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Initials in Renaissance illuminated manuscripts: the problem of the so-called “litera Mantiniana”

(Abb. 46–62)

The subject of this paper is a type of capital initial letter which first appears in manuscripts illuminated in Padua or Venice in the late 1450's. Outstanding examples are found in the well-known copy of Strabo's *Geography* in the Latin translation of Guarino sent as a present by the Venetian condottiere Jacopo Marcello to René of Anjou in 1459 (Abb. 46)¹. The best term for this type of initial in my opinion is “faceted” initial, since it is represented as if a three-dimensional object either carved or perhaps cast in metal. A central ridge forms a spine of the letter which then seems to be hollowed on either side.

Various forms of initial decoration were in use in the Padua/Venice ambient in the mid fifteenth century. There was a type of initial decorated with vegetative forms and with border extensions of sprays of flowers and leaves which had developed out of 14th-century precedents and which continued to be used mainly for liturgical manuscripts and often too for Christian religious texts. These are found, for example, in a Missal inventoried at the Santo in Padua in 1466 and made after 1457 since it contains the Feast of the Transfiguration². The scroll is colourful in such examples and includes a variety of leaves, fruits and flowers.

Secondly, the white-vine type of decoration, developed already in Florence in the earliest years of the fifteenth century and employed especially in classical and humanist texts, was also used in Northern Italy frequently by this date, though with rather different leaf forms which tend to be more organic. These are seen in a copy of Sicco Polentone's *Life of St. Anthony* and two other Paduan saints transcribed by Fra Jacopo

¹ Albi, *Bibl. Rochegude*, Ms. 4. The importance of the initials was first emphasized by Meiss, 1957. He amplified his conclusions in Meiss, 1960. See also Mariani Canova, 1969, pp. 18–20, 141–2, figs. 6–9 and Avril, 1984, no. 112. For the more general questions of the development of humanistic script and initials see Casamassima, 1974, and Alexander, *de la Mare*, 1969.

² Padua, *Biblioteca Antoniana*, Ms. 78. Mariani Canova, 1975, pp. 751–3, figs. 147–52 and colour plate 7. See also *S. Antonio*, no. 82.

of Padua in 1439³. The decoration is attributable to Cristoforo Cortese, who appears to have been the most successful and prolific illuminator in this area in the first thirty to forty years of the century. Another example of his work is a copy of Plautus's plays. It has an inscription in it in a hand identified as that of Bernardo Bembo, which says that he bought it while studying at the University of Padua in 1456⁴. This is significant, as will appear shortly, since it shows what was available to Bembo at that time. The initial 'I' here contains the coloured leaf scroll of the Gothic type which is used more regularly by Cortese, for example in a Petrarch⁵.

A third form of initial decoration in the mid to third quarter of the fifteenth century consists of interlacing strapwork. An important early example is the Eusebius dated 1450, whose scribe Dr de la Mare has identified as the secretary of Fantino Dandolo, Bishop of Padua from 1448 to 1459 (Abb. 47)⁶.

Another aspect of the design of initials at this date should be mentioned. This is that in both those used in liturgical manuscripts, especially Choir Books, and in the white-vine initials, the letter forms and the foliage scrolls tend to become more three-dimensional. A good example is the initial from a Choir Book in the Wildenstein Collection, Paris, by Girolamo da Cremona of c. 1460, where the upright of the 'P' is a fluted column⁷. A white-vine example is a Juvenal of c. 1460 where the scroll is touched with pale yellow which makes it appear tubular (Abb. 48)⁸.

This then is the context of possibilities into which the faceted initials fit. The experiments in this direction take place at the end of the 1450's and it should be empha-

³ Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, Ms. 559. Mariani Canova, 1975, pp. 760–1, figs. 115, 117, and colour plate 8. See also Ms. 86, *ibid.*, pp. 753–4, figs. 108–113. Also *S. Antonio*, nos. 84, 85. This scroll with its inhabiting animals and putti and its curling leaf forms is very different from the Central Italian 12th-century prototypes of the Florentine white-vine or from the original Ottonian forebears, where the emphasis is on the scroll which has only small nodes, not developing into leaves, fruits or flowers. It would be interesting to know whether these Northern white-vine styles, including those also which are used in Lombardy, are also historicising in that they copy North Italian 12th-century models, or whether they are simply retaining the more "Gothic" features of the other decoration used for liturgical manuscripts. The 12th-century Italian material is too unknown, at least to me, to decide this question. But these initials in the Polentone with their combative animals and figures even remind one of English or French 12th-century initials. The very different type of white-vine with emphasis on the stem not the fruit or leaf is seen in a Gregory, Commentary on Ezekiel, of the late 11th century from Nonantola, which was in the library of the Santo in the 15th century, Biblioteca Antoniana, Ms. 82. D'Arcais, II, 1975, p. 724.

⁴ Eton College, Windsor, Ms. 87, James, 1895, p. 30.

⁵ Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Ms. Ital. 4. Toesca, 1952, 51–3, fig. 21. Alexander, 1985, p. 116 and n. 51. Another Cortese Petrarch is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ital. 549, Avril, 1984, no. 109.

⁶ Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Lat. IX.1. Meiss, 1957, p. 92, n. 15. Meiss, 1960, pp. 107, 111, figs. 30, 34.

⁷ Paris, Musée Marmottan, Coll. Wildenstein No. 64. See most recently Mariani Canova, 1984, fig. 13.

⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Auct. F. 5.4. Pächt, Alexander, 1970, no. 612, pl. LIX. *Duke Humfrey*, 1970, no. 75.

sized that they are paralleled in the same manuscripts by the use for titles and headings of epigraphic capitals based on Roman inscriptional lettering. Here it is important to note that new or creative experiments in initial design come about when scribes and artists are in close contact or are even, as in much early medieval book illumination, one and the same person⁹. In this connection it should be mentioned that Giovanni Marcanova wrote ownership inscriptions in his manuscripts in epigraphic capitals already in 1437 and 1440¹⁰. Marcanova accompanied Andrea Mantegna and Felice Feliciano on the famous *Jubilatio* to collect inscriptions and was the commissioner of the Silloge of inscriptions of which copies are in Modena and in Princeton University Library. Two manuscripts written in 1454 and 1456 by Pietro Delphin, presumably a member of the Venetian noble family and thus another amateur, have epigraphic single colour initials which are also exceptionally early examples (Abb. 49)¹¹. If they were inserted at the time of writing, then perhaps Pietro executed them himself, since he wrote the earlier manuscript of 1454, as he says in his colophon, on a voyage to Alexandria.

If the Eton Plautus was the kind of book that Bembo was able to buy second hand as a student in 1456, he may not have been very satisfied. In the next year he commissioned a copy of Solinus¹². On folio 1 is a straightforward white-vine initial 'Q' of the Paduan type. Then on folio 7 the text starts with a heading in coloured epigraphic capitals, one line in purple, the next in olive green. Such coloured capitals, usually written in different coloured inks a line at a time, occur already in the 1450 Eusebius. They become a decorative feature of very many of these manuscripts, thus uniting script and decoration. The main initial in the Solinus, an 'S', is placed on a simulated marble ground (Abb. 50). One might have expected it in this context to be shown as if carved. This was done in a Martial and in a Plautus, both produced for Matthias Corvinus, perhaps at Ferrara, c. 1465¹³. Another such simulated stone inscription is in the Bible of Borso d'Este finished in 1461¹⁴. However, the seriphed capital in the Solinus is in plain gold leaf. In some examples such initials are highlighted in yellow on one side and outlined in black on the other so that they look as if they are cut from a thin sheet of metal¹⁵. It is tempting to wonder if such letters might be intended to represent metal letters. In Bembo's Solinus the 'S' might be thought of as if affixed, as they were in

⁹ Alexander, 1978, p. 7.

¹⁰ Alexander, de la Mare, 1969, p. xxix n. 2, for example in Holkham Hall, Norfolk, Ms. 402.

¹¹ Holkham Hall, Norfolk, Ms. 409 and Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. F^o 97. For the latter see Liefstinck, 1964, I, pp. 93–4, II, pl. 428.

¹² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Class. Lat. 161. Pächt, Alexander, 1970, no. 603, pl. LVIII.

¹³ Martial, formerly J. R. Abbey Collection, 3223. Alexander, de la Mare, 1969, pp. 133–4, pl. D. Sold Sotheby's, 4 June 1974, lot 2932. Plautus, Vienna, Ö.N.B., Cod. 111. Csapodi-Gárdonyi, 1984, pp. 125–6, colour pl.

¹⁴ Modena, Biblioteca Estense, VG. 12 (lat. 429), vol. II, folio 203. Venturi, 1937.

¹⁵ London, British Library, Kings 20, fol. 1, 'A' is an example. Warner, Gilson, III, 1921, p. 8. The arms of Mocenigo are possibly an addition.

antiquity, to a structure. Most of these Roman metal letters must have been melted down, of course, but an example is preserved in the Museum at Nancy (Abb. 51)¹⁶.

In two manuscripts made for John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, whilst he was in Padua from 1459 to 1461, one being Ognibene da Lonigo's Commentary on Juvenal¹⁷, the other a Lucretius¹⁸, the unknown artist has adopted a different solution. This is to give the letter an antique flavour by composing it of a classically inspired acanthus leaf scroll (Abb. 53). In the Lucretius which has similar initials, the Earl's motto "Aeternum Felix" is inscribed in gold on the little structure in the lower margin and, though this is difficult to see in reproduction, once again the letters are actually shaded to simulate three-dimensionality (Abb. 52).

This, then, is the moment of transition. The idea of making the letter an object and the interest in Roman epigraphic lettering came together. The brilliant innovation was to represent initials in a way which as it were reverses the process of the carved classical letters which were incised, and shows them instead as if letters carved or cast in relief. The process is of the simplest. The letter form is simply painted in a darker tone and then a highlight is applied in a lighter tone. Secondly, the classicising scroll which appears already in the two Tiptoft manuscripts, is made to twine around the letter and even to emphasize its physicality by piercing it¹⁹. Thirdly, in the Albi Strabo there is one other important feature, and that is to indent the coloured ground on which the initial is placed (Abb. 46). This has the effect of emphasizing the white parchment ground so that the disjunction between the new three-dimensionality of the letter and the two-dimensional surface on which the script is written, is toned down.

The earliest dated example of the faceted initial is in a Ptolemy given like the Strabo by Marcello to René of Anjou and dated 1457²⁰. Here the letter contains an author portrait with some rather tentative foliage scroll-work (Abb. 55). Next in date comes the Strabo of 1459. And then there are two other manuscripts made between 1459 and 1461, the first the Sinesius Cyrenensis, *Laus calvitii*, translated into Latin for Tiptoft by John Free of 1461, which has a faceted initial 'S' on folio 5 and two other faceted capitals (Abb. 56), and secondly the Basinio da Parma, *Astronomicon*, also made

¹⁶ Kindly communicated to me by Mrs Nicolette Gray. I am grateful to Mr Nicholas Biddulph, Central School of Art and Design, for providing me with a photograph. In most cases, of course, we can only reconstruct these letters from the remaining fixing holes.

¹⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Arch. Selden B. 50, Pächt, Alexander, 1970, no. 607, pl. LVIII. *Duke Humfrey*, 1970, no. 70.

¹⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Auct. F 1.13. Pächt, Alexander, 1970, no. 606, pl. LVIII. *Duke Humfrey*, 1970, no. 72, pls. XVI, XIXa.

¹⁹ The terms of the solution are actually remarkably similar to those invented by Anglo-Saxon artists in the later 10th century (e.g. London, British Library, Harley 2904) where a strongly articulated capital letter is combined with a richly varied three-dimensional scroll. This Anglo-Saxon innovation forms the basis of the Northern Romanesque initials of the 11th and 12th centuries. Alexander, 1978, p. 14, pl. 15.

²⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, latin 17542. Meiss, 1957, 31-2, 57-60, fig. 28.

for Tiptoft, which has one faceted initial 'A'²¹. In the first manuscript once again the initial letter is associated with a simulated inscription as if in gold on porphyry on the verso opposite, and with coloured epigraphic capitals for the heading. In the Basinio there is another form of trompe l'oeil in the scrolling parchment on which the title is written in epigraphic capitals for the frontispiece. A third manuscript which belongs with these two, brought to my attention by Dr de la Mare, is a copy of Juvenal and Persius in Paris²². This has faceted initials with a similar scroll (Abb. 54).

None of these manuscripts' initials are really close in style to the Albi initials and they lack another feature which is the indentation of the coloured ground on which the initial is placed. Three other manuscripts have initials which resemble the Albi initials much more closely. The first is the presentation copy of a translation of Onosander made by Niccolo Sagundino, secretary of Doge Moro of Venice (1457–62), with the Doge's arms²³. The initial 'E' is small but the leaf scroll is of the same style and quality of execution as the Strabo. The second manuscript belonged to Cardinal Lodovico Trevisan of Aquileia and is thus datable before his death in 1465²⁴. It contains pseudo-Jerome Lives of Sts. Malchus and Paulus and has initials 'Q' and 'I' which are once again faceted capitals with a similar scroll and indented frames (Abb. 58). The third manuscript is a Petrarch with erased arms of a Cardinal, which probably dates from c. 1461–5 and which has an initial 'I' on folio 106, again in the style of the Albi initials²⁵.

To these three manuscripts which have indications of date can be added a fourth with no direct evidence, although since it has annotations which prove it belonged to Bembo, and also contained his arms which are now overpainted with those of Gritti of Venice, and since Dr de la Mare has ascribed the script to the same scribe as the Solinus of 1457, a date of c. 1460 is likely²⁶. It has two faceted letters, an 'I', folio 1, and a 'Q', folio 29 (Abb. 57). The text is Suetonius.

Millard Meiss in his publication of the Albi Strabo in 1957 proposed that its initials were designed and some of them executed by Andrea Mantegna. The evidence is not compelling. Though Meiss attributed miniatures in the *Passio Sancti Mauricii* sent to René by Marcello in 1453 to Mantegna himself, he suggested for the Strabo presentation miniatures "workshop of Mantegna". Though partly based on his appreciation of

²¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 80. Pächt, Alexander, no. 608, pl. LIX. Probably the presentation copy to Tiptoft. It has the arms of Thomas Beckington, bishop of Bath and Wells, to whom it may have been given by Tiptoft. *Duke Humfrey*, no. 83. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 646. Pächt, Alexander, 1970, no. 605, pl. LVIII. *Duke Humfrey*, 1970, no. 73, pls. XIXb, XXIVd.

²² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, latin 8290. The script is close to that in Ms. Bodley 80 and the date must be about 1460.

²³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Add. B. 59. Pächt, Alexander, 1970, no. 494, pl. XLVII.

²⁴ Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lat. II.39. *Mastra Storica*, 1954, no. 631. Alexander, 1970, pp. 31, 34, fig. 7.

²⁵ London, Victoria and Albert Museum, L. 101–1947. Alexander, 1970. *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, 1981, no. 25. I now think that the erased Cardinal's arms may have been those of Trevisan rather than of Francesco Gonzaga.

²⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. Class. Lat. 133. Pächt, Alexander, 1970, no. 620, pl. LX.

their high artistic quality his belief seems to have been strengthened by his conviction that Mantegna himself designed the initials in the manuscript and executed a number of them personally. The two arguments relating to the miniatures and the initials seem to buttress each other in Meiss' book, which, however, fails to conceal the fact that there is no firm evidence for either assertion. Mantegna's interest in classical inscriptions and his use of epigraphic letters for inscriptions in his paintings as also for his signatures in many of his works does not amount to evidence that he participated in what was a specialist aspect of book production. The argument is further weakened if we take into account not only the other manuscripts already discussed for which there is no suggestion of any direct connection with Mantegna, but also a growing number of other manuscripts with faceted initials, which have been discovered since Meiss wrote and which there is not space to discuss here in detail²⁷.

The obvious candidates to design the letter forms in these manuscripts would be either professional illuminators or scribes. The close connection of these initials with the epigraphic capitals of the titles has already been stressed above. There is no suggestion, however, on Meiss' part that these epigraphic titles were also designed or written by Mantegna. Meiss's conception of creation and innovation by an artistic genius would not easily accommodate such a suggestion²⁸.

If we take a different model, however, and look for innovation in a process which is both less sudden than Meiss supposes and also more collaborative, a different picture emerges. That is why it is necessary to examine the letters in a context of experiment over a period of years, experiment which finally leads to a particular solution. It is not necessary to look for a single innovator in all this, therefore. What is important is a particular historical conjunction. This brought together the study of classical inscriptions in Padua, already initiated earlier by Cyriaco of Ancona, humanistic and classical studies of the University of Padua, and, thirdly, a group of wealthy patrons, Bembo, Tiptoft, Trevisan, who had a special interest in classical antiquity. In response to their commissions a number of scribes and illuminators, who were also interested in antiquity, began to combine epigraphic lettering using coloured inks, classical letter shapes with a simulation of three-dimensionality and, thirdly, a classical scroll to embellish the initial. This group was initially, no doubt, quite restricted, but the achievement was not that of a single individual unaided.

Some of these scribes remain anonymous, though Dr de la Mare is gradually forming groups of manuscripts by them. It will certainly be important to get a better map of their identities and interrelationships. One scribe has been known since the discovery of his name by James Wardrop, that is Bartolomeo Sanvito²⁹. For an extended

²⁷ A particularly fine example, for knowledge of which I am again grateful to Dr de la Mare, is a Livy in Udine, written by Sanvito and datable probably c. 1460. See G. Zanier, 'Il codice Liviano del secolo XVI della Biblioteca del Seminario di Udine', *Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Udine*, 1966, pp. 305–27.

²⁸ Meiss, 1960, p. 107. "A more precise estimate of the nature of the relationship of this excellent scribe (of the Strabo) to Mantegna, and of the extent of his contribution to the new majuscular style, awaits additional evidence." The implication seems still to be that the scribe was somehow taught or influenced by Mantegna.

²⁹ Wardrop, 1963. See also n. 36 below.

list of his manuscripts, particularly the earliest ones written before Sanvito finally left Padua for Rome in the mid 1460's, we must await further studies by Dr de la Mare³⁰. Of the manuscripts so far discussed he does not appear to have been involved in the earlier ones, and he cannot be said, therefore, to have been the earliest to use coloured epigraphic capitals, though he was exceedingly skillful at them and evidently much in demand, for there are many manuscripts where he only executed the rubrics after other scribes had written the main text³¹. Two of the manuscripts discussed in connection with the Strabo initials, however, were written as well as rubricated by him, the Marciana Pseudo-Jerome, and the Victoria and Albert Petrarch.

My hypothesis would be that whoever was responsible for the epigraphic capitals, and this was not always the scribe of the main text, would also have sketched the initials. In the Petrarch and the Pseudo-Jerome, Sanvito would, therefore, have written and rubricated the text and also sketched out the letter shape of the initials. These would later have been painted and gilded by a specialist illuminator. As evidence three manuscripts can be cited with epigraphic capitals written by Sanvito. In these there are both sketches for initials and fully painted initials, thus showing that this was a process in two stages (Abb. 59–62)³².

A further argument is that epigraphic faceted initials occur in manuscripts written and/or rubricated by Sanvito, which were then illuminated by different artists. One example is a Book of Hours written by Sanvito and illuminated by the same two artists as the Victoria and Albert Petrarch³³. One is anonymous, the other is identifiable on stylistic grounds as Franco dei Russi. The Hours have faceted initials introducing the major divisions of the book and these are by Franco dei Russi. Another example is a Cicero, Letters, written and rubricated by Sanvito in 1462 and illuminated by Marco Zoppo³⁴. It would seem much more likely that the initial proportions were sketched out by the scribe not the illuminator in both these cases. I would suppose the same to have been done in the Albi Strabo which was written by a so far unidentified scribe. The illuminator who painted the initials of the Strabo is likely in my view to have been the same anonymous artist who worked in the Victoria and Albert Museum Petrarch, the Marciana Pseudo-Jerome and the Bodleian Canonici Suetonius.

³⁰ See n. 36 below. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 7992, Ovid, is another early Sanvito manuscript, communicated to me by Dr de la Mare. It was probably written c. 1460, and has faceted initials with fine classical leaf scroll. The style of the putto holding the arms of Buzacarini of Padua, fol. 1, relates to the Ptolemy (see n. 20 above), and a possible candidate as artist would be Leonardo Bellini.

³¹ de la Mare, 1984, pp. 288–90.

³² Glasgow, University Library, Hunter S. 2.8. Young, Aitken, 1908, p. 19 (no. 18). London, British Library, Kings 29, Juvenal and Persius. Warner and Gilson, 1921, p. 10. Fairbank, 1965, pl. 3. Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 184, Suetonius. Unterkircher, 1957, I, 9 (as Lombard, early 16th century). All three manuscripts contain the arms of Della Torre of Verona, also seen in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1508, written by Sanvito c. 1463, for which see *Bibliotheca Palatina*, 1986, S. 67 and in Holkham Hall, Ms. 382, for which see Hassall, 1970, pl. 120. Except for the Vienna Suetonius I owe knowledge of these manuscripts to Dr de la Mare.

³³ Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Sp. 13, Hours. Alexander, 1970, pp. 33–5. For reproduction see Bonicatti, 1964, fig. 19.

³⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Latin 11309. Alexander, 1969. Avril, 1984, no. 115.

The faceted initial with classical plant scroll once it had been developed did not immediately supercede all other letter forms in the North-east of Italy, even in classical or humanistic texts. Interlace as in the 1450 Eusebius (Abb. 47) continues to be an important decorative feature. The antiquarian Felice Feliciano who, of course, moved in the same circles and also wrote a treatise on the proportions of letters illustrated with faceted letters, uses interlace both to form the letter and as embellishment³⁵.

The faceted letter becomes known elsewhere very quickly. It spreads perhaps first to Mantua and to Rome, presumably as a result of Sanvito's move to Rome and his work for Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga. Sanvito often collaborated in Rome with the artist whom I have called the "Master of the Vatican Homer", who regularly used faceted initials. In the 1470's the faceted initial is used in Neapolitan manuscripts, partly as a result of the patronage of Cardinal Giovanni d'Aragona who also commissioned manuscripts in Rome from Sanvito and the Homer Master³⁶. Later still it is used in Milanese manuscripts and then, finally, through its use in woodcut initials in printed books, especially in Venice, it spreads North of the Alps.

One other form on the three-dimensional epigraphic letter should be mentioned in conclusion. This was developed probably in Venice, rather than in Padua, by the artist named by Professor Lilian Armstrong the "Master of the London Pliny"³⁷. These letters are given gold mounts and the faceted shapes are then painted as if stone or metal or sometimes even crystal. A further degree of illusionism and of refined luxury is thus achieved, but only at the price of abandoning the epigraphic connotations of the original faceted letters.

³⁵ For Felice see Mitchell, 1961. For manuscripts in Oxford with this type of initial connected with Felice see Pächt, Alexander, 1970, nos. 636, 637 and 639, Mss. Canon. Ital. 56, Bywater 37 and Canon. Misc. 123. Glasgow, University Library, Hunter U.5.15, has similar interlace border and initial, comes from Verona, and is also probably to be connected with Felice. See Alexander, 1985, p. 116. Interlace must have had connotations of antiquity for Felice and perhaps he knew some Ottonian manuscripts at first hand, for example the Ottonian Psalter of Archbishop Egbert of Trier, which seems to have been given to the basilica at Civedale by Bertoldo of Andechs, patriarch of Aquileia 1218–51. See *Mostra storica*, 1954, no. 37 and *Miniatura in Friuli*, Milan, 1972, pp. 15, 42–53. Interlace initials are also used in Paduan, Ferrarese and Mantuan manuscripts of the third quarter of the 15th century. Two fine manuscripts from Padua with such initials are Holkham Hall, Mss. 352 and 389. See Hassall, 1970, pls. 131–2. A plotting of the use of such initials might, I suspect, reveal a link with the Congregation of Sta Justina. It is puzzling that in none of the manuscripts written by him, so far as I know, does Felice use faceted initials, though the letters of his alphabet book, are all faceted. See now the colour facsimile, *Felice Feliciano, Alphabetum Romanum, Vat. Lat. 6852, aus der Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* (Codices e Vaticanis selecti, vol. LXX), Zürich, 1985 with an abbreviated version of the text of G. Mardersteig, *Felice Feliciano Veronese, Alphabetum Romanum*, Officina Bodoni, Verona, 1960.

³⁶ Alexander, de la Mare, 1969, pp. xxx, 106–110 and de la Mare, 1984, pp. 252–3, especially n. 33, 285–90.

³⁷ Armstrong, 1981. For faceted initials as if gold mounted and of stone or crystal see for example, pls. 98, 118, and colour plate III.

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