

FELICE FELICIANO *ANTIQUARIUS*

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FOUR years ago Mr. Bernard Ashmole delighted the Academy with a lecture in this series on Ciriaco d'Ancona—that genial, loquacious, eccentric, early Renaissance antiquary on whom our knowledge of so many lost Greek and Latin inscriptions, and not a few other monuments, depends.¹ Professor Ashmole's question was the fundamental one, which has exercised critical scholars since the sixteenth century, as to Cyriac's fidelity as a recorder of classical antiquities; and he answered it with a new precision by concentrating on the evidence of drawings. Most of Cyriac's once voluminous autograph papers have vanished, but by analysing copies and derivatives of his original drawings of certain monuments and sites in Athens, Rome, and elsewhere, Professor Ashmole was able to demonstrate that Cyriac himself, though often travestied by his copyists, was on the whole a singularly faithful witness to what he in fact saw in the course of his indefatigable travels.² On that basis I propose to discuss now the work of Cyriac's most devoted early disciple, a man touched with something of his master's fantastical enthusiasm for the relics of 'sacrosanct antiquity' who bore a name no less euphonious: Felice Feliciano—*Felix Antiquarius*—of Verona.

Cyriac died about 1455 after a life-time of arduous first-hand discoveries. Felice too was a traveller, though a less adventurous one, with a fair number of original finds to his credit; but his main work was done not on the sites but in his scriptorium—a scriptorium (if that is not too grand a term to apply to his simple studio) which was in fact the most important collecting and disseminating point of Cyriacan epigraphical matter in the third quarter of the *quattrocento*. We shall therefore be drawn rather deeper into the notoriously perilous vortex of the Cyriacan

¹ 'Cyriac of Ancona', *Proc. of the Brit. Acad.*, xlv, 1959, pp. 25-41.

² But cf. Edward W. Bodnar, S.J., *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, Brussels (Latomus XLIII), 1960, pp. 139-42, who somewhat qualifies this conclusion with regard to the Athenian inscriptions.

manuscript-tradition than Professor Ashmole was, but I hope to keep our heads above water by sticking again to the evidence of drawings. What I have to say falls into three parts. First I shall review what we know of Felice's life—a story that must remain somewhat sketchy and provisional until his mostly unpublished letters and poems are properly edited.¹ Then I shall illustrate the character, range, and variety of Felice's handiwork as a scribe, drawing attention especially to a number of books he wrote or embellished for his friend and fellow antiquary Giovanni Marcanova which include an epigraphical codex of quite exceptional splendour. Thirdly—my principal topic—I shall consider Felice's procedures as an antiquary, first noticing one or two cardinal documents that attest his close ties and elective affinity with Cyriac, and then going on to examine the part he played in transmitting the records of surviving inscribed stones and monuments from Verona, his native city. This will show us how Felice administered and handed on part at least of Cyriac's legacy.

Felice Feliciano² was born in Verona in August 1433, the son of Guglielmo, an official of the wine-excise in Verona who had migrated from Reggio some ten or fifteen years earlier, and of Caterina his wife. He had a much older brother Bernabò, who was born in Reggio,³ and a sister Masina who married Bartolomeo Magnini, a notary in Verona.

We have no direct record of Felice's early career, but an official document of 1466 styles him 'scriptor', the regular title of a professional scribe with humanistic qualifications. As we possess expertly written manuscripts of his going back to 1458—and there may well be earlier ones not yet identified—we may fairly safely presume that Felice was trained as a scribe from the start, after an education in Latin and possibly a smattering

¹ Dr. G. Mardersteig has a critical edition of Felice's letters and poems in preparation.

² On Feliciano see especially H. Mardersteig, 'Nuovi documenti su Felice Feliciano da Verona', *La Bibliofilia*, xli, 1939, pp. 102-10; Laura Pratilli, 'Felice Feliciano alla luce dei suoi codici', *Atti del R. Ist. Veneto di scienze*, etc. xcix, 1939-40, pp. 33-105; Felice Feliciano, *Alphabetum Romanum*, ed. G. Mardersteig, Verona (Officina Bodoni), 1960. This lecture was written before the last-named book came into my hands, but I have taken advantage of it in the footnotes.

³ Cf. Felice's letter to his brother dated 'Bononie xxiiij Capricornij 1472' in B.M. Harley 5271, f. 26v: '... in questa mia eta de XL^{ta} anni e tu nei LXIII^o'.

of Greek. He was also, from his early days, a poet and man of letters in his own right, a companion of artists and a passionate lover of antiquity; a fertile composer in prose and verse, Italian and Latin, who never missed a chance to parade his wit, his brilliant penmanship, and school-tag erudition to amuse a friend or catch the fancy of a likely patron. His earliest autograph anthology of verses, dated 1460, contains a sonnet to his much admired friend Mantegna, who was by then about the Mantuan court, begging him to put him in touch with Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, a notable employer of fine scribes.¹ Whether the plea was successful we cannot say, for no book of the Cardinal's in Felice's hand has turned up. But Felice soon found another congenial patron in the wealthy Paduan physician, philosopher, and bibliophile, Giovanni Marcanova, who was then living and teaching in Bologna. In the late summer of 1464 he made his famous antiquarian excursion round the southern shores of lake Garda—described in the flowery Latin of his *Jubilatio*²—in the hilarious company of Marcanova, Mantegna, and Samuele da Tradate, another Gonzaga courtier; and the next year, 1465, he was himself in Bologna hard at work, as we shall see, in Marcanova's library—a magnificent collection of over 500 volumes.

Until his late thirties Felice seems to have been regularly domiciled in Verona, latterly sharing house—the father died before 1456—with his mother, sister and brother-in-law. In March 1466 he made his will,³ a document that chimes well enough with the poetic account he gave of his modest estate in the dedication to a later volume of letters: 'of what others call riches I have nothing but a few little books which I cherish as my companions, a threadbare old gown, and a torn and tattered cloak that must last me many suns, perchance till I die.'⁴ The will valued his little library at 80 ducats. Half his books he left to his brother-in-law and half to his mother. To Bartolomeo he also left half his collection of antique coins and 'drawings and pictures

¹ Modena, Bibl. Estense, cod. a. N. 7. 28, f. 7^r: text in Pratilli, p. 74. The heading of the sonnet reads: 'Felice ad Andrea antedicto compatre del R^{mo} cardinale mantuano pregandolo si voglia adoperar per lui di aconzarlo col dito monsignore secondo il parlamento hauto insieme'.

² Critical text in E. Ziebarth, 'Die Nachfolger des Cyriacus von Ancona', *Neue Jahrbücher*, ix, 1903, pp. 492-3; Italian translation in *Alphabetum Romanum*, pp. 20-21.

³ Published by Mardersteig, *La Bibliofilia*, loc. cit., pp. 106-8.

⁴ Verona, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 3039 ('Bevilacqua'), f. 2^r, quoted Pratilli, p. 61.

on paper by many excellent masters of design'—a portfolio, we fancy, that would probably have included precious things by his good friends Mantegna, Giovanni Bellini, Marco Zoppo, and the sculptor Cristoforo Geremia, to all of whom he indited familiar poems. He bequeathed his furniture in his mother's house to his sister Masina, and to his brother Bernabò, with whom he does not seem to have been on the best of terms, he left half the meagre measure of oil from a grove he rented in nearby Grezzano—the equivalent of Shakespeare's 'second-best bed'. The heirs to the residue of his estate were his mother, Bartolomeo, and Bartolomeo's children by Masina, in succession. We do not know why Felice should have made his will at this time; he was only thirty-three and apparently in good health. Perhaps he was on the eve of a long or hazardous journey. At all events, his doings for the next three years are undocumented except for two dated manuscripts: a presentation-address of 1468 from Giusto de' Conti of Verona to John Chedworth, the bishop of Lincoln, written out by Felice in green on fine vellum;¹ and an autograph volume of his own poems, dated 1469, full of sighs for his innamorata Pellegrina da Campo, complaints at unrequited love, and fervent praises of Christ and the Virgin.²

For the final decade of Felice's short and restless career our information comes mainly from his letters—scraps of news and occasional dates almost submerged in a bubbling sea of conventional rhetoric and classical *exempla*, the 'testimonij sancti' of Valerius Maximus being Felice's favourites. These formal epistles, copied and recopied out for friends and patrons, are preserved today in five volumes in London, Oxford, Verona, Brescia, and Cambridge, Massachusetts.³ In 1470 or 1471 Felice shook the dust of Verona, 'la mia indigna et invidiosa patria', from his feet and returned to Bologna, 'madre et alumna di ogni virtù', having been driven out, as he says without further details, by the envy and detraction of his fellow citizens.⁴ The exile was

¹ London, B.M. Cotton MS. Nero A. 10. Mrs. Alison Brown kindly drew my attention to this manuscript; I believe it was previously identified by the late Mr. James Wardrop.

² Venice, Bibl. Marciana, cod. It. IX. 257 (6365).

³ London, B.M. Harley MS. 5271; Oxford, Bodl. Library MS. Canon. Ital. 15; Verona, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 3039 (cf. G. Fiocco in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, xli, 1921, pp. 162–3, and *Archivio Veneto-Tridentino*, ix, 1926, pp. 188–99); Brescia, Bibl. Quiriniana, cod. C. II. 14; Cambridge, Mass., Harvard MS. Typ. 157 (coll. Mr. and Mrs. Philip Hofer). All except the Brescian manuscript are in Felice's autograph.

⁴ Harl. 5271, f. 15^v; Bodl. Canon. Ital. 15, f. 10^v. Cf. Pratilli, p. 67.

not at first a happy one. Marcanova was now dead and in 1471 Felice was loud in his complaints—he was a master of invective—at having to take the job of *vicarius* of the Castel di San Giorgio in the uncouth and rustic Bolognese hinterland.¹ Very soon, however, he rid himself of it and returned to the more congenial city-life of Bologna where he appears to have resided, making a host of new friends, till the end of 1473.

During the last few years of his life Felice was full of business and often on the move. Letters of 1474 and 1475 suggest that he was perhaps at that time in the *entourage* of Filiasio Roverella, papal legate in Perugia, who succeeded his uncle Cardinal Bartolomeo Roverella as Archbishop of Ravenna early in 1476.² Another time we find Felice in Venice about to accompany Angelo Adriano, a Venetian nobleman, on an embassy to the King of Naples,³ and there are casual references in the letters to journeys to Rome and a stay in Siena.⁴ In the late summer of 1474, while visiting his friends Gregorio and Francesca Lavagnola at their country villa at Poiano outside Verona, Felice composed his novel *Giusta Victoria*, and in Venice in the following year he wrote out an exquisite dedication-copy for Francesca.⁵ Some time in the early part of 1475 he embarked on a new venture—a collaboration with the printer Severino of Ferrara. Soon after this he went to Germany, and returned via Venice in September to Ferrara, where he transcribed one of his volumes of letters. In October he was in Verona, but by the end of the

¹ Harl. 5271, f. 30^v; Bodl. Canon. Ital. 15, f. 15^v; Harvard MS. Typ. 157, f. 4^r. Cf. Pratilli, p. 68.

² P. B. Gams, *Series episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, Graz, 1957, p. 718. Cf. Verona, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 3039, f. 37^v (letter of 1474 apparently composed by Felice in the name of Filiasio Roverella) and f. 38^v (letter from Felice to Roverella, 1475).

³ Verona 3039, f. 17^r; Harl. 5271, f. 137^v; Brescia, C. II. 14, f. 38^r. Cf. Pratilli, p. 63.

⁴ In a letter in Bodl. Canon. Ital. 15, f. 23^v, Felice refers also to an impending journey to Hungary in company with a cardinal, apparently his patron ('Io vado in panonia damane col mio R^{mo} cardinale et priego idio che piu felice faci questa mia andata che la mia speranza non mi promette . . .'). This might perhaps refer to Cardinal Bartolomeo Roverella. Pratilli's suggestion, p. 38, that Felice visited Spain is open to doubt. It is true that in a letter in Bodl. Canon. Ital. 15, f. 4^v, he mentions a return from Spain, but in another version of the same letter in Harl. 5271, f. 6^v, he says he has returned 'from Rome', which sounds more likely.

⁵ See *La Gallica Historia di Drusillo intitulata Justa Victoria di Felice Feliciano da Verona*, edited and printed by Hans Mardersteig, Verona (Officina Bodoni), 1944.

year again in Ferrara, by which time—despite his absences from Ferrara on other business—he and Severino between them had printed and published five books. The following year Felice set up his own press in Poiano in partnership with Innocente Zileto, and Petrarch's *Libro degli uomini famosi*, decorated with Felice's interlacing woodcut borders, was finished in October 1476.¹ Felice's latest known patron was Johann Hinderbach, the Bishop of Trent. He first approached Hinderbach in 1474,² and his journey to Germany in 1475 was probably to Trent to visit the bishop. From 1475 we have an illuminated book of Felice's with autograph text and xylographic borders dedicated to Hinderbach, containing an astrological prognostication of the coming of the Antichrist, followed by more matter of the same eschatological sort;³ and the Hofbibliothek in Vienna possesses a 1472 edition of Ptolemy's *Cosmography* presented by Felice to Hinderbach with appropriate manuscript additions expressing his thanks for benefits received.⁴ The book contains Hinderbach's bookplate limned by Felice in his brightest colours, and the gift is signed and dated 'Felicianus antiquarius Veronensis 1478'.⁵ The last we hear of Felice is in letters he wrote in the summer of 1479 when he had retired to the woods outside Rome, on doctor's orders, to escape the plague.⁶ Presumably he died soon afterwards, but we do not know where or when, or where his body rests.

As to Felice's character, all contemporary testimonies, autobiographical or otherwise, present us with the same picture—that of a gay irascible eccentric, an irrepressible Renaissance goliard, now up, now down, who made a virtue of his necessities. Today, I suppose, he would be classed as a manic-depressive. He never married, being as he phrased it 'dedicated and destined to clerisy'—we imagine minor orders.⁷ He had his lady-loves and

¹ On this period in Felice's career see V. Scholderer, 'A note on Felix Antiquarius', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1933, pp. 34–35; G. Gerola, 'Un codicetto trentino del 1475 a fregi silografati', *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, viii, 1934, pp. 39 ff.; A. Campana, 'Felice Feliciano e la prima edizione del Valturio', *Maso Finiguerra*, v, 1940, pp. 221–2; *Alphabetum Romanum*, pp. 27–28.

² Trento, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 1659, f. 3^r.

³ Trento, cod. cit.

⁴ See T. Gottlieb, 'Drei gemalte Bucheignerzeichen', *Oesterr. Exlibris Gesellschaft*, xv, 1917, pp. 45–56.

⁵ In 1478 Felice's name is inscribed in the membership-book of the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit and St. Mary in Sassia in Rome (*Alphabetum Romanum*, p. 30).

⁶ Brescia, C. II. 14, ff. 75^v et seqq.

⁷ Harl. 5271, f. 5^v; Bodl. Canon. Ital. 15, f. 4^r; Brescia, C. II. 14, f. 2^v.

celebrated his passion, which he declared chaste, for Madonna Pellegrina¹ and Constantia ΦΙΛΕΝΑ; and when Constantia died he withdrew to a little monastery of decalced friars to mourn her in solitude, with nothing but his *librezzuoli*, the song-birds and the shy creatures of the forest to console him.² It is one of the tenderest set-pieces in his letters. Pennilessness was his constant theme, and however proudly and self-consciously he wore it on his sleeve, it undoubtedly pinched him. He had to give books away to settle his debts and he could rarely afford to write on parchment; the make-up of his manuscripts often shows how he would eke it out by using it only to enclose the cheaper quires of paper at each gathering. Nor can we discredit domestic and public reports that his poverty was the result, partly at least, of his addiction to alchemy and magic. His brother accused him in 1472 of being 'quite unstable, a vagabond, here today, gone tomorrow, a lunatic striver after things beyond his grasp, an alchemist, and squanderer of time and money on vain pursuits'—to which brotherly reproof Felice retorted *seriatim* in similar vein.³ But the matter was notorious. Sabadino degli Arienti, the novelist, knew Felice not only as a witty, learned, and fantastic antiquary who had 'spent most of his days in searching out the noble relics of Rome, Ravenna and all Italy', but also as one who had 'wasted his patrimony on alchemy, going up into the mountains of Modena to find a certain stone called antimony which, from a text in Jeber, he believed to be most apt to produce the fifth essence and promote the Grand Art'.⁴ These allegations and popular reports, moreover, find ample corroboration in Felice's own writings—in his exasperated poetic altercations with Jeber after unsuccessful experiments at his furnace,⁵ and in the astronomical dates he put in later years to many of his literary compositions.

But with all this, the golden thread that ran all through Felice's career was his passion to investigate and imitate ancient script, whether he found it in old manuscripts or on antique stones. In the preface to his longest collection of inscriptions, dedicated to Mantegna, he tells of his youthful studies in classical epigraphy.⁶

¹ Venice, Bibl. Marciana, cod. It. IX. 257 (6365), *passim*.

² Harl. 5271, f. 38^v; Bodl. Canon. Ital. 15, f. 21^v; Brescia, C. II. 14, f. 15^v.

³ Harl. 5271, f. 26^v; Brescia, C. II. 14, f. 11^r. Cf. Pratilli, p. 70.

⁴ Sabadino degli Arienti, *Novelle Porretane*, Bari, 1914, novel 14.

⁵ Harvard, MS. Typ. 157, ff. 112^v, 118^v, et seqq.

⁶ Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, cod. 269, and Venice, Bibl. Marciana, cod. Lat. X. 196 (3766). The preface is printed in *Alphabetum Romanum*, pp. 18–19.

When his friend Calisto Montano was about to sail to Greece, 'matre et doctrina dei nostri studi', he begged him to bring him back books ('io manco di libri') and to take copies for him of any inscriptions he might find on antique walls, gates, and bridges, or buried in the soil.¹ Towards the end of his life he reports a journey he made from Rome to Liguria,² and of how he found in the ancient library of St. Ilario in Pavia many fragments of Lombardic books, 'una instituta' written on tree-bark,³ an Arabic volume on the stars, and a sheepskin-bound copy of the *Talmud*. And in Vaticanus Latinus 6852 (Pl. XXVIa) we have Felice's own effort to construct a classic alphabet on antique lapidary models.⁴ This brings us to his character as a scribe.

I have note of some forty manuscripts, not including copies and lost codices, wholly or in part in Felice's hand.⁵ Some are recorded in the printed literature, a few I have come across myself, and I owe my knowledge of quite a number of them to the kindness of friends, especially Dr. Giovanni Mardersteig and Professor Augusto Campana. They divide up conveniently into four classes; (a) epigraphical codices (to which we may add the alphabet and Felice's autograph version of Francesco Scalamenti's life of Cyriac of Ancona, of which I shall speak presently); (b) Felice's own literary works, his poems, letters, and the novel; (c) texts he transcribed for his own pleasure or on commission, a large category comprising no less than fifteen manuscripts covering a wide, and in some sectors surprising, range of antique, medieval, and Renaissance literature—things like the *epistula Lentuli*, Eugenius of Palermo on the Erythraean sibyl and the strange prophetic works Felice transcribed for Hinderbach, as well as writings by Plato, Lactantius, and the Renaissance humanists; (d) books in which Felice had a hand as editor, annotator, or rubricator. This is not the occasion to examine this extensive output in detail, tempting as it is to linger over certain—especially the medieval—aspects of it. My purpose here is simply to illustrate from a few examples the early development and florescence of Felice's singular script and draughtsmanship,

¹ Harl. 5271, f. 65^r; Brescia, C. II. 14, f. 26^r. Cf. Pratilli, p. 47.

² Brescia, C. II. 14, f. 79^v. Cf. Pratilli, p. 71.

³ Cf. the prefatory letter to Dictys Cretensis, 'libri ex phylira' (Eisenhut, p. 1): on linden-bark as stuff to write on see R. Devreesse, *Introd. à l'étude des manuscrits grecs*, Paris, 1954, p. 2. I cannot identify either this work or the library.

⁴ Ed. Mardersteig, *Alphabetum Romanum*, op. cit.

⁵ See Appendix.

and to emphasize the importance of his collaboration with his fellow antiquary and fellow bibliophile Marcanova in the mid-sixties.

Pl. XXVIb shows a page of typical capital letters and knot-work from our earliest securely dated manuscript, one of 1458: a miscellany of texts relating to the life of Christ and the holy places in Palestine, beginning with Pascal of Rome's *Disputatio contra Iudeos*.¹ Such interlaced initials were no doubt inspired by Romanesque manuscript models. Next in Pl. XXVIIa we have an example of Felice's highly individual draughtsmanship from a book of poems written in 1460; the picture of the lover addressing his mistress's heart is clearly the work of a scribe rather than a trained pictorial artist.² Thirdly in Pls. XXVIII and XXIX we begin to see the full range of Felice's talent as scribe and illuminator. They come from a particularly brilliant codex he wrote and embellished for his private pleasure—'scripto e miniato di me felice feliciano da Verona cum proponimento di non prestarlo salvo che ad amici dilecti e carissimi'.³ It was begun in 1463, and the last few folios—after an interval in which, as often with Felice, the work was laid aside—were finished after 1467. The main contents, executed in the first flush of enthusiasm, consist of Sassolo of Prato's translation of Xenophon on the Hercules Prodicus, dedicated to Alessandro Gonzaga, and the so-called Cato on the art of war. Pl. XXVIII shows the beginning of the former with Felice's drawing of Hercules between Pleasure and Virtue. The style is more painterly than his usual one, but the ladies' wiry tresses, like those of the lover in Pl. XXVIIa, still plainly betray their calligraphic origin. The frontispiece of the second treatise (Pl. XXIXa) calls for a tantalizing word about Felice's colours. Mars's armour is cerulean blue shot with white. His steed is light silvery grey shaded with bright yellow, and his mouth is scarlet like a Dobbin's on a roundabout. The strings flying from Mars's waist are the same

¹ Verona, Bibl. Capitolare cod. 317.

² Modena, Bibl. Estense, cod. a. N. 7. 28. It is important for the attribution and dating of other manuscripts to notice the variety of Felice's minuscule script at this time: cf. the different style of writing in this manuscript of 1460 and in the alphabet-book which Mardersteig dates c. 1459–60. The latter, like the early epigraphic codices Bologna, Bibl. Comunale cod. A. 186 and Vat. Lat. 3616 (cf. *Alphabetum Romanum*, p. 22), adumbrates Felice's later normal book-hand. The index in Faenza, Bibl. Comunale cod. 7 (see p. 214 note 3 below) seems to me very close to the hand in the alphabet-book (Pl. XXVIa).

³ Vatican, cod. Reg. Lat. 1388; identified by Professor Campana.

brilliant red, and the planet-god's stellar rays behind are as fiery as they appear in the sky on a starry night—a warm reddish yellow. Finally at the end of the *de re militari* Felice pulls out further stops (Pl. XXIX*b*). The *explicit* is a classic roundel followed by a gay classic pun on Felice's name in flourished Gothic characters—'felicitas augusta';¹ then comes a sonnet by Mario Filelfo in Felice's praise, the heading written in his normal book-hand, while the verses below are inscribed in the ornate script which he perfected on the model of Cyriac of Ancona's eccentric hellenized minuscule.

Soon after this codex was begun—perhaps that is why its completion was interrupted—Felice joined forces with Marcanova in Bologna. On Marcanova's death in 1467 his library went to the monastery of St. Giovanni di Verdara in Padua, whence the bulk of it passed into St. Mark's Library di Venice, while a few books found their way to Holkham Hall and elsewhere.² I have only sampled the Marcian *mare magnum*, but the net did not come up quite empty. Marcianus Lat. x, 73 is a Marco Polo, all (except for a few rubrications) in Felice's hand, with a colophon stating that it was done for Marcanova in Bologna in 1465. This codex, moreover, contains an index by Felice proving that it is the fragment of a once much longer book that contained, in addition, a tale of Poggio's, an *expositio* of the Greek phrases in St. Jerome's bible prefaces, the letters of Brutus, Leonardo Bruni's short history of his own time, Bruni's translation of Plato's *Apology*, and Valla's *De libero arbitrio*. There is also a note by Morelli, the Marcian librarian, recording that the Poggio and the Valla were missing from the codex when he saw it, and that the rest of the contents had been bound up—presumably by himself—separately from the Marco Polo. I have failed to find the *expositio graecarum dictionum*; but Bruni's *History*, Plato's *Apology*, and the *Epistolae* of Brutus, having paginations corresponding to Felice's index, now form Marcianus Lat. x. 64. Bruni's *History*, beginning with an elaborate interlaced initial of blue, purple, and yellow, and the *Apology of Socrates* are each

¹ This recurs in B.M. Add. MS. 47681, f. 1^v, and in Holkham MS. 521, f. 10^v.

² On Marcanova and his library see L. Dorez, 'La Bibliothèque de Giovanni Marcanova', *Mélanges G.B. de Rossi*, Paris-Rome, 1892, pp. 113-26; L. Sighinolfi, 'La Biblioteca di G.M.', *Collectanea variae doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki oblata*, Munich, 1921, pp. 187-222; P. Sambin, 'La Formazione quattrocen-tesca della biblioteca di S. Giovanni di Verdara in Padova', *Atti dell'Ist. Veneto di scienze*, etc. cxiv, 1956, pp. 263-80; E. W. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, pp. 98-101.

entirely in Felice's hand, and each has a colophon dated Bologna 1465. The letters of Brutus, with a colophon dated Bologna 1464, is not in Felice's hand but is paginated by him, which shows that he took the volume in hand after another had begun it, either independently or possibly under Felice's direction. At all events, we have here quite a sizeable production of Felice's on the way towards reconstitution. Another manuscript made for Marcanova, this time entirely in Felice's autograph is Marcianus Lat. vi. 135. The pagination shows that it represents the fragments of two original books: one containing Bruni's translation of Plato's letters, pieces by Prudentius, Lactantius, Venantius Fortunatus, and other matter; the other containing excerpts from the chronicle of Marcellinus. The latter portion is dated in the colophon Bologna 1465. St. Mark's library also possesses at least two books written for Marcanova by other scribes which Felice worked over and embellished: an epitome of Valerius Maximus, &c. (Lat. x. 53) to which Felice added Marcanova's arms, various rubrications, an index, an appendix, and 'Bologna 1465' colophons in blue, brown, or red capitals; and secondly a manuscript of Flavio Biondo's *Historia ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii* (Lat. x. 22) with yellow book-headings and a 'Bologna 1465' colophon by Felice in olive-green letters. At Holkham (MS. 364) I have found Marcanova's copy of a miscellany containing a Dictys *de bello troiano* and other things, including Quintus Curtius' life of Alexander with a 'Bologna 1465' colophon added by Felice in red.

All this goes to show that in 1464 or 1465 Felice joined the group of scribes working for Marcanova in Bologna, and that he won a special place among them as a scribal *arbiter elegantiae*. Very likely he then lodged in Marcanova's house.¹ The full extent of the collaboration, however, does not appear until we look into Marcanova's epigraphical codices. Marcanova was already a well-established antiquarian scholar before he met

¹ The scribes who worked for Marcanova in Padua, Cesena, and Bologna still need sorting out. We can identify two scribes besides Felice who worked for him in Bologna: frater Paulus de Barianis de Placentia who signed Marcianus Lat. vi. 216 (2466) in 1460, and Giovanni Antonio da Padua, who helped him compile the inventory of his books c. 1460 (see Sighinolfi, art. cit.), collaborated with Felice in Holkham MS. 364 in 1465 (signed 'Io. Ant. Z.P.'), and signed Marc. Lat. x. 21 (3523) in 1462 ('Io. An. Zup. P.'). Marc. Lat. x. 21, Lat. x. 22 (3126), in which Felice also participated, and Lat. x. 23 (3127), respectively containing Flavio Biondo's *Italia Illustrata*, *Historia*, and *Roma Triumphans*, are sister-books in format and layout and represent the style of production in the *scriptorium*—perhaps located in Marcanova's house—which Felice joined.

Felice. He was an amateur of antique coins; he wrote a treatise, now lost, on Roman triumphs and military antiquities; and in Padua, before he moved to Bologna, he began to assemble a great *corpus* of classical inscriptions.¹ This was written out in Cesena in 1457 and finished off in Bologna in 1460. Marcanova also planned an even fuller *corpus* for presentation to Malatesta Novello, the lord of Cesena. This exists in three versions: first a sumptuous and richly illuminated version on vellum, now in Modena, which was begun, according to a statement on folio 1, in Padua and completed in Bologna on 1 October 1465;² secondly, a slightly augmented copy of the Modena codex with monochrome drawings written (except for a few folios) on vellum, which is now in Paris;³ and thirdly, a copy of the Paris codex which is now in Princeton.⁴ I suppose that one of these volumes, probably the Modena one, was intended for Malatesta but never delivered because he died in 1465. The most important and exciting fact about the Modena and Paris codices for us, however, is this: that though both were started by other scribes, both are largely the handiwork of Felice Feliciano, script, drawings, and all. In the more modest Paris version, which runs to 173 folios, Felice took over at folio 46; in the dazzling Modena manuscript 233 stately folios long, he was supreme almost from the beginning.⁵ It is his masterpiece. Pl. XXXa, the frontispiece to the Veronensia in the manuscript, shows one of Felice's most elaborate knots, a generation before those of Leonardo, dominating the great quarto page in letters of gold with bright cornflower-blue strapwork; and Pl. XXXb his whole-page drawing of a relief of Jupiter Dolichenus from Cesena—flat, heraldic, but vibrantly spirited like the work of a *quattrocento* Douanier Rousseau. The bull is daffodil yellow with a red girth; Jupiter wears apple-green stockings and an orange surcoat; his eagle is greyish-brown; the little Victory has yellow wings and wears a pink dress; and the background is pale violet and the inscription scarlet. I shall deal with this manuscript more scientifically later. Meanwhile two more pictures

¹ Bern, Stadtbibl., cod. B. 42.

² Modena, Bibl. Estense, cod. a. L. 5. 15. See C. Hülsen, *La Roma antica di Ciriaco d'Ancona*, Rome, 1907.

³ Paris, B.N., cod. 5825F.

⁴ Princeton, University Library, Garrett MS. 158. See H. van M. Dennis III, 'The Garrett manuscript of Marcanova', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vi, 1927, pp. 113–26, and E. B. Lawrence, 'The Illustrations of the Garrett and Modena manuscripts of Marcanova', *ibid.*, pp. 127–31.

⁵ See the catalogue of the *Mostra storica nazionale della miniatura*, Rome, 1954, pp. 379 ff.

(Pl. XXXI) serve to illustrate the way Felice placed his monuments and inscriptions on the pages of the book: a tomb from Milan and a vine-wreathed column dedicated to Bacchus. As throughout the manuscript, the drawings and texts are illuminated in brilliantly variegated colours. Now we come to Part III.

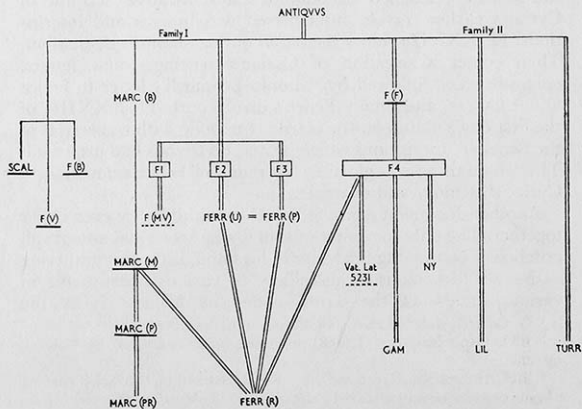
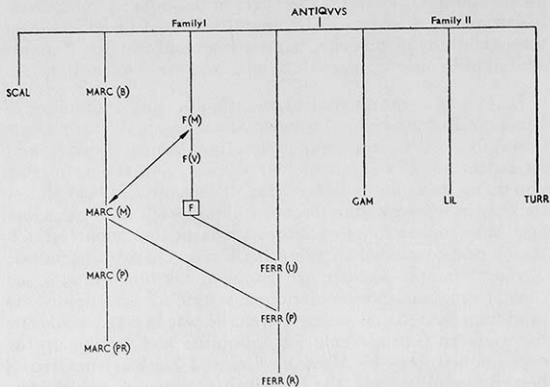
Felice was already a student of antiquities and an admirer of Cyriac of Ancona before his twenty-fourth year. In 1457 a certain Antonio Leonardi wrote to him from Venice thanking him for letters full of talk about 'our Cyriac', and congratulating him on his own antiquarian studies.¹ Felice, he said, was almost the only true lover and restorer of antiquities left in a degenerate age. Antonio then supplied Felice with particulars about Cyriac's travels and concluded by exhorting him to cherish and imitate Cyriac's example—a man 'nec ignobilem nec obscurum . . . sed clarum sanguine, postea clariorem virtute'. Felice needed no prodding. By 1464, as we have seen, he was expertly exploring the southern Garda region for antiquities and writing up the expedition-report—his *Memoratu digna* and *Jubilatio*—in Cyriac's best dithyrambic style, the technical language of archaeology. And soon after this, commissioned by Samuale da Tradate, one of his companions on that occasion, he paid eloquent homage to Cyriac in a magnificent codex, now in Treviso.² The book starts with Francesco Scalamonti's authoritative account of Cyriac's earlier travels, interspersed with poems and inscriptions. Pl. XXXIIa shows the *incipit* of Scalamonti's dedication. Then comes a selection of Cyriac's writings, news-letters, epigrams, &c., followed by Antonio Leonardi's letter to Felice about Cyriac, and finally Felice's own report (Pl. XXXIIb) of the first day's doings on the Garda trip along with transcripts of the Benacan inscriptions which he and his friends had inspected. The whole thing is a glowing testimony of Felice's devotion to Cyriac's memory and example.

Another document seems to link Cyriac and Felice even closer together. The only surviving relic of Cyriac's original autograph notebooks, containing drawings in his hand, is the last gathering—the whole book is a miscellany of various constituents in various hands—of the Trotti codex in Milan.³ It is the

¹ G. Colucci, *Antichità Picene*, xv, Fermo, 1792, pp. 154-5.

² Bibl. Capitolare, cod. I, 138, published (with omissions) by Colucci, *op. cit.*

³ Bibl. Ambrosiana, Trotti cod. 373. See R. Sabbadini, 'Ciriaco d'Ancona e la sua descrizione autografa del Peloponneso . . .', *Miscellanea Ceriani*, Milan, 1910, pp. 183-247.



foundation-stone for any attempt to envisage the manner in which Cyriac actually recorded his finds. Pl. XXXIIIa shows one page of it; it is the obvious prototype for the way Felice laid out his pages in the Modena Marcanova codex and elsewhere. But the last gathering is not all in Cyriac's hand. On the last pages, conjugate with Cyriac, we find extracts from Petrarch's *Trionfi* in another hand which I think is very probably a specimen of Felice's early script¹ (Pl. XXXIIIb), which suggests that he once handled and owned the precious sheets—a thrilling conjunction!

Now let us see how Felice administered one particular portion of Cyriac's epigraphic legacy. In the winter of 1433 Cyriac made a tour of Tuscany and north Italy to collect inscriptions. One region whose monuments he carefully explored and recorded in a rich series of drawings was Verona and its environs,² the evidence for this being contained in twenty or more copies and extracts by later collectors, some made many years after Cyriac's death. First let us look at the way Mommsen analysed the affinities of the manuscripts available to him in 1872, when he brought out the fifth volume of the *CIL*. Fig. 1—which I must emphasize deals exclusively with the Veronensia, irrespective of what else the manuscripts there indicated contain—sets out the essential elements of Mommsen's stemma that now concern us. From common errors and on other grounds Mommsen conclusively argued that all the Veronese items in these manuscripts derived from a single source which he called the 'Antiquus', a portmanteau name for the full and perfect record Cyriac made c. 1433 after his Veronese tour. Mommsen divided the material into three sections. First, a small group of Veronensia which are quoted in Scalamenti's life (SCAL).³ Secondly, a much larger but sometimes rather inaccurately recorded collection of Veronensia—inaccurate in text and line-divisions—to be found in a family of manuscripts, Family I, comprising: (a) Marcanova's four codices in Bern, Modena, Paris, and Princeton (MARC B, M, P, PR); (b) two versions of a *sylloge* made by Felice c. 1464, dedicated to Mantegna and containing the

¹ Cf. p. 205, n. 2 above. Some of the letter-formations do not tally with those of Felice's developed book-hand, but there are characteristic affinities with Felice's hand of 1460 as exemplified in Modena, Estense a. N. 7. 28, and the whole *ductus* of the script seems to me to be his. I therefore identify it as an example of Felice's pre-1460 script, but with some reserve.

² Colucci, *Antichità Picene*, xv, pp. 93–94; G. B. de Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.* ii, pp. 385–7; Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, p. 18, note 1.

³ Treviso, Bibl. Capitolare, cod. I, 138, ff. 88^r–97^r.

'Jubilatio', the manuscripts of which are now in Venice and Verona, F(M) and F(V);¹ and (c) three progressively expanding collections made between 1477 and 1486 by Michele Ferrarini, a Carmelite of Reggio Emilia, his manuscripts now being in Utrecht, Paris, and Reggio (FERR U, P, and R).² Mommsen was not in a position to recognize Felice's hand in MARC (M), and he thought that F(V) and (M) were autographs of Felice's, whereas they are in fact copies after him. As for the affiliations of these manuscripts one with another, Mommsen noted that Marcanova and Felice exchanged material—hence the two-way arrow between MARC(M) and F(M); this we can now explain in view of their known contacts in 1464 and 1465. Mommsen also observed, without drawing conclusions from the fact, that MARC(M) is illustrated with drawings, while F(M) and (V) usually describe figured Veronese monuments in words; they contain only a few rough and very summary sketches of monuments. With regard to Ferrarini, Mommsen pointed out that he drew material from three sources: (a) from Cyriac, the 'Antiquus'; (b) from some Felicean source similar to F(M) and (V) but not identical with them—hence a boxed F connecting F(V) with FERR(U) to indicate a lost manuscript; and (c) from Marcanova—hence the line from MARC(M) to FERR(P). Thirdly, Mommsen distinguished another family of Veronesia, Family II, which embraced, among other manuscripts that do not concern us here, a collection compiled by Matteo Gammara in Bologna c. 1500 (GAM),³ another of about the same date compiled by Jacopo Giglio of Bologna (LIL),⁴ and the early sixteenth century Turri codex (TURR).⁵ This family numbers rather fewer Veronese inscriptions than Family I, but it reproduces texts and line-divisions on the whole extremely accurately. In this family the locations of the Veronesia are usually given in Italian, not Latin, and the monuments are mostly presented in the form of completed drawings, Gammara being the fullest in this respect. In fact, Mommsen found Gammara such a sound witness, when he could compare his versions with the surviving stones, that he always relied on him when possible in the *CIL* for his final versions of lost Veronese stones.

¹ Venice, Bibl. Marciana, cod. Lat. X. 196 (3766); Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, cod. 296.

² Utrecht, Univ. Library, cod. I. K. 9 (copy by Paolo Zanchio of 1512, Vatican, cod. Lat. 5243); Paris, B.N., cod. Lat. 6128; Reggio Emilia, Bibl. Comunale, cod. C. 398. ³ Stuttgart, Württ. Landesbibl., cod. hist. oct. 25.

⁴ Vatican, cod. Lat. 5238.

⁵ Verona, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 792.

Today, I think, we must construct the diagram rather differently (Fig. 2). Mommsen's basic structure still stands firm, but thanks to the discovery of more manuscripts and the identification of Felice's true script and mode of draughtsmanship, he now dominates almost the entire scene (manuscripts wholly or largely in his autograph are underlined, and copies of his autographs are indicated by dotted lines). In the first section of the stemma two new early Felicean autograph *syllogae* have now turned up containing Veronensia closely affiliated with those in SCAL: one in Bologna, F(B), the other in the Vatican, F(V).¹ These Veronensia, however, are not illustrated, and as I want to concentrate now particularly on the evidence of drawings we shall ignore them.

In Family I no fresh manuscripts have appeared; but when we reckon with the affinities of drawings (indicated by double lines) as well as those of texts we must elaborate our stemma. Felice's drawings in MARC(M) and its derivatives MARC(P) and (PR) are highly finished and apt to be very fanciful; they stand apart and were probably devised for the special occasion of the presentation of Marcanova's *sylloge* to Malatesta Novello. F(M) and (V), along with FERR(U) and (P) contain drawings of another sort, more summary and on the whole less fanciful. However, we must distinguish their sources. F(M) and (V), each including the *Jubilatio*, are variant copies of a lost Felicean codex, F 1, which had only a small handful of drawings and mostly described the sculpture of figured monuments in words. FERR(U) is akin to F(M) and (V) and likewise contains the *Jubilatio* together with a preface simply cribbed from Felice's; but unlike them it contains a fairly plentiful series of drawings, often showing pictures where F(M) and (V) describe monuments only in words. These drawings, therefore, seem to derive from a lost illustrated Felicean codex—F 2. FERR(P) is akin to FERR(U), but is not, as Mommsen supposed, a direct descendant of it with Marcanovan elements added. Most of the drawings in the two manuscripts, it is true, correspond; but FERR(U), even if it is the earlier *sylloge*, contains drawings not in FERR(P), while FERR(P)—which does not contain the *Jubilatio* but acknowledges a debt to Cyriac and Felice in the preface—contains variants of certain drawings and at least one

¹ Bologna, Bibl. Comunale, cod. A. 186 (dedicated to Mantegna without a preface); Vatican, cod. Lat. 3616, identified by Professor A. Campana (cf. C. Hülsen, 'Di due sillogi epigrafiche urbane del secolo XV', *Mem. della Pont. Accademia di Archeologia*, ser. 3, i. 1, 1923, pp. 123-57).

extra one of obviously Felicean style. Hence, without deciding on which came first, we can infer that FERR(U) and FERR(P) derive from somewhat similar but distinct lost codices of Felice's—F₂ and F₃. FERR(P), further, was evidently designed first to be a presentation copy, a space for the title of the recipient being left blank in the preface. But later it became a working copy and summary drawings were added in the margin which come from MARC(M) or something of Felice's very like it.¹ Finally, before he had transferred his notes of all the MARC(M) type drawings into FERR(P), Ferrarini put in hand his third and final volume FERR(R)—a sumptuous codex on vellum, the pride of the city of Reggio, more plentifully illustrated than either of its predecessors. As we should expect, it takes most of its drawings from FERR(P) or (U) and from MARC(M) or its equivalent; but it also, as we shall see, draws a few from an apparently Felicean representative of Family II.

In Family II we must now take account of three new members. First and most important, there is a manuscript in the Municipal Library in Faenza, F(F).² This is a volume almost entirely composed of Veronensia, and the contents are mostly in the form of drawings of complete monuments set out one, two, or three to the page in the fashion of Cyriac's pages in the Trotti codex. There are a few drawings not by Felice, later insertions by cruder hands, but the main run of them, I think, is clearly his work. It does not need the eye of a Morelli, for example, to recognize that the drawing on Pl. XXXIV*b*, which is thoroughly representative of the rest, is by the same genial hand as the drawing of the lover and the heart on Plate XXVII*a*. The index too (Pl. XXVII*b*) is unquestionably in Felice's familiar book-hand. The curly script of the Italian locations above the drawings, however, is unusual for Felice; but it must be his because the drawings are. I believe we have here an early example of his imitation of his master's fantastic script as he found it in the exemplar before him³—an exemplar which seems to have been

¹ For clarity's sake this connexion is not shown in Fig. 2.

² Faenza, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 7. Professor Campana kindly drew my attention to this manuscript.

³ I infer the early date from two variant locations successively added by Felice to his drawing of the 'L. Vitruvius Cerdo' monument (*CIL*. v. 3464) on f. 52^r. The original location above the drawing, imitating the curly script of the Cyriacan exemplar, reads: 'V(eronae) Al ponto del Castel vechio'. Later Felice added above: 'In porta Lyguria nunc castris veteris', which is similar to the location in the early Bern *sylloge* of Marcanova ('*ibidem* in porta castris veteris'). Later still, in his normal later book-hand, Felice added

an extract by Cyriac from the Antiquus which was intended, perhaps, for some Este prince.¹ The second addition to Family II is a facsimile copy (Vat. Lat. 3251) of a lost manuscript by Felice which was closely akin to F(F) but differently arranged and more extensive in scope: hence box F 4 in the new stemma. Thirdly, we must introduce a probably early sixteenth century manuscript in the New York Public Library (NY).² This contains often appallingly corrupt texts of the inscriptions but many of the drawings—some of them new—derive in some way from a large and profusely illustrated lost codex, clearly Felicean in character, that had close affinities as regards the Veronensia with F(F) and Vat. Lat. 3251. Hence I have made box F 4 a rather large and elastic one. Plate XXXVa shows a typical opening of the New York book. The presentation of *CIL. v. 3804* is somewhat garbled, but comparing it with Plate XXXIVb who can doubt that it goes back to an original drawing in Felice's hand, especially when we find it standing alongside an ornate flatly designed pot of the kind that recurs again and again in Felice's Modena codex? And to illustrate one of the novelties afforded by the manuscript, Pl. XXXVb shows the drawing appended to a fake comic epitaph from Pola (*CIL. v. 1**). Mommsen notes that Felice said he got the thing from Jacobus Baduarius of Venice. But where did Jacobus get it from? Grinning through the probably second or third-hand copy of Felice's original drawing, we surely detect Cyriac's stringy draughtsmanship as exemplified in the Trotti codex (Pl. XXXIIIa)³. If this is true, the New York drawing of a parasite actor with his jars of oil and wine is all that remains of an original pictorial *lusus* of Cyriac's own. The result of these new entries into Family II is to reduce the authority of Gammarus on whom Mommsen relied so heavily. Gammarus seems to depend partly on a lost Felicean codex in box F 4 and partly on F(F) directly. Indeed, from the way in one place Felice's script is imitated in the Stuttgart

in the margin: 'in porta geminata ex amphitheatro nostro oblata [ablata] et nunc in arce veteri posita', which is the location that appears in F(V) and (M), dated 1464, and in the earlier Vat. Lat. 3616. It is thus reasonable to suppose that Felice first transcribed Faenza cod. 7 at least before 1464.

¹ Faenza, cod. 7, f. 95^r, contains two inscriptions relating to Leonello d'Este whom Cyriac visited in 1449.

² Spencer Collection, formerly Phillips MS. 2872. Thanks are due to Dr. Kup and the authorities of the New York Public Library for permission to reproduce pages from this codex.

³ For Cyriac's acquaintance with a Petrus Baduarius see Colucci, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

manuscript it would appear that Gammarus may actually have had the Faenza manuscript in his hands.¹

To sum up, then, as far as illustrated versions of the Veronensia are concerned, Felice seems to have dabbled his fingers in almost every stream of the manuscript-tradition that flowed from the Antiquus. The only streams that appear to have bypassed him are those represented by Lilius and the Turri codex.

We can now put flesh to the dry bones of our stemma by looking at the drawings of a few monuments. A preliminary point to emphasize is that while the drawings in MARC(M) incline to be fanciful and those in the other branches of Family II somewhat schematic, the drawings in Family I, when we are able to check them against the stones, are on the whole astonishingly faithful to the originals. Thus, allowing for the idiosyncrasies of his draughtsmanship, Felice's drawing on Pl. XXXIV*b* agrees remarkably well with the monument as we see it today in the Museum Maffeanum in Verona (Pl. XXXIV*a*). And so it goes on in this Faenza codex and the related manuscripts—one Veronese monument after another almost invariably reproduced accurately in imagery, text, and line-divisions, the reason being that the Cyriacian exemplar that underlay the Felicean copy was nearly always accurate too and accurately copied.

First then let us take two examples of what happened in the Marcanova branch of Family I. Pl. XXXVI*a* shows the monument to Laelia Clementina (*CIL*. v. 3653) as it is today, the central inscription flanked by funeral *genii* with inverted and raised torches. These *genii* were evidently detached, however, from the central panel when Cyriac saw it in the Castel Montorio *in agro veronensi*—the location given in the manuscripts; hence in Family II—in the Faenza codex² (Plate XXXVI*c*) and in the independent drawing of Lilius—the face of the monument correctly appears as an isolated tablet, the Lilian version showing a token crack in the bottom right-hand corner. But when Felice came to draw the monument for Marcanova in the Modena codex he made something very different of it (Pl. XXXVI*b*). He drew an entire empty sarcophagus with a caduceus added to the right face. Hülsen assumed that this detail was an invention of Cyriac's in honour of his *santissimo Genio* Mercury.³ In fact, however, we

¹ On f. 52^v of Faenza cod. 7 Felice added *CIL*. v. 3677 in his characteristic capital letters. These are exactly imitated on f. 127^r of Gammarus's manuscript.

² Here, as a rare exception in the Faenza codex, the line-divisions are inaccurate; one imagines they were wrongly noted in Cyriac's exemplar.

³ Hülsen, *La Roma antica di Eiriaco d'Ancona*, pp. 14-15.

have no means or justification here for going further back than Felice, and should interpret the caduceus rather as an invention of Felice's in honour of his mercurial hero Cyriac—an invention which later passed into Ferrarini's final volume in Reggio, where it stands at the head of the Veronensia without location as a sort of introductory emblem (Pl. XXXVI*d*).

Even more fanciful is Felice's drawing in MARC(M) of the monument dedicated by L. Staius Diodorus (*CIL.* v. 3321). The original stone is still to be seen in Verona (Pl. XXXVII), and the Faenza manuscript, as usual, transmits it very accurately (Pl. XXXVIII*a*). The drawing shows the wreath on the left face as we see it in the stone, and I am sure the votive branch on the right is still there in the monument too, hidden by the wall against which the monument is placed. Now compare Felice's drawing of the same monument in Marcanova's manuscript (Pl. XXXVIII*b*). He entirely refashioned it, altering the line-divisions of the inscription to make it more elegant and regular, and setting it in an imposing brightly coloured structure à l'antique of the kind he often invented to give an antique monumental air to his own manuscripts, as for example in his frontispiece for one of Cyriac's writings in the Treviso codex (Pl. XXXVIII*c*).

Next we turn to the kind of drawings that occur in the branches of Family I that were nourished by the lost codices F 2, F 3, and F 4. The engaging double monument dedicated by M. Viriatius Zosimus (*CIL.* v. 3842), carved in pink Veronese marble, still stands in the Maffeianum (Pl. XXXIX*a*). Again Felice's drawing in the Faenza codex is substantially accurate, except that there are birds in the pediments instead of dolphins (Pl. XXXIX*b*). Presumably the birds were there by mistake in Cyriac's original drawing. In the Venetian copy of Felice's *sylloge* dedicated to Mantegna, on the other hand, the same monuments appear as a pair of sketchily drawn arches (Pl. XXXIX*c*); and in Ferrarini's volume in Utrecht, likewise apparently taken from a Felicean model, they figure as a double-arched architectural affair even more inconsistent with the stone (Pl. XXXIX*d*), while in Ferrarini's Paris manuscript this becomes further stylized, again with an exemplar of Felice's behind it, into something quite fanciful with things like wings or shutters flanking the double arch (Pl. XLa). Thus falsified it passed down into Ferrarini's third *sylloge* in Reggio (Pl. XLb).

But that is not the end of the story. Before his third *sylloge* of Veronensia in the Reggio volume was completed Ferrarini laid

hands on a different set of drawings in a source of box F 4 type, evidently (from the style) of Felicean origin but this time with Latin instead of Italian locations. Six of these he added as an appendix to his main Veronese collection. They include a couple of drawings of *CIL*. v. 3842 very similar to those we find in the Faenza codex (Pl. XLc). Thus we have the curious result that one and the same manuscript transmits two entirely different versions of the selfsame stones; and Felice in either case seems to have been the intermediary—or, if we prefer it, the nigger in the wood-pile.

Finally, before we leave Verona and her monuments, let us see how Felice—off his own bat¹—recorded a Roman building as familiar to him as his own house: the Borsari gate in Verona (Pl. XLIb). Cyriac in 1433 was much impressed by it. He transcribed its inscription and noted, as Scalamonti tells us in his biography, that it was constructed from living rock, had two arches, and was adorned with twelve windows. And so Felice drew it in his brightest colours in Marcanova's splendid codex (Pl. XLIa)—the Borsari gate with two arches and twelve windows!

The problems raised by Felice's procedures as an antiquary are of concern alike to the classical archaeologist and the student of Renaissance culture. How within reason, we wonder, could a man who personally knew the monuments of his native Verona transmit such conflicting images and eccentric copies of them in his scientific records? To the epigraphist and historian seeking sound data with which to reconstruct the history of Rome such wilful *contaminatio* as Felice's is, to say the least, disconcerting, and it makes the business of textual criticism in any area where Felice operated alone a hazardous business. The fidelity of Cyriac of Ancona, whom Mommsen once called 'ein nicht ganz sauberer Autodidakt'² with a knowledge of Latin on a par with that of an Italian coin-dealer, is now—thanks to the researches of Professor Ashmole and others—vindicated. Cyriac with his curious amateur enthusiasm to record exactly what he saw was, in this respect, ahead of his time, *when* we can get back to him. But the way back is blocked in many sectors by Felice Feliciano, and Felice is a joker in the pack whose conduct, I confess, I do not know how to justify by any modern standards of archaeo-

¹ The drawing of the Borsari gate occurs only in Estense cod. a. L. 5. 15.

² *Jahrbuch der kgl. preuß. Kunstsammlungen*, iv, 1883, p. 75; *Röm. Mitt.*, xvii, 1902, p. 319.

logical scholarship. Students of Renaissance mentality, on the other hand, may find his antiquarian habits, perhaps, less repugnant and more illuminating. They show what Mantegna¹ and Bellini were doing, and in what company, when they half recorded and half invented the antique in their paintings; they show what a highly respected fifteenth century antiquary understood by a proper copy of an antique monument, and they illustrate the desire for self-discovery and self-expression that underlay the Renaissance impulse to recover and revive the monuments of classical antiquity. In some circumstances, with the scruples of a good professional scribe trained to adhere strictly to his exemplars, Felice could imitate what he had before him with extraordinarily self-effacing—or almost self-effacing—fidelity. But in more exalted and intoxicated moods he would embroider and vary to the top of his bent, irradiating the poor broken relics of Greece and Rome with the full lustre of an Antiquity that shone only in his fervid imagination.² And this, from his point of view, was to choose the better part. History for the modern archaeologist is a scientific puzzle, to be solved, if at all, only by fitting together authentic pieces of evidence; for Felice and his age it was a moral lesson—a lesson of 'sacrosanct antiquity' that was truest and most persuasive when its memorials were restored to an ideal perfection.

¹ Cf. A. Moschetti, 'Le iscrizioni lapidarie romane negli affreschi del Mantegna agli Eremitani', *Atti del R. Ist. Veneto di scienze, etc.*, lxxix, 1929-30, pp. 227-39.

² Cf. my paper on 'Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy', *Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. E. F. Jacob, London, 1960, pp. 476-81.

I wish to thank Professor Augusto Campana and Dr. Giovanni Mardersteig especially for their generosity in sharing their knowledge of Felicean manuscripts with me over a number of years. I am indebted to Dr. Mardersteig and Professor Gertrud Bing for criticizing the manuscript of this lecture. Grateful thanks for information and help of various kinds are due to Professor Bernard Ashmole, Mrs. Alison Brown, Sir Sydney Cockerell, Dr. Bruno Fava, Dr. Giorgio Ferrari, Mrs. E. Frankfort, Professor E. H. Gombrich, Dr. W. O. Hassall, Dr. W. Hassell, Mr. Philip Hofer, Dr. R. W. Hunt, Professor W. A. Jackson, Dr. Otto Kurz, The Earl of Leicester, Professor W. C. Loerke, Mr. Stanley Morison, Dr. Emma Pirani, Dr. J. Porcher, Dr. Victor Scholderer, Mr. T. C. Skeat, Miss Mary Webster, and Professor R. Weiss.

APPENDIX

THE following is a summary check-list of the Felicean MSS. known to me. Since Dr. Mardersteig proposes soon to publish a proper *catalogue raisonné* of Felice's manuscripts I feel absolved from giving fuller particulars. Items listed by Pratilli (to whom Dr. Mardersteig communicated his own discoveries) are marked P; those of which I have information through the kindness of Professor Campana are marked C. Unless otherwise stated the manuscripts are in Felice's autograph.

(a) Epigraphical, &c.:

Bologna, Comunale A. 186 (P); *Faenza*, Comunale 7 (C); *Vatican*, Lat. 3616 (C); *Bern*, Stadtbibl. B. 42 (Marcanova, dated 1460, marginalia by Felice); *Modena*, Estense a. L. 5. 15 (Marcanova, dated 1465, mostly in Felice's hand); *Paris*, B.N. 5825F (Marcanova, dated 1465, mostly in Felice's hand); *Vatican*, Lat. 5245 (C), some pages in Felice's hand; *Treviso*, Capitolare I. 138 (P), Scalamonti's life of Cyriac of Ancona, &c.; *Verona*, Capitolare 269 (P), copy of sylloge dated 1463; *Venice*, Marciana Lat. X. 196 (3766) (P), copy of sylloge dated 1464; *Vatican*, Lat. 5251 (P), copy; *Milan*, formerly coll. Giovanni Labus, now lost (P), cf. G. B. de Rossi, *Inscr. Christ.*, ii, p. 391, Mommsen, *CIL*, iii, i, p. xxiv; *Milan*, Ambrosiana D. 436 inf. (P), extracts by G. V. Pinelli from *Modena a. L. 5. 15* and *Verona, Capit. 269*; *Vatican*, Lat. 6852 (P), Felice's alphabet, ed. Mardersteig, 1960.

(b) Literary works by Felice:

Modena, Estense a. N. 7. 28 (P), poems dated 1460; *Holkham Hall*, 521, poems, dated 1462 (S. de Ricci, p. 46); *Venice*, Marciana It. IX, 257 (6365) (P), poems, dated 1469, perhaps the book seen by Maffei in Verona, cf. Pratilli, p. 90; *Paris*, B.N. Ital. 1029 (P), poems; *Harvard* (Hofer coll.) MS. Typ. 157 (P—s.v. Olschki), poems and epistles; *Modena*, Estense a. H. 6. 1, formerly X*, 34 (P), miscellany with some poems by Felice, not autograph.

London, B.M. Harley 5271 (P), letters; *Oxford*, Bodl. Canon. Ital. 15 (P), letters; *Verona*, Comunale 3039, cod. 'Bevilacqua' (P), letters; *Brescia*, Quiriniana C. II. 14 (P), letters, not autograph; *Vatican*, Lat. 5641, f. 228, letter to Bartolomeo Aristofilo, cf. Campana, *Maso Finiguerra*, v, 1940, pp. 211–22.

Florence, Riccardiana 1459 (P), 'Justa Victoria', ed. Mardersteig, 1943, script unusual but pretty certainly autograph; *Venice*, Marciana It. XI. 106 (6392) (P), 'Justa Victoria', similar script to above; *Arezzo*, Bibl. della Fraternalità dei Laici, cod. 181, f. 46 (P), not seen to determine whether autograph or not; *Sneyd sale*, Sotheby's, London, 1903, lot 550, untraced, described in catalogue, p. 79, as early sixteenth century containing five 'nouvelle' including one by Felice (information from Professor R. Weiss).

(c) Transcribed works:

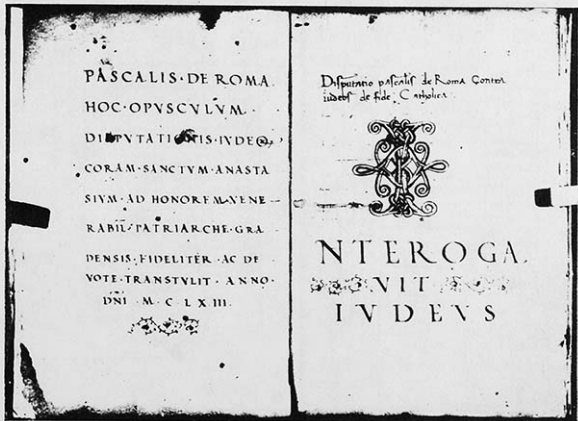
Verona, Capitolare 317 (P), 'Disputatio Paschalis de Roma', &c., dated 1458; *Venice*, Correr 314 (VI. 351) (P), L. Bruni's transl. of 'Apologia Socratis', &c., dated 1460 and 1467; *London*, B.M. Add. 47681, formerly Holkham 480 (cf. Pratilli, p. 45), Poggio, 'Facetiae', dated 1461; *Florence*, Magl. VI. 200, L. B. Alberti, 'Hippolito e Lionora', &c. (cf. Mardersteig, *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, ii, 1959, p. 302); *Cambridge, Mass.*, Harvard MS. Typ. 24, Alberti, 'Hippolito e Lionora', &c.; *Vatican*, Lat. 3191 (C), 'Regiones Romae', &c.; *Vatican*, Reg. Lat. 1388 (C), Sassolo of Prato's transl. of Xenophon's 'Visio Herculis', &c., dated 1463 and 1467; *Oxford*, Bodl. Canon. Ital. 56 (P), Giusto de' Conti, 'La bella mano', dated 1465; *Venice*, Marciana Lat. X. 73 (3445), Marco Polo, dated 1465; *Venice*, Marciana Lat. X. 64 (3691), L. Bruni's 'Brevis historia', &c., dated 1465 (one item in the MS. dated 1464, not in Felice's hand); *Venice*, Marciana Lat. VI. 135 (3641), L. Bruni's transl. of Plato's letters, &c., one section dated 1465; *Verona*, Comunale 2845 (P), Eugenius of Palermo, 'Heritrea Sibylla Babylonica', dated 1446 (? 1466); *London*, B.M. Cotton Nero A. 10 (information Mrs. Alison Brown), address from Giusto de' Giusti to John Chedworth, dated 1469; *Trento*, Comunale 1659 (P), Curtius Rufus 'de rebus gestis Alexandri Magni' and John of Lübeck, 'Prognosticum de adventu Christi', with printed borders; *Vienna*, Nationalbibl. lat. 3231 (P), Lactantius 'de ira Dei', &c., mostly in Felice's hand; *Vatican*, Ottobon. Lat. 1981 (C), excerpts from Poggio's 'Facetiae', &c., much damaged.

(d) Manuscripts and printed books with additions or embellishments by Felice:

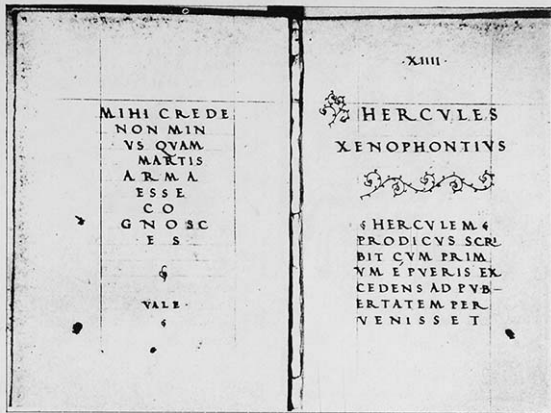
Bern, Stadtbibl. B. 42 (see (a) above); *Milan*, Ambrosiana, Trotti 373, Petrarch extracts in ?Felice's hand; *Venice*, Marciana Lat. X. 53 (3361), epitome of Val. Maximus, &c., additions on ff. 69^r, 89^v, 90^r, 91^r; *Venice*, Marciana Lat. X. 22 (3126), Flavio Biondo's 'History', book-headings throughout, 1465 colophon on f. 149^r; *Holkham Hall* 364, Dictys 'Bellum Troianum', &c., 1465 colophon on f. 194^v; *Vatican*, stamp. Chigi ii. 679, Petrarch 'libro degli uomini illustri', Poiano 1476, illuminations (cf. 'Alphabetum Romanum' p. 29); *Vatican*, stamp. Rossiano 1335, Valturio 'de re militari', 1472, illuminations and additions (cf. Campana, *Maso Finiguerra*, v, 1940, pp. 211 ff.); *Vienna*, Hofbibl. Incun. 25. B. 8, Ptolemy 'Cosmographia', Bologna 1472, illuminated bookplate of Hinderbach and distych (cf. Gottlieb, see p. 202, n. 4 above). In a lecture on 'Some aspects of humanistic script, 1460-1560' at King's College, London, in 1952 the late Mr. James Wardrop referred to two manuscripts in the Cockerell collection that were copies after Felice; Sir Sydney Cockerell now has no note of them.



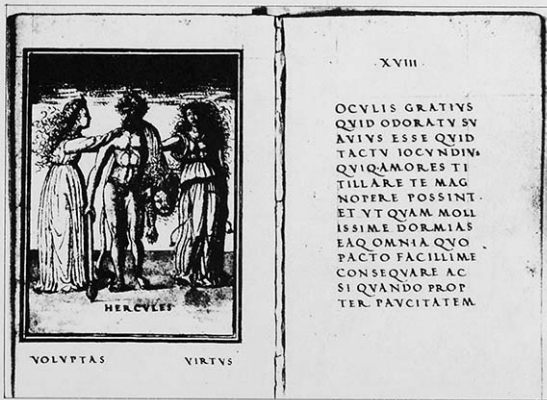
a. Felice's alphabet, Vat. Lat. 6852



b. Verona, Bibl. Capitolare cod. 317



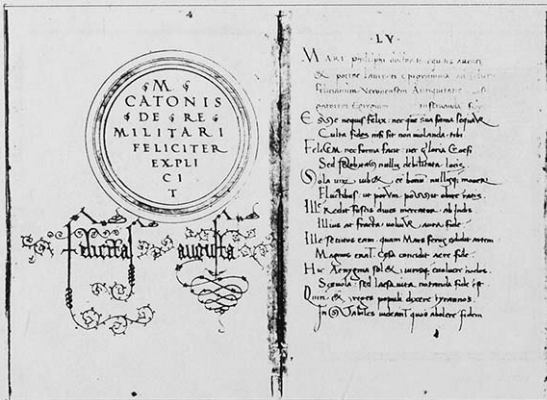
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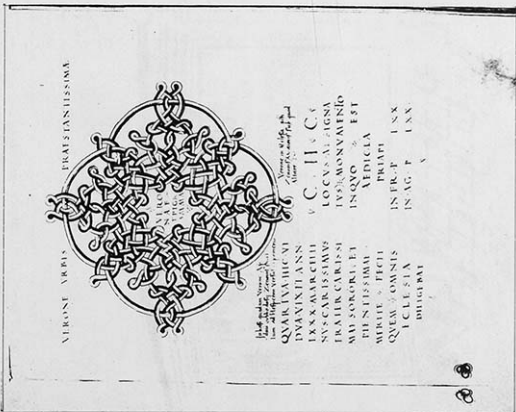
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a. Vatican, cod. Reg. Lat. 1388



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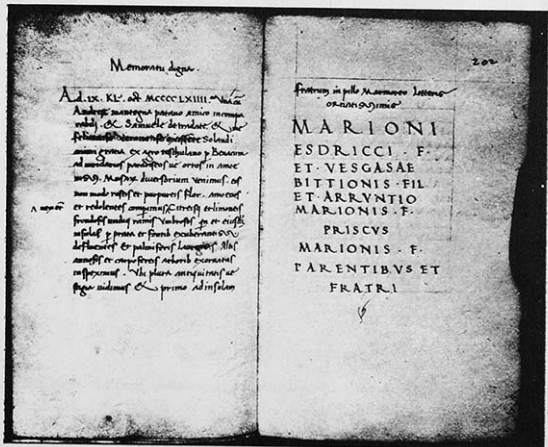
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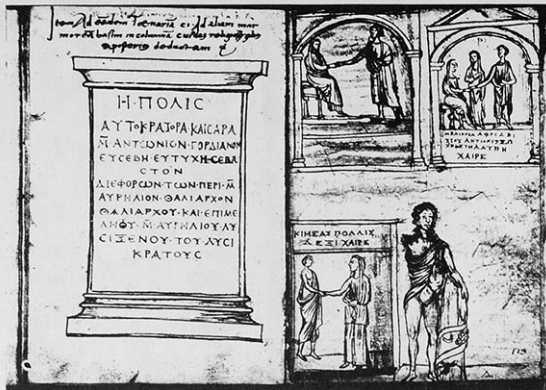
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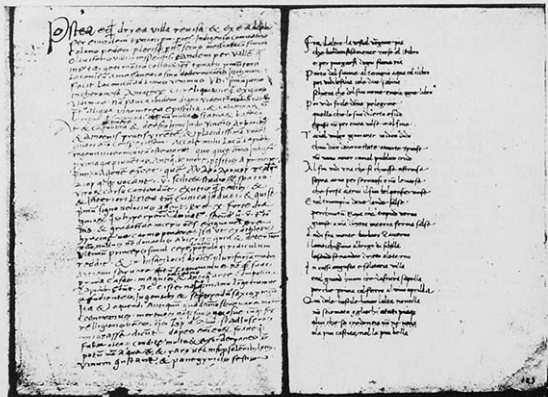
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b. Treviso, Bibl. Capitolare cod. I. 138



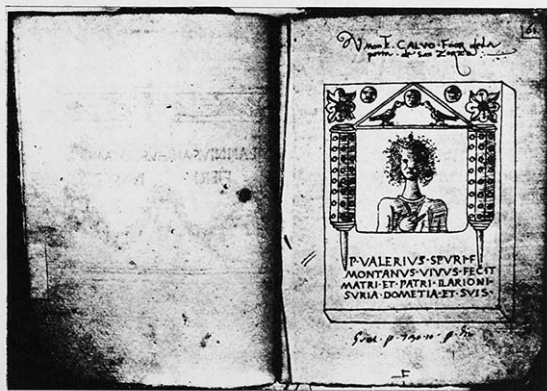
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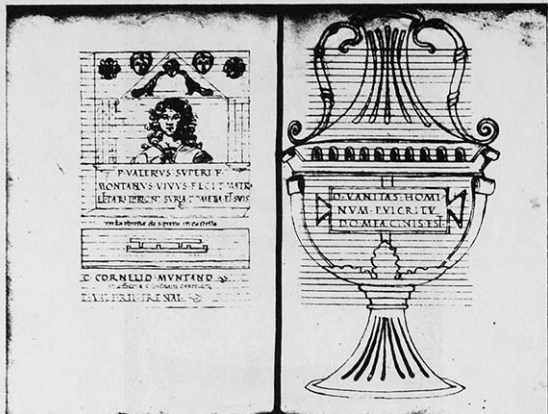
b. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana cod. Trotti 373



a. Verona, Museum Maffeanum (CIL. v. 3804)



b. Faenza, Bibl. Comunale cod. 7



a. New York Public Library, Spencer collection



b. New York Public Library, Spencer collection



a. Verona, Museum Maffecianum (CIL. v. 3653)



b. Modena, Bibl. Estense cod. a. L. 5. 15



c. Faenza, Bibl. Comunale cod. 7



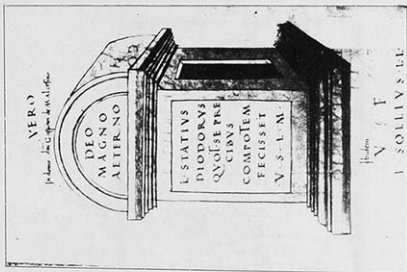
d. Reggio, Bibl. Comunale cod. C. 398



Verona, Museum Maffieianum (*CIL.* v. 3221)



a. Faenza, Bibl. Comunale cod. 7



b. Modena, Bibl. Estense cod. a. L. 5. 15



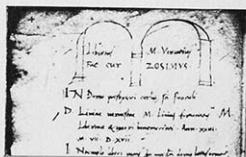
c. Treviso, Bibl. Capitolare cod. I. 138



a. Verona, Museum Mafficianum (CIL. v. 3842)



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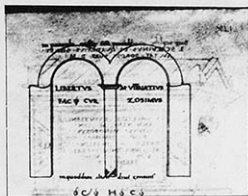
c. Venice, Bibl. Marciana cod. Lat. x. 196



d. Vatican, cod. Lat. 5243 (after Utrecht, Univ. Libr. cod. I. K. 9)



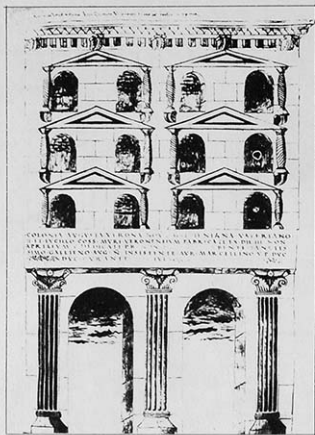
a. Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. 6128



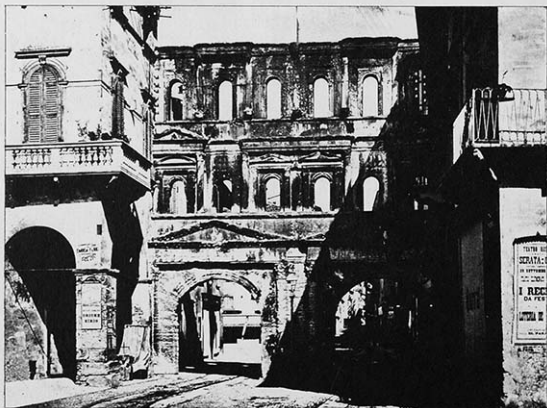
b. Reggio, Bibl. Comunale cod. C. 398, f. 41r



c. Reggio, Bibl. Comunale cod. C. 398, ff. 55v, 56r



a. Modena, Bibl. Estense cod. a. L. 5. 15



b. Verona, Porta dei Borsari