

ALESSANDRA MACINGHI STROZZI

# Letters to Her Sons, 1447–1470



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## Introduction

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### 1. *The Other Voice*

Although a pioneering partial translation was published by Heather Gregory in 1997, it is the present series that has provided the opportunity—long overdue—for the first complete English version of the seventy-three surviving letters authored by Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi (c. 1406–1471).<sup>1</sup> Alessandra, a member of the Florentine mercantile patriciate, left a widow with five children when in her late twenties, is thereby brought into comparative contact with a remarkable diversity of other women writers, not least the small band of Florentines from before 1500 who have already featured in the series: Margherita Datini, Antonia Pulci, and Lucrezia Tornabuoni, the latter mentioned (admittedly in no very friendly fashion) in Alessandra’s Letter 45.<sup>2</sup>

The series title alludes to our modern recognition of the historical inequality of the sexes, the dominance of the male voice in the written record over the centuries, and the silence—indeed the silencing—of women’s voices; at the same time, it proclaims a mission to rectify this state of affairs where possible. When Cesare Guasti rescued Alessandra’s letters from archival obscurity in the 1870s, his was not, of course, a feminist project, his intention being rather to present his own fast changing society with a model (as he saw it) of devoted and self-sacrificing motherhood from Italy’s more distant (and idealized) past.<sup>3</sup> His edition did mean, however, that from the later nineteenth century onwards, but particularly with the surge of scholarly investigation into fifteenth-century Florence that began in the second half of the twentieth century, her voice was to become a familiar one, regularly cited by scholars working in disciplines ranging from the various categories of social history (the family, kinship, and marriage), through economic history (prices, taxation, dowries), to epidemiology (recurrences of the plague), and, of course, the political history that focuses on the continuing tensions and upheavals experienced by the Florentine republic through the middle decades of the Quattrocento. Indeed, perhaps nowhere is Alessandra’s status as an

1. *Selected Letters of Alessandra Strozzi*, ed. and trans. Heather Gregory, bilingual edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

2. Margherita Datini, *Letters to Francesco Datini*, trans. Carolyn James and Antonio Pagliaro (Toronto: Iter, Inc. and the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2012); Antonia Pulci, *Saints’ Lives and Bible Stories for the Stage*, ed. Elissa B. Weaver, trans. James W. Cook (Toronto: Iter, Inc. and the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2010); and Lucrezia Tornabuoni, *Sacred Narratives*, ed. and trans. Jane Tylus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

3. Alessandra Strozzi, *Lettere di una gentildonna fiorentina del secolo XV ai figliuoli esuli*, ed. Cesare Guasti (Florence: Sansoni, 1877). On this edition, hereafter abbreviated as “Guasti,” see also section 5 below, *The Afterlife of the Letters*. For an autograph original, see Figs. 1a and b.

## 2 Introduction

“authority” more ironic than in this latter arena, one from which fifteenth-century Florentine women were habitually excluded. Her apparently prescient remark in Letter 26 about the relative political fortunes of the Medici and the Pazzi is much cited: less so, her acknowledgement in Letter 49: “I wouldn’t be concerned about such things if it were not for our particular situation.”

Indeed, we owe the existence (and perhaps the survival) of her letters to one dominant set of circumstances, namely the intense period of Florentine political contestation in which, for more than three decades, she and her family found themselves on the losing side. Initially, it was adverse economic factors that forced her three sons to seek their fortunes abroad: between 1458 and 1466, however, came the experience of the harsher realities and constraints associated with their formal exile. In both cases, letter-writing was their mother’s response to the emotional and practical strains of separation.

Alessandra has often been described as exceptional among fifteenth-century Florentine women in terms of her literacy skills, but just how much of an exception was she? The question of female education in this period has been addressed by a number of scholars in recent decades, but differences of emphasis remain. Some have presented a more negative picture, stressing women’s exclusion, or else their lack of competence in penmanship, spelling, or grammar, while others choose to read the fragmentary and incomplete record of evidence in a somewhat more positive light.<sup>4</sup>

There is no doubt that middle and upper-class families gave clear priority, as they would do for centuries, to the education of their sons, whether in preparation for a career or as a social ornament and status indicator. Education, even if just in terms of basic literacy, was certainly not accessed as a matter of course even by upper-class women. Some lay and religious moralists of the period expressed their outright hostility towards the idea of women learning anything other than needlework and household management, while others experienced,

4. For Florentine women’s literacy, see especially the seminal study by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “Le chiavi fiorentine di Barbablù: L’apprendimento della lettura a Firenze nel XV secolo,” *Quaderni storici* 57, no. 3 (1984): 765–92, a French version of which appears in Klapisch-Zuber, *La maison et le nom: Stratégies et rituels dans l’Italie de la Renaissance* (Paris: Éditions de l’école des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1990), 309–30; and Klapisch-Zuber, “Épistolières florentines des XIVe–XVe siècles,” *Clio: Histoire, femmes et sociétés* 35 (2012): 129–45, doi: 10.4000/clio.10540. See also Robert Black, “Literacy in Florence, 1427,” in *Florence and Beyond: Culture, Society, and Politics in Renaissance Italy: Essays in Honour of John M. Najemy*, ed. David S. Peterson, with Daniel E. Bornstein (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 207–9; Judith Bryce, “Les Livres des Florentines: Reconsidering Women’s Literacy in Quattrocento Florence,” in *At the Margins: Minority Groups in Premodern Italy*, ed. Stephen J. Milner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 133–61; Ann Crabb, “‘If I Could Write’: Margherita Datini and Letter Writing, 1385–1410,” *Renaissance Quarterly* (hereafter RQ) 60 (2007): 1170–1206; and the studies by Luisa Miglio from the later 1980s onwards, republished under the title *Governare l’alfabeto: Donne, scrittura e libri nel Medioevo* (Rome: Viella, 2008).

at best, a certain degree of ambivalence. On the one hand, the ability to read was deemed unnecessary for women carrying out their traditional domestic roles in the home and there was also anxiety lest they access the morally dubious realms represented, say, by Petrarchan love poetry or the *novelle* of Boccaccio. Writing, a completely separate skill, was viewed in a similar light, namely as both unnecessary and dangerous. On the other hand, some limited abilities might be condoned with the specific aim of allowing women to benefit at first hand from devotional literature and even perhaps of providing very young male children (females are not mentioned in this context) with basic literacy training (see Letter 70).

While prescriptive male pronouncements are still habitually cited in the context of modern discussions about fifteenth-century women's literacy, it is generally agreed that these do not provide an unproblematic representation of what was undoubtedly a more complex reality. Above all, in the context of the Florentine elites, the experience of physical separation between family members was relatively common, whether in the extreme case of exile, or in the more normal circumstances of male absence from the city on business (which could include extensive periods of residence abroad), or in the service of the republic. Such absences meant that practical responsibilities often devolved upon women left at home: in such circumstances the ability of these latter to read and to write could be regarded by their menfolk as convenient. In other words, pragmatism and self-interest might very well win out over any wholesale adoption of more extreme contemporary strictures. This said, a merchant such as Giovanni Morelli (1371–1444) seemed unaware that female literacy might be an issue. Instead he recorded with pride that one sister, Mea (b. 1365), could “read and write as well as any man,” while another, Sandra (b. 1369), “possessed all the skills one would expect of a respectable woman: she could embroider, read and write; she was most eloquent, a good speaker, and knew how to express herself confidently and well.”<sup>5</sup>

The intimate or familiar letter provided the principal vehicle in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for women's introduction into the world of written communication.<sup>6</sup> Either they wrote themselves or else they used a scribe (and

5. Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli, *Ricordi*, in *Mercanti scrittori: Ricordi nella Firenze tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. Vittore Branca (Milan: Rusconi, 1986), 153 and 156, my translation. See also Bryce, “Les Livres des Florentines,” 134–35.

6. On women's letter-writing see, for instance, Karen Cherewatuk and Ulrike Wiethaus, eds., *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); Jane Couchman and Ann Crabb, eds., *Women's Letters Across Europe, 1400–1700: Form and Persuasion* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005); Crabb, “If I Could Write”; Maria Luisa Doglio, “Letter Writing, 1350–1650,” in *A History of Women's Writing in Italy*, ed. Letizia Panizza and Sharon Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 13–24; Klapisch-Zuber, “Épistolères florentines”; Miglio, *Governare l'alfabeto*; Deanna Shemek, “Letter Writing and Epistolary Culture,” in *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Renaissance and Reformation*, <<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0194.xml>>; and Gabriella Zarri, ed., *Per lettera*:

doing so did not necessarily imply illiteracy on the part of the woman delegating the responsibility, as we see in the cases of Lucrezia Tornabuoni or Alessandra Strozzi).<sup>7</sup> In both cases, letter-writing was a technology that enabled women to extend the domestic sphere in both time and space. At a bare minimum, a very few conventionally expressed lines (however haphazard the layout or spelling) allowed them to keep in touch with absent family members, sending greetings, reporting on the health of those at home, asking after the health of the addressee, requesting a gift or a favor, or else acknowledging receipt of one or the other of these. A longer, more complex letter might cover these topics more expansively, while, in addition, delivering information about family properties and material goods, relating family, local, or other news, and expressing a whole range of personal emotions and preoccupations. What we receive, on occasion, is altogether a most powerful sense of an individual female voice speaking to us from the distant past. Leaving Alessandra Strozzi herself aside for the moment, a very few other examples will suffice here, starting with a moment of good humor and colloquial exuberance from Ginevra degli Alessandri, the young wife of Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici. Writing to him in 1462 from a local spa, she declares that she is "bathing like mad while the weather is good" (a justifiably idiomatic rendering of the original *bangniomi alla disperata mentre abbiamo buon tempo*). Margherita Datini consciously used the medium of the letter to stand up to her husband, writing on 23 January 1386: "Francesco, I acknowledge that I have written to you too freely and have demonstrated too much independence from you in telling you the truth. If you were here beside me, I would not have spoken so boldly. Slap me in the eyes or on the head or wherever you will. I don't care. I will always speak the truth as I know it. I have said nothing to you that I haven't already said at least once a month, and when you are here perhaps I don't speak so directly, although I see you do things that make me swell with anger twelve times a day." And two further cases offer equally challenging expressions of female anger, frustration, and general dissatisfaction. Dora Guidalotti del Bene signs off a letter of 19 May 1381 to her errant husband as "your enemy, Dora," while Nannina Rucellai remarks to her mother, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, on 12 July 1479: "you don't want to be born a woman if you want to have your own way," a rare example of an exasperated acknowledgement of the power imbalance in a patriarchal society (as we might express it today).<sup>8</sup>

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*La scrittura epistolare femminile tra archivio e tipografia, secoli XV–XVII* (Rome: Viella, 1999). See also note 45, below.

7. Stress is sometimes laid on the fact that in the later 1440s Alessandra got her youngest son to write letters for her. This was not due to her own incapacity, however, but rather to a declared need to give him practice and also, it must be said, to give strength to her argument that Filippo should not insist on Matteo being sent away from home, leaving her alone and supposedly helpless (see, for instance, Letters 2 and 2a). On the question of scribes and dictation see, for instance, Crabb, "If I Could Write."

8. The sources of these quotations are, respectively, Miglio, *Governare l'alfabeto*, 283 and Table 27, my translation; Datini, *Letters*, 50; Klapisch-Zuber, "Épistolières florentines," 140, my translation; and

To return to Alessandra Strozzi, it is frustrating that we have no concrete information regarding her initial acquisition of basic literacy skills, although this most likely took place within her natal family home. The same may be true of her numeracy skills. Although in Letter 15, she complains that certain calculations are too hard for her to manage, and although she almost certainly relied on the support and assistance of male kin such as Antonio Strozzi or Marco Parenti, she appears to have had a significant level of competence that enabled her to handle personal expenses, to be aware of the market values of property and agricultural produce, to keep track of debit and credit in relation to her sons, to deal with local banks, and to take some responsibility for her tax affairs. Only one precious account book survives, modeled on those belonging to her late husband.<sup>9</sup>

All in all, it would seem safe to argue that her level of numeracy and her writing ability were both considerably developed and enhanced as a result of the very particular circumstances in which she later found herself. If, then, we were to seek to position her on the spectrum of fifteenth-century women writers, we might say that she was more skillful and confident than Margherita Datini from half a century earlier, but that she had none of the literary ambitions of two of her Florentine contemporaries, the religious dramatist Antonia Pulci, and Lucrezia Tornabuoni, literary patron and author of narrative poetry on biblical subjects, far less the advanced humanistic training acquired by a small group of contemporary northern Italian women, Ippolita Sforza (also mentioned in Alessandra's letters), Isotta Nogarola, Cassandra Fedele, or Laura Cereta.<sup>10</sup> As in the case of Datini, Alessandra's literacy was, above all, instrumental—a tool or technology for

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F. W. Kent, "The Making of a Renaissance Patron of the Arts," in *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone*, vol. 2, *A Florentine Patrician and His Palace: Studies by F. W. Kent et al.* (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1981), 66, my translation. For a lively letter by Alessandra's daughter-in-law, Fiammetta Adimari, to her husband, Filippo, in which she asks him to inform her of the date of his return from Naples and not to tell fibs on the subject as he has done on previous occasions, see Guasti, 598–99; note 32 below, and Letter 71, notes 700 and 707.

9. This is account book A (her *quadernuccio*), which refers in turn to an account book C, now apparently lost. See Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Carte Stroziane (hereafter ASE, CS), Series 5, 15, fols. 37v and 39r, and also Guasti, 176.

10. For Datini, Pulci and Tornabuoni, see note 2, above. For the women humanists see, for instance, Laura Cereta, *Collected Letters of a Renaissance Feminist*, ed. and trans. Diana Robin (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997); Cassandra Fedele, *Letters and Orations*, ed. and trans. Diana Robin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Isotta Nogarola, *Complete Writings*, ed. and trans. Margaret L. King and Diana Robin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); and forthcoming in the Other Voice series, Ippolita Maria Sforza, *Collected Letters and Orations*, ed. and trans. Diana Robin. For recent overviews and relevant bibliography see, for example, Virginia Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy, 1400–1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), chap. 1; Margaret L. King, "Women and Learning," in *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Renaissance and Reformation*, <<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0032.xml>>; and Panizza and Wood, *A History of Women's Writing*, part I.

bridging the gap caused by the absence of family members, for servicing affective connections with them and, at the same time, carrying out her perceived duties as regards her particular branch of the Strozzi clan whose future was threatened by the centrifugal forces of economic migration and of political exile. Fascinating for the insight they afford into the relationship between mother and sons, a topic which will be further developed below in section 4 on *Writing as a Mother*, the letters are also precious simply for the light they shed on Florentine life in the middle decades of the fifteenth century—from the political challenges to Medici hegemony and the operations of the marriage market to the advisability of taking out life insurance during a daughter's pregnancy and tips on how to conserve cheese or fennel.

## 2. *The Life of Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi: The Intersection of Private and Public Domains*

Florence in Alessandra's day was a city of around forty thousand inhabitants, notably smaller than a century earlier, its population dramatically reduced by the Black Death of 1348 and the subsequent recurrences of pestilence that were to be a periodic threat during her own lifetime.<sup>11</sup> The population shrinkage meant that within the vast third circle of walls completed in 1334—the result of optimistic planning on the part of the city fathers—the actual built-up area of the city was still surrounded by gardens and orchards. Viewed from the surrounding hills (see Fig. 2), two principal landmarks rose above the otherwise dense mass of private dwellings, churches, hospitals, monasteries and convents: Brunelleschi's immense, revolutionary dome crowning the recently completed cathedral consecrated by Pope Eugene IV in 1436, and, representing the secular authority, the tall tower of the seat of government, then more than a century old, the Palace of the Priors, usually referred to today as Palazzo Vecchio. Outside the walls lay the *contado* or hinterland, dedicated to servicing the city's material needs in terms of essentials such as grain, wine, meat, flax, and firewood, and dominated by the urban middle and upper classes with their extensive rural landholdings.

Population decline notwithstanding, fifteenth-century Florence was a dynamic and successful city, probably best known today for its outstanding artistic achievements. At the top of its social hierarchy was a substantial mercantile patriate. Below that came lesser merchants and tradesmen, artisans, workers in the city's premier cloth industries (wool, traditionally, but now with a new expanding

11. The bibliography on fifteenth-century Florence is vast—as one would expect. Anyone making an initial approach to the subject will find the following useful: Gene A. Brucker, *Florence: The Golden Age, 1138–1737* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence, 1200–1575* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006); and Sharon Strocchia, "Florence," in *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Renaissance and Reformation*, <<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0022.xml>>.



silk production), servants, slaves, and the poor, while alongside this varied lay population was a large religious community of priests and friars, monks and nuns.

It was the mercantile patriciate that was the driving force behind the city's economic life, the latter based on two principal sectors, namely the cloth industries mentioned above, and banking, both with a notable international dimension. Aggressive and outward looking, too, was the city's expansionist policy as it strove to create a substantial territorial state. A significant milestone in this enterprise was the conquest of the rival republic of Pisa in 1406, delivering unimpeded access to the sea and giving rise to the establishment in the 1420s of the Florentine galley fleet whose movements Alessandra records in a number of letters to her sons.

Alessandra's date of birth remains uncertain, sometimes appearing in the scholarly literature as 1406, sometimes as 1407 or 1408.<sup>12</sup> Her father, Filippo di Niccolò Macinghi (d. 1420), a member of an old patrician family, was a resident of the quarter of San Giovanni: her mother was Caterina di Alberto Alberti who died during Alessandra's childhood. The family consisted at this stage of an illegitimate son of her father's named Berto, and a younger brother of Alessandra's named Zanobi (1409–1452). Her father's second marriage to Giovanna di Albertuccio Ricasoli produced three further children: Caterina, Antonio, and Ginevra. All these siblings are mentioned in the letters, except for Berto who was perhaps already deceased. In June 1422, Alessandra, then in her mid-teens, married Matteo di Simone Strozzi, bringing him a large dowry of sixteen hundred florins and moving to a house in the adjacent quarter of Santa Maria Novella, *gonfalone* Leon Rosso (ward of the Red Lion), located on what was then known as the Corso degli Strozzi or Borgo degli Strozzi, and surrounded by other households of her new husband's *casa* (as she terms it) or lineage (see Fig. 3).<sup>13</sup>

12. 1406 is on the basis of her 1446 tax submission (Guasti, 40), but 1408 is on the basis of her 1458 submission when she is said to be fifty years old. See ASF, Catasto 816, fol. 1011r. Both cases may reflect the Florentine habit in tax records of rounding ages up or down to multiples of five or ten. See David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 169–79. See also Alessandra's principal modern biographer, Ann Crabb, *The Strozzi of Florence: Widowhood and Family Solidarity in the Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 20n1. Other sources of biographical information include Gene A. Brucker, "Alessandra Strozzi, 1408–1471: The Eventful Life of a Florentine Matron," in Brucker, *Living on the Edge in Leonardo's Florence: Selected Essays* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 151–68; Manuela Doni Garfagnini, "Macinghi, Alessandra," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (hereafter DBI), 67 (2006): 113–17, <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alessandra-macinghi\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alessandra-macinghi_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/)>, which gives her date of birth as 1406; Doni Garfagnini, "Conduzione familiare e vita cittadina nelle lettere di Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi," in Zarri, *Per lettera*, 387–411; and Guasti, vii–xliv.

13. Much of the information given here is from Crabb, *Strozzi*, particularly 23–26, and her genealogical table A.1. For the marriage date, see also Lorenzo Fabbri, *Alleanza matrimoniale e patriziato nella Firenze del '400: Studio sulla famiglia Strozzi* (Florence: Olschki, 1991), 19, 188, 213–14. For the dowry, see Matteo's account book, ASF, CS, Series 5, 11, fol. 94 right. For the Strozzi in the Quarter

The family of Matteo di Simone di Filippo di Messer Lionardo Strozzi (1397–1435) belonged to the city’s mercantile elite, and was one of several dozen households in the city bearing the Strozzi name at this time.<sup>14</sup> Like his father, and his uncles, Lionardo and Piero, he was involved in the wool business, and held a typical portfolio of landholdings and of shares in the *Monte comune*, the funded debt of the republic. According to Goldthwaite, in terms of wealth Matteo was “in the upper two and one-half percent of the population,” but he seems to have done little to increase his patrimony after the death of his father in 1424.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps he was sufficiently well off to be able to choose to devote more energy to civic and intellectual pursuits. The former included ambassadorial missions (for example to Venice in 1425), activity at local gonfalone level in connection with the process of election to officeholding status, and a supervisory involvement with the final stages of the completion of the cathedral, Santa Maria del Fiore, in the early 1430s.<sup>16</sup> He was also known among his contemporaries for his love of the classics and ancient philosophy. In this there was an unbridgeable disparity between himself and his wife, but it was an interest he shared with a number of individuals alluded to in her letters, men such as Lorenzo di Palla Strozzi, Benedetto di Pieraccione Strozzi, and Niccolò della Luna, while a former mentor of Matteo’s, Giannozzo Manetti, was later to feel it his duty to write a letter of condolence to Alessandra on the death of her youngest son, also called Matteo (see Letter 17).<sup>17</sup>

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of Santa Maria Novella, see Heather Gregory, “Chi erano gli Strozzi nel Quattrocento?” in Daniela Lamberini, ed., *Palazzo Strozzi: Metà millennio, 1489–1989: Atti del convegno di studi, Firenze, 3–6 luglio 1989* (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1991), 16–17; and Dale V. Kent and F. W. Kent, *Neighbours and Neighbourhood in Renaissance Florence: The District of the Red Lion in the Fifteenth Century* (Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1982), for example, chap. 2. Also useful for factual information on Matteo and Alessandra is Guido Pampaloni, *Palazzo Strozzi* (Rome: Istituto nazionale delle assicurazioni, 1963), chap. 1.

14. Fabbri focuses on four generations of Strozzi of the branch to which Matteo belonged. For a brief profile of the family, see his *Alleanza matrimoniale*, 13–31, and for Matteo himself, 18–19. See, too, Heather Gregory, “A Florentine Family in Crisis: The Strozzi in the Fifteenth Century” (PhD diss., University of London, 1981). See Fig. 4 for a simplified genealogy of Matteo’s family.

15. See Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence: A Study of Four Families* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 34–52.

16. For the public offices held by him, see Guasti, x. Dale V. Kent cites a letter to him from Strozza Strozzi in February 1434: “... you, Matteo, have your finger on the pulse of things.” See *The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence, 1426–1434* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 323. For the cathedral project, see Margaret Haines, “Oligarchy and Opera: Institution and Individuals in the Administration of the Florentine Cathedral,” in Peterson, with Bornstein, *Florence and Beyond*, 154, 160–67, and 172, Table 3, “Officials for Tomb and Altar of St. Zenobius, Organ, Cantoria, Stained Glass,” at 166–67. Haines also reports that Filippo Brunelleschi, architect of the cupola, acted as godfather to Matteo and Alessandra’s son, Lorenzo.

17. On Matteo’s intellectual interests and contacts, see Lorenzo [di Filippo di Matteo] Strozzi, *Le vite degli uomini illustri della casa Strozzi*, ed. Pietro Stromboli (Florence: S. Landi, 1892), 48–49;