

## **A Florentine family in crisis: the Strozzi in the fifteenth century.**

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A FLORENTINE FAMILY IN CRISIS: THE STROZZI IN THE  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

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Abstract of thesis

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A FLORENTINE FAMILY IN CRISIS: the Strozzi in the Fifteenth Century.

Ph.D.

In 1434 the Strozzi lineage had held a leading position in Florentine society and government for at least one hundred and fifty years, and was one of the largest and wealthiest of the city's patrician lineages. The records of the catasto of 1427 and of the scrutiny of 1433 are used to give a profile of the dominant social, economic and political position of the Strozzi before the advent of Medicean dominance. Their record of electoral success, and the political and cultural leadership of influential and respected men such as Palla di Nofri and Matteo di Simone, with other factors, put the Strozzi amongst the greatest enemies of the victorious Medicean regime of late 1434. The effects of political opposition and exile on the lineage are examined both directly, through records of office-holding, and indirectly through such indicators as marriage alliances and household wealth. The two most prominent lines of the Strozzi were exiled after 1434. Palla di Nofri's life and preoccupations in his Paduan exile are examined, together with the lives of his sons; none of these Strozzi ever returned to Florence, pursued as they were by the enmity of the Medicean regime. The very different careers of Filippo di Matteo and his brother Lorenzo are also examined: how they succeeded in founding a lucrative bank in Naples, and in returning to Florence to 'rebuild' (rifare) the position of the Strozzi lineage there. The final decades of the century saw the Strozzi in an economically more secure position, due substantially to the efforts of Filippo. Except for a very small number of its members admitted into the regime, most of the lineage is here shown to have remained excluded from significant political office until after the fall of the Medici regime in 1494.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN MANUSCRIPT CITATIONS

A.S.F.        Archivio di Stato, Firenze  
C.S.        Carte Stroziane  
Cat.        Archivio del Catasto  
M.A.P.     Archivio Mediceo, avanti il principato  
M.S.S.     Manoscritti

B.N.F.        Biblioteca Nazionale, Firenze

Bib. Ricc.    Biblioteca Riccardiana, Firenze.

A.S. Ferr     Archivio di Stato, Ferrara

A.B. or Arch. Bent     Archivio Bentivoglio

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INTRODUCTION:

From the establishment of the government of the priors of the guilds in the late thirteenth century, until the final demise of the Florentine republic nearly 300 years later, the Strozzi were continuously one of the most important, powerful and wealthy of Florentine families. As one of their most distinguished historians, Richard Goldthwaite, has remarked,<sup>1</sup> the Strozzi considerably preceded the Medici in rising to political prominence in Florence, and in the sixteenth century were to pose the most serious threat to the formal establishment of Medicean rule. It might be added that during the first period of Medicean dominance in the fifteenth century, they regarded the Strozzi with the utmost seriousness as a likely source of powerful opposition. This is a study of the Strozzi lineage in that "middle" century, the fifteenth, and of the crisis which accompanied their transformation from being one of the wealthiest and politically most successful families in the ruling Florentine oligarchy,<sup>2</sup> to that of opposition, exclusion from political life, and exile. It is a study which will seek to combine the description and analysis of one lineage, the largest family group which in the fifteenth century still constituted the main "building block" of Florentine aristocratic society,<sup>3</sup> with an investigation of the ways in which, over a number of decades, its members reacted to the pressure of political events, and whether the nature of the bonds which united them were changed or weakened by these events.

A very large body of evidence (particularly in the form of private letters) relating to the Strozzi in the fifteenth century exists in the Archivio di Stato in Florence, and in other Italian archives. This evidence has until recently lain virtually untouched when it could have been used to make a valuable contribution to the recent debate on the nature of the Florentine family in the fifteenth century. The question of the degree to which the wider family or lineage remained for Florentine patricians a focus of loyalty and affections, and a source of political solidarity and economic and psychic support, an intermediate

and mediating body between the individual and the civic community, has now, I believe, largely been answered.<sup>5</sup> It is generally, if not universally, agreed that the family, in the widest sense of the lineage or clan, remained a powerful force in the lives of aristocratic Florentines. It has recently been suggested that what the study of the Florentine family now requires is its greater integration with that of the wider political and economic issues of Florentine history, so as to increase our understanding of the origins of social change.<sup>6</sup> The present study attempts, within a limited compass, to do precisely this: to combine some of the analytical methods of the new discipline of family history with an examination of the particular historical experiences of the Strozzi over a period of nearly a century. The very rich collection of Strozzi correspondence from the fifteenth century has made a study of this kind possible, by illuminating the relationship between the individual, the family, and the wider issues of Florentine politics.

In so far as is possible, I have included all the Florentine members of the Strozzi lineage in my study. Here the two main limitations have been those of space and evidence. The Strozzi were a very large lineage and it would be impossible to examine all the relevant areas for enquiry with respect to every individual; nor is there enough evidence to allow this. But in the case of their political and economic activities, the analysis is here a inclusive one. Of the fifteenth-century Florentine tax surveys, only the first catasto, of 1427, contained much detailed information about business investments<sup>7</sup> and other entrepreneurial activity, but it has seemed to me preferable to use this information, which although limited does include all of the lineage's members, rather than restrict my study of the economic life of the Strozzi to those of the lineage's members for whom private financial records survive. A study based on such records must be unrepresentative, for it can never include those who were without the initial capital

required for entrepreneurial activities, and whose sole income was derived from land-holdings or small parcels of Monte shares.<sup>8</sup> In addition, such a study could not gauge to any extent the inequalities in wealth commonly supposed to exist within aristocratic Florentine lineages, as it would inevitably concentrate on the richest members only.<sup>9</sup> In other areas the thesis will concentrate, perforce, on more prominent individuals: partly because the existing evidence is not spread equally across the lineage, but rather focuses on certain of its branches or lines, partly because I have chosen to pay particular attention to the exiles, as the most politically prominent individuals. Naturally the importance of the Strozzi to Florentine history is not shared equally by all of the lineage's members, and indeed the lives of many of them were very obscure. It seems to me necessary to seek a balance in a work of this kind between these two concerns.

The Strozzi were, in a revealing Florentine contradiction-in-terms, an aristocratic popolani<sup>10</sup> lineage: successful by our period in Florentine politics for at least one hundred and fifty years, and eminently wealthy for at least a century. They were also one of the largest of Florentine patrician lineages. All three of these factors - size, wealth, and political success - were crucial to the lives of the lineage's members, and the latter two were pre-conditions of the crisis they experienced in the years after 1434. The Strozzi appear to have reached a position of social and political respectability fairly soon after their arrival on the Florentine scene. Passerini was unable, in his genealogy, to trace them, with any precision, further back than the thirteenth century,<sup>11</sup> but in 1260 two sons of Messer Ubertino di Strozza, Rosso and Geri, were listed in the libro di Montaperti as knights, and were described as living in the parish of S. Maria Ughi,<sup>12</sup> as did many of their fifteenth century descendants. Geri's son Ubertino held the office of prior in 1284, the first of many Strozzi to do so in this period.<sup>13</sup> By the early fourteenth century at latest the Strozzi had

become veritable popolani grassi, and were rich enough to be creditors to the commune to the tune of 20,000 florins (second only to the Bardi) in the period between 1328 and 1342.<sup>14</sup> They survived the financial crisis of the 1340s better than almost all comparable families; in 1352 Meser Pazzino Strozzi was one of the ten richest men in Florence,<sup>15</sup> and by 1367 the company of Carlo di Strozza had a capital of 53,000 florins.<sup>16</sup> The Strozzi were, in addition, politically very powerful throughout the fourteenth century, having an influential voice in every important issue in Florentine politics from the time of the wars with the Lucchese signore Castruccio Castrucciani in the 1320s, through the brief episode of the rule of Walter de Brienne, and on into the political factions of the 1360s and the violent conflicts of the succeeding decade.<sup>17</sup> The following period, the hey-day of the so-called Albizzi oligarchy, was a period of consistent political success for the Strozzi, and must also have witnessed the founding or consolidation of the immense fortune of Nofri di Palla and his sons. It was thus against a background of great political influence as well as enormous wealth that the traumatic events of the fifteenth century took place. To the Strozzi the exiles and exclusion from politics which they suffered after 1434, and the economic decline which seems to have accompanied it, were unprecedented disasters.

My study does not include a full consideration of the first two decades of the century. This is partly for thematic reasons, and partly because of the evidence available for that period. Florentine history forms a natural period, in political terms, from the early 1380s to the period of crisis which began in the 1420s.<sup>18</sup> For this reason, and particularly because 1427 was the year of the first catasto, a profile is here drawn of the Strozzi lineage in that year, as the closest approximation to a "still frame" of the lineage's members near the end of their period of economic and political dominance, to be contrasted with the long period of change which came after it. Such a profile can never be



completely representative, because any such body of men, women and children was constantly changing, and it is possible that even in 1427 the lineage had begun a long process of economic decline. But despite this reservation, the material of the 1427 catasto gives a very full and valuable picture of the Strozzi lineage against which to measure the events and changes of the years which followed. The primary emphasis in this study is on the lineage, and on the relationships between its members outside the household; while some attention will be paid to the household, this is partly because it is necessary to do so to understand the life of the lineage (the two are, after all, inseparable), partly because I believe that household size and composition are more sensitive indicators than has generally been realised of external forces, changing not only according to an interior rhythm (the household cycle)<sup>19</sup> but as a result of the changing economic and even political fortunes of its members. Two most important aspects of the lineage's life will then be examined: first, the subject of marriage, one of the chief means by which Florentine patricians formed alliances with other individuals, and possibly with other lineages, and the ways in which marriages contracted by the Strozzi were influenced by their changing circumstances in this period. Similarly, the triumph of the Medicean faction in 1434 will be examined with respect to how it changed the political activities of all the lineage's members.

By the mid-fifteenth century the Strozzi had become far more dispersed than other Florentine aristocratic lineages. This was due both to the sentences of exile in 1434, and to earlier settlement by members of the lineage in Ferrara and Mantua from the later fourteenth century onwards. Those Strozzi who in the late fourteenth century settled in Ferrara - Carlo di Strozza<sup>20</sup> and his descendants - were both prolific and prosperous, and could easily provide the subject for a separate study; their presence, in turn, seems to have encouraged other Strozzi to settle there. The permanent expatriate communities will only

be studied here insofar as they were connected with their Florentine kinsmen; the principal subjects of this study are the Strozzi lineage in Florence and the "exiles" who left Florence as a result of judicial sentence, or for political or economic reasons with the intention of returning. While the "original" line of Ferrarese Strozzi still referred to Florence as their "patria" in the late fifteenth century,<sup>21</sup> this was more a matter of sentiment than of accuracy. But although the expatriate Florentine communities will not be examined in their own right, they played an important role in producing the exceptionally rich correspondence already mentioned, on which this study is largely based. While many of these letters were exchanged by the exiles after 1434, and their relatives and friends in Florence, many others resulted from contact between the expatriate and Florentine sections of the lineage.

By far the largest body of evidence used in this thesis comes from the third series of the Carte Strozzi. At the heart of this collection is a very large number of letters written to Matteo di Simone, his father, and his sons Filippo, Lorenzo and Matteo. While there are other completely independent Strozzi collections<sup>22</sup> which were combined in a fairly unsystematic fashion with this base by seventeenth century Strozzi antiquarians,<sup>23</sup> the letters written to Matteo and then to Filippo are numerically by far the most important. Their writers, however, are very varied, and a high proportion were other Strozzi, coming from all branches of the lineage. But it is for this reason that Matteo and Filippo appear so frequently in this thesis. Even such a major figure as Messer Palla di Nofri is represented in this collection only by letters written to Matteo and his father Simone; the same is true of his son Nofri, who was an intimate friend of Matteo before their exile in 1434, and Matteo's death almost immediately afterward. There are numerous letters of Filippo Strozzi in the Carte Strozzi; so far, with one notable exception, these are unedited,<sup>24</sup> and have been used very little. The reason for this neglect is, I suspect, partly to be found in their great length, and lack of easy legibility, and partly to the fact that

they are very largely concerned with business matters. Except for one letter, preserved in a much later copy, which is addressed to Marco Parenti,<sup>25</sup> all of Filippo's surviving letters were written to his immediate relatives, his mother, his sister Caterina (wife of Marco) and his brother Lorenzo. No letters of Filippo's written after Lorenzo's death in 1479 survive, unfortunately for any future biographer of this, one of the great men and major patrons of the Florentine Renaissance; it was to Lorenzo that his most interesting and revealing private thoughts were expressed. Filippo's letters will be used here primarily (though not exclusively) as they concern the wider interests of the Strozzi as a lineage. The Carte Strozzi also contain an important collection of business books and ricordanze of the Strozzi, not only those of Matteo's and Filippo's line, but also of Messer Palla di Nofri and his father,<sup>26</sup> and of many lesser-known Strozzi, amongst them Girolamo and Pagolo di Carlo di Marco,<sup>27</sup> Messer Palla Novello and his sons,<sup>28</sup> and the sons and grandsons of Jacopo d'Ubertino.<sup>29</sup>

There are also two volumes of private accounts and ricordanze of Filippo di Matteo Strozzi,<sup>30</sup> which until now have been mainly used for the history of the palace, and which reveal much about Filippo's life in Florence after his return from exile. Two important collections of Strozzi correspondence exist in addition to the very large Carte Strozzi collection. One is a collection of letters recently acquired by the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence;<sup>31</sup> almost all written by Strozzi. They must originally have belonged to the Caccini family, to whose members most of them are addressed. This is a most important collection, as it throws some new light on the experiences of Messer Palla di Nofri and his sons in exile. The second collection, preserved in the Archivio Bentivoglio, which forms part of the Archivio di Stato in Ferrara,<sup>32</sup> also concerns this branch of the Strozzi, but almost all these letters date from the period after Palla's death in 1462. Unfortunately hardly any letters written by Palla himself after his exile have survived, and it is

interesting to speculate as to why this is the case. He must have corresponded frequently with his eldest son, Lorenzo, who managed his affairs in Florence until he was also exiled in 1438, and after that he certainly wrote to his son-in-law Giovanni Rucellai.<sup>33</sup> As Lorenzo was considered to be in some danger from the regime during the 1430s, and as he burned at least one account book to prevent the information in it falling into hostile hands, it is possible that correspondence between him and Palla was destroyed for the same reason. Certainly some of Palla's private papers were in the possession of the Rucellai when Lorenzo di Filippo Strozzi wrote the Vita of Palla in the first half of the sixteenth century,<sup>34</sup> and it is possible that there were letters of Palla's in their hands as well; if this was in fact the case, they were lost together with almost all the Rucellai papers in the eighteenth century.<sup>35</sup>

Some of the most important sections of the Strozzi correspondence were published by Cesare Guasti over a century ago, not only the seventy two letters of Alessandra Macinghi (wife of Matteo di Simone and mother of Filippo) which gave his edition its title, Lettere di una gentildonna fiorentina ai figliuoli esuli,<sup>36</sup> but many letters as well of her sons, her sons-in-law, various members of the Strozzi lineage, and other Florentines of note. The latter were addressed either to her or, more usually, to one of her sons. Historians have generally been slow to realise the full potential of this collection,<sup>37</sup> either for the insights it allows into the life of the wider Florentine family, or for the social and political history of Florence. Not only did Guasti make a discerning choice from the enormous Strozzi correspondence, he also presented a great deal of biographical material about this line of the Strozzi in his introduction and annotations to the letters, material which no modern scholar can afford to neglect. In particular, he began the process of demonstrating how lamentably inaccurate was Filippo's first biographer, his son Lorenzo.<sup>38</sup>

Lorenzo was the son of his father's late middle age, and Filippo died before he reached his tenth birthday. While the source of

Lorenzo's erroneous information remains unknown, it is clear from some of his other Vite that Lorenzo's main source of information about his fifteenth century ancestors were the Vite of Vespasiano da Bisticci.<sup>39</sup>

Vespasiano and Filippo were almost exactly contemporaries, and Vespasiano probably did not live long enough to write a life of Filippo, even had he wished to do so.<sup>40</sup> The four Strozzi whose lives he did record were all of the previous generation, who had come to maturity in Florence before 1434, during what Vespasiano saw as the golden age of Florentine government and learning. They were Palla di Nofri, Matteo di Simone, Marcello di Strozza, and Benedetto di Pieraccione. It seems almost certain that he knew Benedetto, likely that he knew Marcello;<sup>41</sup> he probably did not know Palla, and certainly had no direct knowledge of Matteo.<sup>42</sup> The early historiographical tradition concerning the Strozzi, and about Palla in particular, is closely interwoven: in his vita of Palla Vespasiano seems to have used a story from the first "biographical" account of him by his son-in-law, Giovanni Rucellai.<sup>43</sup> Vespasiano may have heard this story through the agency of his friend, Giovanni's son Bernardo. Lorenzo Strozzi, the historian of his family - he wrote lives of twenty four Strozzi who lived between the late fourteenth and the mid-sixteenth century - was the son of a friend of Vespasiano, and must have inherited his father's presentation copy of the four Strozzi lives with the proemio addressed to Filippo himself.<sup>44</sup> He married a daughter of Bernardo Rucellai, and like Vespasiano had read some of the "Palla" materials that the Rucellai still possessed.<sup>45</sup> Lorenzo began a tradition amongst the Strozzi of collecting, copying and recording evidence about their own past, although the strictly biographical works thus produced offer disappointingly little in the way of fresh information.<sup>46</sup> It is a great leap from such compilations to the first modern historical study of the Strozzi by Guasti in the later nineteenth century.<sup>47</sup>

Many of the central questions which have determined the direction of the present interest in the Florentine family were first raised in a truly seminal article published by Philip Jones in 1956;<sup>48</sup> although

his concern was there the fourteenth century, the sources of evidence to which he drew attention - account books and ricordanze - have proved equally fruitful for the fifteenth. His presentation of some fairly scattered material on the Strozzi was followed up by Richard Goldthwaite twelve years later with his study of the private economic records of some members of four Florentine families between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence. One of these families was the Strozzi. Goldthwaite's is an interesting and very valuable study, but one which, partly owing to the kind of evidence used, and partly because he treated only a small part of the lineage, is limited in scope. In his study of Filippo Strozzi, for example, he did not make use of the ricordanze which occupy the back section of Filippo's two principal account books, presumably because he did not consider them relevant to the study.<sup>49</sup> Yet the use of such material, not to mention Filippo's quite copious correspondence, would have added much to extensive speculation about his attitude to his wealth, his building program, and the wider Strozzi family.

During the preparation of this thesis, two short studies have appeared, treating different episodes of Strozzi history from the viewpoint of the lineage as a whole, and using the Strozzi correspondence. The first of these, on the reaction to Filippo's palace project by the other members of the lineage, provided a model for the use of the Strozzi correspondence to which I am indebted.<sup>50</sup> The more recent article, on the marriage of Filippo di Filippo to Clarice di Piero de' Medici in 1508,<sup>51</sup> while outside the chronological scope of my study, is nevertheless complementary to it in its observations and conclusions.

Family history, perhaps more than any other historical sub-discipline, has suffered in the past from a sad confusion of terms, and the study of the Florentine family has had its full share of such confusion. The most important areas in need of classification have been those of the meaning of the term consorteria, and an apparently obvious but necessary distinction to be made between households, or co-residential

groups on one hand, and the largest agnatic kinship group, whether called consorteria lineage or clan, on the other. Both points have now been fully clarified by F. W. Kent in his Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence.<sup>52</sup> To avoid one other possible source of confusion I shall use the term "household" to refer to the domestic group or "family". This is not an attempt to deny the special relationship which united the household's members, by use of such a bloodless term to describe them; however, that "special relationship" will not here be a particular concern. The term "lineage" will be used to describe the thirty to forty-five Florentine households who traced a common descent from Ubertino, an "uomo del popolo" of the early thirteenth century. The Strozzi almost invariably described the corporate entity to which they belonged as the casa: an immediately distinguishable, and by common knowledge clearly defined group of kinsmen. While the English word "lineage" does not precisely correspond to that term, it is used here in the same way. Appropriate terms to describe sub-groups of the lineage larger than the household present some difficulties, which have been solved rather arbitrarily. I have given the term "branch", often employed fairly loosely, a more precise definition for the sake of convenience, while using "line" more loosely, to describe two or more generations of the Strozzi descended from some personage easily identified, or of particular note.

If any additional justification is needed for devoting a study such as this to a single Florentine family who, unlike the Medici, were never de facto rulers of Florence, or why it aims to encompass the whole lineage instead of only a few of its prominent members, it may be found in the words of Vespasiano, addressed to Filippo in the proemio to the four Strozzi lives. "Ho trovato la casa vostra degli Strozzi", he wrote, "non essere inferiore a ignuna del altre per i singluari uomini ha avuti, e massime nel governo della repubblica, i quali per le loro virtù l'hanno e chol senno e cho la propria persona difesa e sono suti cagione della sua conservatione." 53

NOTES:

1. Private Wealth, p.31.
2. The Strozzi were the wealthiest Florentine lineage at the time of the first catasto in 1427: see D. Herlihy and C. Klapish, Les Toscans et leur familles: une etude du catasto florentin de 1427 (Paris, 1978), p.251. They have calculated the sum of 3,724 to be the mean wealth of the Strozzi households in that year, but their total of 53 Strozzi "familles" or households included in this calculation represents in fact the number of Strozzi portate filed, not the number of households actually resident in Florence, which was smaller. On the difference between these two things see below, Ch.1, p.31. Messer Palla di Nofri Strozzi was the richest man in Florence in 1427, with a gross estimated capital worth of 162,928 florins, or a net estimation of 101,422; in 1403 his father Nofri paid 121 florins in prestanze, more than any other taxpayer in S. M. Novella. On Strozzi rates of wealth see below, Ch.1, and for comparison with other families, L. Martines, Social World, Appendix 2, Tables 1 and 2. On Strozzi political success in the early fifteenth century see below, Ch.3, p.152. G. Brucker has noted that the Strozzi were represented more times in the Signoria between 1343 and 1378 than any other Florentine family: "The Medici in the Fourteenth Century," Speculum, Vol 32, 1957, p.14. He also notes here that together with the Albizzi, Altoviti and Ridolfi more members of the Strozzi qualified in scrutinies in this period than did members of other families.
3. On the role of the family or lineage in Florentine life and politics, see in particular the recent work by G. Brucker, The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence, Princeton, 1977, Ch.1, "Corporate Values and the Aristocratic Ethos in Trecento Florence"; "to perceive the family, the lineage, as a corporate unit in a social order formed by collectivities is to grasp an important truth about this urban community ... it was and remained the most cohesive force in Florentine society through the



Renaissance and beyond." (p.18). Another recent work which emphasises the role of the lineage as a corporate group in Florentine aristocratic society is D. Kent, The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence, 1426-1434, Oxford, 1978, e.g. pp.49-60 (marriage alliances amongst the Medici faction), pp.193-96 (the family and factional politics).

4. This is discussed in more detail below, pp.13-14.

5. Goldthwaite's important work, Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence, published in 1968, stated emphatically his position that the lineage (although he did not use this term) was no longer a significant entity in our period: "by the fifteenth century the encrustations of a corporate society had fallen away and man was left exposed and isolated ..."; the "disintegration of the larger family" was complete (p.261). Goldthwaite pointed out, when writing Private Wealth, that much had been written about Florentine society "assuming" that the lineage was vital to its history (mentioning Brucker, Martines, and Rubinstein); since the appearance of his work a good deal of scholarship has been devoted to elucidating the vital nature of relationships within the lineage, and to a lesser extent the continuing importance of the lineage to Florentine politics. The most important of these works for Florentine history has been F. W. Kent, Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence, a study of the Capponi, Ginori and Rucellai families; see also his review of J. Heer's Le Clan Familiale au Moyen Age (Paris, 1974) as it treats the Florentine lineage, "A la Recherche du Clan Perdu" in the Journal of Family History, Vol 1, 1976, pp.83-84. Heers' work has now been translated, Family Clans in the Middle Ages, Amsterdam, 1977. Another important study, of one Florentine family, the Niccolini, is that of C. Klapisch, "Parenti, amici e vicini", Quaderni Storici Vol. 33, 1976, pp.953-83. The family in Genoa has also received particular attention, apart from Heers, in the work of D. Hughes, "Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa", Past and Present, Vol. 66, 1975, pp.3-28; "Domestic Ideals and Social Behaviour: Evidence from Medieval Genoa" in C. Rosenberg, (ed.) The Family in History (Philadelphia 1975) pp.115-43. There have also been studies of Venetian

aristocratic family structure by S. Chojnacki, e.g. "Patrician Women in Early Renaissance Venice", Studies in the Renaissance, Vol 21, 1974, pp.176-203.

6. A. Molho, "Visions of the Florentine Family in the Renaissance" (a review of F. W. Kent, Household and Lineage) Journal of Modern History, Vol 50, 1978, p. 308.

7. This is discussed below, Ch.1.

8. Goldthwaite chose the members of the four families he studied - from the Strozzi, Guicciardini, Capponi and Gondi - because their "private wealth" could be studied by means of surviving account books. His subtitle, "a study of four families" is hence an inaccurate description, as he in fact studied only a small proportion of the members of these four lineages. Lacking the perspective of their many far poorer kinsmen, he referred (p.46) to Matteo and Simone Strozzi's fortune as "not an impressive one". Molho, endorsing Goldthwaite's methodology, has taken a few of Goldthwaite's chosen individuals and assumed that they are representative of their lineages as a whole, extrapolating from the basis of their distribution of capital (predominantly business investment, little land) the conclusion that "the very families which Kent has studied ... would have ceased to exist without the income their members derived from their business investments". "Visions of the Florentine Family", p.307. This is a considerable distortion based on a very partial picture.

9. The question of inequality of wealth amongst the lineage's members, and its possible effects on relations between kinsmen, was first raised by P. Jones, "Florentine Families and Florentine Diaries in the Fourteenth Century", Papers of the British School at Rome, 24, 1956, p.187, and was taken up by Martines (amongst others), Social World, p.351. As Jones pointed out in a review of Goldthwaite's Private Wealth, Italian Studies, Vol 25, p.96, such inequalities were a potentially fruitful basis for co-operation and assistance within the family. This will be discussed below, Ch.5.

10. Lorenzo di Messer Palla Strozzi used this term to describe the betrothed husband of his niece Ginevra di Felice Brancacci, Francesco di Domenico Caccini: Bib. Ricc. 4009, (unfol.) to Michele di Felice Brancacci, Gubbio, May 4, 1450.
11. P. Litta, "Strozzi di Firenze", tavola 1. Nor did Lorenzo Strozzi provide any definite information for the period before the thirteenth century in Le Vite degli Strozzi.
12. C.S. III, 44, pp.17-18, seventeenth century copy of extracts concerning the Strozzi from the "Libro di Montaperti".
13. P. Litta, "Strozzi di Firenze", tavole 1
14. M. Becker, Florence in Transition, Vol.1 (Baltimore, 1967), pp.78-9, 99.
15. Brucker, Florentine Politics and Society, 1343-1378 (Princeton 1962) p.21.
16. Jones, "Florentine Families and Florentine Diaries", p.189n.
17. On the Strozzi in this period, see Brucker, Florentine Politics and Society, pp.125, 128-29.
18. For a discussion of this point, see G. Brucker, Civic World, p.11.
19. For a valuable application of the household developmental cycle to the aristocratic Florentine household, see F. W. Kent, Household and Lineage, Ch.1.
20. Carlo di Strozza was exiled by a petition of the ciompi to the Signoria in July 1378, and never returned permanently to Florence. Brucker, Florentine Politics and Society, pp.382-83n.
21. E.g., the letter of Roberto di Nanni di Carlo Strozzi to Filippo di Matteo Strozzi, Ferrara, 26 June, 1470, cited by J. R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in Santa Maria Novella, Ph.D. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1976, pp.39-40.
22. An example of such a collection is that of the letters of Messer Palla Novello and his sons Pazzino, Agnolo and Carlo. C.S. III, 111 is a filza of letters addressed to Messer Palla, many of them by his sons. C.S. III, 130 and 150 consist mainly of letters, many by his father and

brothers, written to Agnolo di Messer Palla when he was capitano of Todi in 1437, and podesta of Peccioli in 1445. Of all the Strozzi, Messer Palla Novello (thus called by his contemporaries because his father had also been "Messer Palla", and no doubt to distinguish him from his close contemporary Messer Palla di Nofri) and his sons seem to have had least to do with their Strozzi kinsmen, and will enter my narrative comparatively seldom for that reason, and because of lack of space to accord them the treatment they deserve as palace builders and, in terms of the Strozzi in general, politically heterodox individuals.

23. The most important of these were the Senatore Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi, 1587-1670, and his son Luigi. The organisation of the Carte Strozziiane into filze, as it exists today, was the work of Carlo, who also copied and summarised large numbers of documents related to the Strozzi, the originals of which no longer exist in some cases.

24. The exception, apart from those letters of Filippo included by Guasti in the Strozzi Letters, is E. Borsook, "Documenti relativi alle cappelle di Lecceto e delle Selve di Filippo Strozzi", Antichita Viva, IX, 1970, pp.3-20, which published five of Filippo's letters, either whole or in part; one of these (document 19, p.15) is not an original, but a copy in Filippo's own hand entered in a volume of personal accounts and ricordanze, CS III, 22, f 108.

25. C.S. III, 93 (a 17th century vol. of spoglie and copies of letters in the hand of Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi), pp.97-99. Filippo to Marco Parenti, June 16, 1465.

26. Amongst the most interesting of these are: C.S. III, 280 and 281, libri of Nofri, 1404-1415; C.S. III, 284-86, libri of the bank of Lorenzo di Messer Palla and Orsino Lanfredini, 1418-1423, C.S. IV, 345, "Giornale e levate" of Messer Palla di Nofri, 1430-1433.

27. C.S. IV, 66, heirs of Carlo di Marco, 1459-1466; C.S. V, 52 and 53, libro and ricordanze of Girolamo di Carlo, 1454-1459, 1473-1476; C.S. IV, 356, memoriale of Pagolo di Carlo, 1467-1476.

28. C.S. IV, 342, libro of Messer Palla; C.S. IV, 349-350, libri of

Agnolo and Messer Pazzino di Messer Palla; C.S. V, 13, libro of Carlo di Messer Palla.

29. C.S. III, 270-277.

30. C.S. V, 22 and 41. Some parts of the latter volume concerning the foundation of the palazzo were published with the Vita di Filippo Strozzi by the editors, P. Bigazzi and G. Bini.

31. Bib. Ricc. 4009. Unfortunately this important collection of letters is generally in poor condition, and the letters are neither numbered nor foliated. They will be identified in the frequent citations which follow only by author, recipient, and date. A very large majority are by Giovanfrancesco di Messer Palla Strozzi to Francesco di Domenico Caccini.

32. This collection, amongst other papers, was first described by Cecil Clough, "The Archivio Bentivoglio in Ferrara", Renaissance News, Vol 18, 1965, pp.12-19.

33. F. W. Kent has found evidence of "several" letters not extant sent by Palla Strozzi early in 1453 to Rucellai: "The Letters Genuine and Spurious of Giovanni Rucellai", JWCI, Vol 37, 1974, p.343.

34. As F. W. Kent has noted, "Letters of Giovanni Rucellai", p.343, Bardo di Lorenzo Strozzi, Palla's grandson, stated in 1493 that Giovanni kept "molte sue scritture" when Palla was exiled, and these almost certainly included the diario which his grandson Palla di Bernardo Rucellai still possessed perhaps a century later.

35. "Letters of Giovanni Rucellai", p.343.

36. The edition of 1877 was reprinted in 1972, together with a seventy-third letter of Alessandra published in 1840 (by I. del Lungo?) Una Lettera della Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi in aggiunta alle LXXII, pp.1-11.

37. G. Brucker translated part of several letters in the document collection, The Society of Renaissance Florence, pp.37-40 (on marriage negotiations for Filippo in 1464-65) and pp.47-49 (on the death of Matteo di Matteo in 1459). R. Goldthwaite praised Alessandra's letters as "one

of the most appealing social documents of the era", but used them very little; on the reasons for this see below, n.49. The letters have been used by historians with more general interests in view, e.g. L. Martines, Social World, pp.44-45, and more recently by F. W. Kent, Household and Lineage, pp.14, 93 et passim.

38. C. Guasti, Strozzi Letters, p.xxiii-xxiv.

39. A textual comparison of Lorenzo's Vite of Palla, Matteo di Simone, Marcello and Benedetto di Pieraccione with those of Vespasiano reveals that Lorenzo incorporated large parts of Vespasiano's text into his own, with only slight changes of expression, or omissions. In an unpublished paper given at the Institute of Historical Research, "Vespasiano da Bisticci's and Lorenzo Strozzi's Lives of Palla Strozzi", I explored in detail the relationship between the two accounts in the case of Palla.

40. Vespasiano was buried on July 27, 1498; there is no record of his having written anything after October 1493, when he dedicated a group of lives to Alfonso di Filippo Strozzi: A. de la Mare, Vespasiano da Bisticci, Historian and Bookseller, Ph.D, London University, 1966, p.42.

41. Benedetto's eldest son, Messer Piero, was a friend and scribe of Vespasiano: A. de la Mare, "Messer Piero Strozzi, a Florentine Priest and Scribe" in Calligraphy and Paleography: Essays presented to A. Fairbank, ed. A. S. Osley (London, 1965), pp.55-68. Vespasiano's Life of Benedetto, known only in the Strozzi presentation copy, has now been published by A. Greco, Le Vite, pp.423-27. Marcello, almost exactly a contemporary of Palla di Nofri, lived at least until 1451 and the age of 81. The two versions of Vespasiano's Life of him are published in Le Vite, pp. 397-404.

42. On Vespasiano's probable knowledge of Palla, see the paper cited above, n.39. Vespasiano's date of birth is uncertain, but was probably between 1420 and 1422: A. de la Mare, Vespasiano da Bisticci, Vol 2, p.292, G. Cagni, Vespasiano e il suo epistolario (Rome, 1969), p.13. Matteo died in 1435: see below, Ch.4, part 2. Despite his friendship with Filippo di Matteo, the Life of Matteo is one of his briefest

Vespasiano, Le Vite, pp.221-224.

43. Vespasiano recounts Giovanni's story of Lionardo Bruni's praise of Palla as "il più felice uomo che avessi avuto la sua età", but he did not use the other information about Palla in the Zibaldone, suggesting that he had not actually read it: Le Vite, p.142, Zibaldone, pp.63-64.

44. See Le Vite, pp.429-38 for the two extant versions of this proemio.

45. The list he gives of Palla's translations from the Greek, for example, was taken from the Zibaldone: Le Vite degli Strozzi, p.25; he described Palla's diario (written down when he was a member of the dieci di balia) as "oggi appresso di Palla di Bernardo Rucellai", p.28.

46. E.g. the Lives of the Strozzi, written by Luigi di Carlo Strozzi in the late 17th century: despite his father's extensive compilation of Strozzi materiale - both in originals and copies - his work was almost entirely dependant on that of Lorenzo di Matteo in the preceding century. C.S. III, 75, i, ii.

47. The life of Filippo "il giovane" attracted the attention of historians and editors more readily than did those of his fifteenth century ancestors; see the bibliography in Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, pp.79-80. There is in fact an early nineteenth century Latin biography of Palla by A. Fabroni, Pallantis Stroctii Vita (Parma, 1802), but I have not been able to locate a copy of this. (Cited by L. Martines, Social World, p.318.)

48. P. J. Jones, "Florentine Families and Florentine Diaries."

49. In a review of F. W. Kent's Household and Lineage, R. Goldthwaite has suggested that "private family papers" of the type used in that study (and in this thesis) "have invited an impressionistic treatment" that the use of "less attractive and more intractable sources" such as account-books and notarial documents (called by Goldthwaite, curiously, "characteristic family documents") would have rendered impossible. Speculum, Vol 53, 1974, pp.817-819. It seems impossible to me to make such a distinction: it is true that ricordanze and private letters record family sentiments, but it is equally the historian's task to record these

as it is to record economic transactions; neither is more "characteristic" of the family.

50. F. W. Kent, ' "Più superba de quella de Lorenzo": Courtly and Family Interest in the Building of Filippo Strozzi's Palace', Renaissance Quarterly, Vol 30, 1977, pp.311-23.

51. 'Marriage Politics and the family in Florence: the Strozzi and Medic Alliance of 1508', American Historical Review, Vol 84, 1979, pp.668-687.

52. Household and Lineage, pp.6-12.

53. Vespasiano, Le Vite, P. 437.



CHAPTER 1: THE STROZZI LINEAGE IN FLORENCE, 1427-1469: A PROFILE

1 The Florentine Lineage

'Nonn ò chasa nè in villa nè in Firenze, e sto mezzo a ppigione perchè torno in chasa d'altri chontro a mia voglia, per non potere fare altro'; so wrote Francesco di Benedetto di Pieraccione Strozzi in his catasto report in 1469.<sup>1</sup> Forty years earlier, in the catasto of 1427, his father Benedetto had reported an estate valued at almost 5,000 florins, composed almost entirely of rural property, as well as a house in Florence and a country residence at San Quirico a Campi, not included in this assessment because they were for his and his family's use.<sup>2</sup> This estimated capital worth made Benedetto's household the eighth wealthiest in a lineage which at this time had far greater capital resources than any other in Florence.<sup>3</sup> By 1469 three of his sons were living just above the line of real poverty, paying tiny amounts of tax on their shrunken patrimony (not one and a half florins between them), none of them any longer owning a house in Florence, or able to pay rent for one. Although all were over forty, only one of the brothers was married, and all were childless.<sup>4</sup> This chapter is devoted to an analysis and description of the Strozzi lineage over this period of forty two years, focusing on those of its members (always a large majority) who, like Benedetto and his sons, remained in Florence; although the Strozzi had begun their tradition of migration - not always strictly involuntary - to other Italian cities in the later fourteenth century,<sup>5</sup> they were still at the beginning of the fifteenth very much a Florentine lineage, with pre-eminence in Florentine politics, diplomacy and business the basis of their considerable strength. This strength was recorded, in most of its dimensions, by the first catasto assessment of 1427, recording not only property, capital investment and shares held in the Monte or state funded debt, but also their concomitant strength in terms of numbers of households, children, and perhaps most pertinently, of adult men.<sup>6</sup> The subsequent tax assessments of 1442, 1451, 1457 and 1469 have been used to obtain comparable information covering the period of exile and effective

debarment from political office which followed the fall of the so-called Oligarchical regime in 1434, and the subsequent installation of a Medicean one, through to the lifting of the ban on some of the Strozzi exiles in 1466. The picture thus gained is, however, subject to certain limitations. The most important of these is that it is a picture taken from a Florentine viewpoint, using Florentine sources. When considering, for example, the decline in the overall economic position of the Strozzi during the period surveyed, it must be remembered that this takes no account of the substantial fortune which Filippo di Matteo Strozzi had accumulated even before he returned to Florence in 1466,<sup>7</sup> or of the financial resources of other Strozzi exiles, resources which were based outside Florence. While my main theme is the crisis which the Strozzi lineage suffered in mid-century, this survey will be completed in the final chapter by an examination of the evidence of the last of the fifteenth century tax surveys of this kind, the catasto of 1480, to determine the extent to which the lineage was able to recover from that crisis, or to continue a recovery already begun.

The catasto records found in the Archivio di Stato in Florence have been the subject, in the last decade, of the monumental study conducted by David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch.<sup>8</sup> Apart from the fund of information contained in their published work, their research has produced a computerised index and summary of the campioni series of volumes, one of two parallel compilations of the 1427 survey.<sup>9</sup> Another recent work on Renaissance Florentine history, that of F. W. Kent,<sup>10</sup> has illustrated the flexibility of this magnificent source by using it for research on a very different scale, and one which has to a large extent provided a model for my use of it here. With precise reference to the history of the Strozzi, this source of information has barely been touched upon, and was not extensively used in the main published study devoted to them, that of Richard Goldthwaite.<sup>11</sup>

It seems likely that few, if any, of the many members of the Strozzi lineage resident in Florence escaped the net of the catasto

officials, one of whom was Lionardo di Filippo Strozzi.<sup>12</sup> Fortunately, the records of this complete and most detailed survey have survived to the present time virtually intact. As mentioned above, the catasti of 1430 and 1434, virtually identical in nature to that of 1427, will not be used here; the assessment of 1442, while providing information about the size and composition of households comparable in quality to that of 1427, was not strictly speaking a catasto (which was a tax based on estimated capital worth) but a tax on estimated income, called the diecina;<sup>13</sup> the financial information which it provides is not readily comparable with that gained from the catasto of other years. Similar in nature was the assessment of 1451, the valsente, although it was calculated somewhat differently.<sup>14</sup> For the family historian it has one great shortcoming: as there was no deduction for bocche - the number of persons for whom each taxpayer had to provide - it was no longer incumbent upon the head of the household to list its other members. The force of habit was still strong enough to make a majority of Strozzi portata compilers include this information anyway, but there are eleven households for which only a reconstruction of this information can be made. Such a reconstruction has been obtained by collating the information given in the preceding and following years of 1442 and 1457; the unavoidable error resulting from this is certainly on the side of understatement: except where evidence is available from other sources this counting procedure omits any children born after 1442 who died before 1457, as well as some recorded in 1442 who were dead before 1457 but who may well still have been alive in 1451. This, then, should be remembered in comparing the figures for total numbers of persons in Strozzi households and average household size for 1451 with those for other years for which more complete information is available.<sup>15</sup> [See table 1.] Both 1458 and 1469 saw assessments of a kind close to the original catasto, and again known by that title, with full information on household members; unfortunately five Strozzi portate for 1457 are now either missing or seriously misplaced.<sup>16</sup>

There are other difficulties inherent in using the catasto for precise evidence about the number of people who constituted the lineage's members at any one time, and their disposition into households. One is the possibility of inaccurate reporting of household numbers, and of their ages; in the first respect the catasto is remarkably reliable and consistent, and I have not so far detected any significant delinquency in this matter, probably because the reward for good memory was high (a deduction of 250 florine from taxable capital for each dependant) and even financially unrewarding daughters were useful as grounds for claiming leniency from the catasto officials.<sup>17</sup> Regarding age there are certainly inaccuracies, clearly observed by contrasting several portate submitted at different times by the one household, and this inaccuracy almost invariably consisted of greater approximation by the household head of their own and their wives' ages as they grew elderly. However, the discernable amount of consistency in this matter is impressive, and attributable to a general concern for accurately recording birth dates.<sup>18</sup> Another difficulty has been fully outlined by F. W. Kent in his study of the Capponi, Gino~~zi~~ and Rucellai; the problem of distinguishing 'real' households from the evidence given in catasto records. While he found that the main departure from the basic ratio of one report from one household was that of several households submitting a single portata, (although with some instances of the reverse)<sup>19</sup> this practice was little in evidence amongst the Strozzi, while examples of a single household submitting more than one portata are fairly common. As a good example of this tendency, in 1427 the widow and sons of Jacopo d'Ubertino Strozzi filed six separate portate<sup>20</sup> although only two of them, Niccolò and Giovanni di Jacopo, specified their place of residence: they owned two houses side by side in the Piazza di San Miniato fra le torri, in the gonfalone of Lion Bianco. Their three much younger brothers gave no place of residence, and one of them, Bengni, stated baldly that 'sono senza chasa.'<sup>21</sup> However, a close study of all the brothers' portate shows that he and Tommaso lived

in Giovanni's house; all three were unmarried at this stage. This is confirmed by their joint submission of a single portata in 1442:<sup>22</sup> they were also partners in a business for trading in and working gold and silver.<sup>23</sup> Their mother, Monna Margherita, stated in her report in 1427 that she had no house and needed to rent one,<sup>24</sup> while giving no indication of her actual residence; she may have lived with her married son, Niccolò, and his family. The last brother, Marco, stated cryptically that 'sto oggi qui e domani cho' llà';<sup>25</sup> whether or not this rotating residence included the houses of his brothers can only be guessed at, but presumably it did.

Finally, as Marco di Jacopo's case suggests, there are a small number of portate which no matter how closely they are scrutinised do not reveal their author's place of residence. These generally concern single people, widows with their restituted dowry-property as their only capital,<sup>26</sup> who were most probably living with their sons or other close relatives. This is probably the case because rent was in turn capitalised and deducted from total taxable capital, and it was therefore in the interests of the declarant to specify such payment. House ownership is also a possibility, but this was a fairly unusual form for dowry-restitution to take, and independent purchase was outside the means of almost all Strozzi widows, who were consistently the poorest of any distinguishable group within the lineage.<sup>27</sup>

The Strozzi were probably more divided geographically by the mid-fifteenth century than any other comparable Florentine lineage. But in some cases the process of migration was incomplete, several Strozzi who actually lived in Ferrara or Mantua filing portate listing their Florentine assets; these portate give no indication of this fact. Such individuals have not been included here, but there are a small number of more ambiguous cases, which I have generally included. A good example is the household of Giovanni di Messer Lionardo, whose father, and uncle Currado di Pagolo, had left Florence in 1378, apparently

because of their close political association with their kinsman Carlo di Strozza, who was exiled in that year. In 1427 Giovanni's wife Mona Mea was presumably living in Florence with her two sons, Niccolo and Lionardo, who were twelve and fourteen. She wrote that her husband had been away for nine years, and that during the last six of them she had had no news of him at all, 'nè mai avuto niuno ausidio da lui'. She paid no tax, having been declared 'miserabile.'<sup>28</sup> By 1442 Giovanni had returned, and the only place of residence he gave was Poggibonsi; considering their penury it seems possible that they lived there permanently, although Passerini in his genealogy of the Strozzi suggests that this branch was by mid-century permanently settled in Ferrara, a suggestion for which I have not found any definite evidence.<sup>29</sup> By this time, however, both sons had left home, probably earning a slightly less precarious living as mercenaries; echoing his wife's earlier comment, their father wrote: 'Sono al soldo già otto anni fa. Non so se sono vivi o no.'<sup>30</sup> The portata for 1457 gives no details of household composition but it seems likely that the elder son, Lionardo, had returned and married; by 1469, with both parents dead, he was occupying the Poggibonsi house with his wife, their seven children (the eldest was eighteen) and the ten-year-old daughter of his brother, Niccolò.<sup>31</sup> The portata in his hand makes it clear that he wrote the Italian of Ferrara, not of Florence, suggesting prolonged residence there. But despite their links with Ferrara Giovanni and then Lionardo kept their residence and some rural property in the Florentine contado and continued to pay their Florentine taxes, registered in Lion Rosso.<sup>32</sup>

In identifying those who were members of the Florentine lineage the final case in need of some explanation is that of widows. The ambiguous position of women with regard to lineage membership is well exemplified by the fact that it has seemed equally appropriate to include in my survey both some widows of Strozzi men, belonging by birth to another lineage, but also some widows who were Strozzi by birth. The former category includes Monna Caterina, widow of Rinaldo di Giannozo

Strozzi, who submitted her own portata but lived in the house of her son Strozza.<sup>34</sup> She was unusual in being the guardian of an illegitimate grandson, Giovanni di Vieri di Rinaldo, who also lived in the house with his uncle and grandmother. The latter category consists of women like Mona Maria, wido of Bernardo Alberti, who described herself, however, as 'figliuola fu di Nofri di Palla [Strozzi]'.<sup>35</sup> Since she gives no place of residence it seems likely that she lived in the large house of her brother, Messer Palla di Nofri, who also held the sum of 1,000 florins in deposit for her, more than half her estimated capital of 1,734 florins.<sup>36</sup> It appears that after the death of their husband women had the choice of continuing their association and identification with their husband's lineage, or of 'returning' to their natal kinsmen, this last contingency being allowed for in the frequent provision in wills for the right of daughters to return to their parental home.<sup>37</sup>

## ii The Branches

The structure of any Florentine lineage was dependent on the length of time it had been in existence, or, perhaps more accurately, on the length of time for which its existence had been recorded. Generally the notion of the consorteria also involved that of common descent, and in the case of the Strozzi this common descent was not fictitious, all of the Strozzi recorded by Passerini descending from a single man, Ubertino, who lived in the earlier thirteenth century.<sup>38</sup> The lineage grew rapidly in the thirteenth and earlier fourteenth centuries, achieving by the mid-fourteenth century the network of branches or lateral spread which characterised it in the fifteenth century.<sup>39</sup> The division of a lineage into branches is fairly arbitrary, as there are no hard and fast rules about what constituted a 'branch'.<sup>40</sup> The device is used here only to help describe the structure of the lineage. Using the criterion that members of different fifteenth-century branches had no common ancestors after the first two decades of the fourteenth century (although some branches had in fact been distinct

for much longer than this), the forty-five Strozzi households in Florence in 1427 can be divided into fifteen different branches. Several of these branches with distinct lines of descent from the early fourteenth century had only one or two adult male representatives in the fifteenth. This is one of the most interesting features of the lineage's structure, and one which was owing to a lack of growth in the second half of the fourteenth century: a phenomenon which is not surprising given the general decimation of population in Italy, due to the plague, in this period.<sup>41</sup> For each of the lineage's members there were relatively few agnatic kinsmen with whom their ties of blood were very close, but very many with whom a common ancestor was presumed, rather than known about. For some Strozzi there were no close kinsmen (apart from their immediate ancestors or children) at all,<sup>42</sup> but many with whom they shared any wider sense of kinship that they acknowledged. A good example of this community within clearly defined ancestry is found amongst the Strozzi households clustered around the church and piazza of San Miniato fra le torri. Here from 1427 to 1469 lived Francesco di Giovanni di Luigi Strozzi, next door to his kinsman Bernardo di Soldo and across the street from the two houses of Niccolo and Giovanni di Jacopo d'Ubertino. These four households constituted the only representatives of three separate branches descended from Soldo, Niccolò and Giovanni the sons of that Messer Ubertino who was the first Strozzi prior.<sup>43</sup> Francesco and the brothers Niccolò and Giovanni were Bernardo's second cousins once removed, and third cousins to each other; none of them had closer agnatic kinsmen outside their own households. They illustrate both the territorial adhesiveness of the lineage (San Miniato was one of the oldest sites continuously occupied by Strozzi houses)<sup>44</sup> but also the failure of many of its branches to do more than reproduce themselves in each generation: here there had been virtually no growth at all. By this time the three branches also shared a descent into almost total political obscurity, and a fairly modest income from investment in botteghe.<sup>45</sup>



It would take too long to outline all the fifteenth-century branches in this fashion, but two more examples seem useful, illustrating the sharp divergence of fortune which was possible in a fairly brief interval. Pagno and Lapo di Strozza were Gonfalonieri di Giustizia within a period of twelve years at the turn of the fourteenth century.<sup>46</sup> From Pagno di Strozza descended that branch against which the commune authorised a judicial vendetta by the Lenzi in 1387, when Pagnozzino di Pagnozzo murdered Piero Lenzi (at that time one of the gonfalonieri of companies); Pagnozzino and his brother Nofri had their property confiscated, their houses burned, and they were declared magnati and rebels of the commune.<sup>47</sup> In 1427 Pagnozzino's two sons, Niccolò and Piero, were both living in utter obscurity in the Florentine contado;<sup>48</sup> they owned no house in Florence and very little rural property. Piero's son Michele later recouped their respectability slightly by gaining a doctorate of civil law at Perugia,<sup>49</sup> although he was still only paying a tiny twelve-soldi assessment in 1469 on an estimated taxable capital of 82 florins.<sup>50</sup> From Pagno's brother Lapo descended that branch of the Strozzi which was the wealthiest and most successful of the lineage in the forty years prior to 1434; in terms of numbers this was also one of the most successful, having increased greatly in size. Two great-grandsons of Palla di Lapo were Gonfalonieri di Giustizia (as well as holding the office of prior on many other occasions): Francesco in 1348 and his much younger brother Nofri in 1385 and 1396.<sup>51</sup> Nofri was the wealthiest man in the quarter of Santa Maria Novella by 1402<sup>52</sup> and with his sons Niccolò and Palla amassed the fortune which made Palla the richest man in Florence in 1427.<sup>53</sup> Francesco's son, Messer Pazzino, and grandson Francesco di Messer Palla, were also amongst the most influential members of the Albizzian oligarchy, while another of his grandsons, Messer Palla Novello, broke this tradition by supporting the Medici.<sup>54</sup> Here the coincidence and recurrence of the same given names, so confusing for later historians, is an indication of close kinship, and the most

characteristic of them appear only within this branch.

iii The Households

There were forty-five Strozzi households in Florence in 1427.<sup>55</sup> Thirty-nine of these were located in the quarter of S.Maria Novella, but in fact the concentration of the lineage into that quarter was even more marked than this suggests: of the six households located in other quarters three were those of widows of Strozzi men who had returned to their ancestral districts, and one, that of Messer Palla Novello, was only temporarily absent from its usual location in S.Maria Novella. Only two Strozzi households with male heads and a conjugal-nuclear structure were living permanently outside their 'ancestral' quarter in the whole period from 1427 to 1469.<sup>56</sup> The small remaining number of Strozzi households found outside S.Maria Novella, two or three in each catasto year, were those of widows; given this, my examination will be limited to the households in S.Maria Novella. This lineage's large size is clearly seen when compared with other patrician lineages: the Rucellai, of similar social and political status, had twenty-six households in 1427, the Capponi twelve, the Ginori (by comparison a family of gente nuova) only ten.<sup>57</sup> As there were thirty-five urban Strozzi households in 1378,<sup>58</sup> there had been only slight growth in the intervening years. By 1442 the number of Strozzi households had dropped sharply, to thirty-one, and the number remained steadily at around this level through to 1457. By 1469 it had risen slightly to thirty-four, as might have been expected given the return of some of the Strozzi exiles three years earlier, in 1466.

The four Strozzi exiled in 1434 (Messer Palla di Nofri and his son Nofri, Smeraldo di Smeraldo, and Matteo di Simone) came from only three households, and although the bands of exile were later (after 1450) greatly extended,<sup>59</sup> it must be concluded that the exiles did not at any time account for the accompanying drop in the size of

the lineage in Florence. Clearly a substantial number of Strozzi left Florence during this time, and in particular during the first decade of Medicean dominance, for reasons other than that of judicial exile. This is seen equally clearly in both the drop in the total number of persons living in <sup>these</sup> Strozzi households and in a decrease in average household size.<sup>60</sup> These figures must however be viewed with a certain amount of caution because the numbers in question are so small that the result can easily be distorted. Hence the quite dramatic rise in household size by 1469 was caused entirely by the presence of one huge joint fraternal household containing thirty-two members;<sup>61</sup> without this household the average size would have been low, at only four persons. But it is of course a significant fact of Florentine family history that such huge households were a possible variation of the normal pattern and were in no sense considered freakish. One interesting feature of the demographic profile of the lineage in these years is that the number of adult male Strozzi present in Florence (perhaps the most significant indicator of the lineage's potential strength at any time) did not in fact drop substantially until after 1451.<sup>62</sup> The reason for this seems to have been that those most affected by the victory of the Strozzi's political enemies were men old enough to have gained some political prominence by 1434 and hence be worthy of particular hostile attention, whether overt or not, from the new regime;<sup>63</sup> these were almost all men who headed substantial households, whereas the large group of much younger men, aged between eighteen and thirty-four, may have been less affected. (See table 3.)

When viewed in the light of the general demographic trend in Florence at this time, this shrinking of the Strozzi lineage becomes even more significant. There is reasonably clear evidence that in Florence the fifteenth century was a period of population recovery, and that measured in terms of both household size and number of households lineages comparable with the Strozzi grew substantially over this time. Kent's figures for the Capponi, Ginori and Rucellai certainly show

this,<sup>64</sup> although it may be of interest that their increase in size was in inverse proportion to their antiquity as lineages. The Rucellai, that most closely comparable with the Strozzi, grew only slightly in size.<sup>65</sup>

The size and composition of the household was the only aspect of kinship studies which until recently had received a great deal of attention from historians; historians of the family have seemed in the past unanimous in their conviction that this was the only needed indicator of the quality and significance of the common life of the family.<sup>66</sup> And yet there is no reason, determined either by logic or by historical experience, why this should be the case, why the outer limits of significant kinship ties should be co-terminous with those of the household;<sup>67</sup> the fact that such an idea has recently been so influential may perhaps be attributed to the persuasive effect of our own experience of a family model which approximates more and more closely to this description. For fifteenth century aristocratic Florentines, or at any rate for the Strozzi, cohabitation within four walls and around a common hearth was not the last (and often breached) bastion of family solidarity, but the first. When Alberti, in his treatise on the family,<sup>68</sup> put into the mouth of one of his speakers the parable that the same number of logs will burn far longer in one hearth than in three, he was pointing an obvious and readily accepted moral; that one large household was a stronger economic unit than two or three small ones, and more conducive to the preservation of wealth: 'at two tables two tablecloths are spread, two hearths consume two piles of logs, two households need two servants, while one can do with one.'<sup>69</sup> This third book on the family is essentially practical in the advice it gives, and recognises that closeness between kinsmen is a good thing even in lesser degrees, that families (here used in the sense of those originally sharing a residence) outgrow houses and that for them to continue living close together in separate ones was a sign of strength and unity in the same way that co-residence was. Given the popularity which we know this third book

(significantly titled Economicus) enjoyed, it would be surprising to discover that it did not in many ways express the values of men like Agnolo Pandolfini and Giovanni Rucellai, who adapted it to their own households.<sup>70</sup> But, on the other hand, when Alberti's speaker Giannozzo declares 'nor has my spirit ever suffered Antonio my brother to live under a different roof than my own',<sup>71</sup> the author is writing not only with an assumption of temperamental harmony but also of economic viability and political security; in short, of the ideal conditions for family togetherness. The absence of any of these factors could be expected to make a notable difference. For these reasons the households of the lineage will be examined in conjunction with the neighbourhood which formed the wider environment of its life. The other bonds which served to unite this lineage's members, even when dispersed through exile, are best shown by evidence of a different kind, and will be examined separately.<sup>72</sup>

The simplest kind of analysis of the types of Strozzi household existing between 1427 and 1462 reveals a marked change in the proportion which were 'big' households of the type Alberti had in mind, two mature male generations or two or more mature brothers who chose to continue their residence under the same roof. In 1427 twenty-two out of thirty-nine households were extended in this way; by 1442 the proportion had dropped to thirteen of thirty-one, and the number stayed fairly level at this point, being twelve of thirty-one in 1451, and thirteen of thirty-one again in 1457. Of a slightly increased thirty-four households in 1469, only thirteen were extended.<sup>73</sup> Once again these figures are even more significant when considered in relation to the general trend in Florence at this time for households to become more extended,<sup>74</sup> a trend revealed in the household structure of other patrician lineages which were without the disruptive and economically damaging influences which the Strozzi experienced.<sup>75</sup> It seems, therefore, reasonable to assume that those special circumstances were a contributory if not a decisive factor in the emergence of this decided majority of simple

households. But while a general observation of this kind may be made fairly confidently it is far more difficult to supply precise explanations for simple or complex forms in every case. So many different factors are here involved, factors which must be assumed to be related, without the nature of the connection being clear. In this way it can be observed that amongst the Strozzi the politically most prominent individuals were also members of one of the largest households, and that these households were again amongst the wealthiest of the lineage.<sup>76</sup> The household, while on one level reflecting the prosaic and practical needs of individuals, was also a subtle indicator of the larger fortunes of its members.

The Strozzi households surveyed have such a large number of diverse characteristics, that the decision as to which of those are important enough to form a basis for categorisation is not easy. The system used here, while deriving largely from those already used in similar studies, is original in one respect: I have not always taken the presence of conjugal units as the crucial element on which categorisation should depend.<sup>77</sup> Instead I have concentrated on the patrilineal framework of the household; the number of adult male generations or the lateral spread measured in these terms. The first reason for this is that judging by their descriptions given on portate these are the variable factors that the Strozzi themselves found significant, as a household was always named in terms of these male elements, any wives or children then being described by reference to them. Hence in 1442 the four sons of Messer Giovanni di Carlo - Niccolò, Lorenzo, Tito and Uberto - described their household by listing first their own names and then appending those of 'Monna Chontessina, moglie di Niccolò' and his two young children. Secondly, because of the single-minded efficiency with which female children were despatched either to husband or convent they could play no role in their agnatic lineage as unmarried adults. Even when 'freed' by widowhood their position was an ambiguous one, placed uncertainly between two lineages. Thirdly, because of the long

and further increasing delay between maturity and marriage for males,<sup>79</sup> illegitimate children were not infrequently found in households containing no conjugal unit, but two and even three generations of agnatic kinsmen. This was the case, for example, in the household of Antonio di Niccolò di Pagnozzo in 1469; he lived with his seventy-five year old mother, Monna Cosa, and his two-year-old son, Bartolommeo.<sup>80</sup> This is not to deny the vital nature of marriage, but it is to suggest that it was more important in its long-term effects (the expansion of the household by the birth of legitimate children, and the subsequent 'hiving off' which sometimes followed of this nuclear-conjugal unit from a larger household) than in its immediate one, the addition of a sixteen-year-old girl to a domestic group whose other members would normally be greatly her senior.

To facilitate comparison I have used only a small number of categories, which both allow comparison with familiar contemporary models but also, as outlined above, take account of the differences which would have seemed most significant to their members. The first category is self-explanatory: that of the single-person household. These were normally widows; for men to live on their own was unusual.<sup>81</sup> The second category, conjugal-nuclear, and the third, maternal or truncated, represent variations of the one model: married couples with or without their own immature children, and households headed by a widow, with her immature children. This third category could more accurately be called 'truncated'<sup>82</sup> as it also includes a small number of men living alone with their illegitimate children. Households containing a widowed man and his immature children were unknown amongst the Strozzi at this time, owing partly to the habit of fairly rapid remarriage, partly to the fact that men were always older than their wives.<sup>83</sup> Always substantial, this difference in age increased notably during the period under review: nearly twelve and a half years in 1427, the average age difference was close to twenty years in 1469.<sup>84</sup> This is a significantly

greater difference (although in the same direction) than that found by Herlihy for Florence as a whole in 1427, and it certainly influenced household structure by increasing the number that were truncated, and by making it unlikely that many men would live to share a house with their son's children. Hence the number of households containing more than two generations would be strictly limited; more specifically they would only be likely to occur where greater wealth facilitated earlier marriage.<sup>85</sup> The fifth category used is in fact that of 'grand-families': a man and his wife, or a widowed man, living with his mature son or sons, plus any remaining immature children and the wives of his adult sons, and his grand-children, where either or both of these are present. I have distinguished between two and three generation grand-families, but not those where married but childless sons were present,<sup>86</sup> as this was normally a temporary stage. It could quite defensibly be argued that what I have here grouped together as 'grand-families' should be separated for greater precision of analysis into two types of household: 'patriarchal families' and 'patrilineal grand-families', as a recent account of the Florentine family has termed them.<sup>87</sup> Certainly the structure of the first is clearly a step less complex than that of the second, but in both the central structure was the same - it was when sons became adult, not when they married, that their presence and importance was acknowledged by the addition of the words 'e figliuoli' to the name of the household head on their catasto portata, a practice not normally adopted while such sons were immature. But probably the most pertinent consideration in classing these households together is that if they survived long enough they were eventually all transformed into three-generational grand-families. Almost all Strozzi men married eventually (see Table 3), but as noted above the interval was growing steadily longer. Except for one year (when there were equal numbers of both) there were always more two than three-generation grand-families, and the fact of late marriage explains this.

There is no mention of households containing adult daughters,



either married or unmarried, because their presence was virtually unknown. Married daughters and their husbands never lived with the woman's parents, owing to the strongly patri-local nature of Italian society. But a rare example which comes fairly close to this did occur amongst the Strozzi at this time - Bartolommeo di Loderigo dowered his house in San Miniato together with all their other property to their daughter and hence to her husband, then relying on them, after the marriage, both for accommodation and the provision of food and clothing; this had apparently been accepted as part of the marriage agreement.<sup>88</sup> Bartolommeo was seventy-four, his wife Nanna was sixty-six; the daughter, Piera, was their only child, and this seems to have been the reason for such an arrangement, together with the fact that Bartolommeo had no close surviving male kin~~man~~ and was the last of his branch.<sup>89</sup> But that they felt such an arrangement to be exceptional is shown by the detail in which it was described. 'E detto Piero [their son-in-law] è a dare ghalimenti e alimentare duratte el tempo della vita nostra, cioè quello ci bisogna per vivere, calzare, vestire e chome s'intendano ghalimenti'.<sup>90</sup> Despite Bartolommeo's emphasis on the terms of equal treatment within the arrangement there is no suggestion that the two couples formed one 'household', even though it seems that they shared a house, emphasizing the essentially patrilineal nature of that unit.<sup>91</sup> The absence of daughters over the age of sixteen is the most clear-cut feature of household composition amongst the Strozzi; up to the age of fifteen they were as commonly present as sons.

The last two distinct household categories may be considered together, and jointly constitute the most common of the complex types: fraternal and joint-fraternal households and avuncular households.<sup>92</sup> The first includes not only households composed of two or more mature brothers plus wives and children (where present), but also those containing one or more adult males as household head and his immature siblings, plus their mother. This last was a fairly common configuration, and amongst the Strozzi such households always named the

adult son as its head, never the mother.<sup>93</sup> The second and related category, that of the avuncular household, is fairly represented by that of Benedetto di Marco in 1427, which consisted of himself (thirty-five), his wife Gostanza (sixteen), and his nephew Antonio (seven): 'figliuolo rimaso da Mareto mio fratello el quale si sta mecho.'<sup>94</sup> It seems quite likely that Antonio's presence in 1427 represents a vestige of a former fraternal household; this was usually the case. It was a short-lived situation in that Benedetto and Gostanza produced a child of their own within another year (the first of at least six), but Antonio remained in his uncle's household for as long as its existence is recorded (1457) and possibly some years longer.<sup>95</sup> There were five such purely avuncular households amongst the Strozzi between 1427 and 1469, but the number of households of other types (fraternal or joint-fraternal) which included nephews and nieces was higher than this.

The column labelled 'other' on the chart showing the distribution of household types requires brief explanation. These are households which without being precisely exotic in composition, nevertheless do not fit sufficiently closely into any category. They are all complex, however. In only one case, that of Monna Maria di Giovanni di Marco in 1442, does a list of 'bocche' include any relative who was not a Strozzi by either birth or marriage. She explained to the catasto officials that 'e più tengo una figliuola di Tommaso Lamberteschi e dolle le spese che chosta chome sapete.'<sup>96</sup> No relationship was mentioned, but this girl was almost certainly her brother's daughter. Although Maria submitted a separate portata (because she held property representing her dowry, restituted after the death of her husband) she lived with her father-in-law Marco di Goro, her five sons aged between thirty and nineteen, and another grandson of Marco, Goro d'Antonio.<sup>97</sup> This represents the surviving part of Marco's 1427 grand-family of seventeen members, unusual in shape because both his sons, Giovanni and Antonio, had predeceased him. Even more unusually, in 1451 after Marco's death, Goro d'Antonio continued to live with his five first-

cousins, one of whom, Matteo, had married by this time; another was widowed and his daughter was also part of the household.<sup>98</sup> By 1457 its structure had become simpler: it consisted of Monna Maria, her son Matteo and his wife, their three children, and Matteo's niece (also called Maria) whose father was also now dead. There is an explanatory note beside her name which shows something of the fluidity of roles and relationships possible within such households: she was 'per madre di Monna Antonia di Biagio [Strozzi] d'età d'anni 15, che l'abian fatto di dota in sul monte 200 o circha e senpre 'l' à tenuta per figliuola Monna Maria nostra madre e a nostre spese.'<sup>99</sup> (Matteo clearly felt it appropriate to point out that this niece whom he had treated quite generously was also a Strozzi on her mother's side.)<sup>100</sup> The other households in this category are less complex: like that of Ubertino and Tommaso di Tommaso who in 1427 lived with their elderly grandmother Monna Caterina ('circa 83');<sup>101</sup> and that of Monna Mea, widow of Francesco di Giovanni, who lived with a granddaughter,<sup>102</sup> Smeralda, in 1457; most unusual of all, Monna Chontessina in 1427 lived with her thirty-five year old and apparently unmarried daughter, Lena.<sup>103</sup>

Finally, some observations are needed about illegitimate children. Illegitimate children (although not counted by the castato officials as bocche for purpose of deductions) are often listed on portate, and while most commonly born before their father's marriage (their mothers were almost invariably domestic slaves) it was not particularly unusual for a man to father legitimate and bastard children during the same period.<sup>104</sup> Although their mothers were usually slaves, such children (or at least those of whom we have some record) took the Strozzi name and were definitely considered members of the lineage. There was certainly no desire to conceal their presence, although in the instances where their names are included undifferentiated with those of other children the motive was undoubtedly to defraud the officials and obtain greater deductions than were legally permitted.<sup>105</sup> But this was not always the reason why they were listed: in the portata of Lodovico, Vanni,

Battista and Lorenzo di Francesco of 1469, the lists of their children and those of their dead elder brother Benedetto (twenty-four children in all) were followed by the names of 'Tristano, bastardo di Vanni e di Chaterina' and 'Choppino, bastardo di Batista e di Barbera'.<sup>106</sup> Their names were presumably included to create an even more impressive picture of heavy family responsibilities. Needless to say, despite the frequency with which illegitimate children appear, they are never the offspring of Strozzi women and male 'outsiders'. There is nothing surprising in this, and the complete distinction between the two emphasises the strongly patrilineal and patriarchal structure of this kinship group.

Certain fairly cautious conclusions can be reached from the material presented in summary form in Tables 1 and 3. The first of these is that household size amongst the Strozzi was always fairly small in this period, and became somewhat smaller; some (but by no means all) of this decrease in size may be partly due to the inferior quality of the information available compared with that for 1427.<sup>107</sup> Secondly, as noted in more detail above, a progressively smaller proportion of these households were complex in form after 1427. However, two points should be made with these facts in mind: that small households were not necessarily simpler in form than large ones, and conversely that 'simple' households could contain quite large numbers. Some households remained small for the clear reason that they contained no conjugal groups, at the same time sheltering assorted combinations of agnatic kinsmen. The lateness of marriage for Strozzi males was a contributing factor here: in 1427 the household of Francesco di Giovanni di Luigi (twenty-seven) also included the two sons of his brother Lorenzo (Luigi, six, and Romigi, four). In 1442 they were still there, but had been joined by Francesco's sister, Lena, fifty (she was probably a widow), and his illegitimate son, Piero, six. By 1451 his nephews were no longer present, but Francesco was sheltering his great-nephew, Sandro: 'figliuolo di Romigi mio nipote'. Finally, by 1457 the household had become almost an orthodox conjugal-nuclear one: Francesco, by now

seventy, his wife Lena (thirty-six), their two infant sons, Francesco's illegitimate son (twenty-two) and his illegitimate great-nephew, now eleven. Perhaps surprisingly they were all still living together in 1469.<sup>108</sup>

On the other hand, conjugal-nuclear households which enjoyed reasonable prosperity could be very fertile, despite the undoubted high mortality of infants and young children:<sup>109</sup> in 1427 that of Benedetto di Pieraccione consisted of himself and his wife (thirty-eight and thirty-two), their seven children (twelve years to five months), and Benedetto's mother, Monna Isabetta (sixty-two). It is very generally true that poorer households produced fewer children, the only notable exception amongst the Strozzi being the hapless Barla di Stagio and his wife, whose many children (ten in 1427) figured prominently in moving appeals to his kinsmen written from the Stinche.<sup>110</sup> If almost all large simple households were prosperous, it can be said without qualification that all large complex households, containing two or more married couples and hence with a high child-producing capacity, were amongst the wealthiest of the lineage.<sup>111</sup> Thus the brothers Bernardo and Giovanni di Giovanni, their wives, and Giovanni's six children were together the sixth wealthiest Strozzi household in 1427;<sup>112</sup> Marco di Goro's establishment, the most extensive Strozzi grand-family surveyed, consisted in 1427 of Marco, his wife, his two married sons and their wives, and his eleven grand-children, was the ninth wealthiest.<sup>113</sup> The second wealthiest household in that year, that of Francesco di Benedetto di Caroccio, although taking a variety of forms over the whole period surveyed, was always large and complex, and by 1469 with thirty-two members, must have been one of the largest in Florence.<sup>114</sup> The household of Messer Palla di Nofri, the richest in Florence in 1427, was simple in form, and small in comparison with some others (although still well above average), with eight other members: his wife, Marietta (daughter of Carlo di Strozza and sister of Salamone, who was tenth in the wealth ranking in 1427),<sup>115</sup> his five sons, and the two youngest of his six daughters. His eldest

son Lorenzo was married in 1432 - to Alessandra di Bardo Bardi - at the comparatively early age of 28.<sup>116</sup> Had Palla not been exiled two years later he would presumably have filled what seems a logical ambition: to have headed a large three-generational household in the big house he had assembled between the Via Larga dei Legnaiuoli and the Corso degli Strozzi.<sup>117</sup> Here we are faced with the disruptive effects of exile, with the interruption of the normal cycle of household development by which this large simple household would have become an extended one.

That aristocratic Florentine households underwent a natural cyclical process of development and change has now been ably demonstrated, as has the concomitant fact that many more Florentines experienced life in a complex household during some part of their lives than lived in them at any one time.<sup>118</sup> While Dr. Kent's conclusions on this subject seem to me to hold good for the Strozzi also, one point is worth special notice. That large simple and large complex households were generally found amongst the wealthiest stratum of the lineage is part of the circular effect of a greater than average number of male children in each generation, combined with the resources to create or amalgamate and then maintain adequate accommodation for an expanding household; this was almost inevitably followed by a process of fission (it being most unusual for mature first cousins to continue living together) which kept the domestic group at a manageable size and recommenced the cycle.<sup>119</sup> This process was rudely interrupted for the Strozzi by the exceptional degree of economic hardship suffered by several formerly prosperous households, and in particular by the loss of their urban residences. This must have contributed to the low proportion of complex households in the lineage by 1469.

#### iv The Neighbourhood

If the fact of co-residence was of particular importance for deciding the precise quality of the relationships subsisting between parents and their adult off-spring, between siblings, and between first-

cousins who may have shared a house in childhood, no less important was that of common neighbourhood for the lineage as a whole.<sup>120</sup> 'Neighbourhood' must be a less precise term than 'household'; whereas the latter only very rarely sheltered outsiders (except for domestic slaves and servants), the neighbourhood was always a more mixed environment, shared with a number of other families and with the proprietors of the 'botteghe' which in the earlier fifteenth century still occupied the ground floor of the houses of the wealthiest Strozzi.<sup>121</sup> But when the pattern of household occupation is closely examined, the nuclei of Strozzi settlement appear as very cohesive, even judged over a period of close to half a century; this is largely because ownership of many houses, although changing rapidly during some periods of several years, would consistently be in the hands of first one and then another member of the lineage. When Bartolommeo di Loderigo was describing the house in which he lived to the catasto officials in 1427 by listing the confinati (those whose houses bordered on his) he named them as Messer Palla Novello, Barla di Stagio, and the heirs of Bonacorso di Pinaccio: 'tutti degli Strozzi',<sup>122</sup> he added, with unusual explicitness; in fact the great preponderance of kinsmen amongst the confinati named on Strozzi portate can easily be missed by a modern reader because of the frequency with which the family name is omitted. This propinquity of residence is significant enough to examine in detail for two main reasons: it allowed, indeed, must have necessitated, daily contact of every type between the members of the lineage, reinforcing by such contact and the close knowledge it fostered the often quite distant link of agnatic kinship;<sup>123</sup> and it meant that at the primary level of political activity, that of the sixteen gonfaloni into which the city was divided, a very large lineage like the Strozzi could for once exercise its full strength, and 'dominate' its neighbours in more than one sense, ensuring its success on the nomination lists for the scrutiny, the necessary first step towards success in public office during the period for which any scrutiny was current.<sup>124</sup>

For an understanding of the environment in which the Strozzi

lived, it is essential imaginatively to replace our knowledge of the present city centre, as much a record of what Gene Brucker has called 'a century of vandalism',<sup>125</sup> from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century, as it is of the preceding styles of building, with some mental picture of the intricate and labyrinthine complex of buildings which survived almost intact one hundred years ago. There were of course earlier agents of destruction, one of the chief being that wave of palace building which began in the mid-fifteenth century; somewhat ironically one of the best descriptions we have of the intricate interweaving of these blocks of buildings concerns those houses pulled down by Filippo Strozzi to make way for his palace, an operation unusually complete in leaving no trace of what had gone before.<sup>126</sup> The description is by Alessandra, Filippo's mother, in a letter written in 1448, explaining to him the position of a small house, sharing two walls with their own, that she wished to buy and amalgamate with theirs.<sup>127</sup> This small house had belonged to Messer Palla di Nofri, but in common with most of his real estate it had been confiscated and sold to pay his debts to the commune. The first buyer, Niccolò Popoleschi, had in turn sold it to a Rucellai, with whom negotiations were being carried on.<sup>128</sup> Alessandra assumed that Filippo would not understand the layout without a detailed description. 'La qual casa confina colla nostra da duo lattora, che è in sul canto della via dirieto, cioè tra la stalla e la camera terrena nostra, è'l muro di detta casa è in sulla corte nostra; che da lato ritto all'entrar della corte v'è la nostra casa vecchia, e da lato a l'uscio dirieto v'è la stalla nostra, come tu sai, e da lato manco v'è il muro di detta casa.'<sup>129</sup> Niccolò (di Lionardo, the cousin for whom Filippo was working in Naples) would remember these things more clearly, and Filippo should consult him, too, she added. The 'corte' to which Alessandra refers was, with connecting alley-ways, at least partly public in nature; after the completion of the Strozzi palace and at least during the sixteenth century, the public were allowed access across the courtyard of the Strozzi palace to compensate for the disappearance of this public 'right of way.'<sup>130</sup> Even the most conscientious



attempts of modern historians to reconstruct the pattern of ownership of such houses are apt to fail; that, for example, of Guido Carocci in 1884 to reconstruct the centro and its house ownership from the information of the 1427 catasto, is greatly over-simplified and only partly successful.<sup>131</sup> The related problems here are the manifest irregularity which houses must have assumed after some generations of these additions and deletions, and concomitantly the almost constant structural modifications which must have ensued.

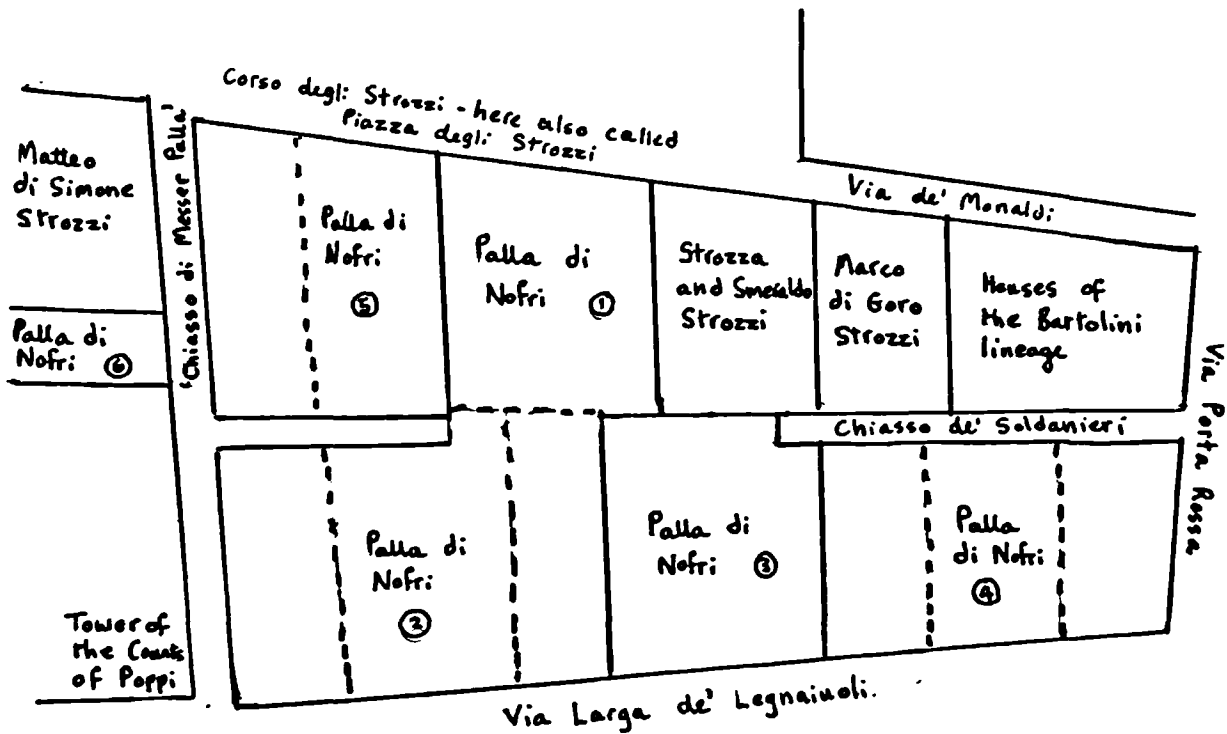
As with a number of subjects of relevance to Florentine family history, there has been in recent years an amount of disagreement about the motives which inspired the building of large palazzi, and as a prime example of this phenomenon particular attention has been paid to that of Filippo Strozzi.<sup>132</sup> While the great corporate interest which accompanied and encouraged its construction has recently been clearly demonstrated, and its status as a symbol (if not solely) of the family pride of its builder seems evident,<sup>133</sup> it seems nevertheless true that this and similar buildings may have done more harm than good to the 'family neighbourhood' which had helped nurture the ambitions of their builders. Monumental in character and size, they both occupied a large amount of living space and fossilized it, replacing the comparatively fluid and adaptable nature of the earlier buildings with permanence and rigidity. While such permanence was clearly a desideratum of their builders,<sup>134</sup> it could be obtained only at the sacrifice of some part of the responsiveness of the urban environment to the changing needs of its inhabitants. But interesting as this is as a subject of academic controversy, it should be remembered that this question concerns only a fairly small proportion of the lineage's traditional living space, and that most of the land covered by the Strozzi palace had formerly belonged to the Tornabuoni and other lineages.

In 1427 the houses of the Strozzi must have constituted one of the most extensive territorial enclaves in Florence, one which had developed over at least the preceding century and a half.<sup>135</sup> There had been

at least one thoroughfare bearing their name since the thirteenth century: the small street that at that time linked the Piazza Marmora (behind the Strozzi palace) with what was then called the Via delle Cipolle (modern Piazza Strozzi).<sup>136</sup> By the fifteenth century the latter was the nucleus of Strozzi settlement, called either the Corso degli Strozzi or (when it widened at the end closest to the Via Porta Rossa), the Piazza degli Strozzi. In 1427 this street (not enlarged into a piazza along its full length until the sixteenth century),<sup>137</sup> was almost entirely occupied by Strozzi, and the only major non-Strozzi enclave, a group of Gondi houses next to what is now the Palazzo Strozzi, was almost entirely assimilated in 1428 when Messer Palla di Nofri purchased two of the three Gondi houses on that site,<sup>138</sup> between his own and that then belonging to Matteo di Simone. The acquisition by Palla of this very large amount of property has passed unnoticed, partly because its assembly was completed shortly before his exile, and partly because less than half of this property was used as a residence for his family: two houses joined back to back and stretching between the Via Larga dei Legnaiuoli and the Corso degli Strozzi, together with a casetta nearby (adjoining that of Matteo di Simone, the one described above by his widow, Alessandra) 'nella quale tengo cavalli per mio uso e biade', Palla wrote in his 1427 portata.<sup>139</sup> His original residence, built by his great-grandfather, Jacopo, was the house of modest dimensions in the Corso degli Strozzi, while the other house joined back to back with it his father had bought from Currado di Pagolo Strozzi.<sup>140</sup> Palla and his father Nofri also acquired houses in this immediate vicinity from 1405 onwards, the earliest purchases of small houses being incorporated into their residence with only minor changes.<sup>141</sup> More ambitious in intention was the purchase of the 'palazzo del Saggina' in the Via Larga (adjoining their house on the S. Trinita side), purchased by Nofri shortly before his death in 1417.<sup>142</sup> By 1427 Palla appears to have owned all the houses on this side of the Via Larga, from the Via Porta Rossa as far as the southern boundary of

the present site of the Strozzi palace, or at that time of the tower of the counts of Poppi. The large house or palazzo on the corner of the Via Larga and the Via Porta Rossa was Palla's most recent possession in 1427, occupied by three separate tenants paying the large total of sixty-one florins in rent.<sup>143</sup> The purchase of two of the three small Gondi houses on the Corso degli Strozzi (referred to above) completed the purchase of a large site between the Corso and the Via Larga, and it seems very likely that Palla intended to build a much enlarged house there, possibly with an imposing facade in the Via Larga. [See fig. 1 below.]

FIGURE 1: SITES OWNED BY MESSER PALLA DI NOFRI STROZZI in 1428



- (1) Ancestral house, with 15th century additions.
- (2) Second house, bought c. late 14th cent., with 2 15th cent. additions
- (3) Palazzo del Sagina, bought 1415
- (4) Bought by Palla before 1427 catasto from Ambrogio di Mio
- (5) Two Gondi houses, bought 1428
- (6) Small house used as stable. (location approximate)

There is a decided similarity between this acquisition of sites by Nofri and Palla, and that by the Medici, begun in the lifetime of Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici from 1427 onwards, which is described in a recent study

of the building of the Medici palace. However, the Strozzi activity preceded that of the Medici by at least a decade.<sup>144</sup>

The first Strozzi palace was in the event built on the other side of the Corso degli Strozzi, an ambition first planned (if the record of land acquisition is a reliable guide) by Messer Palla Novello and completed by his sons Agnolo and Carlo.<sup>145</sup> In 1427 Messer Palla Novello owned only one house on what was to become the site of the Strozzino palace. At this time he was actually resident with his family in a rented house in the gonfalone of Lion Nero, in the quarter of Santa Croce, although he had returned to Lion Rosso by 1433 at the latest.<sup>146</sup> To this nucleus of one house, eight more were added, although most of these were quite small, bought between 1435 and 1457.<sup>147</sup> Three of these were bought from Strozzi kinsmen: two from Barla di Stagio, who was forced to sell virtually all his urban property due to his destitute financial position, and one from Messer Palla Novello's first cousin, Carlo di Francesco.<sup>148</sup> In their catasto report of 1469, Agnolo and Carlo di Messer Palla described all these houses as incorporated into their residence or 'abitazione'.<sup>149</sup> Their portata gives a very clear description of how such palaces could change irrevocably the urban landscape, and how, by such purchases as theirs of the Piazza Marmora (which lay behind their original house) and some adjacent alleyways and street, public space was legally converted into private property. 'E più ò chomperato dal comune di Firenze la piazza marmora et chiasse e parte vie, le quali insieme cholle sopradette chase e chasolari, comperati tutti, si sono murati nelle chase della nostra abitazione.'<sup>150</sup> But even when these purchases were completed the site was far smaller than that earlier assembled by Messer Palla di Nofri before 1434. The reason for this is clear enough: the financial resources of Messer Palla Novello and his sons were limited, and very modest (unless for some reason grossly understated in their catasto declarations) compared with the wealth of other palace builders like Giovanni Rucellai.<sup>151</sup>

In 1427 the other Strozzi houses ringing the Corso were those of Matteo di Simone, his uncle Piero di Filippo (who owned two houses; these three were all on the site of the future palace), the brothers Strozza and Smeraldo di Smeraldo, Marco di Goro and his sons, the four sons of Bonaccorso di Pinaccio (who owned a small house between that of Messer Palla Novello and the church of S. Maria Ughi), Benedetto di Pieraccione, and finally, on the corner of the Corso and the Via Fera-vecchi (modern Via Strozzi), that of Lionardo d'Antonio.<sup>152</sup> Taken together this formed a cluster of many of the richest and politically most prominent households of the lineage. Although they belonged to three different branches, the three households containing those exiled in 1434 occupied nearly contiguous sites in the Corso degli Strozzi. The original Piazza degli Strozzi was formed as early as 1326, when three Strozzi household heads bought and combined sites, previously occupied by buildings; suitably enough, then, this nucleus of the lineage's houses had been created by a co-operative enterprise.<sup>153</sup>

There was another main nucleus of Strozzi settlement, around the piazza and street bearing the name of the now vanished parish church of San Miniato fra le torri, an area completely demolished during the later nineteenth century.<sup>154</sup> The site is now occupied by the much enlarged Via Anselmi and by the central post office. This must have been an area of exceptional interest, judging by what has and can be reconstructed from photographs and contemporary descriptions.<sup>155</sup> As its name indicates, San Miniato was ringed by the towers (lopped, well before the fifteenth century, to the level of the surrounding houses) of a number of families, including the Strozzi.<sup>156</sup> By our period the remains of four of these had been incorporated, although not perhaps as actual living quarters, into the houses of Francesco di Giovanni, Bernardo di Tommaso, and Niccolò and Giovanni di Jacopo.<sup>157</sup> Owning adjoining houses were Lionardo di Filippo, Barla di Stagio (two) and Niccolò di Jacopo.<sup>186</sup> In his catasto report of 1427 Bernardo di Tommaso, whose house was sandwiched between the piazza and the Loggia de'

Pigli, explained that his rights of ownership included more than just his house: 'e chon detta chaxa cierta della padroneria di San Miniato e cierta parte della piazza dinanzi a detta chaxa.' (158) The patronage of this church had belonged to the Pilastrì until 1327, and it then appears to have passed to the three brothers from whom were descended those three branches who lived around the piazza at this time.<sup>159</sup> From Francesco's description it appears that these Strozzi also exercised some proprietorial rights over the piazza itself; rights, presumably, of a more traditional and less absolute kind than those later acquired by Agnolo in the neighbouring Piazza Marmora.<sup>160</sup> Attached to Giovanni di Jacopo's house was 'una ciella e volte ... che si chiamava la ciella di Borghese'. This had been a profitable asset used as a premises for selling wine until the ufficiali della torre stopped him, by pointing out that he had declared all this property as for his habitation only, an example of the catasto requiring distinctions of a novel type between residential and commercial property.<sup>161</sup>

The only other area in which a number of Strozzi houses were grouped was in the parish of San Pancrazio, on the other side of the Via Larga dei Legnaiuoli: Strozza di Rinaldo and next door his first cousin Giovanni di Francesco, Salamone di Carlo and the brothers Benedetto and Carlo di Marco.<sup>162</sup> The main Strozzi parish churches were Santa Maria Ughi and San Miniato; both of these were surrounded by Strozzi houses. Unfortunately neither of them is still standing and records of their contents appear to be scanty.<sup>163</sup> Conversely, the Strozzi chapels in S. M. Novella and Santa Trinita have been very fully treated by art historians and need not be dealt with here.<sup>164</sup> It is however interesting to note the particular status which Santa Trinita enjoyed amongst the Strozzi, despite the fact that few of them actually lived in its parish. If we may judge by the number of Strozzi whose funeral rites and other commemorative services were held there, this church and the tradition of the Vallombrosan order were held by them in particular reverence.<sup>165</sup>

The preceding discussion has been concerned specifically with house ownership, rather than the more general one of residence, mainly because descriptions of property that was owned were given fairly fully in portate, whereas with houses of residence which were rented, often only the amount of rent and its owner were stipulated. However, when such houses can be located they almost always prove to have been in the immediate vicinity of houses owned by other Strozzi, and very frequently rented from Strozzi. There is a clear correlation between economic standing and house ownership, and while the one house, or even more markedly, the one site, could remain for a century or much longer in the hands of one man and his direct descendants, house ownership was also extremely susceptible to economic misfortune or even temporary reversals.<sup>166</sup> Clearly one group who benefited by this were the palace builders like Messer Palla Novello and his sons, but a less remarked on process is that whereby particular houses were owned by a succession of different members of the lineage, not necessarily closely related to each other. The houses rented and owned between 1427 and 1469 by Francesco di Benedetto di Caroccio and his sons provide several examples of this circulation of properties.<sup>167</sup> In 1427 Francesco was without a house in Florence and rented one from Marco di Goro. In 1442 he was still renting a house, but this time one of Messer Palla di Nofri, for which he paid the Ufficiali del Monte twenty-four florins a year. At this time he had just added to his country estate at San Martino a Brozzi the adjoining property of his first cousins once removed, Lionardo d'Antonio and his brothers. By 1451 Francesco had died but his widow and sons were living in a house he had purchased in the Via Larga dei Legnaiuoli in 1443; although the last owners of this house had been Cosimo de' Medici and Lorenzo di Larione, it had been part of the property owned by Messer Palla di Nofri in 1427, and possibly passed to Cosimo as part of the financial transactions between the two men that Vespasiano describes. By 1469 the very large household of Francesco's sons needed

more space and the house next door in the Via Larga had been bought from Messer Benedetto di Messer Uberto, who was among the Strozzi permanently settled in Mantua. Messer Benedetto had earlier purchased it from the commune, as it had been amongst the property of Palla di Nofri sold to pay his tax debts. Finally Lodovico di Francesco and his brothers bought a casetta behind one of these two-joined houses, for use as a stable, from the sons of Carlo di Marco. In the same period as these additions were made to their city house they sold a house they owned (but had never lived in) in the Corso degli Strozzi to Giannozzo di Giovanni Strozzi,<sup>168</sup> this was the house which in 1427 had belonged to Lionardo d'Antonio Strozzi. By 1469 Lodovico and his brothers had also obtained rights, or recognition of rights, in a house formerly belonging to the sons of Lionardo di Filippo Strozzi but which had passed into the hands of the Abbot of San Pancrazio as cessionario or assignee of debtors of the gonfalone of Lion Rosso. Presumably by demonstrating a claim on Lionardo's estate they had obtained virtual possession of this house, subject to a financial agreement with the Abbot and the syndics of the gonfalone, and they rented it out to the sons of Niccolò di Jacopo Strozzi.<sup>169</sup> Only the scope and perhaps the legal complexity of these transactions were unusual. Neighbours were frequently kinsmen, and neighbours were those most often involved when property changed hands;<sup>170</sup> aside from this there is a very clear preference indicated to rent property, if that was necessary, from a kinsman, and similarly to buy property which had a history of Strozzi ownership.

As we can see in these transactions, the more prosperous members of the lineage were in a position to benefit from the financial straits of less fortunate kinsmen, but despite this fact the Strozzi lineage as a whole owned far less property in Florence in 1469 than it had forty-five years earlier. In 1427 twenty-six Strozzi households can be identified as owning one or more houses in the city. By 1442 the number had fallen to sixteen, although this number does not include some exiles who retained final legal ownership of property but certainly did not in any



sense enjoy the use of it.<sup>171</sup> In 1469 this number had fallen as low as fourteen. The number of households renting residences also fell, while those living permanently on their country estates grew more numerous. While a country villa was, for the wealthy, a pleasant addition to their Florentine residence, for the near indigent the house on their country estate provided the cheapest possible place to live. Next in terms of economy was the renting of a house in one of the smaller towns of the Florentine contado; almost invariably, for the Strozzi, this meant Prato, where there were two or three Strozzi households in each of the assessment years. In 1442 thirty-two year old Chirico di Francesco (with a tax assessment of only fifteen soldi) wrote that he was 'sanza alchuno exercitio e sempre sono stato in villa';<sup>172</sup> in the same year the sons of Bonaccorso di Pinaccio were living in a house in Prato rented for six florins a year: 'la casa di Firenze', they explained, 'è venduta a Messer Palla Novello per cagione delle nostre gravezze.'<sup>173</sup> In 1469 Monna Cosa, widow of Niccolo di Pagnozzo, and her forty year old son Antonio, wrote simply that 'Stiamoci in villa per poverta e stati più di 30 anni passati.'<sup>174</sup> In both 1451 and 1458 Monna Nana, widow of Ubertino di Tommaso, and her sons reported that financial hardship forced them to live on their country estates: 'trovianci non avere chasa in Firenze e però ci stiamo in villa per non potere paghare pigione.'<sup>175</sup> In 1451 they added a comment which reveals the degradation which they felt as citizens of Florence who could not afford to live in the city. 'E diventiamo contadini per forza chome intendete per chè altro nonnè si puo fare.'<sup>176</sup>

The reason most often given for the loss of urban houses and the corresponding movement to the countryside was an inability to pay taxes. The 1442 tax return of Francesco and Lorenzo di Piero explained how they had lost their house: 'una chasa la quale soleva essere per loro abitare antichamente, posto nel Corso degli Strozzi ... è oggi de' sindachi del gonfalone Lion Rosso che l'anno presa per gravezze.'<sup>177</sup>

Their first cousins, Jacopo, Filippo and Niccolò di Lionardo, had also lost their house, plus two pieces of land at Quaracchi, to the gonfalone because of tax debts.<sup>178</sup> This branch of the Strozzi, before 1427 one of the lineage's most consistently prosperous and powerful, was by this time dispersed through Europe, where the sons of Lionardo di Filippo more than recouped their earlier wealth.<sup>179</sup> While there is no indication that these Strozzi were taxed more heavily than the regulations prescribed, the laws were certainly stringently applied in the cause of recovering their tax debts to the commune. Their cousin, the young Filippo di Matteo, believed at this time (in the early 1440s) that Florence was too hostile an environment in which to pursue a career in business.<sup>180</sup> The extent to which the economic welfare of the lineage suffered during this period will be examined in the remaining section of this chapter.

#### v. The Domestic Economies

The catasto, and the other tax surveys which succeeded it, form a valuable but flawed body of evidence for studying the domestic economies of the lineage's households. It gives a clear view of the variety of possible economic activity, and the possible contrast in this respect between the livelihoods of the rich and the poor. This evidence also provides a clear picture of the wide range in levels of wealth within this very large lineage.<sup>181</sup> However, the limitations of this source must also be carefully considered. Each tax survey required only certain information, and this varied from one to the next.<sup>182</sup> The fullness of their information varies substantially for this reason, the catasto of 1427 being generally superior to any of the later surveys. A good example is found in the reporting of entrepreneurial activity: this was quite widely reported in 1427 Strozzi portata, but rarely thereafter. It can be seen from other evidence that this lack of information was at least in part due to non-reporting, rather than impoverishment.<sup>183</sup> The evidence of the catasto is also peculiarly

subject to distortion on the grounds of financial self interest. But while it has been shown that quite elaborate frauds were successfully perpetrated, it seems likely that these were confined to the more highly organised types of business activity;<sup>184</sup> every-day transactions in land and Monte shares, which constitute the great bulk of economic activity recorded on catasto returns, would be more difficult to falsify. A subject on which there appears to have been a substantial degree of reticence by the authors of portate was that of payment for professional activities, even when the status of the profession concerned was a high one. Thus Messer Marcello di Strozza, one of Florence's most eminent lawyers, gave no indication of this fact and certainly declared no income from this source. The relatives of another Strozzi lawyer, Messer Michele di Piero, wrote in 1442 that 'il detto Michele, per povertà e perchè non à modo potere vivere dasse, sta nello studio di Perugia nella casa della sapentia.'<sup>186</sup> The gloomy view taken of Michele's studies reveals the difference in the way in which professional and amateur scholarship were regarded.<sup>187</sup> Far more declassè than this was Ser Andrea di Ciaperino, who in 1427 was living in the parish of San Felice in Piazza in the quarter of Santo Spirito; he, his mother and his younger brothers and sisters lived in a house rented from their maternal Alberti uncles.<sup>188</sup> Ser Andrea, as his title indicates, was a notary. His gross assets in 1427 were just over a thousand florins, and there were a good many Strozzi who were poorer, but none who appear more effectively isolated from the rest of their lineage, the only male member of his tiny branch. The profession of notary was quite definitely below the social status maintained by the large majority of the lineage's members.<sup>189</sup>

In fact a majority of the Strozzi appear to have been without a profession or regular business activity at all, many of them living solely on the rents from their rural properties and from the generally very modest dividends of Monte shares. Rural property was by far the most common form in which wealth was held; men like Ser Andrea, who

owned none at all, were in a tiny minority. The most usual means of acquisition was through inheritance; outright purchase seems only to have been possible for those who also had other, more highly remunerative types of capital investment. Representative of the large category of those who lived chiefly on rural rents was Ubertino di Tommaso, who with his brother and elderly grandmother, owned in 1427 the house in which they lived in Florence, and four farms situated to the north east in the commune of Campi.<sup>190</sup> The rent from these farms was their only declared source of income, and they were valued at a total capital worth of two thousand and seventy florins. (Their tax assessment was three and a half florins.)<sup>191</sup> By 1442 the urban house had been sold, along with one of the farms, although Ubertino had gained Monte shares with a face value of 1500 florins as his wife's dowry. He had died by 1451, leaving a young widow and four children aged between fourteen and nine, living almost permanently in their country house at San Martino a Montughi; 'stiamo tutti in villa per non nè potere pagare pigione nè tenere fante', Monna Nanna wrote in 1451, but she may have been exaggerating their poverty because they were renting a Florentine house in 1457. By 1469 only she and Tommaso, her youngest son, remained; she described them as 'sanza chasa a Firenze, e sanza danari di monte, e pochi aviamenti': they were assessed at three florins, seven soldi on a much diminished estimated capital worth of 923 florins. This total was composed exclusively of two of the four farms described in 1427.<sup>192</sup>

A similar case was that of Francesco di Giovanni di Messer Niccolo, who at seventy-one in 1427 lived with his thirty year old wife, and off-spring aged between forty-five years and ten months, in the parish of San Quirico at Campi. In 1442 his son Chirico still lived there, 'sanza alchuno exercitio', as he described himself. The estates inherited from his father were gradually dispersed, in what forms a fairly common pattern, and the value of the land which he still held in 1469 was assessed at only 966 florins.<sup>193</sup> Generally speaking, the assets of those in this group in 1427 were between one and two thousand

florins, paying a tax assessment of three to five florins.<sup>194</sup> Overall it can be observed that the attempt to live what was in economic terms a very conservative life-style was on the whole unsuccessful; without an exception these Strozzi lost ground over the years, and they or their descendants were considerably poorer in 1469 than in 1427.<sup>195</sup> They are virtually indistinguishable as a group from those who had supplemented their land holdings with small amounts of monte shares. Such shares do not normally represent a deliberate investment of any kind, and in most places probably constituted the remains of modest dowries: a fair example is Niccolò di Pagnozzo, who in 1427 held monte stock with a purchase value of 400 florins, together with two farms, one with a 'casa da cittadino.' By 1442 this household could no longer afford to rent a house in Florence, and they lived on their estate at Santo Stefano. In 1451 Niccolò described himself as 'sanza nessuno inviamiento', and added, 'per povertà mi sto in chontado'. In 1469 his widow and son reported the possession of only one farm, with its house, worth only 664 florins, compared with their 1427 total of 1336.<sup>196</sup>

The type of wealth held by those Strozzi in the next general grouping (by amount of capital) is more diverse in its origins: the men with whom we are concerned here include those with moderate-sized investments in private enterprise and those who ran their own fairly small businesses; also in this category were small urban landlords and those with more substantial holdings of monte stock. Linking them with the first group is the almost universal presence of some rural property. An example of a man combining two of these types of activity is Bernardo di Tommaso, who apart from four farms and his house of residence, had 1350 florins invested in a wool shop; the company (in his name) was run in partnership with Bianco di Silvestro, who was presumably the active partner. He also owned three shop premises, two of which were rented and returned 26 florins annually in rent. The third was unrented and he planned to turn it into a stable for his own use. His total capitalised wealth in 1427 was 3357 florins, and his catasto assessment was nine

florine eight soldi.<sup>197</sup> At a similar economic level in 1427 was Niccolò di Jacopo, who owned and rented out the two 'botteghe di peliciai' under his house, had various sums of money in deposito (the returns on this kind of investment were quite high: Strozza di Rinaldo received 8% interest on the 800 florine he had as a deposit in the bank of Lorenzo di Messer Palla),<sup>198</sup> and also dealt in substantial amounts of monte shares.<sup>199</sup>

Niccolò's brothers - Giovanni, Bengni and Tommaso - were more unusual among the Strozzi in being partners in a company which traded in gold and silver; Tommaso described the company as 'al traffico dell' ariento',<sup>200</sup> but a manufacturing process was also involved by which it was 'spun' for use in the luxury cloth industry. Between them the three brothers can have had little over 1500 florins invested in this business; the largest share was Giovanni's and the business at this time bore his name. In 1427 Tommaso estimated the value of the fittings of the fornello where their business was carried on at 580 florins. Their portate are not very forthcoming about the fate of this enterprise, but some time after 1442 it passed entirely into Tommaso's hands.<sup>201</sup> One brother, Bengni, was largely absent from Florence and made a career as a court official in Mantua. They were assessed at eight and a half and six florins respectively in 1451; the third brother, Giovanni, earlier the most prosperous, was assessed at only three florins in that year, and wrote of himself: 'Non à traficho nè esercizio e fassi chome miserabile.'<sup>202</sup>

On a much higher level of prosperity, but with some similarities (in the way in which his capital was deployed) to some of the men just looked at, was Francesco di Benedetto di Caroccio. His total assets in 1427 were valued at 11,910 florins, making him the second wealthiest member of the lineage.<sup>203</sup> In that year he owned a fondaco in partnership with two other ritagliatori or retail cloth merchants. He also held nearly 4,000 florins worth of monte shares, plus thirty-two separate land holdings at San Martino a Brozzi.<sup>204</sup> At this time he was

paying out almost fifty florins a year rent to Marco di Goro Strozzi for a city house and furnishings,<sup>205</sup> plus his one-third share of the thirty-five florins rent of the fondaco; his catasto assessment was forty-seven florins.<sup>206</sup>

This was the only time that a business partnership was reported by Francesco or his sons, although it is clear from their letters that they were still involved in later years in some business ventures which should have been reported on their portate from 1451 onwards.<sup>207</sup>

In 1442 Francesco paid only nine florins tax and although in 1451 his son's assessment had shot up again to thirty-three florins, this steep rise is part of a widely observed pattern and in fact a large part of Francesco's rural property had been sold. This was partly to finance the purchase of a house in Florence and an enlargement of their villa at Brozzi.<sup>208</sup>

By 1469 Francesco's sons - Lodovico, Vanni, Battista and Lorenzo - had recovered some of their father's earlier prosperity, possibly through the good offices of the Medici; nevertheless their combined capital worth of 6174 florins was much smaller than that of their father forty years earlier.<sup>209</sup>

Their father's younger brother, Zanobi di Benedetto, was a painter, although he gives no indication of this in his catasto. Although not a member of the avant-garde, he was a successful miniaturist of the school of Fra Angelico. In 1457 he owned a house in the parish of San Michele Bertoldi, a bottega of the Arte della Lana which returned twenty-one florins annually in rent; and also some rural property.<sup>210</sup>

A substantial part of the latter he had received as dowry in 1438 when he married Nanna, daughter of Francesco di Giovanni di Messer Niccolò Strozzi, and he had in addition bought an adjoining piece of property from his wife's brother in 1443, suggesting prosperity.<sup>211</sup>

There is no simple means of isolating the richest members of the lineage in terms of their type of wealth, although if there tended to be a characteristic conformation of property-holding and investment it is probably fairly represented by a man like Francesco di Benedetto di Caroccio, with balanced holdings in land, monte shares and some

business activity, with the monte shares becoming increasingly less important as the century progressed. However, there are plenty of exceptions to this pattern, one of whom was Benedetto di Pieraccione, one of Strozzi whose biography was written by Vespasiano da Bisticci.<sup>212</sup> In 1427 Benedetto had no discernible income from business activity, and his gross capitalised wealth of 4855 florins was composed almost entirely of seven farms and some other land at San Quirico a Capalle.<sup>213</sup> Rural property was both the most conservative of investments and inflexible in character; it seems likely that Benedetto would have had difficulty in meeting repeated demands for the thirty-one florins at which he was assessed. Vespasiano tells us that Benedetto worked as a scribe for payment to supplement his income in order to meet heavy taxation, and it has been suggested that this may be an example of discriminatory high taxation by the Medici.<sup>214</sup> There is, however, no sign that Benedetto's assessments after 1434 were particularly high (six florins in 1442, thirty-five florins in 1451), and it is more likely that as with many other Florentines of this class, his financial position was irreversibly harmed by the huge exactions of the years immediately after 1427.<sup>215</sup> Certainly he and his sons present another example of the economic decline of the lineage during the period under examination: in 1469 his sons Francesco and Paolo were valued at 318 and 443 florins, while Giovanni reported no sustanze at all.<sup>216</sup>

The picture which emerges from this survey is one of almost unrelieved gloom. The sons of Francesco di Benedetto Caroccio have been identified as amongst the few who actually improved their own financial position, and even they were substantially poorer than their father had been in 1427. To them and with fewer qualifications may be added Piero di Carlo, whose gross capital worth increased from 757 florins in 1427 to 2688 in 1469; this was however almost entirely due to his inheritance of the estate of his cousin Strozza di Smeraldo who had no closer heir... after the death in exile of his brother Smeraldo.<sup>217</sup> Given that such



exceptions exist, the Strozzi lineage in 1469 was generally weaker in economic terms than it had been in 1427; even those households which like Agnolo and Carlo di Messer Palla maintained a reasonable level of prosperity were nevertheless markedly poorer than they or their fathers had been forty years earlier.<sup>218</sup>

This survey of the economic life of the Strozzi lineage would be incomplete without some consideration of the estate of Messer Palla di Nofri, who in 1427 was the wealthiest man in Florence.<sup>219</sup> His estate was at this time so enormous as to make comparison with others difficult: his gross wealth was estimated at 162,925 florins, while the next wealthiest member of the lineage, Francesco di Carocçio, was worth only an estimated 11,910 florins. Indeed, the gross capital worth of all the other thirteen households assessed at a capital value of over 3,000 florins was together only 67,000.<sup>220</sup> The gross estimated assets of all other members of the lineage in 1427 came to only 105,000 florins, or just over two-thirds of Palla's single estate. The nature of Palla's financial holdings and the vast size of his rural property has received due attention from economic historians, as well as a fairly detailed treatment in an unpublished doctoral dissertation devoted to his life.<sup>221</sup> Despite this it must be recognised that there are a surprisingly large number of uncertainties, and a good many completely dark areas in the picture of how this enormous fortune was assembled.<sup>222</sup> The only commercial records concerning Palla's activities which survive are those of the bank founded in the name of his eldest son, Lorenzo, and Orsino Lanfredini in 1418; as Lorenzo was fourteen at that time Orsino was presumably the active partner.<sup>223</sup> There are also references in that year to the existence of a company entitled 'Bartolommeo di Messer Palla e chompagnia lanaiuoli';<sup>224</sup> Bartolommeo was the second eldest of Palla's five sons (whose premature death at the age of sixteen is so eloquently recorded by Vespasiano),<sup>225</sup> he was eight at this time, and his only connection with this company could have been that it bore his name. These two examples in his sons' names are the latest definitely recorded business

interests of Palla, although from a number of letters written to his kineman Simone di Filippo from Venice in 1422 it is clear that he still had a company operating from there, which at that time was sustaining heavy losses.<sup>226</sup> By 1427 he reported no business interests whatsoever, apart from Lorenzo's bank. It may well have been that he intended to follow a system used by his own father, of leaving all active commercial interests in his sons' hands, a plan partly frustrated by the death of Bartolommeo the year before;<sup>227</sup> the next son, Nofri, seems to have been trained for a different role, as he accompanied Palla on all his diplomatic missions, acting as a kind of secretary, while the eldest, Lorenzo, remained in Florence.<sup>228</sup> Palla had (presumably) been a member of the Arte di Calimala since early manhood, and certainly was entrusted with responsible commissions for the guild as early as 1407; into the Arte di Cambio, by contrast, he only matriculated in 1427, sponsored by his son Lorenzo.<sup>229</sup> As he shed his business interests he invested even more heavily in urban and rural property and in Monte shares.<sup>230</sup> Here we can discern two different but complementary motives at work: until the enormous exactions of the financial crisis of the 1420s and the accompanying plunge in the value of Monte holdings these must have seemed secure investments, and it was at the same time a disposition of capital calculated to secure his interest in both the local and civic bases of political power. His Monte shares, with an original or purchase value of 94,000 florins in 1427,<sup>231</sup> as well as earning him a steady income (which has been estimated at 1,000 florins in those years when the Monte officials were able to meet their obligations in full)<sup>232</sup> were in effect an indirect subsidising of the communal treasury, while his carefully consolidated rural land holdings must have provided him with a strong influence in the areas where they were concentrated, to the east and south-east of Florence, in particular around the commune of Empoli.<sup>233</sup> In the event, it was a disposition particularly vulnerable: his Monte shares were sold at much below their original price to pay the creditors from whom he had raised the money to pay his taxes, and his real property

was sold by the commune after his exile to pay still outstanding taxes.<sup>234</sup> When, in a will he wrote in 1447, he described how he wished to dispose of his remaining property, he remarked on how little there was left, and why. 'Poco ci sia da testare, per rispetto delle impositioni factemi, e graveze fuor d'ogni dovere; e dello exilio e rilegatione factami.'<sup>235</sup> In his petition to the Signoria of April 1432 Palla claimed to have paid out in forced loans and tax payments between 1423 and that time between 118,000 and 120,000 florins, plus almost 40,000 florins in interest on loans taken to meet these exactions.<sup>236</sup>

The ultimate reason for the weakness of his enormous estate was in its organisation, or rather in its lack thereof; in form, if not in extent, it was precisely similar to many held by his kinsmen: without diversification of any kind, not earning sufficient profit to recoup the taxes paid on it, and all of it immediately accessible to such exactions. The relatively few letters of Palla's which survive show him to have been a man with a lively interest in the conservation of both his own property and that of those closely connected with him. Writing to his son-in-law Neri Acciaiuoli during the latter's prolonged absence from Florence in 1424 ('lo t'ò scritto da poi che ti partisti molte e molte lettere')<sup>237</sup> he urged, not for the first time, that Neri should come home at once: 'questi sono tempi di por da parte ogni oltra volonta e ingegnarsi a provvedere a facti suoi per ogni via possibile.'<sup>238</sup> To see Palla as a man prepared to spend his time writing letter after letter to his young son-in-law, full of the minutiae of his financial concerns, is to realize that his attitudes were very much those of his 'ordinary' contemporaries, despite what must have appeared as the unassailable vastness of his own resources. But if he was indistinguishable from his poorer kinsmen in his level of concern he was also, and disastrously, like them in the management of his property.

While the dissolution of Palla's enormous fortune is perhaps unequalled in this period of Florentine history, it was essentially similar, except for its scale, to the experiences of several of his

kinemen. While it is impossible to make close comparisons of either gross estimated wealth or of tax assessments made in different years, because of the differing methods of assessing both wealth and tax in each survey, and because it seems likely that Florentines grew more skilled, after 1427, at representing their assets as smaller than they were in reality, or in holding them in forms which were not taxable.<sup>239</sup> So, if the list of Strozzi households and their gross estimated wealth in 1427 is compared with that of 1469, it is clear that some of the very large difference is attributable to these factors. But it also seems very likely that the Strozzi were generally much poorer in 1469 than they had been forty-two years earlier.<sup>240</sup> If we take the figure of one thousand florins in gross capital worth as representing a level of modest prosperity, this change is seen in its clearest dimension: only ten of forty-three households fell below that level in 1427; twenty-one of thirty-four did so in 1469. There were also far fewer really wealthy Strozzi households in 1469: only Filippo and Lorenzo di Matteo and possibly Lodovico di Francesco and his brothers (dubious perhaps in that this patrimony was shared by such a large household)<sup>241</sup> could be counted as such. When this relatively small number of individual patrimonies is examined individually, this impression is confirmed, as was seen above. It is also true that amongst the Strozzi there was a widespread belief in their decline, economic as well as political, in the years after 1434, and of the lineage's need to 'rebuild' itself. Related to this economic decline, though whether as cause or effect it is difficult to determine, is the fact that fewer of the Strozzi were pursuing a profession or conducting any business enterprise than had done so in 1427. This conclusion is based not on reticence but on the large number of Strozzi who declared on their portate that they were without esercizio or aviamiento of any kind. There is, however, no indication that this was the result of a move away from business as such and towards a heavier investment in rural rents as the principal source of income;<sup>242</sup> there was certainly a greater dependence on such rents,

but this dependence is a sign of financial retraction, not of voluntary change of emphasis. Indeed, the only Strozzi household substantially to increase its holdings of rural property during this period was one of the few whose members we know continued to engage in merchant activity of a most traditional kind.<sup>243</sup> For the numerous others of whom this was no longer true (without the liquid capital necessary for entrepreneurial ventures) the income from their rural properties formed the bedrock of their financial fortunes, providing them with a modest subsistence in the absence of other income.

TABLE 1

YEAR	TOTAL H/HOLDS	TOTAL PERSONS	TOTAL ADULT MALES	AVERAGE H/HOLD SIZE
1427 - S.M. Novella only	39	210	53	5.4
1442       "	31	146	55	4.7
1451       "	31	142	57	4.6
1457       "	31	127	44	4.
1469       "	34	166	45	4.9
1480       "	33	170	52	5.1

TABLE 2: MARRIAGE - ANALYSIS BY AGES

YEAR	Total Males Over 18	No. Married 18-24	No. Married 25-34	No. Married 35-44	No. Married 45-54	No. Married 55-64	No. Married Over 65	Average Age Difference Between Spouses (Years)						
1427	57	32	16	1	3	10	8	13	13	5	4	3	3	12.4
1442	55	2	21	0	9	4	9	4	6	5	3	7	6	13.8
1451	57	25	9	0	20	4	9	6	6	3	4	9	9	14.6
1457	44	17	8	0	14	1	8	5	8	6	4	2	2	17.4
1469	4	20	8	0	6	0	9	6	10	6	6	5	4	19.8

TABLE 3: TYPES OF HOUSEHOLD

YEAR	Single Person	Conjugal Nuclear	Truncated	Grand-Family 2 Gen. 3 Gen.	Avuncular	Joint Fraternal	Other Complex	Simple	Complex	Total	
1427	6	9	2	5	1	3	10	3	17	22	39
1442	3	11	4	5	1	1	4	2	18	13	31
1451	7	11	1	3	3	0	4	2	19	12	31
1457	8	8	2	2	1	0	6	4	18	13	31
1469	11	6	4	2	0	1	7	3	21	13	34
1480	5	12	2	3	0	0	8	4	19	15	34



TABLE 4

WEALTH RATING: 1427	GROSS ESTIMATED CAPITAL
1. Messer Palla di Nofri	162,928
2. Francesco and Zanobi di Bened <sup>o</sup>	11,910
3. Madalena di Messer Carlo (daughter)	9,720
4. Messer Palla di Messer Palla	9,428
5. Bernardo and Giovanni di Giovanni	6,579
6. Matteo di Simone	5,614
7. Messer Marcello and Rosso di Strozza	4,904
8. Benedetto di Pieraccione (or Piero)	4,855
9. Marco di Goro	4,653
10. Salamone di Carlo	4,615
11. Benedetto di Marco (or Marcuccio)	4,298
12. Piero di Filippo	4,003
13. Lionardo di Filippo	3,643
14. Bernardo di Tommaso	3,357
15. Carlo di Marco	3,308
16. Palla and Carlo di Francesco	2,960
17. Strozza and Smeraldo di Smeraldo	2,903
18. Marco di Nofri di Palla	2,845
19. Lionardo, Caroccio and Rinieri d'Antonio	2,735
20. Giovanni, Jacopo and Bengni di Jacopo	2,387
21. Ubertino and Tommaso di Tommaso	2,070
22. Francesco di Giovanni di Messer Niccolo	1,739
23. Monna Maria di Nofri (daughter)	1,734
24. Stagio d'Antonio di Stagio	1,514
25. Sons of Bonaccorso di Pinaccio	1,399
26. Bartolomeo di Loderigo	1,354
27. Niccolò di Pagnozzo	1,336
28. Strozza di Rinaldo	1,189
29. Monna Contessina di Giovanni di Lugi (widow)	1,094
30. Bindo, Pappi and Ruggieri di Ruberto di Jacopo	1,048
31. Francesco di Giovanni di Luigi	1,040
32. Ser Andrea di Ciaperino	1,010
33. Giovanni di Francesco di Giannoza	989
34. Piero di Carlo	757
35. Monna Lisa di Biagio (widow)	740
36. Jacopo di Pieroza	699

TABLE 4 (continued)

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WEALTH RATING:	1427	GROSS ESTIMATED CAPITAL
37.	Marco di Jacopo	665
38.	Monna Caterina di Rinaldo (widow)	643
39.	Monna Margerita di Jacopo (widow)	619
40.	Piero di Pagnozzo	609
41.	Antonio di Benedetto	551
42.	Monna Mea di Messer Giovanni - 'miserabile' -	71
43.	Barla di Stagio - 'miserabile' -	None given

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Unranked are two more Strozzi widows, Lapaccia di Biagio and Caterina di Betto.

TABLE 5

WEALTH RATING: 1469	GROSS ESTIMATED CAPITAL
1. Lodovico di Franc <sup>o</sup> and brothers	6,175
2. Piero di Carlo	2,688
3. Strozza and Gio. di Messer Marcello	1,989
4. Marco di Matteo and brothers	1,850
5. Piero di Zanobi and brothers	1,633
6. Franc <sup>o</sup> di Gio. di Luigi	1,502
7. Battista di Giovanni	1,369
8. Giannozzo di Giovanni	1,189
9. Agnolo and Carlo di Messer Palla	1,167
10. Heirs of Carlo di Marco	1,077
11. Carlo di Francesco	1,046
12. Sons of Niccolo di Jacopo	1,006
13. Heirs of Chirico di Franc <sup>o</sup>	966
14. Monna Nanna, widow of Ubertino di Tomm <sup>o</sup>	923
15. Monna Cosa and Ant <sup>o</sup> di Niccolo	665
16. Bernardo di Benedetto di Marco	662
17. Monna Selvaggia, daughter of Messer Marcello	643
18. Messer Michele di Piero	599
19. Tommaso di Jacopo	595
20. Giovanmaria di Bened <sup>o</sup> di Marco	586
21. Marco di Bened <sup>o</sup> di Marco	521
22. Niccolo di Barla	517
23. Carlo di Messer Marcello	459
24. Paolo di Bened <sup>o</sup> di Pieraccione	443
25. Checca, daughter of Piero di Filippo	375
26. Franc <sup>o</sup> di Benedetto di Pieraccione	318
27. Marco d'Antonio	215
28. Lionardo di Gio	188
29. Bengni di Jacopo	57
30. Paolo di Giovanni di Marco and brothers	30
31. Giovanni di Bened <sup>o</sup> di Pieraccione	--
32. Monna Antonia, widow of Bonaccorso di Pinaccio	--
33. Monna Maddalena, widow of Bened <sup>o</sup> di Marco	--

\*N.B. Filippo di Matteo and his brother Lorenzo were in fact the lineage's wealthiest members in this year. R. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, p.60, calculates that two years later, in 1471, Filippo's estate was worth 31,000 florins. However only a tiny sum appeared on their 1469 catasto report.

NOTES

1. A.S.F, Catasto 919 (1469), f.263r, v.
2. Cat. 42 (1427) ff.252r - 257v. For Benedetto's life see Vespasiano da Bisticci, Le Vite, vol.2, pp.423-27; on his work as a humanist scribe see A. de la Mare, 'Messer Piero Strozzi, a Florentine Priest and Scribe', p.56. There are letters of Benedetto preserved in C.S. III, 112, 113.
3. CC. Bayley, in War and Society in Renaissance Florence: the 'De Militia' of Leonardo Bruni (Toronto, 1961), p.93, states that in 1427 the Strozzi contributed more to the levy of the catasto than any other Florentine family, paying 507 florine (compared with the 397 florine of the Medici). This must however be incorrect, as Palla's assessment alone was 719 florins. This figure may in fact represent the assessments of all the Strozzi excluding Palla. Herlihy and Klapisch have calculated that in 1427 the Strozzi controlled 2.6% of all Florentine capital, a greater share than any other Florentine family. Les Toscans et leurs familles, p.251.
4. Cat. 919 (1469) f.263r, v.; Cat. 920 (1469) ff.401r, 726r - 727v. Another of Benedetto's sons, Niccolò, had died, and his children lived with Paolo, who in 1459 had married Agnoletta, daughter of Felice Brancacci and his second wife, Lena di Messer Palla di Nofri Strozzi. Benedetto's eldest son was Messer Piero. See above, n.1. He was granted the benefice of the Pieve di Ripoli by Pope Nicholas V in 1447 at the age of thirty-one; de la Mare, 'Messer Piero Strozzi', pp.56-57. While Vespasiano claimed that this was through his intervention, Nicholas had long been on friendly terms with the Strozzi, and in particular with Messer Palla di Nofri, whose son Carlo was made a papal secretary during his reign; between Palla and Benedetto, and their sons, there were many close ties. On Palla's employment of the then Tommaso Parentucelli (Nicholas V) see Vespasiano, Le Vite, Vol.2, pp.144-45.
5. By far the most detailed account of this, although one that is not always reliable, is found in the work of Passerini, in P. Litta, Le famiglie celebri italiane, Vol.5, 'Strozzi di Firenze'; on the ciompi revolt and Strozzi participation in it, see G. Brucker, Florentine Politics and Society, p.383n et passim.
6. On the catasti of the fifteenth century see E. Conti, I Catasti agrari della repubblica fiorentina (secolo xiv-xix), Vol.3, part 2. (Rom, 1966). Also useful are O. Karmin, La Legge del Catasto fiorentino del 1427 (Florence, 1906), and G. Canestrini, La Scienza e l'arte del stato (Florence, 1862). On the catasto of 1427 in particular, but also on the other 15th cent. tax surveys, see the large scale study of Herlihy and Klapisch, Les Toscans et leurs familles. This work

appeared only after the present chapter was substantially completed. A deduction of 200 florins was allowable from gross capital worth for each member of the household (excepting those who were illegitimate), while there was a 'head tax' on all men over the age of eighteen: hence the almost universal inclusion of the age of males (although in fact the age of females is frequently given also).

7. Filippo had assets worth 31,000 florins in 1471, while the assets declared on his 1469 catasto return were worth under 1,000 florins. Cat. 920, f.458r; R. Goldthwaite, 'The Building of the Strozzi Palace: the Construction Industry in Renaissance Florence' Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, Vol.10, 1973, p.103.

8. Apart from the recently published Les Toscanes et leurs familles written jointly with C. Klapisch, D. Herlihy's numerous publications relating to this study of the catasto include 'Mapping Households in Medieval History', Catholic Historical Review, Vol.58, 1972, pp.1-24, and 'The Tuscan Town in the Quattrocento: A Demographic Profile', Medievalia et Humanistica, Vol.1 (ns.) 1970, pp.81-109. See also for C. Klapisch, 'Household and Family in Tuscany in 1427', Household and Family in Past Time, (ed. P. Laslett and D. Wall, Cambridge, 1972) pp.267-281.

9. This index is available for reference at the Archivio di Stato in Florence. The campioni volumes were written in uniform style (from the information provided by the portata written by each individual) by the catasto officials; they are somewhat shorter, often more legible, contain the corrections resulting from official scrutiny, the totals of gross and net capital, and the amount at which catasto contribution was estimated. They omit, however, many personal and idiosyncratic details included in the portate. Campioni only exist for the first three catasti; later the calculations and corrections of the officials were made on the portate themselves, which for some years exist in duplicate.

10. Household and Lineage, ch. 1.

11. R. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, chs. 2, 3.

12. C.S., III, 100, f.241.

13. E. Conti, I Catasti, pp.23, 69.

14. Ibid., p. 65.

15. Obviously this factor does not affect the figure for the number of households; nor, as a general rule, that for the total of adult males, who were usually individually named as the nominees.

16. However probably only four of these represent households actually resident in Florence.

17. Because of the deduction allowable from taxable capital, bocche were sometimes overstated, mainly by means of listing illegitimate

children, and those who were not in fact resident in Florence, and hence not eligible. Vigilance was clearly exercised; deletions from claimed bocche are quite numerous.

18. There were official compilations recording children's birth dates, such as Tratte 443 bis. Not all children's names are included; none of those of Messer Palla di Nofri, for example, is recorded. (Neither are they given on his portate; that of his wife, Marietta, is given on one only, that of 1433, Cat. 463, 340v.) Matteo di Simone recorded in his ricordo under the title 'Per l'eta mia' his researches to discover his own date of birth, and then his registration of his and his sons' ages with the office of the 'conservadori delle leggi': C.S. V, 12, f.24v. Herlihy and Klapisch, in their computer analysis of the 1427 catasto, have found clear evidence of inaccurate reporting of ages, and particularly of rounding off to numbers such as 40. Les Toscans et leurs familles, pp.351-52, 356-57.

19. F. W. Kent, Household and Lineage, p.24.

20. Cat. 47, ff.335r-336v, 626r - 627v, 224r-225v, 305r - 306v;  
Cat. 46, ff.254r, 255v, 640r - 641v and 655r & v.

21. Cat. 46, f.254v.

22. Cat. 621, ff.222r-224v.

23. Cat. 46, ff.640r - 641v.

24. Cat. 47, f.305v.

25. Cat. 47, f.225v.

26. Many property transactions of this type are recorded in the catasto; as Conti has observed, such records became an additional means of legitimising the possession of property. I Catasti, pp.29-31. I am not aware of any study of women's property rights under Florentine law.

27. See tables 4 and 5 for an illustration of this tendency.

28. Cat. 44, f.266r.

29. Cat. 620, f.520r; P. Litta, 'Strozzi di Firenze', Table 6.

30. Cat. 620, f.520r.

31. Cat. 920, f.412r, v.

32. Ibid.

33. Again, there is little which has been written on this subject. The only scholar to date who has mentioned this problem of Italian family structure is S. Chojnacki, in his article 'Patrician Women in Early Renaissance Venice', p.180.

34. Cat. 43, ff.574r - 575v.

35. Cat. 44, f.220r, v.

36. Ibid.

37. See, for example, the will of Matteo di Simone, which he wrote out in Italian in his ricordo (C.S. V, 12, f.25r) in 1429, and that of

Palla di Nofri (Archivio Bentivoglio, Lib.4.1.2; Will of 1442, 2nd copy, f.24.) Palla made a distinction between his daughter Lena, wife of Felice Brancacci, who had lost her dowry when Felice was exiled, and his other surviving daughters, Tancia and Jacopa; all were free, on being widowed, to return to a home which his male heirs would provide, but only Lena could claim other, monetary, support; unless, he added, 'o per graveze di commune o per altro modo' the others should lose theirs, also.

38. P. Litta, 'Strozzi di Firenze', table 1.

39. This analysis is in direct contrast with Goldthwaite's account of the development of the lineage over this period, which is informed by the notion that some time in the fairly recent past the Strozzi 'family' had been one household: 'The Strozzi had since the early thirteenth century resided in the parish of San Pancrazio, in the quarter of Leon rosso, and it is here that we find evidence of the family's growth. By 1351 there were twenty-eight Strozzi households, and in ... 1427, the index [of the catasto] lists thirty-one returns from Leon rosso. This very fact of so many separate catasto returns indicates that along with the increase in size of the family there was a fragmentation of the Strozzi into separate lines or households.' Private Wealth, p.33.

40. While members of Florentine lineages did make use of the terms 'line' or 'branch' fairly interchangeably, the group thus distinguished varied widely in composition, but was always more than one household. See Kent, Household and Lineage, pp.116-7.

41. For a general discussion of the effect of the Black Death and later, recurring, bouts of plague on the population of Florence, see G. Brucker, Renaissance Florence (New York, 1969), p.55.

42. This would not be the case if, as Goldthwaite suggests (see note 39) the process of fission into more households was a constant one.

43. P. Litta, 'Strozzi di Firenze', table 1.

44. F. J. Carmody, 'Florence: Project for a Map, 1250-1296', Speculum, 19, (1944), p. 44.

45. For Niccolò and Giovanni, see notes 20-24; for Francesco di Giovanni, Cat. 43, ff.702r-703v; for Bernardo, Cat. 76, ff.26v-29r. (This last is preserved in the Campioni series only.)

46. P. Litta, 'Strozzi di Firenze', tables 6, 8, 9, 10.

47. Parts of the relevant documents were published by G. Brucker, The Society of Renaissance Florence, pp.111-116; for a discussion of its social and corporate significance see also his Civic World, pp.19-21, 84-85.

48. Cat. 47, ff.492r-493v; 345r-346v.

49. Cat. 620, f.724v; Litta, 'Strozzi di Firenze', table 10.

50. Cat. 920, f.648r, v.
51. P. Litta, 'Strozzi di Firenze', Tables 8 & 9. However Passerini omitted one generation of this line, Nofri's grandfather Messer Jacopo.
52. This judgement is based on the amount of his prestanze contribution in that year - L. Martines, The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390-1460 (London, 1963) Appendix 2; based on information from A.S.I, Prestanze, 1990-2020. Nofri's contribution was 121 florine. On Nofri see also P. J. Jones, 'Florentine Families and Florentine Diaries', p.190.
53. The most complete account we have of their financial empire is in L. Belle, A Renaissance Patrician: Palla di Nofri Strozzi, Ph.D thesis, The University of Rochester, 1975, and even this leaves many questions unanswered. For a fuller discussion of some problems see below, section V, and notes.
54. See below, Ch.3.
55. This figure includes both households in the city and in the contado, though a majority of households had residences in both. This figure is not identical with the number of Strozzi portate in that year, for the reasons explained above, section 1.
56. These were the households of Ser Andrea di Ciaperino<sup>from 1427</sup> and Sandro di Giovanni<sup>from 1457</sup>. Ser Andrea's father sold a sixth-share of a house in Lion Rosso, S. Maria Novella, for 140 florine in 1405. C.S. III, 281 (Libro, segn. 'A', of Nofri di Palla Strozzi), f.14v.
57. F. W. Kent, Household and Lineage, p.26. Kent's figures are also for households resident in the 'ancestral' quarter only.
58. G. Brucker, Renaissance Florence, p.24.
59. The Strozzi exiles are listed in Otto di Guardia e Balia, Vol.224, ff.39v, 46v, 48r, 49v, 73v. On the extension of the original bans see N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, p.110.
60. See table 1.
61. The portata presumably submitted by this household - that of Lodovico di Francesco and his brothers - in 1457 is missing, so that their household, already substantial in that year, does not appear in my figures.
62. See table 3.
63. The only exception is that of Nofri di Messer Palla; as noted above he was closely concerned with his father's diplomatic activities and this may also have extended to domestic politics. This may have been why he was singled out.
64. Household & Lineage, p.26.
65. The period in which this growth was measured was 1427 to 1480; the Rucellai lineage grew from 26 households to 28, the Capponi from 12 to 18, the Ginori from 6 to 10. Household and Lineage, p.26.



66. It is of course true that this aspect of kinship organisation is also the most easily tabulated, and these two factors have come together most influentially in the work of P. Laslett, in his introduction to the collection of studies he edited with R. Wall - Household and Family in Past Time - and in his recent major publication, Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations (Cambridge University Press, 1977). There he reiterates his view of the overwhelming importance of the household as 'the scene of primary socialization', of the 'familial group' of parents and immature children as the 'condition in which interaction between human personalities is at its most intense', p.13.

67. This is, broadly speaking, one of the theses of Goldthwaite's Private Wealth. See in particular pp.251-264: 'Whatever was lost in the extensive sociability of the older family, there was something gained in the more intensive social cohesion within the immediate family', p.262. F. W. Kent argues cogently against this view: Household and Lineage, pp.10 - 15.

68. R. Watkins trans. The Family in Renaissance Florence (University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1969), p.185.

69. Ibid., p.185.

70. For the relationship of Rucellai's Zibaldone and Agnolo Pandolfini's Trattato del Governo della Famiglia to the third book of Alberti's Della Famiglia, see A. Perosa (ed) Zibaldone, pp.139-43.

71. R. Watkins, The Family in Renaissance Florence, p.186.

72. See below, Ch. 4, part 1.

73. See table 3.

74. D. Herlihy, 'Mapping Households', p.15.

75. F. W. Kent, Household and Lineage, pp.38-42. It should be noted that my figures for extended as opposed to simple households (see table 4) are not strictly comparable with these, as I have included some types as extended which Kent has categorised as simple or nuclear. Nevertheless the proportion of 'extended' Strozzi households in 1427 was extremely high.

76. See below, Ch.3.

77. Cf. the system of categorisation used by Laslett, Family Life, pp.22-23.

78. Cat. 621 (1442) f.783r, v.

79. See table 2.

80. Cat. 921, f.182r, v.

81. Except when they were comparatively young; two of the sons of Jacopo d'Ubertino, Bengni and Tommaso, were thus exceptions to this rule.

82. This is Herlihy's term: 'Mapping Households', pp.11-13.

83. The generally rapid remarriage of men after the death of a wife is

not given much emphasis in the main source used here, the catasto; children were identified only by their father's name, so there is no indication that large families were often the result of two or more marriages.

84. See table 2.

85. Marriage was postponed by those who could not afford to support children: if the catasto regulations accurately reflected the burden of raising a family, it took the annual income from 1,000 florins of capital to support five children. Even the prospect of collecting a wife's dowry was clearly not felt to be enough to offset the burden, while in turn any daughters had to be dowered.

86. This distinction is made by F. W. Kent, Household and Lineage, p.33.

87. Ibid.

88. Cat. 707 (1451) f.809r, v.

89. P. Litta, 'Strozzi di Firenze', table 7.

90. Cat. 707, f.809r.

91. It should be noted however that the nature of such portate, which was basically to record patrimonies and their dependants, emphasizes this fact. It can be very difficult in such cases to decide precisely how those who constituted one household should be defined.

92. These are F. W. Kent's terms: Household and Lineage, ch.1.

93. E.g., that of 'Matteo di Giovanni e fratelli e Monna Maria loro madre' in 1451: Cat. 707, f.415r.

94. Cat. 42, f.284v.

95. Cat. 818, ff.315r-318v.

96. Cat. 620, ff.704r-742r.

97. Cat. 620, ff.737r-739r.

98. Cat. 707, f.417r.

99. Cat. 817, f.765r.

100. See below, Ch.2, on intra-lineage marriage.

101. Cat. 45, ff.851r-854v.

102. Or possibly her niece, who may not have been a Strozzi: Cat. 817, f.687r.

103. Cat. 43, f.576v.

104. On the role of slaves in Florentine life see I. Origo, 'The Domestic Enemy: the Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century', Speculum, 30, 1955, pp.321-366.

105. See above, n.17.

106. Cat. 920, f.571v.

107. See description of the source above, Section 1, also E. Conti, I Catasti, p.24.

108. Cat. 43, ff.702r-703v; Cat. 620, f.389r, v; Cat. 707, ff.367r-

368v; Cat. 817, f.729v; Cat. 919, f.273v.

109. It was fairly unusual for women to have children, or at any rate children who survived to be recorded, in the first two or three years of marriage, but this may well have been due in part to the delayed onset of menarche: on this see P. Laslett, 'Age at Menarche since the Eighteenth Century', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, Vol.2, 191, p.223.

110. Cat. 42, ff.359r-362v; C.S. III, 131, ff.9, 15.

111. Cf. F. W. Kent, Household and Lineage, p.69.

112. Cat. 42, ff.265r - 269v.

113. Cat. 44, ff.202r-206v.

114. Cat. 920, f.571v.

115. See table 4.

116. This marriage is discussed in full below, Ch.2.

117. See below, section IV.

118. F. W. Kent, Household and Lineage, pp.39-43.

119. This was the situation with several of the formerly large Strozzi households in 1469, and must be seen as a contributory factor in the low number of extended households.

120. On this subject (long neglected by Florentine historiography) the essential work is F. W. Kent's Household and Lineage, Ch.5; see also his 'The Rucellai Family and Its Loggia', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 35 (1972), pp.397-401.

121. See, for example, the 1427 Catasto of Messer Palla di Nofri: Catasto 76, ff.169v-202v; here the botteghe were about to be removed: 'e l'atro [sic] che tiene Pagholo Chanacci gli ò detto più tempo la sghoberi per chè m'è necisita farvi stalla ...'

122. Cat. 42, f.318r.

123. See above, Section II.

124. There are at present no more than scattered references to the mechanics of politics at gonfalone level; there is a brief description of the scrutiny process in Brucker, Florentine Politics and Society, pp.66-7, and also in Rubinstein, The Government of Florence, pp.4-5. On this subject see the forthcoming study by D. V. and F. W. Kent, on the gonfalone of Lion Rosso.

125. G. Brucker, Renaissance Florence, p.8.

126. Filippo's palace has received a great deal of scholarly attention, amongst the most important being Guido Pampaloni, Palazzo Strozzi (Istituto Nazionale delle Assicurazioni, Roma, 1963); R. Goldthwaite's two articles, 'The Florentine Palace as Domestic Architecture', American Historical Review, Vol.77 (1972), pp.977-1012, and 'The Building of the Strozzi Palace', and F. W. Kent, 'Piu superba de quella de Lorenzo'.

127. Strozzi Letters, p.37.

128. Ibid. The Rucellai mentioned here was Donato di Paolo, brother of Messer Palla's son-in-law Giovanni. On the legal provisions against the selling of property without consulting consorti, defined as those who had a common wall, see F. W. Kent, Household and Lineage, pp.124-6.
129. Strozzi Letters, p.37.
130. G. Carocci, 'Il centro di Firenze nel 1427' in Studi Storici sul centro di Firenze (Florence, 1889), p.27n.
131. Ibid.
132. R. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, pp.68-70
133. F. W. Kent, 'Piu superba de quella de Lorenzo', passim.
134. In this case, see the provisions of Filippo's will: 'Perche io intendo e voglio che detta mia Casa sia per ogni futuro tempo in perpetuo abitata da detti Strozzi, e rimanga nella famiglia degli Strozzi ...'; published in Vita di Filippo Strozzi scritta da Lorenzo suo figlio (ed. G. Bini and P. Bigazzi, Florence, 1851), p.67.
135. R. Goldthwaite has stated that 'the Strozzi had since the early thirteenth century resided in the parish of San Pancrazio' without stating the source of this information; Private Wealth, p.33. F. J. Carmody, in his 'Florence: Project for a Map, 1250-1296', Speculum, 19 (1944), states that in the period of his scrutiny the Strozzi possessed a tower in the Piazza San Miniato (p.44).
136. F. J. Carmody, 'Project for a Map', map inset.
137. G. Bini and P. Bigazzi (ed.) Vita di Filippo, p.75n.
138. C.S. III, 242, f.10r.
139. Palla's catasto report for 1427 is in C.S. III, 129. The description of these houses is at f.23r.
140. Ibid, f.23r.
141. Two such purchases were: (1) 5/6ths of a house in the Via Larga (confinati Nofri di Palla, the heire of Anibaldo Strozzi, and the heire of Simone di Geri Gondi) in 1405 for 500 florins, from the Company of Or San Michele, plus the other 1/6th of this house from Ciaperino di Jacopo Strozzi (see n.56 above). C.S. III, 280, f.14v. (2) A house in the Corso degli Strozzi (confinati Nofri di Palla, Matteo di Simone Strozzi) in 1415 for 500 florins, from Pino di Anibaldo Strozzi, C.S. III, 281, f.82v.
142. Bought from Filippo and Bartolommeo del Sagina for 1,000 florins. C.S. III, 281, f.186v.
143. Ibid., f.24v.
144. The study of the Medici palace is that of I. Hyman, The Palazzo Medici and a Ledger for the church of San Lorenzo, New York, 1977, pp.54-77. D. Davison, in his article 'The Iconology of the Santa Trinita Sacriety, 1418-1435', Art Bulletin, 1975, p.323, suggested that Palla, in

his patronage and building program, anticipated the later projects of Cosimo di Medici. However he relied, so far as building was concerned, on the supposed library Palla planned for S. Trinita, for which there is no other evidence than the assertion of Veepasiano.

145. Very little work has been done, to date, on this comparatively early fifteenth-century palace. M. Bucci, in Palazzi di Firenze, Vol.3 - Santa Maria Novella - Florence, 1973, p.28, assumed that it was built for Messer Palla di Nofri. Brenda Preyer is at present engaged on a study of this and other 'early' 15th century Florentine palaces.

146. This migration to Santa Croce may well be attributable to his severe financial failure of November-December 1425, a quite usual device to increase income slightly.

147. The purchases are listed on Agnolo's portata, in 1469: Cat.919, f.39r.

148. Ibid.

149. They never referred to their house as a 'palazzo'. While this is perhaps of limited significance (Filippo di Matteo did not always use this word to describe his), it is interesting that a 16th century plan or drawing of the Piazza degli Strozzi (Bucci, Vol.3, between pp.6 and 7), attributed by Bucci to either Benedetto da Maiano or Giuliano da Sangallo, has the legend 'Palazo di Filippo Strozi' for what we know as the Strozzi palace, and 'questa e la\_faciata di Mateo Istrozi' (its owner by that time) on the Strozzino, making a clear architectural distinction between the two. Certainly building activities which were limited to the creation of a Renaissance facade would be more commensurate with the builder's finances than anything on a more elaborate scale.

150. Cat. 919, f.39r.

151. Agnolo and Carlo's total estimated capital worth in 1457 - when they were still actively purchasing sites - was 3265 florins. Cat. 816, f.514r.

152. Carocci's attribution of some of these house-sites was mistaken.

153. C.S. III, 129, f.1r is a later (c. 16th cent.) copy of a document recording this undertaking. The Strozzi responsible were Messer Jacopo, Messer Giovanni, and the sons of Messer Andrea.

154. For a collection of pre-demolition photographs, plus a map which shows precisely the relationship between present and former buildings, see E. and T. Detti, Firenze Scomparsa, Firenze, 1970.

155. F. Carmody, 'Project for a Map', p.44; on levelling of towers to the height of surrounding houses in 1250 see Brucker, Renaissance Florence, p.8.

156. It can be deduced from their catasto reports that this was the case: certainly the towers no longer had separate occupants from the surrounding houses.

157. Cat. 44, ff.66r-76v; Cat. 42, ff.359r-362v; Cat. 47, ff.335r-336v.
158. Cat. 76, ff.26v-29v.
159. On the patronage of San Miniato see A. Cocchi, Le chiese di Firenze, Vol.1 (Florence, 1903) pp.138-141; also Litta, 'Strozzi di Firenze', table 1.
160. See n.150.
161. Cat. 709 (1451), 7r & v. This 'cella' was presumably named after the neighbouring 'chiasso borghese'.
162. R. Goldthwaite states that this was the first site of Strozzi settlement: Private Wealth, p.33; it was at that time part of the sesto of San Pancrazio.
163. A. Cocchi, Le chiese di Firenze, pp.138-41, 199-201.
164. See, amongst others, E. Borsook, 'Documents for Filippo Strozzi's Chapel in Santa Maria Novella and other Related Papers', Burlington Magazine, 112, (1970), pp.737-46, 800-6; D. Davison, 'The Iconology of the Santa Trinita Sacristy'; D. Friedman, 'The Burial Chapel of Filippo Strozzi in Santa Maria Novella in Florence', L'arte, (March 1970), pp.108-131; S. Orlandi, Il Beato Angelico (Firenze, 1964), pp.45-53, 180-182; G. Poggi, La Capella e la tomba di Onofrio Strozzi nella chiesa di Santa Trinita, 1419-1423, (Firenze, 1903).
165. Conventi Soppressi 89 (account book of S.Trinita), f.14v, f.31v, et passim.
166. It was also quite common in this situation for households to rent out their house temporarily, thus exploiting it as a financial asset.
167. The information which follows derives from these Catasto volumes: 43, ff.681r-691v; 620, ff.405r-408v; 707, ff.431r-435r; 920, ff.564r-572v.
168. Cat. 919, f.372v.
169. Cat. 920, f.567r.
170. See n.128.
171. The property of the Strozzi exiles was not punitively confiscated by the state, because they had not been declared 'rubelli' also, but was in most cases sold by the Commune to recover tax debts. Hence the house of residence of Messer Palla di Nofri was held by the gonfalone of Lion rosso because of his huge debts to the gonfalone, but was to be ultimately recoverable by him or his descendants - C.S. III, 116, f.42r.
172. Cat. 620, f.283r.
173. Cat. 619, f.145r.
174. Cat. 921, f.182 r and v.
175. Cat. 707, ff.175r-176v; Cat. 816, ff.520r-521v.
176. Cat. 707, f.175v.

177. Cat. 620, f.439r.
178. Cat. 707, f.780r.
179. The last surviving of these brothers, Niccolo, eventually left a large fortune to his nephew Lionardo di Jacopo. Lionardo, like Filippo, returned and established himself in Florence. See below, Ch.4, part 1; Ch.5.
180. See below, Ch.4, part 1.
181. The inequalities of wealth existing within the Strozzi lineage were first observed by P. J. Jones, 'Florentine Families and Florentine Diaries', p.187.
182. See above, n.7.
183. See below, n.207, for an example of non-reporting of such investments. In 1442 and 1447 commercial investments were not included in tax assessments, but should have been reported again from 1451 onwards: Herlihy and Klapisch, Les Toscans et leurs familles, p.46.
184. F. Edler de Roover, 'Andrea Banchi, Florentine Silk Manufacturer and Merchant in the Fifteenth Century', Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, Vol.3, (1966), pp.281-2, contains an exemplary account of the methods used to this end.
185. L. Martines, Lawyers and Statecraft in Renaissance Florence (Princeton University Press, 1968), pp.191-2, 240-1. Vespasiano wrote a life of Messer Marcello, who seems to have engaged his imagination less than did his other Strozzi luminaries: Le Vite, pp.397-400, 401-404 (variant versions).
186. Cat. 620, f.724v.
187. Vespasiano shows something of this attitude when he notes that Benedetto, because of his financial difficulties, acted as a humanist scribe for payment. This was something which needed to be explained: 'e quello gli e mancato oltre alla pieve ha supplito con lo scrivere a prezo per salvare la sua coscienza e non volere di quel di persona', Le Vite, Vol.2, p.426.
188. Cat. 66, f.138r, v.
189. L. Martines, in his study Lawyers and Statecraft, p.34, does not attempt to characterise the social origins of notaries as he does those of lawyers, stating only that 'his place, political and social, was solid but lower'; but it seems generally true that those men who were notaries or whose fathers or grandfathers had been, and who gained some kind of role in public life in the fifteenth century, can generally be classified as 'gente nuova', often without a commonly accepted surname and obtaining office as members of the arti minori or as artigiani (e.g. see the lists in the appendices to Rubinstein, Government of Florence, pp.236-317).
190. Cat. 45, ff.851r-854v. The area around Campi was very heavily

settled by the Strozzi lineage.

191. Ibid.

192. Cat. 620, ff.987r-988r; Cat. 707, ff.175r-176v; Cat. 816, ff.520r-521v; Cat. 920, ff.300r-301r.

193. Cat. 43, ff.674r-679v; Cat. 620, f.267r, v; Cat. 918, ff.250r-251v.

194. R. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, p.50, suggests that Matteo and his uncles were 'comfortably well off by the standards of their day'; a consideration of their wealth ranking in the lineage as a whole suggests that this is to under-state their relative position.

195. The later fifteenth century, and in particular the 1460s, was a period of economic decline in Florence, (seeing, for example, the failure of many international merchants: R. de Roover, The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494, New York, 1966, pp.359-60) but it is difficult to credit that the fortunes of all aristocratic Florentines suffered as severely as did the Strozzi.

196. Cat. 47, ff.345r-346v; Cat. 621, f.746r; Cat. 921, f.182r and v.

197. Cat. 76, ff.26v-29v.

198. Cat. 45, f.722r-723v.

199. Cat. 47, ff.335r-336v.

200. See above, n.23.

201. Cat. 621, ff.222r-224v; Cat. 709, f.309r and v.

202. Cat. 709, f.7r, v.

203. Cat. 43, f.681r-691v. See table 4.

204. Ibid.

205. Oddly, neither house nor rent appear on Marco di Goro's portata for that year (Cat. 44, ff.202r-206v), which suggests an attempt to evade tax.

206. See n.203. above.

207. See, e.g., MAP 6, f.197, Letter of Vanni di Francesco to Giovanni di Cosimo de'Medici, 7th Oct. 1455. On the business connections between Francesco Benedetto's sons, and Filippo di Matteo and his cousins, see also below, Ch.4, part 1. On declaration of business investments in the catasto, see above, n.183.

208. Cat. 707, f.431r.

209. Lodovico di Francesco was among the business failures of 1464; Alessandra Strozzi commented on this to Filippo, Strozzi Letters, p.342.

C.S. III 103, f.67, a letter of Benedetto di Francesco to Giovanni di Cosimo de'Medici (12th Oct. 1457) reveals a closer degree of friendship than does that of his brother cited in n.207. above. The brothers' catasto for 1469 is Cat. 920, ff.564r-572v.

210. Cat. 816, ff.9r-10v.

211. Ibid.



212. See above, n.2.

213. Cat. 42, ff.252r-257v.

214. de la Mare, 'Messer Piero Strozzi', p.56; certainly at an earlier stage in his life the position had been reversed: in 1419 a copy of Suetonius was made for him 'per me Ambroxui olim ser Jacopi de marudie', who lived in the house of Simone di Filippo while he wrote it; the manuscript is B M. Add. MS 24,913 (91v).

215. Between 1427 and 1431 the catasto was levied 33 times (Belle, A Renaissance Patrician, p.91.)

216. Cat. 919, f.263 r and v; Cat. 920, ff.726r, 401r.

217. Cat. 47, ff.502r-503v; Cat. 921, ff.201r-203r; Cat. 818, ff.236r-242v. Piero was in fact dead before 1469, but his estate had passed virtually unchanged to his son Carlo.

218. On Agnolo and Carlo di Messer Palla, see n.151; their 1469 report is Cat. 919, ff.37r-39v.

219. L. Martines, Social World, Appendix 2, table 2.

220. All these figures are based on the estimates of gross wealth - that is, before all deductions - not the net estimates on which catasto assessments were made. I have used the gross figure because it represents actual assets, whereas the net figure in some cases - for example, men of moderate fortune and large family - was a negative one, mainly because of bocche deductions. This is an unreliable result: take, for example, Marco di Goro, whose 'incariche', under this system, were greater than his assets. In 1427 he had a deduction of 3400 for bocche alone. He in fact enjoyed a comfortable degree of wealth. In 1427 the 8 Strozzi households who had assets worth under 1,000 florins, but who were not classified as miserabile were worth a total of 5718 florins estimated capital. Two Strozzi households were classified as miserabile in 1427: Mona Mea di Messer Giovanni Strozzi, with assets worth 71 florins, and Barla di Stagio, for whom no gross assets were declared at all.

221. E. Conti, 1 Catasti, pp.41-2; A. Molho, Florentine Public Finances in the Early Renaissance, 1400-1433, Cambridge, Mass., 1971, pp.157-160; L. Belle, A Renaissance Patrician, Ch.2.

222. E.g., ibid., p.88: 'It is difficult to determine exactly what part Nofri played in this phenomenal growth before his death in 1418 and what part of the accomplishment can be credited to Niccolo and Palla together, and after Niccolo's death to Palla alone...'

223. C.S. III, 284, f.1r.

224. Ibid., f.48r.

225. Vespasiano, Le Vite, Vol.2, p.147.

226. C.S. III, 132, f.64.

227. For the date of Bartolommeo's death, C.S. III, 100, f.302. While Palla's reasons for withdrawal from business must remain hypothetical without more evidence, it is clear enough that he can have had very little time for it by the late 1420s. See below, Ch.4, part 2.
228. See, e.g., the numerous letters in C.S. III, 112 and 132, written by Nofri to Matteo di Simone while he was with Palla in Ferrara for peace negotiations with Milan in 1427-8 and 1431.
229. C.S. III, 106, f.60; Arte di Cambio, 12, f.95v.
230. Diplomatico Strozzi Ugucione, Tomo 78, Vol.3, records steady purchases of both urban and rural property through the 1420s.
231. Cat. 76, f.199r.
232. Belle, A Renaissance Patrician, p.89.
233. If, as Vespasiano suggests, Le Vite, Vol.2, p.153, Palla had a private army of considerable dimensions in 1434, it was most probably raised from this area.
234. For the sale of his monte shares, see Molho, Florentine Public Finances, pp.157-160.
235. Arch. Bent., will of 1442, f.7.
236. A. Molho, Florentine Public Finances, p.160.
237. BNF, Ashburnham, 1830<sup>2</sup>, f.328.
238. Ibid.
239. E. Conti, I Catasti, p.24.
240. See tables 4 and 5.
241. It was in effect the patrimony of 5 brothers, and although one had died it still supported his widow and numerous children.
242. Martines has suggested that such a pattern may be discerned among Florentines in the late fifteenth century: Social World, pp.290-91.

CHAPTER 2:

1. Marriage and the concept of parentado.

In April 1469 Filippo Strozzi's wife, Fiammetta, gave birth to their second child, a daughter. On the 21st of April, his brother-in-law, Marco Parenti, talked about this birth in one of his regular letters to Filippo, who was at that time temporarily living in Naples.<sup>1</sup> '... non meno ti debbi rallegrare di questo, sendo femina, che se fussi maschio, perchè prima ne comincerai a trarre frutto che del maschio, cioè ne farai prima un bel parentado che se fussi maschio'. He noted that Filippo had a great desire to acquire parentado, or relations by marriage, and elaborated his theme that daughters are the best, because the speediest<sup>2</sup> means of establishing these bonds with other families, as long as the daughter in question is marriageable: '... non ti mancherà la dota, nè anche una bellissima fanciulla, se cresce chome è nata'. While not perhaps acceptable to a modern sensibility in its functional view of one of the most basic human relationships - that between parent and child - this is nevertheless a very concise statement about the role of female children seen from the viewpoint of the paterfamilias or head of household, considering not only its welfare but quite possibly that of a wider circle of relatives as well. Sons were necessary to ensure the continuance of the household, or its eventual replacement by another, as well as the continuance of the lineage. As this was a patrilineal kinship system, girls were needed to form the lateral ties in aristocratic society, the links between different households, and thus, in some cases at least, between the lineages to which such households belonged.<sup>3</sup>

This letter by Marco Parenti forms part of a long correspondence between the two men on the subject of marriage, inspired by the protracted negotiations for a wife for Lorenzo, Filippo's only surviving brother. Here Marco was responding to a sentiment of Filippo's, that 'noi abbiamo pure bisogno costì [i.e., in Florence] di parenti, che ne siamo molto spogliati'. This belief in their need for parenti - that is, for relatives by marriage - was a legacy of his and Lorenzo's long exile, which

had left them with few such close connections. He did not thus belittle his agnatic kinsmen; as will be seen below, he displayed both affection and concern towards the very numerous members of his own lineage. But his statement does underline the importance which patrician Florentines placed on advantageous marriage alliances, relatives by marriage holding a place second in importance only to that of a man's agnatic kinsmen. Hence Marco wrote that 'avendone uno maschio ... non meno ti debbi rallegrare di questo, sendo femina';<sup>4</sup> the essential duty of providing a male heir accomplished already, the advantages of a female child might be fully appreciated. The critical concept here is that of parentado, a word which has no precise English equivalent. A man's parentado consisted first of his affines, his wife's closest kinsmen, but also of the husbands of his daughters and sisters, and the male kinsmen of the wives of his sons and brothers, such ties being potentially of great importance, as is demonstrated by the close alliance between Filippo and Marco Parenti, the husband of one of his sisters, Caterina. But there is a still wider sense in which this word was used. It embodied the relationship between a man and the husband of any female member of his lineage.<sup>5</sup> Hence Vespasiano da Bisticci, in his Vite of both Messer Palla di Nöfri Strozzi and Agnolo Pandolfini, referred to Agnolo as Palla's parente, and to the parentado between them: Agnolo was married to Giovanna di Francesco di Giannozzo Strozzi, who was Palla's second cousin.<sup>6</sup> The connections between these two lineages increased in number and complexity during the fifteenth century, in a way which was to demonstrate the possible importance of even quite distant ties of parentado. In April 1450 Messer Giannozzo Pandolfini, Agnolo's son, was sent as one of two Florentine ambassadors to Naples, where Filippo was at that time still living in exile. Filippo's close friend and advisor (but distant cousin) Antonio di Benedetto Strozzi, wrote of this appointment to Filippo: 'in quello puoi arai riconosciuto il parentado con Giannozzo d'Agnolo',<sup>7</sup> meaning that Filippo should 'acknowledge' the connection between them. A little later Filippo's mother Alessandra wrote to him on this matter that 'ho

caro abbi preso amicizia cogl' imbasciadori, che sono uomini molto da bene; e così del avere ritrovato il parentado con Giannozzo'.<sup>8</sup> Later in this same year a daughter of Messer Giannozzo was married to Vanni di Francesco Strozzi, a nephew of Antonio di Benedetto, and similarly a distant cousin of Filippo;<sup>9</sup> and when in 1465 one of Messer Giannozzo's sons, Pandolfo, was in turn sent as Florentine ambassador to Naples, he wrote to Filippo claiming his help as his 'parente e fratello'.<sup>10</sup> Pandolfo died while in Naples, and his brother Pierfilippo subsequently wrote to Filippo, thanking him for all his care of Pandolfo during his mortal illness. He wrote that 'benchè fra noi fussi lo interesse del parentado',<sup>11</sup> that this previous obligation had now been increased so much that 'noi v'offeriamo tutte le persone nostre e de'parenti e amici nostri'.<sup>12</sup> This is an example of how the network of parentado ties could form or at least inaugurate strong ties between men of different lineages, and how the existence of such ties gave individuals the right to claim special consideration or treatment from one another, in situations where such help might make all the difference between success and failure.<sup>13</sup>

As suggested by the quotation with which this chapter began, a concern with the birth (and subsequent survival) of children, and one with the arrangement of appropriate marriages are closely linked aspects of life, central to the continuance of the family. In a letter of January 1466, Filippo's mother, Alessandra, wrote to him of her great desire to see him and his brother Lorenzo married and with sons of their own, justifying the sacrifices she had made } to that end: 'ma per la speranza ch'io ho, che voi togliate donna, (e l'effetto è per avere figliuoli) sono contenta d'aver fatto così'.<sup>14</sup>

Marriage was thus of primary importance to the life of the lineage,<sup>15</sup> and its importance is reflected in the fact that it is one of the most dominant concerns revealed in the surviving correspondence of the Strozzi. Not only did marriage help secure a man legitimate male heirs to inherit his name and estate and daughters with whom to contract

advantageous alliances in the future, but it also supplied him, and potentially also his closer kinemen, with valuable friends and allies in the present. Where such alliances were successful, a man's relatives by marriage would lend him support in business, and particularly in politics.

ii Choosing marriage partners: whom did the Strozzi marry?

The Carte Strozzi contain a number of fairly systematic records of the Strozzi parentado:<sup>16</sup> records of the lineages into which Strozzi women married. An examination of the best organised of these volumes indicates that Strozzi men took wives from 104 different Florentine families, while Strozzi women were married into an even larger 123 different families;<sup>17</sup> altogether, according to this source, the Strozzi made marriages with 191 different families during the fifteenth century. These lineages cannot in general be considered 'traditional' choices for the Strozzi. Of the 105 different lineages from which Strozzi men chose wives, only thirty-nine had provided a Strozzi wife in the previous century, and only thirty-three were to do so in the next. The picture is similar for the lineages into which Strozzi women were married, forty-three of the 123 having a fourteenth century marriage with the Strozzi, and thirty-three another in the sixteenth century. Of the total 191 lineages, there were 131 with whom only a single fifteenth century marriage was made by the Strozzi. If we attempt to identify this large group of families in terms of social and political status, it is useful to note that 102, or just over half, are listed among those lineages that Dale Kent has identified as constituting the Florentine reggimento in 1433.<sup>18</sup> In addition the group includes magnati families, of high social status but not amongst the reggimento. The substantial minority of perhaps eighty families not included in either of these groups was made up both of lineages who, like the Manetti, Davizi and Sassetti, were respectable if not ancient lineages, none of whose members gained the highest political qualification in 1433 (or, in some cases, ever), and of lineages who, like the Parenti and Ginori, had not at that time

quite shaken off the reputation of being gente nuova, but who were destined for greater success later in the century. Only one family, the 'di Ser Parente' are listed by the Strozzi compiler without the dignity of a proper surname, and in fact even this lineage was regularly known as the Parenti by the mid-fifteenth century at latest.<sup>19</sup> It seems clear that the usual choice of the Strozzi was that of a marriage partner from within the Florentine ruling class at its most loosely defined: that is, from lineages whose male members would have belonged to the arti maggiori. The list of families with whom the Strozzi made marriages in the fifteenth century does however contain a handful who had members active in Florentine politics as representatives of the arti minori.<sup>20</sup>

But a clear majority of fifteenth century Strozzi marriages were made either with magnate lineages or, predominantly, with popolani lineages who had members successful at the highest level of Florentine politics. The importance of these two groups is indubitable when we distinguish those lineages which made a number of marriages with the Strozzi in the fifteenth century. This group is made up of a small number of families of nearly equal importance. Most frequent were marriages with the Alberti: six Strozzi men married Alberti wives, and two Strozzi women were married into the Alberti lineage. Next came the Bardi, Peruzzi, Portinari, Cavalcanti and Rucellai, each providing partners in five marriages; the Acciaiuoli, Buondelmonti and Guicciardini were all involved in four. Five of these nine lineages had a notable record of fourteenth century marriages with the Strozzi. The Alberti had intermarried with the Strozzi seven times in the preceding century, the Bardi a spectacular seventeen times, the Cavalcanti four times, the Rucellai six times, the Peruzzi four times. Over the three centuries surveyed, the Rucellai had the most consistent record of intermarriage with the Strozzi, as there were also seven recorded marriages between members of the two lineages in the sixteenth century. None of the other families continued to be really important in this respect, the Altoviti (six marriages), Capponi (five), Medici (six), and Pitti (five)

taking their place.

All of the families from which the Strozzi chose marriage partners on a number of occasions were from the very highest level of Florentine society, either old popolani families with distinguished records in Florentine politics like the Acciaiuoli, Alberti, Portinari, Peruzzi and Rucellai, or families with noble magnati origins like the Bardi, Buondelmonti and Cavalcanti. Worthy of note is the fact that among this group of lineages were the leading banking families of Florence of the two preceding centuries, the Bardi, Peruzzi and Acciaiuoli, and the Alberti.<sup>21</sup> With the partial exception of the Acciaiuoli this was a pattern established in the fourteenth century. The Acciaiuoli were neighbours of the Strozzi in S. Maria Novella, but were concentrated in the gonfalone of Vipera, the only one in the quarter in which the Strozzi did not gain a majority in the 1433 scrutiny. The Rucellai lived cheek by jowl with the Strozzi in the gonfalone of Lion rosso, also in S. Maria Novella, and with them dominated its political life. A majority of the members of both the ancient magnati families of the Cavalcanti and Buondelmonti lived in the quarter of S. Maria Novella also, although both spread into other quarters. Four, or almost half, of this group of families were thus neighbours of the Strozzi; with the group of important 'banking' families, all but one of whom (the Acciaiuoli) were from other quarters,<sup>22</sup> these important neighbouring families account for almost the whole group. Of the two remaining families, the Guicciardini were both wealthy and one of the most distinguished lineages in the city's political life;<sup>23</sup> the Portinari were also distinguished, if not to the same extent. They alone were from the quarter of S. Giovanni.

One other important category of marriage partners must be considered before the question of whom the Strozzi married can be fully answered. There were five marriages in the fifteenth century in which both partners were Strozzi, and these marriages, involving ten individuals, are thus numerically more significant than marriages with any other single lineage. Strozzi intra-marriage was not a phenomenon



peculiar to the fifteenth century, but was consistently popular from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. Indeed, in the period from 1500 to 1518 alone, there were five such marriages, although these included marriages of members of the Florentine lineage and those of its Ferrarese branch. Marriages within the lineage appear to have had a particular attraction for some individuals: Agnolo di Messer Palla Novello Strozzi, for example, probably because he was without surviving sons, married his daughter Cassandra in 1478 to Lionardo di Jacopo Strozzi, and in 1480 married another of his daughters, Ginevra, to Bernardo di Giannozzo di Giovanni Strozzi.<sup>24</sup> A further refinement of this theme occurred in 1518 when Agnolo, son of Ginevra and Bernardo (and named after his maternal grandfather) in his turn married Nannina di Lionardo di Benedetto Strozzi. None of these marriages was contracted between close kinsmen, in each case husband and wife were no more closely related than fourth to seventh cousins. One advantage of such marriages was that they avoided the alienation of property from the lineage in the form of dowries, and the dowry in such marriages was thus more likely to take the form of land than ordinarily. This was the case in 1437 when Nanna di Francesco di Giovanni was married to Zanobi di Benedetto di Caroccio.<sup>25</sup>

Less immediately obvious, but probably even more numerous than marriages in which both partners were Strozzi, were those between Strozzi and partners who had a Strozzi mother. This must have occurred when the initial alliance was so successful or congenial that both sides felt moved to renew or strengthen it. The most striking example is found with the Acciaiuoli lineage. In 1359 there was a double Strozzi-Acciaiuoli alliance: Donato di Jacopo Acciaiuoli married Honesta di Strozza di Carlo Strozzi, and his sister Caterina was married to Simone di Messer Lionardo Strozzi. This second marriage proved childless, but in c.1421 Donato's son Neri was married to Lena di Messer Palla Strozzi.<sup>26</sup> Two generations later, in 1495, Neri's son Donato married his daughter Caterina to Benedetto di Vanni Strozzi, and in the following year his

son Ruberto to Lucrezia di Lorenzo di Matteo Strozzi. It is interesting to speculate that Donato might have maintained an unbroken sequence of Strozzi marriages had he not reached maturity at a time when further Strozzi connections were likely to give rise to suspicion rather than benefits. Another example of a repeated alliance is found in the marriage of Caterina di Niccolò di Nofri Strozzi in 1424 to Piero di Neri Ardinghelli; Piero's father had married Caterina di Michele di Carlo Strozzi in 1409. Similarly, in 1470 Girolamo di Carlo di Marco Strozzi, a protege of Filippo di Matteo Strozzi, married Filippo's niece Maddalena, daughter of his younger sister Alessandra and Giovanni Bonsi.

The most outstanding case of multiple marriage alliances of the Strozzi with another lineage was that with the Alberti in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. In 1397 Nerozzo di Bernardo Alberti married one of his daughters, Albiera, to Giovanni di Messer Pazzino Strozzi, and in 1404 another, Tita, to Niccolò di Nofri Strozzi. In the same year he married a third daughter, Ginevra, to Francesco di Messer Palla. Not content with these three alliances within the wealthiest and politically most prominent branch of the Strozzi lineage, he made a further marriage for Tita, after Niccolò's death in 1411, to Rosso di Strozza di Carlo Strozzi in 1412. Several other marriages took place between the two lineages in this period: in 1402 Strozza di Rinaldo Strozzi married Sandra di Bartolo Alberti; in 1404 Barla di Stagio Strozzi married Niccolosa di Niccolò Alberti; in 1409 Giovanni di Giovanni di Marco Strozzi married Antonia di Messer Cipriano Alberti. In 1405 Nofri di Palla had made a second Alberti match, for another of his children, marrying his daughter Maria to Bernardo di Benedetto Alberti. Later, in 1428, Rosso di Strozza's daughter Nanna, Alberti on her mother's side, was married to Antonio di Ricciardo Alberti.

From this evidence it can be seen that for varying periods the Strozzi developed a tradition of marriage alliances with a small number of other lineages. All of these other lineages were, like the Strozzi, from the highest level of Florentine aristocratic society. However,

most fifteenth century Strozzi marriages were not of this type. Instead they were with partners scattered throughout the Florentine upper class, many of whom would have had no special distinction. When it is considered how modest was the economic position of many of the Strozzi, and the fact that a majority of the members of such a large lineage would themselves never attain success in a tre maggiori scrutiny,<sup>27</sup> this fact is not surprising. Many of them, indeed, made marriages with individuals of considerably less prestigious descent than they themselves enjoyed. There has been no attempt here to distinguish a political influence on the choices of marriage partners made by the Strozzi, although this was undoubtedly an important factor in some cases. In the next section I will examine the choices made by one important member of the lineage, Messer Palla di Nofri, when arranging marriages for his children, and the role of politics and faction in those choices.

iii Choosing marriage partners: the children of Palla di Nofri

The evidence to be used here is in distinct contrast to that providing the basis of chapter 1. While the evidence of the catasto is inclusive but of limited depth in any one case, only a comparatively small number of marriage alliances can be examined through the extant correspondence, but in the greater part of these a rewardingly complex and multifaceted picture is gained. For this reason the discussion in this and the next section will concentrate on two lines of the Strozzi, Messer Palla di Nofri and his children and grandchildren, and Filippo di Matteo and his close kinsmen. These two lines are also of special interest, as they were the most prominent politically before 1434, and contained almost all the Strozzi exiled in that year. The fact that their letters survive in the greatest numbers means that the influence of politics on marriage choices can be studied in some detail.

When summarizing the sources of that unique felicity which he believed his father-in-law enjoyed, one of the things which Giovanni Rucellai listed was Palla's birth in the Strozzi lineage ('la chasa degli

Strozzi era degnissima')<sup>28</sup> together with his mother's ancestry<sup>29</sup> and the fact that he had 'le sirocchie e le figliuole maritate nelle più degne chese di Firenze'.<sup>30</sup> Each of Palla's daughters had a dowry of 1,200 florins, and that of his orphaned niece, Caterina (daughter of his only legitimate brother, Niccolo), was even larger, at 2,000 florins.<sup>31</sup> Vespasiano says of Palla's children that they were renowned throughout Florence for their beauty, deportment, and excellence of education. Rucellai himself, in what appears to be an early draft of this passage of the Zibaldone, wrote that Palla's offspring were 'bellissimo ... che parevano angnoli di Paradiso'.<sup>32</sup> It therefore seems reasonable to assume that their father was able to marry them as he wished, without any serious compromises based on expediency or necessity. In fact, Rucellai states that Palla's daughters had been 'maritate nelle più degne chese di Firenze, perchè stava a lui il chiedere'. To see, under these ideal circumstances, the nature of the marriages he arranged for his children, these matches will here be examined in turn, with particular attention to the social and political status of the families into which his sons and daughters married, and their factional alliance (if any is known), the level of wealth of the individuals concerned, and the traditional location of each family within the city.

Palla's eldest daughter, Margerita, was married in 1416 to Francesco di Messer Tommaso Soderini. The Soderini lived in the quarter of Santo Spirito, and were of similar antiquity and status to the Strozzi, although at this time without their outstanding record of political success. Politically, they were fairly prominent in the early decades of the fifteenth century, but without being amongst the leaders of the Oligarchical regime. (They gained seven majorities in the scrutiny of 1433.)<sup>34</sup> In the years of factionalism before 1434, Niccolò Soderini, Francesco's nephew, emerged as a strong supporter of the Medici; while I am aware of no evidence suggesting that Francesco was particularly active in politics before 1434,<sup>35</sup> he seems to have associated quite closely with Palla Strozzi, his father-in-law, for whom he expressed

great admiration. After that time he was certainly treated as an enemy of the regime, suffering three years imprisonment in December 1438, imposed by the Otto di Guardia, the sentence being passed on the same day as that of the exile of his brother-in-law, Lorenzo di Messer Palla. In 1444 he was exiled to Venetian territory for ten years.<sup>36</sup> The next daughter to be married was Lena, to Neri di Donato Acciaiuoli, probably in 1421 or 1422.<sup>37</sup> The Acciaiuoli were also an old popolani family, having had their first prior in 1282.<sup>38</sup> Although there were Acciaiuoli, most notably Neri's father Donato,<sup>39</sup> who were prominent in the Oligarchical regime before 1400, this had ended abruptly with the exile of Donato in 1396 for conspiring against the regime. The Acciaiuoli gained twelve majorities in Vipera in 1433;<sup>40</sup> the most important political figure in the lineage, Messer Agnolo, supported the Medici in 1434, but certainly not invariably thereafter.<sup>41</sup> Neri had died in 1428,<sup>42</sup> before the political crisis which preceded the accession of the Medici to power, so it is impossible to say whether what appears as a close and affectionate relationship with his father-in-law would have led to his inclusion in, or at least implication with, the exile group. It appears likely, at any rate, that Palla's and his common interests lay outside the sphere of politics: one of the very few private personal documents (other than letters) of Palla's to survive is a fragmentary ricordo, little more than an aide-memoire in character, which contains a list of his books lent to various people, including 'L'arte vechia di Tullio a Neri Acciaiuoli'.<sup>43</sup>

Lena's second marriage, two years after Neri's death, was a contrast to this first in some respects. She was married to Felice di Michele Braccacci in 1431.<sup>44</sup> The Braccacci were another Santo Spirito family, and all the available evidence points to the fact that they were deeply committed to the faction led by Rinaldo degli Albizzi, of which Palla was an important member. I know of no ties, other than business transactions,<sup>45</sup> between Palla and Felice, before the time of this marriage, and the date at which it took place suggests that the marriage was in fact a deliberate alliance formed by this means between two men belonging to

the same political faction.<sup>46</sup> Four Brancacci were exiled in 1434 (amongst them Felice), and while this was the same number of exiles as the Strozzi suffered, the Brancacci were by far the smaller lineage, with, by comparison, only a handful of politically effective members: they gained only four majorities in the scrutiny of 1433, compared with the forty which the Strozzi achieved.<sup>47</sup> In a recent article on Felice Brancacci and the patronage of the Brancacci chapel,<sup>48</sup> Molho has suggested that Felice was exiled in 1434 mainly because of his 'guilt by association' with Palla, but this seems less likely when the wide involvement of his own family is considered. The links between the two men do not appear to have been particularly marked before 1434 (although this may simply be due to lack of evidence), while as Molho has noted, they certainly were so after that date.<sup>49</sup> The fact that Lena was promptly remarried suggests in itself that her father was eager to take the opportunity afforded by a marriageable daughter to form this kind of alliance, as it was not at all uncommon for a widow, particularly one with children (and Lena had four, including two sons)<sup>50</sup> not to remarry. Felice was the least wealthy of any of the men who married Palla's daughters, with a net capital worth in 1427 of 2281 florins.<sup>51</sup>

Palla's third daughter, Tancia, was married to Tommaso di Messer Tommaso Sacchetti in 1423. The Sacchetti were a relatively small lineage, which managed to increase its number of majorities by nearly fifty per cent between 1411 and 1433, from five to eight.<sup>52</sup> These majorities were in the Bue gonfalone of S. Croce. Tommaso's father had been prominent in the Albizzian regime before his early death in 1404; while the Sacchetti do not seem to have been involved with either main faction in the late 1420s or early 1430s, it may well be significant that Tommaso's sister was married to one of the most powerful men in Florence, Neri di Gino Capponi. Neri, although long following an independent and unallied stance in Florentine politics (and while incidentally a close friend of Matteo di Simone Strozzi who was exiled in 1434) finally, as late as 1434, gave his support to the Medici.<sup>53</sup> The Sacchetti were of respectable antiquity, having had

their first prior in 1335, although they lacked something of that prestige - of origin, wealth, or political tradition - of families like the Soderini, Acciaiuoli, or the Strozzi themselves. Tommaso was personally wealthy, with net assets of almost 7000 florine in 1427,<sup>54</sup> and was one of Palla's mallevadori (for 1000 florine) at the time of his exile in 1434.<sup>55</sup> Alone amongst the sons-in-law of Palla, Tommaso Sacchetti appears to have suffered no political penalty, formal or informal, at the hands of the Medici regime. However his son Jacopo, who also married a Strozzi, Niccolosa di Giannozzo di Giovanni,<sup>56</sup> was amongst those whose names were removed from the boise of the tre maggiori in June 1455 as dangerous to the regime.<sup>57</sup>

The second youngest of Palla's daughters, Jacopa, married Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai, and from the information supplied by him in the Zibaldone the chronology of Jacopa's life is clearer than that of her sisters,<sup>58</sup> and may be briefly outlined here. She was born in 1413, the sixteenth year of her parents' marriage, and was fifteen when she was betrothed to Rucellai in 1428, although it was 1431 before the marriage took place, the 'leading' of the bride to her husband's house.<sup>59</sup> Jacopa was by then eighteen, and there is no evident reason why the final stage of the marriage should have been thus delayed. The Rucellai, with a first prior in 1302, were the equals of the Strozzi in social and political status, if not at this time in wealth.<sup>60</sup> They do not appear to have been deeply committed to the Medici faction before 1434, although they generally entered the regime after that date. The story of Giovanni's long period 'sospetto allo stato' because of his close financial and personal ties with Palla, has now been fully explored elsewhere, and need not be discussed in detail here.<sup>61</sup>

Palla's youngest daughter, Ginevra, married Messer Francesco di Messer Matteo Castellani in 1436, two years after her father's exile.<sup>62</sup> The ties connecting those members of the two families involved in this marriage were of long standing; husband and wife were related by blood, as Francesco's grandfather Michele had married Lionarda, who was the

daughter of Carlo Strozzi, and hence sister (or possibly half-sister) of Ginevra's mother, Marietta.<sup>63</sup> In addition, one of Palla's sisters had married Giovanni di Michele Castellani, Francesco's uncle.<sup>64</sup> Messer Matteo, Francesco's father, had been one of the leading lights of the Albizzian regime, and at his funeral in Santa Croce in 1429, Francesco, then only twelve, was made a knight in his stead. Palla, Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi, and Messer Giovanni Guicciardini all took part in this ceremony.<sup>65</sup> The Castellani suffered heavily from the sentences of exile of 1434/5, with five of their members included, although Francesco, still only seventeen, was not among them; nor was he included in the contemporary ban placed on other members of the lineage, depriving them of their political rights. In June 1444, however, he and his sons were deprived of their political rights for ten years.<sup>66</sup> An interesting footnote to this is found in Francesco's later history. Ginevra lived for only ten years after their marriage, and a year after her death, in 1447, Francesco decisively reversed his political allegiance, and possibly also his political fortunes, by marrying Elena di Francesco Alamanni, 'mediante Cosimo di Giovanni de' Medici'.<sup>67</sup>

The marriage which Palla arranged for his niece, Caterina, in 1424, was with Piero di Neri Ardinghelli,<sup>68</sup> who with a fortune of almost 30,000 florins (net) estimated three years later in the catasto of 1427,<sup>69</sup> was one of the wealthiest young men in Florence. The Strozzi and Ardinghelli were neighbours in S. M. Novella, and Piero's house was, in 1427, situated in the Corso degli Strozzi, in the middle of a Strozzi enclave.<sup>70</sup> Palla had earlier been involved in a business partnership with members of the Ardinghelli family, and they, like Palla and his father Nofri, had a chapel in the church of Santa Trinita, while living in the neighbouring parish of Santa Maria Ughi.<sup>71</sup> The Ardinghelli had had their first prior in 1282, but their antiquity was greater even than this indicates, and than the other families surveyed to this point; their name appears on the consular lists of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.<sup>72</sup> They obtained seven majorities in the scrutiny of



1433, although they do not seem to have been amongst the inner circle of the pre-Medicean reggimento. Piero was amongst those exiled in 1434,<sup>73</sup> the only member of his family who was, and it may be assumed that the reason was his close association in politics with his wife's uncle, Palla Strozzi.

Finally, to complete this survey, a brief glance at the marriages made by Palla's sons: only two of these ever married, Lorenzo, the eldest, married Alessandra di Bardo de' Bardi in 1432<sup>74</sup> (this was the year of the menare) while his much younger brother, Giovanfrancesco, married a Donati, Luisa di Manno, some years after his father's exile.<sup>75</sup> The Bardi were one of the oldest and most illustrious of Florentine lineages, some of whom had, however, gained popolani status during the fourteenth century;<sup>76</sup> the Donati were also magnati. The Bardi lived in Santo Spirito, and were a very large lineage which was split in its political allegiance during the 1420s and 1430s. The branch to which Alessandra's father belonged was firmly of the Albizzian faction, and Bardo, together with four other members of his lineage, was exiled in 1434.<sup>77</sup> The Donati, as magnates, were excluded from most political offices, but like a number of such magnate lineages had 'many friends' amongst the exile group of 1434/5.<sup>78</sup> Taking place as it did in the later 1440s, this Strozzi-Donati marriage was one of shared social prestige and political ineffectiveness.

Some general observations can be made about this survey. All the families into which Palla's children married had a high level of social status, and had been among the governing elite, as defined by membership of the priorate, almost since the inception of that institution. Three of these families - the Acciaiuoli, Ardinghelli, and Bardi - recorded their first prior in 1282, that of the Soderini and Strozzi dated from the next year.<sup>79</sup> All of these families, as might have been expected, appear as members of the Florentine reggimento in 1433, as defined by Bale Kent's analysis, and all the individuals concerned in these marriages were at least comfortably wealthy, judged by the standard of wealth of the majority of households in the Strozzi lineage at this time. By no means all

of these marriages can be seen as having a political aspect, as cementing alliances between either individuals or lineages already within the same political faction; but I believe that three of them - those with the Brancacci, Bardi and Castellani - were of this nature. The dates at which these were contracted - 1428, 1431, and 1436 - fall within the period when factionalism had become a dominating influence on political life. The Rucellai marriage also has a political aspect, although of a somewhat different kind. As we saw in section 2 (above), marriages between the Strozzi and Rucellai were frequent, and represented a continuing informal alliance between the two dominant lineages of the gonfalone of Lion rosso. Giovanni Rucellai's extended career in politics and business as an associate and later as representative of Palla (after his exile) suggests that this marriage was a deliberate alliance in the sphere of local, gonfalone politics, where so many issues of political importance were decided.<sup>80</sup> The five marriages which do not appear to have been political in character were all contracted decidedly earlier or later than the 'political' group: 1416, 1420-21, 1423, 1424, and then 1449. Of this latter group, there seems no reason to believe that political alliance was an important original motive, while influencing factors of other kinds can generally be discerned.<sup>81</sup>

Dale Kent, in her brilliant study of the Florentine factions in the period leading up to the Medici take-over of 1434, has shown both the way in which the two factions - the Medici, and the 'Oligarchical' to which the Strozzi belonged - were each united internally by a complex web of marriage bonds, and the fact that the Strozzi in particular were tied by these invisible strands to a large number of other lineages in that faction.<sup>82</sup> The present survey suggests some of the ways in which, in such times of political turmoil, marriage could either cement more closely men's common interests, or in which it tended to create such. Of the eight marriages contracted before 1434 examined here, in five the principal male connection of Palla either shared his exile or suffered other political penalty of a serious kind. Of the other three, one, Neri

Acciaiuoli, was already dead by 1434, and one, Giovanni Rucellai, suffered long discrimination of an informal kind before reaching his own accommodation, via a second marriage, with the Medicean regime. Only he, of this group, ever gained considerable office under the Medici, although other members of both the Soderini and the Sacchetti were the recipients of offices which showed that they enjoyed the confidence of the regime, evidence which suggests a division on political grounds within these lineages. This is however true to a degree even of the Strozzi themselves.<sup>83</sup> No detailed conclusions are possible about the geographical distribution of these families within the city, although it may be noted that three of the families concerned were close neighbours of the Strozzi, two of them resident in the same gonfalone: these 'neighbourhood' marriages do not overlap with the 'factional' ones, and might well play an even larger role in a study based in a different period of Florentine history, or one concerning the marriages of the offspring of a less politically prominent individual. The marriages with families outside S. Maria Novella are divided between those from S. Croce and S. Spirito, and there may be a negative significance in the complete absence of S. Giovanni families, dominated as that quarter was on the one hand by the Medici, and on the other by the Albizzi. The latter, although eventually allied to the Strozzi in the confrontation of 1434, were never their intimates.<sup>84</sup>

iv Marriage, politics, and the closer kinsmen.

The decision to marry, and the choice of husband or wife, was rarely the sole responsibility of the individual concerned. Indeed, in the case of girls making a first marriage, it was a decision made completely by others, by a group of close male relatives, and possibly also by their mother, particularly if she were widowed. But even for adult men, choosing a wife was a process of consultation, and one in which the actual negotiations were generally carried on by a kinsman, or relative by marriage. The reason for these consultations is clear: marriages

were not confined in their effects to the individual, but also affected a circle of his kinsmen.

The marriage of Alessandra de'Bardi to Lorenzo di Messer Palla Strozzi is known to us from a variety of sources, giving the opportunity to examine it in greater detail than is generally possible. In 1427, the year before Lorenzo and Alessandra were betrothed, her father was assessed as one of the wealthiest men in Santo Spirito, with net assets worth over 24,000 florins,<sup>85</sup> Alessandra's dowry, 1,500 florins. If her age is given correctly on a much later tax document, she was only eleven at the time of the betrothal, and fifteen when the marriage was completed.<sup>86</sup> That she should have been betrothed so young suggests eagerness on both sides to secure the match, as the betrothal was considered binding on both parties, and as initiating the new parentado. The witnesses at the betrothal ceremony, held in the church of S. Stefano al Ponte on the 23rd May, 1428, were Messer Matteo Castellani, Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi, and Messer Rinaldo Albizzi,<sup>87</sup> three of the most important men in Florentine political life. The presence of Rinaldo, in particular, suggests the political importance of this alliance between probably the two largest and wealthiest of anti-Medicean lineages. But even before this ceremony, mention is made of the parentado in the Strozzi correspondence, where on the 7th March it was already referred to as a fait accompli.<sup>88</sup> Palla, who was at this time absent from Florence on a diplomatic mission, wrote to Matteo di Simone (who appears to have been chiefly responsible for 'bringing off' the match): 'ricevetti la tua lettera, per la quale meco ti rallegrì dell'avere Lorenzo tolto donna'. He must refer here to a private agreement being concluded between the parties concerned. Nofri, Palla's second eldest son (who was with him in Ferrara) wrote to Matteo by the same post: 'E vego quanto vi ralegrate del parentado facto con Bardo de' Bardi, e quanto vi pare ben facto. Chè in verità, Matheo, non si puo dire il contradio'. This, then, is one dimension of the function of marriage, the creation of a new parentado. But marriage as a crucial step in determining individual happiness is

also expressed here. Vespasiano, in his biography of Alessandra, portrayed her as a model of Florentine female behaviour, emphasizing her modesty, humility, and high ideals of Christian conduct. He described her as 'bellissima e venustissima del corpo', and mentioned as an added merit that she was unusually tall.<sup>89</sup> It may reflect the truth of this description that in his letter to Matteo, Palla went on to write that 'molto mi piace che Lorenzo sia ben contento, e ch'ella sia come di'. Et essendo egli contento, io sono contentissimo'. This is one of the most attractive statements of that unity of interests which contemporaries believed to exist between fathers and sons.

Matteo, although only a second cousin of Palla and his sons, lived next door to them, enjoying with Lorenzo (in the latter's own words) 'intima amicitia';<sup>90</sup> he certainly played an important part in arranging this marriage. Palla thanked Matteo for his help, acknowledging that 'conosciuto ò sempre il tuo buon animo e l'amore che ai portato a me e le cose mie'. He added that the time would come to think similarly for his other sons, and that 'con tuo consiglio fareno tutto'.<sup>91</sup> That this was a marriage to bring happiness to their family circle in general, and to his father in particular, is a point made by Nofri: 'ed [Lorenzo] à facto contento Messer P e poi madonna [i.e., Marietta] e tutte l'altre persone a lui benivole'. He also suggested that this resplendent marriage might influence his own: 'ed à dato la via agl'altri che seguano dopo lui', commenting to Matteo that they would see 'se tra voi ed io ne sapareno trovare una che ci piaccia'.<sup>92</sup> The arrangements for the wedding were presumably even more elaborate than those recorded for Lorenzo's sister, Tancia, in 1423, when the expenses listed included two new gold florins, to be put in the bride's slippers, 'quando ando a marito', and two bills for new clothing for the household.<sup>93</sup> On the occasion when Palla and Lorenzo publicly acknowledged the receipt of Alessandra's dowry, they also made her a gift, propter nuptias, of 50 florins 'fiorini piccoli'.<sup>94</sup>

While these letters show that the choice of a wife for a young

man (who must have been assumed at this stage in his life to be the heir to great wealth and political position) was considered as of vital importance by his closest kinsmen, the evidence of another marriage suggests that even in the case of more distant relatives, and where the outcome appears to be much less crucial, that the choice could still be met with the same vital interest. A group of letters survive (although divided between different archives)<sup>95</sup> which record the reactions of Palla, his sons Lorenzo and Nofri, and Giovanni Rucellai, to the marriage of Ginevra, daughter of Lena di Messer Palla by her second marriage to Felice Brancacci, to Francesco di Domenico Caccini. Giovanni wrote to Lorenzo on 27th April, 1450, telling him that 'abbiamo fatt[o] concrusione del parentado dela Ginevra d[i] Felice' with Caccini, and from this and from the fact that he had undertaken the payment of the dowry to Francesco, it is clear that he had acted as procuratore for the Brancacci-Strozzi side in the marriage. (This is a good example of both Giovanni's extensive involvement with his wife's family, and thus of the facilities provided by parentado.) A first reaction to the letters written by Palla and Lorenzo on this occasion might be one of surprise, that the marriage of a grand-daughter and niece, respectively, related to them only through the female line, should arouse such interest. The reason for this is quite evidently that Ginevra's husband was considered (and considered himself) as henceforth attached to them in a significant way. 'Gratissimo mi fu il parentado', Palla wrote to Francesco himself, and 'abbiamo da essere contenti di tal parente',<sup>96</sup> Lorenzo told Michele di Felice Brancacci, Ginevra's half-brother. In Florentine social terms the Caccini must have been considered inferior to either Strozzi or Brancacci (although Lorenzo refers to Francesco as nobile popolano)<sup>97</sup> though both Francesco and his brother Matteo were repeatedly successful in the important scrutinies of the 1430s and 1440s.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, the element of personal ability and achievement is central to Lorenzo's assessment of Caccini's character: 'giovane d'assai, buon dell'anima, nobile popolano, nel reggimento quanto essere puo, bello di corpo, d'età

d'anni 30, conversativo co' primi giovani di Firenze, e con ongni gentiluomo e signore v'ariva di forestieri'. After commenting that he was well dressed, and that he had a 'notabile madre e un fratello giovane da bene', he made a complex assessment about Francesco's wealth, and the acceptability of such a man to the current regime in Florence: 'nonn è richo ma à il bisogno suo, e son quegli che anno buon tempo a Firenze, assai stato, pochi gravezza, e da ciascuno vezegiati e stimati'.<sup>99</sup> His meaning is clear enough, that at that time in Florence a man of only middling wealth and who was undistinguished as to family, but with the ability to make himself liked, was able to be successful in politics, while not being vulnerable to heavy taxation. In other words, he was without those very things which, Lorenzo must have reflected, had brought ruin upon so many of the Strozzi: insupportable taxation and membership of a powerful and prestigious, and therefore dangerous, family.<sup>100</sup> It is ironic, given this glowing estimate of Francesco's position within the reggimento, that he was, with his brother, exiled from Florence eight years later, during what Rubinstein has referred to as the 'consolidation' of the Medicean regime.<sup>101</sup> Francesco was already a friend of the Strozzi exiles before his marriage, particularly of Giovanfrancesco di Messer Palla, and he wrote to Lorenzo of the 'hottima amicizia',<sup>102</sup> which had preceded the new parentado; it was however a friendship strengthened by his marriage, which also connected him closely with the exiled Felice Brancacci, and these things together clearly made him eventually no longer eligible for the sort of role in Florentine political life which Lorenzo had ascribed to him.

Palla's letter to Francesco naturally emphasizes a different aspect of the same event, the way in which marriage formed a bond of sentiment and ethical obligation between the man who married and the principal male connections of his wife. He refers first to a letter written to him by Francesco, which had announced his marriage, and to a gift which he had received from him at the same time. No details are given, but such acknowledgement may indicate that Palla was still seen as

a figure of importance amongst the exile group, despite his great age. Palla explained his conception of the relationship now existing between them in these terms: 'nelle cose honeste e ragionevole di te, piglierei quella sicurtà che facessi di proprio fratello. E del quale anche debbo riputare in luogo di genero rispetto alla Ginevra mia nipote, figliuola di Felice e della Lena mia figliuola'.<sup>104</sup> This new bond was thus defined by comparison with those closest and most familiar, brother and son-in-law. He then formally offered to Francesco 'me e le cose mie', adding that, however, this did not amount to very much. While this letter offers us a valuable glimpse of its writer's personality, its most striking aspect is the ability which it acknowledges of such a marriage to combine in a common interest those who would not necessarily previously have recognised one. In a letter to Michele Brancacci, some two months after the wedding, Nofri di Messer Palla wrote that he had enquired in Rome about this new family connection, and that 'da tutti mi fu assai laudato ... sìchè a tua consolation te n'aviso, che anchora io n'ò ricevuto contento assai'.<sup>105</sup> To gain a fuller picture of the relationship inaugurated by this marriage, it may be added that Ginevra's half-brother, Piero Acciaiuoli, also became a friend of Francesco, his half-sister's husband.<sup>106</sup> The Strozzi and Caccini renewed their connection in 1477 when Francesco's daughter Lena was married to Caroccio di Zanobi di Benedetto Strozzi, while the Strozzi-Brancacci connection was made even stronger by the marriage of another of Felice's daughters, Agnoletta, to Pagolo di Benedetto Strozzi.<sup>107</sup> This also completed the connection by marriage and inter-marriage of three different branches of the Strozzi lineage.

As has been seen in the foregoing examples, decisions and negotiations concerning marriages tended to involve quite a wide circle of kinsmen, as well as some relations by marriage. There is no suggestion, however, that every marriage was of equal or even crucial importance to every member of the lineage. Given the size of the Strozzi



lineage, such a thing would have been impossible on that ground alone. But that there was a shared concern about marriages of quite distant members of the lineage is shown by the wide dissemination of information about them in surviving correspondence. A few examples will suffice here. On the 21st March, 1431, Bengni di Jacopo Strozzi wrote to his brother Niccolo of the marriage of Lena di Messer Palla: 'sappi chome messer Palla à maritata la figliuolo [sic] cioè quella che ffu moglie di Neri Acciaiuoli [sic] a Filicie Bra [ncacci]'.<sup>108</sup> These brothers were only very distant cousins of Palla. Similarly, two letters written to Simone di Filippo Strozzi in February 1417, from his brother Piero and his son Matteo dealt with the marriage of their distant kinsman, Benedetto di Pieraccione Strozzi, to a daughter of Rinaldo degli Peruzzi, who was also, as they noted, a grand-daughter of Nofri di Palla Strozzi.<sup>109</sup>

When the marriage was that of a close kinsman, the interest displayed was obviously of a keener kind. A letter of Pinaccio di Filippo (who lived permanently in London), to his brother, Simone, was of this variety, discussing the marriage of Matteo, Simone's son, to Alessandra di Filippo Macinghi. It gives the precise date of that event (unknown from any other source) and a vivid sense of Pinaccio's avuncular interest in Matteo's marriage: 'Io t'ò per tute [le lettere] detto chome mi sarebbe chero avere Matteo menato la donna'; the news has given him 'piacere assai'. He was also concerned with the public aspect of the wedding ceremony, wanting to know if 'i Macinghi si fece bene loro dovere' and 'si chome per le amici fusti onorato'.<sup>110</sup> A wedding was a ceremonial occasion, one on which the status of the family was displayed, and should be duly recognised. Another group of letters written by these Strozzi concern the negotiations over the marriage of Piero, the youngest of Simone's brothers.<sup>111</sup> Lionardo, the senior brother, wrote that Piero would have accepted an offer to marry a daughter of Jacopo Arrighi, but that they had delayed so as to obtain Simone's opinion: 'ma pure si da indugio quanto si può acciò tu sia

aviso e dichane tuo parere'. Both he and Piero told Simone that they had asked the advice of Francesco di Pierozzo della Luna, their brother-in-law, Piero writing that 'Francesco di Pierozzo e Lionardo e mona Margherita e tutti me ne consigliono', and asking that his brother 'iscrivi presto, vorrei sapere tuo parere'. There is in the British Library a single Strozzi letter of the late fourteenth century, written by Lorenzo di Carlo Strozzi to Messer Donato Acciaiuoli, expressing his regret at not being able to accept a proposed marriage which Donato had arranged for him, because the older kinemen whom he had consulted felt that it was not to his advantage to marry as yet: 'noi deliberiamo per lo meglio vivere a regola e a ubidienza de' nostri maggiori'.<sup>112</sup> While such clear statements of belief in patriarchal or near-patriarchal authority may have become increasingly unusual by the mid-fifteenth century, it is clear that, in the absence of normal senior male authority, members of the Strozzi lineage functioned in that capacity in households other than their own. Antonio di Benedetto Strozzi, for example, arranged in loco parentis the marriages of both the daughters of Alessandra Strozzi, although in blood he was only their sixth or seventh cousin.<sup>113</sup> A similar sort of mutuality is to be seen in Marco Parenti's assumption, on his marriage to Caterina di Matteo Strozzi, that he was marrying not only Caterina but in a sense her brothers as well, plus the men he referred to as their 'uncles' (their father's first cousins), and indeed all their kinsmen: he refers to 'quanto sommamente mi piace da ogni parte tutto vostro parentado', and how he had acknowledged the new relationship with 'altri vostri parenti' in Florence; in the same way he wanted to 'impalmare e riconoscere il parentado' with them.<sup>114</sup>

As earlier evidence has suggested, some estimate of the current political standing and likely future success of possible or newly acquired marriage partners was an important part of the process of assessing their value, particularly for those who, like the Strozzi after 1434, were in a difficult position in this respect themselves. Perhaps the most famous of such assessments is that of Alessandra Strozzi about Marco Parenti,

who had just married her daughter: 'è solo e ricco, e d'età d'anni venti-cinque, e fa bottega di arte di seta, e hanno un poco di stato'. Lauro Martines has used this passage in a general discussion of marriage and its importance amongst the Florentine patriciate, but in a way which perhaps does not ~~do~~ justice to the complexity of Alessandra's ideas on this subject. He has translated the phrase 'e hanno un poco di stato',<sup>115</sup> as 'and the family plays a certain part in the affairs of state',<sup>116</sup> a slight misreading of what might be more accurately rendered by understanding stato as 'regime'. It can be directly compared with Lorenzo di Messer Palla's use of the same word to describe Francesco Caccini's position in Florence: 'assai stato', that is, 'nel reggimento quanto essere puo'.<sup>117</sup> Alessandra's judgement was proved correct by Marco's attainment, shortly after his marriage, of the priorate;<sup>118</sup> that he also came to share in the general odium surrounding the Strozzi and their connections is shown by the fact that his name was one of those removed from the horse for the tre maggiori in June 1455; the nineteen names included other Strozzi connections, Giovanni Rucellai and Jacopo di Tommaso Sacchetti.<sup>119</sup> Alessandra's final reflection on this question of stato was clearly prompted by her own experience as the wife and then widow of a man who had had high but perhaps not unrealistic political ambitions, and who had then died in the misery of exile: 'e non so come la fanciulla si fussi contenta, che dallo stato in fuori non v'è grascia che ci è soppressi assai'.<sup>120</sup>

A recent article by Melissa Bullard<sup>121</sup> has shown that at the beginning of the sixteenth century members of the Strozzi lineage were still capable of uniting in their dislike of a proposed marriage of one of their number with the Medici, on account of their responsibility for the Strozzi tribulations of the preceding century. Faced with Filippo il giovane's marriage to Clarice, daughter of the exiled Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici, the Strozzi, perhaps at no great cost to themselves, displayed a determined opposition. But their problems with the Medici were

of a different and more insistent and difficult kind forty years earlier, when Medicean dominance in Florentine government was still a fact of life which had to be accommodated. Such problems were displayed in the debate in 1469 about a proposed marriage between Lorenzo di Matteo Strozzi and Marietta, daughter of Lorenzo di Messer Palla Strozzi and Alessandra de' Bardi.<sup>122</sup> As was seen above, such intra-lineage marriages were an established tradition, and were, I believe, a manifestation of its members unity of feeling. But this projected marriage gave rise to particularly acute and pertinent questions of lineage loyalty and feeling: two years earlier Marietta's nearest surviving male relative, her uncle and guardian Giovanfrancesco, had been declared a rubello del commune for his involvement in an anti-Medicean conspiracy, whereas Lorenzo di Matteo and his brother Filippo had been released from exile in 1466, and thus granted an opportunity to rehabilitate themselves in Florentine public life. Filippo's opposition to the marriage for his brother, on primarily political grounds, shows clearly the character of marriage as an alliance between the two sets of close male kinsmen. Had this marriage in fact taken place, it would have united these two lines of the lineage, as well as fulfilling Lorenzo's evident ambition to marry a girl as celebrated for her beauty as her mother had been a generation earlier.<sup>123</sup> The complexity of the factors which could be involved in a marriage choice is displayed in the Strozzi letters which deal both with this match and with Lorenzo's other attempts to find a suitable wife, one who met not only his requirements, but also those (somewhat different) of his brother. When the letters begin, in February and March 1469, Lorenzo was in the middle of a two year stay in Florence, primarily, it appears, for the purpose of choosing a wife. Both Alessandra and Marco approved of the match with Marietta; and further, Lorenzo informed his brother, in a letter of the 9th March, 'da Nicholò [di Lionardo, their second cousin] volei anche il suo parere, e s'accorda chon noi'.<sup>124</sup> 'Noi' here signally failed to include Filippo, who was implacably opposed to the plan. In his letter of 27th February,

Filippo had explained fully his reasons for this opposition.<sup>125</sup> There were, he conceded, two points in favour of the plan: Marietta was beautiful, though a donna rather than a fanciulla, and she had a very large dowry. The points against were more numerous. She was an orphan, in her mid-twenties, and had never been married, earlier arrangements for her marriage not having come to anything. These circumstances, in combination, meant that her honour could easily have been 'stained'. Secondly, and in Filippo's eyes perhaps more importantly, her principal surviving male relations were all in some way suspect: Giovanfrancesco had suffered a disastrous and disgraceful financial failure in 1464, as well as his condemnation as a rubello in June 1467.<sup>126</sup> Again, this branch of the Strozzi had intermarried with the Ardinghelli, and had remained intimately connected with them in exile. (Although the Ardinghelli had been released from some of the political penalties earlier imposed on them in 1466.)<sup>127</sup> The Ardinghelli had also suffered financial failure, to complete what was in Filippo's mind a very gloomy prospect. What they both needed, he urged his brother, were honourable and useful connections through marriage, not renewed association with 'dishonoured' men like Giovanfresco.

Poi penso, che noi abbiamo pure bisogno costì di parenti, chè ne siamo molto spogliati, e tu acquisterai Giovanfrancesco e cotesti Ardinghelli, l'uno e l'altro falliti, e chon che infamia viva Giovanfrancesco, lo sai al pari di me.<sup>128</sup>

Closely connected with this feeling of needing worthwhile relations was Filippo's belief in the positive harm which a new, strong connection by marriage would do him and Lorenzo politically, were it with this outlawed branch of the lineage. 'A Piero de'Medici e a li altri dello stato dispiacera, anchora che dica "si", e al primo squittino ce n'avvedreno, ma ancora più te di me.'<sup>129</sup> These letters make it clear that men in the position of Filippo and Lorenzo, newly allowed to return to Florence, with great financial power, and political influence via the Neapolitan court, but as yet without the formal blessing of the regime in the form of political office, could not have contemplated marrying without the approval of

Piero de' Medici.<sup>130</sup> Lorenzo's letter of the 21st March makes it clear that not only had Piero's permission been obtained, but that Piero had in fact written to Marietta's brothers, Bardo and Messer Lorenzo, expressing his wish that she be married in Florence; also, Lorenzo added, 'ne vuole essere procuratore'.<sup>131</sup> But as Filippo's statement above suggests, he still believed that such a marriage could only do them harm. Lorenzo countered his brother's conclusion that 'non sia nè 'l bisogno tuo nè della Casa nostra',<sup>132</sup> with arguments based on a different estimation of the outcome, and possibly a less selfish interpretation of what might benefit the Strozzi lineage as a whole. He wrote that 'la chasa non potrebbe andare meglio, e [the marriage] atuerrebbe ongni nostro sospetto':<sup>133</sup> it would be a gesture of 'solidarity' which would rehabilitate the suspect branch of the Strozzi in the eyes of the regime. Indeed, Piero de Medici's agreement to and projected participation in the marriage, suggests that there was at least some basis for this optimism. Further, Lorenzo did not agree with Filippo's estimation of Giovanfrancesco and the Ardinghelli: 'ben conosco che chi acquistassi questi, à buon parentado'.<sup>134</sup> He also took a more sympathetic view of Marietta's tragic family life, maintaining that her mature age was not in itself dishonourable. 'Non ci pare ci dia noia, se non el fatto di Piero', he wrote; as if conceding that the marriage might bar him or both of them from the highest political office, but showing himself less impatiently ambitious in this area than was Filippo, he added, 'e se per ora lo squittino m'avessi a dare noia, non credo sempre abiano a stare chosi',<sup>135</sup> thus he looked forward to the regime's demise.

Unfortunately there is no letter which makes clear why this marriage plan was abandoned, although the answer probably lies in Filippo's implacable opposition, and in oblique pressure from the ruling group around Piero. A letter of Marco Parenti to Filippo of the 1st March, 1469 suggests that Lorenzo was at that time already being pressured by Piero to choose his wife from within a fairly small circle of possible girls,<sup>136</sup> pressure which he apparently successfully with-

stood, as a marriage fully acceptable to the regime in fact only took place in June 1470.<sup>137</sup> Another letter of Marco to Filippo from August 1469 makes it clear that no satisfactory choice had then been made.<sup>138</sup> He rehearsed the most likely prospects as they appeared at that stage, without enthusiasm, noting of two girls (a daughter of 'Francesco del Benino' and 'una de' Vigna') that 'questo non sono di parentado conforme alla tua', and that the first thing asked about a marriage in Florence was about the woman's birth, 'e però bisogna che sia di stirpe sì manifesta che chi la vuole abasare di parole non possa'. Again, showing the prejudices of an urban culture, he notes that 'rustica nolla vuole'. Finally, he declares that what is needed is a girl distinguished in at least one respect: 'al meno qualche parte, degna o parentado o stato o denari o bellezza che uscisse dal generale'.<sup>139</sup> Among the long list of possible girls he mentioned the name of Lorenzo's eventual wife, Antonia di Francesco Baroncelli, only in connection with her dowry of 1200 florins. That her dowry was in fact increased to 1400 florins (possibly by the intercession of the Medici)<sup>140</sup> may have been the deciding factor, as gaining a reasonably large dowry seems to have been a matter of status even when it was not one of urgent economic welfare. This eventual marriage was conducted under the supervision of the Medici, and the concern which they appeared to have devoted to such matters suggests that they placed on such hand picked marriage alliances a considerable potential for creating stability amongst the more important families of the reggimento.

#### v. Dowries.

The most pungent contemporary observations surviving to us on this subject are from the pen of Alessandra Strozzi. Voicing her regret that her elder daughter Caterina had not made as grand a marriage as she might have, had a larger dowry been available, she discerned that in Florence the amount of ready cash available for a girl's dowry was often decisive: 'chi to' donna vuol danari'.<sup>141</sup> For a husband more politic-

ally prominent, or of more noble birth, she estimated, would have taken a dowry of 1400 or 1500 florins, rather than the 1000 florins which was all that she could afford. This was in 1447; three years later Antonio Strozzi wrote in turn to Filippo about the difficulties he was encountering in finding a husband for the younger of these two sisters. He was acting as procuratore for the Strozzi in the negotiations, perhaps partly because he was an influential man, successful in political life, partly because there were no close male kinsmen to do so. He explained his difficulty in finding the girl a suitable husband: 'in vero delle cose buone ci è poche, e dote grande si sono cominciare a usare, che n'è chagione questa commodità del Monte'.<sup>142</sup> This fixes the time, in the judgement of one contemporary observer at least, at which began that renewed 'dowry inflation' which has been felt by historians to be an important influence on Florentine social life in the fifteenth century.<sup>143</sup> Antonio also provides an explanation for the phenomenon he observed: the institution of the Monte delle doti.<sup>144</sup> It was only at this time that a substantial number of girls whose fathers had invested in such dowries for them were reaching marriageable age.<sup>145</sup> While his remarks are not very detailed, we can assume, partly from Alessandra's remarks, that a dowry of 1000 florins would have been considered very small by those who were the social equals of the Strozzi, where, at least partly due to the Monte, larger dowries had become commonplace; at a slightly lower level, for the same reason, there must have been many as well supplied.<sup>146</sup> Antonio remarked that he had discussed with another kinsman, Niccolò di Lionardo, the possibility of increasing the dowry in question, but notably only by 200 florins,<sup>147</sup> suggesting that quite subtle shades of difference still existed. Yet while both Antonio and Alessandra expressed the belief that a dowry of a certain size was necessary to secure a marriage of the highest prestige, this view must have been modified by the consideration that both of Alessandra's daughters made acceptable, if not brilliant matches.<sup>148</sup> This was however certainly partly due to the prestige of their family name, and to the influence of Antonio, who arranged them.<sup>149</sup>



(Table 1 - below - lists twenty fifteenth century Strozzi marriages for comparison.) It would certainly be exaggerating the importance of dowries to suggest that they were ever more than one element in a complex choice, a number of factors ('degno o parentado o stato o denari o bellezza', as Marco Parenti put it in the passage cited above)<sup>150</sup> seem to have been of nearly equal importance; in certain circumstances another of these might prove dominant. Thus, when Filippo's closest relatives were occupied in choosing a wife for him, his mother expressed the view that smallness of dowry was the least important defect that a likely girl might have;<sup>151</sup> in fact the girl Filippo married had a dowry of only 1500 florins, small considering how large his private fortune already was. In this marriage, the most important criteria appear to have been beauty, nobility of family, and willingness on the part of her parents to marry her to an exile living in Naples.<sup>152</sup> It would however be true to say that all men within the Florentine patriciate expected to acquire a substantial amount of capital when they married, and that a girl who had either no dowry at all, or one which was below 1000 florins, had no hope of marrying inside her own class; this was pre-eminently true for illegitimate girls.<sup>153</sup>

I have however come across one example of a Strozzi marriage which falls outside the normal in this respect. In January 1418 a double marriage contract was agreed upon between Bernardo di Tommaso Strozzi and Caterina di Piero de'Bardi.<sup>154</sup> Both were widowed, Bernardo was just over forty, with one son and at least one daughter from his first marriage; Caterina was about thirty five, and had previously been married to Salvestro Orlandi, with a nine year old daughter, Isabella, 'chiamata Salvestra' who had been left a large dowry from her father's estate. Caterina, apparently with no dowry at all, was betrothed to Bernardo, and married him less than one month later, and at the same time Isabella was promised to Bernardo's son, Soldo. They were married in 1423, but did not live together as husband and wife until 1425, when Isabella was an acceptable age, it appears, for the marriage of a Florentine girl to be

consumated.<sup>155</sup> While the single catasto portata filed by this joint household in 1427 shows it to be quite prosperous, all the rural properties listed came from Isabella's dowry, making up a substantial proportion of the estimated gross capital worth of 3360 florins.<sup>156</sup> Here one dowry had served in effect as two.

It is certainly true that a concern with dowering their daughters became more visible among the Strozzi as the fifteenth century progressed, but it seems probable that this was largely because of the importance which the Monte delle doti had come to play in the fiscal side of Florentine life. In the catasto of 1480, for example, the heads of virtually all Strozzi households noted beside the names of female children whether they had dowries in the Monte, and if so how large they were.<sup>157</sup> Filippo Strozzi, for example, had in that year in his household no less than five nieces and five daughters, of whom all but the three youngest (of two, one, and one year old) had dowries of 1200 florins 'sul monte per diversi tempi', a not inconsiderable investment even for a man as wealthy as he was.<sup>158</sup> Other Strozzi, like the brothers Francesco and Gabriello di Soldo, while by no means destitute, noted that none of their daughters had dowries.<sup>159</sup> These dowerless daughters are a striking feature of the 1480 catasto, and it must be assumed that their fathers or guardians were exaggerating their degree of poverty, and that although they were without a Monte dowry one was found from another source; otherwise this would have been a generation of Strozzi women a majority of whom did not marry at all. In 1480, forty three daughters or dependant nieces were reported in the catasto, divided between fifteen Strozzi households. Of these forty three, fifteen were described as having Monte dowries, one thousand florins being the most commonly stated sum, and twenty five were specifically described as undowered. In only two cases was no statement about a dowry made, and in one case a ten year old daughter was described as a monaca whose dowry was still owing to the convent. In four households there were elder daughters who were dowered, and younger ones who were not. One

Strozzi father, Marco di Benedetto, stated that he had sold his house in Florence because 'mi trovavo debito, e lle fanciulle eanza dote, e non avevo a]tro modo nè a uscire di debito nè a ffare le dote'.<sup>160</sup>

That achieving respectable if not prestigious marriages for as many of its daughters as possible was considered important to the lineage's reputation is shown by the fact that providing dowries and arranging marriages were probably the most common forms of benevolence practised by the lineage's wealthy or influential men towards their poorer kinsmen.<sup>161</sup> It may be that a large scale study would reveal a steady trend towards larger dowries as the century progressed; I cannot claim at present to have made such a study. However, in the course of the present research the marriages studied have offered no indication that that was in fact the case. Although there is some unevenness, it seems true that the Strozzi were generally in a position in the first three decades of the century, owing to their political and economic strength, to demand large dowries; in 1409 an undistinguished member of an important branch, like Pæro di Filippo, was able to marry a girl with a dowry of 1500 florins,<sup>162</sup> more than that gained by his brother's grandson, Lorenzo di Matteo, sixty years later. As the century progressed, a combination of factors - a generally much lower level of wealth, and the stigma of exile, or at least of political ostracism, which clung to almost all the lineage's members - must have combined to ensure that any general rise in the size of dowries was largely negated in their case. Correspondingly, the general decline in wealth within the lineage meant that in finding husbands for their own daughters they had, with only a few exceptions, to be content with the less prestigious marriages resulting from modest dowries.

While Florentines were, to a large extent, consigned by the accident of their birth to a particular social and even political status, the choice of marriage partner either for himself or for his female dependants was one way in which a man could potentially improve his social status and political or material condition by the exercise of his own judgement, and by obtaining the best possible advice available to

him. Marriage was a very important force of social cohesion, because it tended to unite not just two individuals, but two groups of close kinemen. It was for the Strozzi a decision which was carefully considered, and in which senior male opinion was consulted and generally heeded. In some cases mature women also had a role in such decision making, particularly if, like Alessandra Macinghi-Strozzi, they were strong minded widows and it was the marriage of one of their own children which was in question. Another reason for such consultations was the fact that marriage was also a business transaction. Very substantial sums of money were involved, particularly when they are considered in relation to the capital value of most household's possessions. Both sides were consequently anxious to obtain the best possible deal. The financial importance of marriage and dowries is reflected in the elaborate fiscal structure of the Monte delle doti.

Insofar as the lineage to which a prospective partner belonged was a primary consideration, marriage did bear the character of an alliance between two lineages. This is confirmed by the fact that the term parentado, while usually referring to an individual's immediate relatives by marriage, could be extended to refer to the relative by marriage of any of his agnatic kinemen. The possible character of marriage as alliance is shown through the pattern of repeated inter-marriages which existed between the Strozzi and some other lineages. However by no means all the marriages contracted by the lineage's members can be seen in this light, only a small but significant section of them.

Because of the weight which was accorded the bond of parentado, the ceremonious introduction of the new relative into this circle of his affines, and the immediate assumption of close relationship which followed - Giovanni Bonsi, for example, was offended when his younger brother-in-law addressed him respectfully as 'voi' rather than with the intimate 'tu',<sup>163</sup> - a marriage alliance was the perfect means of consolidating a bond between men of like interests. It is not, therefore, surprising that, in the Strozzi marriages examined here, whether they took place before 1434 or under the Medicean regime, there is a strong 'political'

content. The main change observable over the period is that while Palla di Nofri made marriages for his children to further and consolidate his own political position, that Filippo and Lorenzo di Matteo,<sup>164</sup> forty years later, had to maintain a delicate balance between their own interests and those of their lineage on the one hand, and the wishes and policy of the Medici on the other.

TABLE 1: FIFTEENTH CENTURY STROZZI MARRIAGES AND DOWRIES

<u>Year</u>		<u>Dowry</u>
1406	Curradina di Lor <sup>o</sup> m. Banchiello Buondelmonti	425
1409	Piero di Fil <sup>o</sup> m. Tita Arrighi	1500
1416	Margherita di M. Palla m. Franc <sup>o</sup> Soderini	1200
1417	Bened <sup>o</sup> di Piero m. Ginevra Peruzzi (widow)	150
1422	Matteo di Simone m. Aless <sup>a</sup> Macinghi	1600
1423	Cat <sup>a</sup> di Nicc <sup>o</sup> m. Piero Ardinghelli	2000
1426	Gostanza di Lio. m. Bart <sup>o</sup> di Ser Tino	900
1429	Ginevra di Lio. m. Antonio Ricasoli	900
1432	Lorenzo di M. Palla m. Aless <sup>a</sup> Bardi	1500
1436	Ginevra di M. Palla m. M. Franc <sup>o</sup> Castellani	1200
1447	Cat <sup>a</sup> di Matteo m. Marco Parenti	1000
1450	Vanni di Franc <sup>o</sup> m. daughter of Giann <sup>o</sup> Pandolfini	1300
1451	Aless <sup>a</sup> di Matteo m. Gio. Bonsi	1000
1457	Franc <sup>o</sup> di Piero m. daughter of Giul <sup>o</sup> Vespucci	1100
1463	Fil <sup>o</sup> di Bened <sup>o</sup> m. Tommasa Buini	1200
1467	Fil <sup>o</sup> di Matteo m. Fiametta Adimari	1500
1470	Lor <sup>o</sup> di Matteo m. Ant <sup>a</sup> Baroncelli	1400

NOTES:

1. This letter is C.S. III, 178, f.6; although Filippo was formally allowed to return to Florence by act of the Balia of Sept. 20, 1466 - Balie 30, ff.21v-22r - he did not in fact settle permanently in Florence until 1470, and spent the intervening 2 years in Naples. Lorenzo, his brother, was in Florence during this interval; the two brothers then changed places permanently.
2. Marco's observation was an accurate one. See above, Chapter 1, section iii, for a discussion of the lateness of marriage amongst Strozzi men.
3. The best discussion of the political, and particularly the factional function of parentado and parenti (in the period before 1434) is that of Dale Kent, The Rise of the Medici, pp.49-61, and throughout. This work has contributed largely to the shaping of the ideas expressed in the first half of this chapter.
4. C.S. III, 178, f.6.
5. The most common meaning of the term parentado has been succinctly described by F. W. Kent, Household and Lineage, p.93: 'by a marriage, one household or close-knit group of kinsmen was creating a parentado with another; it was unusual to assume that two whole houses participated in the relationship'. That it was generally unusual is no doubt the case, but the two by no means isolated examples from the Strozzi correspondence which follow suggest that the word could, and on occasion did, bear such a meaning. I have, however, qualified my statement by calling such relationships 'potential' only; clearly many such distant occurrences of parentado were never acknowledged.
6. Vespasiano, Le Vite, pp.156, 277.
7. C.S. III, 180, f.53. Letter of Antonio Strozzi (in Florence) to Filippo (in Naples), 24 April, 1450. Antonio also notes here that Messer Giannozzo 'E stretto parente di mona Alessandra', Filippo's mother; by this he probably means that these Pandolfini were also related to the Macinghi by marriage.
8. Strozzi Letters, p.81. Letter of 5 June 1450.
9. C.S. III, 145, f.28. Letter of Antonio Strozzi to Filippo, 8 August 1450.
10. C.S. III, 131, f.125. Letter of Pandolfo Pandolfini to Filippo, 10 February 1465.
11. C.S. III, 131, f.174. Letter of Pierfilippo Pandolfini to Filippo, 9 November 1465.
12. Ibid. Here parenti can be taken to mean 'relations' in general, rather than only those by marriage. The term parentado did not have this flexibility. On the two meanings of parenti see Kent, Household and

Lineage, p.93.

13. Hence it would have been advantageous for these two Pandolfini ambassadors to be able to claim such parentado with Filippo, who, particularly by 1464, was a close adviser of the King of Naples. In return Filippo presumably could expect some political support from them in Florence.

14. Strozzi Letters, p.548. The parentheses, which perhaps unduly confine the meaning here, are the editor's.

15. Marriage as a characteristic mode of Florentine social engineering was first accorded prominence by Lauro Martines, The Social World, pp.57-

62. Brucker translated valuable documents on this subject, including a letter of Alessandra Strozzi, in The Society of Renaissance Florence, pp.29-42. Marriage is discussed in relation to the household and

'nearest kinsmen' in F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, pp.91-99. Again, the best discussion of marriage in its political context is that of D.V. Kent, The Rise of the Medici, Part 1. See in particular the discussion of marriages 'made' by the Medici (in both senses), pp.53-5.

16. The most important source for this section is the volume C.S. III, 78, 'Raccolta de' parentadi della famiglia degli Strozzi', which devotes a separate double page to each family with whom the Strozzi contracted one or more marriages. It also (p.1066) lists Strozzi-Strozzi marriages. I have also used C.S. III, 235, 'Matrimoni contratti della famiglia Strozzi' (organised in a similar fashion) and C.S. III, 73, a volume of genealogical information about the Strozzi.

17. C.S. III, 78.

18. D. Kent, 'The Florentine Reggimento in the Fifteenth Century', Renaissance Quarterly, Vol.28, 1975, pp.578-638. Table 2.

19. The description 'di Ser Parente' may have been used by the compiler of the 'Raccolta de' Parentadi' to distinguish these Parenti from the other family of that name referred to above, from which came the chroniclers Marco and Piero Parenti. Both families were gente nuova, both were from S. Giovanni.

20. These were families such as the Baroncini, Berti, Puccini and Salvetti.

21. Like the Alberti, the Strozzi themselves rose to prominence in Florentine banking in the later 1340s.

22. The Alberti and Peruzzi were from S. Croce, the Bardi from S. Spirito.

23. The Guicciardini were from S. Spirito.

24. Agnolo had five daughters who married, the other three marrying Capponi, Morelli and Bellandrini. Ginevra was married a second time, to Piero del Rosso Buondelmonti.

25. See above, Ch.1, p.66.
26. On the date of this marriage, see below, section iii, n.
27. See below, Ch.3.
28. Zibaldone, p.63. As Giovanni noted here, Palla's wife was also a Strozzi, Marietta di Carlo. They were married in 1397 (Belle, a Renaissance Patrician, p.45; C.S. III, 235). Palla was 25 in that year, Marietta's age is unknown (most unusually, no ages are given for any of the household members on any of Palla's catasto portati). They belonged to different and only very distantly connected branches of the lineage; Marietta's father was both wealthy and also one of the dominant figures in Florentine politics between c.1360 and 1380. It was, therefore, a marriage uniting two of the most powerful and wealthy branches of a very large lineage. It is significant that Giovanni uses the imperfect, when describing the Strozzi in these terms.
29. Her name was not, however, Alessandra, as Lorenzo Strozzi and those who follow him have recorded (e.g. Perosa, Zib., p.158), but Giovanna or Nanna di Scolare Cavalcanti (see, e.g. Arch. Bent., Lib.4-1-2, Will of M. Palla di Nofri of 1447, f.5, where he writes of the grave in S. Trinita of 'Monna Nanna mia madre'). She survived her husband, Nofri, who died in 1417, and was still alive in 1420 when she bequeathed the iusufrutto of a poderetto to her eldest grand-daughter, Margherita: Cartapecore Strozzi-Uguccione, Tomo 78, Vol.3, 7 November 1420.
30. From a statement (by its subject matter, presumably prepared for tax officials) about his financial affairs, not dated but certainly after 1403, and in his son Palla's hand, it is known that Nofri di Palla had five daughters who married, and that they each had dowries of 1,000 florins, C.S. III, 116, f.3. His daughter Maria married Bernardo Alberti (see above, section ii); another, Jacopa, married Giovanni di Messer Forese Salviati. A third, name not known, married Giovanni di Michele Castellani; C.S. III, 78, pp.371, 1025.
31. In an early draft of the section of the Zibaldone which deals with Palla Strozzi's children and their marriages, which exists only in a 17th century copy in Carlo Strozzi's hand, Rucellai included Caterina in his discussion of Palla's daughters: 'ebbe 5 figliuole maritate, e una nipote'. C.S. III, 79, p.58. (I would like to thank F.W. Kent for telling me about this document.) In discussing Palla's marriage choices she may be treated as if a daughter.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. D.V. Kent, 'Florentine Reggimento', p.631.
35. Francesco Soderni had gross assets of over 16,000 reported in the catasto of 1427 - Catasto 67, f.79v; he was the 24th wealthiest man in



the quarter of S. Spirito - Martines, Social World, p.376.

36. Otto di Guardia e Bulia, 224, f.72v (1438)

37. S. Orlandi gives the date of this marriage as 1426 or 1427; L. Belle gives it as 1410 (p.52), but both these are incorrect on the basis of Neri's catasto portata of 1427 (kindly shown me by Margery Ganz). Lena's age is given as 24, while their eldest child (a daughter, Margherita) was 5 years old. This makes a date between 1419 and 1421 most likely for the marriage. Catasto, 74, f.216r.

38. D. Kent, 'Florentine Reggimento', p.624.

39. G. Brucker, Civic World, pp.96-100

40. D. Kent, 'Florentine Reggimento', p.624.

41. On Agnolo's career, see Rubinstein, Government of Florence, pp.136-45, 154-60, and passim.

42. Catasto, 811, 7v. He died on June 6th, 1428.

43. C.S. III, 116, 27v.

44. They were betrothed on 25 May, and Felice 'led' Lena to his home, the completion of the wedding ceremonies, on 27 May. A. Molho, 'The Brancacci Chapel: Studies in its Iconology and History', JWCI, Vol.40, 1977, p.79.

45. Felice Brancacci was one of the creditors of Lorenzo's bank in 1427: Palla's 1427 portata is in the Carte Stroziane: III, 129. The campione compilation from this is Cat. 463, 316r-344v.

46. D. Kent refers to the marriage in these terms: The Rise of the Medici, p.169.

47. On the Brancacci exiles: ibid., pp.355-56; for the number of their majorities in 1433, D. Kent, 'Florentine Reggimento', p.626.

48. A. Molho, 'Brancacci Chapel', p.79.

49. In contrast, there is a good deal of evidence of their association after they were both exiled from Florence. Molho refers to some of this, 'Brancacci Chapel', p.79, 79n.

50. One of her sons was the humanist and statesman Donato Acciaiuoli. On his early life, see E. Garin, 'La Giovinezza di Donato Acciaiuoli, 1428-1456', Rinascimento, 1, 1950.

51. L. Martines, Social World, p.378.

52. G. Brucker, Civic World, p.279; D. Kent, 'Florentine Reggimento', p.279. On the Sacchetti in general, and their involvement in Florentine politics in the earlier fifteenth century, see G. Brucker, Civic World, p.279-81.

53. For the connections between these Strozzi, Sacchetti and Capponi, see D. Kent, The Rise of the Medici, p.184. Another Sacchetti, Andreuolo, is here referred to as 'Neri di Gino's faithful henchman'.

54. L. Martines, Social World, p.366.

55. Otto di Guardia e Balia, 224, f.46v.
56. C.S. III, 78, p.1027.
57. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, p.45n.
58. As noted above, n.28, the ages of Palla's children were not entered on his catasto portate. They must, however, have been recorded in some fashion, as Giovanni Rucellai clearly knew his wife's age with (apparent) accuracy: Zibaldone, p.119.
59. Giovanni Rucellai wrote of his marriage, 'et nel tempo che io la tolsi [i.e., Jacopa], che fu del mese di maggio nel 1428...' Zibaldone, p.63; a good example of the fact that 'betrothal', or the exchange of rings, as distinct from cohabitation and consummation, was held as fully binding and as beginning the marriage. Molho, Brancacci Chapel, p.79, refers to Rucellai 'marrying' Jacopa in 1431, and cites the relevant notarial documents. This was the final stage in a complicated process, the 'menare'.
60. For a thumb-nail sketch of the Rucellai lineage and relevant bibliography, see F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, pp.15-17.
61. By F.W. Kent, as one of the studies in Vol.2 of the Zibaldone, soon to be published by the Warburg Institute.
62. C.S. III, 235, p.144. The ricordanze of Francesco Castellani is Conventi Soppressi 90, Vol.84. I would like to thank Elaine Rosenthal for pointing it out to me.
63. Litta, 'Strozzi di Firenze', tavola III.
64. See above, n.30
65. Lorenzo Strozzi, Vite degli Strozzi, p.27.
66. On the Castellani exiles of 1434, D. Kent, The Rise of the Medici, p.356; on their deprivation of political rights in that year, ibid, p.167; on Francesco's deprivation in 1444, Rubinstein, Government of Florence, p.18n.
67. Ricordanze of Francesco Castellani, ff.31v, 35r.
68. On this marriage see S. Orlandi, Beato Angelico, p.181. Caterina's dowry of 2000 florins was paid by Palla, but presumably from her father's estate.
69. L. Martines, Social World, p.372.
70. G. Carocci, map of the centre of Florence from the catasto of 1427; Studi storici sul centro di Firenze, between pp.16-17.
71. Orlandi, Beato Angelico, pp.46, 181, describes the connections between the Strozzi and Ardinghelli, and their family chapels in S.Trinita.
72. D. Kent, The Rise of the Medici, p.146.
73. Ibid., p.355.
74. This marriage will be discussed more fully below, section iv.

75. As Giovanfrancesco was born in 1418 (according to Litta, 'Strozzi di Firenze, tavola IX) he is unlikely to have married before the mid-1440s, as it was quite unusual for a Strozzi male to marry before his mid-20s. He was married by 1450, when he mentioned his wife, Luisea, in a letter to Francesco Caccini of June 27th (Bib. Ricc. 4009, unfol.). In another letter to Franc<sup>o</sup> of August 28th, 1452, he mentioned the birth of a son (loc. cit.) he was in fact survived by 4 of these - Roberto, Alessandro, Palla and Carlo, from whom the ban of exile was finally lifted in 1494 (see below, Ch.5). Giovanfrancesco lived most of his childhood and all of his adult life in exile from Florence, and little of a personal kind has so far been discovered about him. See below, Ch.4, part 2.

76. The Bardi were included in the first list of magnati families of 1293. On their gaining of popolani status during the fourteenth century see Brucker, Florentine Politics and Society, pp.154-59.

77. D. Kent, The Rise of the Medici, pp.129, 355.

78. Ibid., p.176.

79. The information summarised in the tables at the end of this article, in particular Table 2, forms a valuable check list for this type of analysis.

80. On this aspect of Rucellai's career see the forth-coming study by F.W. Kent described above, n.61.

81. Political alliance may or may not have been a factor in the marriage with the Ardinghelli: a small lineage who were connected with their powerful and numerous neighbours, the Strozzi, in a variety of ways, and may even have traditionally followed their lead in Florentine politics.

82. D. Kent, Rise of the Medici, pp.150-51, et passim.

83. Both of Francesco Soderini's nephews, Niccolò and Tommaso, were important political figures under the Medici; Franco di Niccolò Sacchetti was also a prominent figure. For a detailed discussion of Strozzi involvement in Florentine politics post 1434, see below, Ch.3.

84. The one piece of evidence suggesting a possible exception is the presence of Rinaldo degli Albizzi at the betrothal of Lorenzo di Messer Palla and Alessandra de' Bardi (see below, n.87); he may, however, have been present as a friend or associate of the Bardi.

85. L. Martines, Social World, p.375.

86. The tax document (probably a portata) was not written by Alessandra, but by relatives of hers in Florence. As her age is given as 40 it may be only approximate. C.S. III, 116, ff.52-53. Vespasiano gives her age as 14 at the time of the betrothal.

87. Acquisti e Doni (Carte Carnesecchi), 293 (not pag.)

88. C.S. III, 132, ff.278 and 279. Two letters of Messer Palla Strozzi

and his son Nofri (in Ferrara) to Matteo Strozzi (in Florence), both dated March 7.

89. Vespasiano, Le Vite, pp.467-68.

90. C.S. III, 131, f.53, letter of Lorenzo di Messer Palla to Filippo di Matteo, Gubbio, 30 August 1450.

91. C.S. III, 132, f.278.

92. C.S. III, 132, 279.

93. C.S. III, 286, 44v.

94. Diplomatico Strozzi-Uguccione, August 19th, 1432.

95. The relevant letters are: Bib. Ricc. 4009 (unfol.):

a) Messer Palla Strozzi to Francesco Caccini, Padua, 27 May 1450.

b) Lorenzo di Messer Palla to Michele di Felice Brancacci, Gubbio, 4 May 1450.

c) Nofri di Messer Palla to Mishela, Monte Fiascone, 3 June 1450 and Acquisti e Doni 140, inserto 8:

d) f.93, Francesco Caccini to Lorenzo di Messer Palla, Florence, 9 May 1450,

e) f.121, Giovanni Rucellai to Lorenzo di Messer Palla, Florence, 27 April 1450 .

96. See previous n., letters a) and b).

97. See n.95, letter b).

98. Francesco was drawn for the office of one of the sedici gonfalonieri in April 1442 (although disqualified by the specchio), indicating that he had been successful in the scrutiny of 1439 (Tratte 199, not pag.) He was also successful in the scrutinies of 1444 and 1453 (Tratte, Vols. 49, f.13v, and 1151, f.393v). Francesco's brother Matteo, described by Lorenzo as 'un fratello giovane da bene', also gained majorities in these three scrutinies.

99. See n.95, letter b).

100. Lorenzo's remarks here may be compared with the analysis by Piero Guicciardini of why some Florentine families were more successful than others in the scrutiny of 1484 (and perhaps in general), pub. by Rubinstein, Government of Florence, pp.318-25. 'Di tutte queste sorte quegli del mezzo come Serristori etc. hanno negli squittini più favore che gli altri, perchè da tutti sono più favoriti; e così nello stato sono più adoperati'. (p.323).

101. Otto di Guardia e Balìa, 224, 84v. They were in the first instance exiled ~~only~~ for one year, also (with their dependants) being deprived of their political rights. As they were, however, still described as 'confinati' in the act of the Balìa of 1466 which lifted the ban of exile, it had clearly been extended during the interim period. (Francesco was dead by 1466, but the ban on his sons was lifted together with that on

his brother.)

102. See n.95, letter d).

103. Without more extensive knowledge of such marriage ceremonies, it is difficult to gauge any significance that such a gift may have.

104. See n.95, letter a).

105. See n.95, letter c). This was, however, a case where preliminary ignorance of such parenti must have been greatly increased by the fact that both Nofri and Michele had lived in exile since they were young men or boys.

106. Bib. Ricc. 4009 (unfol.), Piero di Neri Acciaiuoli to Francesco Caccini, 5th March 1451. This is a moving letter written on the occasion of the assassination of Lorenzo di Messer Palla.

107. For the 1477 Strozzi-Caccini marriage, C.S. III, 78, p.287. Agnoletta and Pagolo di Benedetto were married in July 1459: Alessandra Strozzi noted this in a letter to Filippo, adding that they required a papal dispensation, 'pel parentado ch'era tra loro'. (Strozzi Letters, pp.161-2), an example of the word used simply to mean 'relationship'. As Agnoletta was descended (through her mother) from two different Strozzi branches, the children of this marriage were descended from three. Such marriages must have had a cohesive effect.

108. C.S. III, 113, f.5.

109. These letters are C.S. III, 132, ff.35, 36. Simone, their recipient, was at this time podesta of the Pieve di Santo Stefano. Matteo (f.36) wrote: 'A tolto donna Benedetto di Peraccione, la nipote di Nofri di Palla, figliuola di Rinaldo Peruzzi, che fu dona [sic] de quel del Mancino, con fiorini 150 di dota'.

110. C.S. III, 132, f.67. Pinaccio di Filippo to Simone, London, 14 July 1422. He gives the date of the marriage as June 9th of that year. Guasti appears to have missed this letter, although he notes that the receipt of Alessandra's dowry (1600 florins) had taken place on June 4th.

111. These letters are found in C.S. III, 132: f.13, Lionardo to Simone, Florence, 6 Dec. 1409; f.14, Lionardo to Simone, 12 Dec. 1409; f.20, Lionardo to Simone, 18 Jan. 1410; and f.12, Piero to Simone, Florence, 6 Dec. 1409.

112. B.M, Add.MS 21, 214, f.6, dated 11 Jan. 1389.

113. That he was the person chiefly responsible for arranging these marriages is made clear in the letter he wrote to Filippo (in Naples) on 6 June 1450, C.S. III, 294, f.87.

114. Strozzi Letters, p.12.

115. Ibid., pp.3, 4.

116. L. Martines, Social World, p.45. A slightly more accurate translation might be 'and the family is in the regime to some extent'.

117. See n.99 above.
118. He was prior in March and April 1454; M. Phillips, 'A Newly Discovered Chronicle by Marco Parenti', Renaissance Quarterly, Vol.31 (1978), pp.153-60.
119. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, p.45, 45n.
120. Strozzi Letters, p.5.
121. M. Bullard, 'Marriage Politics and the Family in Florence'.
122. The letters relevant to this matter are, chronologically:
- a) Filippo Strozzi (in Naples) to his brother Lorenzo (in Florence), 27th February, 1469. This letter has been published by Guasti (Strozzi Letters, pp.594-95), who standardised the spelling and introduced additional capitalisation into this, and other letters in this group which he published (I have retained this).
- b) Lorenzo to Filippo, 9th March, 1469: C.S. III, 180, 79r and v.
- c) Lorenzo to Filippo, 21st March, 1469: C.S. III, 131, 194r. Guasti quoted one line of this letter (p.595) but misattributes it to a letter, also of Lorenzo to Filippo, of 14th March (which is not, in fact, concerned with this matter).
- d) Marco Parenti (in Florence) to Filippo, 1st March, 1469, C.S. III, 249, 230v.
- e) Marco Parenti to Filippo, 23rd March, 1469: Guasti, Strozzi Letters, pp.595-6.
- f) Marco Parenti to Filippo, 21st April, 1469: Guasti, Strozzi Letters, pp.596-7.
- g) Marco Parenti to Filippo, 11th August, 1469: C.S. III, 131, 187.
123. There is in the Carte Strozzi a notizia of a festa made by Bartolommeo Benci for Marietta, in homage to her beauty. Professor Richard Trexter was kind enough to direct my attention to this, and suggested that it might date from c.1463. The manuscript itself is dated in a different hand '1459 fate': C.S. III, 106, C.66. Some years later, after Marietta's eventual marriage to a Ferrarese nobleman, Filippo wrote to his brother after a journey to Ferrara: 'poi vicitai madonna Marietta, che anchora è bella': C.S. III, 133, 23r, letter of 21st May, 1474.
124. See n.122, letter b).
125. See n.122, letter a).
126. For the sentence against Giovanfrancesco, Otto di Guardia e Balia 224, 146v. Guasti gives further details of his subversive activities, Strozzi Letters, p.351.
127. On these, see Balie 30, f.21v.
128. See n.122, letter a).
129. Ibid.

130. Filippo, at least, was successful in the scrutiny of 1484: he was drawn as prior for the two months Nov.-Dec. 1484, the first drawing from the borse which included the name tickets from the scrutiny of that year. See below, Ch.3.

131. See n.122, letter c).

132. See n.122, letter a).

133. Ibid. I have taken 'atuerebbe' here as meaning 'would kill'; while I can find no strictly Italian verb with this meaning, it seems quite possible that these two brothers, with their Neapolitan experience, would use and understand an occasional Italianized French word.

134. See n.122, letter b).

135. Ibid.

136. See n.122, letter d).

137. Strozzi Letters, p.597. The marriage took place in the presence of Tommaso Soderini and Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici.

138. See n. 122, letter g).

139. Ibid.

140. This appears to have been the case in an earlier Strozzi marriage in which the Medici were involved: that of Vanni di Francesco to a daughter of Messer Giannozzo Pandolfini. C.S. III, 145, f.28, Letter of Antonio Strozzi to Filippo, Florence, 8 August 1450. 'Noi abbiamo dato moglie a Vanni, una figliuola di messer Giannozzo Pandolfini, con fiorini 1200 di dota, e quello più parra a Cosimo, che in lui è rimossa; erasi ragionato 1400, e stimo restera a 1300'.

141. Strozzi Letters, p.4. This sounds to me very much like a proverbial saying. Alessandra also felt constrained in her choice by the necessity of arranging a marriage for Caterina while she was still sixteen. Ibid.

142. C.S. III, 249, f.87: Letter of Antonio Strozzi to Filippo, Florence, 6 June 1450.

143. On this institution see the recent article by A. Molho and J. Kirshner, 'The Dowry Fund and the Marriage Market in Early "Quattrocento" Florence', Journal of Modern History, 50 (1978), pp.403-438.

144. See, e.g. G. Brucker, Renaissance Florence, pp.123-4.

145. While the Monte delle doti had first been set up in 1425, it was only in 1433 that substantial numbers of Florentines began to invest in it - Molho and Kirshner, 'Dowry Fund', pp.407-09. Hence, when Antonio wrote, the first generation of girls thus dowered were appearing on the 'marriage market', aged 16-18.

146. Molho and Kirshner conclude that 'nearly two-thirds of the girls for whom deposits were made in the Monte belonged to families well ensconced in the city's ruling class', but as only 200 of their group of

1,762 dowered girls had deposits the expected yield of which was 800 florins or more, we must assume that their criteria were substantially different to that of Alessandra Strozzi herself, who clearly considered a dowry of 1,000 florins as small, given her family's status.

147. See above, n.142.

148. Of Giovanni Bonsi, husband of Alessandra, the younger sister, Antonio Strozzi wrote to Filippo: 'à buone sustanze, huomo da bene e nel reggimento ...', C.S. III, 145, f.24. Letter of March 20, 1451.

149. Antonio appears to have been an intimate of Giuliano de' Medici, and in 1450 became the first Strozzi prior since 1434. (Mariani-Priorista, Tomo 1, 95r). His career will be discussed below, Ch.3.

150. See above, n.139.

151. Strozzi Letters, p.444.

152. On this subject see ibid., letters 49 and 51, particularly pp.443-50, 457-60.

153. This was pre-eminently true of illegitimate daughters, whose dowries were generally small: thus Violante, an illegitimate daughter of Lorenzo di Matteo, was married to 'Francesco di Stefano di Cino calzaiuolo' with a dowry of 600 florins (Ibid., pp.451-2).

154. The details of this marriage are collected in a document in Carnesecchi's hand: Acquisti e Doni, 292 (not fol.).

155. This date was carefully noted, probably for dowry purposes: ibid.

156. Cat. 76, ff.26v-29v.

157. The reason or reasons for this declaration of dowries in catasto portate is far from clear. These Monte dowries were definitely not taxable, which may have been a factor contributing to their popularity.

158. Cat. 1011, f.30r. These ten girls were all under 13 (the eldest, Violante, was illegitimate: see n.153 above). From the evidence of the cases that they have analysed, Kirshner and Molho arrive at a figure of 5 years, 1 month, as the average age at which deposits for daughters were made: the risk of children dying was clearly greatest in their first years of life.

159. Cat. 1011, ff.259r-260r. They owned a house in the parish of San Miniato fra le torri, and were assessed at 2 florins, 2 lire in this catasto. The children, both Francesco's, were 6 and 5.

160. Cat. 1014, f.65v.

161. See below, Ch.5, section ii.

162. See above, n.111.

163. Strozzi Letters, pp.121-22.

164. For a discussion of Filippo's second marriage and its political significance, see below, Ch.5, section i.



CHAPTER 3:

i The political life of the lineage: the scrutiny of 1433.

One of the most important areas of disagreement between historians of Florentine society in recent years has been the extent to which the family, in the wide sense of the lineage or consorteria, still constituted a politically unified body of men. The most outspoken protagonist in this debate to date has been Richard Goldthwaite, whose views on the subject were advanced in a work which included a study of some members of the Strozzi lineage, and which were partly illustrated by reference to individual Strozzi;<sup>1</sup> for that reason his arguments will be briefly discussed here. He has suggested that the members of a lineage like the Strozzi could not be said to have enjoyed a common political life, that a family relationship with men powerful in politics secured to the less prominent members of the lineage neither security in times of prosperity, nor disaster when the reverse occurred. The political fate of every Florentine in the political class was therefore autonomous: 'political condemnations of a man did not necessarily include even his brother'.<sup>2</sup> It seems correct to assume that the logical corollary of this view is that relationships less close than that of brothers were even less likely politically to implicate family members one with another. This view was evolved apparently in opposition to the belief that Florentine politics could be discussed with confidence in terms of the attitudes and allegiances of its most important families.<sup>3</sup> There has of course been further investigation of this subject, modifying to an extent both these views,<sup>4</sup> but there has been to date no detailed study of the political activities of a Florentine lineage which was in opposition to the ruling regime, and some of whose members were exiled. This chapter is intended as such a study, examining the political life of the Strozzi during a period which was likely to test severely any previous solidarity.

In May 1434 Giovanni di Marco Strozzi, at that time holding the office of vicario at Anghiari, wrote to Matteo di Simone Strozzi

about the (as he believed) impending return of Cosimo de' Medici to Florence, and of an approach he had heard rumoured to Neri di Gino Capponi by Cosimo's supporters, urging Neri's support in a coup d'etat to put the Medicean faction in power.<sup>5</sup> Giovanni stated his view, which was to be proved correct, that if this particular attempt did not succeed, another later one would. He therefore urged his kinsman to unceasing vigilance, because he believed that in this event nearly all their family would suffer, although they were guilty of nothing: 'Io ne scrissi a tte e a Smeraldo, perchè saresti de' primi perchossi, e quasi tutta la famigla'.<sup>6</sup> The two Strozzi he singled out, Matteo himself, and Smeraldo di Smeraldo, were in fact exiled by the balia of 1434; the sentence against Smeraldo was passed on the sixth November, he being the first member of the lineage exiled, and that against Matteo followed two days later.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting that Giovanni did not anticipate the severe penalty which was to befall Messer Palla di Nofri, who was exiled together with his eldest son Nofri.<sup>8</sup> The apparent belief that Palla was not so closely identified with a particular faction as were his younger kinsmen is reflected in the fact that although he was soon replaced, he was an original member of the balia of 1434, which at least in legal theory was responsible for the sentences. Also members were his kinsmen Messer Palla Novello and Messer Marcello di Strozza, who were the most important figures amongst the handful of Strozzi revealed at this time as Mediceans.<sup>9</sup> This is not to suggest that Palla di Nofri was even briefly considered a Medicean, but rather that his reputation as a statesman was considered by many to be above political factionalism.<sup>10</sup> Giovanni's statement about the results of Cosimo's return, in so far as it applied to individuals, was thus a remarkably prescient one; what then about his statement that 'quasi tutta la famigla' would also be affected? To examine this question it will first be necessary to determine what the lineage's members, in general, had to lose in political terms: whether the majority of them participated in politics only indirectly, hanging on to the coat-tails of a few powerful men, or whether participation in

politics through the holding of offices, or at least through being 'drawn' for them, was something which a large proportion of the lineage's male members could reasonably hope to experience. This question can be seen to have wider implications than the history of a single family, as it may suggest more precisely the general level of participation within the political class as a whole, a class which must usually, for convenience, be described in terms of the families which are broadly known to have composed it.

Fortunately for the purposes of this study the most detailed records about the potential members of the Florentine office-holding class which we possess are those of the scrutiny of 1433. The scrutiny records for that year for the quarter of S. Maria Novella, in which the Strozzi lived,<sup>11</sup> are complete; these are doubly valuable in giving not only the names of those who gained majorities, but also of those who were nominated but who failed to gain the necessary two-thirds of the votes cast.<sup>12</sup> The list also gives the number of votes gained by each nominee. Because no records of the scrutinies between those of 1411 and 1433 have survived, the detailed picture of Strozzi political success in 1433 is an isolated one. In addition, the records of scrutinies after 1433 are incomplete. There are, for example, no records of the scrutinies of 1434 or 1440 for S. Maria Novella, an ironical twist as that of 1434 was made specifically to replace the scrutiny of the preceding year, which was ordered to be burnt.<sup>13</sup> Professor Rubinstein has been able to judge, from the one surviving set of records from these first two Medicean scrutinies, that those successful in them had in the main also been successful in the scrutiny of 1433.<sup>14</sup> However, a lineage like the Strozzi was in a special position, marked out by the sentences of exile as containing enemies of the Medicean regime, and might be expected to have suffered from active discrimination. In order to investigate this point, I have been able to make good the absence of scrutiny records for these years by working back from the lists of those who were drawn for the tre maggiori during each period.<sup>15</sup> However the results obtained in

this way are not necessarily completely accurate, as it is possible that there were individuals successful in a scrutiny who were never drawn for office while that scrutiny was current. The careful system of Medicean electoral controls<sup>16</sup> in practice provided another 'filter of candidates for office in addition to the quinquennial scrutinies. Particularly in the case of a suspect lineage like the Strozzi, the names on the polizze in the electoral purses would have been very carefully considered before being drawn. The drawing of the members of such a lineage as veduti for office may have been a 'half-way house', a concession to honour and status where actual office-holding was considered unsafe.<sup>17</sup>

The participation of the lineage's members in politics was affected by constraining factors which governed the political activities of individuals as members of families in Florence, and which could be due to the statutory law as well as to the activities of bodies such as scrutiny councils. The divieto laws on office-holding were designed to ensure that no one lineage could dominate any important office by providing several successive incumbents, or more than one member of any important body concurrently.<sup>18</sup> Apparently no such limitations were placed on the number of citizens from any one lineage who could be qualified for office at any one time. However as there is a rough similarity in the total number of men qualified in each of the four gonfaloni of S. Maria Novella in 1433, it seems that there were commonly accepted limits to the number of men likely to be qualified in each case.<sup>19</sup> Given the keen competition which must have existed for this limited number of qualifications, an average of 110 per gonfalone in 1433,<sup>20</sup> only a fairly small proportion of the men in a very large lineage like the Strozzi would be likely to be successful. For example, there were seventy three Strozzi nominated in Lion rosso in 1433, and only ninety five majorities in the whole gonfalone, of which twenty four were of Strozzi. Indeed, as the overall success rate of arti maggiori members nominated in this scrutiny was somewhat higher than that of the Strozzi,<sup>21</sup> it seems that membership of a large lineage was in some respects a political handicap. This

impression is reinforced by the fact that Strozzi nominees were markedly more successful in those gonfaloni - Unicorn and Lion bianco - where they were present only in small numbers, than in Lion rosso which they must have dominated numerically.<sup>22</sup> It is necessary to take into account this type of limitation of numbers when considering the proportion of the lineage's members who were able to participate actively in Florentine politics at its highest level. While the lineage's members benefitted in some ways from their traditional residence in a particular area of the city, it also restricted the number of them who could gain access to the city's most important offices.<sup>23</sup> That this system of electoral qualification may have bred frustration in those it excluded must be considered, as must the related fact that even those who were qualified in this large lineage rarely held office because of the divieto laws. One of these two factors may have motivated the few members of the lineage who supported the Medici; the rewards for doing so may, in such circumstances, have been considerable.

As already noted, the scrutiny lists for 1433 show not only those who were successful, but also all those who were nominated. The lists of nominations were drawn up on a gonfalone basis, and the responsibility for doing so fell on the gonfaloniere della compagnia in each. How it was decided who was to be included is not known, but it seems likely that some form of consultation preceded the nominations.<sup>24</sup> In the list of nominees for the quarter of S. Maria Novella the local importance of its major families is reflected in the number of qualifications that they gained, and it seems overwhelmingly likely that lineages such as the Strozzi were able to influence directly the composition of the list. In 1433 almost every male Strozzi was nominated in the scrutiny. Those who were omitted from the list of nominees suffered this fate for fairly obvious reasons: Barla di Stagio, for example, if not actually imprisoned for his debts in 1433, was nevertheless a notorious bankrupt; his son, however, was nominated. The total of Strozzi nominations in 1433 - 106 - in fact greatly exceeded the total number of adult males

in the lineage, the excess being made up by the nomination of children.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps fifty per cent of those nominated were under eighteen years of age; an even larger percentage than this would have been too young to hold any of the highest offices. The Strozzi lineage was thus able to secure the nomination of virtually all its adult members, and also that of a very large number of boys, some of them no more than infants.

In 1433, and in earlier scrutinies, the Strozzi gained qualifications in all three gonfaloni in which they lived; this triple representation was unusual, and a noteworthy feature of their political life.<sup>26</sup> While I have found no evidence to suggest that their residence in these three gonfaloni was a deliberate strategem to aid their electoral success, it was certainly beneficial in that respect.<sup>27</sup> There were seventy four Strozzi nominated in Lion rosso in 1433, of whom twenty four, or almost 33%, were successful; these accounted for 24%, or just under a quarter of all arti maggiori qualifications in that gonfalone. In Lion bianco there were twenty four Strozzi nominations and ten majorities, in Unicornò eight nominations and six majorities, a success rate of 42% and 75% respectively. The distribution of these qualifications throughout the lineage was extremely uneven. For example, the six qualifications in Unicornò were of two brothers, Strozza and Smeraldo di Smeraldo, their close cousin Messer Marcello di Strozza, and two of his young sons and one of his nephews, who were ten, seven and nine respectively. These six qualifications represented only two different households. The twenty four majorities in Lion rosso were distributed between eleven households, but their spread was in fact even less equitable than this suggests, as thirteen of them went to just four households: six to that of Palla di Nofri and his five sons (all but one of whom were below the minimum office-holding age for the priorate and colleges), three to Matteo di Simone and two of his infant sons, and four which were shared between the two households of Matteo's first cousins, Jacopo, Filippo, Niccolò and Riccardo di Lionardo (three majorities) and Francesco and Lorenzo di Piero (one majority). The exile of three

Strozzi in this gonfalone in the following year thus hit directly at the heart of the lineage's political power there.<sup>28</sup>

The other ten majorities in Lion rosso were in the main gained by the heads of very substantial households, or by the sons of such men, and in almost all cases these men had close relatives (brothers, uncles, first cousins) who also gained majorities, in this or in the other two gonfaloni. One such grouping is particularly worthy of note: that of the Medicean Messer Palla Novello, his eldest son Pazzino, and his nephews Palla and Carlo di Francesco.<sup>29</sup> The other six majorities went to Benedetto di Pieraccione (the humanist scribe), to Carlo di Marco (whose brother Benedetto and nephew Marco also gained majorities in Lion bianco), the patriarch Marco di Goro, Giovanni di Francesco di Gianozzo, and Salamone di Carlo. All of these men, with the exception of Salamone, were the heads of large households, and most had sons or grandsons who were nominated: Benedetto had five sons nominated, Giovanni four, and Marco one son and six grandsons. The exception to this pattern, Salamone di Carlo, who in 1427 lived almost alone with his wife and a niece, the daughter of his brother Piero,<sup>30</sup> was however the brother-in-law of Palla di Nofri (whose wife was Marietta di Carlo), the uncle of Messer Marcello, and brother of Piero di Carlo, all of whom also gained majorities. This shows the way in which the lineage's politically successful members were composed of groups of closely related men.<sup>31</sup> The pattern in the third gonfalone, of Lion bianco, was similar. The ten qualifications there included members of only four households: Benedetto di Marco and his infant son, Marco; Piero di Carlo and his son, Carlo; Francesco di Benedetto di Caroccio and his eldest son, Benedetto, and Francesco's first cousin one removed Caroccio d'Antonio, and his infant son Antonio.

Those who were nominated but who did not qualify had markedly different characteristics. They were generally the only member of their household who was nominated, and few of them were members of powerful branches or had successful close kinemen. The categories in which the

nominations were listed and voted on in the scrutiny council - veduti, beneficiati, and non beneficiati - must have influenced and encouraged such a result.<sup>32</sup>

As observed above, nearly fifty percent of all nominations were of minors. A significant number of these were also qualified: eight of the twenty four Strozzi who received majorities in Lion rosso were under the age of twenty five. These boys and young men were unable to hold any office in Florence: that is, they were declared divieto if their names were drawn from the bags, but their polizze were then replaced.<sup>33</sup> The presence of these polizze appears to have added a totally unnecessary complication to the already involved process of drawing the name of an eligible candidate for each office, and it seems appropriate to look for a reason for its existence. During the fifteenth century the political category of the veduti came to have an increasing importance, not only because it showed that the person veduto had been successful in the previous scrutiny, but because it came to carry both prestige and material advantage.<sup>34</sup> The category of veduti was a privileged one in electoral matters: an examination of the lists of veduti and non-veduti for this scrutiny shows that most of the veduti were again successful, while comparatively few of the non-veduti (even if they were beneficiati) managed to break through.<sup>35</sup> This appears to have been a result of the innate conservatism of the members of the scrutiny council, and the procedural rule that the veduti were voted on first. For a minor to become veduto for the tre maggiori while he was too young to hold the office was an advantage for the future. In 1486 Filippo di Matteo's eldest son Alfonso, who was nearly twenty, was veduto for the priorate. Filippo described this event in his ricordanze: 'a dì XXVIII di dicienbre fu tratta de' nostri magnifici Signori Alfonso mio figliuolo. Che io lo feci vedere perchè per l'avenire avessi a andare per veduto'.<sup>36</sup> The second advantage was that such boys were able to accumulate polizze, making the likelihood of their being drawn for office as prior once they had passed their thirtieth



birthday considerably higher than it was for someone newly qualified at that age. But in practice almost none of the under-age Strozzi qualified in 1433 were to enjoy such advantages.

Those minors who were qualified did not appear here and there in the lineage in a random fashion. They were always the sons of its most powerful men, and voting for such boys in the scrutiny council must have been a practical method of expressing support for their father. So we find that Palla di Nofri, who with two hundred and forty-nine 'yes' votes and eleven 'no' votes received the largest majority in Lion rosso in 1433, had four sons under twenty five who all gained very large majorities, in Nofri's case only ten less than his father.<sup>37</sup> An even more extreme example is that of Matteo di Simone, who had four very young sons at this point: Simone, Piero, Filippo, and Lorenzo,<sup>38</sup> of whom two were qualified by the council, including Lorenzo, who was only a year old. Two of Matteo's first cousins, Riccardo di Lionardo and Francesco di Piero, also minors, were qualified as well; both had fathers who had been prominent in Florentine politics but who had recently died.

In 1433 eighteen Strozzi households had male members who gained majorities in the scrutiny (all of these were in S. Maria Novella); this contrasts with their total number of thirty nine households in this quarter, although a few of these thirty nine were without male members.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless it remains true that only perhaps half of the lineage's households had a member who could realistically expect at some time in the next five years to hold office in one of Florence's highest magistracies. Only one of the previous fifteenth century scrutinies, that of 1411,<sup>40</sup> has extant records which can be used for comparison with those of 1433, but despite the long gap between them it is clear from these records that there was a large degree of continuity in the identity of the lineage's politically successful members. Of the twenty four Strozzi majorities in the gonfalone of Lion rosso in 1433, two were men who had also gained majorities in 1411 (Palla di Nofri and Marco di Goro), thirteen were men or boys whose fathers had done so, and two were boys whose

grandfathers had gained majorities in that year. Of the other seven majorities in 1433, three were men who had been nominated but unsuccessful in 1411, and one whose father had been unsuccessfully nominated; there is no sign of the other three, Messer Palla Novello and two of his sons, on the 1411 lists. Political success tended to be handed on from father to son, but this was not invariably the case.

There were of course also separate scrutinies for all the other offices both internal and external, in Florence itself and in the contado. It has been suggested that these scrutinies may have been less exclusive than those for the priorate and its colleges, and thus have affected more of the population than the tre maggiori scrutiny did.<sup>41</sup> I have tested this theory in the case of the Strozzi by comparing the names of all those who held offices, internal and external, in the years 1418-1434,<sup>42</sup> with the names of those who were successful in the tre maggiori scrutiny in 1433. Twenty five different Strozzi held 'internal' offices, ranging in importance from the Sea Consuls and the Otto to the Noctis officiales. This is a somewhat smaller group than those successful in the 1433 scrutiny. In the same period only eighteen Strozzi held external offices. With only one exception all of the men who held either an internal or an external office in the period under review also qualified in the 1433 scrutiny, except of course for those who had died before that date, and all such men had brothers or sons who did. The exception is Bartolommeo di Loderigo, who was among the beneficiati but who did not gain a majority. He held one external office and three internal ones during this sixteen year period. But in general the two groups are indistinguishable.<sup>43</sup> There are, however, some discernable differences in the pattern of those who held internal and external offices. As already noted, there were more holders of the internal, and those who gained them did so far more frequently.<sup>44</sup> Those who held external offices were among the less prominent and poorer of the politically qualified: for example, Biagio di Loderigo held external offices four times in this fifteen years, Giovanni di Francesco di

Giannozzo three times, and Lionardo d'Antonio and Benedetto di Pieraccione also three times.<sup>45</sup> The reason for this is apparent: such posts, involving residence in distant parts of the contado, generally for a period of twelve months, were considered arduous and unhealthy, but were quite well paid. Wealthy and prominent men may have been drawn for them, but chosen not to go. Hence the names of such men appear either not at all (Palla di Nofri, Matteo di Simone, Francesco di Benedetto), or only once (Messer Marcello, Palla Novello) on the lists for these offices.

Are there, then, certain characteristics which distinguished the politically unsuccessful members of the lineage? The existence of one such characteristic has already been suggested, that Strozzi who were not even nominated had generally suffered obvious public disgrace of some kind. Such disgrace, though at one remove, may have affected their close kinsmen who, though nominated, gained very few votes. Such a man was Ruggiero di Roberto Strozzi, whose elder brother Bindo had been imprisoned for debt in 1427;<sup>46</sup> he received only thirty four votes in 1433. Other men lived permanently in the contado, on their country properties, lives the obscurity of which is lessened in retrospect only slightly by the information in their catasto reports: men like Giovanni di Messer Niccolò, who gained thirty four votes, or Niccolò di Pagnozzo, who gained fifty eight.<sup>48</sup> The reasons for political failure are not so clear in other cases, like that of the brothers Niccolò, Giovanni, Tommaso and Bengni di Jacopo, who owned between them two substantial houses in the parish of San Miniato fra le torri in Lion bianco,<sup>49</sup> and who all gained only between sixty and eighty votes in the scrutiny council.

An attempt to find common characteristics amongst the successful is more satisfactory. While some correlation between greater than average wealth and political success might be expected, the degree to which it actually existed is almost startling. This is shown by a comparison of the 1427 wealth ranking of Strozzi households with the

scrutiny lists of 1433. Of the twenty top-ranking households in 1427, fifteen obtained one majority or more in 1433, four obtained nominations but not majorities, and one was a one-woman household and hence not affected. Only two of the other twenty three Strozzi households received majorities, that of Giovanni di Francesco di Giannozzo, who was twenty third in the wealth rating, and that of Piero di Carlo, who was thirty fourth. But the correlation between wealth and political success was more marked even than this suggests. To a very large extent the men most successful politically, judged by the number of votes they received in the scrutiny council, were also the wealthiest: Messer Palla di Nofri was the lineage's wealthiest man, and gained the highest number of votes in Lion rosso, 249; Francesco di Benedetto, who gained 249 votes in Lion bianco, was its second wealthiest member. Fourth and sixth wealthiest were Matteo di Simone and Messer Palla Novello, who both gained 241 votes. The main exceptions to this pattern were Strozza and Smeraldo di Smeraldo, who were both very prominent and successful politically (with 246 and 239 votes in 1433) but only of very moderate wealth.<sup>50</sup> Conversely, Bernardo and Giovanni di Giovanni were together the fifth wealthiest household in 1427,<sup>51</sup> but neither gained a majority six years later, although they and three of Giovanni's sons were nominated: they had both until the recent past spent long periods resident outside Florence, and this probably helps explain their lack of success.<sup>52</sup>

It is difficult to say precisely why such a relationship existed in almost all cases between wealth and political success. It seems unreasonable to assume that the Strozzi possessed talents of leadership, administration, and oratory in proportion to their wealth. The wealthy were clearly able to create more effective systems of political patronage, but this would have operated more at the local level of nomination than in a scrutiny council elected and chosen from the whole city, where such a system could only have a limited influence. It must have been the case that those men who received over ninety percent affirmative votes from

the council were well known to all those likely to vote on their political credentials, and respected for a variety of reasons. Presumably the possession of considerable wealth, respected in itself by fifteenth century Florentines, also made possible the cultivation of such respect in other areas.<sup>53</sup>

One influencing factor on political success about the operation of which we can be certain is that of close kinsmen and their political success. The success rates of Strozzi nominated in the scrutiny of 1433 are set out according to their electoral status in Table 1. Anyone who had previously been successful in a scrutiny was, barring such a calamity as that suffered by the Strozzi in 1434, apparently very likely to repeat the performance. That the largest number of those qualified came from this category is predictable, given the conservative, oligarchical character of Florentine government, while the purpose of the scrutiny as an electoral revision was apparent in the fact that not quite all of the veduti were requalified.<sup>54</sup> A man in the beneficiati category had some chance of being successful: of the fifty six nominated Strozzi in this category in 1433, ten gained majorities. In contrast, none of the fifteen men nominated who were neither veduti nor beneficiati was qualified. Although we do not, unfortunately, know how many Strozzi were qualified in the preceding scrutiny, it is known that in 1411 seventy four Strozzi were nominated, and that only fifteen of these were successful;<sup>55</sup> this was only eight percent of all nominees, contrasted with the thirty two percent successful in 1433. This suggests that the Strozzi must have steadily improved their position at the intervening scrutines of 1417, 1421, 1426, and 1427/8. Given that the forty majorities gained in 1433 was almost certainly an improved total over the previous scrutiny, all this increase was made up of the sons, brothers and nephews of men who had already qualified, representation within the lineage not thereby becoming significantly wider.

What conclusion can therefore be reached about this 'disfranchised' part of the lineage's members: not the almost seventy percent

who failed to qualify, as many of these were the young relatives of powerful men, who could reasonably expect to qualify in the future, but those who came in the last, non-beneficiati category of nominees, and adult men who were beneficiati but who only gained a handful of votes. This group amounts to almost thirty per cent of those nominated,<sup>56</sup> although if only adult men were considered, those thus 'disenfranchised' would be a much higher percentage.<sup>57</sup> These men could not reasonably expect ever to attain high office, unless there was some dramatic change in their lives; their sons and brothers were also unlikely to participate in high office. Nor did they enjoy the solace of remunerative minor offices, either internal or external. Can we assume that they were in some way represented in politics by their more successful kinsmen, that the prestige and advantages of high office were to some extent shared by them? There is some evidence that this was the case: when Antonio di Benedetto Strozzi became prior in October 1450, Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi referred to the event in a fashion which showed she thought it of practical advantage to her and her son, Filippo. Antonio's brother Francesco had just died, and she associated the two events in terms of their effect on the lineage: 'la morte di Francesco senza dubbio è danno a tutta la casa, iddio gli perdoni; e la tratta d'Antonio de' Signori è stata molto utile'. Antonio must have transacted business for these distant kinsmen while in office, because at the end of his two month tenure Filippo's brother-in-law Marco Parenti told Filippo that if anything remained undone 'per le mani d'Antonio' that a Parenti kinsman of his, who was an incoming prior, would complete it.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately, as in this case, it is usually the correspondence of the richer and more powerful of the lineage's members which has survived, even when like Filippo they were exiles. Without other evidence it must be concluded that a large number of the lineage's members - men who were poor, with only a small number of supporters in the scrutiny council, often living for extended periods on their country properties, or in rented houses in Florence - were not, except by association, members of the city's 'ruling

class' at all. It should be remembered also that the year of this scrutiny, 1433, saw the Strozzi at the height of their fifteenth century success, at the end of a twenty-five year period in which their number of politically eligible members had increased by over one hundred per cent, from fifteen to forty. Strozzi who did not gain office in 1433 would have been even less likely to do so in other years.

ii The political life of the lineage: after 1434

Scrutiny lists for S.Maria Novella survive only from the years 1411, 1433, 1444 and 1453/4. However, by reconstructing the remaining scrutinies as far as possible from the Tratte records, a fairly clear picture emerges of the political penalty suffered by the Strozzi for their anti-Medicean stance (see Table 2).<sup>59</sup> The seven majorities thus confirmed in 1434 are in sharp contrast to the forty of the previous year. Only four of these seven men had also qualified in 1433; the three new qualifications were of sons or brothers of the other four, a striking concentration of political success in a tiny part of the lineage. But as all seven had been either veduti or beneficiati the previous year, it seems that where the Strozzi were concerned, there was no serious attempt to exclude Medici supporters from the 1433 scrutiny. The greatly reduced number of Strozzi majorities in 1434 probably did not, however, constitute the lowest ebb of their political fortunes: only one name, that of Messer Marcello, was drawn from the bags while the 1440 and 1444 scrutinies were current. In 1448 there was a slight revival, with five majorities, but this figure sank again to two or three in 1453-4.<sup>60</sup> By the time of the 1465 scrutiny, the regime appears to have relented to some extent towards the Strozzi, who gained at least thirteen majorities, anticipating the return of some of their exiles in 1466.

It might perhaps have been expected that the

number of Strozzi qualifications would have continued to increase in the last two Medicean scrutinies, those of 1472 and 1484, particularly as Piero Guicciardini, in his analysis of the latter, suggested that the Medicean regime had by 1484 decided that it would be safe to let the Strozzi back in to the high office-holding class.<sup>61</sup> But an examination of those drawn for tre maggiori offices for these two scrutinies show only eight Strozzi majorities in 1472, and only five in 1484. Even though one of these five majorities was that of Filippo Strozzi, this suggests that the Strozzi were in this last period of Medicean dominance no less excluded from office-holding than they had been in its first period; that very few Strozzi were veduti for office during the last decade of the Medici regime is indubitably the case.<sup>62</sup>

Unfortunately there is no way of knowing how many Strozzi were nominated in their gonfaloni during this period: this information would of course show whether, and the extent to which, such a lineage - with many members identified as opponents of the regime - was able to maintain its local support, or whether in their numerically and economically weakened state they could be largely excluded at gonfalone level. As yet no evidence has been uncovered to show whether or not the Medici regime attempted to regulate Florentine politics at gonfalone level in order to exclude their recognised opponents, in a manner similar to their control of the composition (and therefore the likely activity) of successive scrutiny councils.<sup>63</sup> This seems unlikely.

The fluctuating numbers of majorities gained by the Strozzi during this period were certainly not random. <sup>up to</sup> thirty five of those qualified in 1433 lost their qualifications in the scrutiny of the following year; this was a deliberate purging from the electoral bags of a lineage that the new regime felt to be amongst its most powerful opponents. This was in fact a much harsher penalty than were the three sentences of exile. One aspect of this process, which must have been a kind of side benefit to the regime, was the very large number of vacancies created - particularly in Lion roseo, where Strozzi representation was



reduced from twenty-three of the total ninety-five major guildsmen qualified, to only two known majorities - opened to their supporters.<sup>64</sup> Similarly, if less dramatically, later variations in the pattern of political success, or rather of political disfavour, suffered by the Strozzi, can be directly related to broader political trends in Florence. Thus the scrutiny of 1440, when Strozzi representation again appears to have fallen substantially, coincided with the recently renewed war against Milan, and Milan's condottiere, Niccolò Piccinino, with whom Rinaldo degli Albizzi was suspected of having been long in alliance, and with whom Palla di Nofri was probably to some extent implicated in the eyes of the regime.<sup>65</sup> This suggests that their almost total exclusion in this scrutiny was a deliberate policy towards a 'dangerous lineage', or more specifically towards the kinsmen of dangerous or potentially dangerous exiles, even though the men thus excluded were themselves trusted Mediceans: there is no evidence that Palla di Nofri or the other Strozzi exiles were plotting a return to Florence on the heels of a Milanese victory, but they were no doubt suspected of harbouring such plans. Again, an increased distrust of the Strozzi at this time was shown by the exile of Lorenzo, Palla di Nofri's eldest son, at the end of 1438, together with Palla's son-in-law Francesco Soderini.<sup>66</sup> While Lorenzo's exile was obviously political in nature, its precise occasion is unknown to me. Professor Rubinstein has suggested that this scrutiny was generally a severe one, with regard to any 'suspect' citizens in the political class, as the electoral bags were to be closed when the scrutiny was completed:<sup>67</sup> that is, elections were to be no longer 'a mano' (which enabled the accoppiatori to prevent anyone in the least suspect from reaching office in the principal Florentine magistracy) but by lot, the traditional method in which the scrutiny alone 'qualified' a citizen for such office.

The Strozzi were equally unsuccessful in the scrutiny of 1444, again gaining only one majority. This was also the year in which the original sentences of exile (both those imposed by the balia of 1434, and

subsequent sentences) were extended for a fresh ten year period.<sup>68</sup> The regime must have felt itself to be still in danger from them, and this apprehension was also expressed in the scrutiny. Both these scrutinies incorporated in their provisions rigorous reviews of earlier qualifications - the polizze from earlier qualifications of any men not requalified being removed from the bags - and hence were even harsher than they appeared, to lineages in the position of the Strozzi, whose number of qualified men had been drastically reduced. The scrutiny of 1448 showed a slightly more lenient attitude towards the Strozzi, who received <sup>at least</sup> five majorities. Again, such leniency was taken to be a general feature of this scrutiny, deliberately employed to counteract the discontent generated by the stringency of the two which preceded it.<sup>69</sup> Two of the Strozzi qualified in this scrutiny in fact became priors, Antonio di Benedetto in 1450 and his nephew Benedetto di Francesco in 1452.<sup>70</sup> They were the first Strozzi to hold this office since May 1434, a gap of sixteen years which was without precedent in the lineage's history. While the personality and political allegiance of the individuals concerned must have had some influence on their success, such concessions and retractions as we are here concerned with were primarily determined by other considerations. Thus the mid 1450s were another period of political disappointment for the Strozzi, and of punitive measures against the exiles. These measures included the extension of the period of exile by another ten years in 1453, and again in 1458; on the second occasion the ban was extended to include all the sons and grandsons of those previously exiled.<sup>71</sup> The extension of 1453 appears to have been unexpected,<sup>72</sup> but that of 1458 follows an increasingly familiar pattern of the regime taking such measures of self-defence in times of threat.

The political fortunes of the Strozzi during this thirty two year period from 1434 are to be readily understood in terms of their stigmatisation as enemies of the regime, who were excluded almost entirely from politically significant office and whose scanty representation was likely to be further reduced at times when the regime was threatened,

whether or not they were actively associated with that threat. After 1466 this coherent pattern changed. In that year the ban of exile was lifted from Filippo di Matteo Strozzi and his brother Lorenzo;<sup>78</sup> it was not, however, lifted from the three surviving sons of the recently dead Palla di Nofri. Filippo's return to Florence is not difficult to explain, and comparatively speaking a wealth of documentation exists for it; he was a cautious, conciliatory man with miraculous financial talents and a careful diplomacy, which won him the support of the Neapolitan court, and ultimately a position of usefulness to the Medici.<sup>74</sup> However, the reason for the continuing discrimination against Palla's sons is much more obscure.<sup>75</sup> At any rate, the Strozzi lost much of their regained ground in the scrutiny of 1471/2, gaining *fewer* majorities, while Filippo had to wait until 1484 to qualify. In his description of the scrutiny of 1484, Piero Guicciardini referred specifically to the Strozzi as an example of the men of 'buone case' who were 'sospecti allo stato'. In this scrutiny, he claimed, there were more men successful from the category of non beneficiati than usual; the Strozzi were a lineage to whose members this occurred.<sup>76</sup> Piero believed that this policy came, at least in part, directly from Lorenzo de' Medici, who recommended it because it seemed to him not dangerous while elections were 'a mano'; if a lineage was kept outside the reggimento for a thousand years, Piero reflected, for a thousand years it would continue an enemy to that regime.<sup>77</sup> If this analysis is correct, we would expect, in the absence of scrutiny lists, to find more Strozzi being veduto for office, if not actually holding it. Oddly, this is the reverse of what actually occurred, Strozzi being drawn for office only three times in the seven year period from 1484 to 1491.<sup>78</sup> If their names were not drawn for office any hypothetical success in the scrutiny could not have had the conciliatory effect on the Strozzi which Guicciardini suggests it was meant to have.

It is however no doubt significant that Filippo and his young son Alfonso did receive majorities in this scrutiny; they were, in line

with Piero Guicciardini's observation, in the very seldom successful category of non beneficiati, and their success was presumably the result of a decision by Lorenzo and the other leading figures of the regime. This scrutiny, and the majority which he gained in it, were of great importance to Filippo, and he wrote an unusually detailed account of them in his ricordanze.<sup>79</sup> 'Questo dì [29 November 1484] si cominciò a squittinare in palagio, e del prioraticho; e i [1] nostro ghonfalone fu il primo che andò a partito'. He noted that 'andai nella terza borsa per non essere auto veduto', and that his sons Alfonso and Lorenzo, and his nephews Carlo and Matteo, were therefore also in this category. (His brother Lorenzo had died five years earlier.) In this scrutiny a rule had been adopted that no nominated minors in the category of non beneficiati who were under twenty years of age were to have their names put to the vote. Filippo recounted how, because of his increasing political influence, he was able to circumvent this rule in the case of his sons and nephews. One of the accoppiatori, not named by Filippo, was condoling with him over this, in the company of Lorenzo de' Medici, and suggested that each of the accoppiatori and priore could nominate two such minors to be voted on: 'Lorenzo Carduci, uno delli accoppiatori, nominò Alfonso e Lorenzo, e Taddeo Gaddi, uno de' signori, nominò Charlo e Matteo'. He was told by a friend that he, Alfonso and Carlo - his elder son and elder nephew - had been successful. 'Fu mi detto da persone amicho, e che di ragione lo sapeva, che io e Alfonso e Charlo vinciamo. E chosì credo.'

That Guicciardini believed that the Strozzi had been much more successful in the scrutiny of 1484 than in those which preceded it suggests that Filippo was seen as in some respect the 'head' of the lineage, whose political success counted for more than that of an ordinary individual.<sup>80</sup> But considered purely in numerical terms, Strozzi office-holding was so rare in the last fifteen years of the Medici regime that it is clear no real reconciliation or absorption into the reggimento occurred, and for this reason the importance of Filippo's return from exile should not be exaggerated. The real end of political discrimination came only after

the demise of the Medicean regime, when the exile of the remaining Strozzi - grandsons of Palla di Nofri - was officially ended.<sup>81</sup>

An examination of which members of the Strozzi were successful politically during the Medici regime reveals three tight groups of closely related men: Messer Marcello di Strozza, a prominent civil lawyer, and two of his sons, Zacheria and Strozzo; Messer Palla Novello and two of his sons, Pazzino and Agnolo; and Francesco di Benedetto di Caroccio and his son Vanni. From these men and their very close kinmen - sons and brothers - came every Strozzi successful in a scrutiny until Filippo di Matteo broke this pattern in 1484. In one respect this is not surprising, and is in accord with all that is known about the cautious conservatism with which new members were recruited into the high office-holding class, and the even greater caution imposed on this conservatism by the Medicean system of electoral controls. It may, however, be seen as slightly surprising in this particular case because it suggests that as early as late 1434 the few Strozzi who were to be revealed as Mediceans during this long period had already been identified as such, and that no more were added to this original group. This means that in the case of the Strozzi at least, there was no gradual persuasion of these men, or acceptance of changed allegiance, by the Medicean inner circle during the years when they had effective control of high office-holding in the Florentine state.<sup>82</sup> In 1440 and 1444 Marcello was the only member of the lineage to qualify, but he was rejoined in 1448 by Francesco di Benedetto, with his brother Antonio and two of his sons. By 1453 Marcello, Francesco and Antonio had all died, and the two Strozzi majorities were those of Francesco's sons. The pattern continued in this fashion, with Agnolo di Messer Palla joining them in 1458 and 1465,<sup>83</sup> and the sons of Messer Marcello reappearing in 1465 also.

It is impossible to distinguish these 'Medicean' Strozzi from their kinmen in terms of their careers in politics before 1434. They were in fact amongst the lineage's most successful members; both Marcello and Palla Novello represented Florence as ambassadors elsewhere in Italy (as

did the exiled Palla di Nofri), while Palla Novello, again like his exiled cousin Palla di Nofri, was also a frequent and prominent speaker in the meetings of the pratiche.<sup>84</sup> Both they and Francesco di Benedetto were, in terms of numbers of votes, amongst the most successful Strozzi in the scrutiny of 1433, and Pazzino, Palla Novello's eldest son, was in fact a prior in 1434 (May and June).<sup>85</sup> Unfortunately little is clear about the relationship of these men with the Medici faction before 1434, apart from an assumption of some degree of intimacy, or at least association, between Marcello and Averardo, and between Palla Novello and Cosimo: a letter of Marcello to Averardo from this period requests a favour for an Albizzian kinsman,<sup>86</sup> while a remarkable letter of Palla Novello to Cosimo survives, written in January 1435.<sup>87</sup> Addressing him in the 'voi' form, he offered Cosimo rigorous advice and warnings about the present policies of the government: some proposed 'ghabelle e divieti' were 'troppo aspri', and 'contro a ogni utile e onore'. He repeated to Cosimo their ancestors' warning about the rule of signori, and their example for ridding the city of such men: 'e nostri antichi usavano dire che non era buono ricievere nella nostra città 'gnuno gran signore, e che da pocho tempo in qua noi abbiamo messo in Firenze due volte el propria. La qual cosa ci à gittata grande e buona ragione'. This was a criticism expressed in a private letter, but it may have led Cosimo to believe that such principles would prove embarrassing to the new regime were they expressed while holding high office. Palla Novello did not gain another majority after this, and his sons were also excluded until 1458.<sup>88</sup>

The crucial question relating to this matter, and the one most difficult to answer satisfactorily, is why the Strozzi lineage was divided in its political allegiance during and after the crisis of 1434. It might very plausibly be suggested that this occurrence does not need an explanation, that in a lineage this size there was no necessary coherence in such matters.<sup>89</sup> The problem with an answer such as this is that it leaves an even more difficult one behind it: in such a case, how is the

action of the Medici regime towards by far the largest part of the lineage to be explained, assuming as it does a high degree of political coherence? So, to return to the first, and I think the correct, question, I believe that an answer to the problem of diverging allegiances can be found in a complex of factors. The most important of these was the somewhat ambivalent position of the lineage's most politically prominent individuals before 1434, most notably Palla di Nofri. This was the result of a long preserved position of independence, detected by Dale Kent in her analysis of the factions of this period,<sup>90</sup> and was accompanied by reservations about the leadership of the Oligarchical regime, and its dominant Albizzian faction.<sup>91</sup>

A letter of Lionardo d'Antonio Strozzi to Matteo di Simone Strozzi of December 1430 suggests both his belief that due to recent deaths the Strozzi did not have large enough numbers of men in the inner reggimento, and that he did not approve of those who were directing the government of the city. The letter was written very shortly after the death of Bernardo di Tommaso Strozzi, who had held Florentine offices of some importance, and this event had obviously inspired Lionardo's reflections: 'Matteo mio, mi dolgho i danni ricieva la nostra casa da mancamenti ricievamo ongni giorno degli uomini ci manchono ...'<sup>92</sup> That he is referring to politics is made clear by his statement that this lack of men had led to 'la disghrazia della chasa nostra da 4 anni in qua', which was the period since the preceding scrutiny. As a result of this, in his opinion, the government of the city had fallen into less worthy hands: 'apreso mi dolgho della dischrazia della nostra chomunita di chativi uomini, che vi sono; per Dio provighasi a questi manchamenti. Per tutto siamo infamati'. Another letter to Matteo Strozzi, of April 1433, from Palla di Nofri, who was at this time in Ferrara as Florentine ambassador,<sup>93</sup> though moderate in tone was very critical of dissensions within the councils of government, and particularly that such dissension on major issues was being broadcast: 'è cosa nuova che nelle cose grande di commune, massimamente quanto si divulgano, e parlari sono varii'.

Despite his expressed confidence that counsels 'all'onore e bene della città' would eventually be allowed to prevail, he expresses a resigned, because involuntary, detachment from the policy-making process. 'Io sono stato qua [i.e. in Ferrara] più tempo come sai, et ancora sono, non per deliberare da me alcuna cosa, ma per ubidire alle cose costà [i.e. in Florence] deliberate'. He may indeed have felt that his long period out of Florence - from September 1432 to April 1433, carrying on peace negotiations with the Lucchese - as it had forced him to resign his membership of the Dieci di balia was at least in part a deliberate manoeuvre to remove his potentially moderate voice from important decisions.<sup>94</sup>

Comparatively late in events, perhaps in late 1433, the larger part of the lineage's members must have become irrevocably committed to the Albizzian faction; their enormous success in the 1433 scrutiny, which was begun late in September by the specifically anti-Medicean balia which had just exiled Cosimo, may in itself indicate that they were now decisively allied to the anti-Medicean faction. A new tone of alarm and urgency enters the Strozzi correspondence from early 1434. A letter of Strozza di Smeraldo written to Matteo in February 1434 (when Strozza was absent from Florence as capitano of Castrocaro)<sup>95</sup> conveys an atmosphere of anxious waiting and listening for news from Florence: 'Vi priego, quanto a me è possibile, avisarmi di qualche novella o vecchia o nuova ... maximamente tu, Matteo, che tochi il polso al liono'. A letter written in June by Giovanni di Marco di Goro Strozzi to Matteo associates the fate of the Strozzi, correctly, with that of the current regime.<sup>96</sup> He mentions the raising of a new tax, a novina, which he judged would be highly unpopular - 'la qual dubito non gietti un gran schandolo nella nostra città' - and that he believed such things would have a cumulative effect on those in power. 'Ogni piccholo schandolo sarrebbe l'ultima nostra distruzione'. Finally in this series came the letter, also written by Giovanni to Matteo, which was cited at the beginning of this chapter,<sup>97</sup> asking Matteo to confirm information Giovanni had heard in Castrocaro about a plot to organise the return of Cosimo, an



event which he believed would not be long delayed. 'Quasi tutta la famiglia' would suffer when this occurred: a phrase which suggests his awareness of the presence of some Mediceans in their ranks. So, he urged, 'per Dio, Matteo, abiatevi gli occhi'. Unfortunately I have not found any letters by the Mediceans Marcello or Palla Novello, giving their reaction to events in Florence at this time. However, judging by subsequent events, it can only be assumed that at approximately the same time that men like Giovanni di Marco, Strozza, and Matteo committed themselves to the Albizzian faction, that they did the same thing with the Medici.<sup>98</sup> The 'uncommitted' stance maintained for a comparatively long period by men like Palla di Nofri - who was, it would appear, a friend of Cosimo - may have meant that no really decisive split occurred in the lineage's political behaviour until the final crisis of September 1434.

It seems very likely, given the sentiments expressed in the letter by Lionardo d'Antonio, cited above,<sup>99</sup> that the Strozzi did feel unduly excluded from high office in the years immediately before 1433, and that they made great efforts, as a result, to obtain support in that scrutiny. They had only two priors in the 1427-1433 period (Piero di Filippo in 1427, and Smeraldo di Smeraldo in 1428);<sup>100</sup> they did not, in fact, provide a gonfaloniere della giustizia during the entire fifteenth century - as contrasted with three between 1385 and 1396 - and this seems anomalous, at any rate, for the period from 1400 to 1434. It is clear from a letter of Jacopo di Lionardo Strozzi to his cousin Matteo that the latter had expected to be drawn for the gonfalonierate in mid-1431;<sup>101</sup> this is somewhat mysterious as he was not old enough at thirty four to hold this office, and must have wished only for the honour of being veduto for it; in the event he was disappointed.

In seeking to understand the politically heterodox behaviour of a few of the Strozzi in the crisis of 1433-34, I believe that the very large size of the lineage, and its correspondingly large number of politically able and ambitious individuals may be a significant factor. While it is true that those lines of the lineage which were pro-Medicean in the

period after 1434 were also successful in politics in the last years of the Oligarchical regime, it was a success shared with a large number of kinemen, resulting in each holding office only rarely. An effective illustration of this pressure of candidates for office-holding in a lineage of this size is found in the comparison of the number of those drawn for office over a specific period, with those who actually held it. During the twelve month period September 1433-September 1434, Strozzi polizze were drawn from the bags on thirty seven different occasions, including names of twenty three different individuals.<sup>102</sup> But of all these drawings, only one Strozzi actually gained office, Pazzino di Messer Palla, who, as has already been mentioned, was prior in the two month period May-June 1434.<sup>103</sup> Of the other thirty six occasions, on nineteen of them the person drawn was divieto (on one of these occasions the divieto was specifically on age grounds), on the other seventeen occasions the man drawn was ineligible to hold office because of tax debts. Due to the frequency with which the catasto and other taxes had been levied in the preceding period this was probably an unusually large number.<sup>104</sup> So, over this period of a year, the numbers of the lineage holding a tre maggiori office could hardly have been smaller, and each successful additional member in each scrutiny meant an even smaller slice of the offices cake for each individual.

The adherence of these few Strozzi to the Medicean faction changed them after the triumph of their side from members of an over large lineage to, in practice, members of a very small one. Here the large size of the Strozzi lineage was a weakening factor: any split which politically disabled a large number of its members would be of advantage to those who had supported the other side. In practice the advantage in these terms was surprisingly negligible, at least as far as tre maggiori offices went; men like Palla Novello may have under estimated the degree to which they would remain suspect. This over supply of office holders within the lineage and the drastic solution offered by factionalism probably offered no more than a general encouragement to those Strozzi who did

in the event become Mediceans: their partisanship is probably to be explained by precise sets of circumstances not always visible to the historian, and determined by such things as friendships, marriage alliances, or the pursuit of a particular personal advantage. One such circumstance can be seen in the case of Messer Marcello, who with his brother recorded in their catasto report of 1427 a debt owed to Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici of 520 florins, 'che gli tengono per noi a chosto'.<sup>105</sup> Other, less direct advantages may have accrued to Marcello from his relationship with the Medici: by 1442 he had come into the possession of two podere, one at Campi and one at 'la badia di Monte Muro', formerly belonging to the exiled Palla di Nofri, which it seems likely that he was able to acquire at advantageous prices, given his quite modest financial situation at this time of his life.<sup>106</sup> Francesco di Benedetto, on the other hand, may well have been drawn into the circle of Medicean partisans by his father-in-law, Tedaldo Tedaldi.<sup>107</sup>

Of what importance was the fact that a small part of the lineage's members diverged in their political allegiance from the rest? The simple fact of that allegiance does not in itself appear to have created barriers between them and their kinsmen. The best documented example is that of the brothers Antonio and Francesco di Benedetto, and Francesco's numerous sons, among them Benedetto and Vanni. Although several letters in the Medici archives testify to the existence of friendships between these Strozzi and various Medici, Francesco and particularly Antonio maintained very close ties with their anti-Medicean kinsmen, especially the exiled Filippo and Lorenzo di Matteo who were only distantly connected to them by blood. Antonio gave advice to Alessandra, their mother, and in loco parentis played a leading role in finding husbands for their sisters; he also wrote regular letters of counsel to Filippo. In his will he made small bequests to these distant, politically 'estranged' kinsmen, token of an obviously warm affection. When Antonio became prior in 1450, it was seen by his kinsmen as a cause for rejoicing, showing that the political exclusion of the Strozzi was coming to an end, although as it happened

this was a rather premature hope.<sup>108</sup> Soldo do Bernardo Strozzi wrote of it that 'mi da e ha dato a ogni mia faccenda grandissima attitudine', and of Antonio that 'a questo volta m'è paruto e pare essere dello stato quanto uomo di Firenze'. Antonio himself wrote of it that 'il trovarmi in questo luogo è molto piaciuto e piace a tutti di casa, che per loro pur avere parte in questo reggimento. Ed in vero hanno ragione; poi s'è cominciato a rompere questo ghiaccio.' At this time the 'ice' to which Antonio refers had lasted for sixteen years of Medicean dominance, and he made it clear that his kinsmen had every desire to regain a place in the regime by that time, accepting the dominance of the Medici as a fact of political life, and Antonio's status 'dello stato' as to their advantage. Thus Marco Parenti also wrote to Filippo of Antonio's success: 'così mi pare se ne debba rallegrare tutta la casa vostra, che qualcuno cominci a riavere delle cose'. The strongly pragmatical nature of much of Florentine politics must be considered if a reasonable judgement is to be reached on this subject: politics was as much a matter of the defence of traditional prerogative as it was of ideological convictions, perhaps more; it appears that the ties of kinship, even in the mid-fifteenth century, could fairly easily survive the divergence of political allegiances, and indeed outlive them.

There is, however, evidence of one lasting rift within the lineage, which may have stemmed at least in part from the political crisis of 1434; this was between Palla di Nofri and Palla Novello. As their common Christian name suggests, they were close kinsmen, indeed in terms of the whole lineage, very close, being first cousins once removed. Although they were also close neighbours there is little evidence of association, except for the fact that in the catasto of 1427 Palla Novello listed as the largest single creditor of his bank (which had failed in the preceding year) the bank of Lorenzo, Palla di Nofri's eldest son. This suggests that there had at least been once a degree of business co-operation between them. In his will made in 1447 Palla di Nofri made one clear exception to the normal Florentine practice of leaving his estate

to his sons and male descendents, and then, in default of direct male heirs, to the next closest of his agnatic kinemen, and so on. 'Che nulla mai per alcun tempo o caso possa pervenire o a Messer Palla di Messer Palla degli Strozi mio congiuncto, o a suo figliuoli o alcun d'essi o descendenti.'<sup>109</sup> He said of this decision only that "questo fo mosso da giuste cagione, che per più honestà in questo acto taccio". There must have been a particular reason for this striking animosity, apart from a difference in political alliance, as Messer Palla Novello was singled out for it among the group of Strozzi who were Mediceans. As he was a member of the balìa which secured Palla di Nofri's exile,<sup>110</sup> it is tempting to speculate that he may have played a particular role in bringing that exile about.<sup>111</sup> But the breach even between these two men and their sons was by no means complete. When in 1437 Pazzino, eldest son of Palla Novello, died at an early age in the middle of a bright political career, Lorenzo di Messer Palla di Nofri wrote to Palla Novello expressing his sorrow at the death of this his almost exact contemporary:<sup>112</sup> 'e in quel punto sentì ... con grandissimo dolore il chaso della buona memoria di Pazzino vostro figliuolo, e a me fratello; il qual chaso tanto m'è doluto quanto più potesse ... per respecto di lui, il quale per sua virtù, umanità e benignità merita vivere lunghissimo tempo.'<sup>113</sup> Lorenzo here emphasizes his personal relationship with the dead man, who was only two years his senior, and who during most of their lives had been an immediate neighbour. Such relationships and ties as these may have proved often more enduring than the opposition of membership of competing political factions which were formed for the furtherance of ultimately transient political advantages.

This chapter has attempted to deal with two related but separate themes, one a preliminary examination of the political life of the members of a lineage which was politically among the most successful of those in the ruling oligarchy; the second has been to trace the political history of the lineage under the succeeding and generally hostile regime, when the

members of the Strozzi lineage adopted, or were forced into, the role of its opponents. The first section, as an analysis of a limited body of evidence, dating from a single year, is relatively self-contained, but what follows is closely related to the material to be presented below in Chapter 4 on the experience of the Strozzi in exile, and must ultimately be considered together with it. It can be seen that a very large lineage like the Strozzi could only be a politically unified group in a limited sense. Because of the lineage's considerable unity of residence, and the fact that Florentine political organisation was based at its primary level on locality or neighbourhood (the gonfalone), it was impossible for the system of electoral qualification to make eligible for the highest offices all or even a substantial majority of the lineage's adult male members. In addition, the qualifying of minors in the scrutiny of 1433 shows that there was no attempt made to ensure that the politically qualified were as representative as possible. The scrutiny system of political qualification was selective rather than inclusive; even powerful lineages who were 'represented' by means of this process by some of their members had many others (in the case of the Strozzi, some fifty percent) who were unlikely during their lives ever to gain a tre maggiori office, and who would almost certainly never hold the office of podesta in a town or city of the Florentine dominion either, or be a member of a minor magistracy.

A further comparison of those who gained majorities for the priorate and colleges in 1433 with those who were members of the councils - the popolo, comune, and Dugento<sup>114</sup> between 1430 and 1434 shows that precisely the same men sat on these who were qualified to sit as members of the Signoria and its colleges, although with the difference that they did the former far more frequently. There was clearly a concentration of political experience and expertise amongst a tightly drawn if not formally defined circle within the lineage, the actually successful as distinct from the potentially so. (It has already been shown that virtually all male adult Strozzi were nominated for the 1433 scrutiny.)

This is the major consideration that I have found to militate against the notion of the lineage as a politically unified body: in Florentine politics being a Strozzi was not in itself sufficient to secure success, nor was success experienced in a random fashion within the group of men defined by their membership of the lineage. Success was largely determined, it appears, by the wealth and success of a man's father, brothers, and uncles, and later, in addition, by his own wealth and abilities. These last, possessed to an unusual degree, no doubt at times overcame the absence of the former, but only a very small part of the politically successful can have been made up of such men. But even despite this very considerable reservation, it is still the case that half of the adult men in this lineage were either involved as participants in political life, or could, as the fairly young sons of successful fathers, expect to do so in the future.

When we come to consider the extent to which those who did participate directly in Florentine politics displayed unity or solidarity as a group of agnatic kinsmen, there is one important distinction to be made. What can be judged, primarily, is the way in which they were treated by the new Medicean regime, and the qualities of political solidarity or the reverse which were imputed to them. The result of this enquiry is quite clear: to a very large extent the Medici regime considered the Strozzi to be hostile and or dangerous, and excluded them from office. Only a handful of men were exempted from this. It is also true that the Strozzi had expected to be treated in this all-or-nothing manner by the incoming regime. There are no large statements of an ideological or even a practical kind made by any of the lineage's members exhorting political unity which could be used to put this matter beyond dispute. It is simply observable that the Strozzi suffered a common political fate, with few exceptions, under the Medici, and it is logically defensible that the reason for this was a unity of political allegiance.

'Factionalism' is a necessary concept for understanding the politics of the mid-fifteenth century in Florence, but although the div-

isions it created could be bitter and in some cases perhaps irreconcilable, its importance and particularly its permanence should not be exaggerated. It did not necessarily involve substantial ideological differences between men on opposing sides, and it is clear that even some among the large majority of the Strozzi who ultimately entered the Albizzi faction had severe doubts about the conduct of others within that faction. Once on the losing side, many of the Strozzi were prepared, after a time at least, to 'compromise' themselves with the Medici, and there is no reason, therefore, why they should have been permanently estranged from those of their kinemen who had initially supported the Medicean side. Politics and political adherence were to these Strozzi a means to an end, not an end in themselves. The basic disagreement between the Albizzi and Medici factions was not one about which class or section of society should govern, but about which individuals, within a small class, should succeed in monopolising the highest offices. This chapter cannot claim to be an exhaustive study of the political life of even a single lineage, but nevertheless I have found little evidence of major or even minor dislocations of personal relationships because of politics. On the other hand, in this sphere of life as in others, there is much evidence which suggests the reverse: communication, co-operation, and the belief that the success of one man could help his kinemen, while the failure of another could spell disaster for many of them.



TABLE 1: STROZZI SUCCESSFUL IN 1433: BY ELECTORAL CATEGORIES

	VEDUTI		BENEFICIATI		NON-BENEFICIATI	
	Nominated	Successful	Nominated	Successful	Nominated	Successful
LION ROSSO	24	20	40	4	10	0
LION BIANCO	5	5	14	5	5	0
UNICORNO	6	5	2	1	0	0
TOTAL	35	30	56	10	15	0

TABLE 2: STROZZI SUCCESSFUL IN FIFTEENTH CENTURY SCRUTINIES

	1411	1433	1434	1440	1444	1448	1553	1465	1471/ 1472	1484
NOMINATED	74	106	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SUCCESSFUL	16	40	7	1	1	5	3	13	8	5

N.B. There are no scrutiny records available for the years 1434 and 1440, or for the years after 1453. Figures given for these years should be regarded as minimum numbers successful.

NOTES

1. R. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, pp.259-60. Goldthwaite indicates, pp.259-60n, where the most important expressions of the opposing view are to be found, although here I would understand 'lineage' by his term 'extended family'. (See Introduction, above.) To Goldthwaite's list must now be added F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage; see in particular Part 2, Ch.4, 'The Lineage and Politics'.
2. R. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, p.260, 260n. His examples of brothers taking opposite sides in politics include that of Alfonso and Filippo di Filippo Strozzi, who were in fact half-brothers. While it lies outside the chronological scope of this study, it is appropriate to note here that they were brothers only in name. They had different mothers, and Alfonso was 21 when Filippo was born. They were subject to very different influences: Filippo was only 3 when his father died, so in effect they were without a common parent.
3. This is broadly true of the fundamental work on Florentine politics in the fifteenth century, N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, passim.
4. Rubinstein's orientation on Florentine political history is largely shared by more recent works, such as Brucker, Civic World, e.g. in his description of the scrutiny of 1411, pp.254-56, and D. Kent, The Rise of the Medici. But the latter work, in particular, contains careful reservations on the question of divided allegiances, e.g. pp.194-96; though see also p.195, 'nor do consorterie appear to have been permanently or irreparably rent asunder by these differences'. On the political activities of three lineages that were to varying degrees supporters of the Medici, see F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, ch.4, 'The Lineage and Politics'.
5. C.S. III, 112, f.176. From Anghiari, 24 May, 1434. 'Certi ... andasono a Neri di Gino a profererli e danari e 'l ghonfaloniere a mano, e altre cose dove chonsenta alla volontà loro'.
6. Ibid. Giovanni clearly means the lineage when he uses the term famiqlia here. He, Matteo, and Smeraldo were all only distant cousins ~~each to~~ the others, belonging to different branches.
7. The sentences of exile are recorded in Otto di Guardia e Balia, 224, ff.39v, 49v.
8. Ibid., ff.46v, 48. Palla and his son Nofri were exiled on 9 Nov., the same day as Matteo. Palla was initially exiled for only 5 years, possibly an indication that there had been considerable opposition to his exile; this was increased to 10 years on the same day.
9. Tratte, 156, following f.181, contains lists of the balie of 1433 and 1434. Palla di Nofri had also been a member of that of 1433, together with Smeraldo, which may have been one reason why the latter was exiled in 1434.

10. That it was only with difficulty that the balia was persuaded to vote for Palla's exile is suggested by Lorenzo Strozzi in his biography, Le Vite degli Strozzi, p.38; both Lorenzo, and Vespasiano whom he follows extensively, believed that Palla's exile came as an unpleasant surprise to himself and his friends; Vespasiano, Le Vite, pp.156-57.

11. There are two copies of the scrutiny lists of 1433 available: MSS 555 contains the complete lists for all quarters, while Tratte 46 and 47 appear to be the original lists from which the MSS copy was made. The S. M. Novella lists are Tratte 46, ff.208r-234r. I have used the latter throughout, and as all information about the scrutiny lists comes from this source I will not repeat this reference. There are a few exceptions to the rule of Strozzi residence in the quarter of S. M. Novella: see above, Ch.1, Section iii. However, only in one case, that of Ser Andrea di Ciaperino Strozzi, did these households include males of office-holding age. Ser Andrea, however, had a career in politics only as a notary to various internal magistracies, holding three such posts between 1426 and 1429: Tratte 80, ff.129r, 146r, 149r. Scrutinies were periodic revisions, theoretically taking place once every 5 years, of those eligible to hold office. The scrutiny in question was for the so-called tre maggiori, the Signoria and its 'colleges', the 16 gonfalonieri delle compagnie and the 12 buonomini. There were scrutinies for less important offices in the Florentine state, but in this chapter unless it is specifically stated otherwise, 'scrutiny' refers to a scrutiny for the tre maggiori. Those who 'qualified', or who gained a 'majority', that is, of votes in the scrutiny council (a two-thirds majority was required) had their names entered on polizze or name tickets, which were then placed in the borse or electoral purses, from which names were periodically drawn to fill offices. D. Kent, The Florentine Reggimento, p.586, describes the ways in which the scrutiny of 1433 departed from normal Florentine constitutional practice, mainly in the composition of the scrutiny council.

12. In most cases only the number of 'yes' votes are given, but in cases where the nominee gained a number of votes very near to the dividing line of  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the votes cast (whether more or less) the totals of both 'yes' and 'no' votes are given. This is also the case with the few leading citizens of each gonfalone, whose names were at the head of each list. The number of members in the council clearly varied while the lists were being voted on, as the total number of votes is not constant.

13. N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, p.8.

14. Ibid, p.9. The records are for the quarter of S. Giovanni in 1440.

15. The tratte records generally state precisely when the borse from a particular scrutiny started to be used for drawings for office, so these calculations can be made fairly precisely. The volumes which cover this

particular four year period are Tratte 198, 199.

16. This process is described in detail by N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, pp.33-39; in fact it only ever applied to the priorate and gonfalonierate of justice, the dodici and sedici continued to be selected in the traditional manner.

17. N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, pp.36-37, describes the institution of this process of per far vedere as a policy of mollification towards the sort of families whose members were accustomed to being veduto ('seen') if not seduto ('seated') for the Signoria. Traditionally the category of veduti was a natural outcome of the process of 'drawing' an eligible candidate, as a large number of names were often drawn before this was accomplished. Electing 'a mano' removed almost entirely this element of chance, and any veduti were therefore specially selected ineligible. Hence it could have become an instrument for appeasing groups such as the few Medicean Strozzi households, loyal to the regime but considered unsuitable for high office because of their exiled kinsmen, a recognition of the popularly expected political solidarity of the lineage. Cf. Cavalcanti's judgement of the 1443 scrutiny as unpopular with the regime's supporters because 'ciascuno parente degli usciti' had received many votes. Cited by N. Rubinstein, in ibid, p.54.

18. Ibid., p.4, 4n.

19. Tratte 46, ff.213v, 22r, 234r. The variation in these numbers may reflect the size of the gonfalone; or only the number of highly eligible candidates resident in each.

20. There were 1757 major guilds members successful in 16 gonfaloni in 1433: D. Kent, 'Florentine Reggimento', p.587.

21. The Strozzi had a success rate of 31.5%, while 'almost 38%' of arti maggiori members nominated were successful. Ibid.

22. See below, Table 1.

23. One solution to this problem of over supply of men to offices within large lineages was that adopted by the Capponi, who in 1452 petitioned to be separated from the Vettori, a branch of the same lineage with by chance a different patronym: F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, pp.203-04.

Matteo Villani's complaint that the burden of belonging to an old and large lineage was that of gaining fewer offices than did gente nuova unencumbered with numerous kinsmen, is cited in ibid, p.203.

24. Ibid, pp.171-73.

25. There were 53 adult males (that is, over 18 years of age) in Strozzi households in S. M. Novella in 1427; to these may be added 3 in the household of Palla Novello, who although living in a rented house in S. Croce in 1427, had returned to S. M. Novella by 1433. Even so, this estimate of 56 adult males is a generous one, including as it does 18 year olds:

the lowest age for office holding in Florence was 25.

26. The Strozzi had long had houses in Lion bianco and Lion rosso; the history of their settlement in Unicorno is less clear, and was much less extensive, although the households living there in 1433 were very successful electorally. In the scrutiny of 1382 the Strozzi gained 5 majorities, 1 in Unicorno, 2 in Lion rosso, 2 in Lion bianco. In 1391 the figures were 2, 3 and 2 (7), D. Kent, 'Florentine Reggimento', pp.634-38; in 1411 they were 3, 10 and 3 (16), Tratte 46, ff.65r-83v.

27. F.W. Kent has observed that the Capponi, who with the Strozzi were the only lineage to gain substantial numbers of majorities in 3 gonfaloni in 1433, in fact 'spread' themselves in this way for tactical reasons: Household and Lineage, pp.188-91. The Strozzi, however, were a much larger lineage, and their presence in three gonfaloni seems a natural consequence of their great numbers and pattern of settlement.

28. These first cousins of Matteo di Simone all left Florence shortly after the Medici victory in 1434. The complete demolition of their politically dominant position, together with the exile of their first cousin Matteo (with whom they had very close business and personal ties) are examples of the sort of motives behind the voluntary exile of many Strozzi after 1434.

29. Palla and Carlo di Francesco do not, however, appear to have shared their uncle's Medicean allegiance.

30. Cat. 45, f.712v.

31. It also shows that most of the leading political figures within the lineage, both Mediceans and 'exiles', were closely connected with each other, either by intra-lineage marriage, like Marcello and Palla di Nofri, or by kinship, as were Smeraldo and Marcello, and Palla Novello and Palla di Nofri.

32. The veduti were listed and voted on first; the beneficiati - those who had a close male relative (father, son, brother, uncle, grandfather) who was veduto - were second. The non-beneficiati, without either of these advantages, were listed and voted on last. If an informal quota system did operate, the chances of the last two groups of qualifying clearly suffered.

33. This is a general outline of what occurred: in practice different rules applied at different times about the replacement of polizze and their accumulation.

34. See n.17 above.

35. See Table 1.

36. C.S. V, 41, f.161r. Filippo's phrase 'che io lo feci vedere' strongly suggests that he had arranged this matter.

37. The votes they gained were: Nofri, 239, Giovanfrancesco, 228, Carlo

- 224, (all of these were veduti), and Niccolo 195 (beneficiati; this distinction may reflect his apparently reprobate personality.)
38. The two eldest of these sons, Simone and Piero, died in infancy.
39. For these details of Strozzi households and their composition, see Ch.1, and relevant Tables.
40. The relevant scrutiny lists of 1411 are found in Tratte 46, ff.65r-83v.
41. E.g. N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, pp.57-58.
42. The relevant Tratte vols. are: 79-80 (internal offices) and 67 (external offices).
43. It is possible, indeed probable, that the number of Strozzi who held external and minor internal offices was restricted by the divieti, but it is difficult to see that this would particularly have affected the lineage's poorer and less prominent members, had they been successful in the relevant scrutinies.
44. For example, Marco di Goro held 16 internal offices in the 16 year period 1418-1434, Lionardo di Filippo held 11, and his brother Piero 8; Palla di Nofri held 7, Palla Novello 9, Strozza di Smeraldo and Salamone each held 8, and even young men like Matteo and Lorenzo di Messer Palla, who only became old enough to be eligible towards the end of the period, held 6 and 3 respectively.
45. Benedetto di Pieraccione was the only one amongst these men who was at all wealthy, with 4,855 florins worth of gross assets in 1427 (the 8th wealthiest Strozzi household in that year). Biagio was dead by 1427, but his widow was 35th (of 43 ranked households), Lionardo's was 19th, Giovanni di Francesco's 33rd.
46. Cat. 42, f.259r.
47. Cat. 43, f.674r.
48. Cat. 47, ff.345v-346v.
49. Cat. 46, ff.254v, 640r-641r; and Cat. 47, ff.335r-336r, 626r-627v.
50. They had a combined gross capital assessed at only 2903 florins in 1427: Cat. 75, f.197v.
51. See Ch.1 above, Table 4.
52. Bernardo stated that he had lived in Bologna, and been absent from Florence 'anni XXVII e più' in 1427, having, at over 60, just returned there; his brother had lived in Mantua. They had however never sold their country house in the parish of San Lorenzo at Campi; Cat. 42, f.268r-v, Cat. 76, 20r.
53. This is no more than a different approach to the observation made not infrequently by historians of fifteenth century Florence, that sufficient wealth enabled the cultivation of a career in politics; e.g. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, pp.46-47, 49.

54. The veduti who were not requalified in 1433 were: Pinaccio di Filippo, (who had gone to live in London), Bernardo di Giovanni di Marco, Soldo di Bernardo, Zacheria di Messer Marcello, and Carlo di Messer Palla Novello. The last two were the sons of prominent Mediceans, and their exclusion may indicate a slight anti-Medicean animus in the voting; this was not, however, pronounced.

55. G. Brucker, Civic World, p.255.

56. It was 29.7% of those nominated.

57. If we discount all those under 18, 59 adult Strozzi males were nominated in the scrutiny. Of these I judge that 29 had no real chance of being qualified; 15 of these were non beneficiati, the rest were beneficiati who received few votes. To this total may be added perhaps as many as three more men whose names are absent from the list of nominations, although the possibility of deaths makes this a very difficult number to be certain about. At any rate it is safe to say that close to 50% of the lineage's adult members had little or no hope of ever holding high office.

58. Strozzi Letters, p.90; C.S. III, 131, f.58r. Letter of 28 Oct. 1450.

59. The information summarised in Table 2 is to be found in: Tratte 199 (drawings for the Signori e Collegi, 1435-1443), Tratte 201 (Signori e Collegi, 1454-1463), Tratte 202 (Signori e Collegi, 1464-1474), Tratte 203 (Signori e Collegi, 1474-1495), Tratte 15, (scrutiny 'al priorato' of 1444, unfoliated), Tratte 49, ff.6v-32v (list of those whose names were in the borse when they were closed in 1449), Tratte 61 (scrutiny 'al priorato' of 1453-4). This last scrutiny list is duplicated in Tratte 1151, ff.408r-420r. Folio nos. refer to S. M. Novella and the Strozzi.

60. The uncertainty stems from the fact that one of the three Strozzi to gain majorities in this scrutiny, Antonio di Benedetto, died almost immediately after this event, on 1 Sept. 1454.

61. Piero Guicciardini's commentary on the 1481 scrutiny was published by N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, pp.318-25. On the Strozzi in particular, see p.319.

62. It must be remembered, however, that as Rubinstein has pointed out, during this period and particularly between 1477 and 1483, very few names were drawn from the borse in the elections for the priorate and gonfalonier. The number of men veduto rose again after the 1484 scrutiny (when there were more names from which the accoppiatori could make their selection), but this rise may not have continued for long; Rubinstein, Government of Florence, pp.189-90. In general there was clearly a desire to limit the growth of the class of veduti for these highest offices.

63. The 'Oligarchical' regime had begun the practice of having scrutinies



carried out by balie rather than by a statutory scrutiny council; having a much smaller number of official members its composition was more easily controlled. This practice was continued by the Medicean regime.

N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, pp.5-6, 67, 107-08, 148-9, 211.

64. This is not to suggest the large-scale introduction by the Medici of 'new men' into the regime as their supporters, but rather that other large, predominantly Medicean lineages in Lion rosso, like the Rucellai, and some of rather lower status like the Berardi, must have benefitted. On increased Rucellai success in the period after 1434, see F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage, p.180.

65. In late 1434 Niccolò Barbadori 'revealed' under torture that both Rinaldo and Palla had had a secret agreement with Milan and Piccinino that the latter would give aid to the Albizzi faction in the event of an attempt to restore the Medici: C.C. Bayley, War and Society in Renaissance Florence, pp.137-8. Bayley's conclusion is that the evidence for such a pact is insufficient.

66. Otto di Guardia e Balia, 224, ff.72v, 73v.

67. N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, p.59.

68. Balie 26, f.24v.

69. N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, p.60.

70. Priorista Mariani, Tomo 1, f.95r.

71. Documents relating to these harsh measures of 1458 were published by C. Guasti, Strozzi Letters, pp.147-50.

72. That this extension of the ban of exile was not expected is clear from a letter written at this time by Giovanfrancesco di Messer Palla Strozzi; Bib. Ricc. 4009 (unfoliated). This will be fully discussed below, Ch.4, part 2.

73. Balie 30, 21v, 22r. The ban was stated to be lifted from 'Filippo di Matteo di Simone degli Strozzi e fratelli': Filippo had only one surviving brother, Lorenzo.

74. This will be discussed in detail below, Ch.4, part 1.

75. There is no indication that any of Palla's surviving sons - Nofri, Giovanfrancesco, and Niccolò - or grandsons were involved in anti-Medicean activities before 1467.

76. N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, p.319.

77. Ibid.

78. The Strozzi drawn were: Filippo di Matteo (prior, 1485), Strozza di Messer Marcello (specchio for the dodici, March 1486), and Alfonso di Matteo (divieto as a minor for the priorate, 1486). Strozza was drawn twice more after his death, in 1491 and 1492; two sons of Vanni di Francesco, Francesco and Messer Antonio, were seduto priors in August 1492 and December 1493. These were the only Strozzi drawn for office in the last

ten years of the Medicean regime.

79. C.S. V, 41. The account of the 1484 scrutiny is ff.153v, 154v.

80. It is interesting to speculate that the Medici regime, under Lorenzo, reflected its own increasingly dynastic leadership in its dealings with other powerful Florentine lineages. Certainly it is true that Filippo came politically and in a variety of other ways to be the 'head' of the lineage in what seems to me a new and significant fashion (see below, Ch.5). He was drawn successfully for the priorate in the first drawing from the new scrutiny.

81. Deliberazione, 96, f.98v.

82. Clearly the regime felt itself better able to cope with lineages like the Strozzi, where the continuing loyalty of its members was doubted, from a position of opposition and exclusion, than from one of alliance gained by extending the rewards of office.

83. Agnolo di Messer Palla, for long hovering on the edges of the regime, appears to have won the complete confidence of its leadership at this time: he was prior in 1460 and 1466 (Priorista Mariani, Tomo 1, 95r), he was a member of the balia of 1466, and in the same year was one of 70 men in the quarter of S. Maria Novella granted the privilege of carrying arms: Balie, 30, ff.10v, 28v.

84. D. Kent, 'Florentine Reggimento', pp.604, 604n.

85. According to C. Gutkind, Cosimo de' Medici, Pater Patrie, 1389-1464, Oxford, 1938, p.93, in June 1434 Palla di Nofri was able to persuade Pazzino to vote against a proposal in the Signoria to summon a parlamento to overthrow the Oligarchical regime.

86. Cited by D. Kent, The Rise of the Medici, p.270.

87. MAP 11, f.150. Cortona, 11 Jan. 1435.

88. On Agnolo di Messer Palla's career, see above, n.83.

89. This is Goldthwaite's view, Private Wealth, pp.259-60.

90. The Rise of the Medici, pp.181-85. This analysis of the friendships and alliances of the Strozzi (here mainly meaning Matteo and Palla di Nofri) shows that their eventual adherence to the Albizzi faction, while perhaps on balance predictable, was by no means a cut-and-dried affair.

91. See ibid., pp.185, 326-27, et passim; see also below.

92. C.S. III, 131, f.20. Letter of 18 Dec. 1430. Although Lionardo's phrase 'i mancamenti ... degli uomini' is not perfectly clear, his meaning becomes so, given the following pious injunction: 'ci<sup>e</sup> di preghare a Iddio per l'anime loro'.

93. C.S. III, 112, f.112. 3 April 1433.

94. He had first been one of the Florentine ambassadors in Ferrara from March 1432 in this same series of peace negotiations with Lucca (although he had been ambassador there on an earlier occasion, for negotiations with

Milan, with Averardo de' Medici in 1428), becoming a member of the Dieci di Balìa after his return to Florence in May. Palla's remark that he only carried out the decisions of others is more significant when it is remembered that he had been opposed from its inception to the idea of war against Lucca; L. Belle, A Renaissance Patrician, pp.264, 284, 287. On his ambassadorship in 1428: C.S. III, 146, f.8r, v: letter of the Dieci di Balìa to Palla and to Averardo de' Medici, 12 April 1428.

95. C.S. III, 112, f.156. 11 Feb. 1434. This, and the letters cited above, in nn.90 and 91, and below in n.101, reveal an interlinked, intimate and constantly communicating circle of kinsmen. E.g., in this letter Strozza wrote: 'et dici a Benedetto di Piero ch'io mi ingegnai di vedere Caroccio (d'Antonio Strozzi).' It appears that Matteo was deliberately made the focal point of this network of communication.

96. C.S. III, 112, f.180. Anghiari, 16 June 1434.

97. C.S. III, 112, f.176.

98. There are, however, no Strozzi on Dale Kent's list of 'apparent Medici friends and partisans': The Rise of the Medici, Appendix 1, pp.352-54.

99. See n.9.

100. Priorista Mariani, .Tomo 1, 95r.

101. This letter is C.S. III, 114, f.2; Jacopo di Lionardo Strozzi to Matteo in Florence, Pisa, 17 August 1431. The letter, written in a very difficult hand, suggests that Matteo had received a promise from Lionardo (Jacopo's father and his uncle) and 'Messer', who is almost certainly Palla di Nofri, who was called this or more usually 'Messer P' by his kinsmen. 'Inteso ò quanto di' per Lionardo se seghuito sopra il fatto del gnonfalone dela giustizia, a che di' ti pare avere ricevuto oltraggio per la promessa di' avesti da Lionardo in mia presenza dove dite choncessesse che se lui veniva di dire a Messer essere contento che in te si promutasse ...' This suggests that both Lionardo and Palla had a good deal of influence in deciding such matters as the identity of veduto gonfaloniers of justice; it also suggests that at this time (1431) such things were arranged before the event.

102. Drawings for the tre maggiori during this period are found in Tratte 198, ff.137v-163v.

103. On Pazzino's priorate, see above, n.85.

104. It may have been that such ineligibility for office because of tax debts was a significant factor exacerbating the political frustration of lineages like the Strozzi. However most of those disqualified at this time by the specchio would have been divieto anyway. Herlihy and Klapisch, Les Toscans et leurs familles, p.46, have found that there were large numbers of men declared in speculo for tre maggiori offices in the

years 1432-1434: on 137 occasions in 1432, and 126 in 1434, compared with 37 in 1427 and 8 in 1435. But even given this, 17 was a very high total for a single family.

105. Cat. 41, ff.328v, 619r, v; the second is in the name of both him and his brother Rosso.

106. Cat. 619, f.780r, v. Details of the purchases of these two podere are unfortunately not given.

107. On the details of Francesco's life see Strozzi Letters, p.96. Guasti states here that one of Francesco's daughters was married to a Martelli, a strongly pro-Medicean lineage. On Tedaldo Tedaldi's relationship with the Medici, see D. Kent, The Rise of the Medici, pp.93-94.

108. Extracts from the series of letters dealing with this event, cited here, were published by C. Guasti, Strozzi Letters, pp.96-98.

109. Will of 1447 (2nd copy), 32.

110. Marcello was also a member: Tratte 156.

111. It seems reasonable to assume that the cause of this rift occurred before 1434, as they could have had little contact after that time.

112. Lorenzo was born in 1404, Pazzino in 1402.

113. C.S. III, 111, f.50. To Messer Palla Novello, Castiglione, 26 October 1437.

114. Tratte 156: drawings for the popolo and comune, 1430-1434.

CHAPTER 4: Part 1 - THE EXILES: FILIPPO STROZZI

1 Departure

Those members of the Strozzi lineage who were exiled from Florence by the Medicean regime were never more than a very small part of the lineage's members, but theirs was an experience which made a deep impression on the memory of Florentines and a lasting contribution to anti-Medicean sentiment. As late as 1508 a friend of Giovanni di Marco Strozzi, Giovanbattista Cisi, wrote to him of Alfonso di Filippo Strozzi's objections to his half-brother Filippo's projected marriage to a daughter of Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici, 'richordandosi quanto male anno ricevuto dalla chasa de' Medici loro padre [i.e., Filippo], Messer Palla, e degli altri'.<sup>1</sup> This chapter is devoted to a study of the Strozzi in exile, and falls into two parts: the life of Filippo di Matteo and his brothers until their return to Florence in the later 1460s, and that of Palla di Nofri and his sons and grandsons in their continuing exile.

Matteo di Simone, Filippo's father, was exiled on the ninth November, 1434. His exile was guaranteed by a fine of 2,000 florins for its non-observance, and five mallevadori or guarantors were named, for a sum of 400 florins each. These were two of Matteo's first cousins, Jacopo and Niccolò di Lionardo Strozzi, Niccolò Trinciavelli, Giovanni Portinari, and Giorgio di Francesco Canigiani.<sup>2</sup> He was exiled to Pesaro for five years, although this would doubtless have been extended had he outlived the original sentence. He was accompanied there by his wife, Alessandra di Filippo Macinghi, and their seven children, Simone, Andreuola, Filippo, Piero, Lorenzo, Caterina and Alessandra.<sup>3</sup> The sentence of exile included the provision that no wife or mother of an exile could move freely between her husband or son in exile, and Florence; if living in exile they could only visit Florence by licence of the Otto, and vice versa.<sup>4</sup> For most practical purposes Alessandra was thus also in exile, and prevented from taking her husband's place in the management of their affairs. That this was punitive in intention may be assumed, considering the efficiency of her later dealings in Florence on behalf of her

sons, even given the disadvantage of communication with them almost entirely by letter. There is no clear record of Alessandra's age, but as she and Matteo were married in 1422<sup>5</sup> she was almost certainly under thirty at the time both of their exile and of Matteo's death. The precise date of the latter event is also uncertain, but it was certainly before the birth of their last child, also called Matteo, on the first March, 1436, and probably after early July 1485, when a letter was sent to him by 'Antonius notarius vulterrannus'.<sup>6</sup> Three of their children also died in Pesaro, in the same outbreak of plague which killed Matteo, but by 1437 their bones and those of their father had been returned to Florence and immured in the Strozzi vault in S. Maria Novella.<sup>7</sup> Alessandra was left with the task of raising alone her five remaining children, as she later told Filippo. 'Penso come io rimasi giovane allevare cinque figliuoli, e di poca età come savate. E questo Matteo mi rimase in corpo, ed òmello allevato credendo che altro che la morte no'l partissi da me.'<sup>8</sup> Her feelings towards this youngest son, Matteo, were invested with a special emotional significance, as his posthumous birth was apparently a consolation for all the tribulations which had preceded it. She was in fact to be separated from him by both voluntary exile and premature death; 'mio dolce figliuolo', and 'mio diletto Matteo',<sup>9</sup> as he was termed by his mother and elder brother, lived his life entirely within the bounds of their exile. While his father's early death left no discernible mark on the young Filippo, the death of his younger brother in (by then) judicial exile in Naples in 1459 appears to be one of the events which crystallised the form of his personal aspirations.<sup>10</sup>

Filippo was born on the fourth July, 1428, and baptised the following morning. Matteo wrote in his ricordanze about naming his second son that 'posigli nome per Filippo di Nicholo Macinghi, padre dell' Alexandra'.<sup>11</sup> It was, in addition, the name of Matteo's grandfather.<sup>12</sup> At the time of his father's death Filippo was eight years old. Both of his father's parents were also dead, his grandfather Simone dying in Pisa in 1424 while serving as one of the consoli del mare, while his grandmother,

Andreuola Rondinelli, had died in the same epidemic in the preceding month.<sup>13</sup> In addition, Matteo had no surviving siblings and this was of particular significance as regards the fate of his sons.<sup>14</sup> In the will written six years before his death<sup>15</sup> he had carefully tried to provide for this situation, appointing six different tutori or guardians for his children: Alessandra (on the condition that 'se sta co' detti mia figliuoli'); his uncle Lionardo di Filippo, to be succeeded on his death (which had in fact occurred in 1433) by his eldest son Jacopo; Messer Palla di Nofri, likewise to be succeeded by his son Lorenzo; his uncle, Andrea di Veri Rondinelli; his brother-in-law Zanobi di Filippo Macinghi; and his friend Francesco di Francesco della Luna<sup>16</sup> who was also married to his aunt, Alessandra di Filippo Strozzi. But Matteo had not, of course, reckoned with what was, for the Strozzi and many of their connections, the political calamity of 1434. Messer Palla was also exiled, and Lorenzo followed him in 1438, while all the sons of Lionardo di Filippo left Florence soon after 1434<sup>17</sup> Andrea Rondinelli was also exiled in 1434.<sup>18</sup> This event and its repercussions were to shape the lives of Matteo's sons.

There is no concise record of the reasons why Filippo and his brothers left Florence once they were of an age reasonably to do so, but in general terms their departure was brought about by the fact that some of their closest Strozzi kinsmen, the cousins of Matteo who have already been mentioned, were by the early 1440s running a very successful business in Valencia and Barcelona, and a little later in Bruges.<sup>19</sup> They must have wished to assume responsibility for the business education of Matteo's sons, and to see that their careers were begun as well as possible. To this was added the conviction that Florence had become a hostile environment, at least for this branch of the Strozzi. At the end of March 1441, Jacopo di Lionardo (one of the tutori named in Matteo's will) told Alessandra that he believed her decision to send Filippo to them was the correct one: 'avete preso buon partito, chè di costà [i.e. in Florence] si sarebe perduto, di qua [i.e. in Valencia] è speranza si fara

buono'.<sup>20</sup> By the time that Jacopo wrote this, Filippo had already left Florence,<sup>21</sup> and was on his way to Spain, where his immediate future was already decided. Jacopo was moving to Bruges, and taking Lodovico, the young son of Francesco di Benedetto Strozzi, with him. Filippo was to have Lodovico's place in Valencia with Niccolò di Lionardo, who was in turn taking Jacopo's place there.<sup>22</sup> Jacopo wrote to Alessandra about Filippo that 'non fo di lui altro chonte [sic] che se fosse mio figliuolo'. Jacopo's other brother, Filippo, was in Barcelona, and seems to have decided fairly quickly to settle permanently there. By 1441 he had married, and by 1446 had become a citizen of Barcelona, and bought the patronage of a chapel in a Franciscan church there.<sup>23</sup> But in 1441 Jacopo was still hoping for a change in Florence, presumably of a political kind, and had postponed marriage for that reason: 'lo no' so' disposto tor dona per averla a tenere fuori di chasa mia. Starò a vedere el temporale; secho [n]do farà, farà io.'<sup>24</sup> When his hopes of speedy change were disappointed, perhaps by the first extension of the 1434 sentences of exile three or four years later (in 1443 or 1444), he remained in Bruges, and married in 1447.<sup>25</sup> However, at the time of his departure from Florence in 1441, the length of Filippo's absence cannot have been anticipated.

Soon after his own establishment with his cousins Filippo began to think of the necessity, as he believed, of his younger brothers joining him. In 1445, when he was sixteen, Filippo suggested to his mother that she write 'due versi' to Filippo and Jacopo di Lionardo, 'recommending' him to them: 'sebene so che non bisogna, ma più perchè si richordi più spesso di voi e degli altri mie fratelli, che voi vedete bene che non abbiamo altro in questo mondo se non l'aiuto di chostoro.'<sup>26</sup> While this does not seem to have been strictly true - it is clear, for example, that Matteo worked or rather was taught for two years in the bottega of his distant kinsman Antonio di Benedetto Strozzi before leaving Florence at Filippo's insistence, while Lorenzo considered joining the company of Lodovico di Francesco in London<sup>27</sup> - it nevertheless reveals a significant



psychological truth about the young Filippo, who saw these agnatic kinsmen as a strong support in a friendless world. In this same letter he considered the question of when the twelve year old Lorenzo should also leave Florence: 'avisatemi quando fate chontto che Lorenzo possa uecire di chostà, e dove vi chontenteresti più ch'egli stessi.'<sup>28</sup>

Alessandra does not seem to have objected strongly to the fact that both Filippo and Lorenzo left her household before their fourteenth birthday, while Filippo never revealed himself as unhappy. Of his life in the household of Filippo di Lionardo he wrote that 'Mona Pippa [Filippo's wife] m' à fatto e fa vezi e buona chompagnia, ch' è una donna molto da bene e piacevole.'<sup>29</sup> In the fifteenth century there was still nothing unusual about Florentine boys leaving the city to learn a business wherever an advantageous beginning was offered.<sup>30</sup> Alessandra did, however, object strongly to the departure of Matteo, and probably for this reason it was delayed until he was slightly older. 'Di tre, avendone due di fuori, mi pareva fussi a bastanza',<sup>31</sup> she exclaimed, but was nevertheless susceptible to arguments based on their practical advantage. She admitted eventually that she was convinced by Filippo's arguments, and that 'questo è l' utile e onore vostro'.<sup>32</sup>

The 'exile' of Filippo and his brothers was thus initially completely voluntary,<sup>33</sup> and for some years was to remain that way. But from very early (at least as early as 1446) Filippo came to share Jacopo's conviction that the environment in Florence was hostile to them, and that they were more likely to make their fortunes elsewhere. 'Pocho fondamento potreno fare chostì [i.e. in Florence], chè tutto l'aviamento nostro fo chontto sia fuori' he wrote to Alessandra in 1446,<sup>34</sup> adding that 'se in spazio di tempo le cose di chostà s'achonciasino e noi standoci bene', that he would think of returning; he added pessimistically that 'dubitomi mai a dì nostri non s'aconcieranno'. This makes it clear that it was the political climate in Florence, and possibly also the discriminatory treatment which he believed they would encounter as the sons of an exile, which decided Filippo on the course that shaped his future so

distinctively. He was also, clearly, much encouraged by the money making abilities displayed by his cousins - he calculated in 1446 that they could double their capital worth in the next three years<sup>35</sup> - and in the same letter assured his mother that she should 'datevi di tutto buona voglia, che ancora ho pensiero di rifare la nostra casa.'<sup>36</sup> This notion of 'rebuilding' the lineage after the political and economic disasters of the 1430s was a central one for Filippo, and it was a task for which his cousins provided an example. On Filippo di Lionardo's death in August 1449 he wrote to Matteo: 'assai danno ce ne seghuirà, imperochè lui era principio di fare le rag[i]oni, dove a noi n'avea a seghuire'.<sup>37</sup> Marco Parenti used similar terms to describe this event: that it was 'di gran danno non solamente da rilevare la chasa vostra, ma perchè faceva grande honore alla terra nostra'.<sup>38</sup>

The sons of Lionardo di Filippo helped Filippo in other ways, apart from their example and the inculcation of business expertise. In her letters to Filippo after his final, fateful move to Naples with Niccolò di Lionardo, Alessandra often stressed his ethical obligation to Niccolò, who had acted as a father to him. This move was accomplished in 1446, and Filippo was to spend the next seventeen years, almost all of his adult life in exile, working for or in close association with Niccolò there. While in Spain Filippo had held the position of secondo (that is, working under a maestro); either from the beginning or very soon after in Naples he had no superior other than Niccolò, in whose frequent absence he took sole charge.<sup>39</sup> In 1450 when Niccolò visited Florence, Alessandra emphasized in a letter to Filippo the 'grande amore veggo te porta', and that Niccolò had promised 'ti darà ta' luogo e aiuto che tu rileverai la casa tua, e me farà contenta'.<sup>40</sup> For such help as this Filippo owed him an exceptional debt, one which could only be repaid by his adoption of the highest standards of conduct. Filippo was, she declared, 'più obrighato a lui che a tuo padre o tua madre',<sup>41</sup> because he had given him the sort of help which men normally reserved for their own sons, aviam ento in his business, and maintenance as a member of his own household. As Filippo was not

Niccolò's son, his obligation was correspondingly greater. In late 1448, when he was twenty, Alessandra was still exhorting him 'fa d'esser ubidiente a Niccolò',<sup>42</sup> and 'siagli ubidiente più che se fussi padre'.<sup>43</sup> Her notion of all that her eldest son owed to Niccolo she summed up in the statement, 'sicchè, giusta tuo' possa, non essere ingrato inverso di chi t'ha fatto uomo'.<sup>44</sup> It is not unusual to find the closest kinship terms applied by and to members of the lineage who were close only in affection - as when Isabella, widow of Soldo di Bernardo, wrote to Filippo of her dead husband's great affection for him: 'ti portava quello amore che se tu gli fussi stato figliuolo'.<sup>45</sup> - but terms as strong as those employed by Alessandra are more unusual. It has been suggested, incorrectly, that Niccolo also bequeathed to Filippo half of his very substantial estate.<sup>46</sup> Given Florentine patterns of inheritance this would have been an eccentric arrangement, particularly as Filippo's prosperity was well established by the time that Niccolo wrote his will. His most important and valuable legacy to Filippo lay elsewhere, as there can be little doubt that his own activities gradually shifted to Rome, where he was probably fully resident as early as 1455, leaving Filippo on his own in Naples.<sup>47</sup> I have found no evidence that Niccolo's company continued to function after Filippo formed his own in 1463, and it appears overwhelmingly likely that that of Filippo and Lorenzo simply replaced it. This would partly explain how they so rapidly established a prosperous business there.

While his relationship with his cousins was a most important influence on Filippo's life, his achievements and the genesis of their later, grandiose expression can only be understood fully in terms of his cousins' influence combined with and modified by the 'Florentine' influence of Alessandra and his other parenti there. This was true in one essential respect: probably all three of Lionardo di Filippo's sons, and certainly Filippo and Niccolò, formed strong ties with their cities of residence, and had no wish to return permanently to Florence.<sup>48</sup> This was evident to Filippo when he described to Alessandra the chapel which Filippo di Lionardo had established in the church of S. Francesco in Barcelona.<sup>49</sup> This

had cost 'più di 2,000 fiorini', with 'una bella lapida' (obtained in Florence by Antonio di Benedetto Strozzi) which alone had cost 100 ducats.<sup>50</sup> 'Tutta piena del arme nostra', it was 'la più bella capella di questa terra'. The inference, to Filippo, was clear: 'sichè vedete chom' anno el chapo a tornare chostl'.

If not in person at least through her letters Alessandra was at Filippo's elbow and helping to mould his aspirations in a different manner. Perhaps the first, and ultimately the most important of these concerned their house in Florence. This, the house in which Matteo di Simone had lived with his wife and children until 1434, was in the Corso degli Strozzi (modern Piazza degli Strozzi) and was perhaps one quarter as wide as Filippo's later palazzo. It was bounded to the left (as today) by a narrow chiasso, separating it from the house of Palla di Nofri, and on the right was the house of one of Matteo's uncles, Piero di Filippo. This house had been bought by Matteo's father Simone in 1416 for 650 florins.<sup>51</sup> Simone had not had even this comparatively small amount of money to hand, and had borrowed 200 florins from his brother-in-law Francesco della Luna, and 100 from his kinsman Nofri di Palla Strozzi, loans made without interest for the period of one year.<sup>52</sup> Matteo had enlarged the house in 1429 by buying another much smaller property which adjoined it at the rear.<sup>53</sup> In the will he wrote shortly afterwards he particularly enjoined his sons to maintain this newly enlarged house, and to leave it, if they had no male heirs, amongst the other descendants of his grandfather, Filippo di Messer Lionardo.<sup>54</sup> In 1440 the house, together with all the other remaining property of Matteo, became legally Alessandra's, as the restitution of her large dowry of 1600 florins. It was so preserved from forfeiture to the commune for the debts Filippo and his brothers had inherited from their father.<sup>55</sup>

During the worst period of financial hardship which Alessandra experienced (from the late 1440s to the early 1450s) she rented this house to her close friend and advisor, Antonio di Benedetto Strozzi. Although she referred to it as 'la chaxa grande nuovo' the rent of thirty six flor-

ins per annum was very high and suggests generosity on Antonio's part.<sup>56</sup> He died before the agreed three years of his tenancy had expired, after which it was again occupied continuously by Alessandra; in 1459 she was joined there by her daughter Alessandra and son-in-law Giovanni Bonsi, to save them rent and to provide her with company.<sup>57</sup> She stated at this time that she did not wish to rent the house:<sup>58</sup> such a course of action, except perhaps with a kinsman like Antonio, was clearly distasteful. In 1448 another small adjoining house, the property of Messer Palla di Nofri, was sold by the commune to Niccolò d'Ainolfo Popoleschi. He, like Alessandra, owned an adjoining house, and thus shared with her first right of purchase; contravening her legal right, he then sold it to Donato di Pagolo Rucellai.<sup>59</sup> Alessandra did not have the necessary money to insist, at this point, on her right of buying this house, but she described its position in detail to Filippo, and clearly yearned for its addition. It would be, she told him, 'un grande aconcio a questa casa', making it 'la più bella casa di questo quartiere'. She did not make such plans for her own sake, 'che poco tempo ci ho a vivere; ma per voi e per chi di voi uscissi'.<sup>60</sup> As his later actions show, Filippo found such arguments very persuasive; his plans for a palace were, however, a translation into altogether different terms of Alessandra's naive pride in the house of his father and grandfather.

A later letter of Alessandra, written in 1459 after the death of her youngest son, Matteo, illuminates another area in which she and Filippo must have believed themselves forced by circumstances to neglect the honour and prestige of the lineage. The funeral Filippo had arranged for Matteo in Naples had done honour 'a te e a lui', she wrote; this had been all the more necessary because exiles were not permitted funeral honours in Florence.<sup>61</sup> This was a real deprivation: eight years earlier, when Filippo di Lionardo died in Barcelona, funeral services and honours (a mestiero) had been publicly held in Florence. 'Oggi s'è fatto il mestiero di Filippo vostro in casa tua, honoratamente chome di chostrume' wrote Marco Parenti, and Antonio Strozzi added that during these ceremonies

a banner and hangings had borne the arms of the lineage 'e di tutto ... è fatto assai honore'.<sup>62</sup> It was the subject of a monument for Matteo in the chapel where he was buried in Naples, and of the creation there of 'una bella chapella per la nazione e honorarla poi chon questa sepoltura' that drew from Filippo one of his most revealing statements about the creation of his great building program, and its raison d'etre: 'vo tuta volta pensando e disengnando, e se Iddio mi presta chompetente vita, spero fare qualche chose di memoria'.<sup>63</sup>

#### ii Florentine connections

Alessandra's letters to her exiled sons have been justly celebrated as one of the most important sets of documents on the social history of fifteenth century Florence, for their eloquence, their details of social and political life, their intimate portrayal of domestic affection.<sup>64</sup>

Here I am primarily concerned with another of their many aspects: the way in which they reveal Alessandra's role as the lynch pin of her sons' connections with their kinsmen, in-laws and amici in Florence. The letters were written during a period of twenty four years, from 1446 to 1470, during the first twenty of which her sons were in exile. As they grew older Alessandra naturally became less important as an intermediary, but she had earlier been instrumental in fostering virtually all their contacts with their kinsmen, and many others with amici. For this reason I will first examine the kinship network revealed in Alessandra's letters. (Table 1 shows all the Strozzi who are mentioned by Alessandra, and indicates their relationship to her husband.) Two preliminary points should be made here. The first is that the seventy three extant letters are all that survives of what was clearly a much larger volume of correspondence, so that what emerges is a minimum number of members of the Strozzi lineage with whom she was involved between 1446 and her death in 1470. The second point is that this number would have been much greater had it included those Strozzi mentioned in the letters of her sons. However, it seemed more useful, as a means of establishing the degree of sociability within the lineage, to

use the correspondence of a single person. Table 1 does not show anyone who was not a Strozzi by birth,<sup>65</sup> nor does it list Alessandra's sons and daughters, who are mentioned in every letter. The accompanying genealogical table (Table 2) is very much simplified and shows only the relationship of the Strozzi mentioned to Alessandra's husband, Matteo di Simone. The number of letters in which each person is mentioned has also been shown, as a rough indication of the relative importance of each contact; judging by other criteria this seems to be a reasonably accurate indicator.

The most important group of associations revealed is with the closest set of kinsmen, the cousins of Matteo di Simone who have already been mentioned. By far the most important relationship with anyone, apart from her children and sons-in-law, is that with Niccolò di Lionardo, to whom Alessandra constantly refers in the earliest letters, and who still played an important role even after her sons reached maturity. Alessandra also maintained important friendships with her husband's female first cousins, both with Niccolò's sisters and in particular with Checca di Piero.<sup>66</sup> Alessandra's contacts with other women within the lineage are probably generally under reported in her letters, as they were less likely to be involved in the business or political arrangements which form a large part of her subject matter. To a lesser extent Alessandra also had dealings with the second generation of this line of the Strozzi, particularly with the children of Jacopo di Lionardo.

After this first group there is no correlation between closeness of kinship and degree of contact. The second and third groups listed in Table 1 are both of very distant kinsmen. The first includes Antonio di Benedetto, Matteo's sixth cousin twice removed, who appears in almost all the letters until his death in 1454, in an advisory capacity towards Alessandra and a quasi-paternal one towards her children. His nephews and grand-nephews, particularly Lodovico and Battista, are mentioned very regularly, but not always sympathetically.<sup>67</sup> The third group who figure largely in Alessandra's letters come into a different category: they were the other main exiled line, the children and grandchildren of Palla di

Nofri, and his niece, Caterina di Niccolò. Despite Matteo di Simone's earlier intimacy with Palla's household, there was only a limited amount of direct contact between the two lines of exiles at this period, but Alessandra passed on to her sons a steady stream of observation, gossip and comment about them.<sup>68</sup> There is little to distinguish in significance her relationship with the remaining groups of kinmen listed in Table 1. Sandro di Giovanni is mentioned mainly because two of his sons were sent to Naples to work for Filippo, who chose to employ them primarily as an act of family piety. Alessandra also decided to help this impoverished Strozzi household by advising them on the arrangement of a marriage for one of Sandro's daughters.<sup>69</sup> Similarly Andrea and Stozza di Piero and Girolamo di Carlo di Marco were all young and very distant kinmen employed by Filippo, who were later amongst the group of Strozzi who played an important part in his business administration and more personal projects. These were not simply 'business' contacts: there is a touching description of Alessandra's eagerness that Girolamo should come to visit her, as soon as he arrived in Florence from Naples, so that she could hear how Filippo and Lorenzo were, 'da chi è stato en casa con voi'.<sup>70</sup> Alessandra's correspondence with Filippo provided him with both broad and detailed information about the members of the lineage, so that it was less likely he should become either ignorant about or uninterested in his kinmen, and so that he maintained associations which he was to extend in scope and function after his own return.

Filippo's most important friendship during his years of exile was with his brother-in-law, Marco Parenti. Virtually none of Filippo's letters to Marco have survived, but judging by those he received it was a frequent and copious correspondence. Marco appears to illustrate most effectively Giovanni Dominici's cautionary remarks about the danger to a man in marrying a woman 'maggior di se':<sup>71</sup> 'si può dire venduto a una femina e suo parentado', although here the result was not envy, but close friendship and identification of interests.<sup>72</sup> If a contemporary aphorism associated with Marco is accurate 'la lingua non è osso, ma la rompe il



dosso' <sup>73</sup> - his conversation was as voluminous as his letters, which indeed allude to or record frequent conversations with men of political importance. In his first letter to Filippo, written directly after his marriage to Caterina, he claimed that his only reservation about the match was 'che non mi sento potere essere un parente quanto meriteresti'. He offered Filippo and his brothers any help he was able to give, 'pero chè niuna fatica per voi e per le cose vostre mi potrebbe esser grave'.<sup>74</sup> So far as can be judged he seems to have fulfilled this promise. In the early years (from 1447 onwards) his help may have been largely of a business nature: as a prosperous setaiuolo he was able to obtain luxury fabrics at advantageous prices, which Filippo then resold in Naples. This early stage of their association is well summarised by a letter in which he informed Filippo of a consignment of cloth, all manufactured from seta spagnuola, which he had arranged. All the profit of this deal was to go to Filippo: 'ti vantaggi di pregio quanto posso ... e non voglio techo guadagnare'. Whether it was for himself or for Niccolo, Filippo should not imagine that 'di tal cosa voglio altro guadagnare che avervi ben servito'.<sup>75</sup> In this manner during the late 1440s and early 1450s Marco helped Filippo to expand the very modest amount of capital available from his diminished patrimony.<sup>76</sup>

Another early letter of Marco's, from October 1450, shows that they were also co-operating in political matters at that time. Antonio di Benedetto Strozzi had just finished a term as prior, and the incoming Signoria was to include a close kinsman of Marco, who would complete for Filippo any business that Antonio had not been able to finish during his two months.<sup>77</sup> Marco was prior himself four years later, but soon after this success, in 1455, his name ticket was removed from the electoral bags of the tre maggiori together with those of others judged to be anti-Medicean.<sup>78</sup> In Marco's case this judgement was probably correct, but had he not had positively anti-Medicean views before this event, he certainly had them after it.<sup>79</sup> Despite this, he was one of the men chiefly responsible for making representations on Filippo's behalf in Florence, and

organising attempts to have the ban of exile on Filippo and his brothers lifted. Many of the Strozzi and their friends must have combined such private criticism of the regime with a politic outward complaisance, and it was an attitude which Marco shared with his friend Vespasiano de Bisticci, godfather of his second son Giovanni in 1463, and another of Filippo's friends who worked to further his return from exile.<sup>80</sup>

Filippo's younger brother Matteo spend considerable periods in the care of his sister Caterina and her husband, and when he was sent to Filippo's tutelage in Naples, Marco did not scruple to give Filippo the advice that this youngest brother would respond better to dolcezza than to harshness.<sup>81</sup> Here he showed that he had thought in considerable detail about Filippo's personality, and in particular about the over early maturity thrust upon him by events: in dealing with Matteo, he felt that Filippo should not judge him by himself, 'che forse non fusti mai fanciullo'.<sup>82</sup> When Matteo died ten years later, Marco wrote that only the death of his own son could have moved him more: 'da mio figliuolo in fuori niuno altro più strettamente amo'.<sup>83</sup> Filippo's correspondence with his other brother-in-law, Giovanni Bonsi, husband of his younger sister Alessandra, appears to have been frequent and friendly,<sup>84</sup> but was of minor importance compared with that with Marco. Giovanni, too, was politically in sympathy with the Strozzi, and Marco was pleased to tell Filippo in 1465 that Giovanni, as a consul of his guild, would be a member of the scrutiny council of that year.<sup>85</sup>

There is very little to reveal the nature of Filippo's relationship with his two sisters. Only one letter to either of them survives, a short note to Caterina which was apparently preserved by Marco with his own ricordanze.<sup>86</sup> Filippo had purchased some linen for his sister, and sent it to her as a present. Their mother did not approve of this entirely, believing in her somewhat hard headed way that 'Marco ... ha el modo a pagare'.<sup>87</sup> When she realised that Filippo had intended it as a present she urged him to write a letter to Caterina saying so, as such a gesture would comfort Caterina for the sadness and disappointments of her

brothers' continuing exile, 'e no gli parrà in tutto essere privata dell' amor fraterno'.<sup>88</sup> It is this suggested letter which survives. 'Carissima sorella', he wrote, 'benchè io non ti viciti con lettere, lo fo spesso con lamenti a te e l'Alexandra, e anchora cotesti nostri parenti, e così quando di costà viene niuno amico, ho parenti'.<sup>89</sup> He had no intention that she should pay for the linen: 'a me basta che ti ricordi alle volte di me, e chosì ti racomando cotesta nostra madre, che l'aiutare tra te e l'Alexandra vivere lo più che sia possibile, che a voi e a noi è a giovare'. Filippo's affection and concern for his sisters, demonstrated here and elsewhere, shows that the lateral ties of marriage alliances could have a basis in familial sentiment, as well as in pragmatic considerations of the need for a strong parentado; in moments of pessimism he clearly believed that such relations were stronger and more dependable than those of mere friendship.

In addition to these connections formed by the marriage of his sisters, Filippo carefully cultivated the wide range of contacts within his own lineage which had earlier been maintained by Alessandra. Virtually all of the Strozzi who figure in Alessandra's letters also appear in those of her sons, while other close Strozzi associations came to them through the agency of Niccolò and Jacopo di Lionardo. Until his death in 1454 Antonio di Benedetto, also, was a tireless informant of Filippo about his own rather distantly related part of the lineage. Nor was all such information second hand: in September 1450 Antonio's nephew Benedetto di Francesco wrote to Filippo of news which included the marriage of his brother Vanni to the daughter of Messer Giannozzo Pandolfini, his uncle Antonio's priorate, and the death of his father Francesco.<sup>90</sup> This Benedetto was to die only eight years later, at the age of ~~thirty~~ thirty eight, drawing from Alessandra words of high praise in his honour. 'E ne stato grandissimo danno, prima alla sua brigata, poi a noi e a tutta la casa ... e non è in casa uomo, che tanto danno gittassi la morte sua, quanto di lui.'<sup>91</sup> Later one of his sons, Lionardo, was to be employed by Filippo in Florence. Francesco di Benedetto's other sons, Lodovico, Battista and

Vanni, had many and occasionally devious dealings with Filippo and Lorenzo. These began as early as 1446 when Lorenzo, at fourteen, recorded a meeting with Vanni in Valencia;<sup>92</sup> Lodovico shortly before this had also been employed by Jacopo di Lionardo in Bruges, but then founded his own company in London in which Battista was also involved. They maintained some of their earlier business connections with Jacopo, and after his death they did not feel constrained by kinship from instituting legal proceedings against Lorenzo for his administration of Jacopo's estate. This was done in Florence while Lorenzo was in judicial exile in Naples, and Alessandra thought doubly poorly of their action for this reason.<sup>93</sup> But in other ways they still behaved towards Lorenzo and Filippo as loving kinmen, writing a letter of condolence on the death of Matteo in 1459, and in 1464 when they suffered a severe business failure, appealing to these kinmen for help as their 'veri parenti e amici.'<sup>94</sup> Despite the earlier disagreement both Filippo and Lorenzo were willing to help: the next year (1465) while Lorenzo was in Florence by special leave of the Signoria, he agreed to Lodovico's request that they take Vanni's eldest son into their business in Naples. Lodovico gave Filippo careful instructions as to how the boy was to be treated, and expressed their gratitude that he should be in Filippo's care. 'Quando non facessi suo debito ti priegho lo castighi ... come se ti fussi figliuolo'.<sup>95</sup>

Filippo had a policy of employing his young kinmen when it was possible, but from the large number of young candidates he chose only the more able. The earliest detailed evidence on this subject is from 1459, in two letters of Girolamo di Carlo di Marco Strozzi to Filippo about the employment of one of his two younger brothers.<sup>96</sup> They were thirteen and fourteen; the thirteen year old was described as being a 'buon rag[i]oniere e assai buon scrittore', and Girolamo added that both had learnt business mathematics. 'Filippo, per Dio lo ve le rachomando a voi, e anche a Nicholò, ... imperò non ò altra speranza al mondo, se non diate loro qualche inviamiento'. Filippo was apparently willing to help, judging by Girolamo's manner of raising the subject again in his next

letter. Both boys wrote very well, he reiterated, and they were both in Florence usefully employed, not in villa: one was in the Rucellai bank, the other in that of the Borromei. He had taken 'gran conforto' in Filippo's response, and stressed that 'vostro buon aiuto' would be to 'tutti noi' not only to the boy concerned. This household had fallen on hard times in the 1450s: in 1457 Girolamo's father had reported in his portata the sale of their house in Florence, and was assessed at only three soldi.<sup>97</sup>

Filippo's attitude to this question of employing his kinemen seems to have been a mixture of benevolence and self-interest. Discussing with Alessandra in 1461 his possible employment of a son of Carlo di Piero Strozzi (Andrea), he said that he had heard good reports about him and had decided to take him on. But he made the condition that Alessandra would have to explain to Carlo that he would treat the boy as he saw fit, 'e quando non faciessi di mio modo poterlo battere, chè non lo voglio per donzello'.<sup>98</sup> But such harsh measures were not apparently needed with Andrea; two years later, in 1463, when Filippo had engaged yet another young Strozzi (Francesco di Sandro di Jacopo), who was completely ignorant about his new employment, Alessandra pointed out that Andrea would be able to instruct him.<sup>99</sup> It was no co-incidence, but the result of a deliberate policy, that Filippo thus followed, probably unwittingly, Alberti's advice that kinemen should always be employed in preference to outsiders: Alessandra stated specifically, for example, that Filippo was looking for 'un fanciullo di casa' in 1463 when he took on Francesco di Sandro.<sup>100</sup> By this policy he gained not only presumably loyal employees, but ties of friendship and obligation with the fathers or elder brothers of the boys he chose.<sup>101</sup>

From the wealth of available evidence about Filippo's dealings with the other members of the lineage during his years in exile, one event will serve to illustrate effectively the breadth of his associations amongst them, and the way in which the lineage's members were united by bonds of sentiment and common feeling. When his younger brother Matteo

died in 1459 while in Filippo's care in Naples, a wide circle of kinsmen wrote to express their sorrow at the event. The closest of these, in terms of kinship, was Francesco di Piero, a first cousin once removed, who referred to Filippo as 'nostro dolcissimo fratello,'<sup>102</sup> an extension of kinship terminology characteristic of such occasions. At the other extreme, in one sense, was the letter of Bengni di Jacopo Strozzi, only a very distant kinsman (a fifth cousin twice removed) and a member of a poor and rather obscure branch of the Strozzi, who spent a considerable part of his life at the Mantuan court. I have found no evidence of earlier contact between the two men, but it is clear from his manner of writing that he knew Filippo and his brother well.<sup>103</sup> He had heard of the death of 'tuo e nostro Matteo', whose qualities and whose loss he had no need to describe, 'perchè tra noi chonosciavamo la chondizione sua e de sua virtù.' The most interesting of the other letters of condolence on Matteo's death was that written by Giovanfrancesco di Messer Palla.<sup>104</sup> He had heard of the death from Filippo, and like him saw some particular significance in it: that those lines of the Strozzi who were in exile were in danger of dying out completely. 'Vedi la fortuna ci perseguita ... nelle persone, bisogna aiutarsi che non ci spengna'. His practical advice to Filippo and Lorenzo on this account was that they should both marry; he also suggested that in the decisions they faced they should treat him as if he were 'uno terzo fratello, chè altrimenti non vi riputo.'<sup>105</sup> He also gave, in this letter, well considered advice about the location for their own planned company. Given the friendly relations that this shows existed between the two exiled lines, it is surprising that when Giovanfrancesco suffered a calamitous financial failure in 1464 in the wake of Cosimo's death, that Alessandra should have been as pitiless as she was in condemning him, massive as his loss undoubtedly was. 'Ha rifiorito la casa nostra',<sup>106</sup> she wrote to Filippo with heavy irony, thus reversing the theme of the resurgence of the lineage which she had applied in a positive sense to her son's own activities.

111 Return

During the years he spent in exile Filippo Strozzi directed his considerable energy towards the fulfillment of two aims: the foundation of a notable fortune and the attainment of his return to a prestigious position in Florentine society such as his father, grandfather and many of their contemporaries in the lineage had once enjoyed. The history of the first of these ambitions has already largely been told, although it seems to me that in the telling an unduly negative picture has been drawn of his and Lorenzo's connection with their cousins Niccolo and Jacopo.<sup>107</sup> There is no evidence that these cousins retarded the progress of their younger kinsmen towards making an independent fortune, and very little to show that Matteo's sons did not enjoy their complete confidence. Any reservations they may have had seem to have been confined to Lorenzo,<sup>108</sup> and were presumably a result of the feckless and delinquent youth which had made him, at one period, the despair of all his close relatives. But so far as Lorenzo's position in Bruges was concerned, far from being constrained to remain there until 1463 against his will, Jacopo had in fact agreed to his departure, at Filippo's request, as early as 1459.<sup>109</sup> Lorenzo's reasons for staying in Bruges as long as he did remain obscure. While the brothers' first ragione in Naples would seem to date from 1463,<sup>110</sup> and records from this survive only from 1466 onwards, Filippo must ~~either~~ have undertaken entrepreneurial activities on his own account before that time, or have been very handsomely paid by Niccolo for his services. The first of these seems the more likely alternative.<sup>111</sup> As early as 1466 he was able to contribute 12,000 monete di Napoli to the capital of the company he formed with Lorenzo, who contributed 4,000. This is far more than they could have realised just from the sale of land and other possessions in Florence.<sup>112</sup> Thus the 31,000 florins which Filippo was worth in 1471 were the result of more than eight years labour, although his capital clearly increased more rapidly from 1463 onwards, when his own undertakings became his sole concern. In 1459 a plan was under discussion between the brothers to establish their own company in

Avignon. When Filippo set out his reasons for rejecting this plan, they included the fact that Avignon was outside Italy, and that it would be difficult for them to bring Alessandra to live there, but he made no mention of shortage of capital.<sup>113</sup> On the contrary, there is evidence that he was at this time preparing to spend money quite lavishly. Having by late 1459 accepted the fact that they were unlikely to return to Florence immediately, and that Naples seemed the best base to adopt, Filippo asked Lorenzo to acquire in Bruges various costly household items so that they could live there more presentably; at the same time he noted that the expenses of Matteo's funeral had come to almost 100 florins.<sup>114</sup> That Alessandra was still disposing of their Florentine property in the early 1460s does not necessarily mean that this was for the purpose of raising capital for Filippo and Lorenzo to form a company: in April 1464, when they had already done this, she spoke of selling their last remaining piece of Florentine land as a preliminary to leaving Florence finally to join her sons.<sup>115</sup> Soon after this their hopes of imminent repatriation steadily rose, and Alessandra's plans for leaving were shelved.

It would not be true to say that during his years of exile Filippo wished above all else to return to Florence, as until 1458 he was free to do so at any time. It is not clear precisely when he revised his view of Florence as an unhealthy environment, but it must have been only shortly before his exile became judicial,<sup>116</sup> an event which, oddly, did not confirm him in his earlier view that he was better off elsewhere. There is a complete absence of political opinion in his letters which makes difficult any attempt to discover his private opinion of the Medici regime prior to his return to Florence. His most frequent correspondent, Marco Parenti, held anti-Medicean views, but these are not voiced in his letters to Filippo, which deal almost exclusively in 'practical' politics; that is, in what was or was not unlikely to further il fatto di Filippo. It seems very likely that Filippo was primarily a pragmatist, unburdened by any strong ideological commitment. He became a close associate of King Ferrante in Naples, and took full advantage of the Neapolitan king's



willing patronage; he may in the process have lost a real appreciation of the issues of republican politics. After his return to Florence the attainment of political office was of the first importance to him, and he accepted such recognition gladly when it was eventually given.<sup>117</sup> On the other hand, it seems ~~unlikely~~ that he was naturally kindly disposed to the regime which had destroyed the eminent position of the Strozzi in Florence; unfortunately without further evidence this is only conjecture.

Filippo appears to have achieved his eventual repatriation mainly by the assiduous cultivation of powerful figures in the regime as amici (in the sense of instrumental friendships) and in addition by publicly demonstrating his loyalty and usefulness to that regime. He was also helped by the fact that Piero de' Medici was to some extent anxious to cultivate the goodwill of the King of Naples. Perhaps the best example of Filippo's calculated pragmatism is found in the letter he wrote to Alessandra in November 1458,<sup>118</sup> at the time when the sentence of exile, dating from 1434, was for the first time extended to include all the male descendants of the original exiles. This letter differs from all others of Filippo to his mother in addressing her formally (as 'amantissima e sfortunata madre'), in its careful composition and its legibility.<sup>119</sup> With its tone of lofty disinterestedness, devotion to the civic welfare, and protestations of loyalty towards the leading figures of the regime, it was clearly intended to circulation to a wider audience.<sup>120</sup> Filippo stated that he had expected that he and his brothers would be included in the new provisions, 'non per mancamento che mi paia avere fatto, ma solo per essere nella generalità delli altri.' He regretted it more for the pain to his mother than for any other reason, as he and his brothers had become accustomed to such blows, 'che cominciamo nella nostra età fanciullesca; non ne fa tanto caso.' He bore it with complete patience, 'poichè è auto di consentimento di chi governa; perchè sono certo l'hanno solo fatto per bene e riposo di tutta la città.' He claimed that it had in no way reduced the goodwill he felt towards the principali cittadini, 'nè eziandio l'amore che ho a la patria mia.' He thus,

officially as it were, enjoined Alessandra to adopt the same attitude. He included with this letter a private note to her,<sup>121</sup> in which he suggested that she wind up her affairs in Florence and join him and Matteo in Naples; he went on to explain, perhaps unnecessarily, the attitude he was taking to the new sentence of exile: 'lo l'ò presa in pazienza, e ho openione di portarmi chome per lo passato, o meglio potendo.'

This policy of patient conciliation was to pay dividends, but not immediately. A year later, in 1459, he wrote very elliptically to Lorenzo about the activities of their amici in Florence, and about his veto of an early plan to have the sentence of exile revoked. This was because he felt it could not succeed at that time, and moderation was necessary.<sup>122</sup> His correspondence gradually reveals the identity of some of these amici, although on occasion a code was used instead of their names. The earliest of these friendships was with the Pandolfini: this had begun in 1450 when Filippo had been set to 'ritrovare il parentado' by Antonio Strozzi ~~when~~ Messer Giannozzo Pandolfini was Florentine ambassador in Naples; later he became a close friend of Giannozzo's son Pandolfo, who was also ambassador there and who died in Naples in 1465.<sup>123</sup> Marco Parenti saw Pandolfo's death as a setback for the Strozzi: 'ci era pochissimi suoi pari, s'è alla casa sua e s'è alla nostra spetialità.'<sup>124</sup> Filippo's position as a leading Florentine in Naples with the friendship of King Ferrante must have enabled him to give extensive help to Florentine ambassadors, and to extract a corresponding sense of obligation from them. In April 1462 Marco wrote to Filippo of the return to Florence of two such ambassadors, Messer Piero de' Pazzi and Donato Acciaiuoli, and of how impressed they were by Filippo's behaviour: 'e messer P mi fece per te molte grande offerte'.<sup>125</sup> Donato had close ties with the Strozzi already,<sup>126</sup> and was too young to be really influential, but men like Piero de' Pazzi were worth having as amici, and in this case Lorenzo had begun the process when he visited Florence by licence at the beginning of that year (1462). Filippo congratulated him on 'quante amicizie pigliasti chon Piero de' Pazzi e Bonachorso Pitti, e quelli loro giovani', but

suggested that mere protestations of friendship could prove hollow, 'perchè li effetti sarebe contro di loro'.<sup>127</sup> On a similar basis they formed friendships with Jacopo de' Pazzi and Francesco Martelli, with Luca and Giovanozzo Pitti, and with Luigi and Jacopo di Piero Guicciardini.<sup>128</sup>

Filippo's closest friends in Florence at this time, outside the domestic circle, were Agnolo Acciaiuoli and his son Jacopo, and Dietisalvi di Nerone.<sup>129</sup> In late 1464 and early 1465, for example, Agnolo tried but failed to obtain a licence for Filippo to visit Florence, ostensibly to conduct business for the King.<sup>130</sup> His letters to Filippo were at times very open in their criticism of the status quo in Florence; in early November 1465, when he was championing far reaching 'constitutionalist' reforms there, he wrote to Filippo that 'io vorrei potere operare più ch'io non posso per il bene della città, la quale è uno paradiso habitato da diavoli'.<sup>131</sup> At the same time his son Jacopo assured Filippo of his devotion to the Strozzi cause: 'ogni mia cosa sta sempre apparecchiata per te e per un altro di casa tua'.<sup>132</sup> This last was presumably a reference to Giovanfrancesco, who was a close friend, and also indirectly connected by marriage to both the Acciaiuoli and Dietisalvi di Nerone.<sup>133</sup> There was general optimism amongst Filippo's correspondents about his chances of returning from exile during this period of 'republican' upsurge. Priore Pandolfini wrote on the sixteenth November, 1465 that 'questo gonfaloniere [Niccolo Soderini] è in opinione di fare che chi non ha fatto alcuno errore non sia punito, e che chi è stato, sia restituito'.<sup>134</sup> It was not however until ten months later and in a very different political atmosphere that the long awaited revocation of Filippo and Lorenzo's exile actually occurred, and curiously this happened at the same time that Agnolo Acciaiuoli and Dietisalvi di Nerone were exiled for their leadership of the defeated faction within the cittadini principali, which had been opposed to Piero de' Medici.<sup>135</sup> That Filippo was not implicated in Agnolo's downfall was due to two things: the extreme discretion with which he conducted such friendships, and the fact that he did not confine this cultivation to one particular group within the ruling circle.

Marco Parenti must have been fairly accurate when he talked to Filippo in late 1465 of the 'amicizia segreta che tenete con tutti i principali', an amicizia which was not however known to 'ogni huomo da bene', that is, to 'chi va pratici'.<sup>136</sup> More precisely, Filippo and Lorenzo's repatriation in September 1466 was due to Filippo's assiduous cultivation of the friendship of Piero de' Medici. This rapprochement may have been begun through the good offices of Piero's wife Lucrezia Tornabuoni. In April 1465 Filippo had sent her a gift of linen, and Alessandra had suggested shrewdly that Filippo's payment would be in the form of parole: that Lucrezia would 'recommend' Filippo's cause to Piero, 'che ti facessi tornare in casa tua'.<sup>137</sup> In the following month (May 1465) Piero used Filippo to arrange the presentation of a galley to the Neapolitan king. In his letter to Filippo about this, Piero wrote, surely ironically, of the 'amicizia antica' between them.<sup>138</sup> Filippo, in his reply, took the bit between his teeth and wrote fulsomely of his devotion to Piero. 'E me e Lorenzo avete obrighati per ischiavi tutto il tempo della vita nostra: e a voi stia il disporre di noi alto e basso al pari di qualunque minimo giovane che voi abbiate'.<sup>139</sup>

Immediately after this, King Ferrante of Naples made a full scale attempt to obtain Filippo's return from Piero through the agency of his second son Federigo, who visited Florence twice at this time.<sup>140</sup> His request was refused, and he was assured by Piero that it was not within his sole competence to secure it; a matter of general concern to the city, such a request could not be granted at the present time.<sup>141</sup> Alessandra commented cynically on this refusal, 'e poi dice, non è tempo. Quanto più va in là, tanto piggior tempo credo sarà'.<sup>142</sup> For once this was misplaced cynicism. Piero wrote to Filippo in July, a letter reassuring him of present friendship, and hinting at future favour: 'et è mio pensiero per l'avenire di ristorarti et dello scriverti et d'altro, sechondo che si richiede all' amicitia et benivolentia'.<sup>143</sup> This tacit promise was redeemed in September the following year, despite Filippo's friendship with Agnolo Acciaiuoli and members of his circle, and despite

the fact that the other exiled Strozzi were clearly suspect, as friends of Agnolo and clients of the rulers of Ferrara, to whom the Medicean regime was hostile at this time. Filippo was careful, later, retrospectively to record this event at the beginning of his 'Florentine' ricordanze:  
'e a dì xx di Settembre 1466 per la balia fui ristituito, e chosì Lorenzo mio, insieme chon più altri; e che fusimo abili a potere avere ufici'.<sup>144</sup>

TABLE 1

	NAME	RELATIONSHIP TO MATTEO DI SIMONE	No. OF LETTERS IN WHICH MENTIONED
A.	1. Lionardo di Filippo	Uncle	1
	2. Piero " "	"	1
	3. Niccolò di Lionardo	First cousin	37
	4. Jacopo " "	"	7
	5. Filippo di Lionardo	"	1
	6. Lena " "	"	3
	7. Ginevra " "	"	1
	8. Margherita di Piero	"	2
	9. Checca " "	"	4
	10. Maria " "	"	1
	11. Francesco " "	"	2
	12. Lionardo di Jacopo	First cousin once removed	5
	13. Isabella di Jacopo (illegit.)	"	3
B.	14. Antonio di Benedetto	Sixth cousin once removed	10
	15. Benedetto di Francesco	Sixth cousin twice removed	2
	16. Lodovico " "	"	10
	17. Vanni " "	"	2
	18. Battista " "	"	12
	19. Francesco di Benedetto	Sixth cousin three times removed	1
C.	20. Messer Palla di Nofri	Third cousin once removed	1
	21. Maddalena di Nofri	"	1
	22. Giovanfrancesco di M. Palla	Fourth cousin	9
	23. Lorenzo di M. Palla	"	1
	24. Caterina di Niccolò	"	2
	25. Marietta di Lorenzo	Fourth cousin once removed	11
D.	26. Soldo di Bernardo	Fifth cousin once removed	3
	27. Antonio di Soldo	Sixth cousin	3
	28. Francesco di Soldo	"	1
E.	29. Niccolò di Benedetto	Fifth cousin once removed	2
	30. Pagolo " "	"	1
	31. Filippo " "	"	2
	32. A daughter of Benedetto	"	1

TABLE 1 (Cont.)

	NAME	RELATIONSHIP TO MATTEO DI SIMONE	No. OF LETTERS IN WHICH MENTIONED
F.	33. Sandro di Giovanni	Sixth cousin	1
	34. Nofri di Sandro	Sixth cousin once removed	2
	35. Francesco di Sandro	"	4
G.	36. Messer Benedetto of Mantua	Sixth cousin (?)	1
H.	37. Lionardo di Niccolò di Barla	Second cousin once removed	1
I.	38. Andrea di Carlo di Piero	Sixth cousin	2
	39. Strozza " " " "	"	2
J.	40. Girolamo di Carlo di Marco	Sixth cousin	2
K.	41. 'Francesco Strozzi'	(Uncertain. Mentioned many years after their deaths.	1
	42. 'Messer Zacheria Strozzi'		1

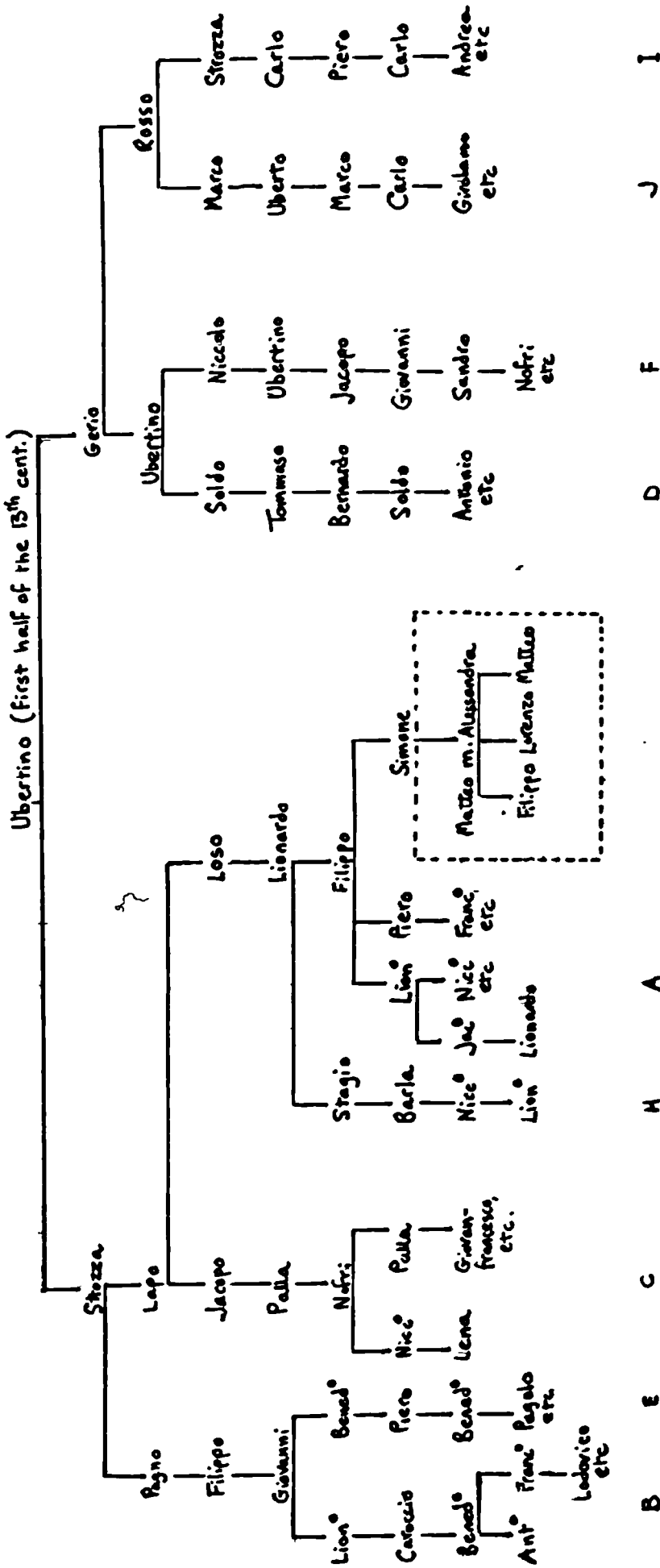


TABLE 2 Selective genealogy: members of the lineage mentioned by Alessandra Macinghi-Strozzi in her letters.

N.B. Many lateral extensions have been omitted, but no generations.



NOTES:

1. C.S. III, 134, f.52; cited by M. Bullard, 'Marriage Politics and the Family in Florence', p.683.
2. On the exile of Matteo see above, Ch.3, section 1. His mallevadori are recorded in Otto di Guardia e Balia, 224, f.49v.
3. The children were aged between eight years and three months: Cat. 463, 168r, v. That the youngest (Alessandra) was named after a living parent was highly unusual; however Matteo also had a paternal aunt with this name.
4. Otto di Guardia e Balia, 224, f.49v.
5. See above, Ch.2, section iv.
6. Alessandra gave the date of her son Matteo's birth, and stated that he was a posthumous child in Strozzi Letters, pp.46, 127. This means that Matteo (her husband) was alive until approximately late June 1436. Pampaloni (Palazzo Strozzi, p.32) argued that Matteo's death occurred in late May or early June, 1435, because at that time the record of the receipt of notarised documents from Pesaro, attesting his presence there, ceases. But this is not reliable evidence as this record breaks off with similar abruptness for all the exiles: Otto di Guardia 224 was clearly a 'clean copy' in which only a limited space was allotted for the copying of such details. The letter to Matteo is C.S. III, 112, f.189, dated 12 July 1435, but this is clearly not proof that he was still alive then.
7. C. Guasti, Strozzi Letters, p. xxiv, cites an early will of Alessandra, made on 25 October 1437, which stated her desire to be buried there also.
8. Strozzi Letters, pp.45-46.
9. Ibid., pp.190, 195.
10. This will be discussed in greater detail below. He wrote to Lorenzo on 18 October 1459: '... vedi quanto la maladetta fortuna ci perseguita...' Strozzi Letters, p.211.
11. C.S. V, 12, f.93.
12. And hence of his cousin, Filippo di Lionardo di Filippo Strozzi.
13. Matteo noted the death of both parents in his ricordanze: C.S. V, 12, f.lv.
14. Filippo's care for Lorenzo's children after his death in 1479 may have owed much to his memory of their own fatherless and 'uncleless' state; see below, Ch.5. The account which follows of Filippo's early life may be profitably compared with accounts of other Florentines who were early left fatherless (the best known example being Giovanni Morelli); also relevant, by comparison, is the contemporary view of the relationship between fathers and sons. On these see F.W. Kent, Household and Lineage,

pp.53-57; J.B. Roess, 'The Middle-Class Child in Urban Italy, Fourteenth to Early Sixteenth Century', The History of Childhood, ed. L. de Mause, London, 1976, pp.200-02. Herlihy has noted the large number of households in Florence in 1427 that were headed by women, and has interpreted this in a fashion strikingly at variance with my argument here - 'Mapping Households', pp.12, 16-17. His view that the ethos of the family was weakened when transmitted by women is echoed by L. Martines, in a discussion of Alessandra's raising of her children: 'A Way of Looking at Women in Renaissance Florence', Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 4, 1974, pp.19, 24. I cannot see that Martines' point about the 'differing roles' of men and women (p.24) can seriously be upheld in the context of Alessandra's influence on her children.

15. It was written on 12 October 1429; I have used the autograph copy in Italian, C.S. V, 12, f.25r, v.

16. Ibid., f.26v.

17. On the departure of the sons of Lionardo di Filippo from Florence see below, this section.

18. D. Kent, The Rise of the Medici, p.357; c.f. those named as tutori by Matteo with what she has called the 'Strozzi neighbourhood circle'.

19. In a letter to his mother of 14 August 1446 Filippo estimated that the banks in Valencia and Barcelona were worth 25,000 florins in danari contanti alone. C.S. III, 131, f.29 Filippo Strozzi to Alessandra Strozzi in Florence; Valencia, 14 August 1446. This letter was published in part by Guasti, Strozzi Letters, pp.25-26.

20. C.S. III, 180, f.58. Jacopo Strozzi to Alessandra Strozzi in Florence; Valencia, 31 March 1441.

21. Strozzi Letters, p.127. He left Florence on 7 March 1451.

22. C.S. III, 180, f.58. This shows decisively that Filippo did not leave Florence until a place had been arranged for him in his cousins' business, and disproves the story of his son Lorenzo that he spent some time first with a friend of his father, Matteo di Giorgio Brandolini, in Palermo. C. Guasti, Strozzi Letters, p.xxvi, gave this story a limited credence.

23. Jacopo mentions his brother's marriage, C.S. III, 180, f.58; on his citizenship and the chapel, C.S. III, 131, f.32: letter of Giovanni della Luna to Filippo di Lionardo Strozzi, in Barcelona; Florence, 22 December 1446. On the chapel see also below, this section.

24. C.S. III, 180, f.58.

25. C.S. III, 145, f.19 Jacopo Strozzi to Alessandra Strozzi in Florence; Bruges, 23 July 1447.

26. C.S. III, 180, f.50r. Filippo Strozzi to Alessandra, Barcelona, 19 March 1445.

27. Matteo spent this period learning 'lettera merchatanto [sic]':  
C.S. III, 249, f.79 Matteo Strozzi to Filippo, in Naples, Florence,  
17 August 1448. C.S. III, 249, f.67. Lorenzo Strozzi to Alessandra  
in Florence; Avignon, 21 September 1448.
28. See n.26. He left nearly a year later, in February 1446:  
Strozzi Letters, p.127.
29. C.S. III, 180, f.50r.
30. See above, Ch.2, part 2.
31. Strozzi Letters, pp.46-7, 72. His departure was delayed for seven  
months, until February 1450; ostensibly this was due to the danger of  
disease on the first occasion.
32. Ibid.
33. The reverse has been assumed: e.g. L. Martines, 'A Way of Looking  
at Women', p.19.
34. C.S. III, 131, 29v. Filippo Strozzi to Alessandra in Florence;  
Valencia, 14 August 1446.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid. Guasti quotes fairly extensively from this letter, Strozzi  
Letters, pp.25-26.
37. C.S. III, 145, f.21, Filippo Strozzi to Matteo Strozzi in Florence;  
Naples, 19 August 1449.
38. C.S. III, 249, f.106. Marco Parenti to Filippo Strozzi in Naples;  
Florence, 19 September 1449.
39. Strozzi Letters, pp.25, 67. Alessandra wrote to Filippo in February  
1450 that 'veggo Niccolò alla partita sua t'ha lasciato il carico di  
governo costì', p.67.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., pp.3-9.
42. C. Guasti, (ed.) Una Lettera della Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi  
in aggiunta alle LXXII, p.11.
43. Strozzi Letters, p.36.
44. Ibid.
45. Strozzi Letters, p.95 (letter of 14 January 1451). The extended  
use of such kinship terms was not, of course, confined to those who were  
members of the same lineage: Piero di Neri Acciaiuoli wrote of his  
maternal uncle Lorenzo di Messer Palla Strozzi: 'a noi in specialità  
singulare padre [è] stato continuamente'. Bib. Ricc. 4009 (unfol.)  
Piero Acciaiuoli to Francesco Caccini in Casentino, Florence, 5 March  
1451. Coincidentally, perhaps, Piero's father also died while he was a  
young child.
46. R. Goldthwaite suggests this, Private Wealth, p.57. Niccolò's will  
is C.S. V, 1162, no.8: it is the first 4 ff. of a group of papers

entitled 'Ricordi di piu cose fatte per la redita di Nicholò di Lionardo Strozzi'. It is dated 18 September 1468. Niccolò left his nephew Lionardo di Jacopo his universal heir; if he died without male heirs, Filippo and Lorenzo were jointly to inherit half his estate, and another nephew, Bettino d'Antonio da Ricasoli (son of Niccolò's sister Gostanza) the other half. Filippo and Bettino were appointed executors. The relevant passage was published by Guasti, Strozzi Letters, pp. XXXI-XXXII.

47. R. de Roover, Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, p.57, states that in 1455 'Filippo Strozzi and Co' were among the correspondents of the Medici bank in Naples. While this is rather puzzling and fits in with nothing so far known about Filippo's early career, it certainly suggests strongly that Niccolò was no longer formally in charge there. On Filippo's activities in the 1450s see below.

48. Niccolò wished to be buried in Rome; for his will see above, n.46. Jacopo died in Bruges in 1462, and was presumably buried there. His earlier wish to return to Florence cannot have been fostered by incidents such as that in August 1450, when he was briefly imprisoned while visiting the city: 'si conobbe esservi auto fatto per malevolenza' wrote Antonio di Benedetto Strozzi to Filippo. C.S. III, 131, f.46, to Filippo in Naples; Florence, 23 May 1450.

49. C.S. III, 180, f.49. Filippo Strozzi to Alessandra in Florence; Barcelona, 6 June, 1446.

50. C.S. III, 131, 29v. Filippo to Alessandra, Valencia, 4 August 1446.

51. C.S. V, 12, 26v.

52. Ibid., 'fu servito senza chosto quando fe' detta compera, per uno anno'.

53. Ibid. This casetta cost 160 florins.

54. Ibid., p.25r.

55. Strozzi Letters, p.XXV; Guasti here cites Alessandra's catasto reports of 1442 and 1446. Cat. 620, ff.390r-391r: Filippo, Lorenzo and Matteo's report of 1442.

56. C.S. V, 15, 'Libro' of Alessandra Macinghi-Strozzi, 1453-1470, f.80r.

57. Antonio's death was on 1 September 1454: 'A la mattina fecie testamento, prexente tutti e sua stretti'. He bequeathed 100 florins to Alessandra. Ibid., f.92r. On her sharing the house with her daughter and son-in-law, Strozzi Letters, p.153: 'mi passerò meglio, avendo La Lesandra meco, che star sola'.

58. Ibid., pp.153, 161.

59. Strozzi Letters, p.37. This house was eventually bought by Filippo in 1477. He recorded in that year a 'compromesso generale' with the sons of Donato Rucellai of all differences between them, 'e massime della

chaeellina che tengono', so in fact he must previously have challenged the legality of their purchase. He then bought it from them. C.S. V, 22, f.104v.

60. Strozzi Letters, pp.38-39. Her use of 'voi' here indicates that she was referring to all her sons, not just to Filippo.

61. Ibid., p.181.

62. C.S. III, 249, f.89. Marco Parenti to Filippo in Naples; Florence, 23 April 1450; C.S. III, 180, f.53, Antonio Strozzi to Filippo in Naples; Florence, 24 April 1450.

63. C.S. III, 133, f.29r. Filippo Strozzi to Lorenzo Strozzi in Naples; Florence, 29 January 1475.

64. E.g. R. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, pp.263-64.

65. As most women might be said to belong to two lineages, by birth and marriage, I have chosen to include here the women who were Strozzi by birth. Most of those women who married into the lineage, and who feature in Alessandra's letters, have husbands, sons, or fathers-in-law who are listed.

66. When Checca was seriously ill in September 1459, Alessandra wrote that 's'ella mancassi, mi mancherebbe un gran conforto'. Strozzi Letters, p.199.

67. See below, this section and Ch.5.

68. Only when she first suggested Palla's grand-daughter, Marietta di Lorenzo, as a possible wife for Lorenzo, in early 1466, does she suggest that she was in direct contact with them. Strozzi Letters, p.562. See Ch.2, part 1, on the renaissance of this plan in 1469.

69. Ibid., p.291.

70. Ibid., p.306.

71. Giovanni Dominici, Regola del governo di cura familiare, ed. Donato Salvi, (Florence, 1860), p.177.

72. On their friendship see M. Phillips, 'A Newly Discovered Chronicle by Marco Parenti', Renaissance Quarterly, 31, 1978, pp.153-60, and on one particular aspect of it, J. R. Sale, 'An Iconographical Program by Marco Parenti'; Renaissance Quarterly, 27, 1974, pp.293-99.

73. G. Corti, 'Una Lista di Personaggi ...', Rinascimento 3, 1952, p.152.

74. Strozzi Letters, pp.12-13.

75. C.S. III, 249, f.81. Marco Parenti to Filippo Strozzi in Naples, Florence, 20 July 1448.

76. Another letter of this period which deals with the buying and selling of cloth is C.S. III, 249, f.65; Marco Parenti to Filippo Strozzi in Naples, Florence, 21 June 1449.

77. C.S. III, 131, f.58r. Marco Parenti to Filippo Strozzi in Naples, Florence, 28 August 1454. 'Domattina esce de' Signori il vostro Antonio degli Strozzi e entravi Parente mio. Sicchè se nulla ti fusse rimaso a drieto per le mani d' Antonio puoi dire vi restà quel medesimo'.
78. N. Rubinatein, Government of Florence, p.45n.
78. M. Phillips, 'A Newly Discovered Chronicle', pp.157-58.
80. Vespasiano is named as godfather in Marco's ricordanze: C.S. II, 17bis, f.57v. On Vespasiano's attitude to the Medici and the Strozzi see my unpublished paper cited above in the Introduction, n.39.
81. Strozzi Letters, p.51.
82. Ibid., p.52.
83. C.S. III, 180, f.55: Marco Parenti to Lorenzo Strozzi in Bruges, Florence, 1 September 1459.
84. C. Guasti published a letter written by Giovanni Bonsi to Filippo after he was betrothed to Alessandra: he asked Filippo not to address him as 'voi' as this would upset her by making him appear too old: Strozzi Letters, pp.120-22.
85. C.S. III, 180, f.73. Marco Parenti to Filippo in Naples, Florence, 7 December 1465.
86. C.S. II, 17bis, f.136. Filippo Strozzi to Caterina Strozzi-Parenti in Florence; Castello a Mare, 11 May 1464.
87. Strozzi Letters, p.280.
88. Ibid., p.294.
89. C.S. II, 17bis, f.136.
90. C.S. III, 145, f.27. Benedetto di Francesco to Filippo, in Naples, Florence, 26 September 1450. He addressed Filippo as 'caro quanto fratello'.
91. Strozzi Letters, p.137. Alessandra's judgement was probably influenced by the fact that Benedetto had been prior 2 years earlier.
92. C.S. III, 180, f.51. Lorenzo Strozzi to Alessandra in Florence; Valencia, 24 November 1446. Lorenzo was born on 21 August 1432: Strozzi Letters, p.127.
93. Strozzi Letters, p.308. On this occasion Niccolo di Lionardo arranged a compromesso with Lodovico and Battista.
94. C.S. III, 180, f.56: Vanni and Battista Strozzi to Filippo in Naples, Florence, 1 September 1459; C.S. III, 249, 153r: Lodovico to Filippo and Lorenzo Strozzi in Naples, Florence, 5 June 1464. Alessandra passed on to her sons the gossip that Lodovico would still be as rich, despite his failure, as he had been 10 years earlier. Strozzi Letters, p.358. Rinuccini noted in his ricordi that the debts of Lodovico and his brothers amounted to 32,000 florins (cited by Guasti, Strozzi Letters, p.349); Alessandra stated that they had houses and land worth 16,000 florins,

which would be sold to pay their debts (Strozzi Letters, p.342). In 1469 their joint estimated wealth was 6,175 florins. A year after this failure, in 1465, Alessandra commented tartly that the birth of a child of Battista's had been the occasion for their usual extravagant celebrations, while 'Vanni va podestà in una piccola cosa; pure ci vanzera le spese': Strozzi Letters, p.439.

95. C.S. III, 131, f.132: Lodovico Strozzi to Filippo, Florence, 27 March 1465.

96. C.S. III, 131, ff.88, 91. Girolamo Strozzi to Filippo in Naples, Florence, 24 September, 3 November 1459.

97. Girolamo and his brothers (not named here) Pagolo and Marco, were the sons of Carlo di Marco d' Uberto (see Table 2). Girolamo was himself only 30 in 1459; the death of his father is reported in the later letter. His brother Marco di Carlo di Marco later had a company in London with which Filippo dealt extensively; he should not be confused with the Marco di Carlo di Piero Strozzi who worked for Filippo in Florence. Carlo di Marco's 1457 catasto is Cat. 817, ff.611r-613v.

98. C.S. III, 180, f.31. Filippo Strozzi to Alessandra in Florence; Rome, 20 March 1461. He actually refers, in the letter, to a son of Piero di Carlo, but this must be a mistake. Andrea di Carlo di Piero was in fact working for him 2 years later.

99. Strozzi Letters, p.266.

100. Ibid. As Filippo had lived out of Florence since his early teens it seems fairly unlikely that he had read the popular Book 3 of Alberti's Della Famiglia.

101. Filippo also employed another set of young kinsmen, the sons of Marco di Benedetto di Marco d' Uberto. An interesting set of their letters is found in C.S. III, 113.

102. Strozzi Letters, p.185.

103. C.S. III, 131, 89. Bengni di Jacopo Strozzi to Filippo; Mantua, no date. Received by Filippo on 29 September 1459.

104. C.S. III, 249, f.108. Giovanfrancesco Strozzi to Filippo Strozzi in Naples; Venice, 20 October 1459. Most of this letter was published by Guasti, Strozzi Letters, pp.215-16, but he did not identify the author.

105. Ibid., p.216.

106. Ibid., p.342.

107. R. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth; e.g. p.54: 'the brothers' association with their cousins, however, was slow in leading them into the inner councils of the firm'.

108. The main suggestion of a 'want of confidence' in Lorenzo is found in a very confused statement by Alessandra, Strozzi Letters, pp.253-254: 'Di Niccolò non ne maraviglio punto, che sia in quella forma; chè è la

natura sua così, che sempre inverso di voi è stato meno conoscente che negli strani'. But her following words seem to contradict this, as does the occasion - that Niccolo had left entirely to Lorenzo the administration of his brother Jacopo's estate. This hardly shows a lack of confidence.

109. C.S. III, 249, f.112v: Filippo Strozzi to Lorenzo in Bruges; Naples, 18 October 1459. I cannot find any evidence that Lorenzo was thwarted in a desire to 'edge out the heirs' for a place in Jacopo's business in Bruges after the latter's death - Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, p.54.

110. R. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, p.55. What follows contrasts with Goldthwaite's account in various respects.

111. See above, section i.

112. On the formation of this company, R. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, p.56. Matteo di Simone's capital worth was only 5,000 florins in 1427, and must have been considerably diminished due to his exile, by his death in 1435.

113. Strozzi Letters, p.171.

114. Ibid., p.213.

115. Ibid., pp.293, 315.

116. There is a distinct gap in the Strozzi correspondence in the mid 1450s, but it seems that Filippo's desire to return coincided with at least a modest improvement in his financial position.

117. See below, Ch.5, section i.

118. This letter was published by C. Guasti, Strozzi Letters, pp.XXXIII-XXXIV. On this political development of 1458, see above, Ch.3.

119. It is, however, autograph: C.S. III, 180, f.60: Filippo Strozzi to Alessandra in Florence; Rome, 18 November 1458.

120. There is an earlier example of Filippo's letters being 'shown around' publicly in Florence: in 1450 Antonio Strozzi told Filippo that 'a me è schaduto mostrare lo scrivere tuo ad alcuni, e non de' nostri minori'; this letter concerned the reception of Florentine ambassadors, including Messer Giannozzo Pandolfini, in Naples. C.S. III, 180, f.53, Antonio Strozzi to Filippo in Naples; Florence, 24 April 1450.

121. C.S. III, 180, f.59. No signature, no date, reverse is blank. Clearly an enclosure; Filippo Strozzi's autograph.

122. C.S. III, 249, f.112v: Filippo Strozzi to Lorenzo in Bruges; Naples, 18 October 1459.

123. See above, n.119; also Ch.2, section i, on the Strozzi-Pandolfini parentado.

124. C.S. III, 131, f.170. Marco Parenti to Filippo Strozzi in Naples; Florence, 19 October 1465. Marco judged that Pandolfo had had two good



qualities rarely found together: 'cioè, il sapere e la bontà'.

125. C.S. III, 131, f.100. Marco Parenti to Filippo Strozzi in Naples; Florence, 1 April 1462.

126. His mother was Lena di Messer Palla Strozzi. See above, n.45, on his brother Piero's attitude to their maternal uncle Lorenzo.

127. C.S. III, 249, f.147r: Filippo Strozzi to Lorenzo in Bruges, Rome, 15 March 1462.

128. The friendship with Francesco Martelli and Jacopo de' Pazzi began at least as early as 1457: C.S. III, 145, f.40, Lorenzo Strozzi to Filippo in Naples, Florence, 4 June 1457. 'Francesco Martelli m' à fatto grande offerte per tuo amore ... simile Jacopo de' Pazzi.' When Jacopo Guicciardini was elected Florentine ambassador to Naples in July 1465, Marco Parenti described him to Filippo as 'assai mio amicho': C.S. III, 178, f.22, Marco Parenti to Filippo and Lorenzo Strozzi in Naples, Florence, 4 July 1465; also re. the Guicciardini, C.S. III, 249, f.161v: Luigi Guicciardini to Filippo in Naples, Florence, 13 July 1465, which promises Filippo and Lorenzo any help he could give them.

Giovanozzo Pitti had many dealings with Filippo in Naples: e.g. C.S. III, 249, 193r - Giovanozzo Pitti to Filippo Strozzi in Naples, Florence, 6 July 1465. Filippo cultivated Luca Pitti's friendship with the help of Marco Parenti. Guasti, Strozzi Letters, pp.416-17 published a draft (in Filippo's hand) of a letter of Filippo Strozzi to Pitti.

129. In February 1464 Alessandra referred to Dietisalvi as a 'grande e buono amico' of Filippo and Lorenzo; C.S. III, 249, contains several of his letters to Filippo.

130. C.S. III, 131, ff.109, 127: Agnolo Acciaiuoli to Filippo in Naples; Florence, 15 December 1464, and 15 February 1465. In December he advised Filippo to have Ferrante write about this matter 'alla Comunità e a parecchi di questi cittadini principali che tu conosci'. However in March Lorenzo did obtain such a licence, after waiting outside one of the city gates for final permission to enter Florence proper (eventually granted by the Signoria). He wrote to Filippo that he had sent letters to that end to the Signoria, Piero de' Medici, Luca Pitti, 'e uno a Antonio di Puccio, chome ai intenso quanto si sono adoperato in questa grazia'. C.S. III, 131, f.123, Lorenzo Strozzi to Filippo in Naples, 'a la porta di San Piero Gattolini'; 9 February 1465.

131. C.S. III, 178, f.14: Agnolo Acciaiuoli to Filippo Strozzi in Naples, Florence, 9 November 1465.

132. C.S. III, 178, f.44. Jacopo Acciaiuoli to Filippo, in Naples; Quarata, 24 October 1465.

133. Giovanfrancesco's nephew, Piero Acciaiuoli, was married to a daughter of Dietisalvi di Nerone; he and Dietisalvi were also friends.
134. C.S. III, 178, f.38: Priore Pandolfini to Filippo Strozzi, in Naples: Florence, 16 November 1465.
135. N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, p.165.
136. C.S. III, 249, f.177r: Marco Parenti to Filippo Strozzi in Naples; Florence, 12 November 1465.
137. Strozzi Letters, p.359: Lucrezia's letter to Filippo about this is ibid., p.398.
138. Ibid., pp.412-13.
139. Ibid., p.409.
140. On his way to and from Milan, while escorting Ippolita Sforza to her marriage with his elder brother Alfonso, duke of Calabria.
141. Strozzi Letters, p.414: C. Guasti published a large part of the correspondence relevant to this matter, ibid., pp.398-418.
142. Ibid., p.435.
143. C.S. III, 131, f.159. Piero de' Medici to Filippo Strozzi in Naples; Florence, 20 July 1465. C. Guasti published part of this letter (but not this paragraph), Strozzi Letters, p.456.
144. C.S. V, 22, f.93r.

CHAPTER 4, Part 2 - THE EXILES: PALLA STROZZI

i Events

Palla was the marathon exile of his generation. In 1434 he had already lived, by contemporary or indeed by any standards, a full political and intellectual life in Florence; then sixty-two,<sup>1</sup> he was to live to be ninety, completing his very long revised will two days before his death<sup>2</sup> on the eighth of May 1462. Vespasiano wrote so vividly of Palla's life in exile (some thirty years after his death)<sup>3</sup> that it is difficult to come to this subject freshly, particularly considering the paucity of evidence for the Paduan period. Of some help in this respect are the two long wills which Palla wrote in 1447<sup>4</sup> and 1462, but these are mainly concerned with a much earlier period of his life, referring to and sometimes describing in detail events of up to thirty years earlier. For that reason I will here concentrate more on how Palla's long exile was reflected in his writings about his life, and whether it can be seen to have changed his attitudes to Florence, to Florentine politics, and to his own family, rather than on a detailed narrative of his life in exile.<sup>5</sup>

The choice of Padua as his city of exile must have been a congenial one to Palla, partly because it was a notable centre of scholarship, partly because he already had extensive ties with Venice, both in business and politics: he had been sent there at least twice as Florentine ambassador.<sup>6</sup> His exile was guaranteed by the hefty sum of 10,000 florins, and his mallevadori included his brothers-in-law Salamone and Piero di Carlo Strozzi, his kinsmen Giovanni di Jacopo and Francesco di Giovanni di Luigi Strozzi, and his son-in-law Tommaso di Messer Tommaso Sacchetti, all guarantors for 1,000 florins.<sup>7</sup> Another kinsman, Palla di Francesco Strozzi, was among the mallevadori of his son Nofri.<sup>8</sup> Very little information has as yet been unearthed about Palla's life in exile from 1434 until 1447. His youngest daughter, Ginevra, was married in 1436 to Francesco Castellani,<sup>9</sup> whose family had also belonged to the anti-Medicean faction, and this marriage was probably arranged by Lorenzo, Palla's

eldest son, who remained in Florence after his father's exile. From 1434 to 1438 he managed his father's property and financial concerns there, attempting to preserve their property against the appropriations, official or quasi-official, of the Commune.<sup>10</sup> At the end of this period, either just before or just after he was also sentenced to exile, Lorenzo was advised to destroy the master account book in which were recorded all his dealings with Palla's property during those years.<sup>11</sup> Palla later described Lorenzo's actions in Florence, 'nella stanza là per mie faccende, e per rimediare a nostre sustantie' in terms of the 'grande e grave pericoli',<sup>12</sup> that he had undergone; terminating, presumably, in his own exile. There is no record that any of Palla's sons visited Florence after 1438, although neither Giovanfrancesco, Niccolò, or Carlo were in legal exile until 1458. Palla does not appear ever to have resumed any of the commercial activities which he had handed over to his sons by the end of the 1420s; only one of his sons, Giovanfrancesco, in fact followed a career in business.<sup>13</sup>

His youngest son, Carlo, who was only twelve or thirteen at the time of his exile, studied canon law in Bologna in the early 1440s, before moving to Rome by 1447.<sup>14</sup> He was made cubiculario segreto by Nicholas V, who had earlier, as Tommaso Parentucelli, been a tutor to Palla's elder sons; Vespasiano suggested, probably with reliable information (as he was a friend of Nicholas) that the Pope had intended to create Carlo a cardinal for his extraordinary merits and ability;<sup>15</sup> however Carlo died in 1450, before his thirtieth birthday.<sup>16</sup> There is no sign that Palla was opposed to Carlo entering the church, although whether or not he had done so before his death is uncertain.<sup>17</sup> With his humanistic education and training in canon law, the court of Nicholas V must have seemed to offer Carlo brilliant opportunities, while Palla had four other sons to secure him heirs.<sup>18</sup> Shortly after Carlo's death Lorenzo's second son was born, also named Carlo in his uncle's memory. Of this child and of his brother Lorenzo wrote: 'a Dio piaccia somigli di bontà, virtù e gratia per chi

gli à nome, ma abbi miglior fortuna'.<sup>19</sup>

At the time he wrote these words Lorenzo held the post of podestà at Gubbio, where he was to die less than a year after writing them, stabbed by a crazed kinsman of his wife Alessandra,<sup>20</sup> so that this his youngest child was eventually renamed Lorenzo in his memory.<sup>21</sup> Palla thus lost his brilliant and cultured youngest and eldest sons in the space of less than a year. Lorenzo had been the only one of Palla's sons old enough to have both married and participated in Florentine political<sup>22</sup> and commercial life before his father's exile. He had begun a career in business very early, even if he had played a negligible role in the businesses which had borne his name before his fifteenth birthday.<sup>23</sup> The bank through which all of Palla's business was carried out in the 1420s and 1430s was in Lorenzo's name, in partnership with Orsino Lanfredini, and he must have taken a major responsibility for this from about the age of twenty.<sup>24</sup> However in his will of 1447, Palla was careful to stipulate that any charges on his estate arising from the debts of the bank should be borne equally by all his heirs, not only Lorenzo: 'perchè posto che il nome fosse in lui, il facto apparteneva a me'.<sup>25</sup> From Palla's will it can be deduced that before his marriage Lorenzo had played the part of the chivalrous young aristocrat in Florentine society, and from his maintenance of Lorenzo's jousting expenses uncanceled on his accounts as late as 1447, that Palla had the reservations of a more austere generation about this costly form of display.<sup>26</sup> Lorenzo was never legally emancipated,<sup>27</sup> and the weight of Palla's authority as pater familias seems to have fallen rather heavily on his shoulders. Palla devoted a very large amount of space in both wills to recounting a series of transactions and agreements begun when Lorenzo had had made over to his wife Alessandra, as her dowry entitlement, Monte shares with a face value of 7,500 florins which were apparently legally Palla's.<sup>28</sup> 'La qual scriptura Lorenzo fece senza mia conoscientia e saputa, credo credendosi ben fare, della quale scriptura io mi tenni gravato, e diepiacquemi assai ...' Elsewhere, however, he gave Lorenzo and Alessandra

credit for the reacquisition of the country estate and 'palagetto' of Petraia; it was Alessandra, in fact, who had carried out the necessary negotiations in Florence.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, in explaining Lorenzo's actions in Florence after his exile, Palla wrote that he believed all of his actions were to be completely trusted: 'so la conditione e fede di Lorenzo, e che tutto s'è ingegniato far bene, e il meglio à saputo e potuto.'<sup>30</sup> Lorenzo used a beautiful humanist hand in his private correspondence, and in his 1447 will Palla referred to the fact that any manuscripts which Lorenzo had written, or commissioned others to write, were separate from his own and purely Lorenzo's property.<sup>31</sup> In his last will Palla also mentioned that when Lorenzo had left his household (at some time after 1438) he had taken with him 'alcuni begli libri' in the hand of Benedetto di Pieraccione Strozzi, mainly the works of Cicero (de Officiis, de Senectute, de Amicitia and de Paradoxis) and a Sallust.<sup>32</sup> These manuscripts had never been returned, and in 1462 Palla formally bequeathed them to Lorenzo's sons.<sup>33</sup> This episode suggests that Palla was very generous with his books where his sons were concerned, as this must have been a valuable group of works.

Of the three sons who survived Palla, by far the most is known of Giovanfrancesco. He had a bank in Venice, and he seems to have spent much of his time there from when he was 'apprenticed' to Galeazzo Borromei, probably just after his father's exile when he was sixteen.<sup>34</sup> Later he divided his time between his business interests in Venice and Ferrara, where he eventually established his own household, and where in 1477 he was offered citizenship.<sup>35</sup> By 1450 he was married to Luisa Donati; Palla recorded in his final will that in 1450, after Carlo's death, Giovanfrancesco had taken from the forzeretto which held his brother's books a 'libretto, e l'ufficio di nostra donna e altri orazioni, disse il voleva per la Luisa sua donna'.<sup>36</sup> In August 1452 Luisa gave birth to probably the second of their twelve children, at least five of whom were male:<sup>37</sup> 'sabato a dì 26, e a ora 18, mi fè la mia Luisa un bel fanciullo maschio'.<sup>38</sup> Luisa and her children appear to have lived

for some time in Palla's house in Padua.<sup>39</sup> On his death in 1462 Palla left all the scritture which still remained in the house in Florence in the hands of his sons Nofri and Giovanfrancesco, 'perchè sono più atti [than his other male descendants] alla conservazione d'esse. Nofri è il maggiore, e Giovanfrancesco è pratico in iscritture'.<sup>40</sup> Palla seems to have had confidence both in Giovanfrancesco's probity and in his business ability. Despite the offices of the humanist scholars whom Palla had employed as tutors for his sons,<sup>41</sup> or perhaps because he was short of free time to pursue such activities, Giovanfrancesco does not appear to have cultivated extensive humanist interests.<sup>42</sup> However, he did have an absorbing interest in Florentine history. In a series of letters written in 1452 and 1453 to his friend Francesco Caccini in Florence, he discussed in great detail the progress of a copy of Matteo Villani's chronicle which was being made for him there. He already had his father's copy of Giovanni Villani's chronicle: in his 1447 will Palla noted that Giovanfrancesco had this volume, together with his copy of the Decameron, with him in Venice: 'dilectandosi in essi, son contento e voglio che liberamente sien suoi'.<sup>43</sup> Giovanfrancesco explained to Francesco that his copy of Giovanni's work ended with the year 1333 - 'e l'ultimo chosa sie una disputazione d'uno papa a Vignone'<sup>44</sup> - and that he only required what came after that. He wanted it copied in 'carta di bombagia, e di lettere inteligibile e choretta ... e che io l'abbi il più presto ch'è possibile, che gran piacere me ne farai'.<sup>45</sup> A few months later, while still not in possession of this work, he wrote to Francesco asking about Giovanni Cavalcanti's chronicle, which he had had reports of, but which he had not read. 'Se l'opera della cronacha del Chavalchante ti pare bella, falla copiare in charta di bonbagia più presto puoi'.<sup>46</sup> Clearly his early departure from it had done nothing to dim his interest in his native city; it may well, indeed, have sharpened it. He took a close interest in political and intellectual matters in Florence as well, commenting, for example, in May 1453 on the death of Messer Carlo Marsuppini, and favourably on the election of Poggio Bracciolini to

the chancellorship: 'ottima elezione s'è fatto di Messer Poggio.'<sup>47</sup>

Palla's other two sons were close to each other in age, but temperamentally completely different. Nofri, exiled with his father to Padua, was also the closest to him in intellectual interests, not only studying the Latin classics but commissioning copies and making them in his own hand. In 1447, when distinguishing the manuscripts of Nofri from his own, Palla mentioned the 'due deche' of Livy, and the letters of Pliny the younger, 'ne quali s'è molto fatichato', and the works which a Latin scribe, Brancatio Latini, had written for him; here he mentioned only the letters of St. Jerome.<sup>48</sup> In 1462 Palla explained that Brancatio had been brought to stay in their house in Padua 'a sua requisitione e introductione', and that the Pliny written by Nofri was a 'bello e gran libro'.<sup>49</sup> Among the many other works that in 1462 he singled out as Nofri's were a Vitruvius, a de Agricultura, a Commentarium Rerum Greucarum and a volume of Petrarch's Latin letters; there was also a volume of the letters of Lionardo Bruni. He also mentioned a copy of Cicero's de Claris Oratoribus, written by Brancatio, which he himself had given to Nofri.<sup>50</sup> However there is no indication that even Nofri had emulated his father's knowledge of Greek. Palla referred in 1462 to two armarii which Nofri had painted in his own hand,<sup>51</sup> but there is no evidence that he ever painted professionally. He spent some time in Rome, no doubt in humanist circles; given his brother Carlo's presence at the papal court, and his own interest in the arts, shown both by his possession of the Vitruvius and by the fact that he painted, it is interesting to speculate that he may have been a friend of Alberti: this was the period of his brother-in-law Giovanni Rucellai's commissions.<sup>52</sup> But Nofri seems to have spent much of his time living with his father in Padua, and there is no indication that he did not remain financially dependant on Palla.<sup>53</sup> In his final will Palla entrusted some duties of particular importance, including the saying of masses for his soul, to Nofri and Giovanfrancesco together, 'miei figliuoli nella chui conscientia mi confido.'<sup>54</sup>



Niccolò, between Nofri and Giovanfrancesco in age, remains almost completely an enigma. While his name occurs frequently in his father's wills, nearly everything said about him is of a negative kind. He had no profession or occupation which is certainly known of, nor did he share his father's intellectual interests.<sup>55</sup> There is no evidence that he ever married (certainly he had not done so by 1462) but he had at least one illegitimate child.<sup>56</sup> He had moved so often from place to place, even country to country, that his father admitted in his last will that he knew very little about his domestic arrangements.<sup>57</sup> It seems likely that he had taken part in unsuccessful business ventures, or had lost substantial amounts of money by other means: in 1447 Palla stated that Niccolò was not to be left his share of the estate freely, unlike his brothers, 'considerato la sua natura e conditione, e portamenti facti di continuo. E considerato e dampni per gli modi suoi si sono ricevuti'.<sup>58</sup> In addition to this, he had a violent objection to any disposition of his father's property which would bring him into close association with his brothers. For this reason Palla excluded him from the otherwise common inheritance by his sons of their ancestral Florentine house, but willed to him instead a much smaller house close by.<sup>59</sup> He was clearly the reprobate son: Palla recalled, in 1447, a large sum of money he had had to pay to secure Niccolò's release when he had been 'kidnapped' and was imprisoned in Provence.<sup>60</sup> He agreed to waive this debt on the condition that Niccolò 'essendo ammonito, si guardasse'.<sup>61</sup>

By 1447 two of Palla's five daughters - Margherita and Ginevra - were dead, the latter having died probably only shortly before he wrote the will of that year.<sup>62</sup> Another, Lena, perhaps the best loved of his daughters, did not outlive her second husband, Felice di Michele Brancacci, dying in an outbreak of plague in Florence in 1449.<sup>63</sup> When one of Lena's daughters, Ginevra, married Francesco Caccini in the following year, Palla wrote to Francesco that his wife should have 'virtù e buona gratia, con dell' altre bonissime parte, sappiendo la virtù di quegli da chi ella è nata'; and again he wrote

of Lena and her husband Felice, 'non si potrebbe dire a sufficientia in lor commendazione'.<sup>64</sup> In his 1447 will Palla had made special provision for her, as she had lost her dowry after Felice's exile from Florence. She was to have the right of tornata alla casa with whichever of her brothers she chose: 'so che sarebbe discreta'.<sup>65</sup> After Lena's death Palla maintained a close interest in the welfare of her daughters. When a marriage for one of these girls, Maria, was under discussion, Giovanfrancesco wrote to Francesco Caccini (husband of Maria's sister Ginevra) that 'Messer Palla scrisse a Piero e a voi altri; à dato liberta', per quel li aspetta che maritiate la Maria a chi vi pare meglio.'<sup>66</sup> Clearly Palla was still considered a repository of authority in the concerns of his descendants. In the 1450s Palla entrusted some of his financial affairs in Florence to Francesco Caccini, and in 1462 made Pagolo di Benedetto Strozzi, the husband of yet another of Lena's daughters, Agnoletta, one of the Florentine executors of his will.<sup>67</sup>

Only two of Palla's daughters were still alive in 1462. About the elder of these, Tancia, I have discovered very little. She had not been widowed, but Palla was clearly concerned about her degree of financial security, enjoining his sons to support her should her dowry be lost. Further, he made a special financial provision in her favour, that part of the proceeds of the sale of his clothes was to be paid to her, in the form of twelve gold ducats a year for eight years, 'sichè per caso d' infermita' e di necessita' ella si possa di qualche cosa aiutare'.<sup>68</sup> He suggested that Giovanni Rucellai, husband of his other surviving daughter, Jacopa, would be 'un buon mezzano' for this transaction.<sup>69</sup> Palla's final will shows Giovanni as the man whom he held in the greatest trust, apart perhaps from his sons Nofri and Giovanfrancesco, and certainly as the only person both worthy of trust and able to effect what Palla wished in regard to his Florentine property.<sup>70</sup> Because of this great confidence in Giovanni, Palla felt no need to make provision for Jacopa: 'perchè è in conditione che non è da pensar di lei simili casi'.<sup>71</sup> Jacopa died six years after her father, and her epitaph was

written by Giovanni in his Zibaldone. He thanked God for his 'degnissima' and 'charissima' wife, 'per essere molto amorevole della persona mia, e di buono governo per la chasa e per la famiglia.' Of her death on the twenty fourth of April 1468 he wrote: 'la qual cosa riputai mi fusse la maggior perdita che mai abbi avuto o potessi avere'.<sup>72</sup>

In 1447 Palla made very full and detailed provision for the support of his wife, Marietta di Carlo Strozzi. Her dowry when they had married fifty years earlier had been 900 florins, but Palla decided that she was not only entitled to this sum, which would have been the usual Florentine practice, but also to additional amounts which this money had 'earned' through its use. He left her 1250 ducats, held for him by Giovanni Rucellai, which was substantially larger than her dowry because it took account of 'cose pervenute a llei, e di panni lasciategli, e sue cosette, e bestiame, ragunati a poco a poco'.<sup>73</sup> Not only was she entitled to this capital sum, but to the compound interest accrued upon it. He seems to have realised that this was generous treatment: 'e spero non potere errare ad usare verso lei gratitudine, e volgiendo possa vivere con honore'.<sup>74</sup> He explained his reasons for doing so: 'rendomi certo che per ogni caso è in vita e in morte, ch'ella amerà più e suo figli ch'altri. Sempre à facto bene, e così mi confido farà sempre in qualunque advenimento'.<sup>75</sup> Marietta died almost immediately after this will was written, indeed only a matter of days later; the household was probably suffering from some infectious disease which Palla escaped, but to which Marietta succumbed.<sup>76</sup> Palla recalled her in his final will, written just before his own death, reflecting that had she lived he could not have provided for her according to her merits: 'verso la quale non arei potuto fare tanto di bene e contentamento suo quanto arebbe meritato per la virtù e fede sua.'<sup>77</sup>

There is almost no indication of what Marietta was actually like. Vespasiano refers to her as a 'donna singularissima de' sua tempi',<sup>78</sup> but there is none of the convincing detail accompanying, for instance, his portrait of her daughter-in-law Alessandra de' Bardi, which

would make this appear other than hyperbole. Although Vespasiano states that her daughter's education was 'sotto la disciplina di Madonna Marietta',<sup>79</sup> a writing master may in fact have been employed in a household of this size; her daughter Lena wrote a rather crabbed and cursive, though not uneducated hand, very different from the elegant script of her brothers. The most revealing information about Marietta in Palla's writings is the long story in his final will of her journey to Florence to take care of some business regarding Palla's property there, and how, 'semplicemente' she sold a house which Palla had particularly wished to keep. Her son-in-law Giovanni Rucellai had told her of his falling out with his brother Filippo, who needed a house because they were no longer going to share Giovanni's. Marietta suggested that he buy from the Commune a house in the Via Larga de' Legnaiuoli (opposite the site of the Strozzi palace) which Palla had purchased from Stozza di Rinaldo Strozzi before 1427.<sup>80</sup> Although this house was being sold by the Commune, Palla must have retained some rights in it, as he stresses in his account of this business that Marietta had his procuratore generale and was thus able to act in his name. Palla described himself as molto malcontento when he heard about this: 'e alla Marietta quando ella venne qua a Padova, gli ne diessi molto male.'<sup>81</sup> (He later reached a friendly agreement about this property with Giovanni.)<sup>82</sup>

After Marietta's death in 1447 he was almost alone in his house in Padua, apart from Nofri, and intermittent visits from Giovanfrancesco; after the latter's marriage around 1449, his wife Luisa and in due course their infant children appear to have lived there with Palla for some time before settling in Ferrara.<sup>83</sup> But the person who really maintained the Paduan household after Marietta's death was Marta, a former domestic slave whom Marietta had freed before she died. 'E stata in casa con meco, che sono molti anni', Palla wrote, 'senza salario diputato, e à facto tutte le faccende di casa'. She had served him 'con ogni fede e amore', and in gratitude he left her two hundred and forty lire di marchetti d'argento for her support, and sixty more to equip herself with

household goods.<sup>84</sup> Although his life was certainly not as tragic as Vespasiano represented it, Palla nevertheless witnessed in the ten years from 1446 the deaths of his wife, his son-in-law Felice Brancacci, two of his sons and three of his daughters, the burden of such longevity as his in an era of low average life expectancy. Added to this was the public drama of his exile from Florence, renewed by the time of his death on no less than three occasions. The next section attempts to delineate the effect of Palla's thirty years of exile on his ideas and sentiments as reflected in those of his writings available for study.

## ii Ideas

There is no convenient 'handle' for getting hold of Palla's views about his native city, such as are found in the case of his son-in-law Giovanni Rucellai in his expressions of civic pride in the Zibaldone. If Palla ever committed to paper any purely private reflections of this kind, they have not survived, and unfortunately all the writings which we do have are somewhat coloured by their context. They were all prepared for some particular civic occasion, and all were persuasive by purpose. The best example of this is his oration as Florentine ambassador to the Venetian senate in 1423, which attempted unsuccessfully to persuade the senators to join Florence in war against the Duke of Milan, Filippo Maria Visconti.<sup>85</sup> In this oration he adopted the 'orthodox' republican position that tyranny was evil and to be opposed, and that Florence and Venice, as the principal upholders of republican liberty, were natural allies. Like several of his contemporaries in the ruling oligarchy in this decade, he seems to have sincerely admired the oligarchical stability of Venice, 'questa antichissima repubblica',<sup>86</sup> and saw in her a desirable model for Florence. For example, in one of the draft speeches which he preserved with his diario,<sup>87</sup> and which probably dates from 1427, he referred to the government of the Venetians, 'quanto è giusto, e quanto lungamente à durato', a fact which he attributed in this context - a speech in favour of taxation reform - to the greater justice with which the

fiscal burden was there distributed.<sup>88</sup>

Some of his other writings show that while he wished to see Florence organised as a stable, oligarchical republic, that he also had a view of the state, and therefore of its government, as concerned also with the achievement of moral ends, primary amongst them justice and reason, and that the practical issues of government should be decided with these considerations in mind. In a draft speech on this subject, addressed to the chief officials of the Florentine republic, he quoted Saint Augustine, Plato, Cicero and Terence on the subject of justice, and finished with a peroration which presumably expressed his own view:

'a volere che la giustitia sia perfecta si richiede che lla sia temperata colla benignità et humanità'.<sup>89</sup> In practice these principles were displayed in a speech made in favour of fiscal reform: prestanze were

imposed according to 'opinione, e a volontà, e non a ragione. Chi vuol vivere a ragione non puo dannare questo modo del catasto', and one in favour of lightening the burden of the cost of Florentine administration for the citizens of Pisa by reducing the number of officials employed there.<sup>90</sup>

As neither of these measures was likely to be popular if implemented, and as both were likely to operate to his personal disadvantage, he must have spoken from conviction. In a speech designed to facilitate the passing of a scrutiny measure in one of the councils, he showed himself keenly aware of the advantages the traditional Florentine electoral system had for pace e quiete in the city. A new scrutiny ensured that the citizens were not 'fuor d'ogni speranza', and made them content. 'E ciascun cittadino debba essere contento, volere a sua compagnia negli honori e ufici'.<sup>91</sup>

Despite his wider than usual than usual experience of practical politics, and the extra dimension supplied by his knowledge of classical literature, Palla shared with many other Florentines of his class an interest in Florentine politics and history as connected with the history of his own family. This took the form of a priorista in his own hand of the Strozzi with a few historical annotations.<sup>92</sup> He was careful to

record in his diario the role played by his kinsmen Messer Nanni and Messer Marcello Strozzi; he even noted the role of messenger carried out by his wife Marietta's brother, Piero di Carlo Strozzi. He also owned a copy of Lionardo Bruni's funeral oration for Messer Nanni.<sup>93</sup> A more general interest in Florentine history may be suggested by his ownership of Giovanni Villani's Florentine chronicle. Altogether, his life in Florence was one in which politics and the service of the commune played a very substantial part. He may well have believed that he spoke the truth when he proclaimed to the Venetian senate the republican citizen's devotion to civic liberty: 'noi per fuggire la servitù siamo per sofferire ogni miseria, sino la propria morte nostra e de' figliuoli ...'<sup>94</sup>

After his exile Palla referred only incidentally in his writings to Florence or its government: particularly in his very detailed accounts of the dispersal of his fortune, his wishes for his burial, and recollections of past achievements and grievances. Perhaps the most revealing comments were made in connection with his vanished wealth. In 1447, he wrote that his sustantie had been vastly diminished by his exile, and the great amount of tax levied on him; 'poco ci sia da testare per rispetto delle impositioni factemi, e graveze fuori d'ogni dovere; e dello exilio e rilegatione factemi'.<sup>95</sup> In 1462 he was more explicit, and more bitter: it was the taxes imposed after his exile which were chiefly responsible for his financial ruin. These had been imposed 'sol per vedere l'ultima mia disfatione'.<sup>96</sup> Very near to death, he must have felt free to say that the Medicean regime had wished to accomplish not only his removal from Florence, and hence from Florentine politics, but also the destruction of the great wealth which had helped make him such a dangerous opponent. He elaborated this theme when discussing the various properties which had been taken from him by the commune to offset his tax debts. 'Per privarmi d'ogni mia sustantia mi fu posta allora grandissima e incomportabile graveza', and as a result many properties had been lost: 'entrò e

preselo il commune, e concedetele a chi ne volle, per piccollissimi pregi'.<sup>97</sup> As an example of this process he cited the case of the 'palagio del Saggina', the largest of the contiguous houses he and his father Nofri had acquired in the Via Larga de' Legnaiuoli. Nofri had paid 1,300 florins for this, and Palla complained that it had been 'given' without his consent to Giovanni Minerbetti for a mere 400 florins.<sup>98</sup> An even worse example was that of the 'tiratoio de' Servi', one of a number of valuable commercial properties inherited from his father, which had cost Nofri 1,000 florins. 'Et ebbero Puccio li vicino, per fiorini pochi più che cento'; Pucci, he claimed, had since disposed of it profitably.<sup>99</sup> The inference is clear: that it suited a corrupt regime to enrich its supporters while reducing one of its principal opponents to near poverty. There is also an implicit criticism of the ruling regime in his recital of the sums owing to him from diplomatic missions undertaken for the commune before his exile. Similarly, he recounted the circumstances in which he had supplied the commune with grain worth 650 florins, another debt which had never been repaid.<sup>100</sup> As he admitted, these ancient debts were unlikely to be made good, but they obviously contributed to his sense of the unjust treatment he had received, and about which he wanted to make a complete accounting. His son Lorenzo echoed the terms of his father's earlier writings about the function of civic activity, but in reverse, when he referred in 1450 to Florence as 'cotesta città, tracta d'ogni ragione e giustitia'.<sup>101</sup>

It seems certain that Palla would have disapproved of the Medicean system of securing and concentrating their influence in the government of the city - a system of electoral controls - as an unwarranted departure from the traditional oligarchy of the arti maggiori, even had this system not been designed to exclude from office opponents of the regime such as the Strozzi. But for an investigation of whether such disapproval influenced Palla's behaviour, we have to rely almost entirely on the statements of others. The best of this evidence is



undoubtedly that of his son Giovanfrancesco, in two letters written to Francesco Caccini, one in late 1453, on the rumoured extension of the sentences of exile, the other in March 1454 when this threat had materialised.<sup>102</sup> In the first letter he introduced the subject with an ironic flourish: 'ma bene ò preso grande ammirazione che si ragioni di prolunghare i confini e confinati', but his real reaction was both surprised and bitter. 'Che si viene per la lor fatica e ubidienza, ruina e disfazione doppo 19 anni'. This leaves no doubt that at this time Palla still wished, and had expected, to be allowed to return to Florence before he died. Giovanfrancesco eloquently expressed the feeling of outrage and despair which the Strozzi must have experienced at this development.

Quando mi rivolto non so a pena chi sie vivo de' confinati. Debbono mai aver fine queste cose, e posare li animi? Iddio il permetta ... Non vene a tornare nessuno, se non quando questo reggimento vorà, e a che riconfinare e tormentare ed a frigare l'animo deli afritti più che si siano; e masime che sono auti e sono ubidientissimi, e saranno, fino a la morte. Dorami per rispetto del nostro vecchio padre, che in questa sua ultima età, sentisse rinovar le piaghe de suoi con li novi dolori.<sup>103</sup>

When Giovanfrancesco heard that the extension had in fact been approved by the Signoria, although with the agreement of only five of its nine members,<sup>104</sup> he repeated his conviction of the extreme injustice of this act, on the grounds that their behaviour in exile had been irreproachable: 'tutta volta lui [Palla] e tutti noi resta paziente a quello à facto la Signoria', adding ironically, 'la quale in cosa alchuna non può errare',<sup>105</sup> the 'orthodox' Florentine view of the actions of the chief magistracy. These letters lend weight to Vespasiano's testimony that Palla, in exile, had adopted a stance of complete loyalty to Florence, refusing (outside his own household, at least) to countenance criticism of her government; Giovanfrancesco's reference to the infallibility of the Signoria may also refer obliquely to this attitude of his father. Vespasiano quoted Messer Giannozzo Manetti's report that Palla

treated all Florentine ambascadore to Venice who stayed in Padua with courteous respect: '[Messer Giannozo] maravigliavasi assai della sua costanza, di vederlo istare di bonissima voglia, e mai dolersi dello esilio nè di cose avverse...'<sup>106</sup> Palla's stance of irreproachable rectitude may have been a matter of principle, but it was also one of policy; Giovanfrancesco clearly believed that this would eventually lead to their reinstatement. This was a miscalculation, and they must have been either unwilling or unable, or both, to use the means to this end employed by Filippo. Between these Strozzi and the Medicean regime there was a gulf too wide to be bridged with the tools of common expediency.

This extension of the sentences, and the further extension of 1458, when the sentence was also widened to include all of Palla's descendants through the male line (including Bardo and Lorenzo di Lorenzo, who had returned to Florence with their mother after Lorenzo's death), together convinced Palla that he would never return to his native city, nor even be buried there. Giovanfrancesco had written dramatically in 1454 that he felt 'passione e dispiacere, sol per rispetto del nostro vecchio padre, che in questo suo ultimo tempo si vegha in tutto serrato le porti, e abbi a ripor l'ossa fuori della patria.'<sup>107</sup> This change is reflected in the different dispositions made in the two wills for his funeral and place of burial. In 1447 he had directed that 'mancando io qui' (that is, in Padua), he wished his body to be taken first to the Paduan church of San Francesco dello Osservanza, and from Padua to Santa Trinita in Florence, for burial in the chapel built there by his father and himself.<sup>108</sup> The instructions were detailed: he wished to be buried 'vestito come monaco di Sancta Trinita di Firenze', adding that they were Vallambrosians whose habit was grey. He stated precisely where his body was to be placed, in a similarly inconspicuous position to that of his mother, Mona Nanna, in the vaults under the altare maggiore in the chapel.<sup>109</sup> He must have wanted his father's monument to remain alone

as the chapel's chief focus of attention, and in consonance with this he stressed that he wanted no elaborate ceremony either in Padua or at his burial in Florence. The only exception was that his sons might invite 'parenti e cittadini' to their Florentine house on the day of burial or the next.<sup>110</sup>

In writing this will, Palla showed a desire to draw up an accurate record of his and his father's achievement in building this chapel, but in doing so he did not quite resolve an ambiguity which existed in his own mind about it. Thus in his first description he carefully distinguished it as 'la capella nostra nuovamente per Nofri mio padre ordinata e facti e fundamenti, e per me messa ad executione e compiuta, come lasciò per suo testamento et ultima volontà'. Here he ascribed the greatest responsibility to Nofri, crediting himself only with the execution of his father's wishes, and with the chapel's completion.<sup>111</sup> But when he made detailed mention of the chapel again later in the will, when describing how one of his garments, of red velvet,<sup>112</sup> was to be made into a chasuble for the further decoration of the chapel, he described it as 'la capella nostra nuova che Nofri mio padre lasciò si facesse, e così io feci. E là [the chasuble] sia insieme con l'altre cose e fornimenti ch'io feci fare in ornamento di quella capella continuamente'.<sup>113</sup> It is not perhaps too fanciful to see this as an assertion of his own role in the chapel's creation, appropriately enough in making this bequest which was so closely associated with his own person. But even here he made the distinction, due to filial piety, between the actual planning and construction of the chapel, according to his father's plans, and its completion and decoration, in which he had followed his own wishes.<sup>114</sup> If a recent scholar of the chapel's architecture and decoration is correct in stating that when finished the beginning made by Nofri had been almost completely changed or obscured by his son's more ambitious structure,<sup>115</sup> Palla's ambiguity on this point may be adequately explained.

There is a striking difference between these descriptions and dispositions of 1447, and the complete silence on the subject of the

chapel in his final will fifteen years later. Unfortunately very little is known about the history of the chapel in the period after 1450. But it cannot be assumed, on the basis of Palla's silence alone, that the chapel had passed into other hands.<sup>116</sup> It seems unlikely that he ignored the chapel because of the repugnance of its Florentine associations, as he maintained a passionate attachment to the other, secular, Florentine ancestral properties. That his personal piety was still closely associated with the Vallombrosan order is shown by his continued wish to be buried in their habit.<sup>117</sup> Presumably the reason for the change was simply that with his sons and grandsons all by then in judicial exile also, he felt that burial in Florence was no longer possible in the manner in which he would have wished it carried out.<sup>118</sup> In the will of 1462 he stated only that he should be buried, as Marietta had been, in the church of Santa Maria di Betlem in Padua, 'e posto humilmente in chiesa, dove e come parrà a i mei figliuoli e rede'.<sup>119</sup>

By contrast with his apparent dismissal of the Santa Trinita chapel from active consideration by the time he wrote his final will, Palla showed himself in 1462 to be more fiercely concerned than ever that the most important parts of his Florentine property should remain in, or be returned to, the hands of his male descendants. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, Palla's house of residence in Florence was in fact made up of two houses, one in the Via Larga de Legnaiuoli, one in the Corso degli Strozzi, joined back-to-back.<sup>120</sup> Of these, he was able to maintain constant possession of the house in the Corso due to an agreement with the Abbot of San Pancrazio, who was cessionario of the gonfalone of Lion rosso, whereby the Abbot had formal possession of the property, and its income, for as long as Palla and his sons remained in exile. Palla's son-in-law, Giovanni Rucellai, seems to have been responsible for this arrangement, the purpose of which was clearly stated in the notarised agreement: 'acciochè altro ufficio di comune o altri per debiti di Messer Palla non possa andarvi su'.<sup>121</sup> The other house, in the Via Larga, had been sold to Meseer Marcello Strozzi with a private agreement that Palla

could repurchase it when he or his heirs were able to return to Florence to do so.<sup>122</sup> By 1462 Marcello was dead and the house had passed into the possession of his sons. Of these houses Palla wrote that 'sono nostra antichità'.<sup>123</sup> He described the former as '[la] casa principale, murata per nostro antico fino da' fundamenti'.<sup>124</sup> presumably the name of the ancestor who built it was no longer remembered. It had probably stood on this site at least since the early fourteenth century when Palla's great-great-grandfather, Messer Jacopo, had taken part in the first enlargement of the Corso to create a piazza.<sup>125</sup> The other house, formerly owned by Currado di Pagolo Strozzi, he described as 'non murata per gli antichi, ma fu degli antichi nostri'.<sup>126</sup> He thus succinctly expressed the values that lay behind the attachment to particular houses and sites, that they were hallowed by their ancestral associations and continual occupation by the lineage's members. For that reason, he concluded, 'no' mi pare che ssi debba vendere nè impegnare nè alienare, come decto è, in strani'.<sup>127</sup> Despite the fact that he placed a very high value on unity between brothers (in the bequest of his library he advised his heirs 'che sempre commenderei lo 'ngegnarei d'essere e parere dimonstrarsi una medesima cosa; in qualunque acto seguene consolatione, commendatione, e beni assai'.)<sup>128</sup> he left these joined houses, together with the country properties of Trefiano and Poggio a Caiano, to Nofri and Giovanfrancesco, and Lorenzo's sons Bardo and Lorenzo, excluding Niccolò. This he did 'per non mescolar Niccolò mio figliuolo con gli suoi frategli e nipoti, per pace e quiete fra loro'.<sup>129</sup> The house which he left Niccolo instead, nearby in the Via Larga, had formerly belonged to Strozza di Rinaldo, a distant kinsman with whom Palla had had quite a close association. This house was at the time Palla wrote his will in the hands of Giovanni Rucellai, as were the botteghe under Palla's own house in the Via Larga, and the property of Poggio a Caiano.<sup>130</sup> He was confident that Giovanni would keep his word to hand it over when his heirs were in a position to repurchase it. 'Giovanni son certo, non contradirebbe, e confidomi che

sempre farà quanto allora disse'.<sup>131</sup> He particularly valued this house, for its associations with the lineage and its position in the middle of the Strozzi district: 'e dissi ch' io aveva carissima quella casa e terre, per luogo dove era, e per più rispetti'.<sup>132</sup> He placed on it the same restrictions as on the main house with regard to alienation and inheritance.

The other property which Palla particularly wished his heirs to preserve was the country estate of Trefiano, in the commune of Carmignano. This is one of the most eloquent expressions by any Florentine of attachment to a particular building, property and district because of their associations with both personal ancestors and the whole lineage. This was despite the fact, as Palla makes clear, that the property possessed no present grandeur or particular material value. He formulated his wish that his sons preserve this property in similar terms to those used for the Florentine house, and then gave his reasons in full.

'E questo fo perchè da' fondamenti fu edificato dagli nostri antichi e padri Messer Jacopo, e Palla suo figliuolo, padre di Nofri mio padre e mio avolo. E voglio quanto possibile m'è provvedere che decto sito, luogo e podere abbia a rimanere nella casa nostra e ne' nostri discendenti per memoria di che lo edificio e fa [tto] principio; e per respecto del luogo dove egli è, cioè a Carmignano sempre sutì quegli huomini quel medesimo che noi, e di casa nostra. Posto che decto luogo sia al presente piccolissima casa, e come un casolare, ma già fu grande e bella e magnifica.'<sup>133</sup>

There was no mention of this property in the earlier will of 1447, just as there had been no explanation of why their house in Florence should be preserved. One reason for this new emphasis may have been that as Palla grew very old, and the ebbing away of his once enormous wealth was virtually complete, these ancestral properties, as the beginning of his and his father's huge fortune, took on a renewed importance and it seemed more imperative to him that they be preserved. Another reason may have been that he feared the effect of their long exile on his sons' and grandsons' memories, and attachment to these properties; hence this

attempt in his final will to make clear their importance.<sup>134</sup>

In other respects, as well, Palla's mind seems to have travelled back to Florentine matters when writing this will - more, it appears, in the interest of setting matters straight, than of obtaining redress for what were all very ancient grievances. The most striking was the account of how, while a member of the Dieci di Balia, he provided the commune with grain worth 650 florins, at the request of the Signoria, a debt which had never been repaid. In explaining how this had happened, he came close to a narration of the events which lead to his own exile: 'seguirono dipoi le novità de' 1433, et ebbesi ad attendere a squittino et altro, et passò il tempo. E seguirono dipoi le novità del 1434 e i miei confini ...'<sup>135</sup> There is no suggestion here that he resented his exile, or considered it unjust: his protests were confined to the deliberate destruction of his wealth which he believed had accompanied it.

In contrast with the large amount of material showing Filippo and Lorenzo di Matteo's contacts with their kinsmen during their exile, there is very little to show whether this was so in Palla's case. One reason for this blank is that virtually none of his correspondence from the Paduan years has survived.<sup>136</sup> As it is known that Giovanfrancesco and Bardo and Lorenzo di Lorenzo did correspond with other Strozzi, it seems likely that Palla also did, considering his lifetime of contacts with his kinsmen, amongst whom he had held a leading position before his exile. But this is no more than a guess. In the case of the wills, apart from his passionate espousal of corporate ideals with regard to the family properties, there is comparatively little in either about other members of the lineage, and some of what there is, is of a rather ambiguous kind. As mentioned above in Chapter 3, he referred in the will of 1447 to his cousin Messer Palla Novello only to stipulate that neither he nor any of his direct male descendants were ever to inherit any of his property. By 1462 this clause had disappeared; presumably the enmity which lay behind it had evaporated with Palla Novello's death.

Generally, of course, it should be remembered that Palla di Nofri must have outlived all of his own contemporaries and close associates, and that he had no link with Florence as strong as that Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi provided for her sons to familiarise him with the new generation. This relative lack of information is shown, for example, by his description in his 1462 will of the sale of the 'casa dell' Aquila', one of the houses he had owned on the S. Maria Novella side of the Via Larga. He had bought this from his brother-in-law, Salamone di Carlo Strozzi, and it had been bought in turn after his exile by Messer Benedetto di Ruberto Strozzi of Mantua. Messer Benedetto had then sold it to yet another Strozzi purchaser. 'Emmi decto che l'anno e figliuoli di Francesco di Benedetto di Caroccio.

Vorrebbe ingegnar di sapere come la casa in cio è proceducta'.<sup>137</sup>

He was in fact correctly informed: Lodovico, Battista, Vanni and Lorenzo di Francesco Strozzi had bought it from Messer Benedetto in August 1460.<sup>138</sup> Clearly Palla felt at the end of his long life that he had lost touch with some of his kinsmen in Florence. Nevertheless two of the three Florentine executors of his final will were Strozzi (the third was Giovanni Rucellai): Carlo di Piero di Carlo and Pagolo di Benedetto di Pieraccione.<sup>139</sup> Carlo was his wife's nephew; Pagolo was married to his grand-daughter Angoletta di Felice Brancacci. He certainly chose them because they were kinsmen, but these other ties had no doubt helped to sustain the bond that he felt tied their interests to his.

Apart from the various explanations of legal and property dispositions, the subject to which he devoted the most space in both wills, and which did not at all diminish in interest for him, was that of his great collection of Greek and Latin manuscripts. The best known, because best described, volumes in his collection were those he bequeathed to the monastery of Santa Giustina in Padua.<sup>140</sup> These works were only a very small part of his collection - thirteen in 1447, eighteen in 1462 - out of a total by the time of his death of between four hundred and four



hundred and fifty books.<sup>141</sup> This was a personal and rather idiosyncratic bequest: the manuscripts were almost all works of Greek philosophy or commentaries on it, and it is clear from Palla's statement about their use that none of the monks there were familiar with such studies at that time.<sup>142</sup> It was a personal memorial in that a large proportion of the manuscripts had been copied by Palla himself, and they were all of particular significance to him. The most important group of works were the product of his Paduan exile, and specifically of the 1440s: initiated, perhaps inspired, by the copy of Semplicius' first commentary on Aristotle's Physics copied for him by John Argiropoulos in 1441, three more volumes of commentary followed this, copied by Palla himself in 1442, 1443 and 1444.<sup>143</sup> Another of the volumes in Palla's hand, containing four works of Aristotle, he had made over a long period as a 'critical edition' of the texts involved; this, too, was almost certainly a product of his exile.<sup>144</sup> The bequest to Santa Giustina did not constitute a 'library' in the sense of those fostered by Cosimo at San Marco or the Badia at Fiesole; nor does it resemble that which Vespasiano suggests Palla was going to establish at Santa Trinita, until his exile prevented him.<sup>145</sup> Instead, Palla emphasized the obligation which the monastery was under to preserve the manuscripts, and he may partly have chosen Santa Giustina from trust in the probity of its abbot, partly because he considered it particularly appropriate that these volumes should be preserved in Padua. Were there any evidence that Palla had earlier intended to endow a library in Santa Trinita, this actual bequest to Santa Giustina would have more significance, as a decided turning away from his native city; but apart from Vespasiano's assertion, repeated by Lorenzo Strozzi, there is no such evidence.<sup>146</sup>

While the arrangements for the bequest of these manuscripts were repeated without significant changes in 1462, there was a very important revision in Palla's plans for the very large residue not given to Santa Giustina. In 1447 he had ordered that these books (excluding those on which one of his sons had a particular claim) should be sold,

together if possible, and the proceeds added to the common estate.<sup>147</sup> By 1462 he had changed his mind, and ordered that they be divided into three parts, going to Nofri, Giovanfrancesco, and one part between Bardo and Lorenzo di Lorenzo.<sup>148</sup> He obviously hoped that the books would be kept together, but suggested an amicable division between them if this were not possible.<sup>149</sup> Niccolò was excluded from inheritance of the library also, and was to receive cash compensation: 'per chè egli dessi non potrebbe trarne utilità alcuna in usargli, [i.e., the manuscripts] essendo della qualità che sono.'<sup>150</sup> The earlier disposition, that the manuscripts should be sold, was curious, as they were most unlikely to be sold as a unit, or even with all the Greek volumes together, and Palla was clearly aware of their value as a collection.<sup>151</sup> He must already have possessed at that time the Cosmographia of Ptolemy, but no mention is made of it; this is in sharp contrast with his last will, where he particularly enjoined his sons to keep it, partly because it was the first copy brought to Italy, and partly because it had been made by Manuel Chrysoloras.<sup>152</sup> 'Non mi par che si debba alienare per gli miei figliuoli e nipoti, ma conservasi in casa in memoria di chi la fecie'. The only real explanation of this difference between the two wills is that by 1462 he felt less anxious about the financial position of his dependants than he had fifteen years earlier. Possibly Giovanfrancesco's business in Venice, in which most of Palla's available capital was employed, had prospered in the intervening years.<sup>153</sup> Marietta's death had also freed him from the ethical obligation he had earlier felt. Fully to 'make good' her dowry, while the burdens on the estate had been reduced by the death of Carlo; it had now to be divided four ways instead of five. It still remains surprising, given the sentiments later expressed, that he had ever intended to sell his books: 'vi sono di queglii che sono stati in casa lunghissimo tempo ... [e] alcuni di mia mano e in greco e in latino, o in tutto o in parte, e non credo che sia altro che bene che non si vendano; e non sieno alienati'.<sup>154</sup>

Palla was unique amongst his Florentine contemporaries in being

both a true humanist scholar - collecting, editing and translating Greek and Latin texts - and a man powerful enough in the politics of the city to secure the enmity of the Medicean regime through almost thirty years. His life remains enigmatic in a manner which Filippo Strozzi's does not: there are no day-to-day records to illuminate, for example, his response to any of the political events which occurred during his exile. He also differed from Filippo in that his exile took place when he had already had a full career in Florentine and Italian politics. Contrasts and differences are easily found between the two men, but it is difficult to find any shared experience which can be taken as quintessential to a life of exile, apart from their very strong desire to return to Florence. There is no evidence that Palla attempted to use or cultivate channels of influence within the Florentine reggimento, and this underlines perhaps the greatest difference between them. Palla had a sense of his own merits which did not allow him to adopt the suppliant's position which was open to Filippo; this was combined with absorbing intellectual concerns which were pursued as ends in themselves, unlike Filippo's money making activities, needing no Florentine recognition or fulfillment. It is difficult not to believe that in the life he shared with his son Nofri in Padua, Palla found a large measure of contentment; indeed, because of his exile he was undoubtedly able to fulfil his personal intellectual interests far more fully than did most of his contemporaries.

NOTES:

1. Palla was probably born in 1372, but this has not been definitely established; see H. Baron, 'The Age of Humanists born in the Trecento', Speculum, Vol.52, 1977, pp.583-4, 586n.
2. The second of Palla's two long wills written in exile is dated 6 May 1462, in his own hand which was here shaky and uneven. A.S. Ferr., Archivio Bentivoglio, Lib.3-34, f.55. There are 50 folios, numbered 5 to 55.
3. Vespasiano's Life of Palla must have been written between the years 1478, which A. de la Mare suggests is the date of his earliest biographical writing, and 1491, the year of Filippo di Matteo's death (as the four Strozzi Lives were presented to him by Vespasiano): A. de la Mare, Vespasiano da Bisticci, p.26. While he made various factual errors, Vespasiano's Life is both eloquent and deeply in sympathy with its subject. For a full discussion of the Life see my unpublished paper, 'Vespasiano's and Lorenzo Strozzi's Lives of Palla Strozzi', cited above, Introduction, n.39.
4. There are two autograph copies of the 1447 will; I have used the second, complete, copy. Arch. Bent. Lib.4-1-2. There are 26 folios, numbered 5 to 31; it is dated 24 August 1447 (f.31).
5. The most useful works of reference for Palla's life in Padua are those of G. Fiocco, 'La Biblioteca di Palla Strozzi', Studi di bibliografia e di storici in onore di T. de Marinis, Vol.2, 1964, pp.289-309; and 'La Casa di Palla Strozzi', Lincei: memorie, scienze, morali, 1954, Serie VIII, Vol V, 7, pp.361-382; and particularly in the latter, pp.378-82, a chronological list of documents, almost all legal instruments, concerning Palla, found in the Archivio di Stato in Padua.
6. On his ambassadorship to Venice in 1423, see below, p.232.
7. Otto di Guardia e Balia, 224, f.46v. The other mallevadori were Piero di Chino Lippi, Giovanni di Simone Rinuccini, Nofri di Michele Parenti, Carlo Bonciani, and Orsino Lanfredini, the partner of Lorenzo di Messer Palla in his bank.
8. Nofri had mallevadori for a total of 2,000 florins only - Palla di Francesco for 1,000 florins, Niccolò di Berto Trinciavelli and Rosso di Messer Andrea for 500 each. Ibid., f.48r.
9. On this marriage see above, Ch.2, section iii. Francesco received Ginevra's dowry (1,200 florins) in land, a fairly unusual arrangement but one no doubt necessitated by Palla's financial situation. This land included a podere at Petraia, which was sold by Francesco for 350 florins in 1439: G. Fiocco, 'La Casa di Palla Strozzi', p.379.
10. See below, section ii
11. Palla wrote that 'molte cose gli convenne fare, diche mal potrebbe

render ragione, spetialmente essendosi arao certo libro e quaderno dove aveva scritto tutto'. He noted only that 'così [Lorenzo] fu consigliato, e per lo meglio'; discretion was presumably necessary as to who had issued this warning, which must have been of the Commune's intention to seize these accounts. 1447 Will, f.18.

12. Ibid., f.19.

13. Giovanfrancesco's banking career is discussed below and in Ch.5. He also had a trading company in Venice with his brother-in-law Giovanni Rucellai, which dealt (probably amongst other things) in leather. From Giovanni's account of events in Venice in 1451 it is clear that this company was operating there at that time. Zibaldone, p.53.

14. There are very few precisely documented facts about Carlo's life. L. Belle, in his biography of Palla, A Renaissance Patrician, states that Carlo was thirteen in 1434 (p.55) but while this seems plausible it is not documented in any way. He was the last child: Giovanfrancesco was born in 1418, Ginevra probably in 1419 or 1420 (as she was married in 1436). Palla stated in 1447 that Carlo had taken with him works in 'ragione canonica e civile che fessono stati comperati per lui e suo studio' when he went to Bologna (Will of 1447, ff.24-25); by 1447 he referred to Carlo as 'Messer Carlo', and in 1462 as 'Messer Carlo mio ultimo figliuolo, e doctore in iure canonico'. Therefore it appears that he studied for and received his doctorate in Bologna, although if a birthdate of 1421 is correct he may have begun his studies there before 1440. He had moved to Rome by 1447; Palla referred in that year to 'una bibietta di lettera parigiana piccola' which he had bought for 5 florins many years earlier, and which he had given to Carlo when he went to Rome. 1447 Will, f.25.

15. Vespasiano was a friend of Nicholas V, and claimed the credit for having obtained a benefice from him for another Strozzi, Messer Piero di Benedetto di Pieraccione (A. de la Mare, 'Messer Piero Strozzi', pp.55-56) so that his testimony on this point is likely to be accurate. It also accords with the other known details of Carlo's life: see below, n.17.

16. Bib. Ricc. 4009 (unfoliated) contains the only surviving letter that I know of by Carlo, dated only '1 April', but from internal evidence it must have been written in 1450: Carlo di Messer Palla Strozzi to Michele di Felice Brancacci, in Todi; Rome, 1 April [1450]. Lorenzo's letter referring to Carlo's death was written less than three months later: Acquisti e Doni, 140, inserto 8, n.2, f.106, Lorenzo di Messer Palla Strozzi to Michele di Felice Brancacci, in Todi; Gubbio, 21 June 1450.

17. In the clause of his will treating Carlo's inheritance of a share of his estate, Palla referred in 1447 to 'el quale Messer Carlo, posto che avesse preso o pigliasse grado e vita clericale': so it is clear that in that year he was expected to enter the church at some time in the

future. 1447 Will, f.26.

18. Palla's approval is suggested by his inclusion of Carlo amongst his heirs, even if he had taken orders by the time of his father's death:

1447 Will, f.26.

19. Acquisti e Doni, 140, inserto 8, n.2, f.106. (See above, n.17.)

20. Niccolò di Leonardo Strozzi wrote to Filippo di Matteo about this on 6 March 1451: 'fu ferito da uno de' Bardi; n'è suto grande danno'; Smeraldo Strozzi writing to him on 20 March named the murderer as Lorenzo di Leonardo de Bardi; a third correspondent, on 3 April, named him as Jacopo di Leonardo. C.S. III, 131, ff.65-67, Niccolo Strozzi to Filippo Strozzi in Naples, Florence, 6 March 1451; Smeraldo Strozzi to Filippo Strozzi in Naples, Rome, 20 March 1451; Francesco V---o to Filippo in Naples, Florence, 3 April 1451.

21. In a catasto portate of Alessandra Bardi-Strozzi written in 1457 she gave the age of her youngest son, Lorenzo, as 7. Such name changes, even when the first name had been chosen in memory of another dead relative were not unknown. Thus Filippo di Matteo's seventh child was first named Alessandra, after his mother, then renamed Fiametta after her own mother (who died 17 days after giving birth); his next child, by his second wife, Selvaggia, was then named Alessandra.

22. Lorenzo's marriage is discussed fully in Ch.2, section iv. He held the office of capitano of Or San Michele in April 1434, was one of the sindici executoris in June 1428, and one of the dieci di libertà in December 1432.

23. On Palla's forming of 'dummy' companies in his sons' names, see above, Ch.1, section v.

24. Palla spent very large amounts of time away from Florence - mainly on diplomatic missions elsewhere in Italy - while Lorenzo remained in Florence. A single letter of his to Palla survives - C.S. III, 146, f.13, Lorenzo di Messer Palla Strozzi to Messer Palla di Nofri Strozzi in Ferrara, Florence, 28 September 1432 - a short, business like epistle, clearly a regular report on matters at home. 'Qui si fa e faràssi el possibile di bene in qualunque cosa'.

25. 1447 Will, f.19.

26. He described these debts as 'epese facte per lui in giostre et altre epese buona somma' - 1447 Will, f.18. Lorenzo is recorded as a participant in two jousts held in Florence in 1428: one on 28 January, amongst members of the parte guelfa (in which he was victor), and one later that year against the entourage of Prince Peter of Portugal: C. Gutkind, Cosimo de' Medici, p.65n, L. Belle, A Renaissance Patrician, pp.119-20.

27. Of all Palla's sons, only Giovanfrancesco was emancipated, presum-

- ably so as to limit Palla's liability for his business activities. He was emancipated in 1442: G. Fiocco, 'La Casa di Palla Strozzi', p.379.
28. 1447 Will, ff.14-16; 1462 Will, ff.10-16.
29. 1447 Will, f.17, ' [Alessandra] andò a Firenze, e per la via de' consigli e ufficiali delle leggi ... sìchè tanto maggiormente Lorenzo et ella merita'.
30. 1447 Will, f.19.
31. Ibid., ff.24-25. None was named, however.
32. 1462 Will, f.24. I assume that the 'de Paradoxie' to which Palla refers is the Paradoxa Stoicorum of Cicero.
33. Ibid.
34. C.S. III, 146, f.40 Nanna di Galeazzo Borromei to Marietta di Messer Palla Strozzi in Florence, undated. This letter was written after 1432 judging by internal evidence, and may refer to Palla's exile in the statement 'vi prometto non lo [i.e. Giovanfrancesco] vegho mai che non mi venghi chon passione de' fatti suoi, e richordomi de' vostri'.
35. Arch. Bent., scaff.8, no.1, filza l; corrispondenza, mazzo 1, 122. Alessandro di Giovanfrancesco Strozzi to Giovanfrancesco di Messer Palla Strozzi at Badia; Ferrara, 14 February 1477. Alessandro here asked his father 'se havete acietato la civiltà'.
36. 1462 Will, f.23.
37. Arch. Bent., scaff.8, etc., mazzo 1, 29. Luisa Donati-Strozzi to Alessandro di Giovanfrancesco Strozzi in Venice (?), Vilabona, 8 May (March ?) 1494 (damaged): 'chè dura cosa e crudele mi pare, avendo fatto 12 fioli, chon fatiche e pene ...' Her sons, inaccurately reported by Passerini, were: Ruberto, Pandolfo, Alessandro, Carlo and Palla.
38. Bib. Ricc. 4009, Giovanfrancesco to Francesco Caccini in Florence, Ferrara, 28 August 1452.
39. Bib. Ricc. 4009, Giovanfrancesco Strozzi to Francesco Caccini in Florence, 27 June 1450: 'tornai ieri da Padova, dove son stato alchun dì chola donna, che la si truova chon Messere'.
40. 1462 Will, ff.53-4.
41. On the education of Palla's sons, see Vespasiano, Le Vite, pp.144-45, and L. Belle, A Renaissance Patrician, p.149ff.
42. That he did, however, have some interest in the Latin classics is shown by his statement in a letter to Francesco Caccini: 'di' a Donato [Acciaiuoli] che per ora lassi stare quel Tulio, de Ofizio, che comprendo sia cosa da dozzina e non meriti spesa, e che mi mandi L'Etica'. Bib. Ricc. 4009, Giovanfrancesco Strozzi to Francesco Caccini in Florence, Ferrara, 3 August 1454.
43. 1447 Will, f.25.
44. Bib. Ricc. 4009, Giovanfrancesco Strozzi to Francesco Caccini, in

Florence; Ferrara, 27 November 1452. He was not aware that Giovanni's chronicle continued up to 1349, when Matteo had taken over, and in addition he believed Matteo to be Giovanni's son: in what appears to be the first letter on this subject, he asked Francesco to discover 'se v'è da vendere o da poter fare scrivere l'aggiunta della chronacha del figliuolo di Giovanni Villani fecie a la chronacha del padre, che credo sia del 1333 al 1368'; Bib. Ricc. 4009, Giovanfrancesco Strozzi to Francesco Caccini, Ferrara, 6 November 1452. However the letter of 27 November suggests that he had learned from Francesco that Giovanni had written the chronicle up to 1349.

45. Bib. Ricc. 4009, 27 November 1452 (see last n.). It appears that the scribe's name was Matteo degli Alberti (unfortunately the letter is damaged at this point): 'bisogna che [---] adoperai con Matteo degli Alberti per quel modo pare [---] che in ogni modo e [---] copia avuto'.

46. Bib. Ricc. 4009, Giovanfrancesco Strozzi to Francesco Caccini, in Florence; Ferrara, 5 May 1453.

47. Ibid.

48. 1447 Will, ff.24-25.

49. 1462 Will, f.24.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., f.31.

52. Nicholas V, Tommaso Parentucelli, was a friend of Alberti, and owing to his patronage Alberti's main activity was in Rome during his papacy. In 1452 he presented the De Re Aedificatoria to Nicholas; there may well have been a particular interest in Vitruvius' works at the papal court in these years. The Rucellai palace, of which Alberti was the architect, was probably begun in the late 1440s.

53. Nofri's permanent residence in Padua is suggested by Palla's description of their joint use of the two armarii (see above, n.51): 'due armarii dipinti di tener panni, che l'uno s'adopera Nofri, l'altro adopero io'. Palla refers to Nofri's expenditure of his own danaretti on various artistic projects: the diminutive suggests an allowance, not serious income.

54. 1462 Will, f.34.

55. He was excluded from the inheritance of Palla's library, 'perchè egli dessi non potrebbe trarne utilità alcuna in usargli, essendo della qualità che sono'. 1462 Will, f.25.

56. L. Belle, A Renaissance Patrician, p.57.

57. 1462 Will, f.30.

58. 1447 Will, f.26.

59. 1462 Will, ff.41, 43; 'per non mescolar Niccolò mio figliuolo con gli suoi frategli e nipoti, per quiete e pace fra loro ...' (f.41).



60. L. Belle has suggested, A Renaissance Patrician, p.57, that Niccolò was 'jailed in 1433 for failing to make good his debts'. This is impossible; first, he was not legally emancipated, and therefore not legally responsible for them, and secondly, he was imprisoned in Provence, 'nelle mani del bastardo di Valenza', as Palla wrote in his 1433 catasto (Cat. 463, f.340v). A letter of Lorenzo di Messer Palla to Giovanni Manelli, a merchant in Avignon, instructed him to offer 500 florins for Niccolò's safe release in Avignon or Genoa: C.S. III, 112, f.160. Belle also suggests that Niccolò was 'a member of that group of young men who sharing a mutual interest in humanistic studies assembled around Niccolò della Luna' and that he 'composed ribald verse in Latin'; unfortunately, none of this is documented, and the former, at least, appears unlikely in light of his later history (see n.55 above).

61. 1447 Will, f.28.

62. The date of Margherita's death is unknown to me. The ricordo of Francesco Castellani, Conventi Soppressi 90, Vol.84, f.31v, records the rinovale of his wife Ginevra's death on 13 October 1447, so she had probably died the year before on that date.

63. Lena's death was mentioned by Matteo di Matteo Strozzi in a letter to Filippo on 24 August 1449: Strozzi Letters, p.53. The date of Felice's death is uncertain, but he was alive at least until 1 April 1450, when he was mentioned as alive in a letter of Messer Carlo di Messer Palla to Felice's son Michele. (For this letter, see n.16 above.)

64. Bib. Ricc. 4009, Palla Strozzi to Francesco Caccini, Padua, 27 May 1450.

65. 1447 Will, f.20.

66. Bib. Ricc. 4009, Giovanfrancesco Strozzi to Francesco Caccini in Florence, Ferrara, 22 February 1453.

67. 1462 Will, f.55. He mistakenly wrote Pagolo's name here as 'Pagolo di Piero di Benedetto di Piero' - Piero was his eldest brother. His father Benedetto had been a close friend of Palla also.

68. 1462 Will, ff.20, 34.

69. Ibid., f.34.

70. The relationship between Giovanni Rucellai and Palla, and Giovanni's dealings with Palla's Florentine property, are fully explored in the forthcoming study of Rucellai by F. W. Kent, in Vol.2 of the Warburg Institute's edition of the Zibaldone, 'Giovanni Rucellai: The Making of a Renaissance Patron'.

71. 1462 Will, f.20. This statement contrasts her position with Tancia's.

72. Zibaldone, p.119.

73. 1447 Will, f.3.

74. Ibid., f.10.
75. Ibid., f.9.
76. In his unpublished life of Palla, Luigi Strozzi recorded an inscription from S. Maria di Betlem in Padua: 'Marietta olim uxor Pallantis de Strozze Equitis Fiorentini obiit die XXVIII Augusti AD MCCCXLVII'  
C.S. III, 75, Vol.2, f.137r.
77. 1462 Will, f.10.
78. Vespasiano, Le Vite, p.142.
79. Ibid.
80. 1462 Will, ff.43-44.
81. Ibid.
82. On this house and the agreement with Giovanni, see below, section ii.
83. See above, n.39.
84. 1462 Will, f.33r.
85. Lorenzo Strozzi reproduces the text of this oration, which I judge to be authentic, but misdates it to 1433 rather than 1423. He did not have a detailed enough knowledge of early Quattrocento politics to have been able to compose such a speech, which in every way seems to me characteristic of its supposed period and occasion: Lorenzo Strozzi, Le Vite degli Strozzi, pp.28-32. It does not to my knowledge survive elsewhere, however Lorenzo had access to Palla's writings, including the Diario (which included drafts of political speeches: see below n.87) and a draft of this oration could well have existed with Palla's papers in Lorenzo's lifetime. G. Brucker, Civic World, p.442, states that there is no record of an embassy to Venice over this matter, although there are records of debates in Florence on the proposed alliance, to which Palla was favourable. Certainly Palla was in Venice in 1422, as he wrote to Simone Strozzi from there: C.S. III, 132, f.60, 28 March 1422.
86. L. Strozzi, Le Vite, p.29.
87. The diario which Palla wrote while a member of the dieci di balia is BNF Fondo Landau-Finaly 92. This draft speech is f.78r, v. The volume is autograph throughout.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid., f.75r, v.
90. Ibid., ff.78r, 85r, v.
91. Ibid., f.78v.
92. In the same volume as the diario: ibid., f.140. The annotations included 'nel 1334 si cominciò a fondare il campanile di Santa Liperata', and, on the expulsion of the Duke of Athens, the fact that Marco del Rosso Strozzi was amongst the citizens given balia to 'riformar la terra' after that event.

93. Archivio Storico Italiano, serie 4, Vol.11, (1883), G. Fiocco, 'La Biblioteca di Palla Strozzi', p.306.
94. L. Strozzi, Le Vite degli Strozzi, p.31.
95. 1447 Will, f.7.
96. 1462 Will, f.10.
97. Ibid., f.52.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid., f.47.
101. Bib. Ricc., 4009, Lorenzo Strozzi to Francesco Caccini in Florence; Gubbio, 21 June 1450.
102. Bib. Ricc. 4009, Giovanfrancesco Strozzi to Francesco Caccini in Florence; Ferrara, 18 October 1453, and 21 March 1454.
103. Ibid., 18 October 1453.
104. Ibid., 21 March 1454. 'mi fia grato che mi chiarisca chi furono que 4 de' Signoria che non volevano consentire'.
105. Ibid.
106. Vespasiano, Le Vite, p.161. However this account could possibly have been coloured by Manetti's own experience of the Medici regime: N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, p.44. He was also friendly towards Alessandra Macinghi-Strozzi and Filippo di Matteo: Strozzi Letters, pp.182-83.
107. For this letter see above, n.104. (21 March 1454).
108. 1447 Will, f.5. N.B. that all of the burial provisions in this will were in case of his death in Padua - this was probably because the will was written in Padua during an epidemic (see above, p.230 n.76) and dealt with the most likely situation. He must also have believed that if he died in Florence there would be no need to specify burial in the S. Trinita chapel. The two main works on the chapel are: G. Poggi, La capella e la tomba di Onofrio Strozzi nella chiesa di Santa Trinita (1419-1423), Firenze, 1903, and D. Davison, 'The Iconology of the Santa Trinita Sacristy',
109. 1447 Will, f.5: 'disotto le volte sotto l'altare maggiore di detta capella ... come si fece quello di Mona Nanna mia madre'.
110. Ibid., f.6. He thus obviously believed that his sons, or at least Giovanfrancesco and Carlo, would be able to arrange his burial in Florence.
111. Ibid., f.5. There is some possible ambiguity in the term 'computa', meaning either 'completed' or 'perfected'.
112. This garment is named as a hucco.
113. Ibid., f.16.
114. Writing to Simone Strozzi from Venice in March 1422, Palla listed

the great expenses he had incurred since his father's death - for Nofri's funeral, payment of dowries, business losses, 'e in murare e ornare la capella' - which together amounted to 30,000 florins. C.S. III, 132, f.60, 28 March 1422.

115. D. Davison, 'The Iconology of the Santa Trinita Sacristy', p.318.

116. This is suggested by Davison, ibid., p.323. C.S. III, 100 (a compilation of archival material relating to the Strozzi made by Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi), p.106, contains a transcription from a volume of the Arte de' Mercatante, Deliberazione, 1439-1440, ff.20, 22:

'L'arte de' Mercatanti delibera d'andare in offerta il giorno della festività di San Noferi alla chiesa di S. Trinita'. This was in 1440, and a payment of 10 florins 'per la commissione di Noferi delli Strozzi ... per la festa pietanza e colazione' is recorded from the same year, for the feast of Sant' Onofrio. Also transcribed here is a payment of 4 lire to buy 4 torches for the chapel, 'la capella di S. Niccolo di Noferi di Palla Strozzi' (which was dedicated to San Niccolo as well as Sant' Onofrio: Nofri's elder son, who died in 1411, was named Niccolo) in 1456.

117. 1462 Will, ff.5-6.

118. See above, n.110.

119. 1462 Will, f.5.

120. See Ch.1, fig. 1.

121. One of the copies of this agreement is C.S. III, ff.42r-43r. After Palla's death this agreement broke down and the house was in fact confiscated and sold for the benefit of the creditors of Palla's son Giovanfrancesco in March 1469. This was reported by Lorenzo di Matteo Strozzi in a letter to his brother Filippo: C.S. III, 180, f.81, letter of 23 March 1469. However in 1493 this house was regained by Bardo, Palla's grandson, whose legal right to it was deservedly upheld. He never returned permanently to Florence, and it passed into the ownership of a distant kinsman, Michele di Carlo. See below, Ch.5, section iii. On Giovanni's role in preserving this property, and the agreement with the Abbot of San Pancrazio, see the forthcoming work by F.W. Kent, cited above, n.70. I would like to thank Dr. Kent for helping me unravel the complex history of this property.

122. Marcello was a nephew of Palla's wife, Marietta, and this agreement is a good example of co-operation between kinsmen with differing political affiliations, as he was politically the most successful member of the Strozzi lineage after 1434. His uncle and Marietta's brother (though the 3 were in fact contemporaries) Piero di Carlo, was Palla's procuratore in the agreement with the Abbot of S. Pancrazio cited above, last n.

124. Ibid.
125. On this collective project see above, Ch.1, section iv. As the Corso degli Strozzi was widened at this time (1326) this may well be the date of the building of Palla's house in the form it kept into the mid-fifteenth century. It was obviously built neither by him nor by his father, as in such a case he would not have used the term 'nostro antico'.
126. 1462 Will, f.42.
127. Ibid.
128. Ibid., f.26.
129. Ibid., f.41.
130. Ibid., ff.16-18, 41, 43-45.
131. Ibid., f.45. This confidence was, in the event, largely but not fully justified: the main exception was Giovanni's sale of Poggio a Caiano to Lorenzo de' Medici, an act which was not strictly legal and which must have seemed a bitter betrayal to Palla's descendants. For a full account of this business see the forthcoming work on Rucellai by F.W. Kent (see above, n.70). Some of the efforts of Palla's grandsons to reclaim the remnants of his Florentine property will be dealt with below, Ch.5, section iii.
132. 1462 Will, f.44.
133. Ibid., f.51.
134. His attempts were not entirely fruitless: see below, Ch.5, section iii.
135. 1462 Will, f.47. This had occurred in 1431, in the gonfalonierate of Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi. 'Volevano da me danari, dissi non avere. Domanderommi s'io avevo grano, dissi di si. Pigliarono da me grano, et ebbonlo gl'uficiali dell'Abondanza'.
136. I know of only one letter written by Palla after his exile: Bib. Ricc. 4009 (unfol.), to Francesco Caccini, 27 May 1450.
137. 1462 Will, f.52.
138. Cat. 920, (Lion rosso, 1469), f.566v. They had paid 1200 florins for it. Palla had originally bought it from his brother-in-law Salamone Strozzi, and the purchase had been made in Marietta's name, thus avoiding payment of a gabella (presumably because it was a transaction between brother and sister).
139. 1462 Will, f.55.
140. These were listed by G. Fiocco, 'La Biblioteca di Palla Strozzi', p.296. On these volumes see also A. Diller, 'The Greek Codices of Palla Strozzi and Guarino Veronese', J.W.C.I., Vol.24, 1961, pp.313-321.
141. The size of the 'residual' collection can be estimated from the fact that in 1477, when Giovanfrancesco had made an inventory of his

share (one third of the whole) it included 83 Greek volumes and 62 in Latin: Arch. Bent. Scaff.8 (etc.), mazzo 1, 117, Alessandro di Giovanfrancesco Strozzi to Giovanfrancesco Strozzi in Badia; Ferrara, 8 January 1477.

142. He states that 'se alcun monaco vi fosse, o per lo presente o per l'avenire, che in greco si dilectasse d'essere scientifico' that the manuscripts could be used for this purpose. 1462 Will, f.21.

143. Ibid., ff.21-22. Giovanni Rucellai stated that Simplicius' commentary on the first book of the Physics was one of the works translated by Palla into Latin. Zibaldone, p.64.

144. Palla said of this that it was 'scripto in frecta e in diversi tempi'. The works were the Physics, de Celo et Mundo, de Generatione et Corruptione, and the Meteora: 'ingegnatori di scrivere più correcto potevo e con diversi exempli, e con vedere il testo greco e messovi del testo in greco in alcun luogo per più chiarezza'. 1447 Will, f.23. It is inconceivable that he could have had the time to complete such a work before his exile, although he undoubtedly began gathering exemplars in that period.

145. '... quanti libri poteva avere, tutti gli comperava in ogni facultà con intenzione di fare una degnissima libreria in Santa Trinita ... e voleva ch'ella fussi publica, che ognuno ne potessi avere comodità ...' Vespasiano, Le Vite, p.146. There is no suggestion in either will that Palla intended the Santa Giustina mss. to be generally available.

146. Lorenzo further embellished the story: Le Vite degli Strozzi, p.26.

147. 1447 Will, ff.24, 25.

148. 1462 Will, ff.25-27.

149. Ibid., ff.26-27.

150. He was to receive compensation of 200 ducats instead: ibid., f.25.

151. 1447 Will, f.25: 'tutti altri i libri miei e greci e latini voglio e lascio che si debbano vendere, insieme e greci se è possibile, perchè forse meglio si venderebbono'.

152. 1462 Will, f.27.

153. This capital in 1462 was not unsubstantial, judged by ordinary standards (that is, standards other than that of Palla's former wealth). Niccolo was to be given his share of it - 2,000 ducats - after his father's death, so that 'non s'abbia a travagliare nè mescolare cogli suoi frategli'. As Palla's division of the patrimony was scrupulously even, this must have meant a sum of 8,000 ducats invested in Giovanfrancesco's company. 1462 Will, f.36.

154. Ibid., f.26.

CHAPTER 5

1 Filippo Strozzi in Florence, 1470 - 1491

The four years from 1466 to 1470 were a watershed for the Strozzi in more than one respect. The exile of Filippo and Lorenzo di Matteo ended in late 1466, and by the end of 1470 they had both contracted marriages with girls from socially irreproachable, if politically powerless Florentine families, the Adimari and Baroncelli; Filippo's first son, Alfonso, was born in 1467,<sup>1</sup> and their mother, Alessandra, died nearly four years later, in March 1471. She was sixty three years old; the next year, in August, Filippo gave to the church of S. Maria Ughi in her memory 'una pianeta di domaschino brochato d'oro, con fregio richamato coll'arme degli Strozzi e de' Macigni'.<sup>2</sup> Decisive events also occurred in these years for the other 'exile' branch of the lineage. Messer Palla had died in 1462, but his sons and grandsons were not recalled to Florence in 1466 with Filippo and Lorenzo. In 1467 Giovanfrancesco took part in an attempt to remove the Medicean regime by force: partly, perhaps, because he was no longer restrained by Palla's moderation, but mainly, it might be guessed, because of his frustration at their continuing exile, and his conviction of its injustice. This act, and his subsequent condemnation as a rubello of the commune,<sup>3</sup> made almost completely certain his and his brothers' exile while that regime lasted.

The early 1490s also saw a decisive punctuation in the lineage's history. Not quite sixty three at the time of his death in 1491, Filippo had by that time amassed an enormous fortune, outlived his younger brother Lorenzo by twelve years, and come to preside as paterfamilias over a very large household in Florence; a household which included his second wife Selvaggia, Lorenzo's widow Antonia, probably eight of his nine surviving children, and in addition five of Lorenzo's six legitimate children, the last of whom, a girl called Francesca, had been born posthumously in Florence.<sup>4</sup> Filippo had also lived to witness the foundation of his casa grande, for which the first building, a wool shop, was demolished on the fifteenth July 1489, and the first foundation stone

laid the next month, on the sixth August.<sup>5</sup> Two years after his death the Medici regime fell, and with it the political forces which had kept the Strozzi on the edges of Florentine politics for sixty years. In the period between these two events the history of the Strozzi lineage was linked indissolubly with that of Filippo.

While Filippo never entirely delegated the direction of the bank and fondaco in Naples, and made many visits there, he returned to Florence on a permanent basis in 1470, while Lorenzo left with his new wife, shortly after their marriage, to superintend the Neapolitan operation personally. A letter of his to Filippo, written in 1478, shows that he intended to return to Florence permanently also, but this had not occurred before his death in the following year.<sup>6</sup>

Filippo's first wife, Fiametta Adimari, bore him seven children, two male and five female, but two of these did not survive infancy.<sup>7</sup> Alfonso, the eldest, was born on the eleventh December 1467, and Filippo recorded that he was held at his baptism by 'Lorenzo di Piero di Choximo de' Medici, per parte di Don Alfonzo d'Aragona, duca di Calabria'; Lucrezia, the second child (probably named in honour of Piero de' Medici's wife, Lucrezia Tornabuoni) was born in April 1469, and the third, Marietta, in February 1471. Marietta had two Strozzi sponsors, Girolamo di Carlo di Marco and Mona Dora, wife of Vanni di Francesco Strozzi. Filippo's fourth child and second son he named Alessandro, in memory of his mother who had died the previous year; this unprecedented procedure was made even stranger by the fact that the child was born on the feast of St. Matthew, the name day of Filippo's father. The fifth and sixth children were both girls named Lionora (the first died in infancy), the name being chosen in honour of Eleonora, daughter of King Ferrante of Naples, who was married in 1473 to Ercole d'Este the new duke of Ferrara. Godfather of the second Lionora was Messer Marino Tomacello, Neapolitan ambassador to Florence, and Filippo's friend and frequent correspondent. Fiametta's last child was born in 1476: 'a dì V d' aghosto 1476 la mattina ... partorì la Fiametta il 1/7<sup>o</sup> figliuolo. Fu



femina ... e poxilli detto nome [Alessandra] per rifare nostra madre'.<sup>8</sup> Fiametta died seventeen days later, and in his record of her death Filippo provided one of the most interesting available insights into his personality. He had a post mortem examination and dissection carried out, and he recorded in detail the appearance of the organs and the diagnosed cause of death.<sup>9</sup> At the end of the long account he added this comment on her death: 'dettemi la sua perdita grande passione, perchè ogni di mi contentavo molto di lei, per molte buone parte che in lei rengniavono.'<sup>10</sup> A few months later he recorded having taken the baby Alessandra to their parish church of S. Maria Ughi with her sister Lionora, where she was 'named': 'e hordinai fusse chiamata per l'avenire Fiametta'.<sup>11</sup>

Filippo's second marriage, to Selvaggia di Bartolomeo Gianfigliuzzi, was very different from his first. Fiametta had been chosen for beauty, aristocratic ancestry, and because her family were prepared to betroth her to a man who was still an exile. The Gianfigliuzzi marriage was by contrast primarily a political arrangement.<sup>12</sup> Bartolommeo Gianfigliuzzi was podesta in Milan in 1477 when the marriage was arranged by Messer Tommaso Soderini, who was Florentine ambassador there in that year. The marriage took place in September, Selvaggia being fetched from her parents' country estate by a Strozzi escort; 'che v'andò [sic] Paolo di Benedetto, Charoccio di Zanobi, Michele di Charllo, tutti Strozzi, e Alfonso mio figliuolo'.<sup>13</sup> Their first child, another Alessandra, was born in 1479,<sup>14</sup> the second, Lorenzo, who was born in 1482, was named for his uncle who had died three years earlier in Naples. His godfather was the Milanese orator in Florence, Messer Filippo Sagremoro, and his father expressed the wish for this, only his second living son in the long procession of children, that 'Iddio lo fecie vivacie e buono'.<sup>15</sup> The first child named Giovanbattista was born two years later, but lived only three months.<sup>16</sup> The births of Filippo's last three children all coincided with important events in his public life. Caterina was born in November 1485,<sup>17</sup> 'e fu batezata dalla Signoria, perchè allora mi trovavo de' Magnifici Signori'. All other eight members and their notary were her

godparents. Similarly, another girl, born just over a year later<sup>18</sup> when Filippo was a member of the sei di mercanzia, was sponsored by the other five members and their camarlingo; Filippo's last child, christened Giovanbattista but renamed Filippo, was born when his father was a consul of the arte di mercatantia in 1489.<sup>19</sup>

Filippo's choice of names and godparents for his children displays a fine mixture of traditional piety and political pragmatism. He used the quasi-familial nature of the godparent tie to strengthen existing friendships (as in the case of the Neapolitan ambassador in Florence, Marino Tomacello) or to extend the range of his contacts in the Italian courts. Thus he took the opportunity to strengthen the Milanese connections formed by his second marriage in his choice of godfather for Lorenzo, the first son of that marriage. There was a distinct difference between male and female children in this respect: Filippo's daughters were in the main sponsored by close kinsmen or employees, like Mona Margherita, daughter of Benedetto di Pieraccione, and Lorenzo Fiorini, who both acted as godparents to Filippo's children on three occasions.<sup>20</sup> Filippo's mother Alessandra objected strenuously to his tendency to give his children unconventional, because untraditional, names: she spoke of the 'dispiacere che i'abbi del por nome Allessandro al fanciullo, s'egli era maschio', before Filippo's second child was born; 'noi staremo freschi se a nostri figliuoli noi non potessimo por nome a nostro modo'.<sup>21</sup> She had noticed, and was upset by, the fact that 'el nome di tuo padre non ti piaceva', she wrote to Filippo in this same letter of 1469. Indeed Filippo's failure ever to name a son after his father does seem odd, as this was a revered Florentine tradition; perhaps he felt that Lorenzo had done so for both of them in 1474, by naming his second son Matteo. He recorded this event in his ricordanze, as he did the births of all of Lorenzo's children: 'poseli nome Matteo per rifare nostro padre'.<sup>22</sup> There was high degree of identification between the two brothers where their children were concerned, and Filippo showed this in his concern for the well being of Lorenzo's sons. When the elder of

these, Carlo, recovered from an illness when he was two years old, Filippo told Lorenzo that 'assai letizia abbiamo auto de la liberazione di Charlo tuo. Iddio ringrazio chominci a seporere de' morsi de' figliuoli'. He underlined his anxiety at the small number of their male descendants, no doubt rendered more acute by the death of his son Alessandro nearly two years earlier, in his thankfulness at Carlo's recovery: 'Iddio cie li conservi, chè n'abbiamo bisogno. Sì pochi n'abbiamo, e la mia [donna] non fa cienno di rifarne'.<sup>24</sup> This anxiety had its origins in their period of exile, and particularly in the death of their brother Matteo in 1458; in their case only two of five brothers had survived to adulthood, and to procreate in their turn; 'è pocho numero', as Filippo had written.<sup>25</sup> He wrote in his ricordanze, reflecting on Alessandro's death, the wish that 'iddio per sua misericordia presti vita a li altri'.<sup>26</sup> As was suggested in an earlier chapter, Filippo also felt a great need to form reliable connections by marriage within the Florentine elite, and he began to do this as soon as was practicable, betrothing his eldest surviving daughter, Marietta, to Simone di Jacopo Ridolfi when she was fifteen, the marriage being completed two days after her sixteenth birthday. This was a marriage approved of and perhaps arranged by Lorenzo de' Medici - 'per mezanità' was the expression Filippo used to convey his role in it - 'e questo di [27 September 1486] la impalmamo in chasa di detto Lorenzo'.<sup>27</sup>

By the time of this marriage (1486) Filippo had reached a virtually unassailable position within the reggimento, even within its inner circle, but this had not been quickly gained. In his ricordanze he had carefully noted most of the formal steps towards his final political acceptance. The first step was his matriculation in two of the major guilds, the cambio and the lana, the first taking place in February 1470, the second in April 1471.<sup>28</sup> He was successful in the immediately following scrutinies of both guilds, but was excluded by the lana in August the same year. He was excluded for what sounds like a trumped up reason, suggesting that he was not without enemies at the beginning of his Floren-

tine career.<sup>29</sup> 1471 was generally a year of disappointments, as neither he nor Lorenzo were qualified in the tre maggiori scrutiny of that year, from the very unfavourable position of non-veduti (Alfonso was also nominated).<sup>30</sup> In his account of this scrutiny, Filippo noted that he had also been nominated 'a lli li ufici de' vichariati', that is, in a scrutiny for a group of fairly important external offices. He was unsuccessful, and had been told that this was because 'non si credeessi ch'io desiderassi da 'sercitarlli'.<sup>31</sup> Whether or not this was true - that Filippo would not have served as Florentine vicario had he been drawn - opposition to his accession to the ranks of the reggimento is thereby indicated, as it must have been common for wealthy men to be successful in such scrutinies, when their willingness to fill the offices concerned was open to doubt.

Filippo's first 'political' successes were minor: he was a member of a council of the lana guild in May 1472 to choose governors for an ospedale, and served a term as consul of that guild from December 1472.<sup>32</sup> His position was greatly improved during the 1470s, and it seems likely that he began the consolidating process with the friendship of Lorenzo de' Medici, a friendship which developed into a strong personal trust on Lorenzo's side. Indicative of their growing association are occasions like that in 1472 when the marriage ceremony of Filippo's niece Costanza di Marco Parenti to Filippo di Lorenzo Buondelmonti, a match arranged by Filippo, was carried out under Lorenzo's auspices.<sup>33</sup> By 1477 Filippo was clearly trusted enough to be sent by Lorenzo as his emissary to the Neapolitan court during the war which followed the Pazzi conspiracy, and at the end of that year he was chosen as one of the richiesti to the position of one of the Ufficiali del Monte,<sup>34</sup> who were elected by the Cento. The letter which his brother Lorenzo wrote on this occasion Filippo copied into his ricordanze, suggesting that the sentiments expressed in it were of particular importance to him.<sup>35</sup> 'Di questo tuo m'andrò rallegrando', Lorenzo wrote, 'poi te ne chontento. E a parenti e amici pare debbi fare il simile; e 44 anni non fumo a simile passo.

Lo schaglione è grande, e da fare sperare del altro chose per te e per altre'. That Filippo had been chosen for such an office reflected both his value as a very wealthy man, and the fact that he had by then obtained the trust of the leaders of the regime, but despite Lorenzo's optimism it was not a prelude to political acceptance for the whole lineage.

The formal sign of Filippo's acceptance into the reggimento - his success in the 1484 scrutiny - appears to have been at least in part due to Lorenzo de' Medici's personal intervention, as was the fact that the names of Filippo's two sons and two nephews were put to the vote, two of the four being successful (Alfonso di Filippo and Carlo di Lorenzo were both qualified).<sup>36</sup> Filippo also particularly noted in his ricordanze that in a scrutiny for a group of important external offices for which he and Alfonso had been nominated, that his own nomination had been supported in the scrutiny council by Lorenzo de' Medici, while Filippo Buondelmonti supported Alfonso's.<sup>37</sup> Oddly, Filippo failed to record his own membership of the Signoria in 1485 in his 'master book' of ricordanze (although he noted when Alfonso's name was drawn)<sup>38</sup> but he described in detail his drawing as one of the sei di mercanzia in October 1486. 'Questo dì in nome di dio e di buona ventura fui tratta [sic] de' 6 della mercatantia, di che ebbi piacere perchè sono passati 50 anni che di chasa nostra nonn è suti'.<sup>39</sup> He had been told by Pierfrancesco Pandolfini, who was present at the imborsazione, that his name had been in both the borsellino and the borsa generale for this office, and that it had been drawn from the former, 'quella delli huomini del richorso'.<sup>40</sup> Filippo clearly found such evidence of his acceptability to the regime very satisfying.

In the list Filippo kept<sup>41</sup> of children to whom he had acted as godparent we find another sort of indication of his penetration into the inner, governing circle of the reggimento. This list suggests that he was in fact accepted into this circle long before he was granted political office. His 'career' as a godparent began in December 1467 with the baptism of a son of Pierantonio Buondelmonti, and in April 1468 he sponsored the first son of Giovanni Tornabuoni, together with Lucrezia

Tornabuoni, wife of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici. In June 1471 (after a long absence in Naples) he was godfather to a son of Niccolo Ardinghelli, together with a member of the Gianfigliuzzi family and Clarice Orsini, new wife of Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici; this was an occasion which displayed old and new Strozzi alliances. Not all of the ceremonies recorded were of this kind, however: in July 1477 he was godfather by proxy to a son of Lorenzo di Francesco di Benedetto Strozzi in Pisa, together with Gino di Neri Capponi, a less usual example of the godparent tie replicating the pre-existing ties of kinship. In a different character entirely was his sponsorship in 1490 of a daughter of Cronaca, 'maestro sopra li mie scharpellini'.<sup>42</sup>

Apart from the business of his bank and fondaco, which continued to take up large amounts of Filippo's time, his greatest preoccupation during this Florentine period must have been the purchase of urban and rural property and patronage rights, together with his building program; although less well known than his urban purchases made to clear the site for the palazzo, Filippo's purchase of poderi, case da signore and other country properties was most substantial.<sup>43</sup> Many of his property purchases were related to his building and decoration program, but a substantial number were independent of it. Many of the country properties which he purchased had formerly belonged to other Strozzi; a good example of this is the podere at Campi bought from Girolamo di Carlo di Marco and his brothers during the 1470s for 1200 florins.<sup>44</sup> The attached casa da signore was not for sale, as they wished to continue living there, but had been forced to sell the rest of the property to provide a dowry.<sup>45</sup> Filippo's chief country estate in 1480, at San Chirico a Capalle, had formerly belonged to Ubertino di Tommaso Strozzi, from whom he had bought it in 1475.<sup>46</sup> Indeed there is reason to believe that Filippo and Lorenzo may have considered buying part of the Strozzino palace from the descendants of Messer Palla Novello in April and May 1474. A letter of Filippo's from that year asked Lorenzo to consider the question of 'la chasa d'Agnolo' and to gain Marco Parenti's view of the matter.<sup>47</sup> It

appears that Filippo was in favour (of its purchase, presumably, but this is not stated), Marco against; Lorenzo's opinion has not been preserved. Certainly the Strozzino, or part thereof, was on sale during the 1470s: by 1480 Lionardo di Jacopo Strozzi had bought part of this palace for 2400 florins. Filippo may have been discouraged by the refusal of Agnolo's brother Carlo to sell his half of the palace, or he may eventually have decided instead to build his own.<sup>48</sup> The building of Filippo's palace has been the subject of much scholarly attention,<sup>49</sup> and it is sufficient here to observe that his purchase of sites began in earnest from late 1474, a date which accords well with the idea that earlier in the same year he had considered buying a 'ready made' palazzo, but had then decided to build his own. This does not necessarily mean that he had decided on its eventual size and grandeur at this early date.<sup>50</sup> By 1477 Filippo had also acquired patronage rights in the two chapels at Le Selve and at Lecceto,<sup>51</sup> and his S. Maria Novella chapel was at least planned by 1479.<sup>52</sup> In one of the last of his preserved letters to Lorenzo before the latter's death, written in December 1478, he explained that decisions as to the decoration of a chapel in Naples, and their payment, were Lorenzo's responsibility: 'perchè di simi [le] chose, sai, hogni uno à chontentare il ghusto suo'.<sup>53</sup> So all of his major projects were in some sense in hand, or at least in mind, by the end of the 1470s; it is impossible to know which of them Filippo was thinking of when he wrote to Lorenzo in this same letter that he had 'anchora qualche altra fantasia, se'l mondo non va sotto sopra'. Filippo revealed more of his private thoughts in his letters to Lorenzo than anywhere else, and they help to show the motivation behind his better known activities. In December 1477 he told Lorenzo about news he had had from Messer Marino Tomacello the Neapolitan ambassador, about Italian affairs: that events in Italy as a whole would in the future months outweigh the suspicion in which Filippo was still held in Florence, and that it seemed to him (Marino) 'ch' Sassetto e io ne traiamo quello si può',<sup>54</sup> an accurate prediction at least so far as Filippo was concerned. But Filippo's comment on this was

perhaps surprising: that there was a great difference between himself and Francesco Sasseti, general manager of the Medici bank, the man to whom he was here compared. 'Credo vivere più chontento di lui, ho meno favore e anche meno hobrighi'. He explained that Florence was 'pieno d'invidia, e che [he, Filippo] sia tenuto danaioso nonn è gran fatto, non perchè non ci sieno assai più ricchi, ma il chontentarmi di fare meno'. Filippo showed himself here to be genuinely more concerned with happiness than with being the wealthiest citizen of Florence: 'questo voglio ben dire', he concluded, 'che da' Medici in fuori non ci sia chi trafichi più chontento di noi'.<sup>55</sup>

#### ii Filippo and the Strozzi Lineage.

It might seem at first plausible that Filippo's return to Florence and accession to the Florentine ruling circle indicated that he had detached himself completely from the very large number of his agnatic kinsmen who continued to be persona non grata so far as the Medici regime was concerned. Indeed it has been suggested that Filippo's palace was an architectural symbol of just such an isolation and 'individualism' as this.<sup>56</sup> Fatal to such an interpretation, however, is the very large amount of evidence which shows just the reverse: that Filippo deliberately pursued a policy of associating himself with the Strozzi lineage and becoming a patron to many of his kinsmen, who in turn saw his success and status as shared by them all. F. W. Kent has shown the latter to be true with regard to the planning and construction of the Strozzi palace,<sup>57</sup> but their reaction may be even better understood through an examination of the ways in which he had established himself as a 'buon padre della famiglia',<sup>58</sup> to the Strozzi at large.

The first and most important way in which Filippo ensured his kinsmen's identification with his affairs was by his policy of employing them; in this respect there was no change, after his establishment in Florence, in the pattern established during his exile. In his life of his father, Lorenzo di Filippo wrote that in his house in Naples there .



were many occasions when there were eighteen young Strozzi men present. He held splendid gatherings there, 'facendo servire alli giovani suoi di casa, che la più parte erano delli Strozzi: de quali per beneficiare il suo sangue gli piaque sempre più che d'altri servirei'.<sup>59</sup> Lorenzo would have known, at a later stage in their lives, many of the Strozzi men who had been Filippo's giovani; while the number mentioned may well be exaggerated, there is much evidence which shows the essential truth of the picture Lorenzo drew here. Two Florentine' examples are representative. In a letter to Filippo in 1486, Gabriello di Vanni Strozzi apologised for some error and claimed Filippo's indulgence, on the grounds that 'io conosco che voi mi volete bene, e amate mi chome figliuolo'.<sup>60</sup> This Gabriello had been taken on by Filippo nine years earlier, when his brother Francesco had proved himself an undesirable employee by losing 400 ducats through dishonesty or stupidity. His honour, and therefore indirectly their own, was at stake, making it difficult for Filippo or Lorenzo to dismiss him: if he had not been a son 'di qualunque di noi, non li aremo soportato la metà di tanto fastidio', Filippo wrote to Lorenzo about this business.<sup>61</sup> They did in fact get rid of him three years later, employing his brother instead: Francesco, and therefore his close relatives, already knew about their business affairs, 'e non mi pare mettere in chasa forestiere', Filippo reasoned.<sup>62</sup> The first cousin of these two boys, Lionardo di Benedetto di Francesco, was one of Filippo's most trusted employees, writing to Filippo daily when he was absent from Florence, and overseeing the running of Filippo's household.<sup>63</sup>

The Strozzi correspondence reveals many examples of Filippo involving himself in a number of different ways with one household or small cluster of his kinsmen. The first and perhaps most dramatic example of this is the case of the sons of Niccolò di Barla. In 1475 Lionardo di Niccolò was imprisoned in Ferrara and threatened with the amputation of a hand, for the crime of murdering a Ferrarese citizen. Messer Roberto di Nanni and Messer Lorenzo di Lorenzo Strozzi both wrote

to Filippo from Ferrara, asking his help to avert this disaster.<sup>64</sup> In response he wrote, and had Lorenzo de' Medici write, 'una caldissima lettera', in Lionardo's favour to the Duke of Ferrara, Ercole d' Este; Lorenzo in Naples was also asked to have King Ferrante do likewise. The campaign was successful, and 'vituperio e vergogna di tutta casa nostra' were thus averted.<sup>65</sup> Filippo employed this Lionardo's brother, Antonio, in Florence and Livorno during the 1480s, and in 1481 was asked to help these brothers by providing a small dowry investment for their sister Ginevra.<sup>66</sup> He did this, making an initial investment of 200 florins; three years later he doubled this sum, debiting it to his poveri di dio account.<sup>67</sup>

Another example of such involvement is that which Filippo had with Messer Michele di Piero and his children. In 1477 Messer Michele was angling for some personal advantage which required influence with Messer Francesco Fontana, ambassador of the king of Hungary at the Neapolitan court, which he was able to obtain with the help of Filippo and Lorenzo.<sup>68</sup> His praise of them (variously) as 'buon padre e maggiore', 'perfecto parente e buono amico', and 'chome fantore e benefattore di tutta la casa degli Strozzi'<sup>69</sup> may seem impossibly hyperbolic, but in fact Filippo did carry out some of the functions of a 'buon padre' towards Michele and his household. He employed Michele's son, Piero, and in 1484 provided a small dowry for his daughter Lionarda.<sup>70</sup> In 1487 Lionarda wrote a letter of news and thanks to Filippo, 'perchè sono certa ... desiderate sentire buona novella di me como de vostra figliola propria'. The very great differences of wealth in a lineage like the Strozzi - Lionarda's dowry was only 166 florins<sup>71</sup> - facilitated the creation of such ties of patronage. There were more extreme examples even than this: in 1488 Filippo recorded under the heading of 'limosine' a payment of ten florins to Bice, daughter of Marietta di Giovanni di Sandro Strozzi, as part of her nun's dowry.<sup>72</sup>

Another example of Filippo's aid to kinsmen occurred in a Strozzi household where the conventional authority structure had collapsed,

and outside help was needed to keep it functioning in a normal manner. In 1483 Zacheria di Battista di Giovanni Strozzi was working for Filippo in Naples, and in January that year Pagolo di Benedetto Strozzi (one of those chiefly responsible for running the Neapolitan business after Lorenzo's death) arranged a place for Zacheria's brother Giovanni there as well. Zacheria wrote to Filippo, explaining apologetically why his brother should not take this opportunity, arranged as it was 'a fine di bene, e di rifare la chasa nostra'.<sup>73</sup> He claimed that Giovanni's departure from their Florentine household would be their disfazione, because of the 'vita e modi inonesti' of their father Battista, who was 'male disposto a fare il debito suo' towards his daughters, or, in other words, to provide them with dowries. Battista, nicknamed 'lo Squarto', had also earlier been in Filippo's employment, and had been guilty of some kind of misappropriation of funds;<sup>74</sup> while taking steps to recover this money, Filippo was nevertheless willing to employ his sons, and also provided the investment for a Monte dowry for one of his daughters.<sup>75</sup> Filippo must have seen the provision of dowries as a particularly important benevolence, which he carried out mainly through relatively small investments over long periods: like that for Alessandra, daughter of Giovanni di Benedetto di Pieraccione, to yield an 800 florin dowry at the end of ten years.<sup>76</sup> Whether such dowries were outright gifts, or informal interest free loans, it is difficult in some cases to judge, but it is interesting that Filippo made a ricordo in which payments for his own daughters, and dowry payments like these, were listed together without distinction.<sup>77</sup>

Filippo was also intricately involved with the sons of Carlo di Piero di Carlo Strozzi. In 1480 no less than three of these sons - Andrea, Michele, and Lorenzo - were in Naples in his employment,<sup>78</sup> although both Andrea and Michele returned to Florence soon after this, and Lorenzo moved to Avignon, where he probably continued to work for Filippo, but this is not completely clear. Filippo's avuncular attitude towards these brothers was exemplified by the marriage he arranged for Michele in

1490. Yet another of these brothers, Messer Ruberto (a doctor of canon law in Pisa) suggested to Filippo that although Michele would not want to depart from Filippo's wishes, that he was nevertheless too young to marry without disadvantage;<sup>79</sup> as Michele's elder brother, he may have felt that Filippo was usurping his own jurisdiction. But Ruberto was not himself above asking Filippo's help when the appropriate occasion arose: in 1477, while Filippo was a Monte official he had asked his assistance in obtaining the payment of an unpaid portion of his salary at the Pisan studio, noting that in such a position Filippo was bound to have amici who could see to it.<sup>80</sup> Four years later he made a much more ambitious request, which was that Filippo should exert his influence with the King of Naples to obtain him a Neapolitan bishopric.<sup>81</sup> Justifying this rather large request, he wrote that 'se vi richiedo con troppa sicurtà attribuitelo al desiderio et buono animo mi pare cognoscere in voi, di rilevare e aiutare ciaschuno di casa nostra'. Another, rather different aspect of corporate feeling was shown in a letter between two of his brothers, written by Lorenzo to Michele in 1489, which deplored a lack of senior leadership in the Strozzi bank in Naples.<sup>82</sup> This letter reveals the great extent to which the other Strozzi whom Filippo employed saw his financial empire as a family enterprise. Lorenzo di Carlo lamented the death of 'nostro Pagholo Strozzi', and noted that with his death 'quel bancho resta molto povero i[n] chonsiglio', and that Alfonso, Filippo's son, had for his years an undue amount of authority: 'non posso credere che vogli lasciare ghovernare a fanciulli'. He concluded his lament with the sentiment that 'mi pare vedere che tutto à ire male, che mi dispiace per l'onore de la chasa'.<sup>83</sup> Such a corporate view of Filippo's enterprise was not, it appears, an idiosyncratic one. Twelve years earlier Messer Michele di Piero had recounted in a letter to Filippo a conversation he had had with the wife of the Signore of Pesaro, who had asked him 'se io ero de quelli Strozzi e di quella caseta che erano a Napoli, e disse che voi sete molto persone da bene e riputati, e sete molto amati e avete grande credito della Maestà del Re, sicchè voi fate

honore a tutta la casa delli Strozzi e tutti vi siamo obligati'.<sup>84</sup> It seems true that in the political and cultural mood of the later fifteenth century in Florence, buildings such as Filippo's palazzo could be vested with a powerful symbolic meaning; it appears that from the time of its foundation the palazzo did have just such a symbolic meaning for his kinsmen: that it represented the honour and exaltation of the Strozzi lineage as well as the power and glory of Filippo's own achievement.<sup>85</sup>

Filippo's patronage of his kinemen cannot be set down to ulterior motives of expediency or selfishness, for as only he and a handful of other Strozzi could be judged to be members of the reggimento, the majority of his kinsmen could not offer him political support on any level higher than the gonfalone, and he was not in a position to need financial favours. One benefit he must have reaped, however, was that of loyal employees who felt a personal commitment to his business. But it must be assumed that his main reward came in moral and emotional terms: moral, because he believed himself to be acting rightly, and emotional in that he had exchanged the essential isolation of the exile for the undisputed though informal leadership of a large corporate body. There was also clearly a sense in which 'remaking' the Strozzi lineage was inseparable from his own progress, and in which he took on all of its concerns as his own. Filippo showed himself to be anxious to accumulate various tokens of his material success, and on occasion this accumulation involved the participation of other members of the lineage. One example is the granting of patronage rights in the pieve of Ripoli to him and Lorenzo, together with the sons of Benedetto di Pieraccione Strozzi, by Pope Sixtus in July 1475. This benefice was at that time held by Benedetto's son, Messer Piero, and after him Filippo promised that it should go to Messer Piero's nephew, a son of Niccolo di Benedetto.<sup>86</sup> Another example shows the value which Filippo had for the merely honorific, and for publicly displaying his leadership of the lineage. He and Lorenzo had consistently claimed (during their exile through the agency of their mother Alessandra) their right to the ceremonial gift of sella e fieno

from newly created Florentine archbishops on their first entry into the city. The inheritance of this right had been disputed between the Strozzi and the della Luna, and only once during their exile had Filippo and Lorenzo's rights been recognised, when in June 1462 their procuratori had brought the sella e fieno in procession to Alessandra's house, with an escort of 'dodici giovani degli Strozzi'.<sup>87</sup> When in 1473 there was again a new archbishop, Filippo recorded the ceremony in detail, from the preamble that 'toccando a lato nostro la sella, io m'apresentai a lle schaloe di San Piero Maggiore achonpangiato da più di chasa e altri nostri parenti ...' down to the return of the whole company to his house to drink wine and eat sweetmeats.<sup>88</sup>

That Filippo's position in the lineage had become one of de facto leadership was strikingly confirmed by the will made by Marco di Marco di Nofri Strozzi in which he left his entire estate in the hands of Filippo and Lorenzo, on the condition that during the lifetimes of his two brothers (one was a friar, one imprisoned) they were each to be sent a yearly sum; after their deaths Filippo and Lorenzo were to spend the income of the estate as they thought best, 'o per l'anima sua, o per honore di lui e della chasa nostra, sendo che a noi meglio parra'.<sup>89</sup>

Equally remarkable is the fact that in his private correspondence with Lorenzo, Filippo referred to his kinsmen in a manner which revealed their special importance in his eyes because of the bond of kinship between him and them. So he wrote to Lorenzo of a visit to their house in Florence which had been made by Messer Lorenzo di Lorenzo (one of Palla di Nofri's grandsons, who lived in Ferrara) at the time of his and his brother Bardo's sodamento of property inherited from their grandfather, with Giovanni Rucellai: 'voglio li paia che la chasa degli Strozzi si richordi di lui'.<sup>90</sup> In the month before this, May 1475, the death had taken place of Begni di Jacopo d' Ubertino, member of an obscure and debt ridden branch of the lineage, but himself a man of minor distinction after a career at the court of Mantua. Filippo wrote movingly to Lorenzo of Begni's death: 'è sai morto Bengni degli Strozzi, che ieri lo sotteramo.

E nne auto danno, perchè in vero era buona persona, e lascia di se una buona fama; e io infra gli altri me ne dolgho perchè mi voleva bene, e andavamo bene in uno ghuinzaglio'.<sup>91</sup> It is not easy to imagine what business two men so disparate in economic and social status could have had together, but this metaphor of men running together in the harness of hunting dogs suggests the ability which the agnatic kinship bond possessed to unite those who shared it, even a man as powerful as Filippo, and the 'povero vecchio'.<sup>92</sup> Begni.

### iii The Other Exiles.

By the 1470s the Strozzi had become a widely dispersed lineage, but not only in the sense that many Florentine lineages had been, from the thirteenth century onwards, with members in a number of Italian and European cities for purposes of trade. In this century the Strozzi experienced a new kind of dispersal, with substantial numbers of the lineage's members permanently settled in cities other than Florence for some generations. The two most important Italian cities in which they had established themselves were Naples and Ferrara, Naples on the old, mercantile pattern and Ferrara (and to a much smaller extent, Mantua) on the new; there, by the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the Strozzi were becoming thoroughly a part of the courtly aristocracy. For the majority this was by choice: Giovanni di Carlo, for example, himself an emigrant to Ferrara in the service of Sigismondo d'Este, told his brother<sup>93</sup> Michele in 1497 that 'io per mi non voglio stare a Firenze, nè volere loro ufici', even though his correspondence shows him still vitally interested in Florentine matters. In his case it seems likely that he had first left Florence for political reasons,<sup>94</sup> but that after the expulsion of Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici he found himself too satisfied with his position in Ferrara to wish to return.

However, the position of the judicial exiles, the descendants of Palla di Nofri, was very different. Palla's descendants were only very gradually weaned away from a whole hearted desire to obtain their

repatriation by almost any means, and it was a weaning accomplished more by time and the practical pressure of circumstances than by any decisive event. In early November 1466, some weeks after the ban of exile had been lifted from a number of those affected since 1434 and 1458 (amongst them Filippo and Lorenzo), Bardo di Lorenzo di Messer Palla wrote a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, expressing his and his relatives' disappointment at not being amongst those included, and asking Lorenzo's help in obtaining this favour. 'In voi ho fede lo fara [t]e, e ogni nostro pensiero e desiderio ci riuscire, perchè siano innocentissimi, chome potete intendere'.<sup>95</sup> In May of the following year (1467) Bardo's uncle Giovanfrancesco took part in an attempt by a group of exiles including Agnolo Acciaiuoli, Diotisalvi di Nerone and Niccolo Soderini, to overcome the Medici regime by armed force,<sup>96</sup> with the support of Borso d'Este and, tacitly, of Venice, effectively putting paid to any hopes Borso may have had in succeeding by such pleas. Professor Rubinstein has suggested that Piero de' Medici planned an amnesty for the exiles shortly before his death in 1469, but that he did not live long enough to implement it;<sup>97</sup> it seems unlikely, however, that this could have included the armed rebels of May 1467. At any rate the ban remained, and in 1479 Bardo and his brother Lorenzo wrote again to Lorenzo de' Medici begging for their repatriation. Their brother-in-law, Messer Teofilo Calcagnani, a Ferrarese nobleman, had recently visited Florence, and Lorenzo, on their behalf, and had apparently been given encouragement to believe that their exile might soon be ended. 'E cusì cum questa ferma speranza ne viviamo',<sup>98</sup> they wrote, but it was a hope that, like all others cherished before 1494, was to prove illusory.

Bardo, to some extent in association with his brother Lorenzo, was determined in his efforts to regain the property in Florence which had belonged to Messer Palla, and which Palla had attempted to safeguard for his descendants. The most important of these properties was the ancestral Florentine residence of this line of the Strozzi.<sup>99</sup> By the early 1470s this house had come into the hands of Niccolò Ardinghelli,



who had claimed it, through his mother Caterina (di Niccolò di Nofri Strozzi, Palla's niece) when it had been confiscated after Palla's death.<sup>100</sup> Bardo determinedly challenged Niccolò's right to this property, perhaps partly because of memories of having lived there with his mother as a child,<sup>101</sup> but mainly because he had a very strong sense of its ancestral and family importance. This business must have soured relations between Palla's grandsons and his chief Florentine executor, Giovanni Rucellai (and later his son Pandolfo). When in 1493 Bardo made one of his several efforts to regain this house, he sent various relevant documents to Michele di Carlo Strozzi, who was acting for him in Florence. After copying out a letter of Pandolfo's, written in 1483, which asked them to send him chiarezze of their claim, he commented to Michele that 'altro non si fece allora, avendo più compassione a llui [Niccolò Ardinghelli] che a noi'.<sup>102</sup> What Bardo saw as the failure of the Rucellai to help them sufficiently to obtain justice in this matter may have made him and Lorenzo turn to their fairly distant cousin Filippo for help, which Filippo showed himself prepared to give them.<sup>103</sup> It is however indicative of their lengthening absence from Florence and from daily dealings with their Florentine kinsmen, that the very terms in which they claimed Filippo's help - 'lo amorevole parentado e antica benivolentia, Filippo nostro, euta sempre da 40 anni in qua fra li vostri e nostri passati',<sup>104</sup> - contained a new, rhetorical formality previously foreign to the type of relationship they were describing. But Bardo's long absence from Florence led not to indifference but to an increased value for what had been denied him. As late as 1490 he expressed what appears to have been the wish to return permanently to Florence, 'di tornare ed abitare e vivere in quella fra i parenti e amici',<sup>105</sup> and when he made a successful attempt in 1493 to reclaim Messer Palla's house from the Ardinghelli, so that Michele di Carlo might live in it (as he himself could not) he spoke of it as 'una bella e una magna chasa nel più bello luogo di Firenze', a residence which would make Michele happier day by day; 'che sarete in mezzo gli Strozzi, fra i nostri'.<sup>106</sup>

He also tried to regain the other of Palla's two main houses which had once been joined together; Palla had sold it to Messer Marcello Strozzi with an agreement to its resale to himself or his descendants whenever they could return to Florence.<sup>107</sup> Bardo does not appear to have been successful in wresting this property from Marcello's grandsons, and as late as 1507 he wrote on this subject to Michele, claiming that the case had been lost due to 'nigligenzia e pigrieza'; he added trenchantly that 'iddio vorrà ch'è sempre per la bontà di Messer Palla e suoi sucesori'.<sup>108</sup>

When the ban of exile had finally been lifted from Palla's descendants in November 1494, Bardo wrote to Alfonso both to rejoice at the news, and to thank him for helping, with other members of the lineage, to bring it about: 'che so quello avete fatto voi, chogli altri di chasa nostra'.<sup>109</sup> A few months later, again writing to Alfonso, he expressed his anxiety to hear that the renewal of good government there would lead to Florence regaining Pisa; 'perchè la mi pare la più bella città, e 'l più bello popolo e maggiore del mondo'.<sup>110</sup> But despite his evident patriotic commitment to Florence, he did not ever return there permanently, although he did visit in 1495. The reason for this would seem to be his favourable position at the Ferrarese court. In describing Bardo's position in Ferrara to Michele, Giovanni di Carlo who was himself resident in that city, wrote that 'è ricco qui, e à moglie e figlioli', and added that the Duke of Ferrara was 'un buo[n] amico in assai sua fazende'.<sup>111</sup> It was not apparently a practical course to sacrifice all this to his patriotic attachment to Florence.

Of Palla's other descendants, only Giovanfrancesco and his sons remain to any degree visible to the historian's eye after his death in 1462. Giovanfrancesco, like so many of the Strozzi, lived in Ferrara or on his Ferrarese country estates. He and his wife Luisa had twelve children between 1450 and the year of his death, which was probably 1484.<sup>112</sup> Luisa was then left with a family of still young children; she wrote a letter of reproach to her son Roberto in 1486 for failing to

help her or her children, 'i mia poveri puttini'.<sup>113</sup> (Her youngest son Palla was eleven in that year.)<sup>114</sup> Numerous letters of Giovanfrancesco and particularly of Luisa survive addressed to one or the other of their sons, including one by Giovanfrancesco to Alessandro when the latter was at school at Mirandola. Here Giovanfrancesco reprimanded his sixteen year old son for taking a valuable volume of Cicero's letters without permission, promised to bring him a volume of Terence when he came to visit, and offered fatherly advice on keeping better company and drawing more benefit from his education.<sup>115</sup> Alessandro chose a life of scholarship,<sup>116</sup> and was also an artist, although whether as amateur or professional is unclear.<sup>117</sup> No less than three of his brothers entered the Church, Carlo becoming a priest and Pandolfo and Palla both becoming Franciscans. Carlo's decision was made in 1489, and does not appear to have aroused Luisa's opposition; she informed Roberto that Sigismondo d'Este and his wife had written to the pope on his behalf seeking a Ferrarese benefice.<sup>118</sup> But the two sons who became friars both encountered bitter parental opposition, Pandolfo in 1471 and Palla much later, in 1494. Giovanfrancesco had appealed to the bishop of Padua on the earlier occasion, after Pandolfo had secretly left home and fled to the monastery of S. Girolamo in Padua,<sup>119</sup> while Luisa made no move against Palla's decision except to remonstrate with him, and to complain bitterly. Writing to Alessandro, she reported Palla's response to her arguments: knowing 'questo miserabile mondo essere falage e pieno di zhani e tradimenti, e durando sì pocho, se vuole aquistare el paradiso'; his mother should be content with his salvation, he argued, not loving his body more than his soul.<sup>120</sup>

By November 1494 only two of Giovanfrancesco's five sons, Ruberto and Alessandro, were thus concerned with such secular matters as Florentine politics. Ruberto, like his cousin Bardo, seems to have reacted enthusiastically to the news; Luisa wrote on the 1st December of pratiche he and Bardo were having, together with Bardo's sister Marietta, about events in Florence, and of 'lettere e imbasciate' they had sent to kinsmen and friends there; 'e tutti pare sieno be [n] disposti'.<sup>121</sup>

Whether or not Ruberto would have returned permanently to Florence remains uncertain; in a letter of July 1495 Bardo lamented his death 'per l'amore fraterno, e poi perch'era atto ad onorare molto la casa nostra'.<sup>122</sup>

Luisa, filled with enthusiasm for this turn of events in Florence, tried valiantly to interest her other son, Alessandro, in the prospect of returning to Florence. 'La qual chosa te ne chonforto, perchè sendo inborsato porai avere degli ufizi, che ti sara utile e onore più che stare chostì' [in Venicè].<sup>123</sup> She used every available argument to con-

vince him, and her enthusiasm is in itself a poignant testimony to her own attachment to the city of her childhood. 'Lì è bella istanza e buon vivere, e buone chase e buona aria, e non pagherai i [1] fitto di chasa, e sechondo mi dice Bardo, tu ai benivolenza assai ...'<sup>124</sup> She

tried again later that year, in June (1495). Alessandro, together with all the other former judicial exiles who were eligible, could now once more hold offices, and Luisa informed him that he had already been elected to two offices and 'lost' them by not being in Florence.<sup>125</sup>

Unlike Bardo he did not have a 'chasa e posisione' elsewhere, nor the number of dependent bocche<sup>126</sup> that Bardo had to consider. In Florence, his mother urged him, he could live 'chon riputazione, e a la tua patria'. Alessandro must have remained unconvinced, or unmoved, as he continued to live in Venice, and the second of the two main exiled lines of the Strozzi consequently failed ever to re-establish itself in Florence. The reason for this seems clear. Their exile had lasted long enough to produce a generation who, like Alessandro and his brothers, had had no first hand contact with the city at all, and whose parents had left it as little more than children. For them the revoking of that exile could no longer mark a major turning point as it had for Filippo almost thirty years earlier.

This generation of the exiled Strozzi appear in fact to have assimilated themselves rapidly into the courtly society of Ferrara,<sup>127</sup> in which a number of their kinemen already held a leading position. Indeed the Strozzi appear to have 'regrouped' themselves in Ferrara, forming

a distinct corporate entity as members of their lineage, a continuation of old forms in a new environment. This 'corporate identity' appears to have been maintained partly through association there, partly by continued contact with the lineage in Florence. The two were not necessarily separate, as the campaign to save Lionardo di Niccolo di Barla from the penalty of hand amputation showed.<sup>128</sup> Purely Ferrarese activity is harder to document, as it was less likely to be mentioned in correspondence, however the gossip letters of Luisa Donati-Strozzi sometimes mentioned court festivities which the Strozzi seem to have participated in together.<sup>129</sup> A more private social world is suggested by Giovanni di Carlo's reports to Michele of the young Smeraldo di Battista's visit to Ferrara in 1497 to take up the profession of an uomo d'arme.<sup>130</sup> He stayed in Ferrara with Messer Tito, stabled his horse at Messer Niccolo's house, and Bardo, Messer Camillo, and Giovanni himself had armed him, each providing part of the necessary equipment. The community of interest between Ferrarese and Florentine Strozzi was shown in many different ways, social, political and ceremonial. In February 1483 Giovanni di Carlo reacted to the news that Lorenzo de' Medici was to visit Ferrara by writing to Michele suggesting that a member of the Strozzi lineage should be in Lorenzo's entourage: 'aria bene acaro ci venisse al canto della casa, seco o dinanzi, o Zovanni, ho Alfonso, ho Giovanni di Stozza'. The importance of such a Strozzi intermediary was explained by the fact that in Ferrara Lorenzo would find 'molti Signori che non piazerà le [sic] sua venuta assai'.<sup>131</sup> Similarly, Messer Roberto di Nanni Strozzi asked Filippo in March 1489 to extend a friendly welcome to Manfredo di Manfredi, who was about to come to Florence as orator of the Duke of Ferrara: 'sì per voi, come per tutta la casa nostra'.<sup>132</sup>

Giovanni di Carlo, with his very strong Florentine connections, actively fostered the ties between the two groups of kinemen. A good example of this is the mass of rather incoherent detail he supplied to Michele about the marriage of Camillo di Messer Niccolo Strozzi to a daughter of 'conte Mafie da Gambera da Bre [s] cia' - Ginevra Gambarà - in 1489

including all the new marriage connections, such as the fact that the bride's mother was a kinswoman of the Este family; he suggested that his brother 'congratulati colli parenti del parentado de questi nostri qugini'.<sup>133</sup> Camillo and his brother Carlo wrote a rather stately letter

to Filippo on this occasion, emphasising that this parentado should also be considered that of the Strozzi in Florence. 'Vi preghiamo vogliati partecipare questa cosa cogli altri de la chasa, nostri parenti e amici, et fare intendere a tutti che epsi insieme cum voi haverano uno partentato a le parte di là'.<sup>134</sup> A certain ceremonious courtliness had existed

before this time in the letters sent to Filippo by these distant kinsmen,<sup>135</sup> but they seem to have grown markedly in effusiveness towards the end of the century, with this younger generation. There was also a more frequent recourse to a heightened 'language of kinship' in contexts where this seems unnecessary. So Bardo di Lorenzo, writing a number of letters to Filippo in 1488, asking him to help the brothers Carlo and Camillo di Messer Niccolo in some legal adjustment to their Florentine property, promised on their behalf to do always 'quello parrà a voi, sichè voi intendete l'onore e utile loro e della casa'.<sup>136</sup> These young men, who were very wealthy and installed on the highest level of Ferrarese society, could not realistically be described as 'clients' of Filippo, but it is as if the language of the court - of 'patronage' and 'clienthood' to mutual advantage - was in the process of overtaking the language of kinship, and inflating it; it might here be suspected, that while more was said, rather less was meant.

#### iv Conclusion.

I have used the term 'crisis' to characterise the experience of the Strozzi in the fifteenth century, and with certain obvious reservations this still appears to me to be reasonably accurate. As has been seen, the Strozzi themselves were aware of such a phenomenon: that the twenty odd years after 1434 witnessed the nadir of their fortunes (with a very small number of individual exceptions) and that the next forty years

saw a long process of recovery take place. Both the young Filippo and his cousin Jacopo di Lionardo stated clearly in the 1440s their belief that the Florentine environment had become inimical to Strozzi prosperity;<sup>137</sup> Antonio di Benedetto, on becoming prior in 1450, memorably voiced his own and others' belief that 's'è cominciato a rompere questo ghiaccio',<sup>138</sup> though this proved to be overly optimistic. Only Palla, perhaps, of those most directly affected, failed to see the events of 1434 and after in terms of a particular attack on the Strozzi as a whole, and this is explained by the fact that he bore the brunt of Medician persecution as the most prominent and powerful of the lineage's members. Given his extraordinarily dominant position in the lineage, in economic terms, before 1434, that dismembering of his whole estate which he believed deliberately undertaken by the Medici regime was also a means well designed to reduce the strength of the whole lineage. If this is true - and it is perhaps a point easier to grasp intuitively than to demonstrate - then it is fitting, and perhaps no co-incidence, that the renaissance of the Strozzi lineage should have been so intimately connected with the foundation of another great fortune, and the emergence of another distinguished individual as its owner. The two men were different in almost every respect, the one notable exception being the strength of their feeling for the lineage to which they belonged. It seems indisputable that Filippo learned early and quickly the necessary lessons both from the dispersal of Palla's fortune and the similar fate, in miniature, of the estates of his father Matteo and several other Strozzi. Filippo protected his fortune in a number of ways that Palla had not: by diversifying the forms in which it was held, by founding the vital parent company outside Florence, by having a much smaller proportion invested in rural property, and virtually none in the form of urban properties designed for rent income.<sup>139</sup> Finally, he maintained very large cash reserves.<sup>140</sup> Equally importantly, Filippo secured his fortune and regained position in Florentine society by very different means: by sacrificing the independent political position and real power which earlier

generations of the Strozzi had enjoyed and suffered for, and finding an accommodation with the political status-quo, the dominance of the Medicean regime.

The most curious aspect of Filippo's rapprochement with the Medici was that it applied to him as an individual, and to his immediate relations (his sons and nephews) - although perhaps significantly it was only sealed by the concession of political office after the death of the more intransigent Lorenzo - but not to the rest of the lineage. That this was the case is demonstrated by the remarkable absence of the Strozzi from high office between 1470 and 1494; the suspicion with which the Strozzi were in general viewed is illustrated by the exile of two of the lineage's members, for reasons which unfortunately are unknown to me, in 1467 and early 1468.<sup>141</sup> That such suspicion pursued the Strozzi right up until the overthrow of the Medici regime is shown by retrospective remarks made by Giovanni di Carlo in 1497, on the occasion of a proposed visit to Florence of Ercole, young son of his employer Sigismondo d'Este. He asked Michele to make sure that 'li parenti lo vicitino, che 'l vale e serve li parenti quando acade', adding that now such a thing would be possible without raising the suspicion of subversive activities. 'Quando l'è era Lorenzo, se fussi stato visto 6 o 8 Strozzi insieme, li saria stato messo li pedi suso la coda'.<sup>142</sup> He elaborated this theme in another letter on the same business. 'Cox'è fa' [Ercole] sia vicitato da quelli Strozzi,' he wrote, 'adesso non è el tempo di Lore[n]zo, che non se possa vicitare e mostrare che glie n'è della casa'.<sup>143</sup> This statement reveals the degree of suspicion, and of restriction to their expression of family solidarity, which the lineage had suffered under the Medici. It is worth noting that Giovanni had no particular reason to remember Medicean dominance with disfavour, only those reasons which were common to the lineage's members as a whole. Such statements, indeed, give a new shade of meaning to the story of Filippo's care not to offend Lorenzo de' Medici by the magnificence of his palace.<sup>144</sup> Had Lorenzo's enthusiasm not been thus engaged he might



have been more inclined to view the palace as a symbol of resurgent Strozzi pride and defiance. This is certainly, it appears, how it was viewed by the members of the lineage themselves.<sup>145</sup>

While Filippo's political success from the late 1470s onwards was of tremendous importance to him, and had suggested to his brother Lorenzo (and no doubt to others) a new political beginning for other Strozzi, such a new beginning did not in fact occur until after the fall of the Medici regime. From that time onwards the correspondence of Giovanni with Michele in Florence bubbles with a new excitement at the possibilities which had been opened up. In a letter of February 1495 he told Michele he had heard of the choosing of the new venti accoppiatori<sup>146</sup> and the dieci and otto di balia. Evidently one of their several brothers had gained one of these offices, and Giovanni exclaimed, with a characteristic mixture of fraternal and corporate pride that 'ho auto gra[n] piacere che el primo de casa sia nostro fratello'. In May that year he mentioned having heard the names of the 'priori et ufficiali novi', and his disappointment that there was no Strozzi prior: 'al pres[s]o deli Strozzi, credeti n'avessimo uno de' priori'.<sup>147</sup>

In demographic and economic terms the picture is slightly different, in that the recovery of the lineage began at an earlier date and was less obviously dependent on a single factor. A study of the 1480 catasto portate of the Strozzi suggests that the improvement which had been manifest in 1469 had been maintained in the intervening decade. The increase had continued in both the number of Strozzi households in Florence and in their average size, and the considerable increase in the number of adult males resident in the city suggests that earlier pessimism about their prospects in Florence had decreased.<sup>148</sup> While this general improvement was presumably not all due to Filippo Strozzi's policy of aiding his kinsmen, it must nevertheless have played quite a substantial part. Even a large lineage like the Strozzi was a small enough unit to be affected by the energetic efforts of one individual. Another sign of improved morale, and probably also of greater prosperity, is the

fact that the males of the lineage were marrying at an earlier age. While the average age difference between Strozzi men and their wives increased steadily between 1427 and 1469, from being nearly twelve and a half years senior in 1427 to almost twenty years in 1469, by 1480 this gap had decreased again to sixteen years.<sup>149</sup> Another index of the lineage's prosperity, the number of households who reported ownership of houses in the city, had not by 1480 substantially changed from the low 1469 figure of fourteen out of a total of thirty four households.<sup>150</sup> This is perhaps not surprising, as the purchase, or rather repurchase, of a city house represented a large capital investment, and as such was a symbol of prosperity which in normal circumstances would only be regained with difficulty. Other indices, such as the increased proportion of complex to simple households, and the drop in the number of single person households, strengthen the impression of increased stability and prosperity. Table 1 (below) shows the gross estimated wealth of Strozzi households in 1480 (for the purpose of comparison with those in Chapter 1) but as the comparatively small amount at which Filippo Strozzi's gross estimated wealth was assessed suggests, these figures must be viewed with caution. The overall picture this table presents is essentially similar to that for 1469, again suggesting stability.

Filippo's was not the only triumphant Strozzi return and re-establishment in Florence. Lionardo di Jacopo, the sole heir of his uncle Niccolò di Lionardo, came back to Florence at about the same time. He was fortunate in thus inheriting a fairly large fortune with which to pave his return, and in fact Niccolò had stipulated in his will that 2,000 florins of his estate should be used 'in conciare e hedificare la loro casa antica in Firenze, nel popolo di San Miniato fra le torri', and if this were not possible that the sum should be used 'in compra d'altra casa fra gli Strozzi in Firenze, dove a lloro paresse più conveniente et honorevole'.<sup>151</sup> Lionardo could not apparently repurchase their ancestral house, but he surely carried out his uncle's alternative instructions in the spirit intended when in the late 1470s he purchased what I

believe must have been Agnolo's half of the Strozzi palace.<sup>152</sup> Leonardo completed this return to the bosom of his kinsmen by marrying Agnolo's daughter Cassandra in 1478.<sup>153</sup> This marriage represented the alliance of one of the exile lines of the lineage to one of its chief Medicean lines: an effective enough symbol of regained Strozzi unity.

The Strozzi were not in the fifteenth century a lineage representative of the aristocratic elite of Florentine society, but neither was their position unique: they were one of a number of lineages which had some members in exile, and a majority excluded from significant office, because they had been identified as opponents of the regime either in 1434 or later. From the evidence presented here various broad conclusions can be drawn, and drawn more clearly than for any other comparable Florentine lineage, owing to the greater wealth of evidence; these conclusions would probably also hold good for other large, aristocratic lineages in Florence at this time, who were also in political opposition. While economic disparity did exist within the ranks of this lineage's members, I have found no evidence that it was a divisive factor. Rather it was a unifying force, in that it provided the necessary condition for an internal system of patronage which both duplicated and strengthened the ties of kinship. So far as political participation is concerned, it can be concluded that the lineage did still maintain to a substantial degree a common identity, and that its members were assumed to share a common interest. Certain reservations must however be made on this score. Not all members of the Strozzi lineage were ostracised by the Medici regime after 1434. It was certainly possible for individuals to dissociate themselves from the majority of their kinsmen in political matters, and a few of the Strozzi in fact did this; conversely, it was possible for an outstanding and powerful individual (like Filippo) to 'do a deal' with a regime which had excluded the great majority of his kinsmen. Neither of these facts served to weaken the ties which held the lineage's members together; rather the reverse. Ideological com-

mitment certainly held a place in Florentine politics in the fifteenth century, but it did not hold a dominant place. A belief in the wrongness of the Medicean regime's methods of maintaining power certainly led men to try to change or replace it, but I know of no example of a person standing voluntarily aside from politics on such a matter of principle. The Strozzi played in the main no role in Florentine politics under the Medici because they were unable to do so, and seem to have viewed the office holding of kinemen with hope and vicarious satisfaction, not with resentment or as an act of betrayal.

This study of the Strozzi has concentrated on the lineage's 'exceptional' members, and particularly on the exiles. The reason for this is partly the intrinsic interest of their experiences, and the way in which their lives subsequent to exile exemplified the two main possibilities facing those exiled from Florence in this period. The first of these was the arduous and lengthy task of engineering a return, which in the case of the sons of Matteo di Simone cannot be separated entirely from the accumulation of wealth and powerful friends, which eventually made it impossible for the Medici to reject any longer their proffered adherence. The second alternative was their gradual integration into the environment of exile. We have seen that the notion and the reality of the lineage were to these Strozzi exceptionally potent, coming between household and city to modify in various significant ways the environment in which the individual lived, and bestowing an identity which could influence strongly decisions regarding place of residence, choice of marriage partner, and type of employment. The lineage was, as well, an invaluable recourse in difficulty, securing help and consideration from influential individuals. Agnatic kinship was likely to unlock the doors of favour and influence, and the reciprocal nature of its bonds created an almost endless chain of help given and received. There were other ties which acted in a similar fashion - those of parentado, business partnership, friendship - which added to, complemented and reinforced the ties of agnatic kinship. There is no evidence that the particular

experience of the Strozzi in the fifteenth century served to loosen the bonds of kinship: on the contrary, this testing time of exile, political exclusion and decreased wealth appears to have strengthened them.

TABLE 1

WEALTH RATING: 1480	GROSS ESTIMATED CAPITAL
1. Fil <sup>o</sup> di Matteo and Carlo & Matteo di Lor <sup>o</sup>	2,812
2. Carlo di Piero & sons	2,354
3. Heirs of Matteo di Gio.	1,742
4. Piero, Chirico & Ant <sup>o</sup> di Zanobi	1,633
5. Gio. di M. Marcello	1,463
6. Heirs of Chirico di Franc <sup>o</sup>	1,395
7. Strozzi di M. Marcello	1,367
8. Heirs of Nicc <sup>o</sup> di Jacopo	1,365
9. Giannozzo di Giovanni	1,185
10. Carlo di Franc <sup>o</sup>	1,181
11. Messer Piero & Paolo di Bened <sup>o</sup>	1,141
12. Lio. di Jacopo	979
13. Vanni di Franc <sup>o</sup>	966
14. Lio. & Franc <sup>o</sup> di Bened <sup>o</sup>	858
15. Carlo di M. Palla Novello	842
16. Marco & Piero di Gio.	773
17. Marco di Bened <sup>o</sup> di Marco	765
18. Ant <sup>o</sup> di Nicc <sup>o</sup>	665
19. Battista di Franc <sup>o</sup> di Gio	659
20. Battista di Gio	658
21. Heirs of Nicc <sup>o</sup> di Barla	641
22. Franc <sup>o</sup> & Gabriello di Soldo	630
23. Mona Selvaggia, daughter of M. Marcello	611
24. M. Michele di Piero	573
25. Lodovico di Franc <sup>o</sup>	502
26. Franc <sup>o</sup> di Bened <sup>o</sup> di Piero	477
27. Carlo di M. Marcello	459
28. Nicc <sup>o</sup> di Carlo di Marco	334
29. Marco di Carlo di Marco	310
30. Lor <sup>o</sup> di Franc <sup>o</sup> di Bened <sup>o</sup>	295
31. Girolamo di Carlo di Marco	254
32. Ber <sup>o</sup> di Bened <sup>o</sup> di Marco	32
33. Gio di Bened <sup>o</sup> di Piero	No <u>sustanze</u> listed.

NOTES

1. Filippo's first marriage, to Fiametta di Donato Adimari, took place on 14 February 1467, but the betrothal had certainly been agreed to before the revocation of the bans of exile. In terms of descent, the Adimari were, as magnati, superior to the Strozzi; in political terms their influence was negligible. Fiametta's dowry was 1500 florins. Filippo recorded its receipt in his first volume of 'Florentine' ricordanze, C.S. V, 17, f.189r; begun on 1 December 1466, this volume contains only a little information which is not repeated in C.S. V, 22. This information includes a list of rings given at the time of the marriage, including (rather surprisingly) one given by Agnolo di Messer Palla Novello Strozzi: f.189v. The birth of their first 3 children was recorded in this volume, and in C.S. V, 22; for Alfonso's birth see ibid., f.90r; he was born on 11 December 1467.
2. On Alessandra's death, see C. Guasti, Strozzi Letters, pp.610-612. Filippo recorded his gift to S. Maria Ughi in Alessandra's volume of ricordanze, C.S. V, 15, f.105r. Earlier he had also recorded Alessandra's death there: 'Questo dì [2nd March 1471] da mattina tra lle 10 e 11 hore passò mona Allexandra di questa vita chon tutti i sacramenti e chon dolciissima morte. Fu sepellita honoratissimamente alla nostra sepoltura in Santa Maria Novella. Visse anni LXIII': ibid, f.95r.
3. On this attempt to unseat the Medici regime, see below, section iii.
4. Filippo died on 14 May 1491; on his death and funeral, see his son's biography, Vita di Filippo, p.30. In 1480 Filippo's household had consisted of 16 persons - himself, his second wife Selvaggia (at 21, 30 years his junior), their daughter Alessandra, five of Filippo's children by Fiametta, Lorenzo's 26 year old widow Antonia and her six children, plus another daughter of Lorenzo, the illegitimate Violante, who was 12. By 1491 two of Fiametta's daughters had died, and the eldest surviving was married (see below, this section), Selvaggia had had 5 more children, and Alfonso had married and was presumably living in his father's household with his wife. Two of Lorenzo's daughters, including Violante, were married by this time; his two sons were living in a house nearby which Filippo rented for them from Lionardo di Jacopo Strozzi, probably because his 'interim' house was too small to hold this very large household, which numbered fifteen even if they are not included among its members: C.S. III, 106 (draft tax document in Filippo's hand), f.250v.
5. On these events, and the construction of the palace in general, see R. Goldthwaite, 'The Building of the Strozzi Palace: The Construction Industry in Renaissance Florence', Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, Vol.10, 1973, pp.113-114, et passim.
6. That Lorenzo wished and intended to return to Florence is clear from a ricordo written by Filippo in June 1478 about a podere, the purchase of

which he had negotiated for his brother. Lorenzo, visiting Florence, had not liked it, and had told Filippo 'che quando fussi ripatriato' he would look for one more to his taste. C.S. V, 22, 102r. He died on about 15 October 1479: C.S. III, 133, f.96r. Giovacchino Gvasconi and Pagolo Strozzi to Filippo in Florence, 30 October 1479. '... a dì 15 ... v'avixamo del trapasso del nostro Lorenzo ...' On 13 November Filippo wrote to Duke Alfonso asking for a safe conduct to travel to Naples, on account of his brother's death, 'di che sono tanto afflicto quanto di niuno altro chaso che mai in tutta la mia vita mi sia advenuto, considerando in quante parti mi sia grande offesa; e per chagione della moglie, ho de' figliuoli, e del traficho'. C.S. III, 145, f.76; scribe's copy, not autograph. Addressed a tergo in Filippo's hand.

7. The details which follow on the birth of Filippo's children are all from C.S. V, 22, ff.90r, 94r, 97r. The first girl called Lionora was burnt to death by her wet-nurse when 1 year old - 'chè la balia la fochò la notte ne' letto' - f.90r.

8. C.S. V, 22, f.97r.

9. Ibid. Katy Dyer has informed me that this is the only known account of a private dissection in Florence in the 14th or 15th centuries. The doctor's name was Maestro Lodovico, who must have been a friend of these Strozzi as his wife gave a ring at Filippo's marriage to Fiametta. Filippo wrote that Maestro Lodovico found 'la matricie piena di sangue putrafatto, e che questo la fecie perire'. In addition, the doctor reported 'che avea il feghato molto ghuaato e simile il polmone'; and that 'sie non periva di questo male, sarebbe chaduta nel tixicho'.

10. Ibid., f.97r.

11. C.S. V, 22, f.97r. 'La feci chieiximare [i.e. chiamare?] insieme chon la Lionora nella nostra chiexa di Sancta Maria Ughi ...' I am not certain of the nature of this ceremony, but it must have been a fairly formal 'renaming'.

12. Filippo made a detailed record of this marriage, C.S. V, 41, 105r. Selvaggia, 'o vero Vagia', as he recorded, had a dowry even smaller than Fiametta's, of 1200 florins, 1000 florins of it in the Monte delle doti, which no doubt explains why Filippo was careful to note when the marriage was consummated: ibid. Despite her residence in Milan before the marriage, Selvaggia was not a completely unknown quantity to Filippo: Girolamo di Marco Strozzi, who was resident in Milan at that time in Filippo's employment, wrote two letters to him in April and May that year (1477) which described Selvaggia's appearance in minute and not completely flattering detail. C.S. III, 247, ff.32-34, Girolamo Strozzi to Filippo, 25 April and 4 May 1477. It is characteristic that Filippo should use a trusted kinsman for such a task. On Girolamo's earlier



dealings with Filippo, see above, Ch.4, part 1, section 11.

13. C.S. V, 41, f.105r.

14. 'Posilli nome Allexandra a memoria della nostra madre, e di quella di lei' - presumably a reference to his younger sister Alessandra, who was the only sibling to survive him. Ibid., 105r. Selvaggia had a miscarriage before the birth of this child, which was duly noted by Filippo with his usual almost obsessive concern for his progeny: 'si schonciò in uno fanciullo maschio di 4 mesi ... e ebbi l'anima'. (This last presumably refers to the fact that the child had 'quickenened' before miscarrying.)

15. Ibid. .

16. Ibid., f.151v. His godfather was Antonio Sperandio, oratore in Florence for the King of Naples. 'E mi fu detto che viene a essere nato in bonissimo asciendente'.

17. Ibid., f.162v. Filippo's sister Caterina had died four years earlier.

18. This was the third of Filippo's daughters named Lucrezia, born 27 January 1487; ibid.

19. Filippo il giovane was born on 3 January 1489; ibid.

20. Margherita, noted earlier by Alessandra Macinghi-Strozzi for her three (successive) husbands (Strozzi Letters, pp.267, 69), appears to have lived in Filippo's house with Fiametta after Alessandra's death. Noting a gift of linen made to Margherita, he described her as 'chi sta in compagnia della Fiametta': C.S. V, 22, f.96r. She also had a particular connection with Fiametta's family through her second husband, Lorenzo di Pigello Adimari: Fiametta was an Adimari.

21. Strozzi Letters, pp.590-91.

22. C.S. V, 22, f.94r.

23. C.S. III, 247, f.17. To Lorenzo in Naples, Florence, 12 May 1475. I take this expression to mean that Lorenzo could now appreciate having two living sons.

24. Ibid., I assume the 'remaking' referred to Alessandro.

25. Strozzi Letters, p.212.

26. C.S. V, 22, f.90r. He had died in September 1473, at Filippo's country property at Le Selve; he was buried there, not in S. Maria Novella, and this may have influenced Filippo's decision fairly soon after to acquire patronage rights there: Alessandro was buried 'sotto la predella del altare de' Bonsi'. (Filippo's sister Alessandra was married to a Bonsi.) On Filippo's chapel at Le Selve, see below p.266.

27. C.S. V, 41, f.159v. Her dowry was 2000 florins, 1000 in the Monte and 1000 'tra danari e donora'. Lorenzo Strozzi, Vita di Filippo, p.20,

states that Filippo's second surviving daughter, Fiametta, was married to 'Tommaso Soderini' before Filippo's death in May 1491. She was fifteen in August that year.

28. C.S. V, 22, f.93r. On the second occasion he, Lorenzo and Alfonso were all matriculated at the same time.

29. The reason for his exclusion was 'perchè fu detto ch'io ero andato a la merchatantia per l'arte della lana'. (?) Ibid.

30. C.S. V, 22, f.93r. On Filippo's account of this scrutiny, see above, Ch.3.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Marco Parenti described this marriage in his ricordanze, C.S. II, 17 bis, f.68v. In the year in which it was arranged (1470) Marco was podesta of 'Le Colle' (San Gimignano), and all of the negotiations were carried out by Filippo: e.g. C.S. III, 249, f.311, Marco Parenti to Filippo, S. Gimignano, 29 September 1470.

34. Filippo did not record holding this office in his surviving ricordanze, but as he did not record, per se, his membership of the Signoria either, this is not significant. The record of his daughter Caterina's birth (which occurred during the latter office) makes it clear that some of the ricordanze entries were taken from quadernucci; C.S. V, 41, f.151v: 'Levata dal quadernucio segnata B, da c.l.Anzi segnata C, c.l.' I have not been able to find these quadernucci in the Carte Stroziane.

35. C.S. V, 22, f.108v. Copy of letter of Lorenzo Strozzi to Filippo, Naples, 31 December 1478.

36. C.S. V, 41, f.153v. On the 1484 scrutiny, and this episode in particular, see above, Ch.3.

37. The term Filippo uses is avere le voci: 'andavi [sic.] al partito, e chosì Alfonso mio; ebbi la bocia da Lorenzo de' Medici, e per Lorenzo [sic., this must be a mistake for Alfonso] da Filippo Buondelmonti'. I do not know what procedure this alludes to in the scrutiny council; perhaps influential members could speak in favour of nominees if they wished.

38. C.S. V, 41, f.161r. See above, Ch.3.

39. C.S. V, 41, f.153r.

40. Ibid.

41. This list is C.S. V, 22, f.93v; in C.S. V, 41, there are scattered references at ff.162r, 175v, 177r.

42. Ibid., f.175v. In the light of Filippo's careful record of these occasions it is difficult to account for R. Goldthwaite's comment on this event: 'not the kind of information Filippo usually thought worthy of being recorded'; 'Building of the Strozzi Palace', p.125.

43. There are many examples in his two main volumes of ricordanze, C.S. V, 22 and 41; see also his and Lorenzo's sons' joint 1480 portata, Catasto 1011, ff.305r-306v; one of the two case da signore which he owned in 1480 was rented to Lucrezia Tornabuoni-Medici for 9 large florins per annum. There is a long list of rural properties purchased after 1480 in a draft tax document (also in the name of Filippo and Carlo and Mameo di Lorenzo) dating from c. late 1480s: C.S. III, 106, ff.247-251.

44. Filippo described this purchase in a letter to Lorenzo in Naples: C.S. III, 133, f.25v, 27 April 1474.

45. Ibid.

46. Catasto 1011, f.305v.

47. Two letters of Filippo's mention this matter. - C.S. III, 133, ff.25, 26, Filippo Strozzi to Lorenzo in Naples, Florence, 27 April, 1 May 1474 - but unfortunately neither of them provides a clear explanation.

48. It seems very likely that Agnolo's 'house', i.e. his half of the Strozzi palace, was in fact on sale at this time, and also that he wished to sell it to another member of the lineage. Brenda Preyer has suggested to me, very plausibly, that this was because Agnolo was himself without sons to inherit it. By 1480 Filippo's second cousin Lionardo had bought it, and had also married a daughter of Agnolo. He paid 2400 florins for Agnolo's part of the palace: Cat. 1012, ff.24r-25r, and (more legibly) Monte Catasti Duplicati 67, f.82r. Agnolo's brother Carlo continued to occupy his part of the palace - this may have lain behind Filippo's apparent decision not to buy, as he was not a man to be satisfied with half a palace. In his 1480 portata Lionardo di Jacopo stated that at the request of the 'magiori della città' he had lent his part of the Strozzi palace as a residence for the ambassador of the Duke of Milan. Monte Catasti Duplicati, 67 (Lion rosso), f.82r.

49. The two most important works on the Strozzi palace are: G. Pampaloni, Palazzo Strozzi, and R. Goldthwaite, 'The Building of the Strozzi Palace'. See also Goldthwaite's earlier article, 'The Florentine Palace as Domestic Architecture' for some rather idiosyncratic observations on its architectural features.

50. Filippo's 1480 portata shows that by that year there had been a first enlargement of his and Lorenzo's ancestral house: the 'casellina' bought by Filippo from the sons of Donato Rucellai in 1473 (which lay behind the original house) and another small house, beside theirs in the Corso degli Strozzi, which had formerly belonged to Filippo's cousin, Mone Checca di Piero di Filippo Strozzi, bought from Manfredi Squarcialupi in April 1480 for 540 florins: C.S. V, 41, f.179v. Both these

were described in 1480 as 'united' with the original house. At this time they also owned another small house adjoining this enlarged house on the Via Feravechi-Corso Strozzi corner which he described as empty, 'perchè la vogliamo unire chola chaxa della nostra abitazione'. It is possible that his plan for the eventual palace was not complete at this time, as none of these purchases committed him to building on that scale - in fact they form a block much more on the scale of the Strozzino and similar palaces. Catasto, f.305r.

51. On these two chapels see E. Borsook, 'Documenti relativi alle cappelle di Lecceto e delle Selve di Filippo Strozzi', Antichita Viva IX, 1970, pp.3-22.

52. A copy, autograph, of Lorenzo di Matteo Strozzi's will, not dated but obviously written in 1479 (the year of his death) or earlier includes a clause which shows that Filippo had already told him of plans for the eventual chapel in S.M. Novella: 'et lascio che in caxo Filippo mio fratello si contenti di comprare o di nuova murare una capella in Santa Maria Novella o in che altra chiesa paressi a lui, per noi e nostri discendenti' that he would wish up to 500 florins of his estate to be devoted to masses in it. C.S. III, 106, f.225r. On this chapel see the thesis by J. R. Sale, The Strozzi Chapel by Filippino Lippi in S.M. Novella, and E. Borsook, 'Documents for Filippo Lippi's Chapel in S. M. Novella and other related papers', Burlington Magazine, Vol.112, 1970, pp.737-746, 800-804. Another study of the chapel is D. Friedman, 'The Burial Chapel of Filippo Strozzi'.

53. This letter is published by Borsook, 'Documenti', pp.15-16.

54. C.S. III, 247, f.19: Filippo to Lorenzo Strozzi in Naples, Florence, 26 June 1475.

55. Ibid.

56. See R. Goldthwaite, 'The Florentine Palace as Domestic Architecture', *passim*; these ideas are found in more concise form in Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence, p.258.

57. 'Più Superba ...' pp.311-23.

58. This is the term used by Messer Michele di Piero Strozzi, cited ibid., p.313, n.8. The author can be identified as Michele di Piero Strozzi, not Michele di Carlo, however. On Michele di Piero see below, section ii.

59. Vita di Filippo, p.15.

60. C.S. III, 145, f.78: Gabriello Strozzi in Naples, 22 October 1486.

61. C.S. III, 133, f.26r, v, 1 May 1474.

62. C.S. III, 247, f.43, Naples, 18 November 1477.

63. A good example of their voluminous correspondence (although only letters written by Lionardo survive) is that of 27 January 1473, in which

he informed Filippo of the remarriage of his widowed sister to Pacchio Adimari, a kinsman of Fiametta, Filippo's wife - 'quest' altra settimana s' impalmerà per mano del magnifico Lorenzo'. C.S. III, 145, f.66.

64. C.S. III, 133, f.35: Roberto Strozzi to Filippo, Ferrara, 6 June 1475; C.S. III, 133, f.40, Messer Lorenzo di Lorenzo Strozzi to Filippo, Ferrara, 1 October 1475.

65. Ibid., f.40.

66. C.S. III, 145, f.81, Antonio Strozzi in Livorno to Filippo Strozzi in Florence, 5 March 1481. This letter asks for Filippo's help in the matter.

67. Ginevra's name appears on a list of dowries in Filippo's hand, C.S. III, 106, f.269, and he entered in his ricordanze a note of the two investments in her name: C.S. V, 22, f.96v.

68. Filippo discussed this business with Lorenzo in a letter of 13 November 1477: C.S. III, 247, f.25.

69. Letter cited by F. W. Kent, 'Più superba...', p.313.

70. For his employment of Piero, C.S. V, 41, 108v-109r; for Lionarda's dowry, C.S. V, 41, 21v.

71. See above, last n. She was married to Messer Mariano di Ser Giovanni de' Camilli, who was probably a lawyer like her father, but who could not have been a very prosperous one, to have accepted a wife with such a tiny dowry.

72. C.S. V, 41, 89v. Filippo's personal accounts, in this volume and in C.S. V, 22, give many examples of gifts to his kinmen, generally under the heading of 'limosine': a gift of cloth worth 4 florins to a daughter of Lionardo di Stagio Strozzi, wife of 'Pagholo di Lorenzo da Prato' (90r), and a 'cioppa di panno nero' worth 2½ florins given 'per dio' to Mona Vaggia degli Strozzi' (28v). Most interesting, perhaps, is a payment in February 1488 of 4 florins to Ruberto di Marcuccio di Benedetto, 'che disse voleva andare di fuori a cierchare sua ventura'. (90r).

73. C.S. III, 133, f.108: Zacheria Strozzi to Filippo, Naples, 20 January 1483.

74. C.S. V, 41, 159r is a ricordo of Filippo's concerning a legal undertaking by Battista to repay the money concerned.

75. C.S. III, 106, f.269 - this is a ricordo in Filippo's hand of various dowry investments he had made. C.S. III, 116, f.116 is a copy of another undertaking by Battista, this time to repay 69 florins used to make this dowry investment by Filippo. (Dated 3 April 1484).

76. C.S. III, 106, f.269r, v; ricordo described above, last n.

77. Ibid.

78. Their father Carlo stated this on his catasto of that year: Cat. 1013, (Lion bianco) ff.217r-219r. On their relationship with Filippo,

see F. W. Kent, 'Più superba...' p.313 et passim.

79. C.S. III, 145, f.85: Messer Ruberto Strozzi in Pisa to Filippo in Florence; 31 July 1490. Filippo had similarly arranged a marriage for Girolamo di Carlo di Marco in 1477. His sisters, Suora Raphaela and Suora Theodosia 'nelle Murate' thanked Filippo for this his 'umanità e karita vostra': 'lo avete provisto d'una buona e honesta fanciulla per sua legittima sposa'. C.S. III, 145, f.65. Girolamo was thirty seven at that time, Michele was thirty four when Filippo arranged his marriage to 'una figliuola di Ridolfo Lotti'.

80. C.S. III, 133, f.97. From Pistoia, 14 November 1479.

81. C.S. III, 133, f.107. Messer Ruberto Strozzi to Filippo, 2 January 1483.

82. On Lorenzo di Carlo's enthusiastic response to the commencement of Filippo's palace, see F. W. Kent, 'Più superba ...' pp.314-15. That he could level criticism such as this at Filippo's administration of the bank makes his reaction to the palace project all the more interesting.

83. C.S. III, 139, f.8. Lorenzo di Carlo Strozzi to Michele di Carlo Strozzi, Avignon, 17 June 1489.

84. C.S. III, 133, f.71, 10 November 1477.

85. F.W. Kent, 'Più superba ...' pp.313-15 et passim.

86. Filippo gave the details in a letter to Lorenzo: C.S. III, 133, ff. 30r-31v; 8 February 1475, also details at C.S. V, 22, f.98r.

87. This honorific dispute was explained in detail by C. Guasti, Strozzi Letters, pp.168, 174-75.

88. C.S. V, 22, f.108v.

89. Filippo's ricordo is C.S. V, 22, f.96v. Marco di Marco was a nephew of Messer Palla di Nofri, who claimed in his 1447 will that his illegitimate half-brother Marco (father of this Marco) had appropriated a large amount of their father Nofri's estate dishonestly. On his death Marco di Nofri had left his entire estate, repentantly, in Palla's hands - who had then magnanimously returned it intact to Marco's sons. 1447 Will, f.22. It seems likely that this one of them felt some guilt about his ill gotten possessions, and chose this means of expiating it.

90. C.S. III, 247, f.19: 26 June 1475.

91. C.S. III, 247, f.22v. To Lorenzo in Naples, 22 May 1475.

92. He was so called in a letter by his nephew Giuliano di Niccolò written from the Stinche to Piero di Cosimo de' Medici (undated): MAP, filza 24, 283.

93. C.S. III, 139, f.56: Giovanni Strozzi to Michele in Florence, 4 April 1497.

94. For Giovanni's unfavourable view of Florence under Lorenzo de' Medici, see below, p.283.

95. MAP, filza 20, 244; 3 November 1466.
96. This attempt was described in the anonymous Diario Ferrarese dal' anno 1409 sino al 1502, ed. G. Pardi, Bologna, 1928-1933, pp.47-48; it appears to have had the open support of Borso d'Este, and the tacit support of Venice in the form of her condottiere, Bartolommeo Colleone. See also N. Rubinstein, Government of Florence, p.173.
97. Ibid., p.173n.
98. MAP, filza 37, 9: 8 January 1479.
99. On this house see Ch.4, part 2. A letter of Lorenzo to Filippo in Naples, Florence, 23 March 1469, refers to the sale of 'la chasa di Messer Palla' by the syndics of Giovanfrancesco's creditors.
100. Niccolò Ardinghelli's claim to the house appears to have been based on dowry rights of his mother, and an interpretation of her grandfather Nofri's will on this point. This information is contained in a series of letters by Giovanni Rucellai to Bardo, copied by Bardo and sent to Michele Strozzi who was acting for him in Florence. These letters are C.S. III, 139, 23r-24v; they were enclosed in a letter of Bardo to Michele, 9 August 1493, ibid., f.22. This attempt must have been successful, as Bardo told Alfonso Strozzi at the end of the following year (1494) that when visiting Florence he would stay 'in lla chasa antica di Messer Palla, dove sempre sono abitati tutti e nostri': C.S. III, 133, f.164. Cited by F. W. Kent, 'Più superba ...' p.320.
101. Bardo told Michele, referring to this house, 'che mia madre abitassi la parte di sopra più tempo cholla sua famiglia, questo io lo so: che gli abitò più di 10 anni dal 1458 indrieto ...' (meaning, I take it, for 10 years up until 1458; this would be correct, as Bardo and his brother were legally exiled after that date). C.S. III, 139, ff.94r-95r, 7 February 1505.
102. C.S. III, 139, f.26, Bardo to Michele in Florence; Ferrara, 23 and 24 September 1493.
103. In 1475 he helped them with a sodamento of the property that their grandfather Palla had conditionally sold in the 1440s. In his ricordanze Filippo noted that this had cost him 60 florins in expenses: C.S. V, 22, f.100r. When he first met Bardo in Ferrara in the previous year, he wrote to Lorenzo his impression 'che mi pare vero un giovane da bene'. C.S. III, 133, f.25r, Filippo to Lorenzo in Naples, 21 May 1474.
104. C.S. III, 133, f.17: Bardo and Lorenzo Strozzi to Filippo in Florence, Ferrara, 20 May 1475.
105. This phrase, from a letter of Bardo to Savonarola, is cited by F. W. Kent, 'Più superba...' p.319.
106. C.S. III, 139, f.20: Bardo to Michele Strozzi in Florence, Ferrara, 24 June 1493.

107. See above, Ch.4, part 2.
108. C.S. III, 139, f.84, Bardo Strozzi to Michele, 17 January 1507 (only last 2 lines and signature are autograph).
109. C.S. III, 133, f.164, Bardo to Alfonso di Filippo Strozzi, 8 December 1494.
110. C.S. III, 133, f.173, Bardo to Alfonso, 23 March 1495.
111. C.S. III, 139, f.16, to Michele Strozzi in Florence, 1 October 1492.
112. In a letter to her son Ruberto in 1489, Luisa referred to property which had been 'consigned' to her five years earlier: this was the normal term for dowry restitution. A.B. [= Archivio Bentivoglio] scaff.8, etc., mazzo 1, 25; 24 February 1489.
113. A.B. scaff.8, mazzo 1, f.29. Undated, marked '1486' on reverse.
114. In a letter of 1 October 1492 to Michele, (C.S. III, 139, f.17) Giovanni mentioned Palla's age as 17. There was clearly close contact between these two lines of the Strozzi in Ferrara; Luisa belonged to the circle, perhaps even in some honorific capacity, to the household, of Sigismondo d'Este, Giovanni's employer; e.g. A.B. scaff.8, mazzo 1, 28, Luisa Donati-Strozzi to her son Ruberto, 10 December 1489, contains a long anecdote about dining in 'Messer Gismondo's' household.
115. A.B. scaff.8, mazzo 1, f.92: Giovanfrancesco Strozzi to his son Alessandro in Mirandola, 19 March 1468.
116. In a letter of 1477 to his father, Alessandro asked if the duplicates, in the collection of books which they had inherited from Palla, might be kept, for use in his studies: A.B., scaff.8, mazzo 1, 122; Alessandro at Badia to Giovanfrancesco, Badia, 14 February 1477.
117. A.B., scaff.8, mazzo 1, f.25, Luisa Donati-Strozzi to Ruberto di Giovanfrancesco Strozzi, 24 February 1489: 'Diapiacemi Alessandro si sia messo a dipigniere ...' See also J. Gadol, Alberti, p.186, where a drawing is described as by 'Alessandro Strozzi' in Venice in 1474 (Alessandro di Giovanfrancesco was twenty two in that year).
118. A.B., scaff.8, mazzo 1, f.25, 28 February 1489. As Carlo had two daughters who were both married into other branches of the lineage in 1500, and hence were presumably not illegitimate (as illegitimate daughters virtually never made such prestigious marriages), it seems likely that he was a widower in 1489. On intra-lineage marriages in general, see above, Ch.2, section ii.
119. This was reported by Luisa in a letter to Ruberto, A.B., scaff.8, mazzo 1, 3, 2 December 1471; the attempt must have been unsuccessful.
120. A.B., scaff.8, mazzo 1, f.34, 8 May 1494. This long letter went on to describe Palla's reception into the order. He took the name Fra Battista, and was sent to join a monastery in Piacenza. Luisa's com-



plaint was that in her 'vechiezza' none of her children remained with her, after Palla's departure: 'cho[n]siderando essere da tutti voi altri aba[n]donata'. Ibid.

121. A.B., scaff.8, mazzo 1, f.35: to Alessandro, in Venice, 1 December 1494.

122. C.S. III, 133, f.170: Bardo Strozzi to Carlo di Lorenzo di Matteo Strozzi in Florence, 17 July 1495.

123. A.B., scaff.8, mazzo 1, f.37; 28 March 1495.

124. Ibid. By pointing out that Alessandro would not have to pay rent on a house, Luisa was assuming that Alessandro would be living in his grandfather's house, should he 'return' to Florence.

125. A.B., scaff.8, mazzo 1, f.40; 30 June 1494.

126. Bardo had his second son in September 1493, and at that time had three daughters as well: C.S. III, 139, f.26; Giovanni di Carlo Strozzi to his brother Michele, 23 and 24 September 1493.

127. E.g., Luisa Donati-Strozzi's letter to Ruberto of 10 December 1489, where she rebuked him for his excessive jousting expenses: 'al fat [t]o di tuo g[i]ostrare per tuo onore e fama, mi saria charo, ma non arei tu ti debita tanto ch'è stato una gra[n] disgrazia' A.B., scaff.8, mazzo 1, f.21.

128. See above, section ii.

129. On 10 December 1489 she mentioned such a festivity to Ruberto: 'Bardo e i a[l]tri nostri Strozzi sono stati richiesti'. A.B., scaff.8, mazzo 1, f.28.

130. This visit is discussed in three letters of Giovanni to Michele, E.S. III, 139, ff.52-55.

131. I am uncertain of the identity of the first Giovanni: he was possibly a nephew of the writer, Giovanni di Carlo. Alfonso is of course Alfonso di Filippo, Giovanni di Strozza was a grandson of Messer Marcello di Strozza. C.S. III, 139, f.7; 6 February 1483.

132. C.S. III, 133, f.149; 11 March 1489.

133. C.S. III, 139, f.12. Not dated; dated by Michele on receipt, 24 November 1489.

134. C.S. III, 133, f.148; Carlo and Camillo di Niccolò Strozzi to Filippo, 24 November 1489.

135. For example, in the letter their father Messer Niccolò sent Filippo, to announce his elder son Carlo's marriage in 1476, or the letter of Messer Tito di Nanni, Messer Niccolò's brother, who in 1487, on the death of his wife, wrote to Filippo a formal but expressive letter on that subject: C.S. III, 133, f.56, 22 May 1476, and ibid., f.137, 27 April 1487.

136. C.S. III, 133, ff.139-44 are all on this subject; letter cited is f.143.

137. See above, Ch.4, part 1.

138. The relevant part of this letter was published by Guasti, Strozzi Letters, p.98. For other reactions to this incident see above, Ch.3.

139. In this respect the deployment of his capital - in cash reserves, reinvestment in business, the purchase of jewels and other precious objects, and above all in the palazzo - is indicative of the new role he played, when compared with his ancestors, of a passive though prestigious consumer. By contrast, the use to which Palla and his father, Nofri, had put their capital, as rural and urban landlords on a massive scale, together with their huge holdings of Monte shares, can be seen to have contributed directly towards their powerful political position.

140. R. Goldthwaite, Private Wealth, p.63.

141. Lionardo di Stagio Strozzi was declared a rubello and exiled for 30 years, probably in May or June of 1467, but the date is not given precisely: Otto di Guardia e Balia, 224, f.145v. Giuliano di Niccolo, 'vocato Cientella', Strozzi was deprived in perpetuo of his political rights, sentenced to two years in the Stinche (see n.92 above) and then to ten years' exile on 5 March 1468. Ibid., f.153r.

142. C.S. III, 139, f.45; 25 February 1497.

143. Ibid., f.50; 24 February 1497.

144. This 'story' is outlined, and in part substantiated, by F. W. Kent, 'Più superba ...' pp.316-17.

145. Ibid., passim.

146. C.S. III, 139, f.37, 11 February 1495.

147. Ibid., f.38; 8 May 1495.

148. See above, Ch.1, Table 1.

149. See above, Ch.1, Table 2.

150. Compared with 26 of 45 households in 1427.

151. C.S. V, 1162 (Testamenti) no.8, Will and related papers of Niccolò di Jacopo Strozzi; for a description of these see above, Ch.4, part 1.

152. See above, n.48.

153. C.S. III, 235, 'Matrimoni contratti della famiglia Strozzi'; Strozzi-Strozzi marriages are ff.482-6.

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A. Florence, Archivio di Stato

1. Carte Stroziane

- i Compilations of Strozzi marriages  
C.S. III, 73, 78, 235.
- ii Later (mainly 17<sup>th</sup> century) copies of 15<sup>th</sup> century and earlier materials  
C.S. III, 44, 93, 100.
- iii Unpublished vite of the Strozzi by Luigi di Carlo Strozzi.  
C.S. III, 75, i, ii.
- iv Strozzi wills.  
C.S. V, 1162.
- v Filze of mixed documents concerning the Strozzi lineage, mainly originals, copies and drafts of legal and tax documents.  
C.S. III, 106, 116, 126, 129, 242.
- vi Filze principally composed of fifteenth-century private letters by and/or to members of the Strozzi lineage.
  - a. Mainly to members of the Matteo di Simone line.  
C.S. III, 112, 113, 131, 132, 133, 134, 145, 146, 178, 180, 247, 249.
  - b. Mainly to members of the Messer Palla Novello line.  
C.S. III, 111, 130, 150.
  - c. Mainly to members of other lines of the Strozzi.  
C.S. III, 113, 139.
- vii Ricordanze and account books
  - a. C.S. V, 12 Ricordanze of Matteo di Simone Strozzi.  
C.S. V, 15 Ricordanze of Alessandra Strozzi. Some autograph entries, but also in the hands of her sons Matteo and Filippo.  
C.S. V, 17, 22 and 41 Personal accounts and ricordanze of Filippo di Matteo (autograph).  
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  - c. C.S. IV, 66 Accounts and ricordanze of the heirs of Carlo di Marco.

- vii Rico danze and account books (Continued)
- c. (Cont.)
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Girolamo di Carlo.
- C.S. IV, 356 Ricordanze of Pagolo di Carlo.
- d. C.S. IV, 349, 350 Account books of Agnolo and Pazzino  
di Messer Palla Novello.
- C.S. V, 13 Account book of Carlo di Messer Palla  
Novello.
2. Tratte. All volume nos. refer to the quarter of S.Maria Novella.
- i Scrutinies for the tre maggiori offices:
- Scrutiny of 1411: 46
- Scrutiny of 1433: 46, 47
- Scrutiny of 1444: 15
- Scrutiny of 1448: 49, ff. 6v - 32v contains a list of  
all those whose names were in the bags in 1449 when they  
were closed. As numbers of polizze and their cancella-  
tion are noted, this list constitutes a record of the  
preceding scrutiny of 1448.
- Scrutiny of 1453/4: 61, 1151 (replicated).
- ii Drawings for tre maggiori offices:
- 1429-1434: 198
- 1435-1443: 199
- 1444-1453: 200
- 1454-1463: 201
- 1464-1474: 202
- 1474-1495: 203
- iii Drawings for internal (minor) offices:
- 1411-1426: 79
- 1426-1456: 80
- iv Drawings for external offices:
- 1418-1456: 67
- 1455-1475: 68
- 1472-1491: 69
- v Drawings for the Councils of the popolo, comune,  
ducento, etc.
- 1430-1434: 156
- 1435-1441: 158
- 1440-1449: 160
- 1449-1460: 165
- 1460-1465: 167

2. Tr tte (Continued)
    - vi Lists of the balie of 1433 and 1434: 156
    - vii 443' bis. Register of birth dates.
  3. Catasto

1427:	portate	40 - 47
	campioni	75 - 77
1442:		619 - 21
1451:		705 - 10
1457:		814 - 19
1469:		917 - 22

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    - 90: Ricordanze of Francesco Castellani.
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    - 555: Scrutiny list of 1433.
  8. Cartapecore Strozzi-Uquccione (Diplomatico)
  9. Acquisti e Doni
    - 293: Carte Carnesecchi
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  11. Balie, 30.
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