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ANTONIO SQUARCIALUPI: MAN AND MYTH

ANTONIO DEGLI ORGANI: THE MAN

'. . . Squarcialupi, a famous organist, but who remains a rather mythical figure'.[1] Of course we know that Antonio degli Organi, as he was called throughout his life, was a real person, and if we trust in the verisimilitude of Benedetto da Maiano's portrait bust of him (made ten years after his death, strongly classicising in design, and altered at least once in the early sixteenth century), we have an idea of what he looked like.[2] Antonio degli Organi (1416–80) was not born with the surname Squarcialupi, nor do we know precisely when or under what circumstances he took this name (but see below). We have enough information about his life to form a preliminary notion of his character, but the mental image we create is not altogether a coherent one. He was organist at Santa Maria del Fiore, the Florentine cathedral, for an extraordinarily long period, from 1432 until his death. This alone makes him a 'famous organist'; but a good deal of the fame is posthumous, and there is next to no meaningful comment from contemporaries about his

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Abbreviations:

ASF	Florence, Archivio di Stato
BNC	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
BNF	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
MAP	Mediceo Avanti il Principato
SMDF	Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore

[1] '. . . lo Squarcialupi, famoso organista, ma che rimane figura alquanto mitica'; F. Torrefranca, 'La musica', in *Firenze* (Florence, 1944), p. 219, cited in L. Parigi, *Laurentiana: Lorenzo de' Medici cultore della musica* (Florence, 1954), p. 116.

[2] On this bust, about which more will be said, see D. Carl, 'Il ritratto commemorativo di Giotto di Benedetto da Maiano nel Duomo di Firenze', in M. Haines (ed.), *Santa Maria del Fiore: The Cathedral and its Sculpture* (Fiesole, 2001), pp. 129–47, esp. p. 134.

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playing. He judged the quality and state of repair of organs but is not known to have had organ-building expertise.[3] Antonio presumably taught his son Francesco, who succeeded him at the cathedral on his death and served until his own death in 1509. His only other student of note is the Greek organist Isaac Argyropoulos, whose playing was much admired in Naples, Bologna, Florence and Milan in the 1470s.[4] As for Antonio's possession of additional musical skills, particularly composition, the picture is murky, and when the clouds do part, not encouraging. For us his strongest claim to fame is his possession of the famous manuscript collection of Italian Trecento secular polyphony which in common usage bears his name.[5] Even here there is something of a mystery; we are not certain when or in what way Antonio acquired the Squarcialupi Codex.

Despite this web of uncertainties, the fame of Antonio Squarcialupi persists. Every student of music history knows his name, and many if pressed can come up with the 'fact' that 'he was the most famous Italian musician of the fifteenth century'. How he attained this reputation, and how this fame relates to what at this point we know about his life and work is the subject of this study. We begin with a bare-bones list of dates (App. 1) marking stages of and events in Antonio's life. For this we draw gratefully on the work of Bianca Becherini, Luigi Parigi, Frank D'Accone and Gabriele Giacomelli, supplemented by our own research.[6] Putting this numbered list into narrative prose, we come up with the following capsule biography. Antonio di Bartolomeo di Giovanni [no surname] was born in

[3] For some connections between Antonio (and his father Bartolomeo) and the renowned organ-builder Matteo da Prato, see below. On Antonio's opinions regarding the organs in S. Maria del Fiore, see G. Giacomelli and E. Settesoldi, *Gli organi di S. Maria del Fiore di Firenze* (Florence, 1996), chs. 1–2, *passim*.

[4] See C. Sartori, 'Organs, Organ-Builders and Organists in Milan, 1450–1476: New and Unpublished Documents', *Musical Quarterly*, 43 (1957), pp. 57–67; F. D'Accone, 'Isaac Argyropoulos', *New Grove II*, i, p. 886.

[5] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Med. Pal. 87, on the first folio of which is Squarcialupi's declaration (undated) of ownership.

[6] B. Becherini, 'Antonio Squarcialupi e il codice mediceo palatino 87', in *L'ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1959 Certaldo* (Certaldo, 1962), pp. 141–96; Parigi, *Laurentiana*, pp. 51–67; F. D'Accone, 'Antonio Squarcialupi alla luce di documenti inediti', *Chigiana*, NS 3 (1966), pp. 3–24; G. Giacomelli, 'Nuove giunte alla biografia di Antonio Squarcialupi: I viaggi, l'impiego, le esecuzioni', in P. Gargiulo (ed.), *La musica a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico* (Florence, 1993), pp. 257–73. Our list does not include everything about Antonio in the work of these scholars and is in no way intended to supplant that work. Dates have been modernised (the Florentine calendar of the time began the year on 25 March).

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Florence on 17 March 1416 (no. 1). His father was a butcher (*beccaio*) who was sometimes known as 'Besso', a designation also given to his brother Lionardo and occasionally to Antonio himself (nos. 2, 3, 9, 15, 17, 34); its meaning is unclear, but it does not appear to be a surname.[7] As Becherini points out and as entries in Florentine *catasti* confirm, the family lived, throughout Antonio's life, in the parish of San Lorenzo, in very modest circumstances.[8]

Nothing is known of Antonio's childhood, but he must have learnt the elements of music as a young boy, and acquired at least basic skills in playing the organ; at the age of 14 he was hired to play the organ at Orsanmichele (no. 4). We do not know who Antonio's teachers were, but one likely candidate is Matteo da Prato (1391–1465), a well-known *organaro* or organ-builder who worked at Orsanmichele *c.* 1430 and who was engaged to rebuild the main organ at the cathedral in 1432, the year Antonio began his long service there (nos. 5, 6, 7, 10).[9] Matteo seems to have had some personal connection with Antonio's father Bartolomeo (no. 9), making a link with the young Antonio all the more likely. Matteo's work on the organ was slow and often interrupted, to the point of exasperating the *operai* of the cathedral; he did not finish until 1448 (no. 18), and during the 1430s the organ seems to have been at times unplayable.[10] Antonio's appointment at the surprisingly young age of 16 (nos. 6, 7) may thus be explained in part by a situation in which there was little for the cathedral organist to do. Antonio must nonetheless have in some sense established himself; documents of 1432 refer to an unnamed organist, but in 1434 he is 'antonio organista' and by 1439 'maestro antonio degli organi', the name by which he was to be known for the rest of his life.[11]

[7] For more on Antonio's use of 'Besso' see below.

[8] Until 1474 Antonio lived, at first with his parents and sibling(s) and after his marriage with an increasingly large family, in four small rooms in the Borgo della Noce; after 1473 he lived in an equally small flat in the Canto dei Gori, across from the Medici Palace. See App. 1, nos. 22, 27 and 38; ASF catasto 1015 (1480), fol. 626^{r} (cf. Becherini, doc. 7).

[9] See G. Poggi, *Il Duomo di Firenze: Documenti sulla decorazione della chiesa e del campanile tratti dall'Archivio dell'Opera*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1909). Still valuable is the study of Matteo by C. Guasti, 'Di un maestro d'organi del secolo xv', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 3rd ser. 2, pt. ii (1865), pp. 48–79.

[10] Poggi, *Il Duomo*, i, pp. cxxxi–cxxxiv; Giacomelli and Settesoldi, *Gli organi di S. Maria del Fiore*, pp. 13–30.

[11] D'Accone, 'Antonio Squarcialupi', p. 9. There was at this time an Antonio di Mino degli organi; see Giacomelli, 'Nuove giunte', p. 265. It is possible that he is the musician being referred to as 'maestro', but the neighbouring references seem to be to our Antonio.

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At some point between the summer of 1437 and early 1438 Antonio left Florence, presumably to escape the plague, for a stay in Volterra; on his return his salary was docked (no. 11). Some notion of his standing may be gained from documents of 1442, in which his salary is raised and the hope is expressed that he will progress 'di bona in melius' (no. 13). About this time Antonio made progress of another kind, marrying Lisa Juliani Fei (nos. 14, 27).[12]

In 1436 Antonio had become a member of the Compagnia di San Zanobi, a confraternity based at the cathedral (no. 8). He began poorly, having to be absolved from correction for some act of disobedience (SZ 2186, fasc. 48, fol. 147^{r}).[13] Subsequent references to him are more positive, recording occasions on which he played the organ or took part in arrangements for *feste* celebrated by confraternity members. He held several minor offices in the organisation, and a few of more importance (*capitano* for six months in 1448, a 'ghovenatore' in 1466; see SZ 2170, fasc. 5K, fol. 100^{r}; SZ 2171, fasc. 7, fol. 131^{v}). After Antonio's death his son Giovanbattista is listed as a member (SZ 2176, fasc. 13, fols. 122^{r}, 133^{r}). Antonio's recorded activities in San Zanobi overlap a good deal with those undertaken as cathedral organist; on feast days at any rate the Confraternity's celebrations appear to have blended with and supplemented the church's liturgy.

Membership and activity in the Compagnia of San Zanobi may have contributed to his reputation as an organist and have helped to improve Antonio's social status. More significant in this regard was his personal acquaintance with members of the Medici family, which seems to have begun in the early 1440s. With Giovanni, younger son of the elder Cosimo de' Medici, Antonio appears to have developed a kind of companionable relationship, improbable given their class difference but real all the same. He was invited to one or another of the Medici villas, there to entertain Giovanni and his *brigata* of family and friends by playing on a portative of his own,

[12] In the *catasto* of 1457 Antonio's wife, Mona Lisa, is listed as being 29 years old; their oldest child, Ginevra, is 11. Lisa was the daughter of Giuliano Fei de' Gori; see Florence, BNC, *Poligrafo Gargani*, 'Squarcialupi', nos. 21, 23, 27.

[13] For these and other references from SZ (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse da P. Leopoldo Z.I: San Zanobi di Firenze) we are grateful to Blake Wilson. Further on San Zanobi see Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 92–101.

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or perhaps a small Medicean organ in the villa (no. 16).[14] We may guess that he played versions of songs – *ballate* and chansons – or other music currently popular in Florence.

He may have been if anything too eager to oblige; one member of the *brigata* wrote to the absent Giovanni de' Medici in April 1445 that 'Antonio *ancor* cogl'organi' was continuously present and being much heard from. This is in one of a series of letters to Giovanni, at the time in Rome on business, from his Florentine friends Ugo della Stufa and Rosello Roselli, giving details about a project to have *ballate* by Rosello and Giovanni set to music and performed in a friendly contest, a sort of artistic *giostra*. Giovanni's poem was to be set, at his request, by Antonio, who tried but failed to write a successful polyphonic song; one of the *cantori di San Giovanni* had to be called in to take over the task.[15] This is the only reference we have to Antonio's activity as a composer; unhappily it is totally negative in character. Ugo della Stufa wrote to Giovanni that 'I comfort[ed] him since I see that he doesn't have a head for learning [to write music]'.[16] We must conclude that Antonio had neither the training nor indeed the talent to enable him to compose music of any seriousness; here man and myth, or one might say 'life and works', diverge at their widest.

In this same year of 1445 there are two letters from Bartolomeo Sassetti to Giovanni de' Medici, business letters about money owed Giovanni, in which a loan made to 'Antonio del Besso' (and its repayment) is mentioned (no. 17). Assuming that this is our Antonio, we may note that he was Antonio 'degli organi' in his professional capacity but otherwise Antonio 'di Bartolomeo *beccaio* detto il Besso', hence 'del Besso'.

Work on the main organ in the cathedral was finally completed early in 1448. In February of that year a formal *collaudo* or testing of the instrument was held (no. 18). Among the invited judges were

[14] In the cathedral Antonio used, in addition to the *organi maggiori*, an *organetto*, a small instrument which on occasion he had carried about the cathedral or even to another church, notably the Santissima Annunziata. See F. D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961), doc. 15, pp. 318, 354.

[15] For a detailed acount of this episode see J. Haar, 'The Vatican Manuscript Urb. lat. 1411: An Undervalued Source?', in Marco Gozzi (ed.), *Manoscritti di polifonia nel Quattrocento europeo* (Trento, 2004), pp. 65–92, at pp. 82–6.

[16] 'Et io a cio lo conforto po che vego non na il capo a 'mparare quella.' Ugo della Stufa to Giovanni de' Medici, 17 April 1445. ASF, MAP v, 585.

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three organists: 'frater Ghabriel ordinis Nuntiate', presumably from the Santissima Annunziata; 'frater Guido sonator in Sancto Johanne', a Dominican from Santa Maria Novella who was apparently an organist at the Baptistry; and 'Antonius Mini de Organis', said to be a *cantore* at San Giovanni. First to play was our Antonio, followed by the three just named; then Antonio played a second time, 'cum tiris', evidently demonstrating Matteo da Prato's new stops. After this frater Guido pronounced the organ to be 'in bona perfectione'; a week later Matteo was paid by the cathedral *operai*.[17] This event, which testifies to Antonio's official position as organist, is almost the only account we have of his playing; unfortunately we do not know whether he improvised in virtuoso style or simply played a few chords.[18]

What may be a kind of watershed event in Antonio's career took place in 1450. Given a month's leave in February in order to visit Naples, Antonio did not return until late autumn (no. 21). This protracted absence did not please the *operai* of the cathedral, who issued a new set of rules insisting on the organist's daily presence.[19] The trip was nevertheless a success in Antonio's view. In a letter to Giovanni de' Medici, then in Volterra, Antonio writes (from Siena) about his trip – clearly sponsored by Giovanni – in a chatty, familiar, half-joking tone, referring to the wonders of the Neapolitan court, talking about an organ he apparently saw (and evaluated?) there, and asking to be remembered to various members of the Medici family. This extraordinary letter, the only surviving one of its kind from the 'pen' of Antonio, demonstrates a degree of personal friendship – however exaggerated by the author, not an experienced traveller and certainly not a skilled epistolary hand – with the Medici and particularly with Giovanni, that shows the organist in a new light and helps to explain some otherwise puzzling events later in his life and after his death: Antonio is in fact indulging in a bit of self-fashioning. Although the letter has been published

[17] In addition to the sources mentioned in no. 18, see Guasti, 'Di un maestro', pp. 69–70; G. Giacomelli, *Antonio Squarcialupi e la tradizione organaria in Toscana* (Rome, 1992), p. 18.

[18] This may have been a matter of custom – if so, a long-lived one. In 1899 Lorenzo Perosi, appearing at a *collaudo* of one of the cathedral organs, disappointed his listeners, who had hoped to hear him improvise, by playing only 'alcuni semplici esperimenti tecnici'. See Giacomelli and Settesoldi, *Gli organi di S. Maria del Fiore*, pp. 101–2.

[19] D'Accone, 'Antonio Squarcialupi', pp. 15–16; doc. 1.

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elsewhere we think it important enough to give here (for the Italian text see Figure 1):[20]

My beloved comrade: after the customary greetings I recommend myself a thousand times to you. It is now about a month since I returned from Naples, as I believe you must know; and during that time it has never stopped raining. Though I was in every way set to come to see you, [the weather] has not only spoilt my chances of doing so but even prevented me from writing; yet I have continually been in hopes that the weather would take a bit of a break from all this rain. Let the Lord be praised in all things!

Wishing to tell you about Naples and about his Majesty the King and his court, truly great and impressive things to talk about – so much so that it would take fifteen days to tell if one hired as many scribes as there are in the court at Rome [to write it all out]. I will therefore be silent about it for the present, and will only say briefly that the Cardinal of Santa Maria Nuova[21] is most pleased with his pipe organ – and rightly so, for without doubt it is a praiseworthy thing. Now I reassure you that upon your return I shall have you listen to one [organ] which I think will surely not displease you. It has been sent to give to Antonio di Migliorino, who in his kindness, I am sure, will be content that I let you see and hear it.[22] For now, without boring you further, I ask you to commend me to Madonna Contessina and to Piero, as well as to all the others. In Siena, 26 November 1450, from your comrade,
Antonio de gliorghanj

About the time of this trip Antonio's father apparently died; he is not listed in a tax assessment of 1450 or the *catasto* of 1451 (nos. 19, 22). In what seems to be another act of self-fashioning Antonio applied for admission to the *arte dei beccai*, of which his father had been a member; he matriculated in December of 1451, and in June 1453 he was given the office of 'consulatus artis beccariorum' (no. 24).[23] Antonio surely did not intend to become a butcher; but the refined-sounding office of consul may have given him status he otherwise lacked.

More important in this regard must have been his continuing friendly relationship with Giovanni de' Medici, whom he accompanied, at the latter's behest, on a visit to Milan in the summer of 1455 (no. 25). For this trip a licence was given by the *operai* of the

[20] The letter (MAP viii, 131) was published by Giovanni Gaye (1839), Otto Kade (1885) and Bianca Becherini (1962), all of them committing some errors of transcription. The neat, professional hand suggests that Antonio may have employed a copyist.

[21] Pietro Barbo, nephew of Pope Eugene IV; in 1464 he became Pope Paul II.

[22] Antonio di Migliore Guidotti, a Florentine aristocrat who played the organ and who for a time competed with Matteo da Prato as designer of the *organi maggiori* of the cathedral. See Giacomelli and Settesoldi, *Gli organi di S. Maria del Fiore*, pp. 18–26. A satirical sonnet describing the failure of Antonio Guidotti's project survives in Florence, BNC, MS II. iv. 250, fol. 61; it is edited in Poggi, *Il Duomo*, i, p. cxxxii, and in Giacomelli and Settesoldi, p. 18.

[23] Parigi, *Laurentiana*, p. 54; Becherini, 'Antonio Squarcialupi', docs. 3, 9.

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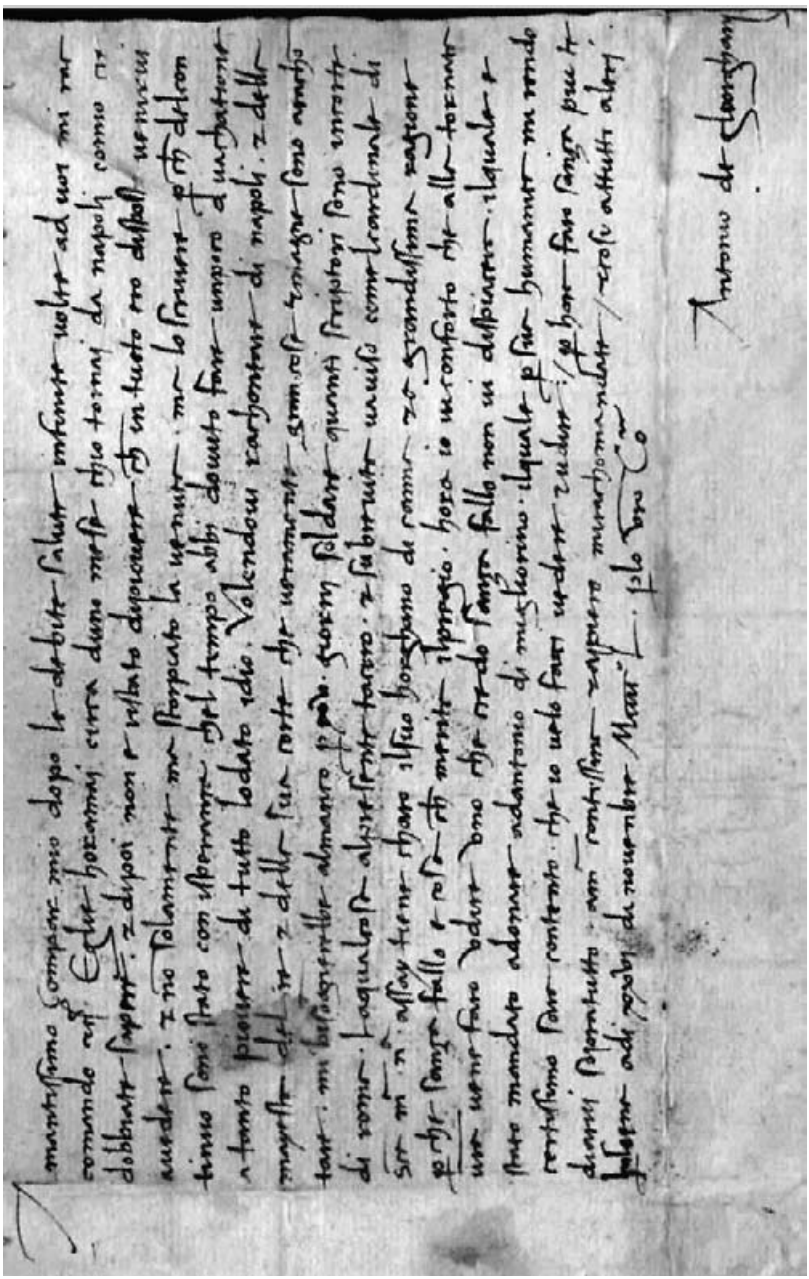


Figure 1 Letter from Antonio degli organi to Giovanni de' Medici, 26 November 1450. ASF, MAP, viii, 131

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cathedral to 'magistro Antonio Bartolomei qui sonat organos' so that he could go with 'Johanne Cosme de Medicis ad civitatem Mediolanensem pro illo tempore que stabit'.[24] A letter to the absent Giovanni from his wife Ginevra, dated 8 July 1455, speaks of a *festa* at the Medici villa in Fiesole at which the 'chantori di San Giovanni' were present and the 'fanciulle di ser Antonio' danced marvellously. Whether the 'ser Antonio' could refer (with an incorrect title, *ser*) to Antonio degli Organi is uncertain.[25] What is clear is that Medicean friendship with Antonio extended to pressure on cathedral officials. As for the Milanese trip, Antonio must have met people at the Milanese court; but there seems to be no substance to the supposed effort of Galeazzo Maria Sforza to hire Antonio as a court organist in 1466.[26]

'Antonio' is occasionally mentioned in the voluminous correspondence in the MAP Archive. Sometimes it is clear that someone other than our Antonio is meant. A few letters speak of 'Antonio degli organi', who is surely our man (see nos. 31, 32, 34, 35); these will be discussed presently. Two letters, one from Guillaume Dufay (no. 26), the second from 'Antonio Squarcialupi' *to* Dufay (no. 30), call for special comment because the putative friendship with Dufay has contributed substantially to Antonio's posthumous reputation.

Dufay's letter, written in French from Geneva and addressed to 'dominis Petro et Johanni de Medicis suis dominis multum honorandis, in Florentia', is dated 22 February, the year unspecified but probably 1456.[27] In the letter Dufay speaks of music he has recently composed. He also thanks various people, beginning with 'Franchois Sachet', here an unidentified figure who helped Dufay [in Geneva?] with a matter concerning the Roman curia.[28] Dufay then offers to send music to Piero and Giovanni for the use of the

[24] Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo di Firenze, *Bastardello delib. e stanziamenti* II-I-93, cited by Giacomelli, 'Nuove giunte', p. 266.

[25] MAP vii, 301, cited (without comment on this passage) by Giacomelli, 'Nuove giunte', p. 267.

[26] See G. Barblan, 'Vita musicale alla corte sforzesca', *Storia di Milano*, ix (1961), pp. 787–852, at p. 810; Giacomelli, 'Nuove giunte', p. 268.

[27] The letter is printed in B. Becherini, 'Relazioni di musici fiamminghi con la corte dei Medici', *La Rinascita*, 4 (1941), pp. 84–112, at pp. 87–8.

[28] This is Francesco Sassetti, a trusted Medici factor and close friend, who worked in Geneva and Lyons in the mid-1450s before returning to Florence. See D. Kent, *Cosimo de' Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron's Oeuvre* (New Haven and London, 2000), p. 318. For a letter from Sassetti to Piero de' Medici speaking of classical manuscripts and other antiquities he was looking for on Piero's behalf, see MAP xvii, 127, dated 24 August 1456.

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singers of San Giovanni, about whom he has heard good things. After a marked break Dufay continues thus: 'And also, be pleased to commend me warmly in the affection of Antonio, your friend and mine.'[29]

This remark has been interpreted as referring to Antonio degli organi, in the context of the *cantori di S. Giovanni*. But it is a new sentence, a new thought on the part of the composer. Dufay, who rejoined the papal chapel in 1434, was probably with the chapel in Florence for two years, possibly a bit longer, before leaving to return to Savoy in 1437.[30] This is the only time, to our knowledge, that Dufay was in Florence. He may indeed have become acquainted with the young Medici brothers (and their father Cosimo) at this time, but it seems unlikely that he would have become a friend of a teenage fledgling organist such as Antonio. A more promising candidate for Dufay's friend is Antonio Migliore Guidotti, mentioned in our Antonio's 1450 letter to Giovanni de' Medici (see above). Guidotti was, as we have seen, a musician and even something of an organ expert; he was also a member of a prominent Florentine family and thus a social equal of the Medici brothers. In every respect he seems more likely to have been the intended recipient of Dufay's greetings.

The second letter concerning us here (no. 30) is addressed *to* Dufay, dated from Florence 1 May 1467, signed and ostensibly written (in Latin) by 'Antonius de Squarcialupis de Florentia, dictus magister Antonius de organis florentie'.[31] The letter is frequently cited, along with Dufay's earlier letter to the Medici, as evidence of Antonio's stature, seen as a fellow musician on terms of near equality with the greatest composer of the age. The first oddity about the letter is that it is found in the MAP collection of Medici correspondence, if it is indeed a personal communication from Antonio (whose elaborately informative signature suggests that he was not sure whether Dufay would know who he was). It has an

[29] 'Et aussi pour l'amour de Anthoine vostre bon ami et le mien au quel s'il vous plest me recommanderes cordialment.'

[30] A. E. Planchart, 'Du Fay', *New Grove II*, vii, p. 647.

[31] MAP xxii, 122. The letter has often been published, beginning with G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli xiv, xv, e xvi*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1839–40), i, pp. 208–9, and including Kade (1885) and Becherini, 'Antonio Squarcialupi', doc. 15 (with errors in the Latin and especially the Italian text). See now Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'Du Fay the Poet? Problems in the Text of his Motets', *Early Music History*, 16 (1997), pp. 97–165, at pp. 163–5.

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address to Dufay on its reverse,[32] and we have reason to think that he received it and could have returned it (see below). It could then have been saved by Piero de' Medici, who was surely responsible for the letter's contents and who could have had its Italian original recast in (workaday) Latin.

In the letter Antonio thanks Dufay, on Piero's behalf, for sending some excellent singers from Cambrai to Florence, men distinguished by sweetness of voice and with knowledge of theory and practical singing skill.[33] He continues by speaking of the young Lorenzo de' Medici, distinguished in music as well as the other arts and as great an admirer of Dufay as is his father Piero. Lorenzo would love to have some music by Dufay, specifically a setting of his own *canzona* (ballata) 'Amore ch'ai visto ciascun mio pensiero'. Antonio, perhaps slightly forgetting himself, adds his entreaties that Dufay will fulfil this request (or commission?) and send the setting to Florence.

Dufay may or may not have known Antonio, but it is clear that the latter was commissioned by Piero de' Medici to write this letter and that he did so, in tones alternately familiar and exaggeratedly respectful. What Dufay thought about all this we do not of course know. This correspondence is often cited, but nothing has been known about its consequences.

As a coda to the Dufay–Squarcialupi topic we cite a letter of February 1468 to Lorenzo de' Medici from his friend Filippo Martelli (no. 31). Martelli, a Medici bank officer in Rome, speaks of a packet arrived from the North – presumably inside a bundle of Medici bank correspondence – containing a *canzona* setting a poem by Lorenzo, along with letters to Antonio degli Organi and an unnamed singer.[34] Martelli says he is sending the packet to Lorenzo; if he did so, Lorenzo must have received Dufay's composition along

[32] '[Ve]nerabili patri meo Guiglielmo [dufa]y magistro musice artis ex[cellenti]ssimo Canonico Cameracen[si] [ill.?]mo: patri meo colendissimo.' The address is partially obliterated by the now-removed sealing wax once on the folded paper of the letter. Curiously, the letter itself does not mention Dufay by name; only the letter 'y' surviving in the address does so. Gaye's edition says simply 'al canonico Gulielmo'.

[33] 'Sunt enim et suavitate vocum et doctrina artificioque canendi profecto excellentes.' The musicians in question were recruited at Cambrai by the singer Simone, in Piero de' Medici's employ. See D'Accone, 'The Singers of San Giovanni', pp. 321–2.

[34] This document (MAP xx, 265) is discussed in Haar, 'The Vatican Manuscript', pp. 88–9. For Lorenzo's poem, which is widely available, see Lorenzo de' Medici, *Opera*, ed. Tiziano Zanato (Turin, 1922), p. 40. A hitherto unknown setting (text *ripresa* only) of *Amor ch'ai visto*, attributed

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with, odd as it may seem, Antonio's original letter to him. The letter, as we have seen, survives; the composition apparently did not.

At the time of his letter to Dufay (1467) Antonio used the surname Squarcialupi. When he visited Milan in 1455 he was still Antonio degli Organi, on occasion perhaps Antonio del Besso (see no. 34). He must have begun styling himself 'Antonio di Bartolomeo Squarcialupi' soon after this visit; Frank D'Accone cites a document of 1457 naming him in this way (no. 28).[35] He seems to have used the name only rarely, nor did others refer to him thus during his lifetime. There are a few notable exceptions. One is the 'Antonio schuarcialupi' appearing on the first folio of what we know as the Squarcialupi Codex. This inscription cannot be dated precisely. Much more precise are entries in the Florentine baptismal records (no. 29), for which see below, 'Squarcialupi: the name, the codex'.

There is little to report on Antonio's later years. He continued to perform his duties at the cathedral, with his son Francesco occasionally deputising for him as he visited the baths, giving a suggestion of declining health. Scattered references to him do little to suggest that he was a celebrity. No. 34, a letter to Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan from one Passimo di Eustachio, dated 14 February1474, criticises an organist named Hieronimo, who 'has found fault with Maestro Antonio del Bessa, of Florence, the teacher of Messer Ysacch [Argyropoulos], who has no peer in Italy now'.[36] This passage was interpreted by Sartori as meaning that Antonio, who taught Heinrich Isaac, was the best organist in Italy.[37] We suggest that (as Becherini pointed out) it refers instead to Ysaak Argyropoulos, and we add that he, the best organist in Italy, was taught by Antonio – who in one organist's opinion was not above criticism.

Another letter from this period is worth noting because it is from Angelo Poliziano to Lorenzo de' Medici (no. 35), dated 17 October 1477. Poliziano ends his letter with a bit of chat: 'There is nothing new except that today Maestro Antonio degli organi tried out the

to John Hothby, has been discovered by Pedro Memelsdorff, who will shortly publish the results of his current research.

[35] D'Accone, 'Antonio Squarcialupi', pp. 9–10.

[36] Sartori, 'Organs, Organ Builders, and Organists in Milan', pp. 62–3: 'questo m^ro ha hautto a biasmare m^ro Antonio del Bessa da Firenza, m^ro de mis. Ysacch, quale non ha compagno ogi dì in Italia'.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

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lute player of signor Ludovico [Sforza], who seems satisfactory enough to Maestro Antonio; I would compare him to David, not to say to Pierbuono.'[38] Poliziano and Antonio both heard a lutenist (sent by?) Ludovico Sforza from Milan, and their judgements varied widely, from Antonio's blandly unenthusiastic response to Poliziano's enthusiasm for a musician who seemed the equal of (the biblical?) David and also of the great virtuoso Pietrobono del chitarino of Ferrara.[39] Poliziano does not editorialise, but it seems clear that he did not think a great deal of Antonio's opinion.

Lorenzo's reaction to this letter cannot be known; but while there is no reason to think that he questioned Antonio's loyalty, we are less sure about his estimate of Antonio as musician. As we shall see, Lorenzo was instrumental in creating a larger-than-life stature for Antonio after the latter's death; however mixed his motives for doing this may have been, sincere personal regard for Antonio, perhaps in part a matter of family piety, must have played a role.

In this connection an anecdote related by Niccolò Valori, Lorenzo's first biographer, seems relevant: 'There was talk of Antonio Lupo, most distinguished organist of his age; when some spoke disapprovingly about his life and habits, Lorenzo responded to them thus: "If you knew", he said, "what it takes to excel in any [artistic] activity, you would speak more gently and moderately of him." '[40] Valori's son Filippo's Italian version of his father's text changes things a bit by saying that the critics, 'being unable to fault Antonio as musician, attacked his life and habits'. G. F. Young simplified this: 'to one who adversely criticised the character of the musician Squarcialupi', and his Italian translator gave Young's version as 'a uno che criticava la musica dello Squarcialupi'.[41] The

[38] MAP xxxv, 851: 'Di nuovo non e altro per non che hoggi si pruova M^{o} Antonio degli organi col sonator di liuto del s^{r} ludovico. Il quale pare satisfari assai a m^{o} Antonio, e [ma?] propollo a davide e non che a pierbuono. The letter is cited in Parigi, *Laurentiana*, p. 55.

[39] On Pietrobono see L. Lockwood, 'Pietrobono and the Instrumental Tradition at Ferrara in the Fifteenth Century', *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 10 (1975), pp. 115–33.

[40] Valori's book, written perhaps over a period of years, was completed *c.* 1517 (it was not published until the eighteenth century); his son Filippo's Italian version, published in 1568, was written some years earlier (Filippo died in 1537). See *Vita di Lorenzo de' Medici*, ed. E. Niccolini (Vicenza, 1991, p. 72: 'Habebatur sermo de Antonio Lupo organico suae aetatis praestantissimo, in quo cum nonnulli in eius vitam ac mores inveherentur, Laurentius ad eos conversus: "Si sciretis", inquit, "quanti sit in re aliqua excellere, parcius ac modistius de illo loqueremini."'

[41] *Vita di Lorenzo de' Medici*, p. 127: 'non possendosi in questo detraerli, qualcuno ne' costumi e nella vita el biasima[va]'. Parigi, *Laurentiana*, p. 121, cites G. F. Young's *The Medici* and its

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elder Valori's text seems ambiguous since we have no reason to think (other than the existence of a couple of illegitimate children) that Antonio engaged in any unusually reprehensible conduct. Lorenzo's response would seem to address Antonio's musicianly skills, rather than his character, as in need of defending.

Antonio seems to have made, or revised, his will in the last years of his life; unfortunately it has not yet been found.[42] The *catasto* of 1480 (no. 38), in the name of his son Francesco, lists his house in Florence; several plots of agricultural land with cottages, near Prato; some property already sold; and a few debts: he was neither a rich man nor a pauper.[43] A tax document of 1498, in Francesco's name, lists these items as well as a farm inherited in a will dated 7 July 1479 (no. 36; note that even at this late date Antonio is still referred to, in an official document, as 'degli organi').[44] Antonio died at the beginning of July 1480, and was buried on 6 July (no. 37) in his parish church of San Lorenzo, where he had reserved tombs for himself and his son Francesco in 1462. These tombs are no longer extant; whether Antonio's tombstone included his surname is not clear, but that of his son added not only the name Squarcialupi but the arms of the family as well; the legend was already beginning to form itself (for more on this see below).[45]

ANTONIO SQUARCIALUPI: THE MYTH

Landino

The transformation of Antonio degli organi, the modest Florentine organist, into Antonio Squarcialupi, famous performer/composer, scion of a noble Florentine family, began almost as soon as he died.

Italian translation, discusses all these various versions and finds the last (the Italian version of Young) to be the most satisfactory.

[42] See D'Accone, 'Antonio Squarcialupi', p. 20. The document he cites, referring to a bequest to the Compagnia di San Zanobi, is dated 17 July 1480. Antonio was buried on 6 July 1480 (see below); the bequest may indeed be in his will, the date of which must be earlier.

[43] ASF Catasto 1015, fol. 626^{r}; cf. Becherini, 'Antonio Squarcialupi', doc. 6.

[44] The will is that of Michele di Niccolò, a Florentine silkworker, who left Francesco a small farm on the condition that he use part of its income for annual Masses said in Michele's memory. The will may be found in ASF, Notarile antecosimiano 15852, fols. 11^{r}–12^{v}, a copy left to the Opera del Duomo. Cf. Decima Repubblicana 26, fol. 761$^{r–v}$, cited in Becherini, 'Antonio Squarcialupi', doc. 8.

[45] See Florence, BNC, MS Magl. xxvi. 171, fols. 66^{v}, 145^{v}; MS II, iv, 536, fol. 1133 (cf. Becherini, 'Antonio Squarcialupi', doc. 18); Arch. Cap. di S. Lorenzo, MS 2186, no. 143.

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In the *Proemio* of his *Comento sopra la Comedia*, published in 1481 and dedicated to the Florentine Signoria, the humanist writer Cristoforo Landino (1424–1504) introduced his study of Dante with a preface in praise of Florentines notable for their contributions to the city's life and culture, past and present.[46] Ranging from military heroes through intellectual disciplines and the arts to end with jurisprudence and commerce, Landino reaches back to antiquity, then jumps to Florence (usually not earlier than the time of Dante), giving a good deal of attention to the city's Trecento glories, but always bringing his list of *uomini illustri* up to date. For the earlier period Landino is heavily dependent on Filippo Villani's *De origine civitatis Florentiae et de eiusdem famosis civibus*,[47] but for his own lifetime he seems to have relied on his personal tastes and judgement.

At the time Landino was writing this work there was much talk in Florence about returning Dante's remains to the city and creating a monument to him in the cathedral. Lorenzo de' Medici was interested in this project, which went unfulfilled; but in the 1480s he had the idea of creating monuments in the cathedral to Florentine artists, adding to the already present portrait bust of Brunelleschi.[48] He must have read Landino's *Comento* or at least its *Proemio*, and seen that Landino includes Brunelleschi and that among painters of distinction he writes on Giotto and Fra Lippo Lippi, both of whom were to be included in the scheme.[49]

Lippi was already buried in the cathedral in his native Spoleto; Lorenzo gave way to the Spoletans and even paid for Lippi's monument there. At some point it occurred to him that another artist, this one a musician, might be commemorated in Florence Cathedral: Antonio degli Organi. The somewhat surprising presence of Antonio as one of two musicians in Landino's text may have given Lorenzo the idea (unless he suggested that Landino include mention of Antonio), or at least have given it plausibility, that

[46] C. Landino, *Comento sopra la comedia*, 4 vols., ed. Paolo Proccaccioli (Rome, 2001), i, pp. 233–46, at pp. 239–40.
[47] F. Villani, *De origine civitatis Florentiae et de eiusdem famosis civibus*, ed. G. Tanturli (Padua, 1997).
[48] See Carl, 'Il ritratto commemorativo', pp. 129–30 and the bibliography given there.
[49] For Brunelleschi see C. Landino, *Scritti critici e teorici*, ed. Roberto Cardini, 2 vols. (Rome, 1974), i, p. 124. Landino wrote several epitaphs for Brunelleschi and competed with Marsuppini to get his words placed in the cathedral inscription. His words on Giotto (*ibid.*) are borrowed from Villani; those on Lippi (*ibid.*) are perhaps original.

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Antonio should be among the *huomini illustri* depicted on the cathedral's walls.

Landino, borrowing from Villani, wrote this about his kinsman Francesco Landini:[50]

Potrei molti eccellenti referire, ma richiede l'amore della agnazione che non defraudi delle debite lode Francesco Cieco fratello del mio avolo, al quale tanto concedette la natura di giudici nell'audito quanto gli volse nel viso. Cosa certo mirabile che privato in tutto del vedere fussi non indotto in filosofia, non indotto in astrologia, ma in musica dottisimo e nella quale tanto valse nel suono degl'organi che nella nobilissima città di Vinegia, per giudicio di tutti e' musici e' quali da tutte parti quivi eron concorsi, fu in forma di poeta dal re di Cipri e dal duca veneto di laurea corona ornato.

I could refer to many excellent [musicians], but the love of a blood relative requires that I not deprive the blind Francesco, brother of my grandfather, of his due praise. For nature gave as much to him in judgement of hearing as it took away from him in sight. It is doubtless wonderful that, deprived completely of sight, he was not unlearned in philosophy, not ignorant in astronomy, but greatly learned in music, and in playing the organ he excelled so greatly that in the most noble city of Venice, by judgement of all musicians and of all who were there gathered, he was crowned by the king of Cyprus and the doge of Venice as poet, with a laurel wreath.

Immediately following is the tribute to Antonio:

Ma hanno veduto e' nostri tempi e udito e' nostri tempii Antonio cognominato degli Organi, del quale solo questo referirò, che da Gade città nell'ultimo Spagna constituta vennono a Roma molti per vedere solo Livio istorico, così e d'Inghilterra e dello estremo settentrione molti eccellentissimi in musica passsarono el mare e gl'Alpe e l'Appennino per udire la musica d'Antonio.[51]

Our times have seen and our churches heard Antonio, called 'degli Organi', concerning whom I shall only mention that, as one reads that many came all the way from Cadiz in farthest Spain to see the historian Livy, so many distinguished musicians from England and the remotest North crossed the sea and the Alps and the Appenines in order to hear music played by Antonio.

The glowing tribute to Francesco Landini is in strong contrast to the odd passage, half of it a classical analogy, devoted to Antonio.[52] Landino's remark about people coming all the way from England

[50] See Landino, *Comento*, i, p. 240; cf. Villani, *De origine*, pp. 408–10. Landino also wrote an early, rather wordy poem about Francesco; it is given in Landino, *Scritti critici*, ii, pp. 153–4.

[51] Landino, *Comento*, i, p. 240.

[52] The reference to Livy comes from Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 2. 3. 8. The passage continues in a way that gives it a somewhat unfavourable cast; the person coming from Spain sees Livy, then immediately goes home, showing reprehensibly idle curiosity.

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and its northern neighbour, an unnamed Ultima Thule, may refer to a visit to Florence by the music-loving Earl of Worcester in 1460; whether Antonio played a role in this visit is not known.[53] The whole passage reads like a prose version of an epitaph, curious because Landino did not contribute to the Squarcialupi 'Anthology' (see below). Whatever the truth of Landino's comment, it was picked up by others and remained part of the Squarcialupi legend through the nineteenth century.

The portrait bust

The idea that Florence Cathedral should become a kind of civic gallery housing tombs and effigies of the city's *uomini illustri* was never brought to anything like complete fruition, but a beginning was made. Today one may see, on the north and south walls of the nave, roundels with sculpted busts of Filippo Brunelleschi, Giotto, Marsilio Ficino and Antonio Squarcialupi; this last monument (Figure 2) is placed somewhat oddly on the north wall, where it is dwarfed by the much larger painted effigies of two notable condottieri, men *illustri* in the art of war, next to it (Figure 3).[54] (Giotto's bust with its inscribed epithet was once on this north wall but was at some point moved to its present location on the south wall, near his great contribution to the cathedral, the campanile. Ficino's monument is a later addition to the pantheon, done after Lorenzo de' Medici's death.) As we shall see, this was not the original location of the Squarcialupi bust.

The Brunelleschi bust, a strikingly vigorous work by Andrea Cavalcanti completed in 1447–8, was the prototype for those of Giotto and Squarcialupi, both executed by Benedetto da Maiano in 1489–90.[55] Giotto is vividly portrayed, actively engaged at his

[53] The earl's visit is documented by a letter to Giovanni de' Medici from Ambrogio di Taverni, writing from Venice on 17 December 1460 to express the earl's thanks (he is called Giovanni Conte de Vorcestre) for the 'bona acoglientia et compagnia' he experienced in Florence, and enclosing 'cierti canzone' with a promise on the earl's part to send more. The letter is preserved in ASF, MAP vi, 529.

[54] The figures are of Niccolò da Tolentino, by Andrea da Castagno (1452) and Giovanni (Sir John) Hawkwood, by Paolo Uccello (1433). See E. Borsook, 'The Power of Illusion: Fictive Tombs in Santa Maria del Fiore', in M. Haines (ed.), *Santa Maria del Fiore: The Cathedral and its Sculptures* (Fiesole, 2001), pp. 59–72.

[55] M. Collareta, 'Du portrait à la biographie: Brunelleschi et quelques autres', *Les 'vies' d'artistes* (Paris, 1996), pp. 41–53; Carl, 'Il ritratto commemorativo', pp. 129–47, at p. 133. On

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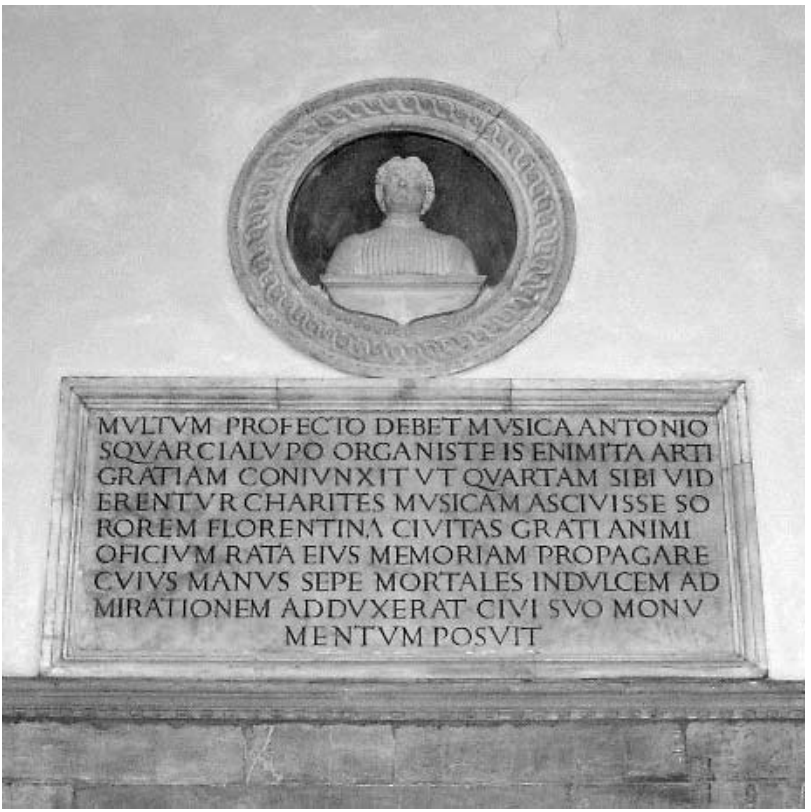


Figure 2 Benedetto da Maiano, portrait bust (1489–90) of Antonio Squarcialupi. Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore

metier; Antonio (Figure 2) is rather buttoned up and inexpressive in this, the only known portrait of him. Doris Carl says both that his bust is more classicising than the others and that he must be depicted from the sculptor's memory of him.[56] We think the first unpersuasive since there are classical prototypes with much of the vigour of Brunelleschi and Giotto's busts. The second may be in part true, assuming that Benedetto da Maiano knew Antonio; but more convincing to us is that Antonio seems to be depicted as seated

pp. 146–7 Carl gives all the cathedral documents relevant to the commissioning and the later fate of the Squarcialupi bust. It is worth noting that although his epitaph calls him Squarcialupi, the *operai* of the cathedral still refer to him (until 1519) as Antonio degli organi.

[56] 'Il ritratto commemorativo', pp. 136, 141.

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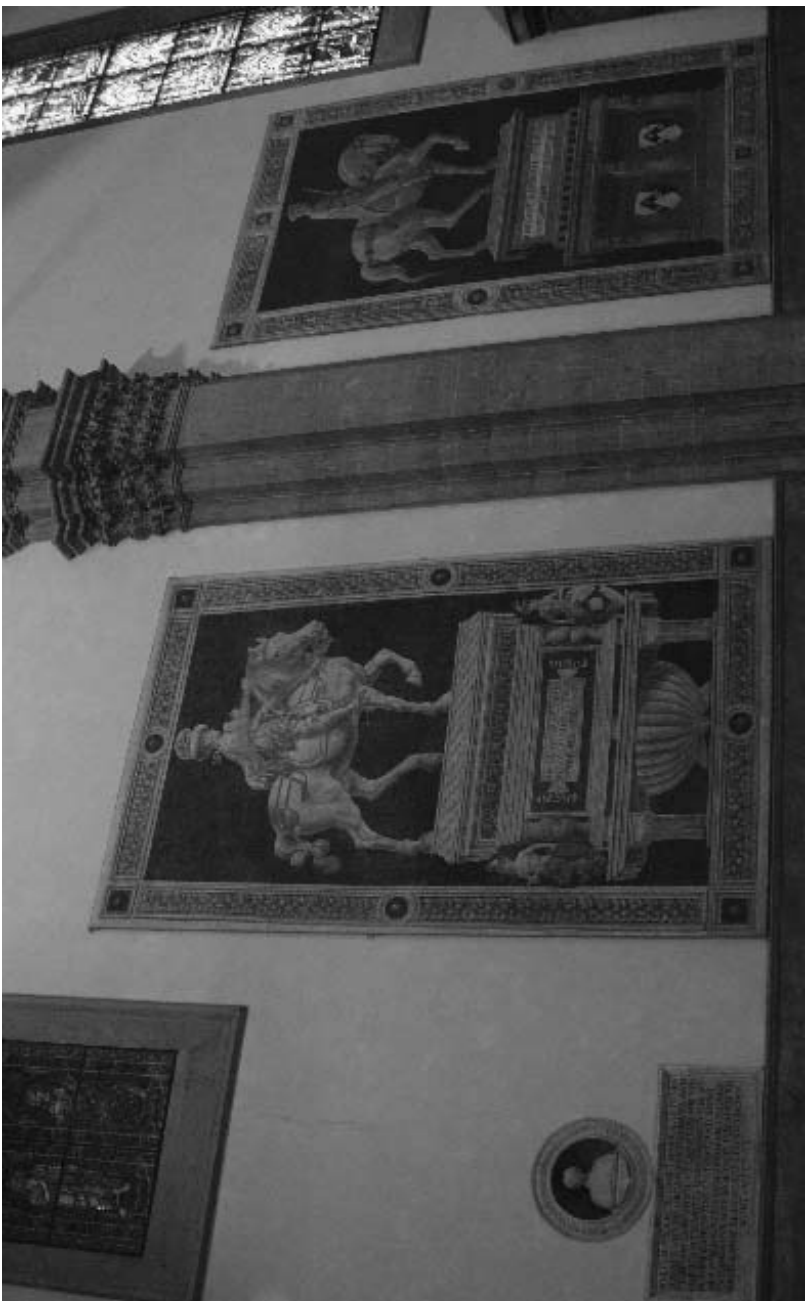


Figure 3 Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore, north wall of nave

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at a keyboard (not visible), soberly attending to his daily duties as organist.

The epithet below Antonio's effigy, somewhat pallid in comparison with Poliziano's spirited tribute to Giotto under the latter's bust, was written by Lorenzo de' Medici (see Appendix 2, no. 8); it appears in a group of poems posthumously honouring Antonio, which we shall call the Squarcialupi 'Anthology', to be discussed below. In 1490 the bust and accompanying inscription were placed on the wall of the old sacristy, over the door and its lunette, the work of Luca della Robbia.[57] This position, referred to in several of the poems of the 'Anthology', must have been strikingly noticeable to every visitor to the cathedral who wanted to see the Brunelleschi cupola; see Figure 4, Cigoli's drawing (1610) of the cupola and tribune of Santa Maria del Fiore, in which the *cantorie* of Luca della Robbia and Donatello are, though sketchily drawn, still in place.[58]

The Squarcialupi monument was not to remain in this exposed place for long. Lorenzo de' Medici died in April 1492; at the end of 1494 the Medici were exiled from Florence and signs of Medici power and patronage became odious in the restored, pro-Savonarolan republic. The diarist Piero Parenti tells us about an event which took place in August of 1495:

> Under the great organ of Santa Maria del Fiore was a marble effigy of maestro Antonio *organista*, with a Latin epitaph made for it by Lorenzo de' Medici, in praise of the excellence of the said maestro Antonio, who had long played there, not without the admiration and awe of all listeners. In his place remained his son Francesco, heir of his father's *virtù*, held especially dear by Lorenzo. Because of the citizens' hatred towards Lorenzo, extending even to his friends, one night it happened that, judging the marble head of maestro Antonio unworthy to be in such a place, it was taken down at the order of the *consoli* of the Arte della Lana, under whose protection the church was, and the wall replastered so that it was as if it had never been there.[59]

[57] *Ibid*., p. 146, doc. II, 1.

[58] On Ludovico Cardi, *detto* Cigoli, see M. L. Chappell's article 'Cigoli', in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner, 34 vols. (London, 1996), vii, pp. 310–14. Cigoli may have provided Matthias Greuter with the drawing, from which the latter made an engraving which he presented to Giovanni Bardi (as stated in the engraving). Cf. Giacomelli and Settesoldi, *Gli organi di S. Maria del Fiore*, figs. 2–3. In fig. 16 of the same volume one sees the nineteenth-century organ installations and *cantorie*. Here, and even in their fig. 4, showing Cigoli's view (as seen in 1733), there does not seem to be enough room for the bust and inscription; but originally there was. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Luca della Robbia* (Ithaca, 1980), p. 21, says that the Quattrocento *cantorie*, taken down in 1689, were sixteen metres above floor level.

[59] P. di Marco Parenti, *Storia di Firenze I, 1476–78, 1492–96*, ed. A. Matucci (Florence, 1994), pp. 259–60: 'Sotto l'organo grande di Santa Maria del Fiore era di marmo la effige di maestro Antonio organista, con epitafio latino fattosi per Lorenzo de' Medici in laude della eccellenza

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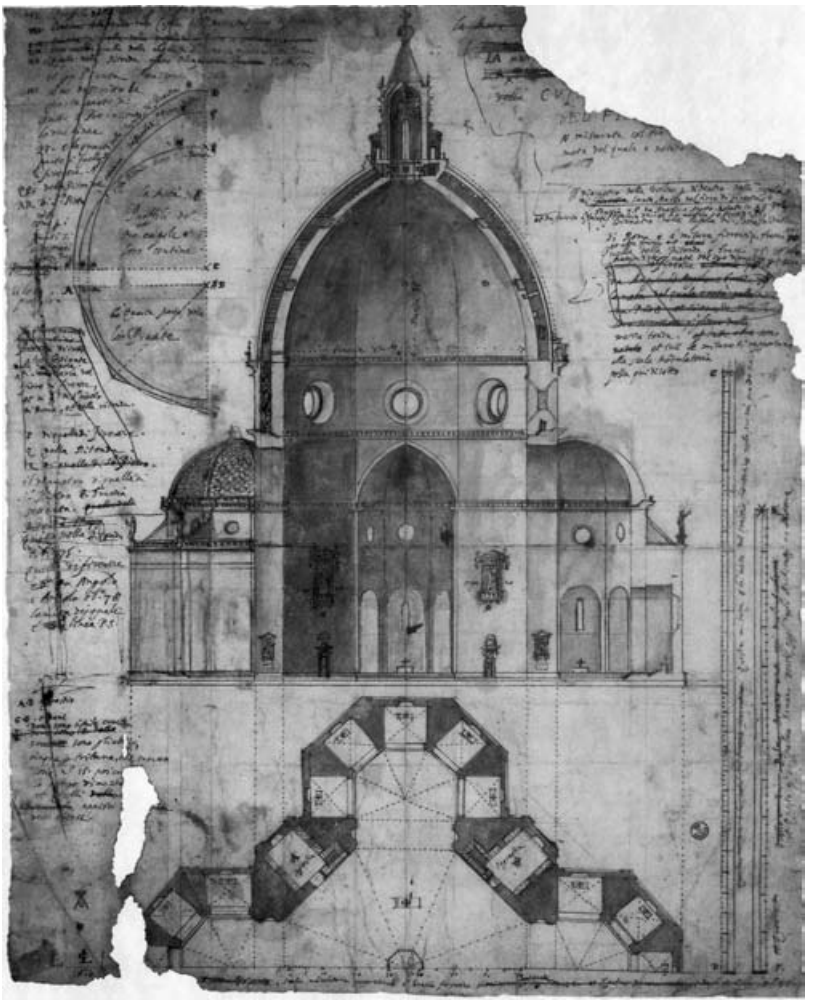


Figure 4 Ludovico Cardi, *detto* il Cigoli, drawing (1610) of the cupola of Santa Maria del Fiore

di detto maestro Antonio, il quale lungo tempo, non sanza ammirazione e stupore di tutti li auditori, sonato lo avea. Appresso in suo luogo rimasto el figliuolo Francesco, erede etiam della virtù del padre, a Lorenzo sopradetto si mantenea amicissimo. Il perchè l'odio de' cittadini verso Lorenzo, distesosi etiam verso e' suoi amici, poté in maniera che, giudicatosi indegno di tale luogo la marmorea testa di maestro Antonio, una notte, con ordine però de' Consoli dell'Arte della Lana, in cui protezione era tale tempio, levata fu, e rappianatosi el muro non altrimenti che se mai stata non vi fussi.'

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From later documents we learn that the monument was kept in the sacristy and then in the possession of one Piero de' Vecchietti, to be returned to the *operai* of the cathedral.[60] At some point after the return of the Medici in 1512 it was presumably brought back, but it was not until 1519 that it was reinstalled, this time 'apud figuram Giotti' on the north wall of the nave, where it remains today.[61]

In 1527 the Medici were once more exiled; old resentments flared up in the heady atmosphere of the short-lived Florentine republic. Once again Medicean-related inscriptions and monuments were being defaced or removed. In the words of Cecil Roth, 'the epitaphs in the Duomo of Marsilio Ficino . . . and of Antonio Squarcialupi the organist were . . . denounced and were ordered to be deleted of phrasing too complimentary to the former ruling family'; Antonio's bust was to be taken down and returned to the sacristy where it had been kept.[62] It would appear that the order was not carried out; the monuments are still in position and undefaced.[63]

What seems clear from all this is that Antonio, and his son Francesco, were regarded as close friends, in effect creatures of the Medici, and thus the portrait bust, its inscription and the poems of the Squarcialupi 'Anthology' were commissioned as a deliberate hagiographic gesture, the determined forwarding of the Squarcialupi myth.

The Squarcialupi 'anthology'

Poems, some in the vernacular but mostly in Latin, eulogising *uomini illustri* and *donne illustre* are common in Quattrocento Florence. A few humanist writers such as Ugolino Verino and Naldo Naldi (on both of these see below) specialised in them, but almost everyone wrote a few. They are to be found in many poetic anthologies of the

[60] Carl, 'Il ritratto commemorativo', 146–7; Poggi, *Il Duomo*, docs. 2097 (4 Dec. 1495), 2098 (7 Dec. 1497).

[61] Poggi, *Il Duomo*, docs. 2100–1, 22 September and 29 November 1519. This episode is briefly recounted in G. Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine*, ii, 6 (Florence, 1757), p. 121.

[62] C. Roth, *The Last Florentine Republic* (London, 1925), pp. 97, 111. E. E. Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 3 (1950), pp. 173–232, at pp. 188–9, includes the Parenti passage and cites Roth. He thinks that the bust was actually removed, but this seems unlikely since the *operai* of the cathedral do not refer to such an act.

[63] Carl, 'Il ritratto commemorativo', is of the opinion that both the frame of the bust and the epitaph were redone when the monument was put back up in 1519.

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period, sometimes even forming the basis of a volume.[64] A set of poems in praise of a single person, usually on the occasion or in commemoration of that person's death, is no surprise when the subject is, say, Lorenzo de' Medici (d. 1492) or his younger brother Giuliano, murdered in 1478. For less exalted personages it is less usual, but there are examples, setting a precedent for the poems honouring Antonio – in death called Squarcialupi, as he had only rarely been during his life. Such a precedent is the group of poems praising and lamenting the young Albiera degli Albizzi, promised bride of the Medicean partisan Sigismondo della Stufa, on her death in 1473.[65]

The poems and prose contributions in Antonio's memory could have been written at any time during the decade following his death in 1480. The proximate reason for their collection – and possibly for their composition as well – into a single source seems to have been Lorenzo de' Medici's decision to honour Antonio by putting up a portrait bust together with an inscription, written by Lorenzo, under the *organo maggiore* (the latter placed in Luca della Robbia's *cantoria*) in the cathedral, an event that took place, as we have seen, in 1489–90.

The texts of the Squarcialupi anthology are given, with translations, in Appendix 2. Why they were copied into the manuscript Mediceo-Palatino 87, housed since the late eighteenth century in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, is not hard to understand. The manuscript, known to us as the Squarcialupi Codex, has on the opening page of a bifolium, added to its beginning at some point after its initial compilation, a boldly written statement of ownership written by or for Antonio himself (see Figure 5, discussed below). It was thus 'his' manuscript, and at some point was thought to contain compositions by him. Thus it was entirely natural to have included on the opening bifolium (fols. 1^{v}–2^{v}), conveniently blank, a copy of the tributes written in his memory by a number of Florentine citizens (for identification and a brief

[64] An example is Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana e dell'Accademia dei Lincei, MS 582. On this collection, written by Tommaso Baldinotti (1451–1511), see *Ugolino Verino*, *Epigrammi*, ed. F. Bausi (Messina, 1998), p. 159.

[65] On this anthology, to which Verino and Poliziano contributed, see F. Patetta, 'Una raccolta manoscritta di versi e prose in morte d'Albiera degi Albizzi', *Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 53 (1917–18), pp. 290–4, 310–28. The manuscript Turin, Biblioteca dell'Accademia delle Scienze, NN V7 is devoted to this collection.

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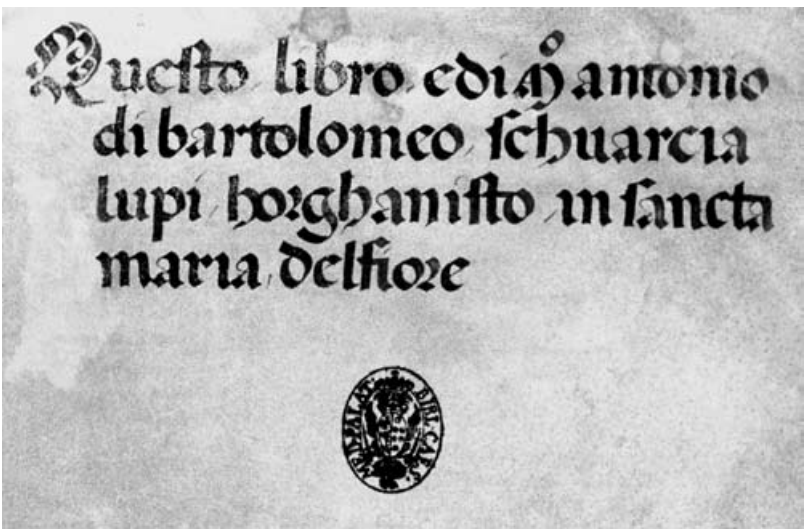


Figure 5 Florence, Bibl. Med. Laurenziana, MS Med. Pal. 87, fol. [1]^{r}: Antonio Squarcialupi's statement of ownership

discussion of the authors see below). The texts are not dated, but there is evidence about when they were copied. The verso of the opening page has an inscription indicating transfer of ownership from Antonio's great-nephew Raffaele Bonamici to Giuliano, the younger brother of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici. The most likely time for this inscription to have been written is the second half of 1512, between Cardinal Giovanni's return to Florence from exile and his election as Pope Leo X early in 1413.[66] The poems, written in what looks like the same hand and the same ink, are copied on both sides of the second leaf of the bifolium.

Proof that these texts were written well before their copying into the Squarcialupi codex is, first, that they contain the epitaph carved in marble and placed under Benedetto da Maiano's bust of Antonio, completed in 1490. Then, although no other Florentine sources for them have yet turned up, four of the texts, including Lorenzo de' Medici's epitaph, are found in a Roman manuscript, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 7192, fol. 91$^{r–v}$, in a self-contained

[66] See J. Nádas, 'Il codice Squarcialupi, una "edizione" della musica del Trecento (ca. 1410–1415)', in *Il codice Squarcialupi: Ms. Mediceo Palatino 87, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze*, ed. F. A. Gallo (Florence, 1992), pp. 19–86, at p. 25.

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subsection of the manuscript, all written in a single hand, with the following contents:[67]

fol. 91r
pro eodem marsilij ficini: 'Quidquis exanimam' . . . (App. 2, no. 5)
pro eodem A. politiani: 'Jure novas talem . . .' (App. 2, no. 6)
pro eodem Mich. Marul: 'Victor timoli Delius . . .' (App. 2, no. 11)

fol. 91v
pro eodem lorenzo medicis in marmo: 'Multum profecto debet musica . . .' (App. 2, no. 8)
Epith Jocti pictoris per angelum polit.: 'Ille ego per quem pictura extincta revixit . . .'

fol. 92r
Epith ursini lanfredini per v[g]ol. ver.: 'Hic situs ursininus . . .'
Eiusdem per eundem: 'Lanfredini domus . . .'
Idem per Ang. Polit.: 'Ursino adolescenti spe magna . . .'; 'Quando ita sors voluit . . .'

fol. 92v[68]
'Antiquissimum carmen raptum in ruina pontis'
Tibulla C. Sempronii fil. manil. nep.: 'Inferno Plotini'

The texts on fol. 91r and the top of 91v are clearly taken from the Squarcialupi anthology. Their readings are close although not quite identical to those in Med. Pal. 87, leaving open the question of the precise physical source from which they were copied. They may indeed pre-date the Squarcialupi Codex version, presumed to be *c.* 1512. Poliziano's epitaph for Giotto must have been written by 1489–90, when the portrait bust of the artist, to which it is attached, was installed in the cathedral.

The date of 1489 suggests itself for the texts on fol. 92r of Vat. lat. 7192. These consist of two poems by the Florentine humanist Ugolino Verino (1438–*c.* 1513), a prose text and a distich by

[67] Vat. lat. 7192 is a large *zibaldone* of 409 folios, highly varied in content, the work of many hands, and ranging in date from the mid-fifteenth century (Maffeo Veggio) to the papacy of Gregory XIII (1572–85). For a description of the manuscript see *Ugolino Verino*, *Epigrammi*, ed. Bausi, p. 162.

[68] Written in the same hand as fols. 91r–92r, this page contains a fragmentary poetic text evidently part of a classical epitaph, copied from the ruins of a Roman bridge.

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Poliziano, all commemorating the death (November 1488; the official funeral was in January 1489) of the 16-year-old Orsino Lanfredini, son of Giovanni Lanfredini, Lorenzo de' Medici's ambassador to Rome and a man close both to Lorenzo and to Pope Innocent VIII.[69] The pope provided a marble tomb in which Orsino and his father, who died in 1490, were buried. On it a variant of Poliziano's prose memorial was carved; it is evident that all the texts copied on fols. 91^{r}–92^{r} of Vat. lat. 7192 were sent from Florence to Rome, serving as models for tributes to Lanfredini.[70]

Orsino Lanfredini, a youth of little distinction and dubious character, was honoured with a separate collection of poems in his memory, assembled and directed by the young Roman humanist Varino Gamberia; what was apparently its presentation copy (to Orsino's father) survives in the British Library (Add. MS 22805). Included in this volume are Poliziano's tributes to Orsino but not those of Verino.[71] Weiss remarks that 'some epitaphs . . . not to be found in the British Museum Ms. occur in Ms. Vat. Lat. 7192. . . . Perhaps they were on one of the leaves now missing from the British Museum text.' A similar remark might be made about MS Vat. lat. 7192; above Ficino's name is written 'pro eodem', suggesting that additional texts, all concerning Antonio, may have preceded it.[72]

We now return to the texts collected in the Squarcialupi codex. They are all the work of men (see Figure 6) connected, directly or indirectly, to Lorenzo de' Medici, or at least to Florence Cathedral (this of course includes Antonio himself), and must surely have been commissioned by him, perhaps as a kind of *giostra* or competition.[73] Almost any one of the shorter texts could have served as an epitaph for Antonio's effigy in the cathedral, though Lorenzo's contribution

[69] On Lanfredini, father and son, see M. Mansfield, *A Family of Decent Folk: A Study of the Centuries' Growth of the Lanfredini* . . . (Florence, 1922), ch. 10, pp. 185–212.

[70] Both Lanfredini deaths are noted by the papal diarist Johannes Burckhard. The tomb was in S. Maria della Febbre in Rome; it was later moved to the chapel of S. Trinità and SS. Cosmas and Damian in St Peter's. See *Ugolino Verino. Epigrammi*, ed. Bausi, p. 162; Robert[o] Weiss, 'In obitu Ursini Lanfredini: A Footnote to the Literary History of Rome under Pope Innocent VIII', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 2 (1959), pp. 353–66.

[71] Weiss, 'In obitu Ursini Lanfredini', p. 355.

[72] This was pointed out to us by Michael Cuthbert, who kindly consulted the manuscript on our behalf. We also thank Professor Dolores Pesce of Washington University, who looked at a film (and sent us photocopies) of Vat. lat. 7192 in the Pius XII Library of St. Louis University.

[73] The idea of a competition among the contributors is advanced by J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250–1460* (Leipzig, 1904), i, p. 229.

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Figure 6 Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Zaccaria nel tempio* (1485–90), Florence, Santa Maria Novella, Tornabuoni chapel, detail: four humanists (Marsilio Ficino, Cristoforo Landino, Angelo Poliziano, Gentile Becchi)

was probably the foreordained 'winner'. This suggests that the texts were commissioned after Lorenzo decided upon Antonio as *uomo illustre* to be depicted in the cathedral, probably in the later 1480s.[74] All except the contribution of Michele d'Alessio di Papi (nos. 17–18), which speaks of the removal of the bust and its inscription in an anti-Medicean outburst in 1495, could have been written by 1489. The presence of a tomb-like inscription, 'Antonio Squarcialupo patria monumentum virtus', after no. 15 suggests that the first assemblage of text may have ended here; a more definitive inscription, 'Antonio Squarcialupo organistae cives posuere', occurs after nos. 17–18, which could have been added subsequently (to the putative original; the copy in Med. Pal. 87 seems all to have been written at the same time, the copyist simply writing what was before him without editorial intervention). Lorenzo could have planned a handsome volume of these texts, a memorial like the volume for Orsino Lanfredini (see above), but his increasingly bad health and early death (in April 1492) might have prevented its execution.

[74] See Carl, 'Un ritratto commemorativo', esp. p. 146.

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The texts are uneven in quality and do not represent Florentine humanism at its best. They refer dutifully to Antonio and his organ, but on the whole they limit themselves to well-known classical references, drawing on the *laus musicae* tradition, using imagery connected with the organ. We think it fair to say that they could have been written without any of their authors ever having heard Antonio play. Nevertheless they serve to confirm Antonio's position as *uomo illustre*, setting his reputation in the rock of humanist approval.

A brief account of the authors of these texts, not all of them well-known figures, follows here (numbers refer to the texts in the Appendix).

1. The inscription, written in a rather thick, everyday fifteenth-century Gothic hand, was meant to be noticed; its large size and its position at the top of an otherwise blank page demand attention. The decorated capital and the style of writing were surely intended both to give it dignity and to make it appear congruent with the body of the manuscript. The humanist hand of the Squarcialupi tributes which follow on the next opening is in strong if not deliberate contrast to this inscription. Squarcialupi's declaration of ownership, later occasionally read as a declaration of authorship (we will not go so far as to suggest that some ambiguity on this point may have been intentional on Antonio's part), was probably written by or for him during his lifetime. Antonio began to use this surname sometime in the 1450s; there is no reason why the manuscript could not have been in his possession as early as this period.
2. Raffaele dei Bonamici was the nephew of Antonio's son Francesco Squarcialupi (d. 1509), who succeeded his father as organist in the Duomo. He apparently inherited the Codex along with other music in Francesco's possession.[75] The wording of Raffaele's statement of transfer of ownership is circumspect, but the gift itself seems oddly surprising; why should Raffaele have thought of Giuliano de' Medici as recipient? The suggestion is strong that Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, in 1512

[75] For Francesco's will, in which Raffaele is mentioned, see D'Accone, 'Antonio Squarcialupi alla luce', pp. 24–5.

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restored along with his brother to full Medicean dignity if not outright power in Florence, knew of the manuscript, perhaps had been shown it by its proud owner's son after Antonio's death, and may have known or at least thought that the manuscript had been a gift from the Medici, perhaps the elder Cosimo or his sons Piero and Giovanni, Cardinal Medici's grandfather and great-uncle. The future Leo X had bought back (from the monks of San Marco) a number of books from the Medici private library, seized upon the expulsion of the family in 1494; he may have wanted to add the Squarcialupi Codex, beautiful in itself and testimony to Florentine musical glories in the period of the first rise of the Medici family to a position of great influence. Asking for the manuscript on behalf of his brother might have been thought to soften the tone of what may have been a demand.

3. *Laur. Med. in laudem magistri Antonii Squarcialupi.* The Italian sonnet 'Farete insieme o musici lamenti' which follows this rubric seems to refer to Lorenzo de' Medici as its author, an attribution confirmed in the seventeenth-century MS Florence, BNC, Magl. II. ii. 109, an anthology in the hand of Antonio Magliabechi, where (fol. 170) it is given as 'Sonetto di Lor. de' Medici in lode di Antonio Squarcialupi Organista celeberrimo'. Two other early manuscript sources, Florence, BNC, Magl. II. ii. 75, fol. 38^{v}, and Paris, BNF f. it. 1543, fol. 80, give the poem but attribute it to Bernardo Bellincioni. The poem was indeed printed in *Rime del arguto et faceto Poeta Bernardo Bellincioni* (Milan, 1493), with the rubric 'Sonetto a Lorenzo de Medici per la morte di Maestro Antonio de gli Organi'.[76] It may be found in the nineteenth-century edition of Bellincioni's poetry.[77]

   Bernardo Bellincioni (1452–92), a Florentine poet in the tradition of Burchiello who ended his career in the service of the Sforza in Milan, seems to have been acquainted with Lorenzo de' Medici. He includes in his published volume several verses that really are by Lorenzo, and there are a number of poems addressed 'A Lorenzo de Medici' with various continuations

[76] Lorenzo de' Medici, *Opere*, ed. A. Sirmione, 2 vols. (Bari, 1913–14), ii, pp. 332–5, 362–3.
[77] Bellincioni, *Rime*, ed. P. Fanfani, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1878; repr. 1968), ii, p. 117.

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including 'per un poeta sciocco', 'per marchione' and 'per un certo non si dice'.[78] The sonnet addressed to Lorenzo on the death of Antonio degli Organi fits into this series and would seem to be the work of Bellincioni, at some early point misread as written by Lorenzo.

4. *Gent. Epis.* Gentile Becchi (1420s–1497) of Urbino was a churchman, scholar and poet. A canon resident in Pisa and Florence, Becchi became tutor to the sons of Piero de' Medici in 1454; he lived in the Medici palace and was closely connected to Lorenzo from the latter's early childhood onwards. A large number of letters from him to Lorenzo survive in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Mediceo avanti il principato (MAP). He became bishop of Arezzo in 1473 but remained active in Medicean circles in Florence, and was a friend of Ficino, Landino and Poliziano (see above, Figure 6). Taking Lorenzo de' Medici's side against the pope after the Pazzi conspiracy (1478), Becchi antagonised the papacy and was never able to obtain the cardinalate. He remained loyal to the Medici, and gave instruction to Lorenzo's sons Piero, Giovanni and Giuliano. Becchi's brief poem, suggesting that Antonio's music has affected the inanimate stone of the cathedral as did the great dome of Filippo Brunelleschi, implies that he knew Antonio was to join, or perhaps had already joined, Brunelleschi among the memorialised *uomini illustri* of Florence.[79]
5. *Mar. Fic.* Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), the humanist scholar, teacher and prolific writer, was a central figure in the intellectual, spiritual and philosophic life of later Quattrocentro Florence. He was closely tied to and supported by the Medici – Cosimo, Piero and Lorenzo. Such is his eminence that his presence among the Squarcialupi tributes may be said to raise the level of the whole enterprise.[80]

[78] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 110–11, 213, 215–16.

[79] On Becchi see C. Grayson in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vii, pp. 491–93; G. B. Picotti, *La giovinezza di Leone X* (Milan, 1927); P. O. Kristeller, *Supplementum ficinianum*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1937), ii, p. 340.

[80] C. Vasoli's article on Ficino in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, xlvii, pp. 378–95, gives a bibliographical listing of what at the time of publication (1997) was the most recent work on Ficino, with clear references to earlier bibliographies. A full picture of Ficino's relations with his contemporaries may be found in Kristeller, *Supplementum ficinianum*.

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Given this, it is pleasant to read Ficino's modest contribution addressed to readers, some of whom might have had its text in their hands as they looked at Antonio's bust and epitaph in their original position, below the organ and Luca della Robbia's beautiful *cantoria*. It is also appropriate that in 1521 a bust and epitaph commemorating Ficino joined those of Giotto, Brunelleschi and, still a bit surprising in this company, Antonio degli Organi.[81]

6. *Ang. Pol.* Angelo Poliziano (1454–94), the most celebrated humanist writer and the most famous vernacular poet of the generation of Lorenzo de' Medici, has been the subject of many symposia and many specialised articles and books. To our minds the best general account of his life and career is that of Vittorio Rossi.[82] Poliziano was often at odds with his peers and even his patrons, including Lorenzo, but he knew Antonio Squarcialupi at least slightly, and he could not well be left out of a list of Florentine men of letters. His contribution to the Squarcialupi anthology refers to Landino's anecdote about people coming from the ends of the earth to hear Antonio play (see above). It is very much in the nature of an epitaph, indeed almost literally so, as the first two lines of the poem make clear. Its extravagant praise of Antonio may be taken as poetic rhetoric; his real view of Antonio was a good deal cooler.[83] Poliziano wrote the epitaph for the memorial bust of Giotto (1490) in the cathedral; he may have expected to see his verses for Antonio cut in marble, but it was not to be so. Here Lorenzo de' Medici had the last word; but of course Poliziano lived to write verses in response to Lorenzo's death in 1492.

[81] Kristeller, *Supplementum*, ii, pp. 203–24, cites the decision by the canons of Santa Maria del Fiore (18 Feb. 1521) to welcome a memorial to Ficino, 'ut Mag. Rever. domino de Medicis videbitur et placebit'. There was at least a suggestion to remove this memorial, citing Ficino as too close to the Medici, in the fevered republican days of the late 1520s (Antonio's monument was threatened with removal at this time). See Roth, *The Last Florentine Republic*, pp. 97, 111.

[82] V. Rossi, *Il Quattrocento* (Milan, 1933), pp. 344–70. The most complete edition of Poliziano's miscellaneous Latin poetry remains that of I. del Lungo, *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche edite e inedite di Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano* (Florence, 1867).

[83] See above, pp. 116–17, for a letter from Poliziano to Lorenzo, mentioning a musical judgement by Antonio with which he, Poliziano, disagreed. The letter is cited, without comment, in Parigi, *Laurentiana*, p. 55.

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7. *Bar. Sca.* Bartolomeo Scala (1430–97) was a Florentine scholar, writer and public servant who rose from humble beginnings to become chancellor of Florence and to serve in that capacity for over thirty years.[84] After early studies in Florence, Scala went to Milan for a year, then returned to Florence, where he became secretary to Pierfrancesco de' Medici, first cousin of Piero and Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici. In 1465 he was named first chancellor of the Florentine republic, serving in that demanding capacity even after the expulsion of the Medici in 1494. For years Scala was closely associated with Lorenzo de' Medici and his sons. Despite a busy daily routine he was used to writing occasional verse in addition to larger works such as his *Apologi centum Bartholomaei Scalae*, presented to Lorenzo in 1481.
8. *Laur. Med.* There is of course no need to say anything in identification of Lorenzo de' Medici. The prose epitaph under Squarcialupi's bust, beginning with the words 'Multum profecto debet Musica Antonio Squarcialupo Organistae', is not signed, but the text appears, attributed to Lorenzo, among the poetic tributes in the Squarcialupi Codex, and here there is no reason to doubt its authenticty. Lorenzo's actual regard for Squarcialupi seems to have been real if hardly at the hagiographical level the portrait bust and collection of literary tributes would suggest.
9. *Nal. Nal.* Naldo Naldi (1436–*c.* 1513), a humanist man of letters, was born and educated in Florence. Chronically and sometimes desperately poor, he tried his luck in several cities, particularly Venice, but sooner or later returned to Florence. It may be taken for granted that he was always a panegyrist of the Medici, from Cosimo Pater Patriae to Giovanni di Lorenzo (he wrote a poem on the election of the latter to the papacy). He was in Florence in the 1480s, and was for a time (from 1484) holder of a chair of poetry and rhetoric at the Florentine *studio*. He left Florence for Venice in November of 1489; this may provide a

[84] See A. Brown, *Bartolomeo Scala, 1430–1497, Chancellor of Florence: The Humanist as Bureaucrat* (Princeton, 1979; ead., *Bartolomeo Scala: Humanistic and Political Writings* (Tempe, 1997). G. Pesenti, 'Alessandra Scala: Una figurina della rinascenza fiorentina', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 85 (1925), pp. 241–67, contains a list of Bartolomeo Scala's writings, including a number of Latin poems.

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terminus for the composition of the main body of the Squarcialupi tributes.

Naldi wrote some longer works but was chiefly known as a maker of eulogies and other short poetic tributes, written on commission, as the Squarcialupi text must have been, or in hopes of future employment. Several laudatory poems addressed to Ficino may be expressions of at least comparatively disinterested admiration. Poliziano was critical of Naldi but Ficino called him a valued friend and praised his work.[85]

10.–11. *Mic. Marul.* Michele Marullo (Tarcaniota) (*c.* 1453–1500) was a Greek poet and soldier of fortune. He left the East for Italy at some point after the fall of Constantinople, moving around the peninsula (Ancona, Naples) before coming to Florence, apparently in the 1480s. He cultivated relations with the Medici, particularly Lorenzo and Giovanni di Pierfrancesco. He exchanged barbs with Poliziano but admired Bartolomeo Scala, whose youngest daughter Alessandra he married *c.* 1494. Marullo wrote a good deal of Latin poetry. He published a volume of *Epigrammata* (1489/90; Florence, 1497), in which the longer of his two contributions to the Squarcialupi collection is included, with the title *De Apolline et Antonio Squarcialupo* (the shorter one seems to be a kind of sketch for the longer, or perhaps a reduction to a concise form more suitable for an epitaph). The subject matter of the poems, the contest of Apollo and Pan, is drawn from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 11.[86]

12. *Bart. Rigo.* Bartolomeo Rigogli. We have been unable to discover anything about the life of Rigogli; even the assiduous Giulio Negri knew only that he contributed to the Squarcialupi anthology.[87] His poem is indeed a modest one, perhaps the effort of an inexperienced writer. Rigogli nevertheless seems to have had some connection with the circle of poets who are our concern here. He wrote a poem in honour of Naldo Naldi, a

[85] See G. Bottiglioni, *La lirica latina in Firenze nella seconda metà del secolo xv = Annali della R. Scuola Superiore di Pisa*, 24 (1913), pp. 45–58, 189–91, 207–12; Kristeller, *Supplementum ficinianum*, ii, pp. 107, 160–5; L. W. Grant, 'The Life of Naldo Naldi', *Studies in Philology*, 60 (1963), pp. 606–17.

[86] On Marullo see his *Carmina*, ed. A. Perosa (Verona, 1951); P. L. Ciceri, 'Michele Marullo e i suoi Hymni Naturales', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 64 (1914), pp. 289–357; Perosa, 'Studi sulla formazione della raccolta di poesia del Marullo', *Rinascimento*, 1 (1950), pp. 125–56.

[87] G. Negri, *Istoria degli scrittori fiorentini* (Ferrara, 1722), p. 84.

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friend or perhaps his teacher.[88] Naldi's known friendship with Ficino thus gives Rigogli a presence, if but a tangential one, in the group. His choice of verb tense ('posuit') in relation to a 'marmoris effigiem' suggests that the Squarcialupi bust and epitaph were already in place when he wrote.

13. *Lip. Bran.* Lippus Brandolini, either Aurelio (1454–97) or his younger brother Raffaele Brandolini (*c.* 1465–1517), both brothers known as 'Lippus' because of their defective eyesight. The family was Florentine in origin but the brothers grew up in Naples, where both pursued humanist studies with concentration on improvising Latin verse. Both brothers led a peripatetic existence, living in Rome, Florence and Naples, and pursuing scholarly careers as their health and changing conditions of patronage allowed. Aurelio resided in Florence for a period before 1489 and (after a year at the Hungarian court of Matthias Corvinus) in 1490–1, at the time the Squarcialupi monument was completed. His Christian name was Filippo, which makes 'Lip. Bran.' additionally likely to refer to him. Raffaele became a member of Leo X's household, and dedicated to the pope his treatise *De musica et poetica*, written before Cardinal Giovanni Medici's elevation to the papacy and presented with a double dedication, one to the Cardinal and a second to the new pope, in 1513. The work contains extensive treatments of the themes of *laus musicae* and *laus poeticae*, and a defence of the art of improvisation of poetry in musical setting, performed at humanistic banquets. The Brandolini contribution to the poetic tributes for Antonio Squarcialupi is an example of the brothers' easy-flowing style.[89]
14. *Fran. Ghiac.* Francesco di Zanobi Cattani da Diacetto [Ghiacceto] (1466–1522), known as 'il Pagonazzo' to distinguish him

[88] The poem is to be found in Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana, MS 582, fol. 5[r]. See G. Zannoni, 'Un'elegia di Angelo Poliziano', *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, ser. 5, vol. 2 (1893), pp. 151–62, at p. 162.

[89] On Aurelio Brandolini see F. A. Gallo, 'Orpheus christianus', in *Musica nel castello: Trovatori, libri, oratori nelle corti italiane dal xiii al xv secolo* (Bologna, 1992), pp. 95–150. For Raffaele see *Raffaele Brandolini, On Music and Poetry (De musica et poetica, 1513)*, trans. and ed. A. E. Moyer (Tempe, 2001). Moyer's edition contains ample bibliographical references to both the Brandolini brothers. See also Negri, *Istoria*, p. 74; *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, xiv, pp. 26–8 (Aurelio, by A. Rotondò), pp. 40–2 (Raffaele, by G. Ballistreri). In S. Salvini's *Catalogo cronologico de' canonici fiorentini* (1751) in Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, MS 3244, fol. 36[r], Brandolini is called 'Filippo chiamato Lippo di Giorgio Brandolini'.

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from another Francesco da Diacetto, 'il Nero'. He belonged to an old, strongly pro-Medicean Florentine family. Diacetto studied at the University of Pisa and while there was closely associated with Giovanni (later Cardinal) de' Medici, who also studied there. Upon returning to Florence Diacceto studied with and became a friend of Ficino, being considered a kind of successor to the latter after Ficino's death in 1499. He taught philosophy at the University of Florence during the period 1502–22. Diacceto took part in discussions at the Orti Oricellari and the 'Sacred Academy' of the Medici (1516–19). He visited Rome during the reign of Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici) and dedicated works to Leo and to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, later Pope Clement VII. Diacceto's collected philosophical writings were published after his death (*Opera Omnia*, Basel, 1563), and Benedetto Varchi appended a short biography to Diacetto's *Tre libri d'amore* (Venice, 1561). His contribution to the Squarcialupi anthology is similar in theme, if more laboured in execution, to that of Ficino.[90]

15. *Bart. Pacii* (?). Bartolomeo Pazzi or Pucci. The name in the Squarcialupi Codex is faint and hard to read. Scholars beginning with Giulio Negri have read it as 'Pacii' or 'Paccii', concluding that it refers to a member of the Pazzi family of Florence.[91] We have been unable to find any information on a Bartolomeo Pazzi in the period. A reading of 'Pucii', transcribed 'Pucci', is marginally more successful; a Bartolomeo Pucci is listed among correspondents of Bartolomeo Scala.[92] The contribution of Pazzi or Pucci to the Squarcialupi anthology is distinctive, with its reference to an ancient legend about the colossal statue of Memnon, outside his tomb near Thebes,

[90] On Diacceto, or Ghiacceto, see M. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300–1800*, 6 vols. (Boston, 1962), ii, pp. 943–45; P. O. Kristeller, 'Francesco da Diacceto and Florentine Platonism in the Sixteenth Century' (1944), repr. in Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome, 1984), pp. 187–336.

[91] Negri, *Istoria*, p. 84.

[92] Brown, *Bartolomeo Scala* (1997), p. 131, a letter of 1 July 1482 addressed to Pucci as *commissario* at Città di Castello. The contents of the letter are about military business, giving no clue as to whether this Bartolomeo Pucci had humanist pretensions.

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which sounded a musical tone when struck by the sun's first rays.[93]

16. *Marcell.* Marcello Virgilio Adriani (1464–1521), who was born in Florence and given humanistic training from his youth, studied with Landino and Poliziano. In 1494 he was called to succeed Poliziano at the Studio fiorentino. After the death of Bartolomeo Scala at the end of 1497, Adriani was appointed to Scala's position as Chancellor of the Florentine republic. He maintained favour through the return of the Medici in 1512, and delivered the funeral oration at the death of Giuliano de' Medici in 1516. Adriani was known chiefly for his Latin translation of Dioscorides (1515), dedicated to Leo X; he also wrote a good deal of occasional Latin verse.[94]

17.–18. *Micha Divi Roffilli.* The identity of this writer remained for a time a complete mystery. Acting on a hint from the great eighteenth-century scholar Angelo Maria Bandini, who in his list of the poems in the Squarcialupi Codex placed after 'Divi Roffilli' the phrase '*forte* Rectoris',[95] we eventually found that our man was the rector of San Ruffillo del Vescovo, a chapel once located in Piazza dell'Olio, behind the Palazzo arcivescovile and thus a dependency of Santa Maria del Fiore. His name is Michele d'Alessio di Papi (b. *c.* 1445–50; d. after 1518).[96] Michele di Papi was a person of some learning and some means; he collected books, Greek and Latin volumes which he bequeathed to the library of the canonry of Santa Maria del Fiore, then housed in the church of San Pietro Celoro near the cathedral (the collection is now in the Biblioteca Medicea

[93] See the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn, ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford and New York, 1996), p. 955.

[94] On Adriani see W. Rüdiger, *Marcellus Virgilius Adrianus von Florenz* (Halle, 1898); *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, i, pp. 310–11 (G. Miccoli); J. M. McManamon, 'Marketing a Medici Regime: The Funeral Oration of Marcello Virgilio Adriani for Giuliano de' Medici (1516)', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 44 (1991), pp. 1–41.

[95] A. M. Bandini, *Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana seu Catalogus Manuscriptorum qui super in Laurentiam translati sunt . . .*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1793), iii, col. 251.

[96] L. A. Waldman, 'Michele d'Alessio di Papi, the Patron of Pontormo's *S. Ruffillo Altarpiece*', *Apollo* (Sept. 2003), pp. 40–5, at p. 42, points out that Michele's siblings were baptised in Florence between 1462 and 1469. R. Bagemihl, 'Francesco Botticini's Palmieri Altar-Piece', *Burlington Magazine*, 138 (1996), pp. 308–14, at pp. 313–14, cites a document of July 1475, mentioning 'ser Michaelem olim Alexi rectorem ecclesiae sancti Ruffellis de Florentia' as a signatory, suggesting that he was born before 1450.

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Laurenziana).[97] In his will of 1500 Papi also commissioned an altarpiece, later to be painted by Jacopo del Pontormo.[98]

If Papi was a cathedral canon his contribution to the Squarcialupi anthology may be taken as representing the institution, indeed the building itself. His longer poem stands apart from all the others in that it contains (ll. 9–11 of 'Dulcisonae virtus artis') a hint of narrative, namely the taking down of Squarcialupi's bust and its attendant plaque in 1495, after the fall of the Medici (see above, pp. 124–6). Thus the poem must date from after this year.[99] Papi's other contribution, the shorter and related 'Musica quicquid habet sonitus', might have been written earlier, or might, judging from its position as the last of the poems on the page, have been intended to commemorate the restitution of the Squarcialupi memorial, planned after the return of the Medici in 1512 but not accomplished until 1519. In any event he allowed himself in both poems a grandiloquence of expression barely under technical control.

In general we might note that several features of the latter part of the 'Anthology', namely nos. 14 or 15–18, may be of a later date than the others and may represent a gesture of filial piety on the part of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, just as the earlier part shows filial piety on Lorenzo's part towards a friend of his and of his father and uncle.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers

Luca Landucci, in a passage speaking of the Florence of the 1460s but probably written much later, makes a passing reference to 'maestro Antonio, an organist, who surpassed everyone in his

[97] L. Fabbri, ' "Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum": Una biblioteca pubblica nella Canonica di Santa Maria del Fiore', in id. and M. Tacconi (eds.), *I libri del Duomo di Firenze: Codici liturgici e biblioteca di Santa Maria del Fiore (secoli xi–xvi)* (Florence, 1997), pp. 33–56.

[98] Waldman, 'Michele d'Alessio di Papi', pp. 41–2 (Papi's will).

[99] This is noted by Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript', p. 189, in an argument supporting the existence of republican and anti-Medicean sentiments in Florence in the 1490s and the later 1520s.

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day'.[100] In the years after Antonio's death in 1480, the appearance of his portrait bust in the cathedral and the assemblage of a group of poems connected to this event contributed mightily to establishing Antonio's reputation – this without saying anything specific about his achievement. After the unsettled and, literally, unsettling events of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth cernturies, Antonio's bust along with his reputation settled comfortably into place.Thus Francesco Bocchi, describing the interior of Santa Maria del Fiore in 1591, mentions the portrait bust of 'Antonio Squarcialupi, Florentine gentleman [*sic*], excellent performer, having been admired in life, merited after his death an eternal honour of a statue dedicated to him in this noble temple.'[101]

Bocchi doubtless drew – as did many writers after him – on Michele Poccianti, who has this to say about Antonio:

> Antonio Squarcialupi, skilled in the art of music and in playing harmonic instruments, so much so that unknown people from the most distant regions hastened to gather in Florence to see him and hear his harmonious music. He brought a certain weightiness to music. So that the memory of such a man might become known to later times, the Florentine Senate set up a marble image of him, placed near the doors of the Cathedral church, illustrated with this epitaph: Multum profecto . . . donavit (*recte*: *posuit*). He flourished about the year A.D. 1430.[102]

Seventeenth-century writers such as Cinelli and Migliore repeated and occasionally elaborated on Poccianti and on Bocchi's note, and both mentioned a manuscript connected to Squarcialupi as being in the granducal [Pitti] palace.[103]

[100] L. Landucci, *A Florentine Diary from 1450 to 1516*, trans. A. de R. Jervis (London, 1927), pp. 2–3. Landucci gives a list of Florentine notables rather close in content, suggesting dependence, to Landino's assemblage in his *Comento* of 1481.

[101] Bocchi, *Le bellezze della città di Fiorenza* (Florence, 1591), p. 23: 'Antonio Squarcialupi, gentil'huomo Fiorentino, Sonatore eccellente, che ammirato in vita meritò, che dopo morte in questo tempio à perpetuo honore gli fosse posta questa statua.'

[102] M. Poccianti, *Catalogus scriptorum florentinorum, cum additionibus Lucae ferrini* (Florence, 1589), p. 15: 'Antonius Squarcialupus Musica arte & in pulsandis armonicis instrumentis ita peritus, ut ex remotissimis regionibus incogniti populi Florentiam se conferre studuerint, ut eum viderent, & ipsius armonicos sonos audirent. Quaedam ad Musicam attinentia edidit. Ob id ut tanti viri memoria innotesceret posteris eius imaginem ex marmore sculptam Senatus Florentinus prope valluas Cathedralis Ecclesiae apponi curavit, hoc epitaphio illustratam. Videlicet. *Multum profecto . . . monumentum donavit*. Floruit circa annos Christianae salutis 1430.'

[103] See G. Cinelli, *Le bellezze della città di Fiorenza . . . scritti già da M. Francesco Bocchi, et ora di M. Giovanni Cinelli ampliate, e accresciute* (Florence, 1677), pp. 49 (Bocchi's entry), 572: 'A car. 49 ho tralasciato ancora darti notizia dal proprio lit. Ms. del quale il famoso Antonio Squarcialupi si serviva: che nella libreria di S.A. nel Palazzo di Pitti conservasi, nel principio del quale sono in sua lode molte composizioni di celebri letterati suoi contemporanei' (there follows a list of the poems in the Squarcialupi 'Anthology'). Cf. F. L. del Migliore, *Firenze città nobilissima*

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During the seventeenth century the Squarcialupi Codex, containing on its opening bifolium Antonio's statement of ownership as well as the poems written in his memory, thus passed (see below) into the library of the Medici Grand Dukes in the Palazzo Pitti (the collection became known as the Biblioteca Mediceo-Palatina). It was seen, or perhaps described to, the indefatigable Giulio Negri, whose biographical dictionary of Florentine writers, published in 1722 but written some years earlier, gives this capsule biography of Antonio, based on Poccianti except for its extraordinary conclusion:

ANTONIO SQUARCIALUPO. He excelled in music, and in playing instruments, especially organs, which captivated his fellow citizens with delight in hearing him, and also brought people from distant and foreign lands, and the leading masters of the art, to see and admire him. This eminent professor flourished in his native Florence about the year 1430; and with much sadness was his death lamented by all the world, such had been the pleasure provided by his most singular *virtù*. The Senate honoured his last rites, perpetuating his memory with the following inscription, placed near the door of the great Cathedral church: *Multum profecto . . . Divi suo Monumentum donavit.*

He left many musical (vocal?) compositions and sonatas. In the royal palace of the Pitti is preserved a book, in the grand-ducal library, of music composed by him. There is also another manuscript book of various [poetic] compositions in his praise. He was also praised by Lorenzo Medici il Magnifico in Tuscan verses.[104]

Negri's enthusiastic praise of Antonio's playing, said to draw visitors from afar, come simply to see and hear this marvel, is derived from Landino's *Comento* (directly or through Poccianti and Migliore; see above), known also to several of the poets whose verses in praise of Antonio are in the Squarcialupi Codex. It should not be taken as

illustrata (Florence, 1684), pp. 26–9, 36–7. Migliore cites (p. 36) the Livy-inspired story of people coming from afar 'per diletto di sentirlo [Squarcialupi] cantare' (*sic*; Migliore may here have confused our Antonio with the great singer-*improvvisatore* Antonio di Guido), told by Poccianti and by Landino, *Comento* (he later cites Landino). He adds (p. 37) that 'Fù lo Squarcialupi illustre anco per quel che gli conferirà la qualità el suo natale, essendo che gli Squarcialupi ab antico, discesi di sangue Langobardo, fosserì signori già di Mortenana, e d'altri Castelli nella Valdelsa.' Speaking of the epitaph below Antonio's bust, Migliore says it was written by Lorenzo de' Medici, 'per tale ce la dimostra un ricordo nella Libreria del Palazzo de' Gran Duchi'.

[104] Negri, *Istoria degli scrittori fiorentini*, p. 69: 'Fù così eccellente nella Musica, e nel Suono degli Strumenti, particolarmente degli Organi; che rapiva non meno i suoi Concittadini ad udirlo con diletto; mà ancora da' lontani Paesi i Forestieri, ed i primi Maestri nell'Arte à vederlo, ed ammirarlo. Fiorì quest'Esimio Professor in Firenze sua Patria circa gli Anni 1430; e con tanto dolore fù la di lui morte compianta da tutto il Mondo; quanto era stato il godimento provato dalla di lui singolarissima Virtù. Onorò i di lui funerali estremi Ufficj il Senato, eternandone la Memoria con la seguente Iscrizione, collocata presso la Porta della gran Chiesa Cattedrale; *Multum profecto . . . Civi suo Monumentum donavit.* Lasciò molti Musicali Componimenti, e Suonate. Nel Reale Palazzo de' Pitti conservasi un Libro ms. nella Libreria del Gran Duca, di Musiche da lui composte. Ivi pure eccovi un'altro Libro ms., di Composizioni diverse in lode di Antonio. Siccome lodollo in Versi Toscani Lorenzo Medici, detto il Magnifico.'

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based on accounts of Antonio derived from testimony by the latter's contemporaries. Whether Negri read the poems mentioned above (he refers to their existence in various entries for their authors in the *Istoria*) is uncertain, but he knew of the existence of the manuscript, the musical contents of which he generously, if astoundingly inaccurately, attributes to Antonio himself. Here is a substantial addition to the Squarcialupi legend, one still accepted more than a hundred years after the publication of Negri's book. Arguing against Negri's having seen the Codex itself is his division of it into two volumes, presumably one large (the music) and one small (the poems celebrating Antonio). The Codex (Med. Pal. 87) was bound sometime in the fifteenth century, and this binding, so far as we know, survives today. Perhaps Negri had had its contents described to him and mistook the collection of poems – which is indeed an enterprise separate from the great anthology of Italian Ars nova music – for a separate *volume*.[105]

It is possible that Negri saw the monument to Antonio in the cathedral in Florence. He cites Lorenzo de' Medici's epitaph carved beneath the musician's bust, but from Poccianti's text (see above), suggesting that he may have been given it along with the other information he provides in his Squarcialupi entry. The 'Tuscan verses' by Lorenzo mentioned by Negri (see above) also occur, with the attribution, in the poetic tributes to Antonio written into the Codex; as has been noted, the attribution is incorrect.

Squarcialupi: the name, the Codex

As we have seen, the ownership declaration on the first leaf of the Squarcialupi Codex ('Questo libro e di Mº antonio di bartolomeo schuarcialupi horghanisto [*sic*] in sancta maria del fiore') may be associated with Antonio's use of his acquired family name in the late 1450s. During his visit to Milan in 1455 he was still known as Antonio degli organi, but by the time of his 1467 letter to Dufay he had styled himself a 'Squarcialupi'. During the twelve intervening years, the most telling documents to shed light on the acquisition of

[105] The second paragraph of Negri's text is taken partly from Cinelli, *Le bellezze*, p. 572. Cinelli, however, describes the Codex as a *single* manuscript which Antonio made use of ('*libro* M.S. del quale il A.S. *si serviva*'), the *first part* of which contains poems in his honour (Cinelli adds a list of the authors).

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the surname – those in which he surely helped to provide the way he wanted the family to be known – are the baptismal entries for his children in the cathedral registers. Becherini gives the names and dates for some of the children (see document 12 of her study), a list in which the surname Squarcialupi occurs three times, but only with legitimate male children:[106]

[22 July 1455]: Alexandra et margherita di maestro antonio degliorgani
[4 June 1457]: Bartolomeo et franc^{o} dantonio di bartolomeo schuarcialupi detto Ma^{o} antonio degliorghani
[26 Sept. 1458]: Franc^{o} et raffaello dantonio di bartolomeo degliorghani squarcialupi
[25 June 1460]: giovani bartolo e piero di m^{o} antonio squarcialupi degli abici [*recte* orghani?]
[8 Feb. 1463] Chaterina e Alexandra di M^{o} Ant^{o} di bartolomeo degliorghani
[23 July 1465] Jacopo et giovanni di maest^{o} antonio orghanista, non legitimo

Surprisingly, the musician son, Francesco, who at the age of 24 was to take over his father's post as cathedral organist in 1480, seems not to be represented in Beccherini's baptismal documents; it is he alone who continued use of the proud new family surname, if only for one generation.

We might speculate, however, that Francesco is present in the baptismal records. The son listed by Beccherini as 'Bartolomeo et Francesco d'Antonio degli orghani di Bartolomeo', baptised on 4 June 1457, could well be he; as a young man he could have dropped the first Christian name of 'Bartolomeo' sometime after his brother,

[106] Becherini's transcription should be reconsidered, for surely her interpretation ('albici') of the written 'degli abicj' in the document must be seen as a probable mishearing (by the priest who made the entry) of 'degli organi', the appropriate and normal usage found elsewhere to qualify Antonio as cathedral organist. A full list of children, based on catasto documents, includes the following: Ginevra (1446?), Maria (1447?), Lucrezia (1449), Napoleone [illegitimate], (1450/51?), Tita (1451/52?), Alessandra (1455), Bartolomeo (1457), Francesco (1458), Giovanni (1460), Chaterina (1463) and Jacopo (1465). The still earlier date for the use of the family name (1443) in Becherini's Doc. 14 may be bogus, an addition by the seventeenth-century writer Migliore. This document does, however, give us the name of Antonio's wife: Lisa Iuliani Fei, possibly related to Feo di Giuliano, organist at S. Giovanni. During this period, 'Squarcialupi' is used in a 1457 document cited by D'Accone; see App. 1, no. 28.

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Francesco Raffaello, died.[107] It is of more than passing interest to discover that the entry for the former boy was mistranscribed by Beccherini, given in fact in the document as 'Bartolomeo et Franc^{o} dantonio di bartolomeo schuarcialupi detto Ma^{o} antonio degli orghani'. This point not only makes sense of the only male heir carrying the family name, but it also allows recognition of the fact that his 1457 birthdate would have fallen squarely within the years during which his father had appropriated the name from the branch of the Squarcialupi family that had resided for generations in the Val d'Elsa region of Tuscany (see below).

More interesting, perhaps, is the realisation that the spelling of 'Schuarcialupi' in the 4 June 1457 baptismal record with the unusual – but very Florentine – aspirated 'ch' matches that of the manuscript's ownership statement. As such, it stimulates further speculation regarding the dating of the addition of this statement to the Squarcialupi Codex. It may have been copied on a reused bifolio (showing traces of glue) inserted sometime in the second half of the 1450s – as part of Antonio Squarcialupi's elevation of stature within Florentine society, following his father's death early in that decade and his own successes associated with trips to Naples and Milan. But another very different scenario regarding the dating of the added title statement in the codex could also be suggested, one which would have the young Francesco Squarcialupi wishing to honour his father's legacy shortly after 1480 with the addition of a deliberately archaic declaration of ownership – both in locution and writing style – including the new family surname (see above, Figure 5).

There is no reason to think that Antonio's use of the surname Squarcialupi implies that *he* was related by blood to the well-known Tuscan family of that name; but the Squarcialupi of the Val d'Elsa were closely connected by bonds of business and friendship to the Medici, who may have asked that Antonio, in support of his self-fashioning, be allowed use of the surname as a sign of status and reputation if not of wealth. Three generations of the 'real' Squarcialupi are represented by (1) Antonio Rainerii (b. *c.* 1380), whose

[107] Francesco Raffaello does not appear in the 1480 Florentine catasto.

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mother was a Medici;[108] (2) Manfredo d'Antonio (son of the above), Arrigo, and Lippo, all correspondents with Giovanni de' Medici in the 1450s regarding shipments of wine and cheese to Florence.[109] To these men we may add (3) family members who corresponded with Lorenzo de' Medici and lived into the sixteenh century – Mariotto and Piero. All these figures may have lived in Florence, in the *quartieri* of S. Spirito and S. Giovanni, in addition to having possessions in the Val d'Elsa. Finally we may mention an Antonio di Manfredi, living in Castellina in Chianti in 1495–7.[110] Our Antonio's son Francesco certainly carried the family name after 1480, and he even made use of the Squarcialupi coat of arms for his own tombstone at San Lorenzo (see above, p. 118). An eighteenth-century *sepultuario* of parishioners buried in San Lorenzo (Arch. Capitolare di S. Lorenzo, MS 2186 [dated 1726], no. 143; Figure 7), designed to match the detailed drawing of the placement of the tombstones in the archive's MS 2215, includes the arms in colour – here, as the myth would have it, attributed to Francesco's father.[111] Such blatant appropriation of a coat of arms reminds one of Sacchetti's *Novella* LXIII, in which Giotto, asked to paint the 'arms' of a craftsman, produced a suit of armour of an infantryman. Scolded for this, he responded:

> But who are you then . . . to tell me 'paint my coat of arms'? If you were a Bardi, that would have been fine. But what are your arms? Of what house are you a member? Who were your ancestors? How is it you are not ashamed? Better to be born first before you talk about coats of arms, as though you were the Duke of Bavaria . . . for every good-for-nothing wants arms and ancestry, when his father may have been nothing but a foundling in a hospital.[112]

[108] See Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, i, p. 128; Becherini, 'Antonio Squarcialupi', pp. 148–51. As Becherini points out, Gaye mistakenly conflated Antonio Rainerii with Antonio degli organi.

[109] MAP viii, 243, 244, 447; x, 95.

[110] Parigi, *Laurentiana*, p. 60, citing A. Casabianca, *Notizie storiche dei principali luoghi del Chianti* (1941; repr. Rome, 1976), p. 92, n. 95. Becherini, 'Antonio Squarcialupi', p. 151, cites a seventeenth-century genealogy of the Squarcialupi family (13th–16th c.) which includes many more members and which we have consulted: Florence, BNC, Magl. XXVI. 231, fols. 269 ff. On one page the marriage of Raineri to Margherita, daughter of Salvestro de' Medici (1374) and the birth of sons, including Antonio, is listed. In passing it might be noted that the Christian names Antonio, Francesco and Bartolomeo, as well as daughters named Ginevra, Caterina and Lucrezia, are to be found in the family. Is it possible that our Antonio's forebears worked for the Squarcialupi of the Val d'Elsa?

[111] Note in Figure 7 that the S. Lorenzo account describes the heraldic device in some detail and offers additional information on Antonio and the family – now in fact considered *his* family – to include an eventual intermarriage with a branch of the Strozzi. For another description and illustration of the Squarcialupi arms see Parigi, *Laurentiana*, pp. 55–6 and his pl. VI.

[112] F. Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, ed. D. Puccini (Turin, 2004), pp. 197–8.

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Figure 7 Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di San Lorenzo, Sepultuario (MS 2186, no. 143): Squarcialupi coat of arms

The history of the music manuscript bearing Antonio's name can be thought to have enjoyed a parallel relationship to that of the bust in that it played a significant role in propagating the myth of the

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musician as composer. After finding its way into the library of Giuliano de' Medici (the chronological window of opportunity can, as we have seen, be narrowed to between summer 1512, the reinstatement of the Medici in Florence, and January 1513, the time of Giovanni de' Medici's election to the papacy as Leo X), the codex may have resided in the cathedral, perhaps among the other beautifully decorated *corali* on the shelves of the old sacristy. Our guess is that it may even have been prominently displayed with its ownership page propped open for all visitors to see, and this could account for some observers easily describing the collection of music as that of Antonio Squarcialupi (see above).

No doubt the declaration of ownership in Med. Pal. 87 stands at the heart of the confusion, fuelling wishful thinking, over just whose music was contained within the covers of the magnificent codex, a mix-up that evolved quickly into a springboard for claims of the existence of a double volume – one of which preserved the fruits of Antonio's own compositional skill. We hear nothing about the Codex from Francesco Nigetti, organist at the Duomo from 1649 to 1664, who according to Angelo Bandini offered the volume to the Palatine Library in Palazzo Pitti.[113] The earliest manuscript account by Bandini of the music codex is in a miscellany of documents in the Archivio Storico della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, datable to the years 1779–86, in which the claim persisted that the volume contained the music of Squarcialupi. But Bandini, upon a fuller examination of the manuscript, was the first scholar to deny this while offering a detailed account of the contents of the Squarcialupi Codex, including the poems (fully transcribed) in praise of its fifteenth-century owner and of its collection of Trecento songs by composers of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries – first in a journal publication and later in his better-known catalogue of the

[113] This may have occurred in 1649 when Nigetti petitioned the Grand Duke for the post of organist at Florence Cathedral; see Bandini, *Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana* (Florence, 1793), iii, cols. 248–60, at col. 248, n. 1; and M. Fabbri, 'Giovanni Maria Casini, "Musico dell'umana espressione": Contributo su documenti originali', in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 25 (1962), pp. 138–59, at pp. 138–45. Laurentian Library, Plut. 92, sup. 227^{B} is a manuscript inventory of the Palatine Library compiled by then librarian Giovanni Gaspero Menabuoni in the years 1763–5; on fol. 55^{r} the music volume is catalogued as No. 319 (*olim* 344) and reference is made to Negri's comments regarding a double volume containing Antonio's compositions and, separately, a group of 'cose in lode di Antonio Squarcialupi', though now stating that a single bound volume comprises both; see Nádas, 'Il codice Squarcialupi', p. 25.

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Palatine manuscripts transferred to the Laurentian Library.[114] He also described the composers' portraits at the head of each section as well as the two representations of a single coat of arms (fols. 1[r] and 55[v]), which he erroneously took to be that of Antonio Squarcialupi (and of the Squarcialupi family).

The myth in recent centuries

Throughout the eighteenth century visitors to Florence noted Antonio's bust in the cathedral and repeated elements of his now established reputation. Charles Burney, speaking of music in the time of Lorenzo de' Medici, has this to say:

> to the history of Music there, during that gay and happy period, may be added the favour of Antonio Squarcialupi, organist of the Duomo of Florence, not only with that prince [Lorenzo] but with his fellow-citizens; who, for his great musical talents, erected a monument to his memory, which still subsists, with an inscription which I copied myself on the spot, in the year 1770.[115]

A few years after Burney finished the first volume of his *General History of Music* the Squarcialupi Codex, which for a hundred years had been in the Palatine Library in the Pitti Palace, was transferred, along with a number of other manuscript volumes, including several sixteenth-century musical collections, to what was then called the Regia Biblioteca Laurenziana (see above). The work of the librarian Angelo Maria Bandini, who wrote the first critical description of the manuscript, demolished the notion, first circulated by Negri in 1722, that Antonio had written the contents of the manuscript himself. Bandini's one modest contribution to the myth, namely that the Squarcialupi coat of arms appeared on two folios of Med. Pal. 87, found no audience.

Little attention seems to have been paid to Squarcialupi in the early nineteenth century. As late as the 1830s Fétis, displaying his inimitable gift for confusing the issue, could write, in the first edition of his *Biographie universelle*, the following notice:[116]

[114] A. M. Bandini, 'Ragionamento sulla nostra musica, e sopra un codice alla Laurenziana', in *Novelle letterarie*, 3 (Florence, 15 Jan. 1790), cols. 33–44, 49–59, 65–71, 81–9.

[115] Burney, *A General History of Music* (1776–89), ed. F. Mercer, 2 vols. (New York, 1935), ii, p. 197. Mercer gives the inscription in a footnote; curiously he repeats the error in Poccianti's citation of it.

[116] F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (Brussels, 1835–44), viii, p. 255: 'Squarcialupi, Antoine, surnommé *Antonio degli Organi*, à cause de son talent sur

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Squarcialupi, Antonio, dubbed 'Antonio degli Organi' because of his talent for the organ, was born in Florence in the second half of the fourteenth century. Lorenzo the Magnificent took him into his service as one of the most famous organists, perhaps the ablest of his time. Squarcialupi was also organist of the Cathedral of Florence. He died in 1430. Gerhard Johann Vossius, who furnishes us this date [*De univ. math. natura et constit.* Ch. 60, §14, p. 551], adds that the Florentine senate honoured the memory of the famed artist by placing his bust, together with an honourable inscription [in the cathedral], reported by Poccianti [*Catal. scriptor. florenti.*, p. 15]. The bust has disappeared, but Burney discovered the inscription in 1770, when he visited Florence; it reads thus: 'Multum profecto . . . monumentum donavit'. Nothing has been found, to this day, of the compositions of this celebrated artist.

Apart from errors of fact and chronology, Fétis shows that he knew very little about Squarcialupi, man *or* myth. The volume containing this entry appeared in 1844. Three years later an Italian composer, lawyer and journalist named Luigi Ferdinando Casamorata published, in the *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano*, an article on Squarcialupi written because 'Fétis speaks in a way that demands clarification and correction'.[117] Casamorata proceeds to make some corrections, pointing out that Squarcialupi, if he was a friend of Lorenzo born in 1448 (*recte* 1449), could not have died in 1430; he must have been organist at the cathedral for years after its consecration in 1435 (*recte* 1436) and could not have died before 1470 (Antonio died in 1480). Fétis's statement that the portrait bust was lost is also called wrong; Casamorata cites the account of Parenti on the bust being taken down 'in odio dei Medici' in 1495, to be restored, but not in its original place under the organ, upon the return of the Medici to Florence, but rather on the north wall of the nave. Following Richa (*Notizie istoriche delle chiese di Firenze*), Casamorata attributes the bust to Benedetto da Maiano; he adds, on his own but doubtless correctly, that the bust was commissioned by Lorenzo, who also wrote the

l'orgue, naquit à Florence, dans le seconde moitié du quatorzième siècle. Laurent le Magnifique le prit à son service comme l'un de plus fameux organistes, et peut-être le plus habile de son temps. Squarcialupi fut aussi organiste de la cathédrale de Florence. Il mourut en 1430. Gérard Jean Vossius, que nous fournit cette date [*De univ. math. nature et constit.* Cap. 60, §14, pag. 551], ajoute que le Sénat de Florence honora la mémoire de l'artiste célèbre en plaçant son buste avec un inscription honorable, rapporté par Poccianti [*Catal. scriptor. florentin., pag. 15*]. Le buste a disparu, mais Burney retrouva l'inscription en 1770, lorsqu'il visita Florence; elle est ainsi conçue: "Multum profecto . . . monumentum donavit". On n'a rien retrouvé, jusqu'à ce jour, des compositions de cet artiste célèbre.'

[117] L. F. Casamorata, 'Antonio Squarcialupi', *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano*, 6/48 (4 Dec. 1847), pp. 378–9. The article is part of a series (running through a number of issues) of 'Studj bibliografico-biografici sui musicisti toscani'.

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Squarcialupi epitaph (he proceeds to give the epitaph, predictably after the version of Poccianti).

Fétis's remark about no compositions by Squarcialupi having as yet been found is answered by the astute comment that it is useless to search for these because we can tell from what his contemporaries said about him (in the 'Anthology', probably) that Squarcialupi was not a composer but rather a superb performer.[118] Casamorata continues by saying that the 'error' of thinking Antonio to have been a composer goes back to Negri (1722), who wrote 'un libro di musiche dello Squarcialupi si conservava a suo tempo nella libraria palatina di Firenze'.[119]

Casamorata went to the Biblioteca Laurenziana and looked up the manuscript, of which he proudly gives the call number. Negri was wrong; manuscript 87 'non aveva di lui [Squarcialupi] neppure una nota' (did not include even a note of his) but is instead a collection of music by 'antichi scrittori', collected (he does not say copied) and owned by Antonio. A good description of the manuscript, 'very neatly written on six-line staves, with *segni musicografici* (notation) in use in its time', is accompanied by a list of its composers, said to be, if one excepts Landini, 'lost from the records of music history'.[120] Even the decorated pages are described, including *vignette* 'appropriate to the subject of the piece'.

Concluding a study of the manuscript more thorough than that made by many a subsequent viewer of the Squarcialupi Codex, Casamorata speaks of the poems forming what we have called the Squarcialupi 'Anthology', citing Squarcialupi's statement of ownership, written in 'carrattere gotico molto grande', then Raffaele Bonamici's smaller and more 'modern' text ('Anthology', no. 2) – though without naming its addressee, Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici – and some of the poets, concluding that these texts, written

[118] *Ibid.*, p. 379: 'Soggiunge poi che per quante ricerche si sien fatte, non è riuscito rintracciare le opere di questo maestro. Intorno a che mi pare si potranno cercare un pezzo e sempre inutilmente, perchè dai sincroni scrittori che parlano dello Squarcialupi si rileva che fu desso non un compositore, ma un suonatore abilissimo.'

[119] Casamorata adds that a note by Salvino Salvini says that the seventeenth-century cathedral organist Nigetti at one time owned the manuscript, after which it passed to the library. On this see above, 'Squarcialupi: The Name, the Codex'.

[120] 'opera di maestri dei quali, se si eccettua il Landino, si è perduta nella storia della musica la ricordanza'.

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'in gran parte' on the death of Squarcialupi, were perhaps added by Raffaele himself.

This is an extraordinary little article; it not only makes up for Fétis's errors and deficiencies, but goes some distance towards replacing myth – shown to be fiction – with fact. Yet Casamorata is not – unlike, the reader might say, his less kind successors, the present writers – out to debunk, much less to denigrate, his subject. He not only accepts Squarcialupi's excellence in performance as a thing beyond question, but restates some of the prime elements of the myth, citing Migliore on Antonio's fame having attracted visitors from afar (the Livy story introduced by Landino) and on his having been a descendant of the great Lombard family of the Squarcialupi, feudal lords in the Val d'Elsa.

It seems odd that Casamorata does not mention Angelo Maria Bandini, whose careful description of the Squarcialupi Codex precedes his by more than fifty years. He later made up for the omission, mentioning 'le savent chanoine Bandini' with approval in a short article on Squarcialupi in the *Supplément* volume of the second edition of the *Biographie universelle*. Fétis himself wrote a new article, citing Casamorata and incorporating most of the latter's corrections and amplifications while trying to keep as much of his first attempt as possible.[121]

Not much progress in research on Squarcialupi can be observed in the later nineteenth century. The foremost music historian of the period, A. W. Ambros (1816–76), gives a somewhat muddled picture of Antonio in his five-volume *Geschichte der Musik* (the last two issued posthumously), which began to appear in 1862. In the second volume, under the rubric 'Dufay und seine Zeit', he tells us that in early fifteenth-century Florence, eager for music to equal the other arts, people accepted the intricacies of what we have been calling the *ars subtilior* because there was nothing better around.[122] Squarcialupi (now dated *c.* 1430–70) was their pride, eagerly listened to by people from as far away as England and the remotest

[121] *Biographie universelle*, 2nd edn, 10 vols. (1860–5; repr. Paris, 1873–80), viii, p. 101. Casamorata's new piece, 'Antonio Squarcialupi', x, pp. 538–9, adds emphasis, unfortunately incorrect, to two of his earlier points, namely that Antonio as a member of the great Squarcialupi clan had no need to be 'aux gages à un Médicis', and that great credit is due Squarcialupi for having taken the trouble to have 'his' Codex copied and illuminated.

[122] A. W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, ii, ed. H. Reimann (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 527–8.

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northern regions (Landino's Livy story, cited by Ambros). Lorenzo's epitaph and Antonio's bust are mentioned.[123] Then fantasy takes over; Maestro Antonio's 'Orgelphantasieen' have long since vanished, but we would be wrong to think them to have been modest or even primitive; we need only remember the less than a century more recent *fantasie* and *ricercari* of Willaert and Rore. A mysterious footnote to this last observation tells us that written, worked-out ('niedergeschriebene, gearbeitete') compositions of Squarcialupi survive in Florence and will be discusssed in volume 3.

In volume 3 Ambros forgets about the written compositions (he was probably thinking of Negri's claim) but, in the midst of a discussion of the frottola, returns to take up the poetic 'anthology' in the Squarcialupi manuscript, which he sees as the result of a competition in which Lorenzo de' Medici took the prize.[124] Some poems are cited, and the composers of the Squarcialupi Codex are listed. The manuscript, like its 'analogue' in Paris (BNF, f. it. 568), gives a good picture of Italian Trecento music. This last remark, made earlier by Fétis, confirms what one has been suspecting: Ambros based these pages, in both volumes, on the *Biographie universelle*, adding little from other sources and providing little useful imaginative speculation.

Otto Kade (1819–1900), one of Ambros's posthumous editors, wrote a biographical notice on Squarcialupi (1885) which has been frequently cited, including mention in the 1891 edition of the Ambros *Geschichte der Musik*.[125] Beginning by calling Squarcialupi the 'ersten bedeutenden Orgelspieler', Kade laments the lack of 'Notendokumente' (musical compositions) attributed to him but says there is no doubt that this lacuna will in time be filled (p. 1). At the end of his study Kade refers, by way of Casamorata, to Negri's claim (which Casamorata labels as mistaken) that the Palatine library held *two* manuscripts connected with Squarcialupi, one of them containing his own compositions. Kade accepts Negri's account and feels that 'the music' will soon turn up (p. 18).

[123] The portrait bust of Antonio, which Ambros evidently saw, is described as 'unschönes', with a bad hairdo (p. 528 n.).

[124] *Geschichte der Musik*, iii, 2nd edn, ed. O. Kade (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 482–3.

[125] O. Kade, 'Biographisches zu Antonio Squarcialupi, dem Florentiner Organist im xv. Jahrhunderts', *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, 17 (1885), pp. 1–7, 13–19. Kade's article is mentioned in Ambros, *Geschichte*, ii (1891 edn), p. 528.

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In between these bookends of optimism Kade's article is devoted chiefly to citing and puzzling over the contents of Gaye's *Carteggio* of 1439–40 (the two letters by Antonio and the material on Antonio di Rainerii Squarcialupi, which Kade blithely redates in an effort to get it into our Antonio's lifespan). Nineteenth-century German musicology did not serve Antonio, man or myth, well.[126]

A considerable improvement may be seen early in the next century, in Johannes Wolf's discussion of the Codex, properly labelled by him as Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana Pal. 87 (Kade, p. 18, placed the manuscript in the Riccardiana Library).[127] Wolf gives an accurate account,accompanied by a full transcription, of the Squarcialupi 'Anthology', followed by a list of the Codex's composers and an alphabetical list of its contents. He was to go on, of course, to prepare a modern edition of the whole manuscript, left incomplete at his death and published in 1955.

It is not surprising that nineteenth-century writers – even as they learnt more about the facts, meagre as they are, of the life of a figure such as Squarcialupi – were reluctant to part with any of the myths about him. A distinguished if half-hidden ancestry; possession of virtuoso skills that commanded the attention of the world; close friendship with the great Guillaume Dufay – these are Romantic touches that only the most hard-headed of scholars would want to dismiss. In the twentieth century this would all change, or so one might expect.

This turns out to be true only in part. We owe a great deal, as we said at the beginning of this study, to scholars who have taken a special interest in Antonio Squarcialupi, especially Luigi Parigi, Bianca Becherini, Frank D'Accone and Gabriele Giacomelli.[128] They assembled a great deal of factual information; without the help of their work we would have had a difficult time accounting for the man Antonio degli organi. In some respects, such as a detailed listing of payment records, they give a good deal more information – especially Becherini and D'Accone – than we do; thus we repeat that those readers not too exhausted by reading these pages should consult their writings on the subject. Nonetheless, as our own work

[126] Kade's work (as well as that of Gaye) is criticised by the quick-moving F. X. Haberl, *Wilhelm du Fay* (Bausteine für Musikgeschichte, 1; Leipzig, 1885), p. 40 n.
[127] Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation*, 228–33.
[128] See above, n. 6.

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proceeded and a certain revisionist quality came to pervade it, we were surprised to find that all these scholars accepted the myth of Antonio Squarcialupi as essentially true, even on occasion adding bits and pieces to it.

In one particular this is an unfair statement. Bianca Becherini more or less demolishes, albeit with reluctance, the claim that Antonio degli organi actually belonged to the Squarcialupi family.[129] At certain points she seems to be writing with a revisionist intent of her own, more so than any of the other writers mentioned above; but she always falls back into the comfortable acceptance of the myth.

Does it matter that scholars have continued to be respectful of the Squarcialupi image? After all, we are no longer so sure, these days, of finding our way to or even defining the Truth. In trying to separate fact from fiction we nonetheless think that we set ourselves a useful task. An example might help to illustrate this. Doris Carl, in the very informative article cited frequently in these pages, writes on the portrait busts created for Santa Maria del Fiore as implementation of a programme to commemorate Florentine *uomini illustri*.[130] The achievements of Brunelleschi and Giotto speak, eloquently, for themselves; but Antonio degli organi? It is possible that Carl had never heard of him when she began her study, and yet she had no difficulty accepting him as *illustre*. She characterises Brunelleschi as the creator of the great domed cupola of the cathedral, Giotto as *capomastro* of the fabric (and designer of its campanile), and Antonio as one who 'worked there for a long time as organist' (p. 129). Her chief authority is Frank D'Accone, whom she quotes as saying that Antonio was 'the most eminent figure of a Florentine musician in his century', and also as emphasising his 'enormous influence in forming the musical taste of the Medici, especially of the young Lorenzo the Magnificent'.[131] In accepting this view Carl risks

[129] Becherini, 'Antonio Squarcialupi e il codice Mediceo Palatino 87', esp. pp. 148–51.

[130] Carl, 'Il ritratto commemorativo di Giotto di Benedetto da Maiano nel Duomo di Firenze'.

[131] *Ibid.*, pp. 129–30, n. 5. Carl cites D'Accone's 'Antonio Squarcialupi alla luce di documenti inediti', p. 20, and also his 'Lorenzo il Magnifico e la musica', in P. Gargiulo (ed.), *La musica a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico* (Florence, 1993), pp. 219–48. D'Accone is in fact the most enthusiastic supporter of the Squarcialupi myth among modern scholars (while at the same time the provider of much useful information about Antonio). In passing we might say that in the opinion of Quattrocento Florentines the person considered the most distinguished musician of the century would most likely have been Antonio di Guido (cf. the opinion of Michele del Giogante expressed in Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana 2729, fol. 74^{r}, where he refers

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understating, even misinterpreting, the role of Lorenzo de' Medici in fostering a myth, making a Great Man out of a workaday musician. Other examples could be cited, but with this we are content to rest our case.

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to the great *improvvisatore* as 'nobile viro mº antonio di musica e di canto in firenze', a *musicus* as well as a *cantor* because he excelled in both theory and practice).

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APPENDIX 1
Antonio degli organi: A Biographical Outline

No.	*Date*	*Remarks*	*Source*
1	1416: 27 Mar.	born in Florence, son of Bartolomeo di Giovanni becchaio	Becherini, doc. 1; ASF, *Libri d'età*, 39, fol. 121^{r}
2	1420: 26 Mar.	'spesi et detti a Meo becchaio detto Besso'	ASF, S. Trinita, *Deb. & cred., 1416–32*, fol. 26^{v}; D'Accone 1966, p. 6
3	1426: 24 Dec.	'di pigliare a credentia da Meo di Giovanni detto Besso becchaio'	ASF, S. Trinita, *ibid.*, fol. 31^{v}; D'Accone 1966, p. 6
4	1431: 19 Jan.	hired as organist at Orsanmichele, from 1 Nov. 1430	ASF, Orsanmichele vol. 62, fol. 22^{v}; D'Accone 1966, p. 11
5	1432: Dec.	Matteo da Prato hired to build organ in cathedral	Poggi, no. 913
6	1432: 3 Dec.	played the organ in the cathedral for 6 months ending 7 Oct.	SMDF, II-4-4, fol. 44^{r}; D'Accone 1966, p. 8
7	1433–6	played the organ; periods of 3–6 months; after that, longer contracts	SMDF, *ibid.*, fols. 44^{v}–45^{r}; *Quaderni Cassa*, various volumes; D'Accone 1966, pp. 8–10
8	1436–80	member of the Compagnia di S. Zanobi	communication from Blake Wilson (cf. Florence, BNC Magl. XXV. 401, p. 41); Becherini, doc. 13; Wilson, pp. 92–101
9	1436: 9 May	Matteo da Prato given money to be transmitted to Bart. di Giov. becchaio detto Besso	ASF, Corp. rel. sop. 78, vol. 1, fol. 312^{v}; D'Accone 1966, p. 14
10	1437: Apr.	Matteo da Prato and Luca della Robbia paid to work on organ and cantoria	Poggi, no. 925
11	1438: Feb.	Antonio goes to Volterra to escape plague; his salary is docked	SMDF, *Stanz.* II-4-16, fol. 26^{v}; Giacomelli, p. 258
12	1438: Mar.	sacristy wall breached to mount cantoria	Poggi, no. 1280
13	1442: 17 July	'industria et virtute' of Antonio praised, with hope of 'di bona in melius'	SMDF, *Delib.* II-2-4, fol. 122^{r}; *Allog.* I-I-4, fol. 19^{v}; Giacomelli, pp. 263–4

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14	1443	'Ant. Bart. Jo. Squar.[?] Lisa Iuliani Fei alla gabella'	Florence, BNC Magl. XXVI. 31, p. 155; Becherini, docs. 6, 14; cf. Parigi, p. 52
15	1444: Nov.	'Lionardo di Bart. vocato di Besso sonatore di organi' at Badia (brother of Antonio)	ASF, Corp. rel. sop. 78, vol. 77, fol. 244^{r}; D'Accone 1966, p. 7
16	1445: Mar.–Apr.	in Medicean *brigata*	ASF, MAP letters; Haar
17	1445	Ant. del Besso borrows (and repays) money from Giovanni de' Medici	ASF, MAP v, 584, 592
18	1448: Feb.	*collaudo* of great organ in cathedral; Antonio plays twice	Poggi, no. 1398; Giacomelli, pp. 264–6
19	[1450 or earlier]	Antonio's father, Bartolomeo, dies	
20	1450: Feb.	given leave (a month); goes to Naples in March	SMDF, VII-1-14, fol. 23^{r}; D'Accone 1966, pp. 15–16
21	1450: Nov.	Antonio returns to Florence (Oct.), writes to Giovanni de' Medici	ASF, MAP viii, 131; Becherini, doc. 24
22	1451	Antonio and his mother are listed in a tax assessment of 1450 (1451 Catasto)	ASF, Catasto 712, no. 735 (S. Giovanni; Leon d'Oro); Becherini, doc. 5
23	1451: June	Antonio has *organetto* carried to SS. Annunziata	ASF, SSA, EU, vol. 689, fol. 130^{v}; D'Accone 1961, doc. 15
24	1453: 18 June	taken into Guild of Beccai, to which his father had belonged (Antonio applied in 1451)	ASF, Beccai, Provvisioni 144, fol. 23$^{r–v}$
25	1455: 28 June	Antonio given leave to accompany Giovanni de' Medici to Milan	SMDF, *Delib.* II-1-93, fol. 31^{v}; Giacomelli, p. 266
26	[1456]	Dufay letter to Medici brothers, mentioning an 'Antoine'	ASF, MAP xvi, 67
27	1457	in Catasto, Antonio still living in house acquired by his father in 1429, lists his wife Lisa and five daughters	ASF, Catasto 820, no. 180; Becherini, doc. 6. Further on his children, see below, no. 29
28	1457	Antonio listed as 'Antonio di Bartolomeo Squarcialupi'	SMDF VIII-1-16, fol. 29^{r}; see D'Accone 1966, pp. 9–10
29	1457–60	sons born to 'Antonio . . . schuar/squarcialupi'	SMDF, Reg. Batt. June 1457, Sept. 1458, June 1460
30	1467: 1 May	Antonio writes to Dufay (on behalf of Piero de' Medici)	ASF, MAP xxii, 122; Becherini, doc. 25

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No.	*Date*	*Remarks*	*Source*
31	1468: Feb.	letter of F. Martelli to Lorenzo de' Medici, referring to Dufay (indirectly) and Antonio	ASF, MAP xx, 265
32	[1469]	letter of J. Marvilla to Lorenzo de' Medici	ASF, MAP cxxxvii, 812; Becherini 1941, pp. 98–101
33	1470: Feb.	Napoleone, an otherwise unknown son of Antonio, receives money on his father's account	SMDF, *Quaderni Cassa* VIII-1-51, fol. 30^{r}; Giacomelli, p. 267
34	1474: Feb.	Antonio called 'Antonio del Bessa' in Milanese letter	Sartori, pp. 62–3
35	1477: 17 Oct.	letter of Poliziano to Lorenzo de' Medici, mentioning Antonio	ASF, MAP xxxv, 851
36	1479: 7 July	Antonio's will(?), referred to by his son Francesco in Catasto of 1498	ASF, Catasto, Decima Repubb. 26, fol. 761$^{r–v}$; Becherini, doc. 8
37	1480	Antonio dies; buried in S. Lorenzo (6 July)	ASF, *Med. e Spez.* 246, fol. 53^{r}; Becherini, doc. 2
38	1480	Antonio survived by wife, two sons (Francesco and Giovan-Battista) aged 24 and 19, and a daughter living at home (and several married daughters)	ASF, Catasto 1015, fol. 626^{r}; Becherini, doc. 7

ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS:
Becherini = 'Antonio Squarcialupi e il codice mediceo palatino 87' (see n. 6)
Becherini 1941 = 'Relazioni di musici fiamminghi' (see n. 27)
D'Accone 1961 = 'The Singers of San Giovanni' (n. 14)
D'Accone 1966 = 'Antonio Squarcialupi alla luce di documenti inediti' (see n. 6)
Giacomelli = 'Nuove giunte alla biografia di Antonio Squarcialupi' (see n. 6)
Haar = 'The Vatican manuscript Urb. lat. 1411' (see n. 15)
Parigi = *Laurentiana* (see n. 6)
Poggi = *Il Duomo di Firenze* (see n. 9)
Sartori = 'Organs, Organ-Builders' (see n. 4)
Wilson = *Music and Merchants* (see n. 13)

APPENDIX 2
Poems in Honour of Antonio Squarcialupi

Source: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Med. Pal. 87, fols. 1–2v[1]

fol. [1]
1. Questo libro è di m° Antonio schuarcialupi horganisto in sancta maria del fiore.

This book belongs to Maestro Antonio Squarcialupi, organist in Santa Maria del Fiore.

fol. [1]v
2. Raph. de bonamicis Francisci ant[i] squarcialupi organiste nepos.

Si R[mo] Car[li] de Med. Organa Antonij Squarcialupi avi mei grata excitere non minoris puto fore librum hunc Juliano fratri suo optimo. Vade igitur liber, & in eiusdem bibliotecam te confer meque & meos sibi & familiae sue commenda.

Raffaello de' Bonamici, great-nephew of Francesco di Antonio Squarcialupi, organist.

If the organ of my great-uncle Antonio Squarcialupi was pleasing to the Most Reverend Cardinal de' Medici, no less do I think that this book should be valued by Giuliano, his excellent brother. Go therefore, book, and in his library bestow on me and mine the favour of him and his family.

fol. [2]
3. *Laur. Med. in laudem Magistri Ant[i] Squarcialupi*[2]

Farete insieme o Musici lamento
Sopra il vostro immortale hoggi sepolto
Morte si scusa & dice io ve lo tolto
Per far piu lieto il ciel' col suo concento.
O quanto lume spense un picciol vento
Il dì che fu da l'human velo sciolto
Ma lieto si partì contento molto
Che Morte ove è virtù non da spavento.

[1] We are most grateful to Leofranc Holford-Strevens, who read through these texts and our translations of them, quietly correcting a number of errors and making some valuable suggestions. We made one change in the manuscript order of poems, placing no. 9, Naldo Naldi's short poem, before two closely related texts by Michele Marullo.

[2] The poem is not by Lorenzo but by Bernardo Bellincioni; see above, pp. 133–4.

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Dovransi quei che tardi saran nati
All'età di Costui che in ciel s'honora
Ne forse il meritò la gente antica
Gloria adunque è di noi, pero sian grati
Che si dirà doppo mille anni anchora
Natura a quell'età fu pure amica.

Lorenzo de' Medici in praise of M^o Antonio Squarcialupi
O musicians, lament as one
Over your immortal, buried today.
Death makes excuse, saying 'I have taken him away
To gladden heaven with his music'.
How great a light a tiny wind snuffed out
The day he was stripped of his human veil,
But he left greatly happy
Since death where there is *virtù* has no terror.
Those who are born later shall be
In debt to the age of him who is honoured in heaven
Nor perhaps did the ancients deserve it.
Glory is ours since we are grateful
For it will be said, after a thousand years more,
Even nature was friend to that age.

4. *Gent. Epis*
Organa quae resonant te quam testudo Philippum
Squarcialupe Antoni sculperis hoc lapide.

Gentile Becchi
The music which resounds of you, like the domed vault of Filippo,
You, Antonio Squarcialupi, will carve out on this stone.

5. *Mar. Fic.*
Quisquis exanimem me putas imaginem, falleris. Tantum enim adhuc spiritus mihi superest, ut mira haec fistularum structura, quem supra caput loquentem audis, afflatu meo quotidie resonet.

Marsilio Ficino
Any of you who think me a lifeless image, you deceive yourselves. For so much of my soul yet survives that the wondrous fabric of pipes, which you hear speaking above my head, resonates every day with my spirit.

6. *Ang. Pol.*
Jure novas talem Florentia marmore Civem
Namque diu templi vox fuit ille tui

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Doctus inaequales digitis, & flamine cannas
In vix credendos pene animare modos?
Quae non diverso, gens huc properabat ab orbe,
Ut biberet dulcem carminis aure sonum?
Sed licet is numeros omnes impleverit artis
Sola tamen summum gratia rara facit.

Angelo Poliziano

Justly do you raise up, Florence, such a citizen in marble,
For so long was he the voice of your temple.
Expert, could he not animate the unequal reeds with his fingers and
By blowing, into melodies scarce to be believed?
What kind of people, from whatever varied orbit, did not hurry hither
So they could drink with their ears the sweet sound of his music?
But even as he satisfied all the laws of his art,
Yet only [his] rare grace makes him a supreme figure.

7. *Bart. Sca.*

Amphion lapides cantu styga moverat Orpheus
Incurvos delphinas Arion
Praedocte Antoni traxere in carmina cannae
Sic homines, sic numina Divum.

Bartolomeo Scala

Amphion moved rocks with song, Orpheus moved Styx,
Arion moved the curved dolphins.
For the knowing Antonio the reeds draw out into song;
So human, so godly powers.

8. *Laur. Med.*

Multum profecto debet Musica Antonio squarcialupo Organistae. is [e]n[im] ita arti gratiam coniunxit: Ut quartam sibi viderentur charites musicam ascivisse sororem. Florentina Civitas grati animi officium rata eius memoriam propagare cui manus saepe mortales in dulcem admirationem adduxerat, Civi suo monumentum posuit.

Lorenzo de' Medici

Music indeed owes much to Antonio Squarcialupi, Organist, for he has so joined grace to art, that the Graces seem to have taken music as a fourth sister among them. The Florentine state, deeming it a mark of grateful spirit to sow firmly the seed of his memory, has placed a monument to the citizen whose hand had often led mortals into sweet admiration.

9. *Nal. Nal.*

Non tot carminibus citharaque coegerat Orpheus
Ad Cantum rabidas flectere corda feras.

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Antoni poterus quot delectare virorum
Organa tam docta sunt tibi pulsa manu.

Naldo Naldi

Not with so many songs and the cithara did Orpheus
Draw wild beasts to bow down before his music.
You, Antonio, have been able to delight men;
Such learned music comes from the pulsing of your hand[s].

10. *Mic. Marul.*

Olim superbus pane devicto Rhodum
Qui temperat phebus suum
Timoli [*sic*] canebat iudicis sententiam
Jussumque caedere Archada:
Cum Squarcelupi voce perculsus
Ingemuit ad cannae sonus
Vicesque rerum questus heu vici deos
Nunc caedo ait mortalibus.

Michele Marullo

Once proud Apollo, who rules his own Rhodes, proud of having defeated Pan,
Sang to Tmolus and tempered the verdict of the judge
And the order to slay the Arcadian.
When Squarcialupi having proceeded with a new voice
He [Apollo] groaned at the sounds of reeds,
Lamenting the change of things, said
'Alas, I have conquered gods, and now I give way to mortals'.

11. *Mic. Marul.*

Victor timoli Delius sententia
Iactabat argutum chelin.
Aurem repente voce perculsus nova
Cum gemuit ad cannas lupi.

Michele Marullo

The Delian [Apollo], victor in the judgment of Tmolus,
Was boasting of his clear-voiced lyre,
When suddenly smitten in the ear by a novel sound,
He groaned at [Squarcia]lupi's reeds.

12. *Bar. Rigo.*

Qui sonitus caelo quondam deduxit ab alto
Organa qui docuit doctius arte loqui

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Cuius in articulos adeo se gratia fudit
  Gratior ut toto non foret orbe sonus
Illius hic merito posuit florentia Civis
  Squarcialupi Antoni marmoris effigiem.

Bartolomeo Rigogli

He who once drew down sounds from the high heavens,
  Who showed music how, with art, to speak in more cultivated tones,
Through whose fingers, moreover, grace poured itself forth,
  So that a more graceful sound should not make itself heard in all the world.
In this place a citizen of Florence has justly placed
  A likeness in marble of him, Antonio Squarcialupi.

13. *Lip. Bran.*

Marmorea spectas nostrum sub imagine vultum
  Nostra magis fuerat suspicienda manus
fol. [2^{v}]
Hac ergo sidereas parili discrimine voces
  Expressi aetherem aere imitante sonos
Musarum archonos phebeo e vertice cantus
  Deduxi aeque ipsas in nova templa deas
Hac tristes animi potui depellere curas
  Compulit innumerus nostra venire manus.
Quin etiam caelo capti nostra arte relicto
  Ad sua consuerunt sacra venire dei
Sed quando humanis fato est meta addita rebus
  Urbs quem audire nequit grata videre cupit.
Nostrum igitur spectas manuum pro munere vultum
  Saxa animum nequerunt reddere musa refert.

Lippo Brandolini

You gaze at my face under the marble image;
  It would have been better for you to look at my hand[s],
With which I expressed heavenly voices with just discrimination,
  Imitating ethereal sounds with air.
I drew down arcane song from the Apollonian summit of the Muses and the goddesses themselves, to new sanctuaries.
Here I could drive out the sad cares of the spirit
  And in wondrous ways hold the hearts of men.
For here or from the ends of the earth
  Could my hand[s] draw countless ears to come nearby.

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Indeed the gods, captivated by my art,
  Will have united in coming, heaven left behind, to this sacred place.
But when, in the destiny of man the measure of things was reached,
  The grateful city, could it no longer hear, wished to see him;
Therefore look at my face in place of the hands.
  Stone cannot reflect the soul; this is the office of the Muses.

14. *Fran. Ghiac.*
Qui sim non refero plenius exprimit
  Quae supra caput est, fistula multiplex.
Tantum hoc: si careant pectora spiritu
  An canna haec tumidum nubila verberet?

Francesco Diacceto
Who I may be, I do not give away;
  This manifold set of pipes above my head expresses me more fully.
So much for that. If the breast is lacking in breath,
  Can this gloomy reed still lash to a frenzy?

15. *Bart. Pacci.*
Mirum est o lector quod non ut memnonis antrum
  Antoni resonent marmora Squarcialupi
Huius enim digitis lenibant dira furorem
  Sed magis hoc constat complacuisse deo.
Intonuit caelum nam quando Juppiter ardens,
  Intonuit sacra organa victor abit.

Bartolomeo Pazzi (Pucci?)[3]
It is wonderful, o reader, that not as at the cave of Memnon
  Do the marble features of Antonio Squarcialupi resonate.
For the fingers of this one softened dread wrath,
  But rather did he arrange to be pleasing to god.
For when the blazing Jupiter thundered the heavens,
  He sounded the organ in the sacred places, emerging the victor.

ANTONIO SQUARCIALUPO PATRIA MONUMENTUM VIRTUTIS

TO ANTONIO SQUARCIALUPI: THE STATE [PLACES] A MONUMENT TO HIS SKILL

16. *Marcell.*
Qui poterant duras calamis Antonius aures
  Et mulcere virum tristia corda meis

[3] On Pazzi (Pacci) vs. Pucci see above, pp. 139–40.

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Qui poteram omnigenos animi componere motus
  Hic prope culta mihi est organa in urbe locus.
Quosque his demulsi totiens hic vocibus hic me
  Marmoreum grati constituere patres.
Felix me populus cantante, beatior hoc sed
  Ipse loco, auritum si mihi marmor erat.
Vive hospes cantuque animum nunc pasce superstes
  Obiecta haec nobis invidet Orcus humo.

Marcello Virgilio Adriani

[I], Antonio, who could soften harsh ears
  And soothe the sad hearts of men with my pipes,
Who could set in order the spiritual motions of all sorts of men,
  Here, near the elegant organ in my place in the city,
Here these sounds of pipes are often produced, and here
  Grateful fathers have placed me in marble likeness.
I am happy, the people singing to me
  Here, though my ear has become marble.
Live, surviving guests, and feed your spirit with song;
  Pluto, down below, envies these things by casting dirt upon them.

17. *Micha. Divi Ruffilli*

Dulcisonae virtus artis cum summa charisque
  Antoni digitis ingenioque forent,
Orpheus, edocuit quem sese musica, nec non
  Dircaeus vates, Zethus et ipse Linus,
Inventorque Lyrae, Terpander, Phoebus, Arion,
  Musae, Pan, Damon conticuere diu,
Cedentes modulis quos hinc tunc arte magistri
  Flabam: subter me cuius imago fuit
Marmorea egregiis post mortem civibus illi
  Facta, malis noctu dempta sed inde viris
Invidia: sed restat honos et vocibus hymnos
  Organicis caelo personat aede meis.

Michele d'Alessio di Papi

The supreme worth and grace of sweet-sounding art
  Spoke in the mind and fingers of Antonio,
Orpheus, who taught himself as did the
  Dircean seer [Amphion], Zethus and Linus himself,
Terpander, inventor of the lyre, Phoebus, Arion,
  The Muses, Pan, Damon long kept silent,
[All] giving way to the music which we [pipes] then sounded through the
    art of the master.

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Below [the organ] my image, which was there, after my death,
Made in marble by distinguished citizens, was taken
Away from there at night by men
Out of envy; but honor remains, and causes hymns
With my organal voices from the heavens to resound in my abode.

18. *Idem*

Musica quicquid habet sonitus charitosque magistri
Antoni articulis ingenioque dedit.
Cuius cum vitae rupissent fila sorores
Organicae vocis mutiit omne melos.
Et iacet tumulum Florentia crine soluto
Harmonia civis quod caret illa sui.
Sic placitum superis ut caelo personet hymnos
Musica sub saxo denique muta gemit.

The same

Music of whatever kind has sound;
It added the Graces through the fingers and ingenuity of master Antonio.
When the thread of his life was cut by the Sisters,
Every melody of his organal voice was silenced.
And Florence, her hair unbound, lies by his tomb,
Since she is without his harmony.
Thus the gods resolved that he shall play hymns in heaven,
Music, at the end, groans mutely beneath the stone.

ANTONIO SQUARCIALUPO ORGANISTAE CIVES POSUERE

TO ANTONIO SQUARCIALUPI, ORGANIST, CITIZENS PLACE [THIS MONUMENT]

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