence (see fig. 9): *Conte de Hectomāno* stands for *Conte de Hectomanno* (*Yhs · M · Vgo · Conte de Hectomāno freducci de Anchona la facta in Anchona nellan [sic]*. Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Fondo: Carte nautiche 15). A macron over a letter in a word signifies the omission of the following letter. We do not see it in the signature of Freducci's 1497 chart in Latin; it reads

⁹⁸ Delfina Giovannozzi, 'Freducci, Conte', in Alberto M. Ghisalberti (ed.), *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1998), vol. 50, pp. 374-5. But when we compare Alfeo's 1532 chronicle in Ancona edited by Leoni in 1832 with Alfeo's 1532 chronicle in Ancona edited by Ciavarini in 1870, we shall perceive the immeasurable superiority of the former. See and compare Antonio Leoni, *Ancona Illustrata opera dell'Abbate Antonio Leoni Anconitano* (Ancona, 1832), Vol. 2, Libro xii, Capo i, Fine della Repubblica anconitana, *La cronica di Bartolomeo Alfeo (in allora Maestro della scuola della repubblica)*, pp. 273-6; Vol. 2, pp. 277-8; with Bartolomeo Alfeo, 'Captura d'Ancona inovata dalla sedia apostolica de l'anno MDXXXII', in Carisio Ciavarini (ed.), *Collezione di documenti storici antichi inediti ed editi rari della Città e Terre Marchigiane eseguita da una società di studiosi ed eruditi coadiuvata e sussidiata dalla Commissione Conservatrice dei Monumenti delle Marche per la cura di Carisio Ciavarini* (Ancona, 1870), Tomo i, Appendice alle *Croniche anconitane* di M. Lazzaro de' Bernabei compilatore del presente volume (Vol. LXIII Dell'anno 1492): Proemio alla continuazione di esse Cronache promessa dal nipote Piermatteo (de' Bernabei), e innestato da Giovanni Battista Tellini nel 1635, pp. 225-236, and p. 225, note. In September 1532, according to Ciavarini's transcript, Pope Clement VII dei Medici visited Ancona after the Republican revolution failed (p. 236) and 'quello [the Pope], recerchando veder un novo modo del navigare (chè la fama era sparsa per tutto che era ritrovato un altro mondo novo) et che uno partito Anconetano ingegnossissimo ne l'arte da far le carthe da navigare, chè da quello s'era già fatta una degna et maravigliosa opera de l'insole nove ritrovate, facendo recerchare quello, nominato conte de Ottomanno Freducci, li fu risposto che era stato mandato a confine il povero vecchio, ma che gli era Angelo suo figliolo non mancho ingenioso et virtuoso in tal professione, che 'l patre. Il papa fe' che quello fosse chiamato, et avanti sua Santità comparse. Li fu si grato il giovine, che 'l padre fu revocato dal confine, et per suo supplicare a la partita del papa fu commesso al cardinale di Ravenna che dominava, et al suo vicelegato che li Anchonitani mandati al confine fossero revocati et che quelli tornassero ne la patria'.

⁹⁹ Agostino Pertusi, 'The Anconitan Colony in Constantinople and the Report of Its Consul, Benevento, on the Fall of the City', in Angeliki E. Laiou-Thomadakis (ed.), *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1980), pp. 199-218, esp. 203-205.

Comes hoctomanni fredutijs de ancona composuit · MCCCCLXXXXXVI (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 99, Aug. 2°). The family signature is not abbreviated here.

The macron is a line over a letter, usually a vowel, to show that a following nasal consonant *n* or *m* had been left out. It was borrowed from the practice of Latin scribes, and it continued in use well into the century after the invention of printing. The macron was then acquired in further copies of the atlases in Italian. A more modern variant on this is *Octomanno*. For instance (see fig. 10), the 1539 copy signed by *Conte de Octomāno freduccj Anconitano la facte - nellanno MCCCCXXXVIII* shows a macron over the final *ā* reflecting the scribal practice of abbreviating endings (Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Fondo Speciale Carte e Atlanti Nautici, Atlante di Ludovico Freducci).

In all cases, the Italian word *Ottomano*, Ottoman, has no source in the Freducci signature (see n. 49).¹⁰⁰ If you do not double the final consonant (*-nn*), you run the risk of saying something not merely false but conceptually incoherent. If used as a proper name, *Ottomano* after Othman (d. 1326), the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, becomes incoherent in the context of the Ecclesiastical State of Ancona in 1529. Chet Van Duzer (p. 9) imputes to me that I consider 'Otomanno' in the signatures on Freducci's chart to be a corruption of 'Etemanno', the region over which the Freducci family had jurisdiction. The truth is simpler: 'Otomanno' 'Ottomanno' and 'Ottomano' never existed on Freducci's chart. I consider 'hoctomannum' in Latin (from *hoctomanni* on Freducci's 1497 chart in Wolfenbüttel) to be an older variant of 'Hectomanno' in Italian (from *de Hectomāno* on Freducci's 1515 ocean chart in Florence), and 'Octomanno' (from *de Octomanno* on Freducci's 1539 chart in Bologna) its modernization in the 1530s. To put this in modern terms, *hoctomannum*, *de Hectomanno* and *de Octomanno* stood at the beginning as Etemanno (from both the rivers Ete Vivo and Ete Morto, and the Adriatic Sea) stands at the end of a philological evolution of a single Norman term: *aehtemannum*. After the invasion of the Roman States in 1060-1069, the word was possibly introduced by the Norman barons, and had its origin in the investiture of Duke Robert Guiscard, who on receiving part of *Marchia Firmana* ('et pars marchiae Firmanae') kissed the Pope's foot in token of subjection on 6 June 1080 at Ceprano, Lazio (see *Registrum* above, fol. 194). The last step in the conquest of Italy was done. And on 29 June 1080 at Ceprano, Duke Robert last knelt before Pope Gregory VII

¹⁰⁰ The same mistake (a simple *n*) is made in Peck's criticism of the Freducci chart showing the area representing Florida; see Peck, 'The Depiction of Florida on the Early Conte Ottomano Freducci Map' (see n. 83), pp. 24-27.

and swore his fealty for all those lands that he had previously held from Popes Nicholas and Alexander.

In 1556 Angelo Freducci the Last Chartmaker dropped his Italian Surname and gave the Atlases his own Latin One, Eufredutius

Chet Van Duzer is not the first to identify Lillo, Othman and Conte *Ferducci* the merchants from Ancona with a *Freducci* family of Anconitan chartmakers. In 1951 Franz Babinger has no doubt about the identification. They both note, however, the different spelling for the surname of the merchants, *Ferducci*.¹⁰¹ Of course, neither Van Duzer nor Babinger explain why Angelo Freducci the chartmaker switched the spelling of his surname in 1556 atlases to *Eufredutius*. The question is that *Ferducci* is not a different spelling of *Freducci*. There are evidently two pedigrees in our study.

A pedigree of three generations was placed on official record at the Order of Santo Stefano in Pisa in 1563, in conformity with the laws of heraldry, which was headed by the said lord Count Eufreducius; he married for his second wife Mariettina de Urbevetris, a *gentildonna* in Ancona, by whom he had Angelo (Antiani Civitatis Ancone, Letters Patent, fol. 1, line 7). The coat of arms ascribed to this branch features three golden lilies on a blue field instead of a leopard's head. According to official Fermo chronicles, Count Giovanni Freducci, son of Ludovico, married, for his first wife, Caterina, daughter of Niccolò Fogliani in Fermo, and had three children: Tommaso, Count of Falerone, married Celanzia degli Oddi and was killed in 1498; Oliverotto 'rector, head and commissary general' in July 1497, Count and Tyrant of the city of Fermo in January 1502, was murdered on the orders of Cesare Borgia on 31 December 1502; Battista, who died before 1514.

¹⁰¹ Franz Babinger, 'Maometto II il conquistatore e l'Italia', *Rivista Storica Italiana*, lxiii, 1951, Napoli, pp. 469-505 (p. 472). Non-documented information results from personal observation by Franz Babinger, William C. Hickman (ed.), *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time. Edited by William C. Hickman. Translated from the German by Ralph Manheim* (Princeton, 1978; München, 1953), Book 7, p. 506 (German ed., p. 555): 'The situation is much clearer with Francesco Filelfo's son, Giovanni Maria. During his stay in Ancona he made the acquaintance of Othman di Lillo Freducci (Ferducci), who had commissioned and no doubt paid him to write his *Amyris*, a Latin poem of four cantos and 14,706 lines, in praise of Mehmed. The Anconitan family of the Freducci, a branch of which had been living since about 1430 on the island of Tinos in the Aegean, later moving to Gelibolu, boasted close connections with Murad II. Filelfo's friend and patron had been named after the founder of the house of Osman'. See also Julian Raby, *El Gran Turco, Mehmet the Conqueror as a Patron of the Arts of Christendom* (Oxford, 1980), p. 35.

To trace family decent for many generations in public records on local, county, state, and national levels, we must go back to an earlier epoch. Ludovico the Younger Freducci, the future chartmaker, was born in Fermo in 1496. He was the eldest son of Count Tommaso and Celanzia degli Oddi from Perugia his wife. Ludovico succeeded his father, killed at the Battle of Monte San Pietrangeli (20 June 1498) when he was little more than two years old (see n. 61). And upon the tragic death of his uncle Oliverotto Count of Fermo Counties (6 July 1497) and Count of the city of Fermo (8 January - 31 December 1502), Ludovico was found heir to the greatest part of the estate of that house.¹⁰² In December 1502, someone helped Celanzia Freducci escape with her four children to Perugia. Over the years Celanzia, widow of Tommaso the eldest son of Count Giovanni Freducci, and sister-in-law of Count Oliverotto Freducci, watched over Ludovico her son, the only remaining heir, and kept him safely within her uncle's circle. She was an Oddi by birth, and her uncle was Giovanni Paolo Baglioni Lord of Perugia, Roman States. So that it was plain that Baglioni educated Ludovico to arms in the fifth year of his age. Ludovico was afterwards appointed a *paggio*, a page-boy, at Florence at the Medici court at the age of eleven. Here he remained till 1512, and afterwards he went back to Perugia.¹⁰³

This year coincides with the official year in Freducci's 1512 atlas in Perugia (Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, MS. 2915, c. 4v). The Freducci signature is *yhs. maria. Conte de hoctomanno freducci de Anchona la facte nellanno MCCCCXII* (see fig. 8). In sum, Ludovico took service as a page-boy of a great captain at the Medicean house in 1507, by the orders of Giuliano dei Medici as above observed. Training to be a captain started very young. The first step would last until the page-boy would have completed five years of service, which may be regarded as a full

¹⁰² Fermo, Archivio di Stato, Estratti di Cernite (Verbali dei Consigli Comunali), 1 luglio 1498. See also 'Cronaca Fermana di Luca Costantini segretario del Comune di Fermo in continuazione di quella di Niccolò', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 102. Tommaso Freducci and Celanzia degli Oddi his wife had four children: Ludovico jr, Caterina, Zenobia and Giovanna Maria. The Cernita dated 21 February 1519, as the Municipal council was called, is the only proof that Ludovico Freducci was married; his wife was Giulia de Conte (*Julia Conti*). At the end of 1520 the chronicler of Fermo recounts how in the same year Caterina married Alfonso Paccaroni, Zenobia became the wife of Vincenzo Adami and Giovanna Maria, the third sister, married Valerio Orsini, the son of Giulio, in March 1521 and gave him a boy named Oliverotto. For biographical details, see Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo' (see n. 22), pp. 304-5. Giulio and Paolo Orsini were brothers. Paolo Orsini was one of the captains of Cesare Borgia who were strangled to death between 31 December 1502 (Senigallia) and 18 January 1503 (Castel della Pieve).

¹⁰³ 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo edite ed inedite', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), N. 2, pp. 281-2; and Licini, 'Il contributo della cartografia nautica della "Marca di Ancona un tempo detta Piceno" all'età dell'impresa di Cristoforo Colombo e Juan Ponce de León' (see n. 26), p. 136, and notes 189-90.

military training leading to the new stage of squire to the lord who was training him; the squire especially served his lord, and attended him at the tournament or upon the battlefield.¹⁰⁴ He would be a captain of two hundred horse men under Pope Leo X dei Medici at the beginning of 1515.

Additional information comes from documented sources. Pope Julius della Rovere died at the age of seventy, on 21 February 1513, leaving a critical situation. His death was expected. Fearing trouble, the Legate of the Pope in the province of *Marchia Anconitana* thought it wise to sent a letter to twenty-four citizens of Fermo Counties, informing them, that Ludovico Freducci had been living at Perugia since the death of Oliverotto his uncle. In his letter, the Legate examined the violence, particularly the acts of vengeance, which marked Rome and the Roman States in the wake of a Pope's death. Now, the Legate added, Ludovico Freducci went forth in person with fifteen horsemen in his company to Sanseverino (modern San Severino Marche). Ludovico claimed lands along the Chienti River Valley, and marched on the town of Fermo. On the following day a messenger from Giovan Paolo Baglioni arrived, saying Ludovico Freducci desired to confir with them. But the Fermo townsmen described the vacant see as a liminal moment in which the people of Rome could take no decision. The Firmans depicted the vacant see as a time of protest against the Rovere and their regime. On 9 March 1513, however, Ludovico rode to Falerone Castle. He instantly resolved to sent Letters Patent to the Firman Castles, with express orders to obey his commands. Here four thousand men were ready to join him. At last, Giovanni Antonio Freducci in his duty of town commissary was dispatched to Falerone Castle with an invitation for Ludovico Freducci to return to Perugia. It was the day when Leo X dei Medici was elected the new Pope. He was the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Clarice Orsini of Rome his wife. On 11 March 1513, almost three days later, the news arrived in Fermo. Freducci, therefore, applied to the Holy College of Cardinals in Rome and the Medicean Pope as judge to give sentence. From Rome the Holy College requested the local governors to submit necessary documents and pretentions contained in the decrees by the government at Fermo. Consequently, the verdict was rendered in his favour. Ludovico was fully restored to his liberty and estates, and formally readmitted to the citizenship among the Firmans by Papal brief, dated St Peter, 24 March 1514. Twelve years had passed since his uncle's slaying at Senigallia. No pillage of private houses, no disorders of any kind, followed this first triumph of Freducci's arms. No murders took place in Fermo. All lands that had been confiscated to his uncle Battista Freducci (Eufreducio) by Pope Julius II della Rovere two years after the

¹⁰⁴ Francesco Premi, 'Combinare la scienza e l'uso: la formazione degli ufficiali nella Repubblica Veneta', in Monica Ferrari, Filippo Ledda (eds), *Formare alle professioni. La cultura militare tra passato e presente* (Milano, 2010), pp. 139-147.

strangling of Oliverotto were returned to Ludovico Freducci his heir, by Papal authority. At the beginning of 1515, Ludovico was named captain, and collected a corps of two hundred horsemen, in the Pope's name, and gave them arms and noble coats.¹⁰⁵ And in February 1515, he covenanted to serve Pope Leo with two hundred horsemen under his command (see n. 77).

To sum it up, by Papal brief dated 20 March 1513 from St Peter in Rome to the Lords Priors Governors of the city of Fermo, Pope Leo X dei Medici reinstated Ludovico the Younger Freducci as both Count of Fermo Counties and Count of the city of Fermo 'against the common enemy of both the Church and Fermo', as above observed. The Medicean Pope simply called him *Ludovicus* in letters. But the Firmans, so the chronicle says, were exceedingly opposed to Ludovico *Eufreducci*; they were still mindful of the ferocity of his uncle's government in 1502. Yet, notwithstanding that, Ludovico could easily enter the town in triumph on 24 March 1514. A former page-boy in the titled house of Medici in Florence, Ludovico Freducci as captain of 200 Firman cavalrymen then assisted the Pontifical side by the orders of Giuliano and Lorenzo dei Medici in Lombardy in September 1515. Chronicles assert that Pope Leo X dei Medici and Cardinal Giulio dei Medici will be highly admired, once again, in 1516. Ludovico Freducci will then lead two thousand footmen and two hundred horsemen into the streets and takes seize of the Duchy of Urbino by the orders of Lorenzo dei Medici, His Holiness's nephew, in July 1516 (nell'Impresa di Urbino).¹⁰⁶

As noted above, it was in Ancona, where he arrived via Fermo in October 1515, that Ludovico Freducci signed the ocean chart depicting Florida for the first time, now Fondo: Carte nautiche 15, of the Archivio di Stato in Florence. It is now without date, but the circumstance of the conference in Bologna (11-15 December, 1515) fixes its appearance no later than November 1515. The signature reads as follows *yhs · m^a · Vgo · Conte de Hectomāno freducci de Anchona la facta in Anchona nellan [sic] (yhesus · maria · Virgo · Conte de Hectomanno Freducci de Anchona la facta in Anchona nell'a[nno] [year erased])*.

¹⁰⁵ The Pope's brief is dated Rome, 14 August 1504. Battista was banned from his homeland (Fermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Atti di Cernita dated 23 October 1504, 4 March and 19 April 1505); see also Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo' (see n. 22), p. 271, and note 17. And 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1515, p. 253, 'Ludovico Eufreduccio avendo dal Papa una condotta de cavalli la fece nella città [Fermo]'

¹⁰⁶ 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo edite ed inedite', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 282; 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1520, pp. 256-257.

Ludovico the Younger Freducci, Count of hectomannum (1512) and Count of the city of Fermo (Armorum Praefectus, 1516), was married to Giulia de Conte, by whom he had no issue. The sole record of the marriage appeared in the Cernita proceeding of February 21, 1519: 'Julia Conti uxor Magnifici Ludovici petit electionem capitanei post praesentem'.¹⁰⁷ Certainly, his faithful companion Giovanni Francesco d'Astolfo had a new betrothal in mind for him with his sister in 1520, on the eve of the last battle near Falerone.¹⁰⁸

Ludovico's acquisition of favour and fortune revolved upon his relationship with Pope Leo X. The brutal family politics of the Medici served to subdue and modernize the Papal States, a process that Leo X continued with the help of relatives. Then, their most ancient alliances dissolved into enmity and new ones were formed. Ludovico *Eufreducio*, having become very unpopular, in consequence of having been beaten by Francesco Maria della Rovere Duke of Urbino at the Battle of Chiaravalle in June 1517, returned home. Urbino was a walled town and a Papal State, the hereditary vicariate of Urbino. Lorenzo, the son and heir of Pietro dei Medici and Alfonsina Orsini his wife, was the Lord of Florence at the time. According to Francesco Vettori from Florence, however, it was not Lorenzo but rather Pietro's widow Alfonsina to pester Pope Leo about giving him the Duchy of Urbino. This prince owes his fame with posterity to the celebrity earned by others. He was the father of Catherine dei Medici, Queen of France, whose birth he survived but five days in April 1519.

The story of the time was that Ludovico Freducci, in his authority as Count of the city of Fermo, equipped 100 cavalymen. Ludovico appointed Girolamo Brancadoro in Fermo as captain of half the cavalymen while the other half was given to Cesare Giosia in 1519. One morning Girolamo Brancadoro and Cesare Giosia, it was said, came into the town square of Fermo bearing flags with the coats of arms of their two families. In his endeavours to bring matters to a peaceful conclusion in July 1519, Pope Leo X Medici summoned Ludovico Freducci and Bartolomeo Brancadoro the Podestà of Fermo to Rome in December 1519. In January 1520, however, Bartolomeo Brancadoro was killed before testifying, in the vast tract of country which is called Agro Romano (Primaporta), Lazio. As for Ludovico, the Council of the State of Rome banned him as a breaker of the peace. In like manner, a constable might *ex officio* arrest a breaker of the peace and bring him before justice. Movements of a particularly suspicious nature were seen in neighbourhood, to break up from Freducci's quarters. In the Pope's view, Ludovico Freducci was now strong enough to take possession of the whole 'Marca'. By that

¹⁰⁷ Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducchi di Fermo' (see n. 22), pp. 297-8 and note ae.

¹⁰⁸ Leopardi di Recanati, *Vita di Niccolo* (see n. 28), pp. 136-47.

time winter had come, so Giovannino dei Medici, the Pope's nephew, in order to winter in suitable places, retired into Anconitan territory. Giovannino wintered challengingly on the land bordering on River Tenna down to the bend at Monte Santa Maria in Giorgio (modern Montegiorgio), which he took possession of in the name of the Pope in 1519-20. Charged as a rebel to the Roman court, Ludovico Freducci headed a formidable party of armed men at San Benedetto del Tronto where the Roman State of Marca begins, and then he marched to Falerone Castle his homeland. He was not twenty-four years of age, when he was killed at the Battle of Monte Santa Maria in Giorgio near Falerone Castle against Giovannino dei Medici, on 21 March 1520.¹⁰⁹

Paternal estates were confiscated from Ludovico by act of the Apostolic Chamber for rebellion; and the Castle, lordship, and manor, of Falerone, were granted for ever, by Pope Leo dei Medici, to Giovannino dei Medici. In addition to his father's property, Ludovico had inherited the estates of both his uncles Oliverotto and Battista, and had become before his death a man of very large fortune.

Now we need to consider surname variations in the records of the Apostolic Chamber, the treasury chamber at St Peter's, Rome. They are of particular value as documentary sources. The Apostolic Chamber is the main financial office of the Papal government. This office administers the temporal goods and revenues of the Holy See. Of the five offices of the Holy See, the Apostolic Cancellery is the oldest. The task of this office is to expedite decretal letters and apostolic constitutions as well as apostolic letters in the form of Latin bulls or briefs of greater importance, in accordance with established law or on commission by the Pope or one of the departments of the Roman curia. The adopted surname version of *Eufredutius* is thus to be found in the archives of the Holy See, most notably in the records of the Roman Camera Apostolica. More complicated is the division of material that took place in 1870, when the Papal States were incorporated into a unified Reign of Italy and the Holy See was geographically restricted to the new boundaries of Vatican City. Fortunately, official documents about the Freducci family during the county's existence in the Firman Comitatus are in the Florentine State Archive, and include: ASF, Mediceo, Diplomatico, *Breve* from Pope Leo X dei Medici directed to Giovanni dei Medici his nephew on 16 July 1520.

¹⁰⁹ 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1516-20, p. 254-7; and 'Annali della Città di Fermo di Giovan Paolo Montani dall'anno 1145 sino al 1557. Continuazione dei medesimi Annali di altra mano', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache della Città di Fermo* (se), p. 195; and 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo edite ed inedite', ed. De Minicis, *Cronache* (see n. 6), pp. 193-4.

In 1520, the Pope's brief tells Giovanni dei Medici his nephew: 'Dilecte fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum non minus decens quam conveniens in pontifica liberalitate [...]; hinc est quod, considerantes quanta fide et in Sedem apostolicam devotione contra Ludovicum Eufredutium rebellem, et latronibus homicidis ac aliis exititiis non brevi manu suffultum, et civitatem nostram Firmanam eiusque comitatum populari oppugnarique in non parvum nostrum et Sedis apostolice contemptum instantem, liberalem te tuis militibus exhibendo, sumptus non in parva quantitate fecisses, aequum existimavimus de huiusmodi expensis et sumptibus aliquam remunerationem impendere. Propterea, motu proprio et ex certa nostra liberalitate, auctoritate apostolica, harum serie, tibi tuisque heredibus et successoribus, in recompensam dictorum sumptuum ac laborum, de bonis stabilibus dicti Ludovici et ab eo tam hereditate quondam Baptiste Liverotti quam Thome eius patris et patruorum de Eufredutiis possessis, civitate et comitatu Firmano existentibus et Camere apostolice ob dicti Ludovici excessus confiscatis, usque ad valorem sexmiliium ducatorum, in recompensam sumptuum et pecuniarum, militibus tuis qui in expeditione et conflictu contra dictum Ludovicum facto interfuerunt, in perpetuum concedimus, donamus, et liberaliter elargimur'.¹¹⁰

It is Giovannino's military role in the events of the 1520s, that was central and determined all the rest. He became known as Giovanni dalle Bande Nere (Giovanni of the Black Bands) ostensibly after adopting black armbands for his troops to mourn the death of Pope Leo X, the Medici Pope, in 1521. Giovanni dalle Bande Nere, whose death would pave the way for Rome's sack, represents the manifestation of Leo's diplomatic policies. Giovannino, as he was nicknamed, was born in the town of Forlì to Giovanni dei Medici in 1498. Caterina Sforza, his mother, was the last female descendent of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, fifth Duke of Milan, Lord of Imola and Forlì, Filelfo's dedicatee in 1475. As noted above, Galeazzo Maria was born in Fermo to Francesco Sforza, the great *condottiere* and *conte* of the city of Fermo between 1434 and 1446, and Bianca Maria Visconti, daughter and sole heir of Filippo Maria Visconti, the third and last Duke of Milan of this line.¹¹¹

As to the other members of the family named as *de Eufredutiis*, on 16 July 1520 the Medicean Pope issued a brief, declaring Ludovico Freducci to have been a rebel and traitor to his Pope. The Apostolic Chamber, therefore, will confiscate

¹¹⁰ See transcription by Gauthier, 'Nuovi documenti intorno a Giovanni de' Medici' (see n. 5), pp. 338-9, N. 92, Breve di Leone X a Giovanni (A.S.F., Diplomatico, Mediceo), Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, sub anulo Piscatoris, die xvi iulii MDXX, pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

¹¹¹ 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 149 NN. 137-41; pp. 151-3 NN. 152-57; p. 156 N. 171 (Archivio Priorale of Fermo, Letters Patent, 976); p. 158 N. 180; pp. 158-9 N. 183.

Ludovico Freducci's hereditary estates both in the city of Fermo and in Fermo Counties, in the Ecclesiastical State of Ancona. Because of the fortune Ludovico had inherited from his father Tommaso and his paternal uncles Oliverotto and Battista, Ludovico was able to dominate the Marca militarily. Battista long survived his two brothers—Tommaso who was killed at Monte San Pietrangeli between the Chienti and Tenna Rivers in 1498, in the company of Andrea Doria; and Oliverotto, 'rector, head and commissary general' in 1497 and Count of the city of Fermo in 1502, who had been strangled at Senigallia in 1502. Battista died, before 1514, without issue.¹¹²

In 1520, Celanzia degli Oddi, the widow of Tommaso Freducci, desperately wanted to give her son, Ludovico, a proper burial. Ten years after his death, the body of Ludovico Freducci was transferred to St Francis church in Fermo where he was buried in the year 1530 as the inscription on his grave testifies. On 11 November 1530, the City Council of Fermo authorized Ludovico's burial at St Francis church where so many of his ancestors found their final resting place, as follows: 'Magnifici domini priores convitati fuerunt ad funus domini Ludovici Uffredutii cujus cadaver reportatur in civitatem in majorum tumulo humandum' (Fermo, Consiglio di Cernita, 11 Novembre 1530).¹¹³

In 1530 Ludovico's body was laid in a sepulchre that belonged to the noble Freducci family in Fermo. It is an architectural monument by Andrea Contucci of Monte San Savino, surnamed Sansovino, 1527. Today visitors can still visit that sepulchre on which is written the inscription *Illustrissimum Dominum Ludovicum utraque familia generosum, Materna de Odis, Paterna de Eufredutiis, Armorum Praefectum Virum Equestrem de Civitate Benemeritu[m] Mater hic pietissima et sui Maximo cum Luctu posuerunt MDXXVII.*

All three of the above texts, as well as the other variants I collected, agree on at least one fundamental matter: that the Freduccis of a previous generation in Fermo Counties and in the city of Fermo in 1520-27 and Angelo Freducci in the city of Ancona in 1556-63 all claim the surname *Eufredutius* and *de Eufredutiis* in Latin and *Freducci* in Italian, their common surname and coat of arms indicating that they are related to one another.

¹¹² Fermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Estratti di Cernite (Verbali dei Consigli Comunali), Cernite 20 ottobre 1528. Battista Freducci tried in vain to recover his property and his rights; in the council of Cernite of 30 November 1515, Battista was said to be Lorenzo's uncle (p. 271, note 17); references to Battista in historical sources are given by Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo' (see n. 22), p. 271, and note 17; p. 279, note q; pp. 290-1, and note 22; p. 306, and note 28.

¹¹³ The Council record is transcribed by Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo' (see n. 22), p. 304, note am.

Since Ludovico Freducci was wounded and killed in the beginning of the battle in March 1520, there were no descendants from his marriage to Giulia de Conte (Julia Conti). Her name, in fact, appeared for the first and last time in the inventory of the Cernita proceedings concerning judgments and executions of the town council of Fermo, dated 21 February 1519, until 18 June 1519. However, one aspect of Freducci's family history that still needs to be addressed is how charts and atlases signed by 'Conte de Octomāno Freducci de Ancona' range in date from 1524 to 1539. In other words, Count Freducci's calligraphic signature has a story which continues beyond Count Ludovico Freducci's death at the Battle of Falerone on 21 March 1520. Like some other of Freducci's works, such as Freducci's 1524 chart in the Hispanic Society of America (K24), charts and atlases continued to be made long after Ludovico Freducci's death without issue. As far as surviving maps indicate, the last map, in atlas, signed by 'Conte de Octomāno Freducci' was dated 1539 (Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Fondo Speciale Carte e Atlanti Nautici, Atlante di Ludovico Freducci). The signature on map 1 (Italy, Central Mediterranean Sea) reads (see fig. 10) *IHS M^a Vgo - Conte de Octomāno freduccj Anconitano la facte - nell'anno MCCCCXXXVIII (Ihesus Maria Virgo - Conte de Octomanno freduccj Anconitano la facte - nell'anno 1539)*.

And there is a gap of eight years from the last known work signed by 'Conte de Octomāno Freducci', his 1539 nautical atlas (Bologna), to the first known work of Angelo 'de Conte Freducci', his 1547 nautical chart (Brussels).

A nautical chart and three atlases were produced in the middle of the sixteenth century in the March of Ancona, all with good margins, all signed by Angelo Freducci the Anconitan chartmaker.¹¹⁴ There is one extant chart by Angelo now preserved in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, II 292 CP). The signature reads as follows *IHS M^a Virgo - Angelo de Conte Freducci de Ancona la facta nel anno MDXXXVII (Ihesus Maria Virgo - Angelo de Conte Freducci de Ancona la facta nel anno 1547)*. On the bottom border is a half compass rose. On the upper border is another half compass rose. The compass rose design is also indicative of this family.

In Warsaw is the first atlas of the period by Angelo Freducci, whom the history of cartography knows only from his signature on map 1 (Italy, Central Mediterranean Sea), which is dated 1554. The map derives from an atlas of five

¹¹⁴ Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, II 292 CP, Portulan des mers d'Europe, *De Conte Freducci d'Ancona nel anno 1547*. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Zbiory, morski atlas, *Tabulae antique delineate ab Angelo Comite Freducci Anconitano*, zawierający 5 rękopiśmiennych map, wykonanych na pergaminie, Nr inw. O. 2401, 1554, atlas (5). Greenwich, Maritime Museum, MS 58-078/P36, Angelo Freducci, Ancona, atlas, dated 1555, atlas (9). Mantova, Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana, ms. 646, Angelo Freducci di Ancona, 1556, atlas (9).

maps. We can clearly read 'de Conte' as count, earl, in the Italian signature of Freducci's atlas *Yhs - M^a - Virgo - Angelo de Conte Freducci Anconitano leafatte nelanno 1554* in Italian (*Yhesus - Maria - Virgo - Angelo de Conte Freducci Anconitano le à fatte nel anno 1554*). The year is not expressed in Roman numbers.

I focus now on Angelo's signature in Italian: *Angelo de Conte Freducci*. In the same manner *de*, forms *detract*, to draw away from. The signature coincides perfectly well with the said Letters Patent under the Great Seal dated at Ancona in 1563: Angelo is the son of Dominus Comes Eufreducus (see figg. 4-5). The official document grant that the lord Count *Eufreducus*, who is dead, was Angelo's father and Giovanni and Domenico's grandfather (Dominumque Comitem Eufreducium olim dicti d. Angeli patrem fuisse; dominum Comitem Euferdutium patrem supradicti domini Angeli patris supra dictos d. Iohannis Euferdutij et d. Dominici fuisse ex nobili familia de Eufredutijs de Ancona, et artem aliquam mechanicham no[n] exercuisse toto tempore vitae suae et dictum d[omi]num Comitem patrem dicti d. Angeli suscepisse ex legitimo matrimonio de nobili d[omi]na Maretina filia q[uondam] Nobilis viri d[omi]ni Dominici de Urbeveteris de Ancona supra dictum d[omin]um Angelum euferdutium').

Angelo the author gives no town where he drew the maps. The authorship inscription suggests that Angelo did not make either the 1547 chart or the 1554 atlas in Ancona. Perhaps more importantly what distinguished Angelo from the sequence of Freducci chartmakers who had enjoyed high public esteem was that as an Anconitan-born Alderman he could not style himself as either 'Comes hoctomanni' and 'Conte de Hectomanno'. And the same observations might be made with respect to Freducci's 1555 atlas, his atlas in Greenwich. The signature on map 2 (Italy, Central Mediterranean Sea) reads *IHS · M^a · Angelo · de Conte · Freducci · Anconitano · leafacte in Ancona · nel · MDLV (Ihesus · Maria · Angelo · de Conte · Freducci · Anconitano · le à facte in Ancofna · nel · 1555)*. By 1555 Angelo was in Ancona, where he drew the map. The map derives from an atlas of nine maps.

In 1556, however, Angelo Freducci unexpectedly switched the spelling of his surname to *Eufredutius* in his atlases in Latin (Rome and Mantua). We have seen through primary sources how in various forms and formulations, the tradition of *Eufredutius* and *de Eufredutiis* is present throughout the entire history of the noble Freducci family both in Rome and in Fermo. Its revival in 1556, therefore, was a movement back to tradition, not an innovation. Angelo clearly used the Latin surname in his signature *Angelus Eufredutius Anconitan[us] Composuit Anconae In anno d[om]m[i]n[i] MDLVI (Angelus Eufredutius Anconitanus Composuit Anconae In anno domini 1556)* on map 1 (Italy, Central Mediterranean Sea); the map derives from an atlas of nine maps with accordion-like binding (Mantova, Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana, ms. 646). Once again he used the Latin surname, this time to

write his signature *Angelus eufredutius Anconitan[us] composuit Anconae MDLVI* on map 4 (Italy, Austria, Hungary, the Balkan Peninsula, Tunisia, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica); the map derives from an atlas of nine maps with accordion-like binding (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS. 4866).

From time to time chartmaking has developed along lines of its own. In fact, Lorenzo Lotto the painter reveals aspects of Angelo *Freduci's* life. From the period between Angelo Freducci's first work, the chart of 1547 (Brussels), and his first known atlas, the atlas of 1554 (Warsaw), the account book of Lotto demonstrates that Angelo already was a collector agent, from the office and place of Alderman of the said city of Ancona.

Born in Venice, Lorenzo Lotto worked on a marvellous painting called the *Pala dell'Alabarda* for the church of Sant'Agostino in Ancona between 1538 and 1540. He was active in Treviso, Rome, Venice, Bergamo and especially in the Anconitan March. Since June 1542 Lotto had maintained his private account register, when he enrolled as a Franciscan lay-brother in Loreto, the March of Ancona, in March 1549. The manuscript is labeled *Anni 1542 a Nativitate. Libro di spese diverse 1542*. On 18 March 1550 Lotto's register records an order by Angelo *Freduci* to make two trumpet banners for the city of Ancona. Further in March 1551 Lotto occupies a room for which he pays a rent to master Angelo *Freduci* the collector agent of the Merchants Lodge of Ancona, or, as the Anconitans call it, Loggia de' Mercanti. The room is property of the Merchant Taylors Guild in the Merchants Lodge.¹¹⁵ One of the six port doorways was called 'Portella della Loggia dei Mercanti', the Merchant Lodge, and this led directly to the large room where merchants and ship-owners met captains, and sales of ships took place. Angelo Freducci as Alderman was then a collector agent at the Loggia.

Being an Alderman of this city in the division of finance and accounts (*Antianatus, Regulariae*), and a noble of rank, in 1550 Angelo was already one of the collector agents who had power under the Statute to examine chief Captains before they were appointed in the Armata of St Cyriacus on 1 April of each year (see n. 8). From Lotto's register we understand that when Angelo wrote public documents he signed them *Angelo Freduci*. In the meantime, he signed nautical atlases as *Angelo de Conte Freducci*, i.e. Angelo of Count Freducci in 1547-55. I might add further, that the

¹¹⁵ Loreto, Archivio Storico della Santa Casa di Loreto, Lorenzo Lotto, *Anni 1542 a Nativitate. Libro di spese diverse 1542*, 33r7-9 (Ancona, adì 18 marzo del 1550), 'bandiere da trombeti, ad vocem Freduci Angelo: si tratta di due stendardi per il Comune di Ancona'; 37v10 (Ancona, marzo del 1551), 'regolator misser Angelo Freduci ai sarti de Loggia per pisone: si riferisce all'affitto di botteghe presso la Loggia dei Mercanti di Ancona appartenenti ai sarti della città'.

Loggia de' Mercanti, Ancona's Stock Exchange, or, Borsa (Bursa), as alternatively it was called, was founded in 1442. The Loggia, then, was a large building consisting of spacious halls and other apartments where members met together for the purpose of gaining money by the rise or fall of the funds. It was built near the port as the trade point of the mercantile transactions in order to provide a meeting point for 'mechants and owners of the mercantile navy, masters of ships, brokers and salespersons'.¹¹⁶ On the night between the fourth and the fifth of February 1556, however, a great fire took place. The Ancona's Loggia was razed to the ground and a new building was finally completed in 1561. As a matter of fact, the date of the disaster coincides with the last known atlases by Angelo Freducci, his atlases in Latin now in Mantua and Rome respectively.

In 1556, *Eufredutius*, though, was the surname Angelo unambiguously came to prefer himself in atlases (Rome and Mantua). This is the proving link between Angelo and his direct ancestors in Fermo. I have sought to show, through historical documents, that the Latin name of *de Eufredutiis*, or *Eufredutius* for a single member of the family became in process of time italianized into Freducci, and was so borne by the Counts of hoctomanno / Hectomanno / Octomanno, until Angelo Freducci resumed, in 1556, the original surname of *Eufredutius*. This is one of the noble families which settled in *Marchia Anconitana*, one of the four Ecclesiastical States, under the banner of St Peter. The earliest heraldic document that has been handed down to us is a Notarial deed dated 1276 (see n. 43).

From the period between the last known work signed by 'Conte de Octomāno Freducci', the excellent, calligraphic atlas of 1539 (Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Fondo Speciale Carte e Atlanti Nautici, Atlante di Ludovico Freducci), however, and the first known work signed by 'Angelo de Conte Freducci', the chart of 1547 (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, II 292 CP), is a fact of history. The watershed national event of the sixteenth century in the March of Ancona was the Firman Civil War fought between the years 1537 and 1547.

Nothing appears to have come from the confiscation of the estates of Ludovico Freducci in reply to the Medicean Pope's brief dated 16 July 1520. Giovannino dei Medici did not grant compensation for the war damage inflicted upon Fermo castles. From Fermo, the commissaries made another attempt in Rome, with no better success. On 30 November 1520, scarcely four months after the confiscation, his uncle the Pope died.¹¹⁷ Ludovico Freducci, Count of Hectomanno /

¹¹⁶ Agostino Peruzzi, *Storia di Ancona* (see n. 33), vol. 2, libro XIV, pp. 286, 288-9.

¹¹⁷ Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557, De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1521, p. 258.

Octomanno (1512), Fermo Counties, and Count of the city of Fermo (1514), died in battle without issue in 1520, whereupon Giovannino dei Medici did not succeed to the title. This nobleman dying in 1520, he was succeeded in his titles and estates by Giovanni Antonio Freducci, the son of Giovanni as cadets of the House of Freducci, which deduces its lineage from Tommaso, son of Galeotto, and, in default of male descendants of Ludovico, Count of Hectomanno / Octomanno, would be heirs to the County in Fermo Counties. By 1518 Giovanni Antonio Freducci of the cadet line was the consul of the inner-city ward of San Martino, in Fermo (Fermo, Archivio di Stato, Atto di Cernita, 20 Aprile 1518). He had taken an active part in the coup of 1502 to consolidate the authority of Oliverotto Freducci as Count of the city of Fermo, as we see in chronicles. Though one of the principal leaders in the coup of 1502, however, Giovanni Antonio appears to have taken no part in the massacres.¹¹⁸

By 1537 Giovanni Antonio's son, Giovanni Freducci of the cadet line, was established in his castle at Falerone. Giovanni Freducci, however, was heir to the feud of his family. In 1537 a conspiracy of nobles was formed in Fermo against Pope Paul III Farnese, occasioned by the Brancadoro, the Freducci's historical enemies. It started at Monte San Pietrangeli. On 3 May 1537 Giovanni Freducci was murdered in the castle of Falerone. He had no issue.¹¹⁹ His estates devolved upon his only surviving brother Vincenzo Freducci.¹²⁰ Suffice it to say, the earliest known document of Vincenzo Freducci (Ufreducci) is dated 10 May 1539.¹²¹

The conspiracy of nobles against Giovanni Freducci of the cadet line at Falerone in May 1537 turned out to be against the Ecclesiastical State. In July 1537, denying to the Firman castles the right of jurisdiction on Monte San Pietrangeli, Pope Paul III Farnese thought that it would be best exercised by the community of Fermo. There was a negotiation between Pope Paul and the community of Fermo concerning the sum of 12,000 *ducati* that the Pope wanted from the Firmans for financing the crusade against the Ottoman Turks in the Balkans as a thorn in Vienna's side (Austro-Turkish War of 1537-47). In any case, Cardinal di Trani the Legate of the

¹¹⁸ 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo edite ed inedite', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 189. For other missions see also Licini, 'Andrea Doria di Genova, i Freducci da Fermo' (see n. 59), p. 320.

¹¹⁹ Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo' (see n. 40), p. 307, and note 31.

¹²⁰ Fermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Cernita, 3 Maggio 1537; and Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo' (see n. 22), p. 307 note 31.

¹²¹ Roma, Archivio di Stato, Stato Pontificio, Fondo: Pergamene, Serie: Compagnia di Gesù (Gesuiti), Cassetta/cartella 76/139 (vecchia segnatura), 'Regesto, Roma. Indennità fatta da Vincenzo Ufreducci a favore di Cesare Rinaldi da Fermo'; Fermo, Archivio di Stato, 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo', in De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1557, p. 279.

Anconitan March came to Macerata to sign the capitulations on 24 July 1537, despite the fact that he had secretly sent a messenger to the Lords Priors Governors of Fermo in the meantime, telling them that they had to demolish the fort at Monte San Pietrangeli. But the Firmans became so angry with the Pope, that first they had part of it demolished and then razed the walls of Monte San Pietrangeli out of spite.

Having the right to inflict any censure on any disobedient person in the States of the Church, Pope Paul III Farnese sent his son Pier Luigi Farnese, at the head of an armed force, to sack the city of Fermo and reduce the Firmans to obedience on 10 September 1537. The Pope declared Fermo an unfaithful rebel to the Roman court on 30 September 1537. The seat of government was moved from Fermo, to Mons Octonis (modern Montottone) in Fermo Counties (Comitatus). Since 1538 the government of the Ecclesiastical State in Agro Piceno (Montottone), as it was renamed, had been directly in the hands of Cardinals when the Papal legate from Perugia brought with him a Papal brief which released the city of Fermo from the interdict on 15 September 1547. By Notarial deed, dated 22 November 1547, possessions and revenues were fully restored to the city of Fermo and Fermo District (Districtus). Furthermore, the commonalty and citizens of the city of Fermo nominated Ranuccio Farnese as their candidate for governor. Thus Ranuccio Farnese the Cardinal Nephew assumed an absolute power, and disposed of all offices, benefices and places of trust, according to his pleasure. Since the end of the Firman Civil War in 1547, the Cardinal Nephews of the Popes usually have held the office of governor of Fermo Counties, until 8 December 1800.¹²²

While possessions and revenues were restored to the city of Fermo and Fermo District in 1547, others were not. In 1539, a grain famine raged over the whole of Fermano. The city's inhabitants were forbidden, by proclamation, from entering the territories of Fermo Counties (Comitatus) unless they received a permit from the governor in Montottone, and from harvesting the food crops during the following years 1540, 1541, 1542; even staying overnight was forbidden. Since 1541 Pope Paul had entirely deprived the forty-nine county courts in Fermo of all effective jurisdiction on communities, and placed powers in the hands of the governor of Mons Octonis (modern Montottone) when he restored peace in 1547. It was a very common practice in the Roman States, for one reason or other, to resign a Comitatus into the hands of the sovereign Pope.¹²³ This passage, which could be carefully

¹²² Raffaele De Minicis (ed.), *Serie cronologica degli antichi Signori de' Podestà e Rettori di Fermo dal secolo ottavo all'anno 1550* (Fermo, 1855), pp. 51-63; Giuseppe Michetti, *Vicende Fermane nell'età moderna, 1492-1900* (Fermo, 1984), Vol. 3, pp. 51-6.

¹²³ *Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557*, De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1539-42, pp. 270-1. See also De Minicis (ed.), *Serie cronologica degli antichi Signori* (see n. 121), p. 52; Michetti, *Vicende Fermane* (see n. 121), p. 52, and note 6.

studied, deserves a geographical explanation. Montottone is *Mons Octonis* fronting on the south side of Forche d'Ete; it is however in Old Italian texts that we can read the clearest signs of the linguistic changes the word has undergone. The place owes its name to Octone, modern Ottone, Lottone and L'Ottone in Old Italian.¹²⁴

This argument, however, carries more weight in the history of cartography, when it is remembered that, without such Fermo Comitatus, hereditary nobility was forever abolished in 1541. Just before the Firman Civil War, in 1537, 'Conte Freducci de Ancona' signed the atlas of four maps in 1536 (Palermo, Archivio dei principi Lanza di Trabia). The signature on map 2 (Italy, Austria, Hungary, the Balkan Peninsula, Tunisia, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica) reads a simple *Yhs M^a Virgo - Conte Freducci de Ancona lafacta nelanno MDXXXVI* (*Yhesus Maria Virgo - Conte Freducci de Ancona la facta nel anno 1536*).¹²⁵ The four atlases dated 1538-9 were then all made after Giovanni Freducci of the cadet line had been murdered in Falerone on 3 May 1537 and after the city of Fermo had been sacked savagely by Pier Luigi Farnese on 10 September 1537: the 1538 (London, British Library, Add. MS. 10132), 1538 (London, British Library, Add. MS. 22348), 1538 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codice Borgiano III), 1539 (Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Fondo Speciale Carte e Atlanti Nautici, Atlante di Ludovico Freducci).

This is the last signature which includes the title of Octomāno in 1539. Thus, two atlases show the far simpler signature of Conte Freducci and the other two show Conte de Octomāno Freducci. The chartmaker, if the Freduccis continued to act in their office, would be Vincenzo, heir of Giovanni his brother in 1538. His exquisite signature, with its elaborate flourishes, remains as evidence of his skill in the art of calligraphy. And thus Vincenzo Freducci left his heirs only an empty title and vain pretensions to the County of Octomāno in 1541.

The context helps us to understand more deeply exactly what the impact of the Firman Civil War was on Anconitan cartography in 1541. The main changes resulted in the abolition of all the Fermo Counties which had been created in 1273 and their replacement by a unitary authority subsuming Fermo Counties (Comitatus) and Fermo District (Districtus) authorities—the Cardinal Nephew by authority from His Holiness the Pope, His Pontifical Uncle otherwise called, whether

¹²⁴ Giulio Amadio, *Toponomastica marchigiana* (Montalto Marche, 1952), vol. i, p. 41, N. 246, Montottone, Mons Octonis. Ottone in the Italian language, from *L'Ottone*, once called *Lottone* in Old Italian.

¹²⁵ Antonino Salinas (ed.), 'Varietà. La Sicilia al Congresso Geografico di Venezia: II. Monumenti fuori de' depositi affidati alla Soprintendenza. Astrolabii, portolani', *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, Nuova Serie, Anno vi, Fasc. i-ii, Palermo, Luglio 1881, pp. 160-168 (pp. 163-4).

under the title of governor, lieutenant governor, president of the council, or under any other stiyer or title whatsoever. The changes to the structure of local government came into force between 1541 and September 1547.

In any case, Professor Chet Van Duzer (pp. 4, 14, 19) is wrong, historically and *de facto*, when he also maintains that 'an atlas by Conte di Ottomano Freducci's son Angelo, namely Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale MS. 636, dated 1556, is stylistically very similar to Borgiano V'. No doubt Angelo never styles himself 'the son of Conte di Ottomano Freducci' as he never styles himself otherwise than 'de Conte Freducci' and 'Angelus Eufredutius'.

In 1547, at the conclusion of the Firman Civil War, the construction of new institutions and regulations coincides with the first production of charts and atlases by 'Angelo de Conte Freducci' in Italian. He was certainly born in the city of Ancona. There is one extant chart by Angelo 'de Conte Freducci', his chart in Brussels, dated 1547 (Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, II 292 CP). The chart shows a far plainer and simpler signature of the author. It reads *IHS M^a Virgo - Angelo de Conte Freducci de Ancona lafacta nelanno MDXXXVII* (*Ihesus Maria Virgo - Angelo de Conte Freducci de Ancona la facta nel anno 1547*).

In 1524, if I had to sum it up in one word, a series of atlases began to be issued. The characteristics of the atlases, however, remained the same as those of the previous decades. In any case, on the one hand Count Freducci's ocean chart depicting Florida and Bimini for the first time in November 1515 at Ancona, now Fondo: Carte nautiche 15 of the Archivio di Stato in Florence, represents what we may call a modern work. The production of works like this series of atlases in 1524, on the other hand, indicates a regression in map making. Giuseppe Caraci also maintains that 'The Mantuan atlas is a piece of work which is, as it were, eclectic and in which Angelo has not hesitated to combine material borrowed from very diverse sources'. The atlas in question is Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale MS. 636, dated 1556.¹²⁶

Further, a closer examination of the first two maps in the atlas signed by Angelus *Eufredutius* in 1556 (Mantua), i.e. all of what is currently Central America down to the part of Brasil lying north of 15 degrees, south latitude, and the Antillas Islands, shows that the information contained in them is based on obsolete sources. Unable to find fresh sources of data in a period of crisis in Ancona politics, Angelo Freducci relied clearly on Ludovico Freducci's ocean chart depicting Florida and

¹²⁶ Caraci, 'The Italian cartographers of the Benincasa and Freducci families and the so-called Borgiana map' (see n. 82), pp. 32-3.

Bimini for the first time in November 1515, now in Florence (Archivio di Stato, Fondo: Carte nautiche 15). The similarities with the work of Ludovico Eufredutius the rebel are certainly striking. The precise treatment of these suggests that the model used here may have been one by Ludovico.

The Freducci Chartmaking Dynasty

The 'Marca di Ancona' on the Adriatic coast is at the time under the Papal domination. The sovereignty of the States of the Roman Church is held by the Pope of Rome. The Pope unites in his own person two distinct offices; he is the Bishop of Rome, and temporal sovereign of the States of the Roman Church, the Ecclesiastical States, or Roman States. Since 1273 the upper portion of the Adriatic Sea has been indeed called the Gulf of Venice. The Venetians undertook to police all of it, to exclude war fleets except by permission, and to inspect all merchantmen within its waters to see whether their trade was in accordance with the Venetian navigation laws and treaties. This strict ordering of the routes of trade north of a line running through Ancona in the Roman States on the one hand and Zara (modern Zadar, Croatia) in the Stato da Mar as Venetian historical Croatia was called (modern Dalmatia by the partition treaty of 30 October 1671) on the other was reinforced by the less restrictive control that Venice exercised over the whole Adriatic Sea. In September 1537, the Ottoman forces had captured Klis Fortress (Clissa) and the strategic land in Croatian Dalmatia around it, geographically pointing at the territory of the Great County of Poglizza (modern Poljica). Now Poljica and the harbour of Spalato (modern Split), both of which lands formed part of the Republic of Venice, were under attack along the route to Constantinople (modern Istanbul). Since 1273, and definitively since 1381, Popes have been thus obliged to have recourse to the nobles of Ancona and Fermo for the defence of the naval fortresses and the repelling of raids.¹²⁷ Once the mistress of the known world, in 1381 Rome is the metropolis of the Papal domination. Traditionally, the noble Freducci house in Fermo Counties had the primary responsibility for securing the southern borders of the Church State. This will be clearly apparent from the following descriptive circumstances. Not all of them, in any case, were chartmakers.

Giovanni Freducci, Soldier and Count of Fermo (Fano, fl. 1417 - Fermo, 11 April 1450), de Eufredutijs in Latin and Italian texts

¹²⁷ Paolo Sarpi, *Opere Varie: Dominio del Mare Adriatico della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia* (Helmstat, 1750), ii, pp. 333-4.

1. The son and heir of Tommaso of the house of Falerone Count of Montechiaro (modern Mogliano), Fermo Counties. Count Tommaso was professor in medicine. The family residence was then changed to Fano, and Montechiaro Castle was subsequently given over to Giacomo Giovanni's brother.¹²⁸
2. Upon the death of his brother Count Giacomo, who was the head of the Freducci (Uffreducci) family in 1417, Giovanni succeeded to the title.¹²⁹. Giovanni styled himself 'Johannes de Eufredutijs de Firmo Miles et Comes' in 1439.
3. Giovanni styled himself 'de Firmo Miles et Comes' in diplomatic documents; see for example the letter to Cosimo I dei Medici about the election of the *podestà* in Siena and Camerino in 1439 (see fig. 2).
4. In 1444, godfather of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, fifth Duke of Milan and dedicatee of Filelfo's poem in 1475 (see n. 35).
5. In 1447 he was summoned to the Council of Fermo by the title of 'spectabilis miles' (Fermo, Consiglio di Cernita, 4 July 1447).
6. He had two sons, Ludovico and Galeotto, from his marriage to Selvaggia.
7. Giovanni was no chartmaker.

Ludovico, the Elder, Freducci, Senator of Rome, Count of Fermo, Esquire, Noble of Ancona (Fermo, circa 1428 - Ancona, after 1491)

1. The son and heir of Count Giovanni and Selvaggia his wife.
2. He styled himself *Senator Lodovicus de Uffridutis de Firmo* in 1461.
3. Ludovico resided at Ancona when married Caterina Nardi. Caterina was a widow in 1450. By her former husband, Antonio Ferretti, Esquire of Ancona and Count of Castel Ferretto of Ancona, she had Francesco, Leonardo and Antonio; the last male heir was born in 1449 after the death of his father. The Freduccis, the powerful leading family (*Dominanti*) of counts in Fermo, by virtue of their nobility intermarried with the Ferretti family of Ancona.¹³⁰
4. By virtue of the marriage to a noble lady of Ancona, Ludovico enjoyed the title of noble man of Ancona. Ludovico and Caterina had three children, Giovanni, Pier Nicolò, and Stefania (see n. 23).
5. As Ludovico received as wife Caterina widow of 'Antonio dei Conti di Castel Ferretto' in 1450, their issue and descendants were admitted to the nobility

¹²⁸ 'Hoc est sepulchrum egregii medicinae professoris magistri Thomae Eufredutii de Falerono et suorum heredum, obiit anno 1403'; in *Ecclesia Sancti Francisci de Firmo*. From a transcript of the original by Panelli d'Acquaviva, *Memorie* (see n. 23), pp. 401-5.

¹²⁹ Pietro Maria Amiani, *Memorie storiche della città di Fano* (Fano, 1751), i, pp. 219, 275, 342; Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo' (see n. 22), p. 270, and note 10.

¹³⁰ Francesco Ferretti, *Pietra del paragone* (see n. 11), pp. 116, 124-32, 346.

in Ancona. Pier Nicolò, Giovanni and Stefania, being the issue of the said marriage, enjoyed the title, on the death of Ludovico their father, and were related to the Ferrettis, a powerful family of counts in Castel Ferretto, Ancona Counties (Comitatus).

6. In 1452 Ludovico was sent to the Papal legate in Ancona to settle the dispute touching two castles in Fermo Counties (Comitatus).¹³¹
7. The fall of Constantinople (modern Istanbul) to the Ottoman Turks on 29 May 1453 made a deep impression on Pope Nicholas V Parentucelli. He was born in Sarzana, State and Commune of Genoa, Iron Crown. The Pope responded by calling a crusade against them. In July 1453 the Pope sent Cardinal Dominici as his legate to Fermo to inform that Cardinals had been sent to reconcile the King of Aragon, the Duke of Milan, the Florentines, and the Doge of the Venetians.¹³² Pope Nicholas affirmed his sincere wish for unity among Christian princes and states. Since 27 May 1453 the Firman District had secured the bulk of the grain crops expressly to support Constantinople when Mahomet the Great Turk, or, as the Firman chronicles called him, Maometto Gran Turco, seized it. Emperor Constantine's head was cut off and that same day set up on a spear. Constantinople (modern Istanbul) was taken by Mahomet the Turkish Emperor, who put an end of the Empire of the Romans in the East and its laws. At the end of 1453, Pope Nicholas V stored in Fermo large supplies of grain for the army and navy against the Turks.¹³³
8. At the end of 1453 Ludovico Freducci was named a senator in Rome by Pope Nicholas V.¹³⁴
9. Mahomet II the Great Turk is Mehmed II the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire in Filelfo's *Amyris*, dated 1475-6, *Ferox Mahomettus* in the Latin text (*Amyris*, book 4, lines 1432-40). Both the Roman States and the Republic of Venice would face a readjustment of their role in the eastern Mediterranean following the fall of the Roman Empire in the East to Ottoman forces under Mehmed II the Conqueror in 1453.
10. Cardinal Aeneus Sylvius Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II, pleaded with Pope Nicholas V in the meanwhile, to use the full weight of his influence to

¹³¹ 'Annali della città di Fermo di Giovan Paolo Montani dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', ed. De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1452, p. 181.

¹³² 'Cronaca Fermana di Luca Costantini segretario del Comune di Fermo in continuazione di quella di Niccolò', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 101.

¹³³ 'Annali della città di Fermo di Giovan Paolo Montani dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1453, p. 181.

¹³⁴ 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1453, p. 207.

impress upon the Roman curia the necessity of uniting Christendom for a crusade to recover Constantinople. By 1453 Cardinal Piccolomini was away from the Roman curia on a diplomatic mission to the Habsburg court in Germany, Reign of the Romans and Empire. Piccolomini received news of the city's fall independently via Serbia and wrote immediately on 12 July 1453 to the Pope bewailing the damage done to Christendom, but the emphasis was on cultural loss; on the destruction of manuscripts, many of which, he maintained, were still unknown to Latin scholars. In a letter to Nicholas of Cusa written on 21 July 1453, Piccolomini compared the city of Constantinople with Athens at the time of the Empire of the Romans; the Turks, he wrote, were not like the Romans, who had appreciated what Greece had to offer in a way of civilisation. And the conquest of Constantinople was a prelude to an assault to Italy.¹³⁵ Consequently, Nicholas of Cusa set out his view in his *De Pace Fidei*, which he wrote under the immediate impact of news of the fall of Constantinople; Nicholas, or, the Teutonic Cardinal as Cardinal Piccolomini called him, in the meantime, was also involved in settling Hussite dissensions in Bohemia.¹³⁶ There were many in his century, some of them in high ecclesiastical position, who made no secret of their dissent from the Church of Rome.

11. Upon the decease of Nicholas V in March 1455, Calixtus III Borgia (Borja) was elected Pope. He was born in Valencia in the Crown of Aragon. Thirteen Papal galleons were armed and 3,000 soldiers hired for service in support of a crusade program that the newly-elected Pope Calixtus had summoned against the Turks in 1456 under the command of the Cardinal Patriarch of Aquileia, Ludovico Trevisan, *Generale del Papa*. The new Pope renewed privileges to the Firmans in the meanwhile, and discovered the way to finance his military operations: by 1456 he was so desperate to encourage a new expedition to regain Constantinople that he levied a crusade tax in Fermo to pay for his soldiers. Upon this three thousand new-raised soldiers were sent to Fermo for service overseas.¹³⁷
12. Upon the decease of Calixtus III in 1458, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini was elected Pope, by the name of Pius II. He was born in Siena, States of Tuscany,

¹³⁵ Michael Angold, *The Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans: Context and Consequences* (Harlow and New York, 2012), pp. 90-1, and notes 19-22.

¹³⁶ Patrizia Licini, 'European and Ottoman Landmarks from a Portolan Chart at the Time of Enea Silvio Piccolomini', in Ingrid Baumgärtner and Hartmut Kugler (eds), *Europa im Weltbild des Mittelalters: kartographische Konzepte* (Berlin, 2008), pp. 191-218 (pp. 204, 207, illustrated p. 201).

¹³⁷ 'Annali della città di Fermo di Giovan Paolo Montani dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1455, p. 182; 'Annali della città di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), 1455, pp. 207-8.

Iron Crown. As the chronicles of Fermo punctually reported, in August 1458 Ludovico Freducci and Antonio di Luca were the ambassadors the Church State of the *Marca di Ancona* sent to Rome to formally swear obedience to Pope Pius II. In fact, Pope Pius by bull of September 1458 ratified and confirmed to the citizens of Fermo all the privileges granted formerly by Pope Calixtus III in as ample a form as could be.¹³⁸ The subjects of Fermo owe their obedience to the Pope of Rome, as to their sovereign Lord, as by said bull appears.

13. Pope Pius II Piccolomini appointed Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini Todeschini, his nephew, as Papal legate for the Marca of Ancona in July 1460. The Cardinal was entrusted with the administration of this province of the Church States. The community of Civitanova under Anconitan jurisdiction asked for permission to build the port in Spring 1463, but Pope Pius refused on the principle that special privileges were granted to the port of Fermo. In November 1463 Pope Pius then imposed special taxation measures to promote the crusade against the Turks.¹³⁹ He had made it clear that he intended to lead the crusade in person. This was an extraordinary decision. There had been many crusades, but never one led by a Pope.
14. At the beginning of 1464 Pope Pius II sent commissaries to levy the taxes due to them in Fermo and finance the crusade. Large numbers of soldiers had to be recruited. Finally, the City Council of Fermo made preparations for the Pope's arrival in July 1464 and granted him a vessel together with 3500 golden *ducati* to supply crusaders with a great quantity of grain and barley.¹⁴⁰
15. In July 1464 the Sacred Monarch, as the Pope was called, and the Doge of Venice began to consider the city and port of Ancona as the great theatre for the employment of their growing military strength. The new crusaders were ordered to meet at the port of Ancona, where vessels were being prepared to

¹³⁸ 'Annali della città di Fermo di Giovan Paolo Montani dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1458, p. 182; and Michele Catalani, *De Ecclesia Firmana ejusque episcopis et archiepiscopis commentarius* (Fermo, 1783), lvi, Nicholas II Capranica, pp. 256-8.

¹³⁹ 'Annali della città di Fermo di Giovan Paolo Montani dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1460-1463, pp. 182-3.

¹⁴⁰ Fermo, Archivio di Stato, Repertorium Privilegiorum Scripturarum existentium in Archivio Firmano ab Anno 1624, Summarium Scripturarum et Privilegiourum Archivij Veteris Per Illustris Civitatis Firmi, Authore Michaelae Hubart Leodiense Belga: *Cruciata contra Turchas*, a. D. 1463, n. 1224 (f. 265); Bulla a. D. 1464: *Praesidia conquirenda pro Cruciata Contra Turchas*, di Papa Pio II Piccolomini indirizzata a Bartolomeo de Colle, dell'ordine dei Minori Osservanti, Nunzio Apostolico, n. 1224. And 'Annali della città di Fermo', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), pp. 183-4; Licini, 'European and Ottoman Landmarks from a Portolan Chart at the Time of Enea Silvio Piccolomini' (see n. 135), p. 207, and note 34. Bartolomeo de Colle was the Pope's commissioner to treat with the Ecclesiastical province of *Marchia Anconitana*.

transport them to the East. As Francesco Ferretti notes in 1685, the assignment of soldiery to the galleys was made under the orders of the league established against the common enemy of Christianity.¹⁴¹

16. On 16 July 1464 Pope Pius II arrives at Ancona; he is attended by thirteen Cardinals, Prelates, Bishops, Archbishops and persons of high rank. On 12 August 1464 the Ferretti family goes down to the port to welcome Cristoforo Moro the Doge of the Venetian Republic. At this point, through collegial action in consistory the Cardinals consign four new galleys to the Doge and 45,000 *scudi* in gold bars. The four galleys had been build in Ancona at the expenses of the Camera Apostolica especially 'for the war against the great Mahometan' (Mehmed II the Conqueror 1432-1481). The Doge is lodged at the noble house of Francesco the Elder Ferretti, Senator of Ancona, Esquire, and Girolamo his brother. They are the sons and heirs of Giovanni di Biagio Ferretti and Elisabetta Contarini his wife. Our author calls them 'personaggi' which is wholly accurate for leading persons. Giovanni di Biagio Ferretti, who allied with the Venetian Senate by marrying Elisabetta, the daughter of Polo Contarini the Venetian patrician, no doubt allied in blood to the first families of the *Serenissima*. The Freducci and the Ferretti families were also intermarried, through Ludovico Freducci and Caterina Nardi. In 1440, Count Antonio Ferretti, Esquire, the son and heir of Count Liverotto Ferretti, married the noble Caterina Nardi and had three children, Francesco, Leonardo and Antonio, but he dying in 1449, she married, secondly, Ludovico Freducci da Fermo in 1450, and had two sons and a daughter: Giovanni, Pier Nicolò, and Stefania. Ludovico Freducci and his wife Caterina were residing, when the Pope and the Doge arrived in Ancona in July 1464, at Ancona.¹⁴²
17. *The chart fragment, now Direzione: Carta Nautica, of the Biblioteca Comunale Planettiana in Iesi. The north-east quarter of a chart recovered from a binding, covering Italy, Adriatic, Aegean, Black Sea and Asia Minor.* Under the circumstances above stated, I attribute the Iesi fragment to the Freducci family from Ancona descended from the main line of Fermo (Licini, 1999, p. 59), and suggest that the Iesi fragment is to be dated Ancona, July 1464. In any event, in 1463 the other Anconitan chartmaker Grazioso Benincasa was known to have been in Venice, until 1474.¹⁴³ The lack of the habitual Benincasan scale bar in the surviving top margin is also significant.

¹⁴¹ Francesco Ferretti, *Pietra del paragone* (see n. 11), pp. 124-6, 346; and 'Annali della città di Fermo', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 183.

¹⁴² Francesco Ferretti, *Pietra del paragone* (see n. 11), pp. 109-11, 123-6; Marchesi, *La Galleria dell'Onore* (see n. 11), p. 36.

¹⁴³ Benincasa's legends of his surviving productions, which range from 1461 to 1482, chronicle his movements: Genoa (1461), Venice (1463-66), Rome (1467), Venice again (1468-69), Ancona (his

18. More often than not, things do not go according to plan. In spite of suffering from a fever, Pope Pius II leaves Rome for Ancona, the Papal port on the Adriatic, in the hope of increasing the morale of the crusading Army. When at last the Venetian Fleet arrives, the dying Pope can only view it from afar. Two days later Pope Pius dies in Ancona, on 14 August 1464.
19. A new Pope was elected on 30 August 1464. Pope Paul II Barbo was born in Venice, Republic of St Mark. His maternal uncle was Pope Eugenius IV Condulmer. Again, for the second time, in March 1465 Ludovico Freducci was named a Senator in Rome by Pope Paul II the Venetian.¹⁴⁴
20. A new Pope was elected on 9 August 1471. Ludovico Freducci was the legate the city of Fermo sent to Rome when Cardinal della Rovere was elected Pope. Pope Sixtus IV della Rovere was born near Savona, State and Commune of Genoa, Iron Crown.
21. In 1474 Ludovico Freducci was in Rome. Pope Sixtus IV granted him permission for a bridge in stone to cross Tenna River in Freducci's feudal land in Fermo Counties, *Marchia Anconitana*.¹⁴⁵
22. In the meantime, Giovanni Mario Filelfo had to write the poem *Amyris*, in four books (1475-6). The manuscripts preamble refers to the *Fer-duccis*, a family of Anconitan merchants trading in Gallipoli, a bit more than 200 km west of Constantinople (modern Istanbul). Giovanni Mario Filelfo's *Amyris* is worth more careful attention than it has been receiving, because the first three books praise Mehmed's conquest of Constantinople, while the last ends by calling on Galeazzo Maria Sforza to take the Cross and lead a crusade against him (lines 1367, 1444). Galeazzo was the fifth Duke of Milan, the son and heir of Francesco Sforza and Bianca Maria Visconti his wife; he was born in Fermo in 1444.
23. Ludovico, the Elder, was the first in the Freducci chartmaking dynasty.

As noted above, on close observation of the original, evidently on stylistic grounds, I attributed the Iesi chart to 'the Freducci family from Ancona' in my 1999 article 'The Ottoman Conquest of Armenia from a Portolan Italian Chart of Iesi' (Iesi, Biblioteca Comunale Planettiana, Sala Planettiana, Direzione: Carta Nautica); and I maintained that certain features reveal a close affinity with the six charts in *Periplum*

hometown, 1470), Venice once more (1471-74), and Ancona again (1480-82). See Campbell, 'Portolan Charts' (see n. 80), p. 432, and note 421.

¹⁴⁴ 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1465, p. 211.

¹⁴⁵ 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 185.

seu Circumnavigatio signed 'Jesus Maria Conte de Hoctomanno Freducci de Anchona la facte nell'anno 1512' now in Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta (see n. 26).

I interpreted various town vignettes as directly related, in my view, to the main purpose of the chart/map, as 'a visual crusading sermon', or a 'manifesto' in defence of the classical tradition created in the context of the attempt in 1464 by Pope Pius II, to mount a crusade. As to the map aspects of the Iesi fragment, however, Tony Campbell has maintained that: 'What she describes as 'dismantled' towers, indicating post-conquest Ottoman destruction, are found widely across Asia Minor. An alternative interpretation would be that these were left 'unfinished' by the map maker, as seems to apply to the larger symbols for Paderborn and Grabau. The simple, upturned table effect of the majority can be seen to form the drafting basis of the vignette construction for the few that were completed. Perhaps these, with their names, were placed there as markers, for the future elaboration that never took place. I could not find clear confirmation of an attempt to convey structural damage'.¹⁴⁶

I, based on close observation of the original, have evidence to disprove Campbell's claim: on the Iesi chart, what I describe as 'dismantled' towers are actually dismantled towers, broken battlements and turrets; all are especially depicted as such. Four Christian churches suffered from heresy in Germany, Kingdom of the Romans and Empire in the West, Silver Crown, and Bishop Aeneus Silvius Piccolomini had been sent there to visit the churches in 1452: the first at the gate of Paderborn (Nordrhein-Westfalen), the cupola and the tower of which fell; the second, that of Grabau (Schleswig-Holstein), the cupola of which likewise fell, as did also the flank wall; the third, that of Dessau (Sachsen Anhalt), which was hurt only in the tower part; the fourth, that of Zeitz (Sachsen Anhalt; known also by the name of Naumburg), the cupola and the embattled deck of which fell down. Roofs and walls in some vignettes are depicted smashed in pieces, but were left partly standing.¹⁴⁷ The map maker did not leave them unfinished. Several scenes depict demolition work in progress, both in the West and East. The map maker thus reproduced pictures and stories of the effects of bombing on structures, both religious and civil, of great public interest. We see signs of such effect, on the one hand, in the Roman bishoprics under the Silver Crown of Germany and Bohemia, Kingdom of the Romans and Empire in the West, at the time when the Hussite heresy

¹⁴⁶ Tony Campbell, 'Census of Pre-Sixteenth-Century Portolan Charts' (see n. 2), pp. 67-94; and Tony Campbell, 'Census of Pre-Sixteenth-Century Portolan Charts: Additional ('E') Entries', available at <http://www.maphistory.info/portolanextra.html> [accessed 22 July 2011].

¹⁴⁷ Licini, 'European and Ottoman Landmarks from a Portolan Chart at the Time of Enea Silvio Piccolomini' (see n. 135), p. 200; p. 201, fig. 4a; p. 203, fig. 6a; and Licini, 'The Ottoman Conquest of Armenia from a Portolan Italian Chart of Iesi' (see n. 25), p. 64.

reigned in that country. The continued independence of the German Church was a matter of great concern to the Popes of Rome. Moreover, what was the Empire of the Romans in the East, is now, 1464, Turkey, on the other. The preservation of buildings threatened with physical, political and civil demolition has been a matter of great concern to the Popes of Rome. Artillery and the enormous bombards of the Quattrocento were employed as battering rams or as stone-throwing catapults. Consequently, the map maker depicted the effect of bombard explosions. Let us survey the Iesi fragment. Where once was *Caesarea Cappadociae* in Greek Anatolia, Empire of the Romans in the East, all embattled, there is now Kayseri of Kapadokya, Turkey.

Giovanni, the Younger, Freducci, Lord of Falerone (Fermo Counties), Count (Ancona, c. 1450 - ?, 1491)

1. Giovanni was born in Ancona, the son and heir of Ludovico, the Elder, Senator of Rome, Esquire, and Caterina Nardi his wife. As Ludovico received as wife Caterina widow of Antonio Ferretti dei Conti di Castel Ferretto, an ancient family of Ancona, their issue and descendants were admitted to the nobility in Ancona in 1450 (see n. 142).
2. Ludovico and Caterina had issue, two sons and a daughter. Giovanni, Pier Nicolò and Stefania Freducci had three half-brothers, Francesco, Leonardo and Antonio Ferretti.
3. Giovanni assumed the title of Lord of Falerone, in Fermo Counties (Comitatus). The strong castle of Falerone and other forts had been in the family's possession since the tenth century. He married first Caterina, daughter of Niccolò Fogliani, who was a Noble of Fermo Counties, and had three sons, Tommaso, Oliverotto, and Battista. They all bore arms in the service of Fermo District, and Counties.¹⁴⁸
4. As time went on, Giovanni had more wives and more children in Ancona.¹⁴⁹ A pedigree of three generations of the family descending to Angelo's days is headed by lord Count Freducci (Eufreducus) married, to his second wife, Mariettina de Urbevetris, daughter and heir of Domenico an Anconitan Noble. The pedigree has been placed on official record at the Order of Santo Stefano in Pisa since 12 February 1563.
5. Pier Nicolò his elder brother never returned from Ancona, and the City Council of Fermo (Cernita Council) appointed Giovanni as his replacement on 6 December 1476. In January 1478 Giovanni filled their father's place with

¹⁴⁸ 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo edite ed inedite', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 172, note 248.

¹⁴⁹ This is grounded upon the words 'coeteris uxoribus filiis nepotibus nuribusque suis sepulchrum cum sacello a Ludovico equite celeberrimo viro gravissimo pie dicatum' in the epitaph. He was buried in Fermo's church of San Francesco d'Assisi. See n. 23 for further explication.

equal honour and repute among the Lords Priors Governors of Fermo, 'propter senectutem patris'.¹⁵⁰

6. According to the epitaph inscription at San Francesco's Chapel, Fermo, the Turkish pirates killed Giovanni in 1491 (see n. 24). His father survived him.
7. Giovanni was no chartmaker.

Oliverotto Freducci, Count of hoctomannum (Fermo Counties) Count of the city of Fermo, Liverottus Eufredutius in Latin texts (Fermo, 1473 - Senigallia, 31 December 1502)

1. Oliverotto was the son of Giovanni Freducci and Caterina of Niccolò Fogliani. He was born in Fermo.
2. The Lords Priors of the City Council of Fermo sent his brother Tommaso Freducci (Thomaso Ufreduccio) to the fortress of Senigallia which was held for *Madonna Prefectessa* Giovanna Feltria, the wife of Giovanni della Rovere, on 3 April 1497. Giovanni della Rovere and Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere (the future Pope Julius II) were brothers. Tommaso had to submit a proposal to his brother Oliverotto in Senigallia: if his men in arms and skillful crossbowmen took service in the municipal corps, they should be permanently maintained at public charge at monthly wages.
3. On 18 April 1497 Pope Alexander VI Borgia sent his approval and blessing.¹⁵¹ Back from the war between the houses of Anjou and Aragon for the throne of Naples at the border with the temporal throne of the Roman States where the city of Fermo stood, in June 1497 Oliverotto set up his own armed forces of soldiers and a body of fifty crossbowmen in the marine defence of Ripa (modern Ripatransone). Ripa was fortified, and very commandingly and finely places. Oliverotto received a salary from the Council of the Municipality of the city of Fermo (see n. 60).
4. The ancient family of Ferretti has been settled in high reputation in the Roman States for more than two centuries, intermarrying with the first houses of the Marca, among which the house 'de Freducci' stands preeminent in Fermo. Antonio Ferretti was survived by his widow Caterina Nardi who married (second) Ludovico Freducci the Senator in Ancona in 1450. Ludovico and Caterina had Giovanni, Pier Nicolò and Stefania; so that Giovanni Oliverotto's father was uterin brother to Count Francesco Ferretti, son and heir of Antonio Ferretti Count of Castel Ferretto of Ancona. Count Francesco was born in Ancona Counties (Comitatus Anconitanus) where he married Fiordalisa Bonarelli; he then served in the militia company of Oliverotto Freducci in Fermo Counties (Comitatus Firmanus).¹⁵²
5. By official letter dated 6 July 1497, Oliverotto (Liverotto Ufridutio) got the promotion to 'rector, head and commissary general to the army' with full

¹⁵⁰ Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo' (see n. 22), p. 271, note 15.

¹⁵¹ Pope Alexander's brief from St Peter, Rome, 18 April 1497, to the Lords Priors of Fermo; Fermo Biblioteca Comunale, n. 1430 Indice Hubart.

¹⁵² Francesco Ferretti, *Pietra del paragone* (see n. 11), pp. 132, 346.

- powers over Fermo Counties and the District of the city of Fermo (civitas Firmana ejusque comitatus et districtus). Oliverotto was, by virtue of his office, all powerful, his soldiers including his highest officers being promoted, demoted or indeed executed at his will.¹⁵³ The term *etemanno* in the meaning of marshall in command of the military forces is still in use in Italian today.
6. As Guglielmotti, the historian of the Papal Marine, observes in 1876, *Freduccio* must take rank as the first chartmaker to show the declination of the compass needle on a nautical chart in 1497. Guglielmotti had known no other family than the Freduccis in Fermo, otherwise called Uffreduccis. In the whole peerage of the Roman States, no other noble family, with the exception of the Freduccis, the powerful family of counts in Fermo, has produced a great chartmaker (see n. 27). There is no equivocation whatever, for there are no two persons who are described by the name Freducci in the Marca. The Freducci subscription reads as follows: *Comes hoctomanni fredutij de Ancona Composuit MCCCCLXXXVII* (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 99, Aug. 2°, nautical chart, 1497).
 7. In April 1498, the City Council of Fermo engaged Andrea Doria the nobleman from Genoa, and treated him well. Doria received a large salary and also the pay for his two hundred horsemen. He was made prefect of Castle San Pietro degli Angeli (modern Monte San Pietrangeli) between the Rivers Chienti and Tenna in the Marca, Firman District. Then, coolly calculating his resources, Doria took his first steps as he went to Fermo.¹⁵⁴ Genoese soldier of fortune, the *condottiere* Doria would become grand admiral of the Holy Empire of the Romans in 1528.
 8. Andrea Doria had been prefect for two months when Tommaso Freducci Count of Montechiaro and collector agent (in regularia) was slain at Monte San Pietro degli Angeli on 20 June 1498. Tommaso Freducci was replaced by Oliverotto his brother ('Thomas Ufridutius dicitur cecidisset trucidatus ad montem S. Petri de alliis cuiusque loco etiam in regularia sufficit Liveroctus eius frater qui laudatur').¹⁵⁵ Tommaso Freducci was survived by Celanzia degli Oddi from Perugia his widow and four children. Of the four children, only Ludovico the Younger survived to perpetuate the family name.
 9. Commanding a grand view of the Adriatic Sea, the fort of Ripatransone was essential for the military control of the marine area. At the end of 1497 Oliverotto was also deputed commissioner for Offida at the mouth of the

¹⁵³ Filippini, 'Liverotto Freducci' (see n. 59), Documenti. 1. Registro di lettere dei Priori di Fermo 1496-97 (Biblioteca comunale di Fermo), N. 2, Istruzione a Tommaso Freducci, pp. 149-50, Firmi, iii aprilis 1497; N. 3 A Liverotto, pp. 150-1, Firmi, vi iulij 1497;

¹⁵⁴ 'Annali della città di Fermo di Giovan Paolo Montani dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), pp. 188-9. For original documents, see Licini, 'Andrea Doria di Genova, i Freducci da Fermo' (see n. 59), pp. 307-31.

¹⁵⁵ Filippini, 'Liverotto Freducci' (see n. 59), p. 69, and note 2 (as found also in Fermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Estratti di Cernite: Verbali dei Consigli Comunali, 1 luglio 1498).

River Tronto, close on the frontier.¹⁵⁶ He had a fusta of his own, and a number of fuste was always ready, or at least always in a situation of being ready, at command, to take him and his attendants over (see nn. 85-88).

10. Oliverotto Freducci and Vitellozzo Vitelli the Lord of Città di Castello, after they were enlisted for the campaign of Cesare Borgia Duke Valentino against Florence, had to take the military oath at the end of 1498. In November 1501 Borgia ordered his captains and troops to winter on the Marca. Captain Oliverotto, with his own troops, returned, by way of Camerino, to Fermo on 2 January 1502.¹⁵⁷
11. Oliverotto then, official reports say, surrounded himself with armed supporters, set up his headquarters and proclaimed himself Count of the City of Fermo on 8 January 1502. Some of Oliverotto's soldiers rushed out from concealment and massacred Giovanni Fogliani, Oliverotto's maternal uncle. Oliverotto killed Niccolosa Fogliani his first cousin, Raffaello della Rovere her husband and their two young sons, and other citizens. In 1502, Raffaello was the son of the soon-to-be Pope Julius II della Rovere (see n. 158 below).
12. Oliverotto promised to build a great new port at the mouth of the River Lete (modern Ete); and it was believed to be practicable to construct a canal so as to bring the River Tenna into communication with each other. At the same time, Oliverotto commissioned a privateer by issuing a letter of marque and reprisal. This document authorized the captain of a private fusta to capture enemy ships, their crews, and their cargoes. The event is mentioned in Fermo chronicles as follows: 'Oliverottus Ufredutius rediens Firmum, cuius mandato et in domo propria fuerunt tirannice interfecti infrascripti cives, et eorumdem filii, videlicet dominus Ioannes Folianus eius avunculus, Iacobus Bonioannes, [...] dominus Raphael de Ruere gener dicti Ioannis Foliani predicti, et filius naturalis Iuliani Sancti Petri ad Vincula et Iulii secundi Pontificis maximi demum nuncupati. Eodemque diem, predicto Oliverotto mandante, [...] auram tamen populi habere desiderans, Portum in finibus Leti fluminis constructurum civitati proficuum dicebat spondendo', and 'Voleva fare il porto alla foce del Lete co metterci la Tenna, fece fondere artiglieria nella Grotta Azzolino, fece fare una Fusta in mare per corseggiare'.¹⁵⁸
13. *Letum* has given us the modern river-name Ete for the stream that flows eastwards through the Firmano, and falls into the bay of to enter the Adriatic

¹⁵⁶ 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo', De Minicis (ed.) *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 286, note 10; and 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1497, p. 228.

¹⁵⁷ Licini, 'Andrea Doria di Genova, i Freducci da Fermo' (see n. 59), p. 319, and note 69.

¹⁵⁸ 'Cronaca Fermiana di Luca Costantini segretario del Comune di Fermo in continuazione di quella di Niccolò', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 103; and 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo', ed. De Minicis (ed.), , 1502, pp. 173, 189; and 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1502, p. 237.

Sea at Porto San Giorgio (ancient Porto Fermo). This name is spent with all the laxity of ancient orthography, *Leta, Lotto, Leto, Lethe, Lete*.

14. After his betrothal to Vitellozzo Vitelli's sister, Oliverotto did not succeed in carrying out the nuptials.¹⁵⁹ Vitelli took part with the Orsini, Oliverotto da Fermo and other captains in the conspiracy of Badia della Magione against Borgia in September 1502. The meeting was held at Magione, a place belonging to the powerful Cardinal Giovanni Battista Orsini. Cesare Borgia, however, tricked the plotters, had them arrested at the coastal fortress of Senigallia. Oliverotto Count of the city of Fermo and Vitellozzo Lord of Città di Castello were strangled at the orders of Borgia on 31 December 1502, and both died badly. Paolo Orsini, and his brother Francesco Orsini Duke of Gravina were left alive until 18 January 1503 in Castel della Pieve.
15. Of the three brothers, only Battista survived (see nn. 74, 105 and 112).
16. Oliverotto was the second in the Freducci chartmaking dynasty.

Of course, this means that all the charts and atlases dated after 1502, when Oliverotto was murdered on the orders of Borgia, are the work of one or more chartmakers intermediate between Oliverotto Freducci and Angelo Freducci - and hence a significant change in our knowledge of Anconitan chartmaking (Licini, Formia Conference, 2003, published June 2007). In the paper which I delivered at the Formia Conference, 2003, I focused attention on the need to explore historical sources in Fermo and draw new conclusions on the Freducci chartmaking dynasty rather than accept the preconceived statements of the history of cartography.¹⁶⁰

I rely upon official records and diplomatic chronicles in the State Archives of Fermo to determine how many are the counts, *comites* or *conti*, with that family name to be counted in the Anconitan Marca. We are still speaking of an elective Monarchy pertaining to the Pope of Rome in 1497. The recognition of a title of nobility required processing a set of feudal records and served as a generation check-in system in any European Monarchy. The first name would be redundant on portolan charts. It was intended that one alone could be the Anconitan count-subscriptor. The one, the sole head of his noble house, had the right to wear the title of nobility after legal recognition in accordance with heraldic laws and customs by lineage. The secure biographical information I do have about the Freducci family derives from Papal rather than poetical sources. And lastly, Letters Patent whereby the Aldermen of the

¹⁵⁹ 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1502, p. 190.

¹⁶⁰ Licini, 'La cartografia nautica dei Freducci come testo, contesto e ipertesto della Signoria di Fermo' (see n. 21), p. 257, and note 13; p. 264; p. 271, and note 34; p. 286, and note 63. Session referees: Corradino Astengo, Vladimiro Valerio, Simonetta Conti.

city of Ancona placed a pedigree of three generations on official record at the Order of St Stephen in Pisa in 1563. The grants are contained in Letters Patent of Gregory XI, Urban VI, Boniface IX, Pontifices Maximi, in the form of Papal bulls under the lead seal, and in other letters by Pope Urban VI.

Nevertheless, Professor Chet Van Duzer (p. 9) has maintained that 'This interpretation also ignores the information we do have about the Freducci family; and does not give a satisfactory answer for why Oliverotto Freducci da Fermo, if he made the map, did not simply sign his own name.'

Ludovico the Younger Freducci, Conte de Hectomanno and Count of the city of Fermo, Ludovicus Eufreductius in Latin texts (Fermo, 1496 - Falerone, 21 March 1520)

1. The son and heir of Tommaso Count of Montechiaro and Celanzia degli Oddi his wife. His inheritance included Falerone Castle and property around, which came to the family through Count Tommaso his father, Count Oliverotto his uncle, and the cadet uncle, Battista (see n. 110). At Oliverotto's death, Ludovico succeeded him in the County of *Hectomanno*, and he was subsequently the sole *Conte*, or *Comes*, of Hectomanno on the roll of the peerage.
2. Until long after Oliveotto's dreadful end the Freduccis were ostracized, and hated in the Marca of Ancona. On 14 August 1504 the new Pope Julius II della Rovere, who had lost his son Raffaele della Rovere and nephews in the feud Raffaele had started with Oliverotto his cousin in Fermo in 1502, banned the Freduccis and their followers (see n. 73).
3. In the meanwhile, someone helped Celanzia Freducci escape with her four children to Perugia. She was an Oddi by birth, and her uncle was Giovanni Paolo Baglioni Lord of Perugia. Baglioni educated Ludovico to arms in the fifth year of his age. Ludovico was afterwards appointed a *paggio* at Florence at the Medici court at the age of eleven. Here he remained till 1512, and afterwards he went back to Perugia (see. n. 103).
4. *Freducci's 1512 atlas in Perugia* (Perugia, Biblioteca comunale Augusta, MS. 2915, c. 4v). The Freducci signature is *yhs. maria. Conte de hoctomanno freducci de Anchona la facte nellanno MCCCCXII*.
5. As soon as Pope Julius della Rovere died on 21 February 1513, Ludovico Freducci went forth in person with fifteen horsemen in his company to Sanseverino (modern San Severino Marche). Ludovico claimed lands along the Chienti River Valley, and marched on the town of Fermo. On 9 March 1513 Ludovico rode to Falerone Castle. He instantly resolved to sent patents to the Firman Castles, with express orders to obey his commands. Here four thousand men were ready to join him. At last, Giovanni Antonio Freducci in

his duty of town commissary was dispatched to Falerone Castle with an invitation for Ludovico to return to Perugia. It was the day when Leo X dei Medici was elected the new Pope. On 11 March 1513, the news arrived in Fermo. Freducci, therefore, applied to the Holy College of Cardinals in Rome and the Medicean Pope as judge to give sentence. On 24 March 1514 Ludovico was fully restored to his liberty and estates. All lands that had been confiscated to his uncle Battista Freducci (Eufreducio) by Pope Julius della Rovere two years after the strangling of Oliverotto were returned to Ludovico Freducci.¹⁶¹ In July 1514, Ludovico collected a corps of two hundred horsemen, and gave them arms and noble coats.

6. Pope Leo X sent his brother Giuliano dei Medici and Ludovico Freducci on diplomatic mission to the future King of France Francis I in December 1514. Paolo Vettori from Florence as the Captain-General of the Church's Fleet was the third in the Medici legacy to Paris (see n. 70).
7. In February 1515, Ludovico Freducci covenanted to serve Pope Leo with two hundred horsemen under his command. Now Ludovico was a *condottiere*. He took his army and went to the city of Fermo. Accompanied by general Lorenzo dei Medici, son and heir of Pietro and Alfonsina Orsini his wife, Ludovico and his cavalrymen then rode to Florence between February and March 1515. At the end of October 1515 Ludovico led his men back to the Marca of Ancona for their first winter on the domain of the Church. He probably made his ocean chart in Ancona his titular province in November 1515, to be ready for the conference in Bologna via Romagna on 11 December 1515.
8. *Freducci's 1515 chart depicting Florida and Bimini for the first time.* The Italian subscription reads *yhs · m^a · Vgo · Conte de Hectomāno freducci de Anchona la facta in Anchona nellan [sic] (yhesus · maria · Virgo · Conte de Hectomanno Freducci de Anchona la facta in Anchona nell'a[nno] [year erased])*. Now in Firenze, Fondo: Carte nautiche 15 (mm 1216 x 770). Unfortunately a razor cut in the neck of the parchment does but implement mysteries around Freducci's work.
9. Ludovico Freducci's first military exploit of any consequence, was his securing the Duchy of Urbino for the Medicean Pope. Not long after, in July 1516 Pope Leo X ordered Ludovico to take military action against the dead

¹⁶¹ The Pope's brief is dated Rome, 14 August 1504. Battista was banned from his homeland because he was Oliverotto's brother (Fermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Atti di Cernita dated 23 October 1504, 4 March and 19 April 1505). For the documents cited, see 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1514, p. 252; and Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducii di Fermo' (see n. 22), p. 271, and note 17.

Pope's nephew Francesco Maria I della Rovere, third Duke of Urbino, a Pontifical hereditary vicar. Attended by two thousand footmen and two hundred horsemen, Freducci advanced to Urbino. Thus the whole country became subject to the Medici, and possession was taken of it accordingly, for and in the name of Lorenzo dei Medici, to whom Pope Leo X, his uncle, had given it.¹⁶² For which reason, Pope Leo X first imposed Ludovico Freducci (Ludovicus Eufreductius) as Count of Fermo Counties (Hectomanno) in 1514, and then as Count of the city of Fermo, and gave him the right to dispose of all in 1516.¹⁶³

10. In the meanwhile, Ludovico married Giulia de Conte (Julia Conti), by whom he had no issue. Only one official document dated February 1519 names her.
11. He had, as Count of the city of Fermo, acted with severity against all those who neglected the observance of the law when movements of a particularly suspicious nature were seen in neighbourhood, to break up from his quarters. In the Pope's view, now Ludovico was strong enough to take possession of the whole Marca. Charged as a rebel against the Apostolic See, Ludovico headed a formidable party of armed men at San Benedetto del Tronto and then marched to Falerone Castle, the ancient seat of the Freduccis. He was killed at the Battle of Monte Santa Maria in Giorgio (modern Montegiorgio) near Falerone against Giovannino dei Medici on 21 March 1520. Niccolò Bonafede, the Bishop of Chiusi, recognized the dying man on the field of Montegiorgio (see n. 29). Pope Leo X confiscated all the family property on 16 July 1520. In the brief, the Pope informed Giovannino dei Medici his nephew that all confiscated properties of Ludovico Freducci the rebel had gone to the Apostolic Chamber. The Pope guaranteed that properties would be liberally granted to him.
12. Ludovico, the Younger, was the third in the Freducci chartmaking dynasty.

This nobleman dying in 1520, he was succeeded in his titles and estates by Giovanni Antonio Freducci, the son of Giovanni as cadets of the house of Freducci, which deduces its lineage from Giovanni the Elder, Soldier and Count of Fermo. Members of Freducci's wider family included another Tommaso, the son of Galeotto the lawyer. Giovanni the Elder had two sons, Ludovico the Elder and Galeotto, from his

¹⁶² 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo dall'anno 1445 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1513, pp. 249-54; and 'Annali della Città di Fermo di Giovan Paolo Montani dall'anno 1145 sino al 1557', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), 1514-1516, pp. 192-3; and 'Annotazioni e giunte alle cronache fermane di Giovan Paolo Montani e dell'Anonimo compilate sulle storie italiane e municipali di Fermo edite ed inedite', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), N. 2, pp. 281-3.

¹⁶³ De Minicis (ed.), *Serie cronologica degli antichi Signori* (see n. 121), p. 26, 1433, Franciscus Sfortia, *Dominus Firmi*; p. 30, 1502, Oliveroctus Eufreductius, *Dominus Firmi*; 1503, Caesar Borgia, *Dominus Firmi*; 1503, Rodericus Borgia, *Dominus Firmi*; p. 30, 1516, Ludovicus Eufreductius, *Dominus Firmi*.

marriage to Selvaggia. In fact, nothing appears to have come from the confiscation of the estates of Ludovico the Younger the rebel to the Roman court in 1520 (see n. 117).

Count Giovanni Freducci (Fermo, ? - Falerone, 3 May 1537)

1. The son of Giovanni Antonio, both consuls of *Contrada San Martino*, in Fermo (Cernita Act, Fermo, 20 April 1518).¹⁶⁴
2. Where the coheirship ceased, and there remained only one heir, such sole heir became entitled to it, as a matter of right, and not of favour, from the Papal crown.
3. Lineage: this is a branch of the noble house of Freducci, springing from Giovanni Freducci, Soldier and Count of Fermo in 1439 (*de Firmo Miles et Comes*).
4. Giovanni, the son of Giovanni Antonio, succeeded to the titles on the death of Ludovico the rebel in 1520. He had municipal honours and duties.
5. The main seat of the family was at Falerone in Fermo Counties, and while municipal honours were thus sought by some members of the family in Fermo, another branch had transferred to the city of Ancona.
6. Giovanni was also heir to the feud of his family in 1520. In 1537 a conspiracy of nobles was formed in Fermo against Pope Paul III Farnese, occasioned by the Brancadoro, the Freducci's historical enemies. Giovanni was murdered in his castle of Falerone, the ancient seat of the Freduccis, on 3 May 1537. He had no issue. His estates devolved upon his only surviving brother Vincenzo Freducci.¹⁶⁵
7. *Charts and atlases signed respectively by Conte de Hoctomanno Freducci and Conte Freducci range in date from 1524 (New York, Hispanic Society of America, K24, chart) to 1536 (Palermo, Archivio dei principi Lanza di Trabia, atlas)*. Atlases are copies of Ludovico the Younger's productions.
8. Giovanni the elder son of Giovanni Antonio was the fourth in the Freducci chartmaking dynasty.

Thus the Firman Civil War began just after the murder in Falerone in May. The first shots were fired when Pope Paul III Farnese sent his son Pier Luigi Farnese, at the head of an armed force, to sack the city of Fermo and reduce the Firmans to obedience on 10 September 1537. The Pope declared Fermo an unfaithful rebel to

¹⁶⁴ Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo' (see n. 22), p. 306-7, and notes 26 (Fermo, Cernite, 20 e 25 Agosto 1504), 30 (Fermo, Cernita, 21 Febbraio 1508), 31 (Fermo, Cernita, 20 Aprile 1518; Cernita, 3 maggio 1537).

¹⁶⁵ Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo' (see n. 22), p. 307, notes 31 and 32.

the Roman court on 30 September 1537, and the seat of government was moved from Fermo, to Mons Octonis (modern Montottone) in Fermo Counties (Comitatus). For four years the Civil War had been a conflict that showed the thread to the existence of the nation itself. Moreover, no one from the city could go to Fermo Counties and harvest during the following years 1540, 1541, 1542 (see n. 123). In 1541 the main changes resulted in the abolition of all the Fermo Counties which had been created in 1273 and their replacement by a unitary authority subsuming Fermo Counties (Comitatus) and Fermo District (Districtus) authorities in 1550—the Cardinal Nephew by authority from His Holiness the Pope, whether under the title of governor, lieutenant governor, president of the council, or under any other title or title whatsoever.¹⁶⁶

As a matter of fact, the last atlas which has come down to us from *Conte de Octomāno freduccj* was made in 1539. It confirms its dependence on a Freducian model. The atlas in question is Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Fondo Speciale Carte e Atlanti Nautici, Atlante di Ludovico Freducci, dated 1539. Indeed, Pope Paul III actually abolished the nobility of Fermo in 1541.

Vincenzo Freducci, Count until 1541 (fl. 1537- Fermo, 1574)

1. He was brother and heir of Giovanni, and son of Giovanni Antonio.
2. *Four atlases signed respectively by Conte de Octomanno Freducci and Conte Freducci range in date from 1538 (London, British Library, Add. MS. 10132; London, British Library, Add. MS. 22348; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borgiano XIII) to 1539 (Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Fondo Speciale Carte e Atlanti Nautici, Atlante di Ludovico Freducci). Atlases are copies of Ludovico the Younger's productions.*
3. The earliest known document of Vincenzo Freducci (Uffreducci) as head of the house is dated 10 May 1539.¹⁶⁷
4. Then, in late 1541, Fermo Counties (Comitatus) were abolished, and conveyed to a cardinal-nephew of a Pope.

¹⁶⁶ Pope Julius III Ciochi Del Monte summoned to Rome his nephew *ex fratre*, Cardinal Giovanni Battista Ciochi Del Monte, and then appointed him as first governor of the new province of Fermo on 21 July 1550. De Minicis (ed.), *Serie cronologica degli antichi Signori* (see n. 121), Note alla Serie de' Governatori Vicegovernatori e Delegati de' quali sono dipinti gli Stemmi con quello del Pontefice Giulio III nel mezzo di essi, p. 67, N. 1, Giambattista Del Monte.

¹⁶⁷ Roma, Archivio di Stato, Stato Pontificio, Fondo: Pergamene, Serie: Compagnia di Gesù (Gesuiti), Cassetta/cartella 76/139 (vecchia segnatura), 'Regesto, Roma. Indennità fatta da Vincenzo Uffreducci a favore di Cesare Rinaldi da Fermo'; Fermo, Archivio di Stato, 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo', in Gaetano De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache della Città di Fermo pubblicate per la prima volta dal Cav. De Minicis* (Firenze, 1870), 1557, p. 279.

5. In 1553 his son Giulio assumed the office of banker and treasurer of *Contrada San Martino* in his place.
6. In March 1557, the Pope's commissary in the Ecclesiastical State of the Marca of Ancona dispatched Vincenzo Freducci (Freducio) to the Ecclesiastical State of Romagna to guide Francis Duke of Guise and his militia men across the marshes of the Firman District. Vincenzo died at Fermo in 1574.¹⁶⁸
7. Vincenzo was the fifth in the Freducci chartmaking dynasty.

The Firman Civil War ended on 22 November 1547 when possessions and revenues were fully restored to the city of Fermo and Fermo District (Districtus). Not long after this the principal branch of the family lost their estates, and gradually dwindling away, fell into such obscurity that no trace of them in the male line could be discovered in Fermo. Nonetheless, charts and atlases signed by Angelo 'de Conte Freducci de Ancona' in Italian range in date from 1547 to 1554. There is one extant chart now preserved in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, II 292 CP), dated 1547; the Italian signature reads as follows *IHS M^a Virgo - Angelo de Conte Freducci de Ancona lafacta nelanno MDXXXVII (Ihesus Maria Virgo - Angelo de Conte Freducci de Ancona la facta nel anno MDXXXVII)*.

Angelo Freducci, de Conte Freducci alias Angelus Eufredutius, nobilis Anconitanus (Ancona, circa 1491 - Ancona 1573)

1. The son and heir of Count Freducci (dominus Comes Eufreducus). Giovanni, Count Freducci, married twice, and by his second wife, Mariettina de Urbevetrus of noble rank, had a son, Angelo. The mother of his second wife was a Scalamonti, a family of powerful counts in Ancona (see 'Conclusive Proof' above).
2. The tomb of their ancestors exhibits an inscription at Fermo in 1491. The inscription runs thus: 'The Turkish pirates tore Giovanni's life away'. We are reminded that Giovanni is the son of Ludovico who will deeply mourn his loss; Giovanni, eldest son and successor to Ludovico, had wives, children, and grandchildren.
3. This Freducci branch differenced their arms by three golden lilies on a blue field with the addition of a lambel of three points *gules*, in the upper part of the shield, which stands for a second house. The arms on it, three red roses, however, are the original paternal arms of the Freducci in Fermo. Also the

¹⁶⁸ Roma, Archivio di Stato, Stato Pontificio, Fondo: Pergamene, Serie: Compagnia di Gesù (Gesuiti), Cassetta/cartella 76/139 (vecchia segnatura), 'Regesto, Roma. Indennità fatta da Vincenzo Uffreducci a favore di Cesare Rinaldi da Fermo'; and 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), March 1557, p. 279. See also Fracassetti, 'Gli Eufreducci di Fermo' (see n. 22), p. 307, n. 32.

Freduccis of the city of Ancona are all descended of Giovanni *de Eufredutijs*, Soldier and Count of Fermo in 1439 (*de Firmo Miles et Comes*), Ludovico's father, which their armorial bearing testifies.

4. Angelo married Maria de Toroglioni, by whom he had Giovanni. As Giovanni was admitted to the Military Order of St Stephen in 1563 Angelo had to provide proof that his family had lived nobly for generations and had 'no taint' of Muslim ancestry.
5. Angelo was the father of the last-named Giovanni, of Ancona. The arms of Giovanni *de Eufreducciis*, Angelo's son, were placed on official record at the Order of St Stephen in Pisa in 1563 (see figg. 4-5). Running up either side of this pedigree were two series of heraldic shields taking the ancestry of husband and wife back three generations, his to *dominus Comes Eufreducius*, hers to *dominus Comes de Scalamontibus*.
6. *Charts and atlases signed respectively by Angelo de Conte Freducci and Angelus Eufredutius range in date from 1547 (Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, II 292 CP) to 1556 (Rome (Biblioteca Casanatense, MS. 4866; Mantova, Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana, ms. 646).*
7. Charts and atlases are copies of Ludovico the Younger's productions.
8. In 1550, Angelo Freducci the Alderman was appointed collector agent of revenue and sums of money for the Aldermen of the city of Ancona (Antianatus, Regulariae; Letters Patent under the Great Seal, 1563, fol. 1, line 5). The *regulatores* had responsibilities under Statutes, Ordinances and Acts of the Senate of Ancona. It shall be the duty of the *regulatores* to act as the principal administrative officers of the city, and to appoint Captains in the Armata of St Cyriacus at Ancona and to receive sworn yearly in April (see n. 8, Ordo pro Armata Sancti Chiriaci, Rub. 35).
9. Angelo was the sixth and last in the Freducci chartmaking dynasty.

Giovanni Freducci, Comes, Knight of St Stephen at Pisa, (Ancona, 1530 - Pisa, June 1589)

1. The son of Angelo Freducci and Maria Toroglioni his wife.
2. On 9 March 1563 (in 1562 according to the Pisan style of the calendar) Giovanni Freducci was invested with the ensigns of the Military Order of St Stephen, at Pisa, by Paolo Vitelli, Knight, Marquis of Cetona (Città di Castello). As aspirant for Knight in the Order of St Stephen, Giovanni Freducci had to prove his direct descent from four noble families on both sides, from the father's and mother's sides. The proof was this: paternal grandmother: de Urbevetricis; maternal grandmother: Contessa de Scalamontibus (see n. 7).

3. Giovanni Freducci enjoyed the title of *Comes* ('D. Joannes Eufredutius comes') in the Letters Patent by the Aldermen of the city of Ancona in 1581. Now Lelio, the son of Andrea Freducci, is the aspirant Knight in the Military Order of St Stephen, at Pisa.¹⁶⁹
4. On 25 December 1562 Francesco Ferretti, the second son of Count Pietro Gentile (Piergentile) and Felice the daughter of Alessandro de Scalamontibus his wife, was also invested with the ensigns of the Military Order of St Stephen, at Pisa. He was born in Ancona in 1523. The Ferretti family was the most distinguished in Ancona, the Roman States of the Church. Francesco had to prove four quarters of nobility, meaning that his parents and grandparents from both sides had to be noble. The four coats of arms represent Francesco's four ancestors: Ferretti, Scalamonti, Bonarelli, Todini.¹⁷⁰ As Contessa de Scalamontibus was Giovanni Freducci's maternal grandmother in the Letters Patent dated at Ancona on 12 February 1563, Francesco, son of Pietro Ferretti and Felice the daughter of Alessandro Scalamonti his wife, was then a second cousin of Giovanni Freducci by the mother's side.
5. Francesco Ferretti was one of the Knights from the Anconitan March who helped defend Malta against the Turkish hordes of Sultan Süleyman in 1565.¹⁷¹ Süleyman the Grand Turk mounted a powerful expedition against Malta in May 1565, but the Knights of St John and the Knights of St Stephen defended the island with their usual valour, and the Ottoman forces were compelled to withdraw, having lost some 35,000 men including their commander Dragut Pasha. The Maltese Archipelago is located approximately 60 miles south of Sicily. The Ottoman defeat at Malta marked the limit of Ottoman Turkish expansion in the Mediterranean Sea in September 1565, just as their failure at Vienna was the high-water mark of their penetration

¹⁶⁹ 'et aegregius vir D. Joannes Eufredutius Comes'. Pisa, Archivio di Stato, Fondo: Ordine di Santo Stefano, Provanze di nobiltà 1562-1808: filza n. 40, inserto 27, Processo di nobiltà del Cavaliere Lelio di Andrea Freducci di Ancona, Notarial deed of 23 September 1581, fol. xi, lines 16-17; *signum* of 'Petrus Baptista a Porta' public notary by apostolic authority; document attached to Letters Patent of Antiani Civitatis Anconae, 5 Octobris 1581, signed by Ambrosius de Ciceribus et Commessarij, Datum Anconae, In Palatio nostrae solitae Residentiae, 30 7mbris [Septembris] 1581 - v Octobris 1581 - viiii Dicembre 1581, fol. ix - fol. xxv; in palatio Episcopali praesentibus.

¹⁷⁰ Francesco Ferretti, *Pietra del paragone* (see n. 11), Parte Prima, pp. 498-503.

¹⁷¹ Francesco Ferretti, *Pietra del paragone* (see n. 11), Parte Prima, Conte Antonio Ferretti, figlio di Vincenzo e fratello di Pietro, pp. 323-4; pp. 494, 503. Francesco was Pietro's son. The original documents are preserved in Pisa, Archivio di Stato, Fondo: Ordine di Santo Stefano, Provanze di nobiltà 1562-1808: filza n. 7, inserto 43, Processo di nobiltà del Cavaliere Francesco Ferretti; luogo di provenienza: Ancona; data di vestizione: 25 dicembre 1562. See also Stemmi dei Cavalieri dell'O.S.S. nella Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa (Palazzo della Carovana), Cartella: Franciscus Ferrectus Anconitanus MDLXII, Ubicazione stemma: Sala azzurra, n. 266; available at <http://www.docstar.sns.it/index.html>.

into Europe, both occurring during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent as he was known in Europe.

6. In the March of Ancona, producing charts and atlases was a tradition, passed from one generation of chartmakers to the next. Back from the victorious Battle of Lepanto against the Ottoman Turks in 1571, Francesco Ferretti the Knight of St Stephen composed an atlas, with familiar speeches, with the following title: *I Diporti Notturni. Dialoghi Familiari del Cap.o Franc.o Ferre.ti Cav.ro dell'Ordine di Sa.to Stefano. Con la Dimostrazione Figurale Intagliata da Michel'Angelo Marrelli Anconitano 1579*. The celebrated atlas and description of the islands in the Mediterranean is now known as *isolario*. The work was printed by Francesco Salvioni in Ancona in 1579 (colophon dated 1580). The maps were engraved by Michel'Angelo Marrelli of Ancona. Victoria Morse maintains, very sensibly, that Ferretti's nautical *isolario* also served military purposes in an indirect way by drawing attention to the losses suffered by Christendom in the Greek East and advocating taking action for their recovery. She notes that the designation of the author as Captain Francesco Ferretti, Knight of the Order of St Stephen hints at a book military character and the author's career aspirations.¹⁷²
7. A chart in the Galleria Colonna was the work of the Ancona cartographer Bartolomeo Bonomi (or Bonomini) and was, it is claimed, used by the Admiral of the Papal Fleet, Marcantonio Colonna, during the Battle of Lepanto. The signature reads as follows *Bartholomaeus de Bonis Hominibus anconitanus faciebat Anconae* (Rome, Archivio Colonna).¹⁷³ The date is illegible. In May 1570, the Ghislieri Pope, Pius IV, assembled the Holy-League Fleet; it was intended to break the Ottoman Empire's control of the eastern Mediterranean Sea. On 11 June 1570 Marcantonio Colonna received his appointment as Captain General of the Papal Fleet. Five days later, he left Rome for Ancona, where one of his captains had already brought eight of the galleys from Venice, with a view to completing their fitting-out and crewing in that port. A memorable victory was soon afterwards (September 1571) obtained by this Fleet over that of the Turks, near the gulf of Lepanto, and Francesco Ferretti had hitherto fought by his side during the battle.

¹⁷² Victoria Morse, 'The History of Renaissance Cartography: Interpretative Essays', in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography, Volume Three (Part 1): Cartography in the European Renaissance* (Chicago and London, 2007), p. 274.

¹⁷³ Guglielmotti, based on close observation of the original in 1876. See *La guerra dei pirati e la marina pontificia* (see n. 26), Vol. 1, Libro Primo, Capitano Lodovico del Mosca, Cavaliere Romano (1500-1503), x, pp. 35-6, 'Il capitano Cintio [Benincasa] nobile anconitano', especially p. 36 and note 42.

8. But I have a far more important, because a direct, testimony, in the book by Francesco Ferretti with the title *I Diporti Notturni*, chapter ii. Speaking of Anconitan chartmaking, Captain Francesco Ferretti, Knight of the Order of St Stephen, first writes to Angelo Righi his Captain-major that the production of navigational charts reached its utmost during the times of the Freduccis; they were all Anconitan Gentlemen and compatriots (see n. 96). Wood and copper engraving followed close upon the development of chartmaking in Ancona, however, Ferretti observes in 1579, and now Bartholomeo Buon'huomini's works not even parallel but surpass the other authors. Bartholomeo Buon'huomini is a compatriot, a young chartmaker. Captain Ferretti presented Buon'huomini's chart to Guidubaldo della Rovere second Duke of Urbino, and he attests that he himself witnessed the Duke's enthusiasm.¹⁷⁴ I also argue that the chart ranges in date from 1572 to 1574 some time before the Duke's death in September.
9. From the Order's register it appears, that Giovanni Freducci was charged with receiving payments in exchange from the coats of arms all enamelled in their proper colours on thick plates of wood, with the bearers names and inscriptions under each. The original coats of arms are still visible in the Palazzo della Carovana (modern Scuola Normale Superiore), at Pisa. There yet stands his coat of arms, and the following inscription *Ioannes Eufredutyus Anconetanus MDLXII* (see n. 7).
10. He was no chartmaker.

Lelio Freducci (Lelio giovane, Lillo giovane), Noble of Ancona, Knight of St Stephen at Pisa (Ancona, 1557 - Pisa, ?)

1. The son and heir of Andrea Freducci and *madonna* Felice de Bartolucci his wife. Andrea, his father, was the son of Lillo, or Lelio the Elder Freducci (Lillo vechio de Freducci). Lillo the Elder son of Pier Nicolò married *madonna* Cara the daughter of Tomaso de Toroglioni.¹⁷⁵
2. His grandmother was *madonna* Cara de Toroglioni the wife of Lillo vechio.

¹⁷⁴ Francesco Ferretti, *I Diporti Notturni* (see n. 95), Notturmo Secondo: Qui si ragiona della pratica della Chorographia, Geographia, et Cosmographia, Cap. ii, pp. 10-11.

¹⁷⁵ Pisa, Archivio di Stato, Fondo: Ordine di Santo Stefano, Provanze di nobiltà 1562-1808: filza n. 40, inserto 27, Processo di nobiltà del Cavaliere Lelio di Andrea Freducci di Ancona, Antiani Civitatis Anconae, Lettere Patenti, 5 Octobris 1581; fol. xvi, Item 2; fol. xviii; signed by Ambrosius de Ciceribus et Commessarij, Datum Anconae, In Palatio nostrae solitae Residentiae, 30 7mbris [Septembris] 1581 - v Octobris 1581 - viiii Dicembre 1581, fol. ix - fol. xxv; in palatio Episcopali praesentibus: *signum* of 'Petrus Baptista a Porta' public notary by apostolic authority.

3. On 17 March 1582 (1581 according to the Pisan style of the calendar) Captain Lelio Freducci was invested with the ensigns of the Military Order of St Stephen, at Pisa. Francesco I dei Medici, second Grand Duke of Tuscany, was the new Grand Master of the Order. The four coats of arms in the corners of the page represent Lelio's four ancestors: Freducci, Bartolucci, Toroleonj, Benincasi. The coats of arms (fol. iv) show the *signum* of 'Petrus Baptista a Porta' public notary.¹⁷⁶
4. The original *probanza* was signed by Jacopo Scacchi and Gabriello Ferrantini 'to make proofs of Lelio Freducci d'Ancona'. They were the *commendatori* of the Order of Santo Stefano. The first part of the document is dated Ancona, 9 December 1581, in the pontificate of Pope Gregory XIII (Pisa, A.S., Fondo: O.S.S., n. 40, ins. 27, fol. vi). The notarial deed then includes the statement that 'Constituti personaliter coram testibus et me notario infraetsupra scriptis Magnificus et aegregius vir D. Joannes Eufredutius Comes: datarius religionis et militiae S.ti Stephani Antianus' (Antiani Civitatis Anconae, Letters Patent dated 5 Octobris 1581: Notarial deed, fol. ix, lines 16-17).
5. He was no chartmaker.

Bust of Oliverotto Freducci in Profile, British Library, 1895,0915.474

In 2005, Leonardo Badioli made a stylistic comparison of the sepulchral monument of Ludovico the Younger Freducci in the church of San Francesco d'Assisi, Fermo, and a drawing now in the British Museum, London (see fig. 12).¹⁷⁷ The drawing is described as 'A bust of a warrior in profile to left, wearing a winged helmet and armour bearing a lion on the breastplate. Metalpoint, on prepared paper. Drawn by: Leonardo da Vinci. Date: 1475-1480. Dimensions: Height 287 millimetres; Width 211 millimetres. Inventory Number 1895,0915.474'.

In the church of San Francesco d'Assisi, a large Gothic arch gives access to the Cappella del Sacramento. The Chapel had been built as a private worship house for the Freducci family; a document, dated 1491, reads: 'constituta in Ecclesia Sancti Francisci de Firmo in Cappella D.ni Ludovici Eufreductii'.¹⁷⁸ On the right is the

¹⁷⁶ Pisa, A.S., Fondo: O.S.S., Provanze: filza n. 40, inserto 27, Provanza di M. Lelio Freducci d'Ancona, 23 Dicembre 1581, fol. iv.

¹⁷⁷ Leonardo Badioli, 'È Oliverotto?', *Sestante*, Dic. 2005, pp. 2-3.

¹⁷⁸ Vittore Crivelli, Stefano Papetti, Pietro Zampetti, *Vittore Crivelli e la pittura del suo tempo nel Fermano* (Milano, 1997), p. 93. On 17 October 1491 'Vittore habitator Firmi' signed the contract to paint the chapel of Ludovico Freducci in San Francesco, Fermo.

magnificent funerary monument to Ludovico the Younger, the rebel to the Roman court; it was erected by Celanzia degli Oddi his mother. The comparison of a sleeping young man to a funerary figure is recurrent in Andrea Sansovino's sculpture and architecture. Dominating the niche in which it is placed, the sculptured figure represents the deceased, Ludovico the Younger, as a sleeping warrior in armour in 1527. The Freducci's coat of arms is chiseled in tiny detail on the breastplate. The two armours in London and Fermo are identical. Drawing then on various factors of style, Badioli has concluded that the two warriors were in the same armour.



Fig. 12. Early August 1502. Bust of a warrior in profile, a silverpoint drawing (London, British Library, Department of Prints and Drawings, 1895,0915.474 AN167382001). © British Library Board.



Fig. 13. Freducci's coat of arms. Freducci Palace, Fermo (modern Liceo Ginnasio Statale Annibal Caro and Archivio di Stato).
Public property.

In the upper left corner of Freducci Palace is a coat of arms carved in stone (see fig. 13). I went up to the front of the building to verify that the coat of arms corresponded to the one I had seen in the Sacramento Chapel.

The British Library retains a range of dates, between 1475 and 1480, for the head of the *condottiere*. The identification of the Freducci's coat of arms, however, makes me believe that we now have circumstantial evidence for a possible date of

approximately August 1502. Leonardo's drawing pays homage to Oliverotto Freducci who has been legally recognized as the Count of the city of Fermo since 8 January 1502, in the Papal province of *Marchia Anconitana*. Oliverotto, the second son of Giovanni, is the greatest member of the leading family in the political, military, and naval life in Fermo District at the time. Oliverotto was the son of Giovanni Count Freducci and Caterina Fogliani his first wife. Since 6 July 1497, Oliverotto (Liverotto Ufridutio) has got the promotion to 'rector, head and commissary general to the army' with full powers over Fermo Counties and the District of the city of Fermo. And Freducci's earliest surviving map, his chart of 1497 (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 99, Aug. 2°), has a signature. It reads *Comes hoctomanni fredutijs de Ancona Composuit MCCCCLXXXVII*. Now archive sources in Fermo help us find our way in the enormous amount of information on Vitellozzo Vitelli, Leonardo's friend, and Cesare Borgia, the Pope's son. Cesare Borgia as Gonfalonier of the Roman Church began his second campaign in the Romagna, a rebellious territory that was part of the States of the Church. The 1501 winter season was abnormally cold and prolonged. Borgia resumed his advance against the town of Faenza but was met with so stout a resistance, that he was compelled to retreat and gain ground. Borgia next set his sights on Florence, in the Italic States (Iron Crown). In 1501, Borgia had monopolized all the best *condottiere* troops, and Florence had again sought vainly for aid. The Orsini, Vitelli and Freducci were still with Borgia. In May 1501, as his forces neared Florence's walls, the ruling Signoria of the city capitulated by agreeing to pay Borgia 36,000 florins a year as protection money and permitting his Army to cross Florentine territory at will as he conquered more towns.

In the meantime, on 28 February 1501, Oliverotto Freducci left Fermo. He therefore moved his cavalymen to the field of Faenza. But Cesare Borgia sent him orders to advance to Pisa. Oliverotto then rode at the head of his 200 cavalymen and led them to Pisa against Florence. As Borgia had been fighting his battles with the help of Vitellozzo Vitelli the Lord of Città di Castello and Oliverotto Freducci the Count of the city of Fermo, Vitellozzo's brother-in-law, he decided to winter on the Marca at the end of 1501. Accordingly, Oliverotto was back to winter headquarters in Fermo on 2 January 1502. And after murdering his uncle Giovanni Fogliani and his cousin Raffaello della Rovere on 8 January, Oliverotto aimed at the sovereign power. He mounted his horse, rode through the streets of Fermo, and formed a government of which he made himself the Prince.¹⁷⁹

From a letter of Francesco Malatesta to Isabella Gonzaga, dated 12 May 1502, it appears that Leonardo da Vinci was still in Florence. At the end of May, however,

¹⁷⁹ 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), pp. 235-6.

Leonardo was in Piombino, Tuscany, making plans for draining the marsh. It was then that Leonardo produced a series of notes and drawings in Manuscript L and Codex Atlanticus. While inspecting the fortresses and the territory of Piombino, Leonardo was invited to Foligno by Vitellozzo Vitelli, one of Borgia's captains, who was moving on Arezzo and Val di Chiana, then on the point of rebellion against his native Florence. To this end Leonardo made some of the beautiful maps now at Windsor. The rebellion broke out on 4 June 1502. Vitellozzo arrived on the scene in company with 3,500 men, all well armed. And he was given the keys of the town of Arezzo on 7 June. And Leonardo remained with Vitellozzo until he left for Urbino on 18 June. In fact, on 21 June Leonardo accompanied Cesare in his perfidious attack to Urbino. At Urbino on 13 July Leonardo made a sketch of a pigeon house, at Pesaro on 1 August 1502 Leonardo made a memorandum of a visit to the Sforza Library ('in Pesero la libreria').¹⁸⁰

During this time, Oliverotto was seen in the company of Vitellozzo sacking the Varano court in Camerino, Ecclesiastical States. Giulio da Varano had set up his siege-engines. For two months Camerino had been assailed by Oliverotto and Vitellozzo, when Giulio surrendered on 20 July. After the taking of Camerino, 'in August 1502' Cesare Borgia, or, as the Firman chronicles call him, the Duke of Valentinois ('Duca Valentino'), with the rest of the Army came to Fermo, to give a fair remuneration to Oliverotto for the duties he had performed.¹⁸¹ We can take this as the occasion when Leonardo made the drawing that celebrated this astonishing warrior wearing a winged helmet and armour bearing a leopard, the heraldic lion, on the breastplate, and three roses. And no further occasion would arise after August 14. Cesare Borgia was already in Pavia, Lombardy, when he sent to Leonardo the Letter Patent that named him architect and engineer general on 18 August 1502. Since 15 August 1502 Leonardo had been in Cesena when he received the Letter Patent. Early August 1502 is, therefore, the most likely date for the portrait.

¹⁸⁰ Edmondo Solmi, 'Aneddoti e Varietà. Partecipazione di Leonardo da Vinci alla sollevazione di Arezzo e della Val di Chiana nel giugno del 1502', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Serie v, Vol. 49, No. 265 (1912), pp. 122-129; Agatino D'Arrigo, 'Leonardo da Vinci e il regime della spaggia di Cesenatico. Ricerche sulle origini dei porticanali nel Rinascimento', *Annali dei Lavori Pubblici (Già Giornale del Genio Civile)*, Anno lxxvii, Fasc. xi, Novembre 1939, pp. 1104-35.

¹⁸¹ 'Annali di Fermo d'Autore Anonimo', De Minicis (ed.), *Cronache* (see n. 6), p. 237; Filippini, 'Liverotto Freducci', (see n. 59), pp. 78-85.

Conclusions

Here is the information we do have about the Freducci family (note no different spelling of the surname). Incidentally, the interchange of two contiguous letters is known as 'adjacent metathesis' in Linguistics. The most important document I found is the original manuscript that finally brought it all together. I discovered the *provanza*, the legal proof of nobility of Captain Giovanni Freducci, Angelo's son, as set forth in the Statutes and Regulation of the Military Order of St Stephen in Pisa, the Tuscan Order founded by the Medici. The Knights were to be Gentlemen-at-Arms, belonging to the most ancient nobility who professed the Catholic faith. Every member had to prove four quarters of nobility, meaning that his parents and grandparents from both sides had to be noble. Thus the Notarial deed dated at Ancona on 11 February 1563 led to the issue of Letters Patent under the Great Seal by the Aldermen of the city of Ancona on 12 February 1563. It may be interesting to note in passing that the 1563 document is recorded under the year 1562 according to the Pisan style of the calendar (the Pisan style chose as New Year's the 25th of March *before* January 1).

Clearly, original documents should have priority as evidence. Angelo Freducci, or, *Angelus Eufreducus, nobilis Anconitanus*, the son of *dominus Comes Eufreducus*, placed a pedigree of three generations on official record at the Order of St Stephen in Pisa in 1563. The pedigree is headed by the lord Count Freducci, married to Mariettina daughter of Giovanni de Urbevetris, a nobleman of Ancona. The entry descends to the issue of Angelo Count Freducci's son, and of Maria de Torolionis his wife. Angelo and Maria had two sons, Domenico, and Giovanni an aspirant for Knight in the Order of St Stephen who had to prove his direct descent from four noble families on both sides. But a charter of pedigree is not evidence, without showing the books and records whence it is deduced. Pedigrees of noblemen and noblewomen are pretty well attested by the fact of their succeeding to and using the titles and dignity. The Aldermen of the city of Ancona, at the time of making the Letters Patent of Giovanni Freducci Angelo's son, 12 February 1563, testify that the titles of nobility in the Freducci (de Eufreduciis), Orvieti (de Urbevetris), Toroglioni (de Totolionis) and Scalamonti (de Scalamontibus) families were created by Letters Patent of Gregory XI, Urban VI, Boniface IX, Pontifices Maximi, in the form of Papal bulls under the lead seal, and by other letters of Pope Urban VI (fol. 1).

The Ancona library was destroyed in the Second World War; therefore, the original Letters Patent now at the Archivio di Stato in Pisa are the only recorded pedigree of three generations of the Freducci family. We also have now, I think, conclusive proof that the family of Angelo is headed by the lord Count Freducci (*dominus Comes Eufreducus*), married to Mariettina de Urbevetris his second wife

at Ancona. The 1563 Letters Patent refer to him as the Count, *Comes*. Fermo municipal reports call the Count by his proper name *Giovanni* in 1476-80. Giovanni, son of Ludovico Freducci and Caterina Nardi his wife, born at Ancona about 1450, whose high civic reputation was established in the most brilliant epoch of Fermo history, and whose name is to be found in Fermo municipal reports and tomb inscription, was murdered by Turkish pirates in 1491.

The final indication comes from references to two branches of the family descended from a common ancestor living in the fifteenth century, all bearing substantially the same arms. A pedigree of five generations has been officially recorded and published by the Order of St Stephen in 1735, which is headed by Giovanni, the Elder, Freducci (see n. 11, *La Galleria dell'Onore*). He is *Johannes de Eufredutijs*, who styles himself *de Firmo Miles et Comes* in the Italian letter from Fermo to Cosimo I dei Medici in 1439 (Florence, M.A.P., *Inventario*, ii, doc. n. 286, filza xi). From Giovanni the Elder, Soldier and Count in 1439, derived the branch of the Freducci family to which belonged Oliverotto, second son of Giovanni the Younger Freducci by Caterina Fogliani his first wife in Fermo. Oliverotto was elevated to rector, head and commissary general in Fermo Counties and Fermo District in July 1497, absolute Lord and then Tyrant of the city of Fermo in January 1502. Thereafter, upon reentering and retaking possession of the family estates through Papal brief dated 20 March 1513 from St Peter in Rome to the Lords Priors Governors of Fermo, Ludovico the Younger (*de Eufredutiis*), son of Tommaso and Celanzia degli Oddi his wife, assumed the same titles held by his father, and by his uncle Oliverotto (*Eufreductius*).

From Ludovico the Elder Freducci (*de Uffridutis*) of Fermo, Senator of Rome, the son and heir of Giovanni the Elder Freducci (*de Eufredutijs*), Soldier and Count in 1439 (*Miles et Comes*), derived the branch of the Freducci family which settled at Ancona in 1450, and of which were, first, Giovanni the Younger, elder son of Ludovico and Caterina Nardi his wife, Count (*Comes Eufreducus*), who married twice, the second wife being Mariettina de Urbevetris in Ancona (Letters Patent dated 1563), and was murdered by Turkish pirates in 1491 (tomb inscription); and, second, Angelo their son (*Angelus Eufredutius nobilis Anconitanus*); and, third, the last-named Giovanni, Count (*Joannes Eufredutiis Comes*, Letters Patent dated 1581), son of Angelo and Maria de Torolionis his wife, the Knight of the Order of St Stephen, at Pisa, 1563.

Two of Freducci's atlases — Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS. 4866; and Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale Teresiana MS. 646) — include the signature of the Anconitan chartmaker Angelus Eufredutius in Latin in 1556. The first signature reads as follows: *Angelus Eufredutius Anconitanus Composuit In anno domini MDLVI*.

The second signature reads as follows: *Angelus eufredutius Anconitanus composuit Anconae MDLVI*; this work was made in the city of Ancona.

As I researched Angelo's family I discovered a strong link of the Latin surname to Fermo Counties, south Marca. At this point, I tried to provide a precise account based largely on direct work with the primary sources. Thus, the list of variants that I collected from authentic records can tell one etymological story—that of *Eufreductius* and *Ufreductius* (1276), *Uffredutius* (1380), *Freduccius* and *Freducci* in the plural (1387), *de Eufridutijs de Firmo* (1439), *de Uffridutis de Firmo* (1461), *Ufreductius* (1497, 1498, 1502, Fermo), *fredutijs* (1497 chart), *freducci* (1512 atlas), *freducci* (1515 ocean chart, Ancona), *Eufredutius* and *de Eufredutiis* (1520, Apostolic Chamber, Rome), *Freduccio* as individual members (1520), *Uffredutius* (1530), *Freduccj* (1539 atlas), *Freducci* (1547 chart) and *Eufredutius* (1556 atlases), *de Eufreducijs* or *Eufreducius* and *de Euferdutijs* or *Euferdutius* (1563, Ancona, Letters Patent and Notarial deed respectively), *Freducius* and *Eufredutius* (1575), *Eufredutius* (1581, Ancona, Letters Patent) and *Freducci* (1581, Ancona, Notarial deed), *Freduccio* as individual members (1832 and 1876), *Uffreduzi* (1966).

It is the story leading up to the two Anconitan atlases of 1556 made by *Angelus Eufredutius*, now in Rome and Mantua respectively. The Latin name of *Eufreductius* became, in process of time, italianized into *Freducci*, until Angelo resumed, by sign-manual, in 1556, the original surname. The story passes through the 1497 *Freducci* chart in Wolfenbüttel. *Freduccio*, whose name is to be found in the naval history of the Papal States (published in Florence in 1876), was the chartmaker who first designated the compass declination within the area covered by his chart in 1497. All members of the leading family of Fermo were called by no other name than that of *Freducci*, or *Eufreducci*, according to the naval history of the Papal States.

The geographical distribution of a family name in the late thirteenth century provides an essential point for tracing its origin and rank. *Comes*, *Conte*, *Count*, from the Latin *Comitatus*, or Counties, and *Comitatus Firmanus*, or Fermo Counties in the case under consideration here, is a title of hereditary nobility commonly used throughout Europe, and holds virtually the same meaning as *Earl* in Anglo-Saxon history. It seems plain that the chartmaker who signed the 1497 chart in Wolfenbüttel as *Comes hoctomanni fredutijs de Ancona Composuit MCCCCLXXXVII* came from Fermo Counties, and he was the *etemanno* in the Norman meaning of *Marshall* in command of the military forces from July 1497 until the end of his life in 1502. Giovanni his father had been murdered by the Turks, the *Osmanli*, or *Ottoman Turks*, in 1491.

Ignoring all these sources of official information, and seeking for evidence

from unexpected sources as partially read poems, legends, vignettes, and generally from persons so situated that under ordinary circumstances very little credence would be given their testimony, Chet Van Duzer (p. 4) is the latest to maintain that charts and atlases signed by 'Conte di Ottomano Freducci' range in date from 1497 to 1539, so he had a remarkably long career as a cartographer, but we have very little biographical information about him.

I must again repeat, that *Comes hoctomanni* (1497), *Conte de hoctomanno* (1512), *Conte de Hectomāno* (1515) have nothing to do with Ottomano after Othman or Osman (d. 1326), the founder of the Ottoman dynasty. The Freduccis use the macron sign (-) to make the vowel say its own place name. The cartographer's grandfather was not Lillo Ferducci (note the different spelling of the surname), a merchant, who went from Ancona to Turkey during the reign of Sultan Murad II (1421-1451). And Lillo's firstborn son Othman, after Othman or Osman (d. 1326), the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, was not 'Ottomano' Freducci the chartmaker. Lillo and Othman, father and son, exist merely in the fictitious preamble to the unsigned copy of the poem *Amyris* by Giovanni Mario Filelfo Anconitano in four books dedicated to Galeazzo Maria Sforza fifth Duke of Milan (book 4, lines 1367 and 1444) who had been born in Fermo, Anconitan Marca. Indeed, if Chet Van Duzer had read the poem to the end, he would have learned that Filelfo did not write it in praise of 'the Turks and particularly Mehmed II'. Readers of the *Amyris* have often wondered how the dialogue hangs together; the first three books seem to be about Mehmed II the Conqueror, and the fourth about a crusade against him. In 1453, Constantinople (modern Istanbul) the capital of the Empire of the Romans in the East fell to the Ottoman Turks and Filelfo wrote the poem in 1475-6, calling for a crusade against Ferox Mahomettus, or Mehmed II as the Sultan is known in modern history (*Amyris*, book 4, lines 1432-40). This is an example of a poem in which the poet either argues a case and its opposite. The history of Greek literature refers to as the 'palinode' or recantation speech.

It is clear from the original Letters Patent dated at Ancona on 12 February 1563, that Lillo Ferducci had no grandson named Conte, a proper name according to Van Duzer, and that charts and atlases signed by 'Conte di Ottomano' Freducci do not range in date from 1497 to 1539, so Conte was not a proper name and he had not a remarkably long career as a cartographer.

No evidence confirms the tale. Othman Ferducci is a misnomer leading to nothing. The absurdity of the pedigree of three generations manufactured by Chet Van Duzer is too apparent to need serious refutation, and no professional genealogist would for a moment accept his conclusions as sound or as properly or fairly deducible from the poetic facts he sets out. This family history does not explain the source of the name 'Eufredutius' in the name *Angelus Eufredutius*, the second of

the two accepted chartmaker from that family according to the history of cartography.

By ignoring the political context in regions such as the Marca of Ancona in which theories develop, the historians of cartography have also created the impression that scientific theories arise by some sort of spontaneous generation which does not even require primary sources. Nobles were continually confronting Papal authorities with proof of their noble ancestry and their consequent right to rule as noble administrators in the Marca. The city of Ancona traditionally had a system in the Papal Navy of collector agents (*regulatores*) of the Board of Aldermen in the office of the *Regularia* (in *regularia*). Angelo Freducci, an Alderman of the regulatory body in Ancona, a *Regulator*, was summoned as a Jury-man three times in a year, by Statute, to put names of chief Captains in a Jury box or chest prepared for that purpose (*imbussulatio Capitaneorum dicta Armata*); after comparing such names he had the right to take from the list the names of the chief Captains so preferred, and thereupon had the right to appoint the chief Captains of the *Armata* of St Cyriacus at Ancona for a term of one year. Chief Captains had to provide all the necessary equipment and materials at their own expenses. His family's nobility, as we saw, dated from 1274, when Petrus and *Ufreductius* de Falerone, two brothers from Fermo Counties, received Letters Patent to that effect from Pope Gregory X Visconti.

We are, in one sense, at an early stage in research. The new information that nautical charts by the Freduccis, a powerful family of counts and chartmakers in the Marca, include are of particular interest to shed light on the process of commissioning and creating nautical charts in the Roman States in Medieval and Renaissance times. Even the true story of the chart signed by Bartholomeo Buon'huomini, or Bartolomeo Bonomi as the history of cartography calls him, finally came to light in the book by Francesco Ferretti.

A new scientific question does arise; such, for instance, as the question concerning elected chief Captains of the *Armata Sancti Chriaci* at Ancona on the one hand and charts and atlases signed by the Freduccis on the other. Because there were no merchants in the community of the noble class, we can not absolutely maintain that Lillo Ferducci, their common ancestor according to Chez Van Duzer, was a merchant from Ancona.

I propose instead a radical revision of the identity and sequence of Freducci chartmakers. Rather than the two accepted chartmakers from the family, six successive chartmakers of *Marchia Anconitana* came from the same family, that of the counts of *aehtemannum* (pl.) in the meaning of 'serfs of the manorial domain', or, as modern Italians say, *etemanno* in the meaning of marshall in command of the

military forces within the said domain. The word derives from the Norman heritage in the Roman States after 1080. Falerone Manor dominated the Firman land. The Roman and Firman chronicles call it *Comitatus Firmanus*, i.e. Fermo Counties, between the Ete Vivo and the Ete Morto, two rivers of the same name in the southern part of the Marca, one of the four Ecclesiastical States at the time. Pedigrees of noblemen are pretty well attested by the fact of their succeeding to and using the titles and dignity even on charts and maps in atlases.

1. Ludovico, the Elder, Freducci (Fermo, circa 1428 - Ancona, after 1491); the son of Giovanni, the Elder Freducci Soldier and Count of Fermo (*Johannes de Eufredutijs de Firmo Miles et Comes*, 1439) and Selvaggia his wife.
2. Oliverotto Freducci (Fermo, 1473 - Senigallia, 31 December 1502); the second son of Giovanni, Count Freducci, and Caterina Fogliani his first wife in Fermo.
3. Ludovico, the Younger, Freducci (Fermo, 1496 - Falerone, 21 March 1520); the son and heir of Tommaso and Celanzia degli Oddi his wife. Tommaso, Count of Montechiaro, modern Mogliano, was the first son of Giovanni, Count Freducci, and Caterina Fogliani his first wife in Fermo.
4. Giovanni Freducci (Fermo, ? - Falerone, 3 May 1537); the son of Giovanni Antonio, descended from the noble house of Freducci, being the eldest cadet of the Freduccis of Fermo, by direct descent from Giovanni the Elder Freducci, Soldier and Count of Fermo (*Johannes de Eufredutijs de Firmo Miles et Comes*, 1439). Giovanni Antonio was the son of Tommaso, son of Galeotto, second son of Giovanni the Soldier and Count.
5. Vincenzo Freducci, (fl. 1537- Fermo, 1574), brother and heir of Giovanni, sons of Giovanni Antonio. Count until the Papal abolition of all the Fermo Counties in 1541.
6. Angelo Freducci (Ancona, circa 1491 - Ancona, 1573). Charts and atlases are signed by *Angelo de Conte Freducci*, or *Angelus Eufredutius*; descended from the noble house of Freducci, being the son of Giovanni, Count Freducci, and Mariettina de Urbeveteris his second wife in Ancona. Angelo had two sons by his wife Maria, descended from the noble family of Nicolaus de Torolionis in Ancona, Giovanni the applicant Knight in 1563, and Domenico.

I assert that the person who signed the 1497 chart in Wolfenbüttel as *Comes hoctomanni fredutijs de Ancona Composuit MCCCCLXXXVII* was actually Oliverotto Freducci, the man who the Lords Priors Governors of Fermo labeled 'conductorio nostro amatissimo' and appointed rector, head and commissary general within the State of Fermo on 6 July 1497, i.e. Count of the Etemanno, or Marshal, between the Rivers Ete Vivo and Ete Morto and the mountain range of Sibillini, otherwise called *Firmanus Comitatus* and *Districtus* in Latin writ-charters in the Papal province of *Marchia Anconitana*, and Count by conquest of the city of Fermo (*Civitas Firmana*) on 8 January 1502, because I follow the history of the Pope's dominions. This genuine source of information has never before (incredible as it must seem) been

consulted for a history of cartography. In 1870 alone, the Papal States were incorporated into a unified Reign of Italy and the Holy See was geographically restricted to the new boundaries of Vatican City.

This investigation has enabled me to emphasize the distinctive character of the charts by Freducci and make some deductions about their purposes. If chartmaking was a cultural trait transmitted within a particular lineage group, in our case a dynasty of counts, then the Freduccis were entrusted with the defence of the maritime coast of the Pontifical province of the Marca.

According to Guglielmotti (1871, I, Libro I, Cap. IV, pp. 23-5), the Roman Church, having no fleet, resolved to find another way. The counts were commanded to look to the custody of the sea-coasts, as expressed in Charlemagne's *Capitularia*, Book IV, Chap. V 'De Comitibus ad custodiam maritimam deputatis: Volumus ut Comites qui ad custodiam maritimam deputati sunt, quicumque ex eis in suo ministerio residet, de justitia facienda se non excuset propter illam custodiam', A.D. 789. According to Beatus Rhenanus, in 1531 'Erant praeterea Comites ad custodiam Maritimam, item ad Marcam tuendam deputati; quos hodie Marchiones vocamur, Germanice Marcgrafios', as Stephanus Baluzius observes in his notes on *Capitularia Regum Francorum* (Paris, 1677, T. I., Capitularium Karoli Magni et Ludovici Pii, Liber IV, Col. 775, Caput V; T. II, Beatus, Col. 1188).

I confirm that all the charts dated after 1502, when Oliverotto Freducci the powerful Count of the city of Fermo was murdered on the orders of Cesare Borgia, are the work of more chartmakers intermediate between Oliverotto and Angelo. And I confirm that in 1464, aged about 36, Ludovico the Elder Freducci of Fermo, the powerful Senator of Rome, the first chartmaker in the Freducci chartmaking dynasty and future grandfather of Oliverotto, resided, with his wife and noble family, in the city of Ancona from 1450 till 1491, as documented in historical records. In August 1464, Piccolomini, by then Pope Pius II, called for a new crusade against the Turks, which was to sail from the port of Ancona, the capital of the province of Anconitana Marchia, Ecclesiastical States.

I assume that all the rest is fiction.