

AUGUSTINE AND THE TRINITY VISION  
IN THE  
VITA SANCTI AUGUSTINI IMAGINIBUS ADORNATA

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## Introduction

*Here in an enigmatic image I discern the Trinity*<sup>1</sup>

St Augustine of Hippo (354-430) is often hailed as being the most influential theologian in the western Christian tradition. Moreover, he was seen to have been the founding father of what was to become the Order of Hermits of St Augustine (1256) and the Augustinian Canons (1079).<sup>2</sup> As such, he has been the subject of countless books recounting his life from his birth to a Christian mother and pagan father, through his education, young adulthood, fatherhood and his moment of revelation and the new life that he followed.<sup>3</sup> These books recount Augustine's search for truth and Christian knowledge, as well as the path which led him to establishing monasteries, and his work within the communities to his final illness, death and posthumous miracles. Augustine's biographers, from his contemporary Possidius of Calama (d. 437) to James O'Donnell, have compiled works of impressive detail and insight based on knowledge and interpretations of Augustine's writings, including his *Confessions*, *The City of God*, *The Trinity* and his sermons. His first biographer, Possidius, based his *Sancti Augustini Vita* on his firsthand experiences of living in close friendship with Augustine for forty years. In thirty-one chapters, Possidius captures Augustine's life from childhood through the founding of the monastery to his illness and death, including the saint's thoughts on household affairs, discipline and the companionship of women.<sup>4</sup> In the Middle Ages, Possidius was followed in writing a biography of Augustine by Philip of Harvengt (d.

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Chadwick, *Saint Augustine Confessions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 276.

<sup>2</sup> See Eric L. Saak "In Search of Origins: The Foundation of the *Ordo Ermitarum Sancti Augustini*. in *Analecta Augustiniana*" Vol. L X X V. (Institutum Historicum Ord. S. Augustini. Romae, 2012).

<sup>3</sup> See Eric L. Saak, "Lives of Augustine" forthcoming in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. Karla Pollmann et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> See the *Life of Saint Augustine written by the Bishop Possidius*, Translated by Herbert Theberath Weiskotten, [http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/possidius\\_life\\_of\\_augustine\\_02\\_text.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/possidius_life_of_augustine_02_text.htm), (May 2012).

1183), James of Voragine (d. 1298), Nicolas of Alessandria (1332), Henry of Friemar (1334) and Jordan of Quedlinburg (before 1341).

None of these histories, with one exception, directly links Augustine to a vision of the Holy Trinity, even as the Trinity was the subject of one of Augustine's own masterpieces, *De Trinitate*, which became the point of departure for all further discussions of the Trinity in the medieval theological tradition.<sup>5</sup> The same is the case for the iconographic tradition and the historiography thereof. Jean Courcelle and Pierre Courcelle provided the most extensive catalogue of Augustine's iconography to date, yet nowhere do they discuss Augustine's vision of the Trinity.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, iconographically Augustine's vision of the Trinity makes its appearance only very late in the tradition, which has been ignored by contemporary scholars, as we will see next.

*Augustine in Iconography: History and Legend* (1999, reprinted 2003), edited by Joseph C. Schnaubelt OSA and Frederick Van Fleteren review the historical and archeological background of the Augustinian Order, including how both the Basilica Pacis of Hippo and Augustine's tomb in San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Padua were designed. This book also looks at the representation of Augustine in portraiture and in several life-cycle collections;<sup>7</sup> San Gimignano and Carlisle Cathedral included, with the story of the Christ-child and the Trinity<sup>8</sup> being shown at San Gimignano.<sup>9</sup> In reviewing the frescos at

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<sup>5</sup> For the most recent analysis of Augustine's complex theology of the Trinity, see Lewis Ayres *Augustine and the Trinity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>6</sup> Jean and Pierre Courcelle, *Les Cycles du XIV Siècles* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1969) ; *Les Cycles du XV Siècles* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1965) ; Pierre Courcelle, *Recherches Sur Les Confessions de Saint Augustin* (Paris, Éditions E. De Boccard, 1968); *Recherches Sur Saint Ambroise "vies" Anciennes, Culture, Iconographie* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1973); *Scènes Anciennes de L'iconographie Augustinienne* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1964).

<sup>7</sup> The concept of life-cycle images refers to, in this thesis, the life of St Augustine, from birth to death.

<sup>8</sup> This refers to the story of Augustine encountering a child upon the beach, the child was spooning the water into a small hole in the sand. Augustine stopped and told the boy that his endeavor was futile; the boy (the Christ-child) replied that so was Augustine's contemplation on understanding the Trinity.



Carlisle, Schnaubelt and Van Fleteren present James of Voragine's account of the woman finding Augustine rapt in meditation upon the Trinity. This is the first written association of Augustine and the Trinity but does not connect the Saint with a vision *per se*.

In *Art and the Augustinian Order in Early Renaissance Italy* (2007) Louise Bourdua and Anne Dunlop edit a series of engaging essays on the representations of the Augustinian Order, including the representations of the Trinity and consider the rise of art as a method of representing ideas. Whilst Donal Cooper's thesis "St Augustine's Ecstasy before the Trinity in the Art of the Hermits, ca. 1360-ca. 1440" suggests that the presence of the Trinity within art is a pictorial corruption based on the word found in Book IX of the Augustine's *Confessions*. This version in the iconography is taken from the passage "where Augustine confides to God: 'You had pierced our hearts with arrows of your love.'" <sup>10</sup> Cooper states that there is no evidence to support any claim for "any firm textual foundation for the saint's vision." <sup>11</sup> Whereas Meredith Gill proposes two possible ways to view Augustine's connection to the Trinity, in her book *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance*, follows the way in which Augustine was perceived in the Renaissance period, comparing him to other great scholars and how he is represented in art through fresco painting, portraits and illuminated works. She discusses the Trinity in two ways: the dogma of the Trinity in Augustine's writings and as an image of three in repeating circumstances, such as before the Law (Adam to Moses), under the Law (Moses to

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<sup>9</sup> See Romualdo N. Vasaturo guide book to *The Church of Saint Augustine in San Gimignano* (The Church of San Gimignano: Italy, 2006) on the fresco [#12] in the choir.

<sup>10</sup> See Donal Cooper's "St Augustine's Ecstasy before the Trinity in the Art of the Hermits, ca. 1360-1440." eds. Louise Bourdua and Anne Dunlop in *Art and the Augustinian Order St Augustine's Ecstasy* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2007), 197.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 196.

Christ), and under Grace (Christ to the Last Judgment), however, the author does not mention the Trinity vision.<sup>12</sup>

There is no evidence that Augustine's vision of the Trinity was a historical event. Even when Augustine recounts his mystical vision together with his mother Monica at Ostia, there is no explicit mention of the Trinity.<sup>13</sup> Yet from the middle of the fifteenth century onward we find iconographic representation of Augustine's vision as including the Trinity. The first clear representations appear in two fifteenth-century German manuscripts; the first is the *Historia Augustini* (abbreviated to *Historia* for the remainder of this thesis), dated to ca. 1430 and the second is the *Vita Sancti Augustini Imaginibus Adornata* (hereafter cited as VSA), dated after 1494. The VSA will be described in detail in Chapter Two over the earlier *Historia* because the images within the VSA are accompanied by text this gives a further layer of detail that is not present in the *Historia*.<sup>14</sup> The introduction of the Trinity vision into the life-cycle images associated with Augustine raises the question; why does the Trinity vision appear at the moment in time?

There are, however, images of Augustine and the Trinity that predate both the *Historia* and the VSA. Yet these do not do so in a way that clearly represents it as a vision. The stained glass in the north windows at St Peter's Church in Erfurt, Germany, take their inspiration from the many textual works describing Augustine's life; the window representing the death of the saint is drawn from Possidius's *Vita* (xxxii,23),

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<sup>12</sup> Meredith Gill, *Augustine and the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>13</sup> Augustine. *Confessions*. IX, x, (23).

<sup>14</sup> The reasons behind this choice to focus in the VSA rather than the earlier *Historia* will be discussed in Chapter Three.

according to the Courcelles.<sup>15</sup> Yet the magnificent roundel window representing God the Father seated on a chest/bench as he supports Christ his Son who is nailed to the cross, with The Holy Spirit depicted as a dove in flight over Christ's head is simply referred to as being from "legend" by the Courcelles. As already stated, there is no evidence to suggest that the saint himself saw such a vision. Why, then, did Augustine become associated with a vision of the Trinity in late medieval iconography? Why was Augustine's vision of the Trinity included in these two German manuscripts at this time? For whom were these manuscripts intended and by whom were they constructed? Finally, what was the intent? I seek to answer these questions by tracing the image of the Trinity back through history. I will discuss the difficulties that artists faced when representing this sacred image and how, through the centuries, the image evolved into the form of the Trinity that is seen in the VSA and *Historia* manuscripts. In doing so, I will make a case for the importance of Augustine's vision of the Trinity for the Augustinian tradition in the later Middle Ages, consequently contributing to the understanding of the significant historical importance of the late medieval reception of Augustine the iconography of the Trinity as such and the creative attempt to "create Augustine" in word and image anew in the later Middle Ages.<sup>16</sup> Given Augustine's foundational importance to the development of medieval Trinitarian theology, and the influence of the Order of Hermits of St Augustine [OESA]<sup>17</sup> on the religious and cultural life of the later Middle Ages, it is surprising that scholars have not previously analyzed, or even recognized, the

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<sup>15</sup> Courcelles, *Les Cycles du XIV Siècles*, 36.

<sup>16</sup> Recent work has focused on the reception of Augustine and his late medieval "creation". See *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine* (hereafter cited as OGHRA, and Saak, *Creating Augustine*.

<sup>17</sup> Ordo Eremitarum Sancti Augustini.

late medieval image of Augustine's vision of the Trinity.<sup>18</sup> This is the lacuna this thesis seeks to address.

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<sup>18</sup> This is true as well for Meredith Gill's contribution on "Visual Imagery" forthcoming in OGHRA.

## Chapter ONE

### The Progression of the Trinity Image

Trinitarian art refers to the representations of the theological doctrine of the unity of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.<sup>19</sup> As noted by both Gill and Ayers in their respective books on Augustine, the saint was preoccupied with the concept of the Trinity and had “likened the Trinity to the essentials of being, the Sun, Light and Heat, which [Augustine said] could be visualized as inter-linked rings”<sup>20</sup> amongst other ways. The saint’s tomb in San Pietro in Ciel d’Oro is decorated in four tiers and crowned with triangular pendentive with high relief sculptures are designed, I would suggest, reflecting his dedication for the passion of the Trinity. But the image of the Trinity that we recognize in medieval art did not start off as the Trinity seen in the manuscript; it has an iconographic history of symbols and representation that progressed through the centuries until the symbolism seen in the VSA’s Trinity vision became both acceptable and recognizable.

For centuries, artists have faced a problem when dealing with the representations of the Trinity. In the medieval period, the image of God was rarely depicted and when it was it was usually in smaller scale works.<sup>21</sup> It was not until Giotto completed the

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<sup>19</sup> The subject of the Trinity and indeed its meaning has been discussed and written about by many scholars, not in the least St. Augustine himself. The doctrine of the Trinity itself though is not the purpose of this work. For a theological discussion read Karl Rahner’s “The Trinity,” *Milestones in Catholic Theology* (New York: Burns and Oats, 2001).

<sup>20</sup> Augustine. *De Trinitate (The Trinity)*, translation Edmund Hill, *The Works of Saint Augustine*, ed. John E. Rotelle, (New York: New City Press, 2005), 65.

<sup>21</sup> One of the earliest images of God is at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Spain (which has a sculptural relief capital) with God holding his son in his arms as he is stretched out on the Cross, above the head of God is a dove; and was produced in the late eleventh-century. This continued but to the lexicon was those produced in the twelfth and thirteenth-centuries appear in manuscripts; then by the twelfth-century also in Psalters, for example folio 148r held at the Bodleian Library in Oxford ([www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk](http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk)) shows the Trinity accompanied by a kneeling nun. The Cathedral of Soissons, France has a stained-glass window which represents the Trinity; the building was completed by the

frescoes at The Scovegni Chapel (or the Arena Chapel), Padua, Italy ca.1305 that the image of God in physical form became more commonplace. When artists wanted to represent the Trinity, they usually had a choice; the simplest way was to depict the Trinity in the form of a triangle or delta ( $\Delta$ ), or a more complex image as a combination of the three elements. Of the three components of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit was the easiest to show as it was described in the Bible as a *fire in the bush* [Ex3:2],<sup>22</sup> a *pillar of cloud and fire* [Ex13:21] or as the *lightning in the mountain* [Ex 19:16]. Further, depicting the Holy Spirit did not fall under the restriction of the Second Commandment which is sometime interpreted as forbidding portraying God in images.<sup>23</sup> However, the most commonly acceptable form for depicting the Holy Spirit is that of the dove as it appears in the VSA.

There was a reluctance to illustrate, describe, or even name the manner of Christ's death during the early Christian period. Crucifixion was a shameful death reserved for serious crimes against the state, so artists tended to focus on the joy of Christ's re-birth in the resurrection.<sup>24</sup> The image of Christ being crucified is part of Trinitarian art and therefore artists needed to represent his death in a positive light, which led to images of Passion being used in order that "the crucified God became [...], the symbol, the event

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beginning of the thirteenth-century and makes it a contemporary to the Arena Chapel in Padua, <http://library.artstor.org/library/iv2.html>, (February 2012).

<sup>22</sup> Biblical references for this thesis are taken from the *American Standard Version* [ASV], [www.asvbible.com](http://www.asvbible.com), (March 2010)

<sup>23</sup> The second of the Ten Commandments declares, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water below," as stated in the Book of Exodus 20:4. Deuteronomy 27: 15 gives a dire warning to mankind that "Cursed be the man that maketh any graven or molten image."

<sup>24</sup> There are other images that have by some scholars been accredited to being images of Christ, the *Alexamenos Graffito* is dated from the first-century AD, found as part of some wall graffiti near the Palatine Hill in Rome. It has further clarification due to the accompanying inscription which reads "Alexamenos worships [his] God" and shows a figure with the head of an ass being crucified. This image is claimed by some scholars to be a mocking depiction of Christ intended to be an insult to contemporary Roman society.

that defines the Christian religion,”<sup>25</sup> although there seems to be little evidence to support the use of the cross as a symbol before the time of Constantine. There are some early versions of the crucifixion, including the images found on early Christian sarcophagi. For example, the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus ca. 359AD and the *Dogmatic Sarcophagus* both of which contain carved scenes from Christ’s Passion, therefore telling a more complete and positive story and just not the crucifixion. To solve the negativity surrounding the crucifixion, some early Christian artists, like the artisan who decorated the mid-fourth-century sarcophagus, known as *The Passion Sarcophagus* [Plate One] replaced the crucifixion scene with the Chi-Rho (✠). A century later a set of four small ivories known as *The Maskell Ivories*<sup>26</sup> were used to decorate a little hand held reliquary casket, one of which is perhaps the earliest actual image of Christ depicted on the cross. This is confirmed by an inscription on the *titulus crucis*: which reads REX IUD[aeorum] [Plate Two]. It is probable that this item was commissioned for a private collection and not to be shown in public, therefore allowing a personal ideology to be represented. Even with the body of Christ on the cross, this ivory also includes the suicide of Judas Iscariot. Judas is clearly depicted as being dead, but the figure of Christ is shown neither dead nor in pain, therefore presenting the crucifixion as a positive message coming from the story of Christ death (and subsequent resurrection). The late thirteenth-century oak panel altarpiece from Westphalia in north-western Germany further demonstrates this style of presentations for the Trinity [Plate Three] as noted earlier there were other presentations of the Trinity (see FN 23). The altarpiece made during the Hohenstaufen family's rule of

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<sup>25</sup> Eric Saak, *Highway to Heaven: The Augustinian Platform between Reform and Reformation, 1292-1524*, (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2002), 467.

<sup>26</sup> *The Maskell Passion Ivories*, ca.420-430, Ivory, Rome, The British Museum, Department of Prehistory and Europe, MME 1856.06-23, 4-7.

the Holy Roman Empire, has painted in the middle panel God the Father on his throne, he holds the Cross with the body of his sacrificed son in his hands, between them the dove of the Holy Spirit. From this base, he supports mankind through the death of his son and with the Holy Spirit as the divine one, who is separate and inclusive of the Father and Son. To represent the Mercy-Seat as the Holy Trinity in this manner illustrates the sacrifice of the Son of God, in which, being constantly renewed through the resurrection that God's mercy is revealed.

In its earliest representations, the physical manifestation of God in human form presents him on the Mercy-Seat, literally 'sat upon the Word of God'. The progression for the Trinity image starts with the Mercy-Seat (also Seat of Mercy or Throne of Mercy) which in the Old Testament refers to being the golden cover of the Ark of the Covenant as seen in *The Morgan Bible* [Plate Four]<sup>27</sup> which includes an image of King David celebrating in front of the Ark as it is brought to Jerusalem. Whilst in the New Testament, Paul contrasts the Old Testaments' dispensation sacrifice with that from the New Testament. Being that Christ's sacrifice on the cross, using 'the law and the prophets' and the Song of Moses [Ex.15] Paul amalgamates God's righteousness and redemption with the promise that the exodus would lead to a sanctuary established by God himself. This is built upon his Word, with Christ is at the centre, the sanctuary is supported through his sacrifice and his atonement for the sins of mankind.

In Hebrew the term Mercy-Seat translates in two ways; firstly meaning 'to cover', in reference to the Ark; and secondly it means 'to pardon', or 'to atone for'. Out of the Hebrew (Mercy-Seat) came the images which gave life to what would become known as the variations of the Passion; the words coming from Isaiah 53: 3, "He was despised and

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<sup>27</sup> *The Morgan Bible*, ca.1240, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Ms M. 638.



rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, and we hid as it were *our* faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not.” Although there are earlier images which represent the words of the suffering of Christ, for me, the most arresting image is *The Mocking of Christ [with the Virgin and St Dominic]* [Plate Five] that represents the specific part of the imagery of the Passion.<sup>28</sup> A central scene of the Passion is the more reflective version known as the Man of Sorrows or *imago pietatis*, which portrayed Christ body prominently displaying the wounds of the Passion and wearing the Crown of Thorns.<sup>29</sup> This image was particularly popular in the Northern part of Europe taking on two different styles; the isolated inaccessible figure as seen in the fourteenth-century mosaic icon from the church of Santa Croce in Jerusalem [Plate Six] and the more humanized Christ; Giovanni Bellini’s *Man of Sorrows* for example [Plate Seven] Christ is supported by the Virgin Mary and St John as they artfully display his wounds, allowing the viewer to connect and sympathize with the subject. This arresting presentation of the suffering of Christ became a symbol of piety in the late Middle-Ages; takes the textual iconography and presents it in a mythological construction of parental agony.<sup>30</sup> The crossover image, one that presents the figure of Christ alone in his suffering, yet one that directly relates to the individual comes in the form of the *Emilian* miniature [Plate Eight] produced in Florence at the end of the thirteenth-century.<sup>31</sup> This

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<sup>28</sup> Fra Angelico, *The Mocking of Christ [with the Virgin and Saint Dominic]*, 1439-1443, fresco, Cell 7, Convent of San Marco, Florence.

<sup>29</sup> For example “The psychological implications of the new religiosity with which the devotional image was in accord are just as complex as the social conditions from which the religious individual developed his self-awareness. What took place in the thirteenth century was one of the most comprehensive transformations European society ever underwent. While the symptoms were often only visible in images at a later date, the impulses to modify images reach back to the thirteenth century.” Hans Belting, *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*, trans. M. Bartusis and R. Meyer (New Rochelle, New York: 1990), 7.

<sup>30</sup> G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, Vol. II., translation (London: Lund Humphries, 1973), 34.

<sup>31</sup> MacDonald, Ridderbos & Schlusemann, *The Broken Body Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 144-181.

manuscript shows the body of Christ displaying the wounds associated with the Passion, the nail holes, the lance gash, and the Crown of Thorns; as one of the instruments of the mocking of Christ the Crown of Thorns only appears from the ninth-century but in literature only. It does not appear until the late tenth century as an image, and not publically until the twelfth century in the wall paintings of Church of Sant' Angelo in Formis.<sup>32</sup> The presence of the crown connects the mocking of Christ to his crucifixion and was therefore an important symbol for the artist Christ is often shown still wearing the crown when Christ is on the cross, and almost always as he carries his cross through the crowded street to Golgotha. The Crown is also part of the suffering of Christ in that it is one of several instruments of degradation which are collectively known as the *Arma Christi*.<sup>33</sup> The *Arma Christi* became more complex with early images transitioning into abstract representations of his wounds; the wounds become separated from the body, often floating or circling it.<sup>34</sup> It was not until the twelfth-century that the *Arma Christi* became more associated with the Passion of Christ

The main presentations of the *Passion* of Christ are the *Imago Pietatis* or Pietà, which was most commonly known, has the body of Christ after the deportation draped over in the lap of the Virgin. Using the Pietà as a source for inspiration artists moved away from the traditional ethereal figures towards figures that were capable of expressing emotions and especially suffering. The Pietà was used because it expressed the pain and

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<sup>32</sup> Dorothy F. Glass, "Pseudo-Augustine, Prophets, and Pulpits in Campania," *Studies on Art and Archeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* Vol. 41 (Boston: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees of Harvard, 1987), 215-226.

<sup>33</sup> The Latin "arma christi" means the "arms of Christ" referring to the weapons of Christ's victory over death, these are the Crown of Thorns, the Nails, the Lance and the Cross.

<sup>34</sup> For example in the *Vita Sancti Augustini* manuscript shows two consecutive images of the *Passion* which come directly after Augustine's vision in the garden. The images show Christ, walking in the garden in the presence of the saint, the wounds inflicted on the Cross clearly visible on Christ's body. The second image has Christ against the cross with the whip, mace, crown and lance.

suffering of a mother for her son, as well as a manifestation of the earthly connection between Mary and the Son of God. For example, the Vatican's *German or Röttgen Pietà* [Plate Nine] presents the emaciated figure of Christ wearing the Crown of Thorns supported by the seated figure of his mother. The wooden sculpture clearly displays the wounds inflicted on his body, and the artist unmistakably defines the dead body of Christ through the expressionless eyes as opposed to Mary's sorrowful expression. Cardinal Jean de Billheres commissioned Michelangelo in 1497 to produce a sculpture for a chapel in St Peter's, Rome; the result was his stunning *Pieta*. The *Pieta* shows the Virgin Mary holding the dead body of Christ after his crucifixion, but before he was placed in the tomb.

Although God appears as a physical manifestation of the Father in Christian art he is also represented in abstract; for example in the ninth-century apse at St Marks in Venice, Christ is flanked by Saints and accompanied by Pope Gregory IV, with the hand of God appearing with a dove.<sup>35</sup> It is the earliest image that brings the image representation of the three together. Between the ninth and fourteenth-centuries images representing God, the Father are seen, but they are usually confined to as noted, the smaller scale illustrations in manuscripts and Psalter. The figure of God as a public display becomes more widely seen in the fifteenth-century. Quarton's image *The Coronation of the Virgin* ca.1453 has two identical men accompanied by a dove crowning the Virgin [Plate Ten]. Raphael also presents the Trinity in his fresco *Disputa on the Blessed Sacrament*, ca.1510 as part of the Stanza della Segnatura which has God the

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<sup>35</sup> Pope Gregory IV commissioned the mosaic ca. 829 and is seen on the left holding a model of a church, his unusual square halo represents that he was still living when the mosaic was done; St Mark stand next to him with his hand on the Pope's shoulder, between him and Christ is St Felicissimus. Christ stands in the centre with his right hand giving a blessing, and to his right stand Pope St Mark, St Agapitus and St Agnes. Beneath Christ's feet is the Lamb of God surrounded by the Apostles. I affirm that this information came from the guided tour of the basilica in Venice, Italy, (June 2006).

Father appearing above a golden crescent behind the seated white robed figure of Christ and from his throne of clouds emerges the Holy Spirit as a dove, each of them touched by a brilliant golden light. The presentation of God the Father can be reduced (in artistic form) to his hands reaching down, which takes its precedent from the concept that the “hand of God is in all things” and especially in the sacrifice of his son.<sup>36</sup> The inclusion of God as the Father brings meaning to the idea of Him as creator; he shapes, guides and influences all things on earth.<sup>37</sup> With Him as God the Son he is usually seen as the body of Christ nailed to the cross, representing his acceptance to die for the sins of mankind in order to set the world free from sin.<sup>38</sup> This image presses forward the meaning not only of Christ love for humanity but also the fact that he was, in this form, of human flesh and blood. In later images, Christ is shown with a look of pain on his face as he suffers the pain of the crucifixion, therefore being holy and human at the same time. With the inclusion of the Dove as the spirit of wisdom and the revelation of knowing the innermost heart of God is revealed, the Trinity is complete. The dove was used in the Bible to represent the spirit of God, or the Holy Spirit.<sup>39</sup> This knowledge also gives rise to the understanding of other moments in the Bible when a dove is used, the story of Noah, for example, who sent a dove to find dry land.<sup>40</sup> The relevance of the dove to find them safety demonstrates that God, in any form never abandoned his people.

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<sup>36</sup> John 3:6 ASV.

<sup>37</sup> Images of God as the creator also took on the image as Architect, the designer of the universe, as seen in the *Bible Moralisee from Reims*. ca1450, The University of Michigan, History of Art Department, Visual Resources Collection: [http://quod.lib.umich.edu/h/hart/x-695159/39900fig16\\_25](http://quod.lib.umich.edu/h/hart/x-695159/39900fig16_25), (September 2012).

<sup>38</sup> Galatians 5:1 ASV.

<sup>39</sup> Matthew 3:16 ASV.

<sup>40</sup> Genesis 8:8 ASV.

With this artistic shift from *christus triumphans* to the *christus patiens*, the subject of Christ's suffering became more commonplace.<sup>41</sup> Images, statues, sculptures and frescos were produced and the subject expanded. The *Passion of Christ* was made up of several events, and in literature it was usually told from his arrest in the Garden of Gethsemane or the Last Supper, through the trial, his suffering and ends with his execution by crucifixion.<sup>42</sup> The *Passion* is part of the story and its context cannot be truly understood without including the Resurrection. The Agony in the Garden is clearly described in the *hours of the passion*, starting with the First Hour (The Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane) to the Fifth Hour (of the Passion) on Holy Thursday. The Hours of Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane start after singing the Psalms of praise in the Cenacle (Psalms 113-118), Jesus went to the Mount of Olives with his disciples (Mt. 26, Mk. 14, Lk. 22) and prophecies his betrayal, his resurrection and death and the vision at Galilee. An early English woodcut in the Bodleian library Oxford, presents the *Pietà* with the passions *Arma Christi*, at the foot of the cross the Virgin is holding the body of Christ, his wounds are clearly seen as are the spear and vinegar soaked sponge. Surrounding the image are smaller related images that include the Crown of Thorns and dice the solders used to gamble.

Although words have the peculiar power of being able to transcend the limits of their own form, they can also be restrictive in their narrow meanings. Augustine wrote down a textual theology of the Trinity and its beauty,<sup>43</sup> in his lifetime however there were

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<sup>41</sup> This is demonstrated in the iconographical images produced at the time. For a survey of this see Fred Kleiner and Christin Mamiya. Eds. *Gardner's Art through the Ages*, 11<sup>th</sup> Edition (New York: Harcourt College Publishing, 2001), chapter 11. Also see Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 143-248.

<sup>42</sup> See James H Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Belgium: Van Ghemert Publishing Co., 1979).

<sup>43</sup> Augustine, *Confessions* XIII, v (6) – xv (16).

no visual representations of the Trinity and therefore by the written description the crucifixion was portrayed as negative, cruel and degrading. The progression of the image that resulted in the production of the Trinity has gone through many variations; principally however it was the fundamental ideology behind the representation of the crucifixion that changed. Salvation through crucifixion on the cross was not easy to portray, and the broken figure of Christ initially symbolized the opposite of salvation for many. Augustine had written about the concept of the actions of inner beauty in *The Trinity*, through the presentation of Christ's moral splendor, being the divine incarnation of human salvation. Artists were able to take the message of the purity of self-sacrifice rising up humanity through the Son of God and the crucifixion as the ultimate expression in Christianity. This allowed the church to make a distinction between the crucifixion as murder, and as a sacrifice. The events leading up to the crucifixion were horrible; however, his willingness to undergo it for the salvation of humanity was beautiful. Not only was Christ's self sacrifice beautiful, but the fact that it happened became beautiful because the shameful death by crucifixion became part of the divine plan and therefore glorified it.<sup>44</sup> The Christian artists found a way to promote the crucifixion as part of a triumphant whole. Yet whereas, the *Passion* held importance in religious public iconography, the crucifixion principally remained in the domain of private worship. With its progression through its various stages, the shameful death afforded Christ became a significant and inspirational part of the vernacular of church art, and private devotion. Art can be seen as a form of self-improvement of the spirit, through which an image can lead to changes on the world's stage. This form changed over the decades and progressed

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<sup>44</sup> For a clearer understanding of finding beauty in the ugly see Toni O'Brien Johnson's *Synge: the Medieval and the Grotesque* (Irish Library Studies, 1982).

from this simplistic form to components of the three, the hand of God, the Dove representing the Spirit and the Cross, and finally to the figures of God the Father, God the Son and the Dove as the personification of God the Holy Spirit. It is in this form that the Trinity appears in the VSA with Augustine alone in garden witnessing the Trinity, an image which I refer to as Augustine's Trinity vision, the focus of this study.

## Chapter TWO

### The Pictorial Description

In the 1960s, Jean Courcelle and Pierre Courcelle were working on the iconography of Saint Augustine publishing four volumes on various life-cycle images chronologically from the fourteenth to seventeenth-century. In addition to this, the Courcelles dedicated a single volume to the *Vita Sancti Augustini Imaginibus Adornata* (1964) taken from the manuscript of the same name held in the rare books and manuscripts department at the Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts, USA. This manuscript forms the foundation of this thesis.<sup>45</sup> They also published a series of books describing one particular moment in the saint's life.<sup>46</sup>

The *Vita Sancti Augustini* (VSA) is bound in half-pigskin over beveled edged board, with blind-stamped floral lozenges. It is sewn on three split bands with plain paper pastedown on the front inside cover and an incunable pastedown on the back cover, using the Freiburg 1494 edition of St Augustine's *City of God* (folio Siii). The papers' watermark is a six-pointed star over a bull's head; on the last quire the watermark is upside down. Measuring 11¼ x 7¾ inches, there are 116 illustrations, outlined in ink with color-wash, mostly one per page, but several with two images and all are accompanied by descriptive captions hand written in Rapscaillon cursive in black ink with red rubrics. The manuscript is missing two of the foremost leaves (therefore starting

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<sup>45</sup> The description of the manuscript that here follows is based on my own inspection of the *Vita Sancti Augustini Imaginibus Adornata* (Boston Public Library MS f. Med. 77, *Life of Saint Augustine*) as well as the previous description by the Courcelles *Vita Sancti Augustini Imaginibus Adornata* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1964), 11-14, and by Lisa Fagin Davis through conversation and her work in digitalizing the Rare Books and Manuscripts held at the Boston Public Library.

<sup>46</sup> See FN #6 for a full listing of works by Pierre and Jeanne Courcelle; Jean and Pierre Courcelle. *Nouvelles illustrations des Confessions augustiniennes* (8, rue François-I<sup>er</sup>, Paris (VIII<sup>e</sup>), 1964). *Le "Tolle Lege" de George Sand* (de. 8, rue François-I<sup>er</sup>, Paris (VIII<sup>e</sup>), 1966). "Recherches Augustiniennes" Volume V, *Le "Tolle, Lege" de Philippe de Champaigne* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1968).



the illustrations at *chapter V*), as well as two leaves after chapter XXI (restarting at *chapter XXVI*). The last two pages have been removed with the related quires left unbound the pages of which are laid loosely inside the manuscript; chapter *LXXVII* has been missed out.<sup>47</sup> There are several notations marking previous owners, firstly “Hic liber pertinet fratribus eremitarum S. Augustine, 1591” and another dated 1748, which reads “en liber antiquus describit in ordine vitam Sancti Augustini.”<sup>48</sup> The manuscript was bought by the Boston Public Library on 19<sup>th</sup> March 1939 using the Josiah H. Benton Fund as marked on the first illustrated page in pencil. The plain pastedown on the front board has, close to the center top edge, a label noting that this is “No. Ms 1483” above this is written “*The Public Library of the City of Boston*” and a second, later marks the manuscript as “Ms. F. Med. 77.” Above this label, written in black ink is “5.3 Blatt” whilst to the left of this label written in pencil on the pastedown is “£90,”<sup>49</sup> the pastedown also shows the bullhead and six-pointed star watermark that appears throughout the manuscript. The bullhead watermark was created ca.1310 and is one of many using a similar image. The bull or ox head was more often crowned by secondary symbols, usually icons like the cross, a crown, the “rose of bliss” or a number of allegorical symbols including a star, the latter of which is found in the VSA. The Christian virtues of patience and strength were associated with the bull or ox; therefore this watermark could have been used as a symbol of these virtues.<sup>50</sup> This style watermark can also be found in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* a widely used volume from the

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<sup>47</sup> The chronology is correct, according to the *Historia*, but LXXVIII has been omitted and titled LXXVIII instead.

<sup>48</sup> VSA (Boston Public Library, Ms. F. Med. 77) folio back page pastedown.

<sup>49</sup> Although this is written on the inside cover, there is no reference to why this amount is written.

<sup>50</sup> The ox was also the allegorical symbol for the apostle Luke; Matthew, Mark and John, are represented by, and angel, a lion and the eagle, respectively.

beginning of the fourteenth century used by preaching monks and clerics.<sup>51</sup> The use of the Freiburg 1494 edition of St Augustine's *City of God* on the pastedown on the back binding has recently re-dated the VSA to being produced after 1494, a decade later than originally thought.<sup>52</sup>

The VSA's one-hundred and sixteen images follow the life of Augustine from his initial presentation at school, through to his body being finally laid to rest under the care of both the Orders of Hermits and Canons at San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. To expand in more detail on the VSA's illustrations, in Appendix B there is an English translation of the original Latin text which accompanies each image, and in Appendix C there is a translation of the Courcelles French commentary into English. The commentary written by the Courcelles refers only to a description of the images themselves. Here, I will give a brief summary of the pictorial storyboard of the life and death of Saint Augustine as presented in the manuscript in order to place the representations of the vision of the Trinity within the manuscripts enplotment.

The first three images are of the Augustine as a young child; at school, at his lessons and asking to be baptized when he is afflicted by a severe toothache.<sup>53</sup> The next image has Augustine as a young man teaching the younger boys. The two that follow are about Patricius, Augustine's father; his father's baptism, and then his death and burial, in each image he is accompanied by his wife, Augustine's mother, Monica. Image XII has Augustine, teaching rhetoric at the school in Carthage. There, he has fallen in with the Manichean and their ideas, and this is followed by a short set of images with Monica as

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<sup>51</sup> Adrian Wilson and Joyce Lancaster Wilson. *A Medieval Mirror* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft7v19p1w6>, (October 2011).

<sup>52</sup> This pastedown does actually only offer a date for this binding and not conclusively proof that this is the date from which the VSA was produced. However as it is the best date currently associated with the manuscript, it is the date by which we will proceed.

<sup>53</sup> This comes from a story in Augustine's *Confession* I, xi (17).

the focus as she worries for her son and prays for his conversion. Then Augustine distraught and suffering from the great pain of his loss over the death of a beloved friend,<sup>54</sup> he flees Thagaste back to Carthage. There, he takes up teaching again and questions both the Manichean Bishop Faustus and the faiths beliefs. The following illustrations have Augustine sailing to Rome, doing so without telling his Mother, she is seen in pious and fervent prayer beseeching God to keep her son safe, she is so worried for her son that Monica travels over sea and land to find him, meeting him in Milan.<sup>55</sup> Pages XXVII through to XXIX take the thirty-year old Augustine to the moment of realization in his searching for answers; initially with his close friends; and then alone in the garden the hand of God reaches down to him and directs his reading. He follows these instructions and with the guiding hand of God meets Simplicianus, reads the Letters of the Apostle Paul and devotes himself to serving God after his moment of revelation<sup>56</sup> in the garden in Milan. He and Alypius are shown telling his Mother of their conversion, and within twenty days Augustine leaves the school where he was teaching, in order to serve God. To better meditate on the word of God the three go out into the countryside where Augustine suffers another severe toothache, so terrible was the pain that it was a reminder of the pain he felt as a child and had called to be baptized; he calls upon God and the pain goes. Convinced as he now is, he goes to meet the illustrious Bishop Ambrose and entreats him to baptize him. Scene XXXIX has the baptism of Augustine along with two companions, Alypius and Adéodat which is followed by the only full page [XL] of Latin script in the manuscript describing the scene and the significance of

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<sup>54</sup> The image is ambiguous, the text refer to this being a 'male' friend "Augustini fere dimidium anime sue arripuit febribus et mortur" *Conf.* IV, iv, (7-9), supports this very clearly, however the image portrays a women.

<sup>55</sup> This account Augustine set down in his *Confessions* VI, I (1).

<sup>56</sup> This image is known as the *Tolle, Lege* moment with the hand of God telling Augustine to get up and read.

each item of clothes. Augustine receives the habit of a monk from Simplicianus<sup>57</sup> and with his friends began their lives reborn.

Persuaded by his Mother, to return to Africa, Augustine asks Simplicianus and is given twelve brothers to accompany him. Anastasius, Fabianus, Severus, Nicholas, Dorotheus, Isaac, Nicostratus, Paul, Cyril, Stephen, Jacob and Vitalis set out through Tuscany toward Rome, his mother looking after them as they stop along the way at many places where brother (Hermits) gathered together, and they listened and were impressed by Augustine's learned conversation.<sup>58</sup> In Rome Augustine, unable to hold himself back, he challenges the Manichean impudence and distributed two of his books; *De moribus ecclesie* and *De moribus Manicheorum*. In illustration XLIX Augustine and Monica have departed Rome, stop at a house in Ostia where looking out over the garden they are discussing eternal life. Here, they experienced the Ostia vision where their "minds were lifted up by an ardent affection towards eternal being itself,"<sup>59</sup> which is shown with a half figure of God floating in the sky pointing at them. It is here that his Mother tells him that he will become a great man, a lover of God, and a contemplator of worlds all in the service of the Lord. She would like to remain with him a little while longer to see this happening. The next images have Monica at the age of fifty-six on her death-bed and then her burial, all before the then saddened thirty-three year old Augustine returns to Africa with his brothers as he promised her. Returning to his own estates he and his brothers lived a pious life of brotherhood. Until he travelled to Hippo where he receives the support of both Bishop Valerius and a wealthy Christian man to build his own

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<sup>57</sup> This is an important moment, see Eric Saak, *Creating Augustine*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 65-68.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 69-72, 122-124.

<sup>59</sup> Augustine *Confessions* IX, x, (24).

monastery, in LVI, the construction of the monastery begins and with its completion Augustine hands out his *Rule*.

Illustration LVIII is pivotal; it is the moment of the Trinity vision.<sup>60</sup> Augustine is yet again alone in the garden; down on bended knee his arms outstretched as he witnesses the vision. After he witnesses the Trinity, Augustine is shown in contemplation over the suffering and *passion* of Christ which covers the next three images. The fourth in the set, Augustine writes books and treatises on the unity for the whole church. The eight following images return the saint to his life with the monks, their day-to-day tasks, their meals, their prayers and their work, their reward with visitations from angels. So great was the fame of Augustine and his teachings that Bishop Valerius again was called upon, this time he ordains Augustine as a priest on his visit to the monastery, where he stayed for eight days and at the end gave Augustine a garden close to the city in which to build his second monastery.<sup>61</sup> Its construction is followed by the monks and Augustine preaching to the public, leading to, according to the biographer Possidius, a public debate between Augustine and the Manichean teacher Fortunatus, a debate that Augustine won and that was recorded and distributed amongst those who could not be there so that they became convinced of the Manichean error.<sup>62</sup> The next image represents Augustine being consecrated as a Bishop by Valerius; then he establishes his third monastery and seat as bishop.

The illustration after represents Bishop Augustine seated at his desk surrounded by a vision of the after-life, an image which also includes the Trinity, but, not as a vision,

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<sup>60</sup> This is a personal description of the event happening in the LVIII image (VSA), one I use to distinguish it from the presence of the Trinity in his writing, and as it appears in elsewhere in images of Augustine.

<sup>61</sup> This is from the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* 5, (PL, col. 1244).

<sup>62</sup> See Peter Brown, "The Lost Future," *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley: University of California, 2000), Chapter 15, 139-150.

but rather as part of heaven. The following picture [LXXXI] has the saint again at his desk writing a sermon from which his words are manifested around him.<sup>63</sup> The next two present Augustine in dispute with the heretic and an attempt to kill him, which fails; Augustine continues to convert the heretics to the catholic faith. The next set of images in which Augustine gives out his *Rule* to many people, his Canons, his Hermits, the young, the old, to men and to women, the virgins and the widows and ends up teaching the uneducated<sup>64</sup> the ways of the catholic faith whilst living a frugal life as a bishop-monk. Augustine is then shown, at the people's request, visiting the sick and comforting his Hermits who suffer under the strict frugal regime, reassuring them that those who are weak and pass away do so into the loving arms of God. Augustine visits the poor and those in prison bringing them the word of God; he also goes out to his brother Hermits in the wilderness and promises that they will receive from Hippo all their physical needs. In illustration XCVIII, he is approached by family and friends, wishing to benefit from his wealth and favors as bishop, but they are told that he has nothing and that the faithful should be content with what they have, neither possessing more or perusing more. This lesson was hard for many and many still sort to live without his guidance, enough for him to kneel down in prayer, a prayer that was answered in the next image when those sinners returned to him asking for forgiveness. The following pictures show the simple life that he, Augustine lives as a bishop, with only just what he needs and nothing more; whilst he prays for the living and the departed.

In CV Augustine is at his desk praying for the souls of all, kneeling before him is a widow who has come to him asking for advice. The saint does not see her as he is in

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<sup>63</sup> This, according to the accompanying text is from what has been told by 'learned men.'

<sup>64</sup> This image, XCII has the star/bull watermark being outlined by a later hand which also added "Augustine hic est, quem nobis Affrica gignit tertia pars orbis re minor, hinc potior."

fixed rapture in the Trinity vision which has appeared over his desk. The following image has the same woman approaching Augustine as he is celebrating Mass; the Latin text describes an Angel telling the woman that Augustine is in raptures before the throne of the Trinity (but no angle is visible in the image) and that after the celebration Augustine and the woman converse and he give her good advice.<sup>65</sup> The now elderly Bishop Augustine settles down (in the next image) to read all that he has written, to explain things where things are obscure and make clear if doubt over his words. In order to do this Augustine requests of his brothers, and is granted, the time he needs. The clerics take on more of his duties, allowing time for Augustine to work on his writings and to appoint his successor; Eraclius. After Eraclius's appointment, the bishop watches as the City of Hippo is attacked and burnt, its churches desecrated and the people slaughtered. Then for the third time in his life, in the third month of the siege Augustine falls ill, he is approached by a very faithful man who asks that the bishop places his hand upon him to cure him, and seeing his faith is strong Augustine does so, and the man is cured.<sup>66</sup> Ten days before his death he orders the seven penitential psalms to be written and attached to the wall so that he could read them before he died. Knowing the moment approaches, he called for the Eucharist to be given to him before he passes away peacefully in his sleep at the age of seventy-six, forty years after his appointment as bishop. Following his burial in the place of his chosen [CXIV],<sup>67</sup> his body rested there for sixty-two years until the volatile nature of the North African coast made it untenable for his sacred body to remain there. It was taken by boat to Sardinia where it lay for two-hundred and eighty years. But as Sardinia became unstable the King Liutprand of

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<sup>65</sup> These two events are told in Jacques de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, CXXIV.

<sup>66</sup> But not before he tells the man that if he had the power to heal, he would have healed himself.

<sup>67</sup> This comes from Philippe de Harvenge, *Vita Augustini*, (PL 33, 1230), among others.

Lombardy ordered the body removed once more and in the illustration CXVII the body of Augustine, perfectly preserved is removed by ship to Italy. Upon Augustine's body arriving in Italy, the King put on a great celebration, but when the porters went to move the body they could not lift it. The illustration show the body now being lifted by the porters because the King made a vow that if the great father Augustine would allow him, he would choose a place for his final resting place and he would build a church and give the farms and lands around it to support it, having made this vow the body was moved. The body was taken to Pavia where in folio image CXX the saint's body lies beneath the basilica church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. The final four illustrations in the VSA present the conflict between the two distinct Orders of St Augustine over who should have rights over the body, his faithful Hermits or the canon-clerics. The last of these four images represent the conclusion that by mutual agreement both the Orders were granted joint custody of their most holy father, Augustine.

This illustrated account of the life and death of St Augustine gives the reader a detailed description of the saint's early life, his struggles with the Manichean, his Mothers hopes and prayers, his conversion and life as a hermit, priest and bishop. It references him teaching school students, then via his sermons, to his Hermits and his congregations. It shows his final years, his illness and the saint's locations and final entombment after death. Within its pages, it makes reference to the Trinity four times, once as part of heaven as Augustine contemplates the spiritual realms of the afterlife; in the latter stages of his life, it appears in two images with a widow, in one of which she appears both in his world and within the sphere of the Trinity. The other manifestation is the Trinity vision witnessed by Augustine alone. The manuscript is clear in that after



Augustine has converted he is seen being given the habit of a monk by Simplicianus, and then travelling with twelve brothers; later Augustine is given the funds to construct two monasteries, followed by a third in an Episcopal compound when he is elevated to Bishop. The last few illustrations also make a reference to the (later) debate between the Hermits and the Canons over who should be responsible for their founding father's tomb, which is not clarified until the last image.

From this biography of his life these two events are indications, I believe, of the possible origins of the vision in the manuscript. The first is the presence of the Trinity, not as it appears with the saint contemplating the differences between Heaven and Hell, but as it appears in the widow images and as the Trinity vision. Augustine was well known for his work on the mysteries of Trinity, and the widow's story was recorded by Voragine in his *Legenda aurea*.<sup>68</sup> With these two documented events, the creation of the third, the Trinity vision even without proof was I would argue, easily acceptable event for those reading the manuscript. In the same way, the pietà of the Virgin holding the body of Christ is accepted, although there is no Biblical reference to her taking the body down (John 19, 38-42). This being the case, the connection of Augustine with the Trinity elevated his status within the church community by association (in the same way as St Francis was also elevated because he received the marks of the stigmata).

The second important event played out within the VSA's pages is the conflict between the Hermits and Canons of the Order of Augustine. The VSA clearly has Augustine with his twelve followers crossing Tuscany wearing the habit of a hermit, building two monasteries before he builds the third within the Episcopal compound. The

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<sup>68</sup> Interestingly, the story of the saint encountering the Christ-Child on the beach is not part of the VSA; appearing only in the fifteenth-century at San Gimignano and the altarpieces of Barcelona, Bruges and Jerusalem.

conflict between the two factions over which one came first and therefore was the legitimate and original Order was severe. The last twelve illustrations from his death to final resolve has the saint surrounded by his Hermits until his body is placed in San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, after which the Hermits are shown requesting that his body be given over to their care until the final image has both Orders with joint custody. With this clear chronological order, it can be argued that the VSA was created to give credence to the hermit's claim of being the true/original Order of St Augustine.

## Chapter THREE

### The Life-Cycle Images of St Augustine in the XIV, XV and XVI Centuries

Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries there were nineteen major representations of the life of Augustine created at sites across Europe.<sup>69</sup> There are eight from both the fourteenth and fifteenth-centuries each and three in the sixteenth-century. There are also three manuscripts from this period described in this thesis. Each location has been ascribed a number, the manuscripts because they are not physical locations do not have identifying numbers. These centers are based on the research carried out by the Courcelles for their books on the iconography of St Augustine.

In the fourteenth-century, there were eight main locations that had depictions of the life-cycle of St Augustine. Of them, only two of them make any reference to the Trinity, and neither the windows at the church of St Augustine, Erfurt (which is the most comprehensive), or the frescos at Gubbio make a definitive Trinity vision statement. Jordan de Quedlinburg wrote his *Metrum Pro Depingenda Vita Sancti Augustini*, ca.1341 which, although not a visual representation, is the main source for the iconographic layout of many of the life-cycle after its creation. The Courcelles did not include it in their fourteenth-century collection because they incorrectly attributed it Jacques LeGrand ca.1441.<sup>70</sup> This work was a direct copy of Jordan's which was part of his *Collectanea* which he gave to the studium in Paris.<sup>71</sup> There are other locations and manuscripts with

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<sup>69</sup> According to the research done by the Courcelles for their published series on the iconography of St Augustine.

<sup>70</sup> This was based on the dates for three sources; his manuscript *Metrum de vita sancti Augustini et ordine suo*; two folio images 79 and 80 and the manuscript 542 in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

<sup>71</sup> Conversation with Dr. E. L Saak, February 2012.

pictorial references to the life of St Augustine; however these are small and often only singular images.<sup>72</sup>

The life-cycle iconography of Saint Augustine is represented in nine locations in the fourteenth-century, starting with, the six frescoes at Chiesa Sant'Agostino in Fabriano (i). There is some debate over their production; the Courcelles make reference to a possibly date of 1216, which would put them well into the thirteenth-century. However, this is probable referring to the original work done at the chapel before the Hermits expanded the existing thirteenth-century image in a small chapel into a larger record their patron's life around 1311, choosing, in their opinion, the most important moments to portray in five more images. They added St Augustine giving out his *Rule* to his monks and blessing the faithful, and four other frescoes all relate to events that happen after his death; healing the sick child, carrying the soul of Hugo de Fontenay, teaching and converting a prisoner to the faith and saving his soul. The early creation of the images explains, in part, the poor condition; *Augustin défunt guérit un enfant* and *Augustin Enseigne* are all but lost to the viewer and also make no reference to a vision of the Trinity.

The windows at Erfurt are from ca.1312, and of the entire image life-cycles they are the most comprehensive, of its time. In all, thirty-three windows project the colorful and inspirational life of the saint into the cold stone interior of the Church of Saint Augustine in Erfurt, Germany (ii).<sup>73</sup> The whole window measures just over thirty-six feet

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<sup>72</sup> For example the *Anjou Legendarium*, early 14<sup>th</sup> Century, Italy, from the Collection of A. N. Vorobyoy, Leningrad. Shows in quaternione 15 scenes of the life of Saint Augustine. Accessed through the State Hermitage Museum, [www.arthermitage.org](http://www.arthermitage.org), (February 2012).

<sup>73</sup> For a detailed description of the restoration of the windows see Erhard Drachenberg *Die mittelalterliche Glasmalerei im Erfurter Dom Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland* Bd. XV, 2 (Berlin: Cambridge University Press, 1983). and Erhard Drachenberg, Karl-Joachim Maercker and Christa Schmidt *Die*

high by a narrow six feet wide; therefore each window medallion is approximately three feet tall by two feet wide and start well above eye level. The windows have been repaired and replaced and according to the Courcelles in their description of the windows they are now out of order. The actual order is shown in Diagram A and contrasts to the Courcelles corrected order seen in Diagram B. The current order runs as follows; register one Augustine is arriving at school, his Mothers dream and Augustine on his death bed. Making up lines two, three and four are his leaving for Rome, his installation as Bishop and his disagreement with Ambrose, then Monica consoled by the bishop, Augustine and Alypius discussions with Ambrose and finding his first companion; then Augustine meeting Ambrose, his baptism and his visit with the monk Simplicianus. The next three registers are the nine medallions that the Courcelles mark out as evidence of the windows corruption. It starts with his death, the King of Lombardy ordering his legate to collect the body of Augustine from Sardinia and receiving spiritual guidance from above, then above this runs line six, the late Augustine's body is transported by sea, he is ordained as a priest by Valerius and together with Evodius they leave for Africa.<sup>74</sup> Line seven runs with Augustine's understanding of the greatness of this World, being attacked by the Circoncellion and his conversion of a Donatist.<sup>75</sup> In lines eight and nine, Augustine casts out the evil spirit, he decides on his successor and shows him teaching rhetoric; then he posthumously delivers the prisoner, then alive he his delighted in front of the Trinity and then is his funeral. Registers ten and eleven show him healing the priest, who then celebrates with the feast of St Augustine and Augustine with his brother monks; then at

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mittelalterliche Glasmalerei in den Ordenskirchen und im Angermuseum zu Erfurt (Berlin: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

<sup>74</sup> Courcelles, *Les Cycles du XIV Siècles*, 20-24.

<sup>75</sup> This medallion remains in the same location in both the actual and in the adjusted order, only one of seven to do so; the other six are all in the first four registers of images.

the top Augustine has his ‘*Tolle, Lege*’<sup>76</sup> moment of revelation in the garden, The Trinity and then his *Rule*. From this lineup, it is not difficult to understand why there is an argument that says the windows are out of order, but the Courcelles say in their introduction to the windows that this “reconstruction can only be speculative if we believe that the nine reused medallions are not in the original iconographic plan.” They go on to write that the “inside of the church was renovated later in the fifteenth century after a mob destroyed the clerestory following the preaching of Luther.”<sup>77</sup> This is certainly a logical explanation as to why the windows are in such disorder, and their revisions make sense, especially when confirmed by Augustine’s own writings.

There are many examples of the life-cycle images being taken from biographical sources, for example, Augustine meeting with Simplicianus<sup>78</sup> is referred to in two differing accounts, by Henri de Friemar’s 1334 work *De origine et progressu Ordinis fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini* and by Augustine’s *Confessions VIII*. As are the two following windows, where Simplicianus becomes Augustine’s first companion, then Augustine accompanied by Evodius and Alypius travel to Africa, these events are described in the *Confessions*, book IX, viii (17).<sup>79</sup> The image of the King of Lombardy ordering his legate to fetch the relic of St Augustine from Sardinia<sup>80</sup> is related in both de Harvengt’s *Vita Augustini* and in de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*.

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<sup>76</sup> Augustine was sitting in a garden in Milan (under a fig? tree) when the voice and hand of God reached down and spoke to him telling him to *Tolle, Lege*, meaning to “take up [his book] and read,” the book he read was the apostle Paul; from Augustine’s *Conf. VIII*. xi, ( 29).

<sup>77</sup> The translation in the text above is based on the following two sentences written by the Courcelles in the mid-sixties; ‘Cette reconstitution ne peut être que conjecturale, si l’on pense que les neuf médaillons réemployés n’appartiennent pas au plan iconographique initial.’ And ‘En effet, l’intérieur de l’église fut rénové au XV siècle; plus tard, à l’occasion d’une prédication de Luther, une émeute détruisit les fenêtres hautes.’

<sup>78</sup> ‘Visite d’Augustin au moine Simplicien.’

<sup>79</sup> For further discussion on the misconnections, altered presentations and interactions between Augustine and Simplicianus see Saak “Augustine Imagined,” *Creating Augustine*, 106-120, 148-161.

<sup>80</sup> ‘Liutprand ordonne a son légat d’aller quérir la relique d’Augustin en Sardaigne’

However, in the window at Erfurt with the Trinity images [Plate Eleven and Twelve] the lower window's description reads, 'Augustine is delighted before the Trinity,'<sup>81</sup> referencing that he is figuratively elated by the Trinity. The lower of these two windows presents the saint seated on a wooden bench with an open book on a lectern on his left (picture right). One hand is held against his head, the other clasps to his upper-chest area, his eyes are looking up and to his left, and he is dressed in the habit but wears a bishop's mitre. In the Trinity image above the figure of God the Father holds with outstretched arms the horizontal beam of the cross. He faces directly outward and looks toward the viewer, the wooden chest on which he is seated rests on the hill at Golgotha. The body of the Son is much smaller and appears to be floating against the cross held by his Father. His body shows no indications of the wounds his head is dropping to one side, his eyes appear to be closed. With its haloed head pointing down toward Christ, the dove personifies God the Holy Spirit as it flies between the Father and Son, completing the Trinity.

The Courcelles suggest a change to the order (B) from the actual order (A) that the life-cycle appears in the windows. The nine medallions in the current layout that exist in registers five, six and seven have been redistributed in the above layout, and in doing so the Courcelles have adjusted the order to make linear sense, following the image chronology in keeping with Jordan of Quedlinburg's *Metrum*.<sup>82</sup> In their rearranged order, the lowest line of windows left to right starts with Augustine accompanied by his Mother arriving at school, followed by the dream of Monica and her subsequent moment of consolation by the Bishop. Above this, the register run is Augustine leaving for Rome,

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<sup>81</sup> 'Augustin est ravi devant la Trinité.'

<sup>82</sup> The problem with this arrangement, although it does make sense in the chronological order ascribed by Jordan, his *Metrum* was not written until 1341, the windows were completed by 1336.

spiritual guidance from above for Augustine and him teaching rhetoric. Line three has Augustine meeting Ambrose and then along with Alypius they debate with Ambrose and then disagree with him. The fourth and fifth follow Augustine's moment of revelation in the garden in Milan, his baptism, his visit to the monk Simplicianus, then with his first companions they travel to Africa. In the next register, he is made a priest by Valerius, and then consecrated and writes and hands out his *Rule* to the friars. The seventh and eight lines both contain references to the Trinity: Augustine is delighted before the Trinity<sup>83</sup> in the lower register with The Trinity on which Augustine meditates from the medallion below<sup>84</sup> appearing in line nine. The following register portrays the end of the saint's life, his illness, appointing his successor Eraclius and then it shows his death. The upper two lines contain his funeral, the Lombard King ordering his legate to collect the body of Augustine from Sardinia, and its transportation by sea. The eleventh register contains three images referring to posthumous events attributed to him, healing a sick prior, who then celebrates with a feast dedicated to St Augustine and finally he helps deliver the soul of a prisoner into the mercy of Heaven.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> 'Augustin est ravi devant la Trinité.'

<sup>84</sup> Line seven on either side of the image referencing the Trinity Augustine is first confronted by an "Attack of a circoncillion" and then "Augustine converting a Donatiste" whilst on the eight line, again either side of the Trinity image "Augustine and the greatness of this World" and then Augustine healing someone possessed by an evil spirit.

<sup>85</sup> 11/1: Augustin défunt guérit un prier. 11/2: Le prier guéri célèbre la fête d'Augustin. 11/3: Augustin défunt délivre un prisonnier.



Diagram A: The Windows at the Church of Saint Augustine, Erfurt, Germany.<sup>86</sup>

(Actual)

Augustine's revelation in the garden in Milan	The Trinity	Giving of his Rule to the friars
Posthumously, Augustine healing a sick prior	The prior celebrates with a feast dedicated to St Augustine	Augustine and his Monks
Posthumously, Augustine delivers the soul of a prisoner into the mercy of Heaven	Augustine is delighted before the Trinity	Augustine's funeral
Augustine casts out a demon	Augustine appoints his successor Eraclius	Augustine teaching Rhetoric
Augustine contemplates the World	Attack of a circoncillion against Augustine	Augustine converts a Donatiste
Augustine's body is transportation by sea	Valerius makes Augustine a Priest	Augustine and Evodius pray as they travel back to Africa
The death of Augustine with Hippo ablaze	The King of Lombardy ordering his legate to collect the body of Augustine from Sardinia	Augustine hears a voice giving Spiritual Guidance
Augustine meets Ambroise	Augustine's baptism	Augustine visits Simplicianus
Monica is comforted by a bishop	Augustine and Alypius debate with Ambroise	Augustine and his first companion
Augustine journeys to Rome to his mother's despair	Augustine consecrated as bishop	Augustine disagrees with Ambroise
Augustine is led to the school by his mother	Monica's Dream	Augustine becomes ill

<sup>86</sup> Translation is based on the description Tableau I and II presented by Pierre and Jeanne Courcelle *Iconographie de Saint Augustin: Les Cycles du XIV Siècle*, 22-23.

Diagram B: The re-ordered Windows at the Church of Saint Augustine, Erfurt, Germany.

(Adjusted)

Posthumously, Augustine healing a sick prior	The prior celebrates with a feast dedicated to St Augustine	Posthumously, Augustine delivers the soul of a prisoner into the mercy of Heaven
The funeral of Augustine	The King of Lombardy ordering his legate to collect the body of Augustine from Sardinia	Augustine's body is transportation by sea
Augustine becomes ill	Augustine appoints Eraclius	The death of Augustine with Hippo ablaze
Augustine contemplates the World	The Trinity	Augustine casts out a demon
Attack by a circoncillion against Augustine	Augustine is delighted before the Trinity	Augustine converts a Donatiste
Valerius makes Augustine a Priest	Augustine consecrated as bishop	Giving of his Rule to the friars
Augustine and his first companion	Augustine and Evodius pray as they travel back to Africa	Augustine and his Monks
Augustine's revelation in the garden in Milan	Augustine's baptism	Augustine visits Simplicianus
Augustine meets Ambroise	Augustine and Alypius debate with Ambroise	Augustine disagrees with Ambroise
Augustine journeys to Rome to his mother's despair	Augustine hears a voice giving Spiritual Guidance	Augustine teaching Rhetoric
Augustine is led to the school by his mother	Monica's Dream	Monica is comforted by a bishop

The chapel of St Augustine at Notre-Dame du Bourg in Rabasten (iii) presents a concise tale of the life of the saint in a series of fresco paintings done in the early fourteenth-century ca. 1318. The order is somewhat haphazard; the right-hand wall is divided into five panels; starting in the center-left register with the saint's baptism next to his mother's death. Above these images and painted into the steep arch of the chapel shows the saint in discussion with Emeritus and then the lowest register on the left presents the saint helping the sick, on the right St Sigisbert is shown with an angelic vision, an angel holding the sacred heart of St Augustine.<sup>87</sup> The opposite wall is divided into three registers, each with one painting, and only the uppermost with Augustine being made a bishop is a part of the cycle, the middle image shows the crucifixion and the lowest another subject altogether. The altar wall of this small chapel is dedicated to the death of Augustine; the lower register is taken up with one single image of the saint on his death bed surrounded by, according to the Courcelles, angels, but they look more like important figures from his life, both current and past. None of those present has wings and none has halos; the exception is Augustine himself. The next register has an angel facing Augustine who is dressed as a bishop and the uppermost image portrays him as a scholar standing opposite an angel.

The images painted at the monastery in Padua (iv) were completed ca. 1338 starts with the saints in the garden in Milan. Divided into two the fresco on the left has Augustine seated in a town garden surrounded by architectural stone masonry; a high stone garden wall and raised planter cradle him in the space next to the cathedral. The young Augustine is approached from above by an angel carrying an open book, *Tolle,*

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<sup>87</sup> 'Sigisbert voit un ange lui présenter le cœur d'Augustin.' translation, Sigisbert sees an Angel presenting the heart of Augustine.

*Lege* meaning to ‘take up and read.’ This moment portrays the Augustine’s conversion to Christianity. The right-hand side of this image, within the cathedral structure, shows Augustine with glowing halo presenting the same book to a friar, who bends forward and places his own hand on his heart. The next image is a triptych, described as *Vèture d’Augustin*.<sup>88</sup> In the center is the saint now installed as a bishop facing a variety of people. A friar kneels before him, an elderly canon also leans in toward Augustine. Behind them and seemingly extending back into the interior space of the cathedral are more people; men, women and children all pressing in on him. To the left, still part of the triptych, but separated by the painted millwork of the cathedrals’ interior is Monica, the saint’s Mother, who is shown kneeling in prayer facing toward her son. She is also surrounded by women looking toward the saint, bar one, who has turned and glances out of the fresco at the viewer, therefore connecting the viewer with the action on the wall in front of them. On the right hand side, the saint’s mother is seen again knelt in prayer as she witnesses her son’s baptism. The last of the image cycle is a painted crucifixion, where the saint is seen kneeling among the rocks at the foot of the crucifix. Dressed in the red cape of a Bishop his breast is exposed and shows his bleeding heart as seen in the frescoes at Gubbio (vi). This image, which became popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries, appears here for the first time,<sup>89</sup> but there is still no reference to the Trinity vision.

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<sup>88</sup> ‘*Venture*’ is the French noun suggests that the action upon which someone is embarking is daring, dangerous or holds an uncertain outcome.

<sup>89</sup> The description which accompanies the image, written by the Courcelles is as follows: ‘A la scène du baptême succède la figure d’Augustin parmi des rochers, au pied du crucifix, le cœur saignant. Cette scène fut suggérée sans doute par le même livre IX des Confessions, où Augustin se dit le cœur percé d’une flèche au temp de sa conversion. Toutefois l’artiste le peint ici cportant sur la robe et la ceinture du moine la chaope rouge d l’évêque. il le qualifie “Augustin lux doctorum”. Augustin le cœur à vif se retrouve chez Nelli et sera une image favorite aux XVII et XVIII siècles. Ce thème apparaît ici pour la première fois, à notre connaissance; voilà peut-être une création audacieuse de Guariento.’ The translation is as follows:

Jordan de Quedlinburg's work<sup>90</sup> divided the saint's life into forty-eight scenes, giving each one a title in prose accompanied by two descriptive lines of rhyming couplets. Jordan wrote that if you want to create a life in pictures of the blessed Augustine, then here is the order and the text that goes along with it.<sup>91</sup> Jordan starts with Augustine being brought to school by both parents;

I *Hic Augustinus natus summa cura a parentibus educator.*

*Hic Augustinus infans natu Thagatinus*

*Patricio patre Monica uenerabili matre.*

It runs through his visits to Rome and Milan, his visit to Simplicianus and his baptism;

XX *Hic Augustinus baptizatur a beato Ambrosio.*

*Inde fide gnarum diuino lumine clarum*

*Ambrosius lauit et fonte sacro renouauit*

Creating prose for Augustine's arrival in Africa and the building of the monastery Jordan continues with Augustine's setting of his *Rule*. Jordan then mentions the Trinity.

XLV *Hic felix anima sancti Augustini in corde divino intuetur sanctam*

*trinitatem*

*In solis lumen qui fixit mentis acumen*

*Nunc bibit eterno gustu de corde paterno*

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The scene of the baptism is succeeded by the figure of Augustine among the rocks at the foot of the crucifix, with his bleeding heart. This scene was probably suggested by *Confessions* IX, where Augustine said the heart pierced by an arrow in the time of his conversion. But here the artist painted him in the robe, and belt of a monk with the red cape of a bishop. He calls it "Augustine doctorum lux." Augustine's exposed heart is found in [Gubbio painted by Nelli] and is a favorite image in the XVII and XVIII centuries. This theme appears here for the first time, to our knowledge; perhaps this is a bold creation of Guariento. Courcelles, *Les Cycles du XIV Siècles*, 51.

<sup>90</sup> Jordan de Quedlinburg. *Metrum pro depingenda vita sancti Augustini*.

<sup>91</sup> This interpretation is based on Jordan's words, 'Si cui sit facere depingi vitram beati Augustini, hiis versibus picturas poterit ordinare, ita quod singulis versibus binis vel quaternis secundum exigenciam materie, picture et figure debite secundum decenciam ordinentur. Tytuli vero et note prosaic poni poterunt supra picturas; metrum autem ponatur infra vel e conuerso, sicut placet.'

Augustine's death is described next, then his body being moved to Sardinia and the saint's final resting place in San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro.<sup>92</sup> The tomb [*arca*] of St Augustine at Pavia<sup>93</sup> is covered with nineteen sculptural images done in 1362<sup>94</sup> taken from his events in the saint's life (v). There are four carved stone registers on the tomb, only the upper two make reference to his life cycle; the lower two are reserved for saints and apostles, including a statue of Augustine as a bishop.<sup>95</sup> Covering the lower of the upper registers are nine reliefs that focus principally on the major episodes in his life. His rhetorical discussions in Rome and Milan and his '*Tolle, Lege*' moment in the garden, his baptism, his mother's death, which are followed shortly by him presenting his rule to his monks, then his own death and his body taken to Pavia. The top register is made up of ten triangular carved reliefs that depict various posthumous events; healing the sick, both commoner and priest alike and delivering redemption to the prisoners. None of the nineteen sculptural images adorning his tomb mention or reference the Trinity. The Church of Saint Augustine at Gubbio, Italy (vi) was built in the latter half of the thirteenth-century as a convent with its decoration done in the fourteenth-century; where the "History of St Augustine" frescos remaining largely intact. Covering the ceiling and walls of the apse the twenty-five images covering thirty-one scenes from the saint's life were painted by the artist Ottaviano Nelli between 1370 and 1375. They start with Augustine arriving at school accompanied by his parents, then proceed through his arrival and exit from Rome, his baptism and his mother's death. Then come images of him

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<sup>92</sup> Courcelle. *Les Cycles du XV Siècle*, 22. Reference: *Sancti Petri in Celo aureo in Pavia collaudant Deum et sanctum Augustinum*.

<sup>93</sup> The date 1362 is inscribed on the cornice on the base by the artist Giovanni Balduccio.

<sup>94</sup> Meredith Gill in her work *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2005), 42. notes that the *arca* was actually begun in 1350, with the upper two sculptural registers commissioned ca.1362.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, 42.

giving out his *Rule* and his appointment as bishop, and after his installation as bishop, comes an image similar the Trinity vision in the VSA. In this fresco is divided visually into two halves; a young Augustine is sitting at his desk on the left within a closed architectural space and sees in a dream Saints Jerome and John the Baptist. On the right side is an older white haired Augustine kneeling at the entrance to his cathedral,<sup>96</sup> with his hands he parts his robe and exposes his bleeding heart as he looks up at an image of the Trinity. This Trinity is created from a swirling cloud of four white angels, circling the figure of God as he supports his Son on the cross, between them the dove of the Holy Spirit [Plate Thirteen]. Between the external angels and filling in the spaces between them are more winged figures all of whom are looking at the earthly bound saint.<sup>97</sup> The Courcelles note that this is taken from two sources, Pseudo-Augustin, *Epist ad Cyrillum Ierosolymitanum Episcopum*, and Augustine's Confessions<sup>98</sup> and write that this is not the nicest of the frescos, but it is the most original<sup>99</sup> showing two dreams of Augustine, the Trinity vision coming out of the tradition of Erfurt. In their description, they refer to the bleeding heart being taken from the image of the Padua Cycle done by Guariento di Arpo from ca. 1338. The image of the Trinity is as if seen in a mirror, a reflection of Augustine's own pain over the suffering of his Lord.<sup>100</sup> This is suggested by the eye

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<sup>96</sup> As symbolized by the bishop's miter floating in the interior space behind him.

<sup>97</sup> 'Sagittaueras tu cor nostrum caritate tua, et gestabamus uerba tua transfixa uisceribus.'

<sup>98</sup> Pseudo-Augustin, *EpiSt ad Cyrillum Ierosolymitanum Episcopum*, (PL 33, 1126), Augustin, *Confessions*, (IX, 2, 3, 1), 210.

<sup>99</sup> 'Cette composition est, non pas la plus belle, mais la plus originale de l'ensemble. Elle met en scène Augustine en proie à deux apparitions.'

<sup>100</sup> 'Augustin entr'ouvre des mains son froc pour montrer à découvert son cœur transpercé. on se souvient qu'au pied du crucifix de Padoue Guariento avait déjà peint Augustin le cœur saignant. ici l'image de la Trinité se réfléchit comme en un miroir, dessinée en fin traits blancs, dans le cœur saignant d'Augustin. Alors que les artistes du XV siècle aiment figurer - à propos des méditations d'Augustin sur la Trinité - les récits narratifs de la 'légende de la veuve' et de 'L'enfant à la cuiller,' cette figure d'Augustin les yeux au ciel et montrant son cœur transpercé évoque plutôt les stigmates de saint François d'Assise'. Courcelles, *Les Cycles du XIV Siècles*, 97.

contact between the Trinity group and the kneeling saint it is as if he is looking at a physical materialization of his thought.<sup>101</sup>

Two more life-cycles from the fourteenth-century are in Munich, 1380 (vii) and Rome, (viii) both of which have only four images describing the key moments from the life of St Augustine. Those in Munich reference the saints and should be read in the following order, according to the Courcelles; his teaching of rhetoric, the scene in the garden in Milan, his baptism and the argument against the heretics. Inspiration could be found for the later Trinity vision in the VSA in this image in the garden at Milan at the moment of his conversion.<sup>102</sup> Here, St Augustine is standing on the left of the composition in a garden; he is separated from his friends by a single tree. His body is turned toward them, but his face is turned up and away from them looking up at the top left-hand corner with his hand raised to his ear so as to better hear an angel calling down to him *Tolle, lege*. From his left hand, he drops an open book which a young man standing closest to him watches fall, whilst other in the group watch the angel. The altarpiece at The Vatican has been attributed to a student of Salimbeni,<sup>103</sup> known as van Marle and is perhaps the most monumental moments in reference to his life events. The chosen images are of the saint's arrival at school with his parents, his teaching of rhetoric, his baptism by Bishop Ambrose and giving out his *Rule* whilst seated amongst his monks.

Of these life-cycles created during the fourteenth-century, three of them make reference to the Trinity; Jordan's *Metrum*, the windows at Erfurt (ii) and the frescoes at

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<sup>101</sup> This image also presents St Augustine in the manner of St Francis of Assisi, the Courcelles suggest that by the fifteenth-century artists focused rather than on the trinity but on the narrative tales of the "Legend of the Widow" and of "The Child and the Spoon."

<sup>102</sup> His *Tolle, Lege* moment.

<sup>103</sup> Salimbeni was the painter of Sanseverino dans les Marches and the master of the frescoes at Gubbio.



Gubbio (vi). Jordan includes the Trinity in corde, right before the saint's death; Erfurt's Trinity appears (Diagram A) in the highest register of windows between his moment of revelation in Milan and handing out his *Rule*. In the fresco at Gubbio, the Trinity image takes its inspiration from the scholastic endeavors of Augustine, from the *Tolle, Lege* moment in the garden in Milan and the crucifixion image from the Chilesa degli Eremitani, Padua (iv). Inspiration is also taken from the most complete anthology of the saint's life at this time from the windows at Erfurt; however this Trinity image is as a manifestation of the suffering of Christ rather than a vision of the Trinity itself.

By the beginning of fifteenth-century there were other centers which contained images of the saint's life-cycle in a variety of forms comprising frescos, windows and illustrated works. The Courcelles describe thirteen of them which include LeGrand's work, which has now been correctly accredited to Jordan of Quedlinburg and dated to the middle of the quartocento. These images had expanded from the previous century and were becoming shown in a standardized format, based principally on the work of Jordan of Quedlinburg. Of the twelve locations researched by the Courcelles for their iconographic work on St Augustine, nine are confirmed to be from the fifteenth-century with the remaining three are from the sixteenth-century. These life-cycles follow a similar account to their predecessors; the manuscript known as the Breviary de Bedford has twelve images, the Manuscript de Florence contains eighteen illustrations. San Gimignano's frescoes cover twenty-five events in seventeen scenes, Neustift's paintings cover ten moments in eight scenes and Carlisle Cathedral contain's twenty-two. Whilst the Altarpiece's de Barcelone and de Bruges have six and seven images respectively; the Tableau de Jerusalem has fifteen scenes in eleven panels. The two tapestry designs at

The National Gallery in Edinburgh have four scenes and there are eleven (ten still in existence) stained-glass windows D'Épernay showing the saint's life. Cremona's frescoes depict eight scenes, but none of them come near either the VSA's one hundred and sixteen images or the *Historia Augustini* which has over one hundred and twenty images.

To begin the fifteenth-century image life-cycle the Bedford Breviary manuscript<sup>104</sup> (ix) is dated to approximately 1425. The illustrations start with Augustine as an adult sitting at a desk, then regresses to his arrival at school as a young child and follows his education, his choice to travel to Africa after his baptism and his Ordination. Next are three illustrations with Augustine and Valerius, including the funding of the college of cannons in Hippo as well as appointing Augustine as a Bishop. The last two images show St Augustine ill in bed and then his death. Of these twelve images only ten were published originally, number four showing Monica asking for guidance and St Augustine's death in number twelve only became public when three manuscripts were combined (folio 557, 558 and 559) to make a complete cycle.

Of the fifteenth-century images cycles of Augustine it is the *Historia Augustini* ca.1430 is the most complete detailing his life in over one hundred and twenty images.<sup>105</sup> The *Historia* starts with an image of Patricius and Monica praying to their respected gods for guidance. Patricius, a pagan kneels before a column on top of which are two false idols, an imp and a devil. The Christian Monica is knelt before an altar with a crucifix beneath an image of God. Their marriage is shown next with Augustine's birth followed

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<sup>104</sup> Les Miniatures du Bréviaire de Bedford, manuscript de Paris, B. N., lat. 17294.

<sup>105</sup> The VSA only contains 116 illustration, nine pages are missing from the folio as noted in the introduction; however if one compares it to *Historia* which list 123 titled images, therefore with the missing nine from the VSA it gives it a total of 124, and makes it the largest and most complete text for the life-cycle of St. Augustine. But note that in making this conclusion, illustration XL in the VSA is text only, and as *Historia* is without text this is missing from its pages.

by Patricius bring food to Augustine who is seated on his mother Monica's lap. The implication is that Patricius is giving physical sustenance while his Mother provides spiritual guidance and support.<sup>106</sup> Following this is an account of his life, attending school, his father's death, Monica's dream and her being comforted by the bishop. His journey to Rome and his teaching there are shown along with his meeting with Ambrose in Milan and his meeting with Simplicianus, Ponticianus, Alypius and his moment in the garden in Milan. By illustration thirty-nine Augustine is baptized by Ambrose and given his black robes, his mother asks him to return to Africa, which they do, but asks Simplicianus for some brother-Hermits to accompany him which he does. Back in Africa they establish a life but Monica soon dies, and Augustine leaves Africa once again for Hippo where he meets Valerius who grants him funds to build a monastery where he gives out his *Rule*. In illumination fifty-eight Augustine [Plate Fourteen] is alone in the garden where he is blessed with a vision of the Trinity: '*Augustine, alone is injured by his love for the suffering of Christ*'<sup>107</sup> this is followed by Augustine seeing the *Passion of Christ*, the instruments of Christ's suffering and then the saint hugging the base of the Cross. Augustine then returns to life as spiritual leader in his monastery where he is then ordained as a Bishop by Valerius who gives him a garden in which he is to build a new monastery. He established a third monastery which is to become the seat of his Bishopric and where he is shown with the Trinity. Here, he describes the differences between Heaven represented by the Trinity; and Hell as a monsters mouth filled with naked people writhing in pain. He then disputes the heretics and gives out his *Rule* to all people, visits the sick, converts the prisoners, and prays for the dead whilst leading a frugal life. Just

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<sup>106</sup> These are the five four images "missing" from the VSA.

<sup>107</sup> 'Augustin, dans la solitude, est blessé d'amour pour le Christ souffrant.'

past the one hundredth illustration are two images of the saint with the trinity, the first one has Augustine enraptured by the vision to the exclusion of the women who has called it into existence and the second where the same women whilst attending a Mass given by Augustine has a vision of the Trinity. After the monastery and Augustine survive the sacking of Hippo by the Vandals he falls ill and dies; his body begins its journey to the basilica of St Peter's in Pavia, via Sardinia. The last four illuminations describe the events surrounding who was to be the caretaker of the saint's final resting place, his canons or his Hermits, in the end both branches take joint responsibility, his "Canons regular and 'brother' Hermits [both] celebrate their joint agency over the body of Augustine."<sup>108</sup>

The Manuscript in the National Library in Florence<sup>109</sup> (x) is dated to 1433, it is designed to have each illustrated page divided into three registers (the first page has four) and many lines have more than one event depicted in them. Eighteen illustrations cover twenty-five events in the saint's life and begin, as most do, with Augustine arriving at school and his education, his Mother's asking for help from a Bishop and her prayer for guidance. Following this are three images (five scenes); his leaving by boat for Rome, his arrival, and his teaching in Rome, and his arrival in Milan and his teaching there. Next Augustine meets and listening to Ambrose, meeting with Simplicianus and his *Tolle, Lege* revelation in the Garden. After this, illustration number eleven shows two events, him telling his Mother of his conversion combined with his baptism; the next register has Augustine and his brothers traveling with his Mother where their experience the revelation at Ostia, to his handing out his *Rule*. The next drawing shows Monica's

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<sup>108</sup> 'Chanoines réguliers et "frères" ermites celebrant l'office ensemble devant le corps d'Augustin.'

<sup>109</sup> Le Manuscrit de la Biblioteca Nazionale central di Firenze, II. 1. 112.

death, with the following scene, (fifteen), which is little more than an incomplete sketch of the saint's consecration as Bishop and sixteen presents his illness and then death (this last image is a simple outline sketch). The final image has the deceased St Augustine showing lame pilgrims where his tomb is, this image is also unfinished. The altarpiece (xi) in Barcelona<sup>110</sup> began in 1452 and was completed by Jaime Huguet in 1463 after Bonafé failed to complete the original commission. It contains six images from the saint's life-cycle starting with Augustine and Monica meeting Ambrose, interestingly only Ambrose and Monica are shown with haloes. Augustine, who has not converted at this time, is presented as an intelligent young man. In the following image, the serene haloed Augustine is describing how Gods' action has played a part in his life. He ages into a mature man when he is made a Bishop, then reverts back to his youth as the next two images show Augustine defeating or casting out the heretics and encountering the Christ-child on the beach. The last presentation is a fanciful representation of St Augustine dressed as a Bishop washing the feet of the adult Christ.

The shutter-panels at Neustift (Novacella)<sup>111</sup> (xii) have ten scenes in eight paintings, the four interior illustrations present moments from his youth, his Mother Monica's dream and the consolation she received from a Bishop starts the work and is followed by Augustine's trip to Rome, meeting with Ambrose, Alypius and Ponticianus and his brothers the monks. The second set of images painted on the exterior show scenes from his adult life, starting with the dramatic scene of his revelation in the garden followed by his baptism. The last two panels show five scenes, on one shutter it shows Augustine enraptured in front of the Trinity [Plate Fifteen], but he does not see the

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<sup>110</sup> Le Retable du Musée d'art Catalan a Barcelone.

<sup>111</sup> Les Peintures sur Bois du Monastère de Neustift, ca.1460.

kneeling woman who has invoked it; it also shows St Augustine celebrating Mass and the woman's vision of the Trinity. This image of the Trinity is unique in that it presents three faces of man; God the father, son and holy spirit sharing facial features, making one face, five eyes, three mouths and three noses. The final panel presents St Augustine, center stage, seated between rows of his faithful Canons. The frescos at The Church of Saint Augustine in San Gimignano (xiii), Italy was painted by Benozzo Gozzoli and his students between 1464 and 1465 under the commission of Fra. Domenico Strambi<sup>112</sup> and contain seventeen images covering twenty-five scenes. "The cycle reveals the Renaissance conception of the saint during a period of intense religious reform"<sup>113</sup> in Strambi's commissioning of the frescoes as part of his association with the Augustinian transformation. The cycle runs from left to right in three registers, from bottom left to the upper right. Several of the images have been partially destroyed by damp and others have been repainted completely in later periods.<sup>114</sup> The lowest register has seven images; starting with Augustine's arrival at school (the underlying drawing or sinopia is by Benozzo while the actual fresco was painted by his student Francesco Fiorentino)<sup>115</sup> and on to university. Then Monica's prayer for her son is shown next to his boat trip to Rome. In scene five Augustine disembarks at Ostia, and is represented in the next as a teacher in Rome, the last image in this run shows Augustine leaving Rome. The middle

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<sup>112</sup> In point of artistic style (time-line) this life-cycle comes between the Procession of the Magi in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Florence painted in 1459 and the frescoes at Campo Santo, Pisa painted in 1452, but it more stylistically in keeping with the 1452 life-cycle at Montefalco and are a reflection of Strambi's own classical culture ethos.

<sup>113</sup> Diane Cole Ahl, "Benozzo Gozzoli's Frescoes of the Life of Saint Augustine in San Gimignano: Their Meaning in Context," *Artibus et Historiae*, (Vol. 7, No. 13, 1986), 35-53.

<sup>114</sup> Frescoes III, IV and V were all damaged by damp presumably from their close proximity to the window and were repainted in the eighteenth-century, whilst II again was partially destroyed by damp has been left as is.

<sup>115</sup> The sinopia was done by Benozzo with the fresco painted by Pier Francesco Fiorentino; in a cartouche above the fresco are the names of the artist and the patron and the date of its completion, 1465.

register starts with Augustine arriving in Milan and being presented to Ambrose. Scene ten has Augustine in the garden in Milan, and the next image presents the viewer with Augustine's baptism. The next image is "the most original subject among the frescoes derives from the apocryphal letter in which the Pseudo-Augustine, as bishop, narrates to Cyril his visionary encounter with Sts Jerome and John the Baptist, and his rapture before an apparition of the Trinity,<sup>116</sup> which appears as the parable of the boy on the beach. The story tells how St Augustine walking along the beach comes across a boy who is spooning the waters of the ocean into a small hole in the sand using a spoon [Plate Sixteen]. When the saint approaches the boy and points out the pointlessness of this action, the boy turns towards Augustine and says that his own actions on trying to understand the mysteries of the trinity are just as futile.<sup>117</sup> Following this there are frescos of the death of Monica, in which Fra. Strambi appears, and in a small vignette Augustine and his mother appear in the upper left hand corner representing the moment of ecstasy at Ostia; Augustine being consecrated as Bishop of Hippo is the start of the upper register of frescoes, being just four in number. The next is his debate with the heretic Fortunatus, followed by the apparition of St Jerome to Augustine as he sits writing, the last image is the saint's own funeral. The Courcelles account of the frescoes includes two drawings by Benozzo which the guide book from San Gimignano refers to but does not describe. The first of Benozzo's drawings<sup>118</sup> shows the Bishop preaching, Augustine and Alypius are seated listening as does the fresco, but it also has Monica

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<sup>116</sup> Gill. *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance*, 70.

<sup>117</sup> There are several versions of this cautionary tale, the child may or may not be Jesus, he may suggest that the human mind is "incapable of comprehending the vast infinitude of the trinity" and some will state that this story was originally about, a professor of the Sorbonne walking along the River Seine, however it became a popular tale by the Middle-Ages and is believed to be first applied to St. Augustine by the Dominican Thomas of Cantimpé.

<sup>118</sup> The drawing is held in the Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (N.A.E. 1297/15).

meeting Ambrose and his dispute with Augustine. The second addition shows Benozzo's drawing for the garden in Milan in which Augustine is suffering from toothache.

Carlisle Cathedral's (xiv) frescos were painted ca. 1484; twenty-two images start with his arrival at school and his learning of rhetoric, followed by his travelling to Rome and teaching and then his meetings with Ambrose, then his encounter with Ponticianus who gave him money for his first monastery. The scene in the Garden in Milan is shown alongside the image of Augustine with toothache,<sup>119</sup> which is followed by the saint's baptism, his Mother's death and his decision to travel to Carthage. His ordination and handing out his *Rule* and his debate with the heretic Fortunatus are followed by his canonization. The next painting [Plate Seventeen] shows the saint enraptured by the Trinity, and again he does not see the women who invoked it. After this is an image of the Augustine borrowing the book of Vises from the devil. The saint's death is presented next and the last images depict the saint's body being transported after death to San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro and then the posthumous miracles. The murals at Cremona<sup>120</sup> (xv) cover six events and was painted around 1498 and start, unusually, with the marriage of Patricius and Monica followed by Augustine's birth. Next Monica is shown sitting up in bed accompanied by two ladies and in an adjoining vignette, a baby Augustine is helped to stand by two ladies as another one reaches out to wrap him in clothing, both he and Monica have halos. The next two paintings depict Augustine teaching in Rome, followed by his baptism and being dressed in the robes of a priest. The last two frescoes show two visits of Augustine with Simplicianus. The altarpiece of Bruges (xvi) has been dated to

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<sup>119</sup> As seen in Benozzo's drawings done for the frescoes at San Gimignano, and it can be argued that this is a direct reference to St. Apollonia, of whom St. Augustine wrote about in *The City of God*; she and a group of nuns choose death rather than commit blasphemy of mind, body or soul.

<sup>120</sup> 'La fresques de la "Chiesa Sant'Agostino" a Crémon.'



the end of the fifteenth-century and is divided into two, displayed in New York and in Dublin.<sup>121</sup> New York has five scenes from the saint's adult life presented in one comprehensive painting. Centered on the saint being consecrated as Bishop are four other vignettes, top left shows his confirmation as a priest and below shows Augustine preaching to a Bishop. Top right depicts the story of the saint's encounter with the Christ-child on the beach and below he tells his friends how God's actions have affected his life.<sup>122</sup> The last two images are from the Dublin piece and comes from the right hand side, the upper images show Augustine enraptured by a glowing celestial image of Saint Jerome, and beneath this is presented a detailed image of Augustine's death, surrounded by his hermit-monks, one of whom is holding a crucifix towards Augustine who is holding the lighted taper. Above the bed is a painting showing both Christ and God seated on a bench with the dove of the Holy Spirit between them; this symbolism within the pictorial space could be a reference to the saint's own study of the Trinity. Surrounding the Augustine are trappings of symbolic importance, a model of a cathedral, the seashell which the Christ-child was seen to be spooning the sea into the hole in the beach, a pail, a cat and a lantern are also included.

In the fifteenth-century, the image of the Trinity had appeared in three of the eight main locations; in the illustrated pages of the *Historia Augustini*, and the frescoes at Carlisle (xiv) and Neustift (xii). The *Historia* is the only one to include it as the Trinity vision; it appeared in the other three as an illustration of the widow's story. In the remaining four life-cycle presentations, the Trinity is not represented in a direct manner, but rather referred to. The early sixteenth-century tapestry designs held in the National

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<sup>121</sup> 'Le Retable Brugeois du "Maître de Saint Augustin" a New York et A Dublin.'

<sup>122</sup> In the story the Christ-Child tells Augustine that it is futile to try and understand the complexities of the divine Trinity.

Gallery of Edinburgh<sup>123</sup> (xvii) number only two, but they cover four central moments, the first has as its principal image Augustine, dressed as a Bishop healing the lame whilst casting out Demons accompanied by Possidonius all set within a cathedral's interior. The second has Augustine seated on a throne disputing and casting down the heretics; he is standing, literally crushing, three heretics beneath his feet, whilst burning five books; the bishop Augustine is seated with an interior monastic setting located in quiet pastoral land accompanied by a faithful hermit. The altar screen from Jerusalem<sup>124</sup> (xviii) dated 1520 has fifteen life-cycle moments in eleven scenes, and like the altarpiece from Bruges it is centered on Augustine's canonization as Bishop. Then in a clockwise direction from bottom left Augustine attends school, and in a side vignette Monica is comforted by a Bishop, above which is the saint teaching rhetoric; and his departure for Rome, and then Monica and Augustine meet Ambrose; with Monica being given the prediction by an Angel of the great things Augustine will accomplish. The top three images depict Augustine's revelation in the garden in Milan, his baptism and receiving the robes of priesthood and accompanied by his brother monks from Italy. The descending three images on the right hand side show Augustine with the Christ-child on the beach, giving out his *Rule* and then his death. In the center, below the main image of the saint being made a Bishop is an image of Sigisbert meeting an Angel who presents him with the heart of St Augustine. The last set of life-cycle images comes from the stained glass windows at Épernay (xix), ca.1527 cover the key points in Augustine's life. His arrival at school, and his teaching; Monica's dream, Augustine's meeting and disputing with Ambrose, and their reconciliation all feature in the first seven windows. Window eight is

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<sup>123</sup> 'La tapisserie Franco-Flamande de la National Gallery a Édimbourg.'

<sup>124</sup> 'Le Tableau d'autel de l'Église Saint-Étienne a Jérusalem.'

missing, but did show Augustine getting baptized. The remaining three have Ambrose and Augustine together with Valerius making Augustine a priest and finally Augustine witnessing the destruction wrought by the vandals against Hippo.

In Chapter Two, there is a detailed account of the VSA, which was produced toward the end of the fifteenth-century, and therefore a contemporary to the frescos at Carlisle and Cremona's mural. Cremona stops in its telling of the saint's life after he meets with Simplicianus; Carlisle includes the widow and the Trinity story. The VSA manuscript (like the *Historia*)<sup>125</sup> presents the reader with four of Augustine's encounters with the Trinity, his moment alone in the garden, the contemplation of Heaven and Hell, and the widow's story. With the majority of life-cycle images being authenticated by the words of Augustine in his *Confessions* or by his biographers,<sup>126</sup> to find that the image which becomes irrevocably linked to Augustine (the Trinity vision) as based on legend, is striking. The description of the Trinity vision image seen in the VSA is, in its simplest terms a man on his knees witnessing a vision in an outdoor setting. But what it is, is an image of Augustine witnessing a moment of great personal importance and significance. Alone in a garden, [Plate Eighteen] kneeling amongst three flowers on the lowest of three ascending hills with three trees, Augustine sees the vision. The vision floats in its own aureole separating it from the earthly in its own divinity and shows the seated figure of God the Father supporting with outstretched hands the Cross, on which the body of God the Son is still nailed, his head drooping to one side but still wearing the Crown of

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<sup>125</sup> The *Historia* images follow the same pattern with the additional images believed to have been lost from the VSA. Both include the Trinity vision as well as the two visions of the Trinity witnessed by the widow.

<sup>126</sup> Jordan of Quedlinburg, Henri de Friemar, Philippe de Harvenegt, Jacques de Voragine and Possidus; for example.

Thorns, and on the shoulder of the Father descends God as the Holy Ghost connecting the two (Father and Son) as one. The image is accompanied by the text:

Here Augustine, living in this vast wilderness with [his] brothers, was intimately wounded by the charity of Christ and all lighted up by the fire of divine love. These [events] can be taken and collected from many of [his] sayings, and [can be] conjectured mainly from his “Crying” about the Passion which begins: “Who will bestow water to my head and the spring of tears to my eyes?” Chapter 58.<sup>127</sup>

This inscription states that the events mentioned in this image are taken from a collection of Augustine’s sayings and principally from his work on the passion, yet it is the subsequent images that relate directly to the passion. The Trinity is a conclusion to the suffering and not a precedent to the individual image of Christ displaying the wounds of the cross or the instruments of his torment; as see in the next two images [Plates Nineteen and Twenty].

The VSA was chosen as the principal manuscript over the *Historia* for several reasons; firstly the quality of the workmanship, the *Historia* has four, five or even six images drawn to two registers per page, as opposed to the VSA’s one or occasionally two images per page. Therefore more details are evident. Secondly the VSA has a neat double border line outlining the images and dividing the upper and lower registers, with its figures outlined and modeled in shaded tones of color-wash; the *Historia* has each image “drawn in a fine and careful pen outline, and then much of the work was gone over again with a thicker, clumsier brush stroke by the painter [with] some details being

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<sup>127</sup> ‘Ibi Augustinus in ista vasta solitudine viuens cum fratribus fuit christi caritate intime vulneratus et totus diuini amoris incendio inflammatus. Hec ex multis dictis propriis haberi et colligi possunt, maxime taten coniecturate ex « Planctu » suo de passione, que incipit: « Quis dabit capit meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum?’ Capitulum LVIII.

completely obscured,”<sup>128</sup> that gives it a more completed look and feel. The third and the most significant reason for the selection is not the difference in the quality of drawing but more precisely because the *Historia* is without text. Take a side by side comparison of the two works, for example Augustine’s baptism; in the VSA it presents three men, Augustine, Alypius and Adéodatus waist deep in their respective stone fonts, with the monumental figure of Bishop Ambrose presiding over the ceremony. His mitre extends beyond the usual framework (in this, the artist is connecting the Bishops own presence beyond that of the scene and out into the wider world; the readers), and behind him a large congregation, including Monica, kneel in prayer. A banner flows over the bishops’ right shoulder and on it, it announces that Ambrose baptized Augustine. The scene is set within an interior space, suggested by the shading and floor color. The *Historia* is reduced to an assembly line of the same three men waist deep in large egg-cup fonts, with Ambrose stands giving his blessing to Augustine and behind the men are four figures kneeling in prayer lead by Monica. There is little effort to create a three-dimensional space, or any distinguishing features of those shown at these proceedings; instead, Latin abbreviated names are written above the five main characters to identify them. The quality of the renderings between the two shows the far superior quality of the VSA, the *Historia* on the other hand appears sketchy and unfinished, the VSA stands completed and the figures well executed and their locations defined. Manuscripts were valuable pieces of work and pride was taken with each image, so to find an edition of poor quality suggests that this was either an unfinished work or an amateur’s presentation of a story told and retold, interpreted and re-interpreted. These detailed differences, its visual

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<sup>128</sup> Ellen Oldham, “The Life of St. Augustine in Pictures” *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, (1952). 21.

clarity and textual information accompanying the images lead me to concentrate on the VSA with respect to the Trinity vision.

The image and its meaning within VSA manuscript cannot be studied in isolation. As demonstrated here, the Trinity was not always a part of the iconography in the life cycles. The physical location in which it is seen are the windows at Erfurt (ii) and the frescos in Gubbio (vi) in the fourteenth-century, whilst in the fifteenth-century the Trinity is only at Neustift (xii) and Carlisle (xiv). The Trinity appears in all three manuscripts, the VSA, the *Historia* and Jordan's *Metrum*, and continues to be associated the saint up until the present day. It is important to recognize that the Trinity vision mentioned in these cycles of the life of St Augustine are part of a manuscript, and therefore they (manuscript) were generally used for private devotions or for small groups but not usually for large public displays. In setting out the iconography of the VSA, the sponsor was well within his or her own rights to create a very personal interpretation of the saint's life and to, as I believe is the case here, propose an alignment between the saint and a central tenet of the Christian faith. Therefore, it is necessary to connect the context of the image of the Trinity<sup>129</sup> as it is found progressing through history<sup>130</sup> with the social and political situations in Europe<sup>131</sup> at the time. The conflicts the Augustinian's were part of; include the argument with other orders of the church in order to justify their legitimate position within the church. The internal dispute between the Hermits and the Canons over which one of them could be considered as the true 'sons' and followers of

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<sup>129</sup> In its various representations.

<sup>130</sup> From the individual ivory plaque used to decorate small personal devotional pieces or private depictions held sacred by institutions and its move into the public realm of large scale worship.

<sup>131</sup> These as discussed briefly, but by no means to a conclusive or detailed level, as the focus remains on the Trinity image, not on the social and political situation in Europe.

Augustine, is also part of the connection to the Trinity vision, and are all parts of the composition which went into the creation of the VSA.

We are then left with the following questions; firstly was this image included as a result of the Augustinian conflict and an attempt to justify their legitimacy? Secondly was it the artists personal imagination or interpretation on the Saints life-cycle or did they follow an obscure precedent out of the Augustinian genre? Thirdly, who was the intended viewer of the cycle and was it intended for public consummation or for private contemplation?

## Chapter Four

### The Manuscript, the vision and the Patron

The conceptual meaning of a piece of art varies depending on its intended purpose, whether it is secular, spiritual, contemporary, political, inspirational or conspiratorial. A circular brooch with a bird in flight can simply represent a pretty object or the Holy Spirit, but it can also be a sign of rebellion against the ruling city, membership to the Nazi party; that the wearer supports World Peace or it could be a reference to a country's independence.<sup>132</sup> The location, time, and those involved in its creation must be considered together with the viewer's own knowledge and biases to historically grasp the meaning of an artistic image. Society in general has a good sense of symbols and their associated meanings. Draw two interlocking arches for example and ask what they represent, the answer will be McDonalds; as Nike would be if a right-handed check mark was drawn. In the same way, two notes of F and F sharp, played on the low register on the cello, would be recognized as the leitmotif of Jaws.<sup>133</sup>

The meaning of a symbol may change over time. Therefore, the social and political environments at a given time may give the modern day viewer an insight into a symbol's original meaning. Sperber writes that symbols in their "explicit form [are] unintelligible by themselves and their study has always presupposed the existence of an underlying tacit knowledge."<sup>134</sup> When approaching a symbol the viewer already has a preconceived idea of what it represents, (based on their own knowledge) and when there

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<sup>132</sup> Respectively: the brooch given to Katniss Everdeen in *The Hunger Games*, by Suzanne Collins; the *Parteiflagge* or coat of arms of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP; known in English as the National Socialist German Workers' Party or the Nazi Party); see the Thousand Cranes Peace Network emblem; and as seen in the Great Seal of the United States on the back of the One Dollar Bill.

<sup>133</sup> See Leanne Hinton, Johanna Nichols and John J. Ohala, eds., *Sound Symbolism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

<sup>134</sup> Sperber, Dan. *Rethinking Symbolism*. Translation Alice L. Morton. (Cambridge: The Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1995).



is no precedent, an idea may “be understood only by following some out-of-the-way association of ideas.”<sup>135</sup>

Symbols were important at the time of the VSA as recognizable images were used to illustrate stories, events and people so that those who were unable to read could understand them, in addition to those who were literate. By the mid-fourteenth-century, there was a need to adhere to the prescribed iconography; many saints had by the fourteenth-century, already established a recognized image. To present St Hope without her anchor or St Andrew without his X-shaped cross would have been ineffective; they would be figures without meaning. The illustrations in the VSA include the already established Augustine life-cycle images as set out in Jordan of Quedlinburg’s *Metrum* (as seen in the earlier life-cycles discussed in Chapter Three).<sup>136</sup> Yet the VSA took further steps from this known iconography, drawing not only from Jordan and from Augustine’s *Confession* but also from Possidius’s *Vita Augustini*, Jacques de Voragine’s *Legenda aurea*, Pseudo-Datius’s *Historia ecclesie Mediolanensis* and the Pseudo-Augustine’s *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*. The VSA’s illustrations include as described in Chapter Two, a vision of Augustine witnessing a vision of the Trinity. This image has since become synonymous with the saint. Its inclusion in this manner in the VSA is likely due to the influence of the original patron of the VSA. Although the identity of the commissioning patron of the VSA is unknown, there are three most probable possibilities

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<sup>135</sup> Reginald G. Hagger, *Dictionary of Art Terms* (London: New Orchard Editions, 1984), 332.

<sup>136</sup> By the fourteenth-century the Augustinian had embarked on a decorative program within their buildings to represent St. Augustine as a great scholar, leader and as the founder of the Augustinian Orders. As seen in Chapter Three, there were eight main sites, across Europe featuring the Augustine life-cycles; Erfurt, Rabastens, Padua, Pavie, Fabriano, Munich, Gubbio and the Vatican according to the Courcelles who also maintain that between these eight sites, there were five dominant recurring images; Augustine’s baptism, appearing in seven out of the eight, then Augustine teaching rhetoric features in six of them. The remaining three images are Augustine arguing with the heretics, his ordination as a bishop and the *Tolle, Lege* revelation in the garden in Milan which can be found in five of the eight sources.

for its patron: a wealthy secular male; a member of the OESA; or a widow. Generally men who engaged in supporting the arts did so in a much grander scale rather than producing an ephemeral pictorial story-book of the life-cycle of St Augustine, but within its pages there is a strong evidence to suggest otherwise. The OESA in their continuing struggle for being recognized as the true 'sons' of Augustine are seen within its illustrations as being his first and faithful brothers. The widow is an option because within the manuscript's images is a series of connections between the Trinity vision and the widow. Each of these possibilities requires further discussion.

#### I: The Male Patron

Wealthy men often engaged in artistic commissions as patrons, but their principal contributions were in public spaces and architecture, and not works like the VSA.<sup>137</sup> The three generations of de' Medici family serve as an example of men who exemplify the male patrons' ideal of commissioning grand public works.<sup>138</sup> Beginning with Cosimo de' Medici (d. 1464) who was patron to architects, scholars and artists, he was also involved in creating the humanist library and a community building program that was later continued by members of his family. Cosimo's grandson Lorenzo de' Medici (d. 1492), was also a prominent patron of the arts, as well as a poet himself who commissioned works from the great artist of the time, Michelangelo and Botticelli amongst them. Giovanni de' Medici (d. 1521), continued the family tradition, commissioning paintings by Raphael and Donato Bramante. Although later, when he became Pope Leo X he was

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<sup>137</sup> There are notable exceptions to this; John, Duke of Berry (d. 1416) for example, commissioned illuminated books, *Très Riches Heures*, the *Petites Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry* and *Belles Heures of Jean de Berry* amongst them.

<sup>138</sup> For further reading on the influence of a male patron of the arts see Cecil H. Clough's "Federigo da Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts, 1468-1482" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (Vol. 36, The Warburg Institute 1973), 129-144. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/751161> (March 2013).

best known contribution as a patron to the arts through his public commissions, including the rebuilding of the basilica of Saint Peter's in Rome. All three generations focused their attentions on creating monumental scale works of art, which celebrated themselves as much as the subject.

Within the manuscript of the VSA, there is a patron of this ilk; Liutprant, King of Lombardy who commissioned the building of the San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. This is not, however, the reason that I offer the option of a lay male patron. Rather, in the image and text of illustration LIII there is a wealthy man seen to be giving Augustine funds required in constructing his first monastery. If a wealthy patron had given funds to establish a monastery, he might have then used the VSA to represent himself by connecting himself with a heretofore unmentioned patron of Augustine. This wealthy patron as portrayed in the VSA is unique. He is not referred to or represented in the *Historia* or the *Metrum* or by any of the other bibliographical life-cycles of the saint. The *Historia's* image in the corresponding location has Augustine preaching in Hippo to the very rich, although there is no suggestion of a donor. This implies that indeed this image could be of the patron as they often included images of themselves in the works of art they commissioned. The Emperor Justinian is seen in the mosaics at the Church of San Vitale, Ravenna presenting a large platter as a gift to the church. The late fourteenth-century fresco by the Anonymous Sienese painter in San Salvatore at Lecceto, discussed by Cooper in his essay, "St Augustine's Ecstasy," shows, although badly degraded in its condition, the saint with St John the Baptist and a 'lay donor figure' who is diminutive in scale, but

present as he witnesses the events.<sup>139</sup> The *Triptych of the Annunciation* by Robert Campin ca. 1428 clearly shows its donors as part of the overall image, and the altarpiece by Hugo van der Goes ca. 1475 known as the *Portinari Altarpiece* has the donor kneeling in the left-hand panel watching the birth of Christ. The 1425 fresco painting by Masaccio in the church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence is known as the *Trinity with the Virgin, Saint John the Evangelist, and Donors*. This practice of including donor images within prestigious commissions continues into the sixteenth-century, Titian painted the monumental *Pesaro Madonna* around 1520, its it known by several names, all of which include as does the painting itself the donor, Pesaro.<sup>140</sup> Manuscripts also made reference to their creators; the Abbess Hitda appears within the pages of the *Hitda Gospels* dating from the eleventh-century. She not only commissioned the manuscript, but she is represented within its illuminations presenting it to Saint Walpurga.<sup>141</sup> Similarly Jeanne d'Evreux, former Queen of France appears within the pages of her *Book of Hours* kneeling before St Louis.<sup>142</sup> These examples confirm that donors were often shown in their works as a method of permanent recognition, and the appearance of a wealthy man

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<sup>139</sup> Donald Cooper's essay "St. Augustine's Ecstasy before the Trinity in the Art of the Hermits, ca.1360-ca.1440," in *Art and the Augustinian Order in Early Renaissance Italy*, Eds., Louise Bourdua and Anne Dunlop (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2007), 192.

<sup>140</sup> *The Pesaro Madonna, Madonna with Saints and members of the Pesaro family, Pala Pesaro or Madonna di Ca'Pesaro*.

<sup>141</sup> These images are all accessible via the World Wide Web.

<sup>142</sup> *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* (New York: The Cloisters Collection, 1954), MS 54.1.2., fols. 102v103r. The book of hours was commissioned by her husband Charles IV le Bel, king of France as a wedding gift for Jeanne d'Evreux, she was the last hope in the Capetian line, but she bore the king three daughters, the first, Blanche died very young, their second Marie never married. Their third child, also called Blanche was born after her husband had died. "Jeanne retired from public life to follow Blanche de Bourgogne to the Cistercian nunnery at Maubuisson" until her death in 1371. See Madeline H. Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for her Marriage Bed" *Speculum*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (2 Apr., 1993), 333-362. [www.jstor.org.proxy2.ulib.iupui.edu](http://www.jstor.org.proxy2.ulib.iupui.edu) (April 2013). Jeanne's choice high-lights that as a (wealthy) widow entering a nunnery was an option open to women. Therefore, it should be noted that although in this thesis there is a distinction between patrons, there is every possibility that the patron of the VSA could have been a wealthy widow retiring to a convent to become a lay-sister or nun, they are not mutually exclusive.

in the VSA illustrations, who appears nowhere else in the existing iconography, is particularly significant and suggests that he could have been the original patron.

## II: The OESA Context

There are several factors to take into account in assessing the connection between the OESA and the VSA. The first comes from the location of the VSA's manufacture; Germany. Jordan of Quedlinburg was in Erfurt, Germany and was widely known to have devoted himself to the support of the OESA and to have written one of Augustine's biographies. The cathedral church of St Augustine in Erfurt was the site of one of the best and most comprehensive life-cycles at this time. There is another link to the location, which is through the dispute between the Orders over how their founding father should be dressed. The dispute, which started in Pavia in 1327 had several episodes; including one which originated in 1474 at a local level, over whether Augustine should be dressed as a Hermit or a Canon on the Milan Cathedral. The *Fabbrica del Duomo* of Milan had originally agreed to represent Augustine as a Hermit on the roof of their unfinished cathedral, but the local Canon disagreed. This dispute, according to Warr in her essay "Hermits, Habits and History"<sup>143</sup> was referred to the Duke of Milan for a decision. This quarrel "soon became an issue affecting Hermits and Canons not only in Italy, but also beyond the Alps. In France, England, and Germany, numerous academic members of the Order of the Hermits supported the case of their Italian brethren"<sup>144</sup> they wrote, illustrated and argued on the Hermits behalf citing images and text demonstrating

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<sup>143</sup> Cordelia Warr, "Hermits, Habits and History – The Dress of the Augustinian Hermits" Eds., Louise Bourdua and Anne Dunlop. *Art and the Augustinian Order*, 17-28.

<sup>144</sup> Kasper Elm, "Augustinus Canonicus – Augustinus Eremita" *Christianity and the Renaissance*, Ed., Timothy Verdon, John Henerson, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 86.

their claim. The Duke of Milan eventually finding for the Hermits.<sup>145</sup> The same argument could be presented for cases from either France and England were it not that the style of the VSA was contemporary to works produced in the town of Augsburg,<sup>146</sup> which was at this time an important center for the arts. It is also the location of the Benedictine Monastery of Saints Udalric and Afra which was known to have undertaken the expansion of its library at this time, acquiring and commissioning many manuscripts as well as producing illuminated manuscripts themselves.<sup>147</sup> However, unlike the manuscripts produced in monastic scriptoriums the VSA was produced by a much less professional hand. Manuscripts like the *Ebbo Gospel* represent an enormous investment of time, expertise and materials. Only a wealthy monastery could afford, for example, the slaughter of so many sheep in order to facilitate the production of vellum needed. Compared to elaborate images found in the ninth-century *Ebbo Gospel*, the ink outlined images with color wash infill of the VSA suggests a less expensive production cost, and not one produced by the monasteries, as “for a short time, after the introduction of rag paper, they were common. Most surviving copies of this production came from Germany and were produced in secular rather than monastic workshops.”<sup>148</sup>

The second argument I propose for the OESA being the patron of the VSA is the disagreement between the Canons and the Hermits, and their need to legitimized their claim as being the true ‘sons’ of Augustine. The life of Saint Augustine, written by Henry de Freimar states (amongst others) two things: firstly that not only did Augustine don the Hermit’s habit first after his conversion; and secondly that the “problematic

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<sup>145</sup> Warr, “Hermits, Habits and History,” 18.

<sup>146</sup> A distance between Augsburg and Erfurt is less than 300 miles.

<sup>147</sup> For further reading see Janet Backhouse, *The Illuminated Page: Ten Centuries of Manuscript Painting in the British Library*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Inc., 1997).

<sup>148</sup> Oldham, *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, 20.

origins of the Order in Tuscany” are traced “to Augustine himself,” whereby Augustine was indeed the founder of the OESA.<sup>149</sup> Religious communities like the OESA did commission specific one-off works during the Middle-Ages because as Backhouse writes the majority of “illuminated books had religious significance”<sup>150</sup> many of them were destined for lay people, these manuscripts “could be seen as a tribute to the glory of God and at the same time a reflection of the status of the religious community.”<sup>151</sup> However the VSA as noted by Oldham in her article for the *Boston Public Library*,<sup>152</sup> is interesting because of its construction, in that it “represents a popularization of book making, due to the use of cursive script and rapid pen drawing instead of a formal hand and the elaborate work of miniaturists.”<sup>153</sup> This style could be a reflection on the “rise of printing in Germany and the rapid perfecting of the illustrated book [...] in the second half of the fifteenth century.”<sup>154</sup> Oldham concludes that because of its style of manufacture it would have been a book used by many and used often, and as such, these manuscripts are rare because such exposure and use often resulted in damage and loss. The VSA itself is in good condition, although there are several pages missing and page degradation towards the end of the manuscript.<sup>155</sup> This makes this set of life-cycle images more likely to have been created as a propaganda piece, one that the OESA could have carried and passed out to be read and/or viewed by their congregations.

Because of its production method and style, I would propose that this life-cycle of St Augustine was meant for distribution among the people, be they lay or clerical, to

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<sup>149</sup> Diane Cole Ahl, *Frescoes of the Life of Saint Augustine in San Gimignano*, 45.

<sup>150</sup> Janet Backhouse. *The Illuminated Page*. 7.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid. 7.

<sup>152</sup> Oldham, *The Life of St. Augustine in Pictures*, 20.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid. 20.

<sup>154</sup> Thomas Kren. *Illuminated manuscripts of Germany and Central Europe: In the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2009), 30.

<sup>155</sup> There is also evidence of woodworm damage to the cover.

serve as a picture book to be passed along and be used as a propaganda tool, to influence its viewers to see the ‘truth’ as to which fraternity were the true ‘sons’ of Augustine. Those who had no understanding of this conflict could recognize the progression of St Augustine in images from childhood, education, his conversion, his construction of his monasteries and cathedral, his handing out of his *Rule* to his death and entombment at San Pietro in Ciel d’Oro surrounded by members of both Orders. More specifically, within its illustrations the VSA establishes the founding of his Orders of Hermits first, giving the Hermits clear priority over the Canons in their debate that was still raging when the VSA was produced.

### III: The Widow Theory

The probability that the VSA was commissioned by a widow is as strong as the OSEA claim, perhaps stronger. The evidence is circumstantial in many cases, but I believe none the less relevant. The precedent for the wealthy donor to influence the meaning and the artist goes back millennia. Although one problem that faces researchers when interpreting earlier commissioned works is that in “their quest to clarify women’s participation as patrons, is that women often wielded their influence and decision-making power behind the scenes.”<sup>156</sup> Isabella d’Este-Gonzaga is recognized as one of the most influential women of the sixteenth century and serves as a role model for the widow theory (she outlived her husband by twenty years), in that she was a patron of Renaissance learning, arts and literature.<sup>157</sup> Women began to experience a greater

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<sup>156</sup> Kleiner and Mamiya *Gardener’s Art through the Ages*, 673.

<sup>157</sup> For further reading on women as patrons of the arts see, Madeline H. Caviness. “Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessors and matrons?” Ed., June H. McCash *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Georgia: Georgia University Press, 1996).105-154; also see *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*. Eds., Lesley Janette Smith, Jane Hilary Margaret Taylor, (London: The British Library Studies in Medieval Culture, 1997).



freedom in the Italian Renaissance, albeit still restricted.<sup>158</sup> In Garrard's book *Artemisia Gentileschi*, she notes that in the Renaissance play *The Courtier* by Castiglioni, women were at this time considered being imperfect versions on men "do not desire to be men in order to become more perfect, but in order to gain freedom and escape that rule over them which man has arrogated to himself by his own authority."<sup>159</sup> One way that women were able to achieve this autonomy was to become patrons of the arts. In doing so, as noted in *Gardener's Art Through the Ages*, "despite the obstacles Renaissance women encountered as artists, they did have a significant impact on the arts in the realm of patronage."<sup>160</sup>

The widow theory for the VSA patron covers the secular and spiritual and attempts to elevate the role of women within the order. The widow's story is well documented and by including the Trinity vision earlier in the manuscript, associating it with the theological work Augustine was known for, it charts a link to the importance of women. Augustine's Mother (then as a widow herself), the vision at Ostia, the Trinity, the manifestations of his thoughts, and then Augustine, the widow and the Trinity are linked together in a visual biography that through subtle innuendo promotes the significance of women within the Augustinian Order.

The first two possibilities presented were for male patrons, either a wealthy secular patron or a member of the OESA, both of which provide strong arguments. Yet a widow is the most probable patron for the VSA. There are a number of factors which can

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<sup>158</sup> Joan Kelly in her essay "Did Women have a Renaissance?" she argues that no they did not, although in some instances women utilized their abilities to control and lead. For the full essay see Joan Kelly, *Women, History & Theory The Essays of Joan Kelly*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 19-50.

<sup>159</sup> Garrard, Mary D. *Artemisia Gentileschi: the Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), 147.

<sup>160</sup> Kleiner and Mamiya. *Gardeners Art Through the Ages*, 673.

be attributed to the widow theory. The literacy rate in Europe in the mid-to-late fifteenth-century amongst women and the secular class was not high. The VSA has Latin text, not as an addition, but as part of the illustration that suggests a higher degree of education, like that of the wealthy patrician. However devout (or wealthy) the patron was if they wanted to promote both themselves and that of the life of the saint, the wealthy widow would have faced centuries of bias; and if Kelly and Lerner are to be believed, women did not have a Renaissance.<sup>161</sup> So that by commissioning an ephemeral piece (given its production method and that of its style, as discussed) such as the VSA through a secular artisan or indeed a sympatric convent workshop she could have it reflect her own ideals.

The story of Augustine, the widow and the Trinity justifies the widow theory. This well documented story presents a widow center stage in the very essence of Augustinian Trinitarian thought. She is referred to, in the text as a widow and is the only person within the entire manuscript to witness the Trinity (apart from Augustine himself). The Trinity's first two presentations are when he is alone; the second two are in the presence of the widow. This connection between the three creates a decidedly positive bond; the power of the Trinity vision (a) linked to the academic study and understanding Augustine did in respect to the Trinity (b), to the manifestation of the Trinity (c)<sup>162</sup> in his realm of the church and the realm of heaven, in which the widow is also present. As

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<sup>161</sup> See Joan Kelly's essay (FN: 23) and Gerda Lerner's *Women in History*, Vol. 1 *The Creation of Patriarchy* (1986), in which she reviews patriarchal authority through evidence gathered from, literary, artistic, archeological and historical sources. In Vol. 2 *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to 1870* (1994) she examines the culture of women in Europe between the seventh-to-nineteenth-centuries, in which she demonstrates the restrictions placed on women by men from their poor education to their isolation from their own cultural heritage, but also how some women found a way to express themselves through writing.

<sup>162</sup> (a) the Trinity vision: (b) Augustine contemplating the realms of Heaven and Hell: (c) the Trinity's appearance in the widows story.

discussed earlier his Mother, Monica<sup>163</sup> played a significant role in his life, up until her death, the piety and sacrifice of Monica is evident in all her representations, and certainly something that a pious widow would hope to emulate (she cannot be the mother of Augustine, but she can continue his mother's works). Monica claimed that her son was destined to be an extraordinary man, a lover of God and a prodigious scholar, and by including the Trinity vision the patron created a perpetual relationship between Augustine and his achievements in one image. Besides from the connection to the Trinity in the widow's story, the account of Monica's influence over her son, there are five other moments in the VSA which point to this being commissioned by a woman. After Monica's death, women do not appear with Augustine until (as a bishop) he hands out his *Rule*, the second group is to his nuns, with the third and fourth groups being virgins and widows. Later at the end of his life as his soul leaves his body, [CXIII] Augustine is attended by a solitary Hermit and two nuns. As his body lays in state a figure of a weeping woman appears over his body; and as his body finds rest in Sardinia, a single woman watches over him from the entrance of the cathedral. Although none of these images directly claimed to be related to the patron, or indeed to name those within each illustration, for a woman, at this time, it would have been a clear recognition of 'her' importance in his life and death.

Of the data reviewed in respect to the widow theory, there is one more piece to consider. It is the most circumstantial of all, but which indicates the most salient connection to a woman/widow being the original patron of the VSA. This evidence is the apparent alterations to some of the images. Firstly, there is the addition of breasts to the

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<sup>163</sup> St Monica, Augustine's mother is the patron saint of married women, as well as alcoholics, mothers, disappointing children, victims of adultery and assault and widows.

figure of ‘a beloved friend’ in image XVI. Changing ‘a him’ to ‘a her’ in order to give rise to the claim that with ‘her’ death Augustine turned away from his misdirected life (the life of a Manichean follower) and started toward the Christian one prayed for by his mother. Secondly, that the figure of the woman weeping over Augustine’s body was actually a Hermit, but with a heavy hand the details were changed to give the appearance of a woman in mourning. The ‘alterations’ to the images implies that the owner of the VSA was at some point before 1591 (the date of the first Augustinian Monastery’s inscription) a woman, if not its original creator. These alterations suggest that, by their addition, they effectively increase the presence of women (after Monica’s death) whilst bolstering the importance of women in the sight of the Order.

It is likely that the VSA came from Germany,<sup>164</sup> as did the patron who commissioned it who gave instruction on what was to be included and what was to be excluded in its creation. Of the three possible patrons discussed above, the third “option” suggests that the work was commissioned by a wealthy widow who was attempting to bring justification, accreditation and support to the founding father of the Augustinian Order whilst promoting the importance of women. The inclusion of the widow and Augustine story and the link to the earlier Trinity vision, the ‘alterations’ to some of the illustrations and its style and production of the manuscript suggest a feminine hand in its crafting. But, the VSA was not alone. The earlier work, the *Historia Augustini*, includes the widow’s story and the Trinity, but I do not believe that the Trinity appeared first in the *Historia* either; both the *Historia* and the VSA were works based on earlier examples of a visual history most likely produced around the time of the Augustinian renaissance in

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<sup>164</sup> Cooper notes in his essay *St Augustine’s Ecstasy* that the Courcelles place the manuscript in Germany and that it was likely made for a convent of Augustinian Hermits. FN: 49, 200.

the fourteenth-century. In this light, the VSA preserves in unique fashion a previously ignored factor in the late medieval creation of Augustine, and reveals the origins of one of the images that became identified with Augustine himself: his vision of the Trinity.

## Conclusion

This research was undertaken to determine why the vision of the Trinity appeared in this fifteenth-century manuscript, and whom the commissioning patron of the VSA was. In doing so, this thesis has covered several ideas that bring some meaning to the VSA's creation, including in Chapter One the process taken by artists in the way the Trinity was presented in Christian art and the difficulties they faced in representing images of God the Father and Christ's death by crucifixion. The Second Chapter focused on the manuscript itself, its condition, production, and the order of the illustrations, making note of the four specific images in which the Trinity appears. In Chapter Three, the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth-century life-cycle centers for St Augustine were examined for consistencies and the inclusion of the Trinity. Of the nineteen centers, only Erfurt (ii), Gubbio (vi), Neustift (xii) and Carlisle (xiv)<sup>165</sup> feature the Trinity, whereas all three of the manuscripts from this period reference the Trinity.<sup>166</sup> The final Chapter analyzed the potential patrons for the VSA and their possible agenda for its creation including links to the Trinity image. Of the three, the wealthy male donor, a member of the OESA or the widow, the widow theory emerges as having the strongest support based on the available evidence, namely, the manuscript itself and the analysis here presented of its images. The VSA was produced with its focus on the concepts the widow who commissioned the work wished to promote, yielding a life cycle of Augustine that taken as a whole was unique.

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<sup>165</sup> Its appearance at Carlisle and Neustift are in the presence of the widow.

<sup>166</sup> The *Metrum*, *Historia Augustini* and the *Vita Sancti Augustini*.

The VSA manuscript has been identified as being manufactured in a “secular rather than monastic”<sup>167</sup> environment. This suggests that it was produced not to be housed reverently in splendid isolation, but rather to be used for educational purposes and to be passed around. In the emplotment of the VSA, the Trinity vision appears after Augustine's conversion (as it does in the *Metrum* and the *Historia*) where Augustine is alone in the garden, then as a manifestation of Augustine's thoughts as he contemplates the realms of Heaven and Hell. The Trinity thereafter appears first as the widow approaches Augustine in his study, and then on her second attempt to solicit his advice the Trinity appears before them both, but in this representation the widow is seen in both the physical realm (in the cathedral) and the spiritual (in the aureole of the Trinity). For a comparison, the Trinity only appears in the fourteenth-century windows at Erfurt (ii) and the frescos at Gubbio (vi); in Erfurt, the window arrangement was altered during restoration and only in the Courcelles reordered program is the saint located beneath the Trinity. Gubbio's Trinity, according to Cooper, has more to do with the internal squabbles between the Hermits and Canons than it does with the Trinity as such.<sup>168</sup> That being said, how do we account for the appearance of the widow?

The commissioning of a manuscript of the VSA's type is more in keeping with a female patron than a male patron, as discussed were pre-disposed to larger public works. Women were still restricted to the home, and as such, the production of such a manuscript would have been more in keeping with their abilities and opportunities to commission, and one that women could have passed amongst their friends, visitors and family. In the case of the VSA, the anonymous widow patron would have been able to

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<sup>167</sup> Oldham, *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, 20.

<sup>168</sup> Cooper, “St Augustine's Ecstasy,” Bourdua, ed. *Art and the Augustinian Order*, 186.

share not only her presentation of the story of Augustine, the widow and the Trinity but also the importance for women to Augustine's life through the various illustrations, including the life of Augustine being intricately linked to the actions of his mother, Monica. The chronology of the Trinity within the manuscript starts with the vision and ends with the widow herself as part of the Trinity witnessed by Augustine in the cathedral. This progression links these events together visually and places the widow not only in the center of the final representation but by association to its other appearances in the VSA. The two manuscripts included in this research as comparisons to the VSA both describe the saint in rapture before the Trinity. The fourteenth-century life-cycle images at Erfurt (ii) has the saint apparently below the Trinity in its windows, whilst Gubbio (vi) uses the Trinity's appearance primarily to defend the Hermits claim over the Canons at the same time giving the saint a connection to suffering the mortal wounds, akin to those suffered by St Francis when he received the stigmata. By the fifteenth-century, the images of St Augustine, which have representations of the Trinity, Neustift (xii) and Carlisle (xiv) are of Augustine, the widow and the Trinity. The events illustrated in the pages of the VSA were taken from various biographies and compiled into a comprehensive account of the saint's life. Within this life-cycle, there are anomalies, some events, like the Trinity vision come from apocryphal legend, and others within the pages of the VSA have apparently been altered to better suit the patron's needs. The beginning has the strong female influence of Monica on her son's life, until his move to Thagaste. This experience is brought to a close with the death of his beloved friend; it is a time when Augustine begins to question the Manichean teachings. With the addition of breasts to the image of Augustine's 'beloved friend' it can be argued that this points



towards a desire for the patron to connect Augustine's change in the direction, away from the Manichean toward Christianity and the great life foretold to Monica to the influence of women. Monica's influence naturally stops after her death. By including the widow's story the patron continues to link pivotal moments in the saint's life to women. The alteration to the image of Augustine's body as it lies in state is another example, in that, it presents a woman again at the center of his life.<sup>169</sup> Being that the VSA was created in the informal style of a picture book rather than the formal style of the monastic illuminated manuscripts, the drawings were held in less regard which made it possible, I would suggest, for the owner to take pen and ink and revise various images in order to express her ideas. The intension of the patron of the *Vita Sancti Augustini* and the Trinity vision image gives credence to the claim of the importance of women and the central role they played in creating the legend of Augustine, whilst strengthening the legitimacy, primacy, and supremacy of the Augustinian Order and its *Rule* over the other claimants to being the true "sons of Augustine". The Trinity vision in the VSA has shown that for understanding the reception of Augustine in the later Middle Ages and the ideology thereof, it was not only Augustine's "true sons" who had a role, but his daughters as well.

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<sup>169</sup> Beyond this point in the VSA it concentrates on the journey to his final resting place, and the conflict between the Hermits and Canons. A woman is seen in the doorway of the church in Sardinia where his body was interred for 280 years.

Appendix A: Plates

Plate One:

*The Passion Sarcophagus*



Plate Two:

*The Maskell Ivories*



Plate Three:

*Westphalia Altarpiece*



Plate Four:

*The Morgan Bible*

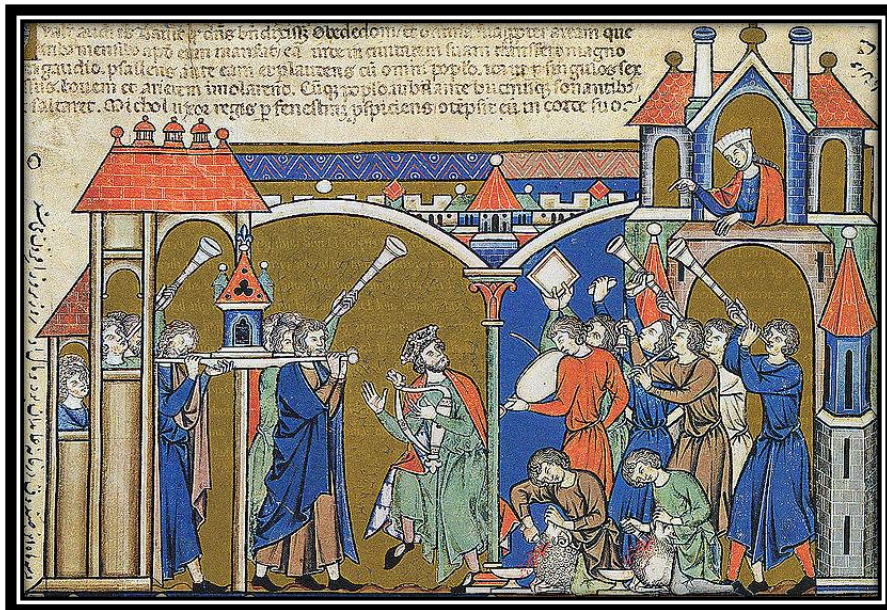


Plate Five:

*The Mocking of Christ [with the virgin and St Dominic]*

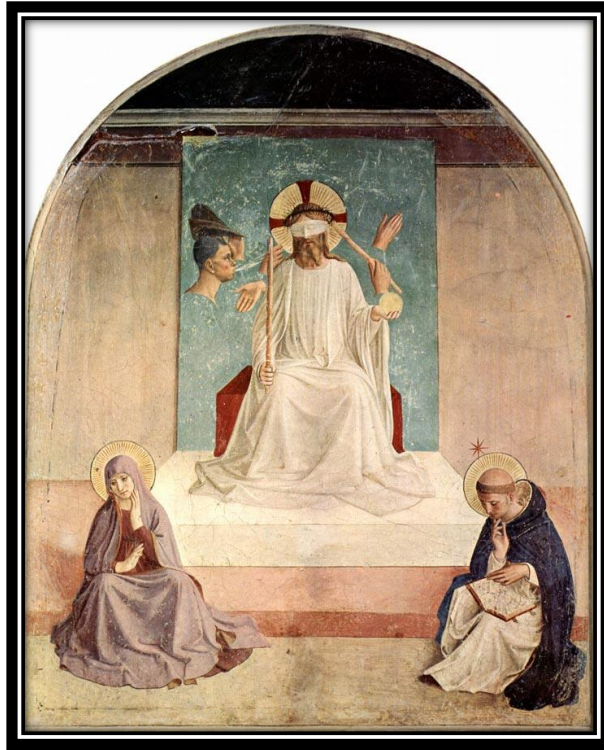


Plate Six:

Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome



Plate Seven:

*Man of Sorrows*

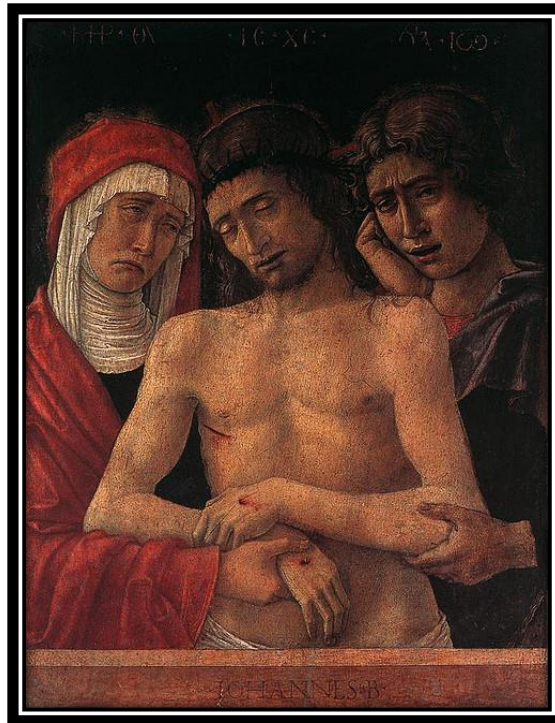


Plate Eight:

*The Emilian Miniature*

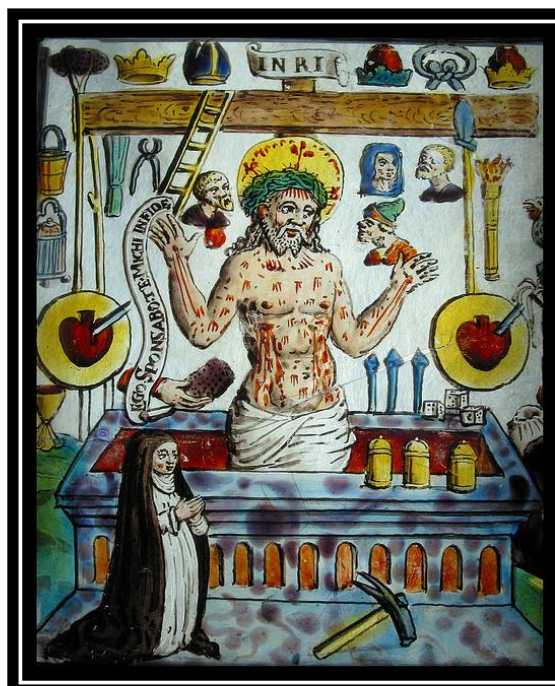


Plate Nine:

*German or Röttgen Pietà*



Plate Ten:

*The Coronation of the Virgin*



Plate Eleven and Plate Twelve:

*The Trinity*: (left), upper window, Erfurt

*Contemplation on the Trinity*: (right), lower window, Erfurt



Plate Thirteen:

*Ecstasy of Augustine before the Trinity*, Gubbio



Plate Fourteen:

*Alone in the garden where he is blessed with a Vision of the Trinity: Historia Augustini*

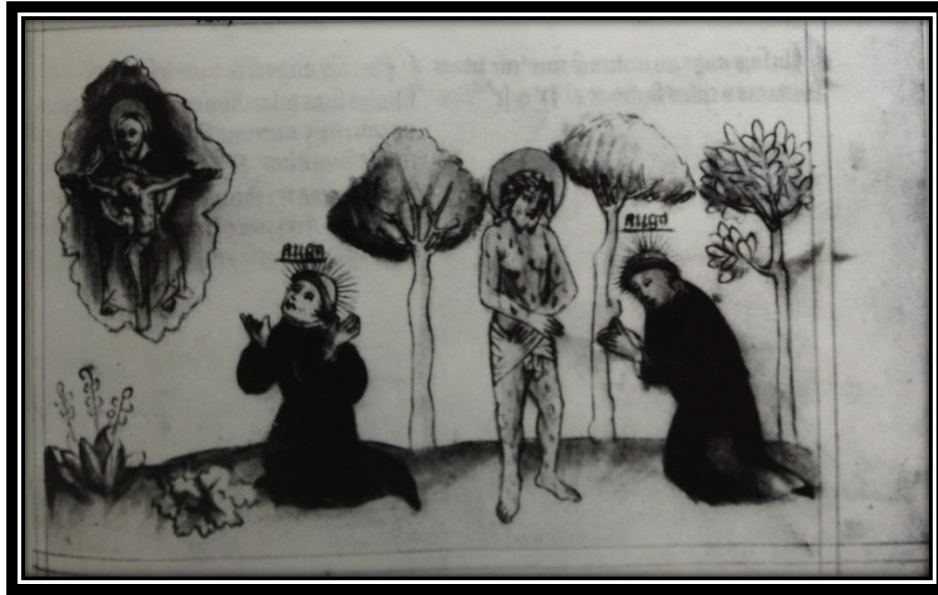


Plate Fifteen:

*Enrapture Beneath the Trinity, Neustift*

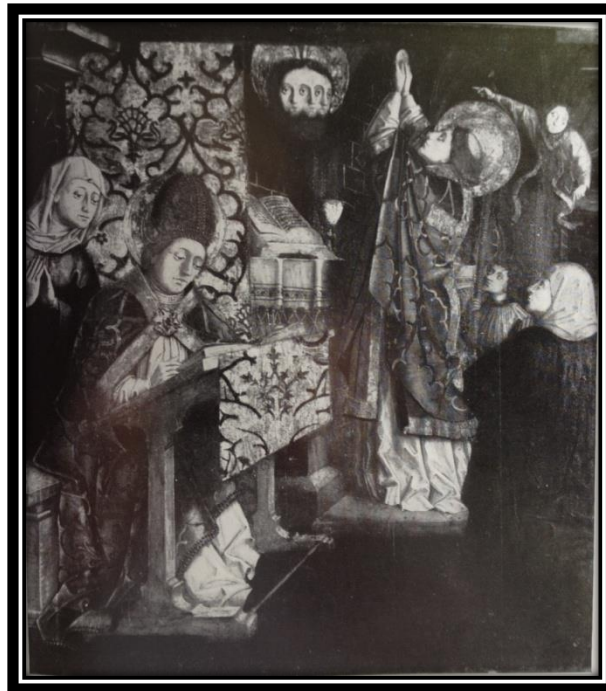




Plate Sixteen:

*Contemplating the Trinity, San Gimignano*



Plate Sixteen:

*Enraptured by the Trinity, Carlisle*

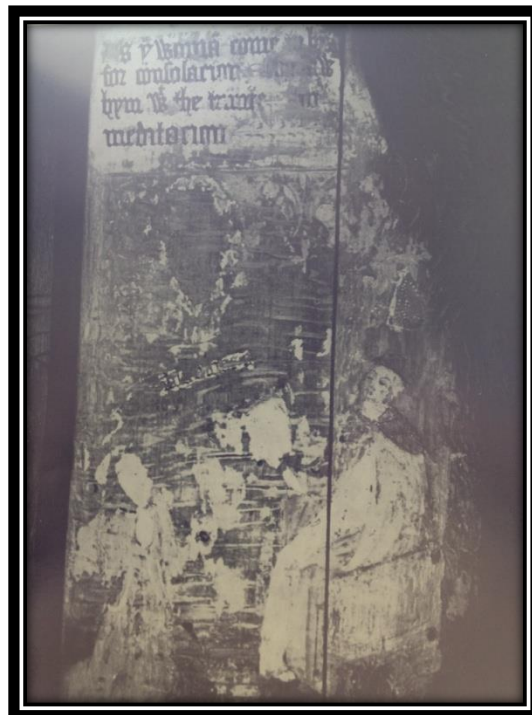


Plate Eighteen:

*The Vision of the Trinity, Vita Sancti Augustini*



Plate Nineteen:

*Augustine Alone Cries Over the Passion of Christ: (upper), VSA*

Plate Twenty:

*Augustine Reflects in Silence on the Various Torments of Christ: (lower), VSA*

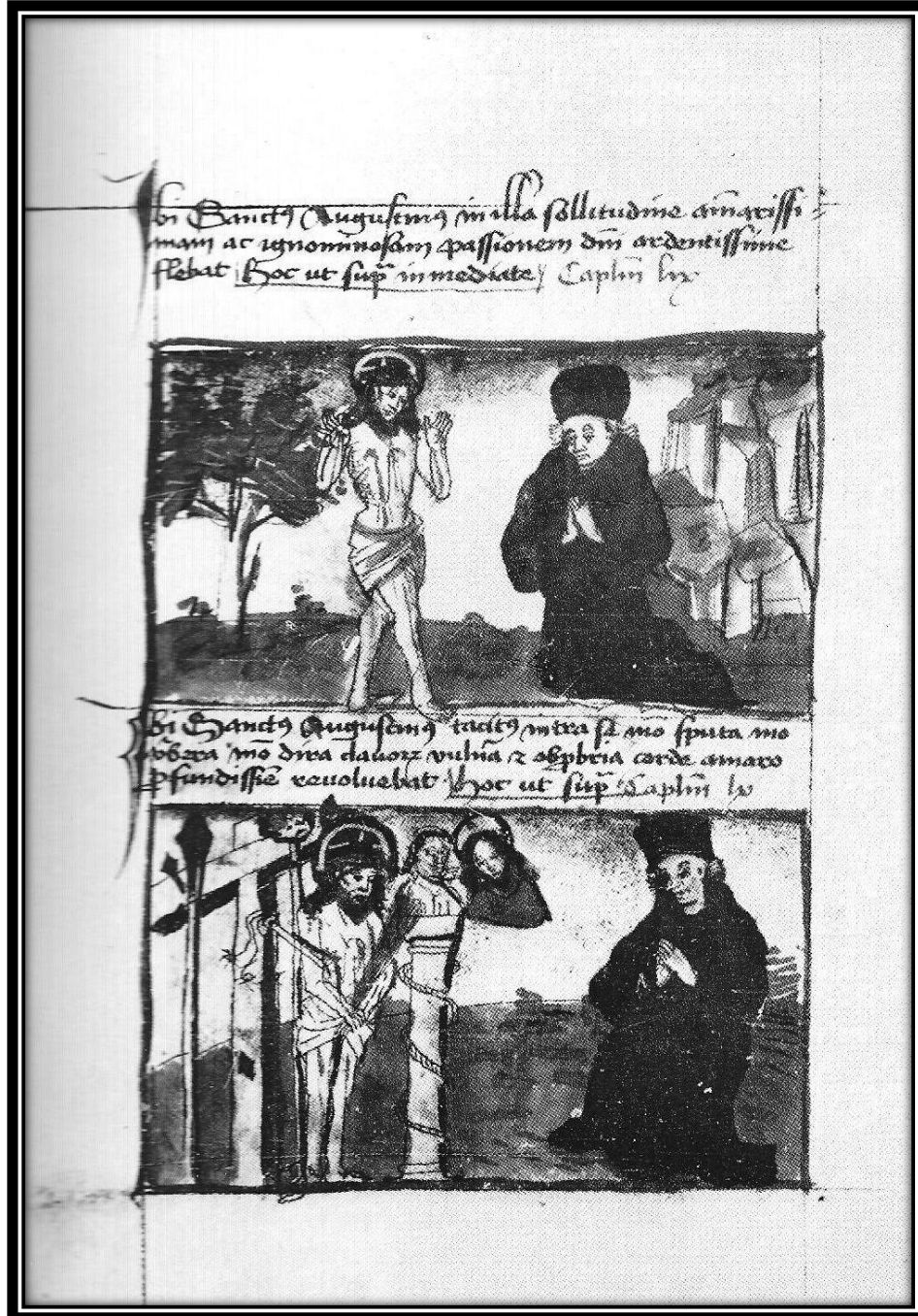


Plate Twenty-One: Plate Twenty-Two:

Plate Twenty-Three: Plate Twenty-Four:

*The Trinity Vision*



*Contemplating the Unity of the World*



*Augustine was Enraptured by the Trinity*



*Augustine, the Widow and the Trinity*



## Appendix B: Latin to English Translation

### *Note on translation:*

*The translation is literal, as far as possible, when not literal translation it is reported in the footnotes. Added words are in square brackets, except articles which do not exist in Latin, and some punctuation has been added. Proper nouns have been translated in English when a current equivalent was available; else they have been left in Latin.*

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*First through fourth Chapters are missing*

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### *Fifth Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus a parentibus ad scholas ducitur et magistro commendatur. Hoc ex primo Confessionum Capitulum quintum.

Here Augustine is lead to schools by his parents and is recommended to the teacher. This [is] from the first [book] of Confessions. Chapter 5.

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### *Sixth Chapter*

Ibi Augustinius in scholis existens audiuit et didicit Deum esse qui posset eciam non apparens sensibus hominum ipsis hominibus sube<sup>en</sup>ire (subuocare) et uidit hominibus ipsum Deum inuocare, unde etiam ipse parvulus non parno affectu rogabat deum ne in scholis uerberaretur. Hoc ex primo Confessionum Capitulum VI.

Here Augustine, being in school, heard and learned that God is the one who can, even without being perceived by human<sup>170</sup> senses, help the same men and saw men invoking God; hence [he] too, though a boy, with no little affection prayed to God so that he would not be beaten at school. This [is] from the first [book] of Confessions. Chapter 6.

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### *Seventh Chapter*

Ibi Augustinius puer quodam die subito graui dolore stomachi vexatus anxius laborando flagitauit a pietate matris sue ut baptizaretur. Sed statim fuit recreatus et sic eius baptismus occulta dispositione diuina dilatus. Hoc ex primo libro Confessionum Capitulum VII.

Here the boy Augustine, [is] vexed in a certain day by a sudden pain in the stomach, being much troubled, asked anxiously to the piousness of his mother to be baptised. But

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<sup>170</sup> Literally “of men”

immediately [he] was restored and so his baptism was delayed by a secret divine disposition. This [is] from the first [book] of Confessions. Chapter 7.

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#### *Eighth Chapter*

Ibi Augustinius in sua ciuitate Tagatensi docuit grammatricam suos discipulos. Hoc ex quarto Confessionum Capitulum VIII.

Here Augustine, in his city of Thagaste, taught grammar to his pupils. This [is] from the fourth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 8.

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#### *Ninth Chapter*

Ibi Patricius precibus et meritis Monice uxoris sue religiosissime in extreme vite sue fuit conuerus et per baptismum regeneratus. Hoc ex nono libro Confessionum Capitulum IX.

Here Patricius, father of Augustine, due to prayers and merits of his wife Monica, at the end of his life was converted and born again by Baptism. This [is] from the ninth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 9.

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#### *Tenth Chapter – Eleventh Chapter*

Ibi Patricius pater Augustini mortuus est. Capitulum X.

Here Patricius, father of Augustine, was dead. Chapter 10.

Ibi Patricius pater Augustini sepultus est. Capitulum XI.

Here Patricius, father of Augustine, was buried. Chapter 11.

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#### *Twelfth Chapter*

Ibi Augustinius omnibus secularibus litteris et artibus sufficientissime inbutus apud Carthaginem scholas rexit. Ibidem rethorican multis annis docuit et in errorem Manicheorum, qui Christum fantasticum affirmant et carnis resurrectionem negant, incidit. Ad has etiam <nugas> Augustinus eo tempore ductus est, ut arborem ficu plorare diceret, cum ab ea ficus uel folium tolleretur. Hoc ex tercio Confessionum Capitulum XII.

Here Augustine, [being] trained more than adequately in secular letters and arts, managed a school at Carthage. Here he taught rhetoric for many years, and fell in the errors of Manichaeans who affirm that Christ is imaginary and negate the resurrection of the flesh. And in that time Augustine was so lead away by these nonsenses, that he said that the tree of fig cried when a fig or a leaf was taken from it. This [is] from the third [book] of Confessions. Chapter 12.

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### *Thirteenth Chapter*

Ibi beata Monica plorans, in omni loco orationis lacrimis (lacrimas) terram rigans, orauit ad Deum pro conuersione filii sui Augustini. Unde *postmodo* (premodo) sompnum receipt consolacionis, videlicet quod ipse secum haberet et videret in eadem mensa in domo sua, quod nolle iam ceperat a[d]uersans et detestans blasphemias erroris sui. Hoc ex tercio Confessionum Capitulum XIII.

Here the blessed Monica, crying, wetting the soil with tears in every place of prayer, prayed God for the conversion of her son Augustine. Hence after a while [she] received the consolation of a dream, namely that [she] was with him<sup>171</sup> and saw [him] at the same table of her house, and that [he] had already begun to refuse the blasphemies of his error changing his mind and detesting [them]. This is from the third [book] of Confessions. Chapter 13.

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### *Fourteenth Chapter*

Ibi iterum beata Monica vidua casta et sobria et pia jeuniis multis, vigiliis assiduis, orationibus crebris cum gemitibus et lacrimis Deum pro filio suo Augustino deprecabatur eum a suo errore auertere et ad unitatem fidei catholice reducere. Cuius preces et uota Deus non despexit et tale responsum habere meruit : « Esto segura quia ubi tu, ibi ille. » At illa continuo vidit se stare quasi in quadam regula lignae et filium sum iuxta se stare vidit. Hoc ex 3<sup>o</sup> Confessionum Capitulum XIII.

Here again the blessed widow Monica, chaste, temperate and pious, prayed God for her son Augustine with many fasts, with frequent prayers, with sighs and tears, so that [God] would condescend to take him away from his error and to bring him back to the unity of Christian faith. And God did not despise her prayers and vows and [she] merited to have this answer: “Rest assured<sup>172</sup> that where you [will be], he [will be].” And in the following she saw herself standing on a kind of wooden lath and her son being next to her. This [is] from the third [book] of Confessions. Chapter 14.

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### *Fifteenth Chapter*

Ibi tercio beata Monica ubertissime flendo quasique inportuna rogabat quondam magnum episcopum, ut pro filio suo Augustino intercedere dignaretur. Qui tanta inportunitate conuictus prophetica uoce sibi respondit : « Vade segura quia impossibile est quod filius tantarum lacrimarum pereat. [»] Quod illa sedula mater accepit ac si de cello sonuisset. Hoc ex 3<sup>o</sup> Confessionum Capitulum XV.

Here for the third time the blessed Monica by crying most copiously and almost unmannerly asked to one certain great bishop that [he] would condescend to intercede for

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<sup>171</sup> Literally: “[she] had him with her”

<sup>172</sup> Future imperative in source text, conveying the sense of a solemn command.

her son Augustine. And he, overcome by such a great insistence, with a prophetic voice answered her: “Go secure, because it is impossible that the son of so many tears may perish.” Which [prophecy] that zealous mother received as if [it] was uttered from heaven. This is from the third [book] of Confessions. Chapter 15.

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*Sixteenth Chapter*

Ibi dulcissimus et amantissimus super omnes suauitates huius vite amicus Augustini fere dimidium anime sue arripuit febribus et moritur. Propter quod esuabat suspirabat atque amarissime flebat, horrebat omnia et quitquit non erat quod ille erat preter gemitum et lacrimas, in quibus aliquantula requies, improbum et odiosum sibi erat; eciam tedium viuendi habebat grauissimum et cum hoc (hec) moriendi metum; mirabatur tamen se viuere illo mortuo quem dilexerat. Et sic tandem fugit de patria et de Tagastensi oppido (opido) et venit Chartaginem, ubi paulatim de die in diem propter alias spes (species) et memorias recedebat <dolor>. Hec ex 4° Confessionum Capitulum XVI.

Here a friend of Augustine's, the dearest [one] and [the one] who loved [him] most, above all the pleasantnesses of this life, almost half of his soul, caught fevers and died. And for this reason [Augustine] was agitated, sighed, cried, [he] disliked every thing, and there was anything that was not disagreeable and odious to him, besides moans and tears, in which [he found] a little rest; [he] felt<sup>173</sup> also [a] very deep boredom of life, and together with it, [he felt] fear of dying: because [he] was astonished that [he] was still alive while whom he loved was dead. And so, [he] in the end fled from his homeland and from the city of Thagaste and came to Carthage where, little by little, due to new hopes and memories, the pain diminished. This is from the fourth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 16.

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*Seventeenth Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus in scola rethoris inbecilla tunc etate maior erta, quia diuina clemencia eum tanta ditauit perspicacia, ut non solum *coeuorum* (teouorum), verum eciam grandeuorum discendi agilitate preuolaret studia; et usitato ordine discendi peruenit ad quondam Ciceronis <librum>, cui nomen Hortencius. Nam exhortacionem continent ad phylosophiam, et vanitas mundi in eo continetur et docetur. Ille uero liber mutauit affectum sum, uota et desideria fecit alia; viluit (valuit) ergo sibi repente omnis vana spes et ardbat nimis auolare a terrenis et immortalitatem sapiencie concupiscebat estu cordis incredibili. Sed hoc solum in tanta flagrancia refrangebat, quod nomen Christi non erat ibi, quoniam hoc nomen Saluatoris in quitquit sine hoc nomie fuisset quamuis altum expolitum et inc<l>itum, non eum totum rapiebat. Hoc ex 3° Confessionum Capitulum XVII.

Here Augustine was, in the school of a master of rhetoric, the best [pupil], though of tender age, because the divine mercy gave him such a great intelligence that [he] excelled

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<sup>173</sup> Literally, “had”



in studies, due to quickness in learning, not only in respect to peers, but also in respect to older [pupils], and following the usual order of study he arrived to a certain <book> of Cicero, whose name was 'Hortensius'. And certainly [it] contains exhortations to philosophy, and in it the vanity of the world is explained and taught. And indeed this book changed his disposition, and caused new auspices and wishes to exist; consequently suddenly every vain hope became worthless for him, and [he] burned excessively with the desire of flying away from the earthly [realities] and craved the immortality of wisdom with an incredible hunger of the heart. But only this thwarted [him] in this passion, that the name of Christ was not there, as his tender heart had adsorbed this name of the Saviour in the same milk of his mother up to that moment and he held up [it] in great esteem so that anything that was without this name, albeit high and refined and excellent, did not ravish the whole of him. This [is] from the fifth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 17.

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### *Eighteenth Chapter*

Hic Augustinus disputat cum Fausto laquero dyaboli magno (magni) quem nimis extento (ex tanto) desiderio multo tempore expectauerat. Qui in deliciis suis minime satisfaciens et in responsionibus deficiens, cepit iam desperare posse dura que in eorum libris et secta apparebant, a ceteris eorum doctoribus aperiri atque dissolui, quando iste qui ita nominatus et famosus erst, defecit. Et sic miris occultisque modis Deus egit cum eo, quod Faustus ille, qui multorum laqueus extiterat mortis (monitis), sum laqueum, quo captus erat, relaxare jam ceperat nec uolens nec sciens. Jam conuertebantur errors sui ante faciem suam ut viderat et odiret. Hoc ex quinto (quinque) Confessionum Capitulum XVIII.

Here Augustine disputes with that great snare of the devil, Faustus, who [he] had wished [to meet] for a long time with an excessively great eagerness. But, as he did not respond satisfactorily to him about his subtleties and was not adequate in his answers, [Augustine] began already to lose hope that their other teachers<sup>174</sup> could clarify and solve what appeared hard [to understand] in their books and in their doctrine, when this one [-Faustus -], who was so renowned and famous, didn't succeed. And so, in wonderful and hidden ways God treated with him, because that same Faustus, who had become like a snare of death for many [people], had begun already to loose his [=Augustine's] snare, by which [he] was captured, without knowing nor wanting [it]. Already his errors were transformed in front of his face, so that [he] could see and hear. This [is] from the fifth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 18.

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### *Nineteenth Chapter*

Hic Augustinus nesciente matre latenter intrauit mare veniendo Roman. Flauit enim ventus et impleuit vela nauis et sic recesserunt a littore in quo mane ista mater prospiciens rem gestam insaniebat intolerabili dolore; querelis et gemittibus flendo et

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<sup>174</sup> That is, Manichaeans theologians

eiulando impleuit aures Dei de absentia filii. Hoc ex quinto libro Confessionum Capitulum XIX.

Here Augustine, without her mother knowing it, secretly went into the sea to go to Rome. The wind then blew and filled the sail of the ship and so [they] left from the shore, in which, during that morning [his] mother, seeing what had happened, went mad due to the unbearable sorrow, [and] by crying and moaning with groans and sighs filled God's ears about the son's absence. This [is] from the fifth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 19.

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*Twentieth Chapter*

Ibi beata Monica recedente Augustino post multum luctum lucum reurtitur ad deprecandum iterum Dominum pro absente filio suo, cottidie elemosinam faciens et obsequia sanctis, nullo die pretermittens oblacionem ad altare Dei, bis in die – mane et vespere – ad ecclesiam sine ulla intermissione veniens, <ut> Deus ipsam pro salute filii sui exaudiret, Hoc ex quinto libro Confessionum Capitulum XX.

Here the blessed Monica, as Augustine was far [from her], after a long mourning returned to implore God again for his absent son, giving alms and praying the saints every day, without missing the sacrifice at God's altar for a single day, going to church two times a day - morning and evening - without any interruption so that God would fulfil her prayers about the salvation of her son. This [is] from the fifth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 20.

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*Twenty-first Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus Rome existens arripitur febribus et graviter infirmatur, pro quo mater rogat et absens, et sanatur. Et nisi filius sanatus fuisset, mors filii utique transverberasset viscera dilectionis matris. Non est enim bene explicabile quam intenso (intunso) et sincero amore dilexerit filium et quantum maiori sollicitudine pertinebat spiritu quem carne pepere<r>at. Hoc ex quinto libro Confessionum Capitulum XXI.

Here Augustine while he stayed in Rome was caught by fevers and became seriously ill, and for this [his] mother prayed even if [he] was absent, and [he] was cured. And if the son would not have cured, certainly the son's death would have transfixed [his] mother due to her profound affection<sup>175</sup>. It is not easy to explain how intensely and sincerely [she] loved [her] son and how [she] was more concerned about the spirit than [she] cared about the flesh. This [is] from the fifth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 21.

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*Twenty-second through Twenty-fifth Chapters are missing*

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<sup>175</sup> Literally: “The inner part of his mother's affection”

*Twenty-sixth Chapter*

Ibi beata Monica pietate fortis, in perculis omnibus de Deo segura, cupiens sum filium videre mare ingreditur, per terram graditur et ad filium sum Mediolanum proficiscitur. Hec ex quinto libro Confessionum Capitulum XXVI.

Here the blessed Monica, strong due to [her] piety, confident in God in every peril, wishing to see her son, over sea and land and through [many] nations, and arrives to her son in Milan. This [is] from the fifth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 26.

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*Twenty-seventh Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus Alipius et Nebridius socii familiarissimi et amici dulcissimi in flagrantissimo studio veritatis atque sapientie partier suspirabant, partier fluctuabant et gemebant atque dicebant: «Quamdiu et quo fine multos Dolores insaniarum nostrarum et infelicitium cupiditatum nostrarum faciemus? Et sic crebro dicebant et tamen dicendo non relinquebant, quia non elucebat certum aliquid quod illis relictis apprehenderent. Hoc ex 6° Confessionum Capitulum XXVII.

Here Augustine, Alypius and Nebridius, intimate companions and closest friends, due to [their] very ardent love of the truth and wisdom, equally hesitated and sighed and said: “How long and why we do fashion many afflictions, due to our madness and our unhappy desires? And so they spoke many times and still while they were speaking they did not leave [their wrong ways], because that certain something which [they] learned after they had left those did not shine. This [is] from the sixth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 27.

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*Twenty-eighth Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus apud seipsum solus mirabatur maxime recolens quam longum tempus esset ab undevicesimo anno etatis sue, quo fervere ceperat studio sapientie, disponens ea inuenta relinquere omnes vanarum cupiditatum spes inanes et insanias (insanities) mendaces, et ecce tricenariam etatem gerebat in eodem luto hesitan. Qualia autem tormenta, quales gemitus ipse paciebatur, nullus hominum sciebat quando pectore misero et ingrauidato curis mordacibus reuolueba[n]t hanc uitam miseram et mortem incertam ueritatemque adhuc per eum <nec> adeptam nec inuentam. Hoc ex 6° Confessionum. Capitulum XXVIII.

Here Augustine, [entering] into himself, [being] alone, was astonished, especially recalling how long time had passed from the eleventh year of his life, in which [he] had begun to be inflamed with the love for wisdom, disposing [himself], after having found it, to leave all the empty hopes of void desires and the false excesses, and behold! [he] was spending his thirtieth year remaining fixed in that mud. Moreover none of men knew what torments, which sorrows [he] himself was suffering, when in his bosom, miserable and oppressed by the stinging troubles, [he] reflected upon the miserable life and the uncertain death and the truth [which was] up to that moment not acquired nor found [by him]. This [is] from the sixth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 28.

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### *Twenty-ninth Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus lectis quibusdam Platoniorum libris admonitus est redire ad semetipsum. Introiit et vidit, duce Deo, qualicumque oculo anime sue supre mentem suam lucem incommutabilem reuerberantem infirmitatem aspectus sui radians (radiens) in eum vehementer et contremuit (confirmavit) amore et horrore et tunc inuenit se longe esse a Deo in regione dissimilitudinis, tamquam audiret vocem Dei de excelso: «Cibus sum grandium; cresce (cresse) et manducabis me; nec tu me mutabis in te, sed tu mutaberis in me.» Sensit igitur et expertus est tunc non esse mirum quod palato non sano pena est panis qui sano est suavis, et oculis egris odiosa lux est que puris est amabilis. Sicque Deum cognouit. Certissime vidit quai invisibilia Dei per ea que facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque virtus et diuinitas. Sed adhuc aciem figee non valuit et repercussa <infirmitate> redditus est solitis. Non enim secum ferebat nisi amantem memoriam et quasi olfacta desiderantem, que comedere nondum posset. Hoc ex 7<sup>o</sup> Confessionum. Capitulum XXIX.

Here Augustine, after having read some Platonic books, was admonished to go back to himself. He went into [himself] and saw, with God's guidance, with a kind of [spiritual] eye of his soul, above his mind an immutable light which was reflecting the weakness of his appearance while [it] shined in him violently, and [he] trembled with love and terror, and then [he] found to be far from God in the region of dissimilitude, when he heard the voice of God in the highness: “[I] am the food of the great; grow up and [you] will eat me: and [you] will not transform me in you, but you will be transformed in me”. So [he] felt and experienced that it was not astonishing that then for a palate [which is] not healthy [even] bread, which is agreeable for a healthy [one], is a suffering, and for sick eyes the light, which is agreeable for healthy eyes, is unpleasant. And so he knew God. Most certainly he saw that the invisible [realities] of God, even virtue and divinity, can be understood through the [things which are] created. But until then [this] was not strong enough to fix [his] aim and, driven back to [his] weakness, [he] went back to [his] customs. In fact it<sup>176</sup> did not bring with it [nothing] except a loving memory and [something] like the craving for [a food] which [he had only] smelled. This [is] from the seventh [book] of Confessions. Chapter 29.

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### *Thirtieth Chapter*

Ibi sannctus Augustinus ex instinctu Dei ad sanctum Simplicianum heremitam, in quo lucebat gratia diuina, perrexit et de apto modo viuendi in via Dei diligenter inquisiuit. Qui sanctus Simplicianus ipsi beato Augustino <recordatus est> vitam multorum partum gaudenter mundum pro Christo deserencium et specialiter exemplum Victorini maximi rethoris, qui in die paschali mirante Roma, gaudente ecclesia, fidem catholicam corum toto populo professus fuit; et sic exemplo commotus Augustinus ad imitandum (re mitandum) exarsit et soli Deo deseruire studuit. Hoc ex octauo Confessionum. Capitulum XXX.

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<sup>176</sup> That is, God's knowledge.

Here the holy Augustine, by God's inspiration, went to meet the holy hermit Simplicianus, in whom divine grace shone, and asked him diligently about the most suitable way to live in God's path. And the holy Simplicianus <reminded> to blessed Augustine the life of many fathers who abandoned the world with joy and especially the example of the greatest rhetorician Victorinus, who, on Easter day, while Rome was wondering and the church was rejoicing, confessed the Catholic faith in the presence of all the people, and so, moved by this example, Augustine was inflamed to imitate [him] and to apply himself to serve only God. This is from the eighth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 30.

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### *Thirty-first Chapter*

Ibi Poncianus ciuis Afffricanus christianus et amicus Augustini ad eum et Alippium venit; e<t> sedendo ut alloquerentur, inuenit *inopinate* (in aperiente) Paulum apostolum super unam mensam que stabat ante eos, et *gratulatorie* (gretulatorem) miratus est quod illas litteras et solas pre oculis Augustini conperisset. Et audito quod illis scripturas maximam curam inpenderet, tunc inter alia vitam miracula magni Anthonii nuper defuncti et gesta duorum sociorum suorum que relicta milicia (malicia) seculari omnique vana spe huius libentis seculi cum quibusdam puperibus fratribus heremitis Deo seruire stauerant, recitauit; et Augustinus hiis auditis vehementer exaruit et socium suum Alipium vultu et mente turbatus inspiciens fortiter exclamauit: «Quid patimur? Quid audimus? Surgunt indocti et rapiunt celum. Et nos cum doctrinis nostris demergimur in profundum.» Hoc ex octauo Confessionum. Capitulum XXXI.

Here Pontianus, African citizen, Christian and friend of Augustine, went to him and to Alypius, and while [he was] sitting to talk, found by chance [a book of] the Apostle Paul on a table which was in front of them, and in a congratulatory manner [said that he] was admired that [he] had discovered those letters and those alone [laying] in front of the eyes of Augustine. And, having heard that [Augustine] devoted the utmost care to those scriptures, then [he] recited, among others wonders, the life of the great Anthony, recently deceased, and the deeds of two companions of his who, having left the army and every empty hope of the pleasure of this world, decided to serve God [as] hermits together with some poor brothers: and Augustine, having heard these, was violently inflamed and, looking at his friend Alypius, disturbed in [his] mind and countenance, exclaimed aloud: “What do we suffer? What do we hear? Ignorants rise up and seize the sky. And we, with all our doctrines, are submersed in the abyss”. This [is] from the eighth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 31<sup>st</sup>.

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### *Thirty-second Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus <a>more repletus <h>ortum hospicio contiguum ingreditur, et Alipius sectus est eum et sedendo simul fremebat spiritu indignans indignacione turbulentissima quod non relicits omnibus surgeret et ad seruiendum Deo, sicut diu disposuerat; et cogitando quomodo in eccelsia Deo seruirent (seruiret) pueri et puelle et omnis etas, accusabat se ipsum: «Non poteris tu quod ille et isti? An vero isti et ille in semet ipsis

possunt et non in domino Deo suo? Quid igitur in te stas et non stas? Proice te in eum et noli metuere ne se subtrahat, ut cadas. Proice te securus: excipiet te et saluabit te. Hoc ex 8° Confessionum. Capitulum XXXII.

Here Augustine, full of love, entered in the garden next to the lodging and Alypius followed him and while sitting was murmuring at the same time in his spirit, being not able to suffer the stormy agitation which [was] due to [the fact] that [he] was not able to get up, having left everything, and serve God, as [he] had decided a long time before; and considering in which way girls and boys [and people of] all ages served God in the Church, [he] accused himself: “Could not you do what these and those [do]? And indeed, do these and those [do that] by themselves, or rather in God their Lord? So, why do you [now] stand by your decision and [then] you don't? Throw yourself in him (=God) and do not be afraid that [he] may withdraw to let you fall. Throw yourself [and be] secure: [he] will take you out<sup>177</sup> and save you. This [is] from the eighth [book] of Confessions. Chapter 32.

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### *Thirty-third Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus cum graui rixa discerperetur (discirperetur) intrinsecus et congesta ante oculus mentis uniuersa massa miseriarum suarum, relicto Alippio aliquantum remocius secessit et sub quadam ficu se proiecit ac lamentabiles voces dabat dicens: «Et tu, Domine, usquequo, quamdiu cras, cras? Quare non modo? Quare non hac <hora> finis turpitudinis mee?» Dum vero hec et hiis similia diceret ac amarissima cordis sui contricione fleret, repente audiuit uocem cum repetitione crebro modulantem: «Tolle lege, tolle lege.» Aperuitque codicem apostolicum et conietis oculis ad primum capitulum legit: «Induimini Dominum Ihesum Christum et carnis curam non feceritis in desideriiis.» Et statim quasi infusa luca securitatis ad eo omnes dubietates tenebrarum diffugerunt; et tranquillo jam vultu indicauit Alippio quid legisset. Et Alippius prospiciens quid ultra quod ipse legerat haberetur, inuenit et legit: «Infirmum autem in fide suscipite.» Quod Alippius ad se *rettulit* (recedit) et sic cum Augustino ad fidem conuersus est. Hoc ex 8° Confessionum. Capitulum XXXIII.

Here Augustine, while [his soul] was torn apart by a violent quarrel, looking into himself, and recalling to his mind's eyes the whole heap of his miseries, having left Alypius, went away a little far [from him] and threw himself under a fig-tree, and said, moaning<sup>178</sup>: “But you, o Lord...for how long? How long [will it be] tomorrow, tomorrow? Why not now? Why the end of my sin is not coming now?” And indeed, while he was saying these [words] and others similar, and was crying in his heart in the most acute repentance, suddenly [he] heard a voice chanting, repeating<sup>179</sup> many times: “Take, read. Take, read.” [He] opened the Apostolic Book<sup>180</sup> and, as [his] eyes had fallen [on it], [he] read in the first chapter: “But put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.” And immediately, as if an inner light of quietness had been

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<sup>177</sup> This verb also means “to fish out” and also “to withdraw (e.g. from slavery)”

<sup>178</sup> Literally “uttering moaning voices”

<sup>179</sup> Literally “with repetition”

<sup>180</sup> That is, the book of St. Paul's Epistles

infused into him, all the doubts of darkness<sup>181</sup> fled away and with a calm countenance [he] showed to Alypius what [he] had read. And Alypius, seeing that there was something else after what he (=Augustine) had read, found and read: “Now him that is weak in faith, take unto you”, which Alypius applied to himself, and so together with Augustine [he] was converted to faith. This [is] from the 8<sup>th</sup> [book] of Confessions. Chapter 33.

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#### *Thirty-fourth Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus et Alippius ad matrem Monicam partier leti ingrediuntur, rei ordinem ei indicantes; ac illa igitur gaudens gratias egit Deo qui ei plus quam petit concesserat. Vidit enim filium sum non solum ad veritatem fidei, verum eciam ad contemptum seculi omnino accensum, <stantem in> regula fidei in qua ante tot annos ei fuerat reuelatum. Unde luctus eius in gaudium planctus versus est (accensum unde luctus eius gaudium planctus versus est regula fidei in qua ante tot annos ei fuerat reuelatum). Hec ex octauo Confessionum. Capitulum XXXIII.

Here Augustine and Alypius joyfully enter together [in the house of] mother Monica, telling her what happened<sup>182</sup>, and so she, being very happy, gave thanks to God who had given her more than [she] had asked for. In fact, [she] saw her son completely kindled, not only by the truth of the faith, but also by the contempt of the world, and abiding in the laws of faith as it<sup>183</sup> had been revealed to her many years before. Hence, her crying of sorrow was transformed into a crying of joy. Chapter 34.

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#### *Thirty-fifth Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus euolutis jam paucis diebus, puta XX, qui ei longi et multi videbantur pre amore libertatis ociose ad cantandum de medullis omnibus: <T> ibi dixit cor meum, quesui vultum tuum, <vultum tuum> Domine, requiram, a scholarum regimine (regimen) se subtraxit et soli Deo seruire studuit. Hec ex nono Confessionum. Capitulum XXXV.

Here Augustine, after a few days, namely 20, which seemed to him [too] many and long, as he longed to be free<sup>184</sup> to chant at leisure with all his fibres “My heart said to you: your face, o Lord, will I seek”, renounced to the school directorship and occupied himself only in serving God. This [is] from the 9<sup>th</sup> [book] of Confessions. Chapter 35.

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#### *Thirty-sixth Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus quoniam Deo soli vacandi orandi et lege Domini meditandi toto cordis desiderio estuabat, ut locus proposito conveniret tumultum ciuitatis deserens in rure manere decreuit donec ad paptismum aptaretur. In quo rure ab estu seculi requiescens et

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<sup>181</sup> Plural in source text

<sup>182</sup> Literally “the succession of the event”

<sup>183</sup> Literally “in which it had been revealed...”

<sup>184</sup> Literally “due to the love of freedom to chant...”

diuinis lectionibus vacans cum Alippio et aliis amicus suis eodem desiderio flagrantibus aliquamdiu commoratus est, matre sua ei semper adherente, muliebri habitu virili fide, materna pietate et caritate christiana. Hec ex nono Confessionum. Capitulum XXXVI.

Here Augustine, as [he] burned with desire<sup>185</sup> to be free to pray God only and to meditate his law, in order to live in a convenient place, wishing to avoid the city's commotion, decided to stay in the countryside till [he] was chosen for baptism. In which countryside [he] abode for some time, seceding from this world and being free [to attend] to divine readings, with Alypius and other friends of his, equally burning with the same desire, while his mother was always with him, showing female attitude, manly faith, motherly affection and Christian charity. This [is] from the 9<sup>th</sup> [book] of Confessions. Chapter 36.

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*Thirty-seventh Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus tam graui (grauē) dolore dencium crciabatur, ut pre nimio dolore loqui non posset, et tunc scripsit in cera amonendo matrem et alios suos amicos ut deprecarentur Deum salutis omni modo pro sua sanitate; et mox ut ipse cum eis ad orandum Deum genu flecterent (flectent) fugit dolor ille tam vehemens quod *nil* (uel) tale ab ineunte etate fuerat expertus (experte). Hoc ex nono Confessionum. Capitulum XXXVII.

Here Augustine was affected by such an acute toothache, that [he] could not speak due to the pain: so [he] wrote on a wax tablet telling his mother and his other friends to implore in every way the God of [our] salvation<sup>186</sup> for his health; and as soon as [he] himself knelt down with them to pray God, that pain, [which was] so violent as no [other pain] that he had felt since his childhood, disappeared. This [is] from the 9<sup>th</sup> [book] of Confessions. Chapter 37.

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*Thirty-eighth Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus insinuat sancto viro Ambrosio episcopo per litteras pristinos errors suos et presens votum sum, ut ipse moneret quid de libris sanctis legendum esset, quo percipiende christiane graciae apcior fierat atque paracior. At ille iussit Ysayam prophetam eo quod pre ceteris ewangelii uocacionisque gencium sit p̄nunciator (pronunciator) apercoir. Hoc ex nono Confessionum. Capitulum 38.

Here Augustine informs [that] holy man, the bishop Ambrose, through letters, about his past errors and present vow, so that he himself (=Ambrose) could suggest him which of the Holy Books he should read, so that, by meditating it, [he] would become more capable and more prepared to receive the Christian grace. And he ordered him [to read] the prophet Isaiah for that reason, that [he] pre-announced very clearly the calling of all nations and the Gospel. This [is] from the 9<sup>th</sup> [book] of Confessions. Chapter 38.

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<sup>185</sup> Literally “with all the desire of his heart”

<sup>186</sup> This is a kind of pun. Note that in Latin the same word (*salus*), which is used here, means “physical health” and “salvation”



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### *Thirty-ninth Chapter*

Ibi Sanctus Augustinus, cum tempus aduenit quo nomen eum dare oportebat, relicto rure Mediolanum remeavit et sacrum baptisma cum Alipio et Deodata a sancto Ambrosio episcopo, matre et cunctis fidelibus illius urbis astantibus et prosentibus simulque orantibus, suscepit, ymnium videlicet: « Te deum laudamus » partier componentes et usque ad finem decantantes. Hoc ex parte ex nono Confessionum et in parte sanctus Dacius Mediolanensis episcopus in primo libro, capitulo Cronice sue etc. Capitulum XXXIX

Here the holy Augustine when [it] came the time in which it was convenient to give him the name (=to baptise him), having left the countryside, came back to Milan, and received the baptism from the holy bishop Ambrose together with Alypius and Deodatus<sup>187</sup>, while his mother and all faithful of that city were standing [there], and [were] present and praying, and in the same time singing the hymn: “We praise you God” and singing it completely till the end. This [is] partly from the 9<sup>th</sup> [book] of Confessions and partly [written by] the holy Milanese bishop Dacius in the first chapter of his Chronicle. Chapter 39.

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### *Fortieth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus a sancto Ambrosio episcopo baptizatus, mox omenem spem quam habebat in seculo dereliquit, cuculla nigra induitur et zona pellicea desuper cingitur. Hec ipse beatus Augustinus in quodam sermone ad fratres heremitas de filio prodigo que incipit: « Pax vobis, fratres dilectissimi », ubi postpositis aliis licet satis ad propositum subiungit: « Pensate ergo, fratres, *quid* vestis nigra, *quid* zona pellicea, *quid* (quem... quem... quem) corona capitis perswadeant. Nigra enim vestis, que *vilis* (vidus) est, mundi contemptum vel denunciate et memoriam mortis. Zona pellicea lumborum refrenatio <nem> declarat. Capilli fasi de vertice superfluitatem criminum significant ablatam de mente. Sic enim mihi pater sanctus Ambrosius, quando me regeneravit in Christo, petenti <respondit>. Nunc cogitate ergo, fratres, quam reprehensibile est, si sub tali <habitu> superbia lateat vel luxuria. Summe necessaria est nobis humilitas que designator per vestem, casitas que *denotatur* per (designator per uestem) lumborum <precinctionem>. Item beatus Augustinus in quodam alio ad eosdem fratres de cena Domini que incipit: « Audiuius, fratres karissimi », ubi postpositis aliis subiungit: « Vos enim, fratres, quorum vita lux mundi est, licet mundus non vident, tamen lucem mundi uos appello et sal terre. Ideo quia lux estis, luceant opera bona. Nos qui videmur gerere in corporis nostril habitu figuram crucis et noemen sancte religionis triplex habemus, nigram eciam vestem portamus, zonis eciam <pelliceis> apparemus, caueamus ne similes simus sepulchris dealbatis que foris pulchra et dealbata apparent, sed intus sunt plena ossibus mortuorum occultis.

Here the holy Augustine, baptised by the holy bishop Ambrose, soon left all hopes which he had about the [earthly] world, was dressed in a black robe and girded with a leather

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<sup>187</sup> Augustine's son

belt over it. And the same blessed Augustine, in the same sermon about the prodigal son, which begins: “Peace be with you, dear brothers” where, among other things which can be neglected<sup>188</sup>, adds these [words] which are] nonetheless enough to our purpose: “Do consider, brothers, what does the black robe mean, what the leather belt, what the tonsure of the head. In fact the black robe, which is poor, signifies the despise of the world, and the recalling of death. The leather belt declares the girdling of the loins. The hair shaved from the top [of the head] means that [we have] erased from our minds the unnecessary sins<sup>189</sup>. This was the answer that the Holy Father Ambrose, when he generated me again in Christ, gave to me<sup>190</sup> when [I] asked him. Now please do consider, brothers, how would it be disreputable, if below such a dress pride and lust would remain. So for us [these virtues] are<sup>191</sup> most necessary: humility which is symbolised by clothes, chastity which is indicated by the girdling of loins.” In the same way the blessed Augustine in another [sermon] to the same brothers about the Lord's Supper, which begins: “We heard, my dearest brothers”, among other things which can be neglected, adds: “In fact, brothers, you [are those], whose life is the light of the world [and] even if the world does not see it, [I] call ourselves the light of the world and the salt of the earth. And as you are the light, [your] good deeds must shine. We who show<sup>192</sup> visibly in the appearance of our body the figure of the cross and we have the threefold name of the holy religion, and also wear the black robe, and are girdled also with the leather belt, should take care not to be like whitened tombs, which appear beautiful and whitened outside, but are full of dead men's bones hidden inside.”

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*Forty-first Chapter*

Ibi beatus Augustinus cum amicis suis in gracia baptismi secum renatis placito sancto partier habitabant, partier Domino seruebant. Hec ex nono Confessionum, Capitulum XLI.

Here the blessed Augustine, with his friends born again in the grace of baptism, lived together and served God equally, according to the holy permission. This [is] from the 9<sup>th</sup> [book] of Confessions. Chapter 41.

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*Forty-second Chapter*

Ibi [sanctus Augustinus] Monica pia et deuota mater rogabat filium sum dilectissimum Augustinum ut ad patriam suam, scilicet Affricanm, velit remeare. Hec ex sermone beati Augustini ad fraters heremitas de tribus generibus monachorum que incipit: «Vt uobis.» Capitulum XLII.

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<sup>188</sup> Literally “after other things are neglected”

<sup>189</sup> Literally “the unnecessaryness of sins”

<sup>190</sup> Literally “In this way the holy father Ambrose answered to me”

<sup>191</sup> This verb is singular in source text as is referred to each virtue separately

<sup>192</sup> Literally “seem to carry”

Here (the holy Augustine) Monica his pious and devout mother asked to her dearest son to go back to his homeland, that is Africa. This is from the sermons of the blessed Augustine to his hermits brothers about three kinds of monks, which begins: “So that to you...” Chapter 42.

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*Forty-third Chapter*

Ibi beatus Augustinus victus piis precibus matris ad Affricam reuersurus accedit ad sanctum Simplicianum, cum lacrimis et gemitibus sibi deuote supplicant pro XII fratribus cum quibus heremiticam vitam in Affrica posset inchoare et cum eis ibidem ordinem plantare. Hoc ex sermone beati Augustini immediate superius allegato. Capitulum XLIII

Here the blessed Augustine convinced by his mother's prayers before leaving to Africa went to the holy Simplicianus supplicating [him] devoutly with tears and sighs for himself and 12 brothers to be allowed to begin an heremital life in Africa, and to form a [monastic] order in that place with them. This is from the discourse of the blessed Augustine cited just above. Chapter 43.

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*Forty-fourth Chapter and Forty-fifth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Simplicianus cognoscens santum propositum Augustini uotum sum exaudiuit et XII fraters viros religiosos, videlicet Anastasius, Fabianum, Seuerum, Nicholaum, Dorotheum, Ysaac, Nicostratum, Paulum, Cirillum, Stephanum, Jacobum et Vitalum pauperculum paterne tradidit

Here the holy Simplicianus, knowing the holy intention of Augustine, fulfilled his wish and gave him 12 brothers, religious men, namely Anastasius, Fabianus, Severus, Nicholas, Dorotheus, Isaac, Nicostratus, Paul, Cyril, Stephen, Jacob and the poor little Vitalis, [to be] as a father [for them].

Ibi Augustinus assumptis secum pia matre Monica, Deodato filio suo fratribus illis et amicis suis karissimis videlicet Alippio et Ponciano, ad Affricam proficiscendi iter arripuit.

Here Augustine, having taken with him [his] pious mother Monica, Deodatus his son, those brothers and [his] dearest friends, Alypius and Pontianus, began the journey to go to Africa.

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*Forty-sixth Chapter*

Ibi Monica predictis omnibus fratribus et amicis sancto Augustino suoque filio consociatis ita curam gessit quasi omnes genuisset, ita seruiuit quasi ab omnibus genita fuisset. Hec ex nono Confessionum. Capitulum XLVI.

Here Monica took the same care for the above said brothers and friends of the holy Augustine and for those united to his son, as if [she] had generated them all, and served them as if [she] had been generated by all of them. This [is] from the 9<sup>th</sup> [book] of Confessions. Chapter 46.

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*Forty-seventh Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus iter per Tusciam faciens, ubicumque (unicumque) in locis illis heremitas fratres sui propositi inuenit, ipsos caritatiue visitauit, moram cum eis contraxit, eos suis collacionibus salutis pabulo dulciter recreauit. Hec ex quibusdam legendis et etiam dictis quorundam doctorum de ista material loquencium. Capitulum XLVII

Here the holy Augustine, while travelling towards Tuscany, everywhere he found in those places [any] brothers hermits sharing<sup>193</sup> his manner of life, visited them with charity, stayed<sup>194</sup> a little while with them, and pleasantly [he] invigorated them with his learned conversations<sup>195</sup> as [with] a food of salvation. These [are] from some legends and also from the sayings of some wise men who have talked about this matter. Chapter 47.

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*Forty-eighth Chapter*

Ibi beatus Augustinus Roman peruenit et audiens quod Manichei ibi errant que etiam multos catholicos seducerent, ipse eorum iactanciam ferre non poterat et contra eos ibidem disputauit et duos libros, videlicet «De moribus ecclesie» et «De moribus Manicheorum», scripsit. Hec Augustinus primo libro Retractacionum. Capitulum XLVIII.

Here the holy Augustine arrived to Rome and, hearing that there were Manichaeans who were misleading also many Catholics, he himself could not bear their impudence and disputed against them in two books: “On the Morals of the Catholic Church” and “On the Morals of the Manichaeans”: This [wrote] Augustine in the first [book] of “Retractions”. Chapter 48.

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<sup>193</sup> Literally “of”

<sup>194</sup> Literally “made a little delay”

<sup>195</sup> Literally “Collactions” - comparisons of texts

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### *Forty-ninth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus Egressus de urbe Roma, cum esset apud Ostia cum matre et societate sua, ipse et mater remoti a turbis stabant ad quondam fenestram versus unum <h>ortum et colloquebantur sibi valde dulciter de vita eternal et inhyabant ore cordis in superna fluenta fontis vite, vilescebatque mundus ille inter verba cum delectacionibus suis. Et ait mater filio: «Fili mi, non te iam delector in hac vita, cum te contempta felicitate terrene videam serum Dei.» Propter hoc enim maxime in hec vita aliquantum inmorari cupiebat, ut ipsum videret mundi contemptorem ac amatorem Dei. Hoc ex nono Confessionum. Capitulum XLVIII

Here the holy Augustine, after having departed from the city of Rome, while he was in Ostia with [his] mother and in her company, he and the mother, far from the crowd, were standing at a certain window overlooking a garden and talked with each other very pleasantly about the eternal life and regarded with longing eyes in their heart<sup>196</sup> the heavenly flows of the spring of life, and the world with all its pleasures became worthless in [their] words. And the mother says to the son: “O my son, you will give<sup>197</sup> me the greatest pleasure in this life when<sup>198</sup> I will see you [becoming] a servant of God, having despised earthly happiness.” And so, mainly due to this [aspiration], [she] wished to remain a little in this life to see him [become] a despiser of the world and a lover of God. This [is] from the 9<sup>th</sup> [book] of Confessions. Chapter 49.

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### *Fiftieth Chapter*

Ibi beata Monica pia mater Augustini febris decubuit et Augustino filioque suo fratribus dilectis humiliter supplicavit, ut ad Domini altare sui fidelem memoriam habeant ubicumque fuerint; et de suo fine certificata nono die egritudinis sue quinquagesimo et VI anno etatis sue, XXXIII annis etatis Augustini, anima illa religiosa et pia a corpore solute est. Et conue<ner>unt multi fratres et religiose femine eius exequias deuote celebrantes. Hec ex nono Confessionum. Capitulum L

Here the blessed Monica, the pious mother of Augustine, lied in bed due to fevers and humbly implored Augustine and<sup>199</sup> her son and [his] beloved brothers that [they] would remember faithfully to mention her<sup>200</sup> at the altar of God anywhere they were; after [she] was made certain about the end of her life, in the ninth day of her illness and in the 56<sup>th</sup> of her life and in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year of the life of Augustine, that religious and pious soul was released from the body. And many brothers and religious women gathered to celebrate devoutly her funerals. This [is] from the 9<sup>th</sup> [book] of Confessions. Chapter 50.

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<sup>196</sup> Literally “opened wide the mouth of the heart [in longing]” That is to say, Augustine and Veronica yearn for Heaven like a thirsty person yearns for water, mouth wide open.

<sup>197</sup> Present tense in source text

<sup>198</sup> Literally “I have not been so pleased by you till now in this life, [as I will be] when I will...”

<sup>199</sup> This conjunction is in source text “*Filioque suo* = and her son”

<sup>200</sup> Literally “had a faithful memory of her at the altar of God”

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*Fiftieth-first Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus post mortem piam matris cum amicis suis et multis fratribus secum assumptis ad Affricam profectus (perfectus) est. Hoc ex sermone de tribus generibus monachorum superius allegato.

Here the holy Augustine, after the death of the pious mother, with his friend and many brothers whom he had taken with him, left to go to Africa. This is from the sermon about the three types of monks mentioned above.

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*Fifty-second Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus reuersus ad agros proprios ibi cum amicis et fratribus de Ytalia secum assumptis ac aliis eodem desiderio flagrantibus jeuniis et oracionibus vacabat et in lege Domini meditans die ac nocte de hiis, que sibi cogitanti atque oranti intelliger eia reuelabat, et presentes atque absentes sermonibus et libris docebat. Hoc ex legenda Possidonii et legenda famosa. Capitalum LII.

Here the holy Augustine, having gone back to his own estates, here, with his friends and brothers taken with himself from Italy, and others burning with the same desire, was free to attend to fasts and prayers, and to meditate on God's law day and night; [and] about those [matters], which [his] intelligence revealed to him while [he] was meditating and praying, [he] gave many teachings to presents and absent [persons] in sermons and books. This [is] from the biography of Possidius and from a famous collection of saint's lives. Chapter 52.

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*Fifty-third Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus, cum eius fama ubique diffunderetur et in omnibus libris et actibus suis ammirandus (amirandis) haberetur, ad Ypponensem ciuitatem ad preces et instancias cuiusdam viri Christiani magnarum opum, que Verbum Dei ex ore eius audire desiderabat et seculo renunciare cupiebat, peruenit et ibidem locum aptum ubi constitueret monasterium ad seruiendum Deo cum suis amicis et fratribus quesiiuit. Hoc in parte ex legenda Possidonii et in parte in quodam sermone beati Augustini de communi vita clericorum, que incipit: «Propter quod uolui et rogau». Capitulum LIII.

Here the holy Augustine arrived in the town of Hippo, as his fame was spreading everywhere and [he] was considered admirable for all his books and deeds, due to the prayers and requests of one Christian man of great wealth who wished to hear the Word of God from his mouth and was eager to renounce the world, and there [he] looked for a suitable place to establish a monastery to serve God together with his friends and brothers. This [is] partly in the biography of Possidius and partly in a certain sermon of blessed Augustine about the common life of clerics, which begins: "Due to what [I] wanted and asked". Chapter 53.

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*Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Chapter*

Ibi beatus Augustinus a beato Valerip Ypponensi episcopo paterne suscipitur. Capitulum LIIII.

Here the blessed Augustine is received fatherly by the blessed bishop of Hippo, Valerius. Chapter 54.

Ibi sanctus Valerius episcopus, cognita voluntate et proposito atque adhibito consensu et fauore, sancto Augustino largum contulit subsidium ad monasterium in heremo et vasta solitudine construendum. Hec ex sermone beati Augustini de obediencia ad prespiteros que incipit: «In omnibus operibus vestris» et ex sermone eiusdem de tribus generibus monachorum superius allegato. Capitulum LV.

Here the blessed bishop Valerius, having known [Augustine's] will and intention and having added [his] approbation and favour, gave a generous support for the monastery, which was to be built in a remote place and vast wilderness. This [is] from the sermon of St. Augustine to presbyters about obedience which begins “In all your deeds”, and from the sermon about the three types of monks, cited above. Chapter 55.

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*Fifty-sixth Chapter*

Ibi beatus augustinus monasterium in heremo et vaste solitudine construxit, fratres heremitas seruos Dei omnino habitu colore nigerrimo asperrimoque indutos et zonis camellorum more Heliie et Johannis renibus succinctos mundum cum omni sua pompa calcantes per varia loca in heremo habitantes multo labore fatigastus usque ad centenarium numerum fratrum in unum congregavit. Hoc ex sermonibus inmediate allegatis. Capitulum LVI

Here the blessed Augustine built a monastery in a remote place and vast wilderness and collected together [several] brothers, hermits, servants of God, completely dressed in a robe of very dark<sup>201</sup> colour and very harsh, and with a camel belt in Elijah's and John's fashion, treading upon the world with all this pomps, dwelling in various locations of this solitude, as [he] had not ceased to work Quis dabit capit meo aquam hard<sup>202</sup> until [he reached] the number of one hundred brothers. This [is] from the above cited sermons. Chapter 56.

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<sup>201</sup> Literally “very black”

<sup>202</sup> Literally “as he had continuously worked hard until”

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*Fifty-seventh Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus edificato jam claustro fratribus illis regulam apostolicam viuendi tradidit et cum eisdem intimis suis secundum eandem vitam viuere cepit omnia communiter habentes et possidentes, viuentes in vigiliis, oracionibus et ieiuniis ultra id quam quis posset explicare sermone, et sic ordinem fratrum heremitarum instituit atque caput et principium ipsorum sub regula viuendi ipse fuit. Hoc ex proximo allegatis. Capitulum LVII

Here the holy Augustine having already built the cloister for the brothers, gave them the apostolic rule of life<sup>203</sup> and with this same intimate [friends], began to live according to that [way of] life, having and possessing everything in common, living in watches, prayers and fasts beyond what it can be explained by words, and so [he] established the orders of hermits brothers and was the head and beginner of those who live according to this rule. This [is] from the sermons attached lately. Chapter 57.

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*Fifty-eighth Chapter*

Ibi Augustinus in ista vasta solitudine viuens cum fratribus fuit christi caritate intime vulneratus et totus diuini amoris incendio inflammatus. Hec ex multis dictis propriis haberi et colligi possunt, maxime tamen coniecturate ex « Planctu » suo de passione, que incipit: « Quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum? » Capitulum LVIII.

Here Augustine, living in this vast wilderness with [his] brothers, was intimately wounded by the charity of Christ and all lighted up by the fire of divine love. These [events] can be taken and collected from many of [his] sayings, and [can be] conjectured mainly from his “Crying” about the Passion which begins: “Who will bestow water to my head and the spring of tears to my eyes?” Chapter 58.

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*Fifty-ninth and Sixtieth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus in illa solitudine (solitudine) amarissimam ac ignominiosam passionem Domini ardentissime flebat. Hoc ut supra immediate. Capitulum LIX.

Here the holy Augustine [living] in that wilderness used to cry most ardently [while he was thinking about] the very shameful and bitter Passion of our Lord. This [is] as what [is cited] immediately above. Chapter 59.

Ibi sanctus Augustinus tacitus intra se modo sputa modo verbera modo dira claurum vulnera et obprobria corde amaro profundissime reuoluebat. Hoc ut supra. Capitulum LX

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<sup>203</sup> Literally “of living”



Here the holy Augustine, without uttering a word, underwent very deeply with a sad heart, inside himself, at one moment the experience of spits, at another of whip, of the cruel wounds of nails and of humiliation. This [is] as above. Chapter 60.

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*Sixty-first and Sixty-second Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus commori Christo ipso in cruce amplexato feruentissime cupiebat. Hoc similiter ut supra. Capitulum LXI.

Here the holy Augustine wished most fervently to die with the same Christ on the cross, embracing [him]. This [is] in the same way as above. Chapter 61.

Ibi sanctus Augustinus ad utilitatem tocius ecclesie libros tractatus (tractatos) et epistolas scribebat. Hoc patet ex legendis suis. Capitulum LXII.

Here the holy Augustine wrote books, treatises and epistles for the utility of the whole church. This is clear from his biographies. Chapter 62.

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*Sixty-third Chapter*

Ibi Ibi sanctus Augustinus fratres suos desideratissimos filolos dilectissimos quos pre uisceribus caritatis parturiit (perturiit) et nutriuit, salutaribus documentis sedule inforabat. Hoc ex quodam sermone ad fraters heremitas de informacione regularis vite, que incipit: «Fratres mei et Leticia cordis mei, corona mea et gaudium meum.» Capitulum LXIII.

Here Saint Augustine diligently instructed his brothers, [his] ardently desired [and] loved little sons whom he had generated and fed from the inmost part of his heart<sup>204</sup>, by [giving them] salutary lessons. This [is] from a certain sermon to his hermits brothers about [his] indications for a well-regulated life, which begins: “My brothers and joy of my heart, my crown and my delight”. Chapter 63.

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*Sixty-fourth Chapter*

Ibi illi fratres heremit sanctissimi iuxta salutarem informacionem beatissimi Augustini a mane usque ad horam sextam tantum missarum sollempni*<i>s* instabant. Hoc ex sermone immediate allegato. Capitulum LXIV.

Here those hermits [and] most holy brothers according to the salutary indication[s] of the most blessed Augustine just from dawn till midday<sup>205</sup> attended a solemn Mass. This [is] from the sermon cited immediately above. Chapter 64.

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<sup>204</sup> Literally “the entrails of charity”

<sup>205</sup> Literally: “till sixth hour”

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*Sixty-fifth Chapter*

Ibi illa fratres heremite sanctissimi ad hora sexta usque ad nonam omnes leccionibus uel oracionibus vacabant. Hoc ex sermone supra dicto. Capitulum LXV.

Here those hermits [and] most holy brothers from midday<sup>206</sup> till three o'clock<sup>207</sup> were free to attend to all prayers and lessons. This [is] from the sermon cited above. Chapter 65.

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*Sixty-sixth Chapter*

Ibi illi fratres heremite sanctissimi hora nona reddebant libros et secundum nature condiciones sine tumultu reficiebantur attendentes plus uerbo Dei lectioni quam refeccioni corporali. Hoc ex sermone preallegato (prealligate). Capitulum LXVI.

Here those hermits [and] most holy brothers at three o'clock<sup>208</sup> gave back [their] books and were restored in proportions to what is required by nature, in silence<sup>209</sup>, paying more attention to the word of God and to lectures than to bodily refreshment. This [is] from the above mentioned sermon. Chapter 66.

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*Sixty-seventh Chapter*

Ibi fraters illi heremite sanctissimi, postquam refecti fuerant modico cibo et potu, cibo non carnibus nec piscibus ymo rarissime butiro lacte caulibus uel leguminibus, sed herbis crudis (credis) pane ordaceo *pro* (per) nature sustentacione tantum sumentibus, potu eciam non uino nisi debiles et infirmi, sed pusillo aque, modico igitur sic pabulo contenti, interdum fuerunt aibus ministrati. Hoc ex quodam sermone beati Augustini ad fratres heremitas de prudentia, que incipit: «Fratres karissimi, non solum silencium», et cetera. Et ex alio sermone de iusticia, que incipit: «Ut bene nostis, fratres karissimi.» Capitulum LXVII.

Here those hermits [and] most holy brothers, after [they] were refreshed by a little food and beverage, [having as a] food not meats nor fish, no indeed, and very seldom butter or milk or cabbage or legumes, but taking only raw vegetables [and] barley bread for the maintenance of nature, and also regarding beverage, [they did] not [use] wine if [they were] not weak or ill, but, satisfied with a little water and by this modest food, sometimes were served by birds<sup>210</sup>. This [is] from that sermon of the blessed Augustine to his brothers hermits about prudence, which begins “Most beloved brothers, not only silence” and so on, and from the other sermon about justice, which begins: “As you well know, most beloved brothers”. Chapter 67.

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<sup>206</sup> Literally: “from sixth hour”

<sup>207</sup> Literally: “till ninth hour”

<sup>208</sup> Literally: “at ninth hour”

<sup>209</sup> Literally “without commotion”

<sup>210</sup> That is, birds provided food for them, as ravens for Elijah.

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*Sixty-eighth Chapter*

Ibi fratres heremite sanctissimi, postquam refecti fuerant, in<h>orto siue in heremo uel ubicumque fuerant, labori manuum insudabant et sic diem deducebant usque ad vesperam et tunc iterum redibant ad institutam quietis et oracionis horum. Hoc ex sermone de informacione regularis vite supeius pluries allegato. Capitulum LXVIII.

Here those hermits [and] most holy brothers, after they were refreshed, stayed in their garden or in the monastery or elsewhere, exerted themselves in manual labour and thus spent the day till dawn, and then [they] went again to the established hour of quiet and prayer. This [is] from the sermon of instruction about regular life cited above several times. Chapter 68.

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*Sixty-ninth Chapter*

Ibi illi fratres heremite deuotissime visus hominum fugientes, in heremo cum beato Augustino familiariter commorati (commoranti), bestiis associati, fuerunt spe ab angelis visitati. Hoc ex sermone superius allegato, scilicet de iusticia, que incipit: «Vt bene nostis.» capitulum LXVIII.

Here those hermits [and] brothers, most devoutly avoiding the sight of men, abode familiarly with the blessed Augustine in solitude, living together with animals, were often visited by angels. This is from the sermon cited above, that [is the one] about justice, which begins: “As you well know”. Chapter 69.

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*Seventieth Chapter*

Ibi beatus pater Augustinus illos sanctissimos fratres heremitas multum diligebat et eos in visceribus caritatis semper tenebat. Et sic ex eo quia per eorum exemplar et sanctam conuersacionem ad viam veritatis venerat, et eciam eos tales inuenit quales cor sum eos inuenire cupiebat, videlicet castos benignos modesto humiles, omni uoluntate (uocate) paupers obdientes solitarios misericordes, mundum cum omni sua pompa calcantes. Et ideo in signum suauiissime dileccionis et intimi amoris ipse eos uocauit fratres suos dilectissimos et desideratissimos (desiderantissimos) filios suos in visceribus caritatis ganitos et nutritos, cordis sui leticiam et coronam et dimidiam anime sue, vineam suam electam in medio ecclesie Christi sanguine redemptam et irrigatam. Hec, licet sparsim, ex pluribus sermonibus beati Augustini ad fratres heremitas. Capitulum LXX.

Here the blessed father Augustine had a great affection for those most holy hermits brothers and always kept them in the heart of his heart<sup>211</sup>. And this [was] because<sup>212</sup> due

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<sup>211</sup> Literally: “in the entrails/womb/innermost of charity”

<sup>212</sup> Literally: “And [it happened] in this way due to this [reason], that...”

to their example and [their] holy friendship [he] had begun to walk<sup>213</sup> in the path of truth, and also because [he] found them [to be] (such) as his heart wished to find them, namely chaste, benevolent, modest, humble, bare of any will, obedient, solitude-lover, trampling the world underfoot with all its pumps. And therefore as a sign of [his] sweetest affection and intimate love [he] himself called them his dearest brothers and most desired sons generated and reared in the womb of charity<sup>214</sup>, joy of his heart and [his] crown, and one half of his soul, his chosen vineyard within the church, redeemed and watered by the blood of Christ. These, albeit scatteredly, [come] from several sermons of the blessed Augustine to the brothers hermits. Chapter 70.

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### *Seventy-first Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus, iam sui nominis fama ac deuotissimorum illorum fratrum heremitarum uastam illam solitudinem cum eo habitantium diuulgata, a sancto Valerio Ypponensi episcopo de heremo uocatur et omnibus uno consensus et desiderio petentibus magnoque studio et clamore flagitantibus ubertim eo flente et renitente prespiter ordinatur et potestas sibi confertur ut coram eo in ecclesia populo publice predicet uerbum Dei. Hec Possidonius. Capitulum LXXI.

Here the holy father Augustine, because already the fame of his name, and of those very pious brothers hermits, and of [the fact] that [they] lived in that vast wilderness, had spread, was called by the holy bishop Valerius of Hippo from his solitude, and because all [the people] were asking for it by common consent<sup>215</sup> and unanimous wish, and were continuously soliciting him with great assiduity and acclamations, even if he cried and resisted, [he] was ordained priest and it was conferred upon him the faculty to preach publicly in front of that people the word of God. This [was written by] Possidius. Chapter 71.

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### *Seventy-second Chapter*

Ibi beato Augustino (beatus Augustinus) prespitero ordinate et reuerso ad monasterium, sanctus senex Valerius episcopus ipsum similiter suos fratres in heremo paterne uisitauit et deuocionis causa cum eis VIII die stetit. Hoc Possidonius et ex sermone beati Augustini superius allegato de obediencia ad prespiteros ypponenses, que incipit: «In omnibus operibus uestries.» Capitulum LXXII.

Here, after the blessed Augustine had been ordained priest and had come back to the monastery, the same holy ancient bishop Valerius went to visit him together with his brothers in a fatherly manner, and on account of piety stayed with them 8 days. This [was written by] Possidius and [comes from] the sermon of the blessed Augustine to the

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<sup>213</sup> Literally “had come to...”

<sup>214</sup> Literally “in the entrails/womb/innermost of charity”

<sup>215</sup> Literally “with one agreement”

presbyters of Hippo, cited above, about obedience, which begins: “In all your deeds”. Chapter 72.

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*Seventy-third Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Valerius episcopus, cognito proposito sancti Augustini quod omnino cum fratribus *nil* (eul) habentibus optabat viuere et monasterium illud in heremo distabat nimium (nimiam) a plebe cuius curam iam ipse prespiter habebat genere, dedit <h>ortum ciuitati propinquum (propinqua), tatem a gentibus segregatum. Hec ex primo sermone beati Augustini de communi vita clericorum, que incipit: «Propter quod uolui», et ex sermone de insticia eciam superius allegato. Capitulum LXXIII.

Here the holy Valerius bishop, having known the intention of the holy Augustine who, together with brothers, wished to live without possessing anything, and [as] that monastery was too far from the village whose cure of souls [he] was to hold as a presbyter, gave him a garden close to the city, but away from the crowd. This [is] from the first sermon of the blessed Augustine about the community life of clerics, which begins: “Because what I wanted” and from the sermon about justice cited also above. Chapter 73.

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*Seventy-fourth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus secum dum claustrum edificauit et in eo quosdam de fratribus prioris monastrii secum locauit et alios eiusdem propositi fratres clericos seruientes Deo partier collegit viuentes secundum regulam modum prioris monasterii fratrum. Hoc ex sermone beati Augustini superius allegato de obediencia ad prespiteros ypponenses et ex primo sermone de communi vita clericorum iam pluries allegato. Capitulum LXXIII.

Here the holy Augustine built a second monastery and [he] placed in it some of the brothers of the first monastery together with himself and for the same purpose united to them other brothers, [who were] clerics, for God's service, who were to live according to the rule in the same way as the brothers of the first monastery. This [is] from the sermon of the blessed Augustine cited above about obedience to the presbyters of Hippo and from the first sermon about the community life of clerics, already cited for many times. Chapter 74.

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*Seventy-fifth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus ordinauit ut fratres illi de secundo monasterio per eum in omni disciplina et obseruancia regularis (regulari) instrumenti et in studio sacre Scripture eruditi, quia non tatum distabant a populo ut fratres primi monasterii, *verbum* (monasterium verbi) Dei una secum publice in populo predicarent et vita partier et example Dei populum salubriter edificarent. Hec ex sermone beati Augustini de iusticia

superius allegato. Capitulum LXXV.

Here the holy Augustine commanded that those brothers from the second monastery who were well prepared by him in every discipline and [in] obedience to the written rule and [in] the study of the Holy Scriptures, as they were not so far from the parish as the brothers of the first monastery, should preach publicly the word of God in the parish together with him and at the same time should advantageously edify the faithful both with [their] life and [their] example. This [is] from the sermon of the blessed Augustine about justice, cited above. Chapter 75.

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*Seventy-sixth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus ad magnam instanciam plurium contra Fortunatum (Fortunatam) prespiterum, Manicheorum heresi infectum, certamen disputandi conducto *die* (tale) et loco subiit. Concurrentibus itaque pluribus studiosis turbisque copiosis, notariorum que talibus tabulis ad excipienda verba singulorum apertis, *ipsum* (ipsis) firmissimis dictis et racionibus *insolubilibus* (insolubilis) publice superavit. Et sic per Dei serum Augustinum de omnium (omni) cordibus tam presencium quam absencium, ad quos illa peruenit disputacio, error ille ablatu est et intimate et confirmata est catholice veritatis religio. Hoc Possidonius. Capitulum LXXVI.

Here the holy Augustine, after many requests<sup>216</sup> by many people, attended a public dispute at an agreed time and place against the priest Fortunatus, [who was] infected by the heresy of Manichaeans. While many learned people and a large crowd were assembled, and after the relevant public records of clerks [skilled in shorthand] were opened to take note of the words of each one, [Augustine] overcame him publicly by [his] powerful remarks and irrefutable reasons. And so through the servant of God Augustine, from the hearts of everyone, both present and absent, to whom that public discussion became known, that error was cancelled and the Catholic faith was impressed and confirmed. This [was written by] Possidius. Chapter 76.

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*Seventy-seventh Chapter is missing*

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*Seventy-eighth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus, postquam priate et publice ubicumque opus erat verbum Dei cum omni fiducia predicaret, omnes hereticos destrueret, catholicos instrueret infundente ei Spiritu Sancto ineffabilem gratiam mirantibus cunctis *disertam* (desertam) eius facundiam, cum eciam eius nomine fama et in transmarinis partibus iam nota esset, timuit ille sanctus Valerius episcopus ne *suus* (suis) ille prespiter predilectus Augustinus ab alia ecclesia in episcopum eligeretur. Secrete egit apud primatem episcopum Carthaginensum, ut ipsum Ypponensi ecclesie in episcopum promoueret. Cuius ille piis

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<sup>216</sup> Literally: "at great request"

precibus clementer audiens et annuens concessi quod petebat. Et venientibus ad ecclesiam Ypponensem episcopis que tunc aderant et clericis *voluntatem* (vocantem), omnibus audientibus gratulantibus atque id fieri perficique ingenti desiderio clamantibus in episcopum est electus. Sed cum Augustinus omnino recusaret, compulsus et coactus succubuit et episcopatus curam suscepit. Hoc Possidonius. Capitulum LXXVIII.

Here, as the holy Augustine privately and publicly preached the word of God with all confidence everywhere was needed, demolished all heretics and edified all Christians, while the Holy Spirit infused into him an ineffable grace and while all were admiring his skilful eloquence, as the fame of his name had already spread also in the nations across the sea, that holy bishop Valerius feared that his favourite priest Augustine may be chosen as a bishop in another church. So [he] secretly plead the case with the primate bishop of Carthage, so that [the primate] himself would promote him bishop of the church of Hippo. And he [the primate bishop] heard with indulgence the pious prayers and approvingly conceded what [Valerius] was asking for. And, staying in front of [all the] bishops who were then present, and all the priests of Hippo, and all the common people who were coming to the church of Hippo, Valerius announced this intention to all of them, and while all who were hearing rejoiced and shouted asking repeatedly<sup>217</sup> that this should be done and accomplished, [he] was chosen as a bishop. And even if Augustine refused in every way, [finally], [being] urged and compelled, [he] subsided and took office as bishop. This [was written by] Possidius. Chapter 78.

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### *Seventy-ninth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus factus episcopus, quia cum fratribus suis, ut in primo monasterio edificato in heremo, nec in secundo frequenter corpore habitare poterat, sicut hactenus fecerat, tam (tamen) propter episcopatus curam quam susceperat, tam (tamen) propter hospitalitatis humanitatem assiduum hospitibus suis transeuntibus exhibendam, que ambo in *consuetudine* (uencô) illorum monasteriorum fratrum fieri poterant, ideo in ipsa (ipso) episcopali domo, consenciente sancto Valerio episcopo, tertium monasterium instituit et cum eisdem (eiusdem) uiuere incipit secundum modum et regulam sub sanctis appostolis constitutam, maxime ut nemo quidquid proprii in illa societate haberet, sed essent eis omnia communia, sicut in duobus prioribus monasteriis fratrum omnia errant communia. Hoc ex sermone beati Augustini de obediencia ad prespiteros ypponenses que incipit: «In omnibus operibus vestris», etc. Et ex sermone eiusdem de iusticia que incipit: «Vt bene nostis, fratres karissimi», etc. Capitulum LXXVIII.

Here the holy Augustine, [once] created bishop, because [he] could not abide frequently with his brothers corporally, either in the first monastery built in the desert, nor in the second one, as he used to do, both due to the episcopal care which he took upon himself, and because of the human duty of hospitality which must be offered continuously to guests or passers-by, which both<sup>218</sup> had been possible to happen according to the

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<sup>217</sup> Literally “with a great request”

<sup>218</sup> i. e. Offering hospitality and and living with brothers

custom<sup>219</sup> of the brothers of those two monasteries, therefore established a third monastery in the same episcopal abode, with the consent of the holy bishop Valerius and began to live with them according to the way of life and the rule established after the holy apostles, and especially that nobody was to own anything in that community, but everything had to be [in] common, as everything belonging to the brothers was [in] common in the former two monasteries. This [is] from the sermon of the blessed Augustine to the presbyters of Hippo about obedience which begins: “In all your deeds” and so on. And in the same sermon about justice which begins: “As you well know, dearest brothers” and so on. Chapter 79.

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#### *Eightieth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus de unitate et trinitate Dei, de gaudiis paradisy, de penis purgatorii et inferni profundo investigavit (investigari). Hoc ex libris suis et dictis doctorum et cetera. Capitulum LXXX.

Here the holy Augustine was investigating about the unity and trinity of God, the happinesses of paradise, the punishments of purgatory and the deep hell. This [is] from his books and from the saying of the [above] said learned men and so on. Chapter 80.

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#### *Eighty-first Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus ea que circa (certa) celorum spacia situsque aquarum aeris ac aquarum circulos errant, claro sermone pronunciauit. Hoc ex libris suis et aliorum doctorum et cetera. Capitulum LXXXI.

Here the holy Augustine gave a clear sermon<sup>220</sup> about the extensions of skies, the conditions of the waters in the air and the circles of waters. This [is] from his books and from the saying of the [above] said learned men and so on. Chapter 81.

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#### *Eighty-second Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus Felicem, Maxencium et Faustum arrianos et omnes hereticos per Affricanas regions constitutos scriptis et dictis omni timore postposito validissime confutavit. Hoc ex libris et Augustini et dictis Possidonii et aliorum doctorum. Capitulum LXXXII.

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<sup>219</sup> Literally “uencô” (abbreviation). In original footnote there is a comparison with a cited work of Philippum de Harvengt. The translation of the Latin citation follows:

“But while he saw that it was necessary to show the constant politeness of hospitality to anyone who came or passed, and if that custom would be disregarded in monastery, it would not have been proper for [good] clerics, while he saw that, as [I] said, [he] wished to have in his same episcopal house a monastery of clerics, so that [he] who had lived in a garden as a presbyter according to the rule, would live in the episcopate under the rule in the same way, poor among the poor, ”

<sup>220</sup> Literally: “Announced with a clear sermon”



Here the holy Augustine, after having left every fear, refuted very effectively by sermons and writings the heretics Felix, Maxencius and Faustus and all heretics established in the African regions. This [is] from the books of Augustine and of the said Possidius and of other learned men. Chapter 82.

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*Eighty-third Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus preclarissimum Ecclesie magistrum et veritatis pugilem (pugillem) fortissimum heretici volebant interficere et predicabant publice hoc non esse patratum: sed diuina gracia simper eum sic preseruauit quia ne cui nec dolo sibi potuerunt nocere. Hoc Possidonius et alii doctores. Capitulum LXXXIII.

Here heretics wanted to kill the holy Augustine, most brilliant teacher of the holy Church and the strongest athlete of truth, and preached publicly that this would not be a crime<sup>221</sup>, but the divine grace always protected him in such a way that neither by force nor by deceit they could do him [any] harm. This [was written by] Possidius and other learned men. Chapter 83.

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*Eighty-fourth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus pater Augustinus multos ex ipsis hereticis diuinis oracionibus, inspiracionibus suis profundissimis dispuccionibus et predicacionibus ad fidem catholicam conuertit. Hoc Possidonius et alii doctores. Capitulum LXXXIII.

Here the holy father Augustine converted to the Catholic faith many heretics, by divine prayers and inspirations and by his most profound disputations and homilies. This [was written by] Possidius and other learned men. Chapter 84.

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*Eighty-fifth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus regulam et debitum modum viuendi tradidit prelati et clericis. Hec, etc. Capitulum LXXXV.

Here the holy Augustine gave the Rule and [instructions for] the proper way of living to priests and clerics. This [is], etc. Chapter 85.

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*Eighty-sixth and Eighty-seventh Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus regulam et debitum modum viuendi tradidit monachis et religiosis. Hec ex libris et epistolis beati Augustini. Capitulum LXXXVI.

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<sup>221</sup> Literally “this was not a committed [crime]”

Here the holy Augustine gave the Rule and [instructions for] the proper way of living to monks and religious [men]. These [are] from the books and epistles of the blessed Augustine. Chapter 86.

Ibi sanctus Augustinus regulam et debitum modum viuendi tradidit moachialibus et inclusis. Hec ex libris siue es epistolis beati Augustini. Capitulum LXXXVII.

Here the holy Augustine gave the Rule and [instructions for] the proper way of living to nuns and recluses. These [are] from the books or epistles of the blessed Augustine. Chapter 87.

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*Eighty-eighth and Eighty-ninth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus pater Augustinus rectum et debitum modum viuendi tradidit virginibus sacris. Hec ex libro siue epistula beati Augustini de virginitate. Capitulum LXXXVIII.

Here the holy Augustine gave [instructions for] the right and proper way of living to the consecrated virgins. This [is] from the books or epistle of the blessed Augustine about virginity. Chapter 88.

Ibi sanctus Augustinus rectum modum viuendi tradidit viduis sanctis. Hec ex libro siue epistola Augustini de sancta viduitate (viduetale). Capitulum LXXXIX.

Here the holy Augustine gave [instructions for] the right way of living to the holy widows. This [is] from the books or epistle of the blessed Augustine about the holy widowhood . Chapter 89.

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*Ninetieth and Ninety-first Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus debitum modum viuendi tradidit bonis coniugatis (coniungatis). Hec ex libro Augustini de bobo coniugali et cetera. Capitulum LXXXX.

Here the holy Augustine gave [instructions for] the right and proper way of living to the good husbands and wives. This [is] from the books of Augustine about the good of matrimony and so on. Chapter 90.

Ibi sanctus Augustinusepiscoporum synodos, sacerdocium et colloquia principum ab eis invitatus, quibus non que sua sunt, sed que Ihesu Christi queiuit, ut scilicet quod iustum erat confirmaret et quod iniustum discrete corrigeret (corigeret). Hoc Possidonius. Capitulum LXXXI.

Here the holy Augustine visited the ecclesiastical assembly of bishop and priests and the conversation of the nobles, invited by those, to whom [he] asked not what was due to him, but what was due to Jesus Christ<sup>222</sup>, that is to say, to confirm what was right and to

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<sup>222</sup> Literally “what [was] his own, but what [was] of Jesus Christ”

correct discreetly what was not right. This [is] in Possidius. Chapter 91.

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*Ninety-second Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus generaliter omnes indoctos scriptis et verbo predicacionis assidue docuit, suis libris sermonibus omeliis tractatibus et epistulis totum mundum prelustravit, fidem orthodoxam et totam Dei Ecclesiam sui sana doctrina fundavit et solidavit, plantavit et irrigavit. Hoc es ipsis libris, sermonibus, omeliis, tractatibus et epistulis Augustini et dic doctorum ac reuelacionibus sanctorum. Capitulum LXXXII.

Here the holy Augustine generally instructed assiduously all the unlearned by writings and word of preaching and enlightened the entire world with his books, dissertations, homilies, treatises and epistles, and [he] founded and confirmed, planted and watered the whole Church of God with his sound doctrine. This [is] from the same books, dissertations, homilies, treatises and epistles of Augustine and from the sayings of learned men and revelations of saints. Chapter 92.

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*Ninety-third Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus mensa temperata semper usus fuit nec ad ipsam nisi pro sola sustentacione nature quasi per modum medicine accessit. Inter olare et legumina propter infirmos et hospites plurimum carnes habuit. Ostium suum viatoribus patuit. Mensa eius hospitibus seruiuit. In ipsa autem mensa magis leccionem et disputacionem quam epulacionem dilexit. Detractionem vero in ipsa penitus et omnino noluit. Unde contra pestem detractionis hos versus scriptos in ea habuit:

Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere vitam  
Hanc mensam indignam nouerit esse sibi.

Hos Possidonius. Capitulum LXXXIII.

Here the holy Augustine was always used to moderate meals<sup>223</sup> and did not sit down to eat<sup>224</sup> except for the exclusive maintenance of nature, almost in the fashion of a medicine. Among the vegetables and the legumes, he had some meats for guests and weak people. His door was open for travellers. [He] served his guests at the table. At his table, [he] liked discussion and reading more than feasting. He did not allow evil-speaking in it, absolutely<sup>225</sup>. Hence, against the pest of evil-speaking, he had this verses written on it (the table):

Whoever likes to bite with words the lives of the absent  
will know that this table is unfit for himself.

This [is] in Possidius. Chapter 92.

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<sup>223</sup> Literally “temperate table”

<sup>224</sup> Literally “did not come near it (=the table)”

<sup>225</sup> Literally “completely and entirely”

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*Ninety-fourth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus pupillos et uiduas in tribulacione constitutos et egrotantes postulatus visitauit eis que supplicibus manus imponens facta oracione infirmitatem oerum sanauit. Acceperat enim donum curacionis ab eis que dixit: «Super egros manus imponent et bene habebunt.» Hoc Possidonius. Capitulum LXXXVIII.

Here the holy Augustine visited, when requested, children and widows who were in a situation of distress and those who were sick, and by imposing hands on those who implored [him] and after having prayed, [he] healed their sicknesses. In fact, he had received the gift of healing by the one who had said: “[He] will impose hands upon the sick and [they] will be well”. This [is] in Possidius. Chapter 94.

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*Ninety-fifth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus omnibus senibus (sensibus) et precipue debilibus fratribus valde compaciens fuit et eos cum quadam ueneracione pie supportauit. Unde uoluit et in Christi nomine ordinauit, quot fratres sense antique et debiles in heremo sanctissime conuersati, et iugo sancte obediencie paupertatis et castitatis decorate, et jeuniis et oracionibus crebris ac operibus monasterii insistere non poterant sicut fuerant hactenus asweti, ut in lectulo sedendo «Pater noster» diceretur et sine murmure eis seruiretur, et ipsi iam de proximo exspectantes beatam spem et aduentum Domini cum gaudio in celis pro ipsis intercederent (intercederetur), quorum habitacio iam ibi erat. Et hoc ex quodam sermone beati Augustini ad fratres heremitas da ociositate fugienda, que incipit: «Fratres karissimi, apostolus Petrus.» Capitulum LXXXV.

Here the holy Augustine had much compassion for all the ancient and especially for the weak brothers and supported them piously with a kind of veneration. Hence [he] wanted and ordered in the name of Christ that all those ancient and weak brothers [who] abode most piously in the monastery, and carried the yoke of holy obedience, poverty and chastity, and could not persist in frequent fasting and prayers and in the works of monastery as [they] were used previously, [he ordered that all those], laying in [their] small bed, would say “Our father”, and that [the other brothers] would serve [them] without complaining<sup>226</sup>, and [that] they (=the sick), while already expecting shortly the blessed hope and the coming of the Lord with the joy of heavens, would intercede for them whose dwelling had been there a short time before. And this [is taken] from a certain sermon of the blessed Augustine about [how] idleness [is] to be avoided, which begins: “Dearest brothers, the apostle Peter”. Chapter 95.

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<sup>226</sup> Literally “it would be attended to them without complaining”

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*Ninety-sixth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus pauperum et captiuorum semper memor fuit, ex eis queque habere potuit erogauit. Nam et vasa dominica, calices et talia propter paupers et captiuos iuebat frangi et conflari et indigentibus dispensary. Unde ipso sermone de moribus et vita clericorum: «Non est episcopo seruare aurum et reuocare a se *mendicantis* (iudicantis) manum; cotidie tam multi petunt, tam multi gemunt, tam multi nos inopes interpellant, ut plures tristes relinquamus quia quod <possimus> dare omnibus non habemus.» Hoc Possidonius. Capitulum LXXXXVI.

Here the holy Augustine remembered always the poor and the prisoners, and [he] expended for them whatever [he] could have. In fact he ordered to break and fuse also vessels for Mass, chalices and the like for the poor and the prisoners, and to distribute [the revenue] to the needing. Hence his sermon about the behaviour and life of clerics: “The bishop must not keep gold nor<sup>227</sup> draw away from himself the hand of the begging; every day, so many [people] ask, so many sigh, so many, [being] in need, solicit us, that we leave a greater number [of them] sad because we do not have [enough] to give something to everyone<sup>228</sup>.” This [was written by] Possidius. Chapter 96.

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*Ninety-seventh Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus fratres suos deuotissimos in solitudine commorantes paterne consoltus fuit non tantum sua dulci presenciali conuersacione et sermonum suorum suauis refeccione, sed eciam caritatum (caritatem) temporalium provisione. Vnde ipse in sermone de oracione ad eosdem frtates sic ait: «Non tedeat uos orare quia non familiam regere, sed tantum Deo placere debemus: et ut bene psallere et orare possitis absque mango impedimento corporis, de bonis episcopatus Ecclesie Ypponensis C et XL vestimenta cum calciamentis uobis, dilectis fratribus meis, deportari precepi, ut *tempore* (tale) frigoris, quantum necesse est, unusquisque recipiat, reponentes ea et custodientes ea in communi vestiario cum imni diligancia et caritate.» Capitulum LXXXXVII.

Here the holy Augustine fatherly comforted his most devout brother [who were] dwelling in the wilderness not only with his pleasant conversation in person, and with the heavenly food of his words, but also with the charity of temporal provisions. Hence [he] himself so speaks in the sermon about prayer to the same brothers: “Do not be annoyed by prayer<sup>229</sup>, as we must not run a family, but only be acceptable to God, and, in order that [you] may be able to pray and psalm well and without a great impediment from the body, [I] ordered that from the property of the episcopal see of the Church of Hippo, one hundred and forty items of clothing with shoes would be brought to you, my dearest brothers, so that everyone would receive what is needed in the cold weather, keeping and guarding them in the common wardrobe with every diligence and charity”. Chapter 97.

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<sup>227</sup> Literally “and”

<sup>228</sup> Literally “because we do not have what we can give to everyone”

<sup>229</sup> Literally “to pray”

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*Ninety-eighth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus pater Augustinus cum suis consanguineis et amicis aliquando cum minis, aliquando blandimentis bona regibilia ab eo petentibus dicendo: «Pater, da nobis aliquid: caro wnim tua summus» — Nunc non debemus habere temporalia ad possidendum, nec ego, qui episcopus sum, habere debeo *nisi* (non) tantum ad dispensandum; quia bona ecclesiarum patrimonium pauperum sunt. Vnde ego, qui episcopus sum, summe cauere debeo, ne res pauperum, quas Ypponensis Ecclesia conseruare uidetur, diuitibus largiantur (largiatur). Coriores meos ( in nos) reputo paupers quam diuites, quia habentes victum et vestitum nos omnes fideles contenti esse debemus. Vnde consanguinies suis, licet ex nobili prosapia duerit, sic bene fecit, non ut diuitias haberent, sed u taut non aut minus egerent. Hoc ex quodam sermone ad hermitas de tribus generibus monochorum, que incipit: « vt uobis per litteras», etc. capitulum LXXXXVIII.

Here the holy father Augustine [was] with his relatives and friends who were asking to him [to give them] sellable goods, sometimes by threats, sometimes by flattering words, by saying: “Father, give us something, for we are your flesh” [and said them:] “Now, we must not have earthly goods in our possession<sup>230</sup>, nor I, who am the bishop, must own [anything] except to share [it], because the belongings of the church are property of the poor. Hence I, who am bishop, must avoid with the utmost care that the goods of the poor, which the Church of Hippo seems to keep, were dispensed to the rich. [I] reckon the poor are dearer to me than the rich, because we faithful should be all contented to own [only] food and clothes.” Hence [he] did [what was] good for his relatives, even if they were of noble descent, not in order that [they] would possess riches, but [persuading them] so that [they] would not pursue them, or [pursue them] less [than before]. This is from that sermon to hermits about the three kinds of monks, which begins: “As through by letters to you, etc.” Chapter 98.

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*Ninety-ninth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus erga subditos deliquentes ac contra ipsum murmurantes sius detrahentes, in quibus reperit spem correccionis et emende, inuenit quoad signum (singnum) doloris et erubescencie, fuit totus Clemens eos ad gratiam recipiendo ex Moysi que mitissimus erat super omnes hominess que moriebantur in terra, querens nonnisi salutem animarum: pro talibus spritualiter infirmis auxilium diuine medicine precibus postulabat cottidieque indefessa (indifessa) uoce clamabat: «Obsecro, Domine, sana et reuoca eos.» Hoc ex dictis suis aliorum doctorum in variis locis. Capitulum LXXXXIX.

Here the holy Augustine was absolutely mild towards subjects who committed a fault and who complained about him or detracted him, in whom [he] discovered any hope of

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<sup>230</sup> Literally “so that we can own them”

correction and improvement, [or] found some sign of grief and remorse<sup>231</sup>, to recover them to [life in] grace, following the example of Moses who was very gentle towards all men who died on earth, looking for nothing else than than souls' salvation; towards such [people], spiritually sick, [he] asked for the assistance of the divine medicine by prayers, and everyday [he] shouted with indefatigable voice: “I beg [you], Lord, heal [them] and call them back”. This [is] from his sayings and from [the sayings] of other learned men in various passages. Chapter 99.

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#### *One-hundredth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus peccatores sua peccata confitentes et confiteri uolentes benigniter receipt. Hoc ex dictis suis et aliorum doctorum in diuersis locis. Capitulum C.

Here the holy Augustine kindly received sinners who confessed their sins and who wanted to acknowledge [them]. This [is] from his sayings and from [the saying] of other learned men in various passages. Chapter 100.

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#### *One-hundred and first Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinius in cultu et gesture et habitu in sermonibus talem se exhibuit omnibus, ut in his semper Dei laudem et salutem hominum quereret: religiosus quipped honeste, secularibus iocunde aderat, ut illos in sanctitate iam intempta exemplo sui firmaret et illos ad sanctitatem de tanta iocunditate invitart. Hoc Possidonius. Capitulum C primum.

Here the holy Augustine in clothing, and attitudes and demeanour in conversations, showed himself to everybody in such a way as if [he] sought always in [all] these the praise of God and the salvation of men: since in fact [he] attended to religious with respect, [and] to laymen with pleasantness, so that [he] would confirm those with his example in sanctity that they would be compelled to reach<sup>232</sup>, and attracted these to sanctity by such a great pleasantness. This [is] from Possidius. Chapter 101.

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#### *One-hundred and second Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus indumenta, calciamenta, lectualia, ornamenta alia nec nitida nimium nec abiecta plurimum habere uoluit, sed medium inter extrema tenuit, ut daret aliis formam viuendi, non materiam detrahendi. Hoc Possidonius. Capitulum C secundum.

Here the holy Augustine wanted to possess clothings, shoes, bedding, and all other equipment neither too refined nor excessively cheap, but kept the middle [path] between

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<sup>231</sup> Literally “blushing”

<sup>232</sup> Literally “the endeavoured sanctity”

extremes, so that [he] may give to others a model of living, not the ground for criticising. This [is] from Possidius. Chapter 102.

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*One-hundred and third Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus tante perfeccionis extitit, quod nichil penitus et omnino preter sola necessaria quesivit. Vnde diuicias contempsit, honoresres puit, uoluptates abhorruit, Dolores corporis non curauit et — quod amplius est — nec istam vitam presentem in se, sed propter ipsam sapienciam acuirendam appetit. Hoc ex dictis propriis et aliorum doctorum. Capitulum Ciii.

Here the holy Augustine showed himself <sup>233</sup> [to be] so perfect that [he] sought to obtain absolutely nothing<sup>234</sup> beyond the bare necessities. Hence [he] despised riches, did not accept honours, abhorred pleasures, did not care about bodily pains and – what is more – he liked this present life not in itself, but to attain the same [heavenly] wisdom. This [is] from his own sayings and from [the saying] of other learned men. Chapter 103.

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*One-hundred and fourth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus pro viuis et defunctis assidue orauit et suas preces ad Deum deuote obtulit. Hoc ut supra immediate. Capitulum C 4<sup>m</sup>

Here the holy Augustine prayed assiduously for the living and the dead and offered devoutly his prayers to God. This [is] as immediately above. Chapter 104<sup>235</sup>.

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*One-hundred and fifth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus in suo studio ita ante tribunal Trinitatis raptus fuit, de Trinitatis Gloria attentissime et subtilissime disputando, quod quondam mulierem coram ipso stantem et eius consilium inplorantem non vidit nec advertit. Capitulum CV<sup>m</sup>

Here the holy father Augustine in his library was sent into such a deep rapture before the throne of Trinity, while he was writing most subtly and attentively about the glory of Trinity, that [he] did not see not hear a certain woman staying in front of him and begging for his advice. Chapter 105.

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<sup>233</sup> Literally “of such a great perfection”

<sup>234</sup> In source text the pronoun “nothing” is doubly reinforced: “absolutely and completely”

<sup>235</sup> In the text the last digit, number “4” is an Arabic numeral.



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*One-hundred and sixth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus celebrat missam et angelus ostendit mulieri Augustinium ante tribunal Trinitatis fuisse raptum; sed missa celebrata mulier ad Augustinum redit et consilium solubile accepit. Hoc ut supra. Capitulum CVI<sup>m</sup>

Here the holy Augustine celebrates Mass and an angel shows to the woman that Augustine has been into rapture before the throne of Trinity, but once Mass was celebrated the woman went back<sup>236</sup> to Augustine and received advice to solve [her] problem<sup>237</sup>. This [is] as before. Chapter 106.

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*One-hundred and seventh Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus cum multos scripsisset libros, uoluit relegere omnes et diligenter examinare ut, si qua essent in eis non sane dicta, ea proindere retractare<t>, si qua dubia, explanare<t>, et si qua obscura, elucidare<t>; ut autem ad faciendum hoc maius ocium haberat, maxime quia in dubus conciliis (consiliis) episcoporum ab omnibus episcopis ipsi cura de scripturis esset inposita, per aliquos annos ante sum obitum petiit humiliter a clero et populo, ut quinque dies in ebdomada liceret sibi assidue vacare ocio, ymmo pocius litterali inseruire negocio et in reliquos dies exteriorum (ex aliorum) negociorum tumultus differre (deferre). Quod quidem ei concessum extitit, sed cogente necessitate frequencius interruptum fuit. Hoc in parte ex prologo libri Retractacionum et legenda famosa. Capitulum CVLL<sup>m</sup>.

Here the holy Augustine, having written many books, wanted to read again them all and to examine [them] accurately so that, if something in them was not well said, [he] could revise it, if dubious, make it clear, if obscure, explain it: and to have more time to do it, above all because in two gatherings of bishops, all the bishops had imposed him the care of [the translation of] Scriptures<sup>238</sup>, for some years before his death [he] humbly asked to clerics and people that during each week [he] could have been free for five days to attend to study, or rather to exert himself in literary occupations, and [he asked to be allowed] to put off the disturbance of earthly affairs to the remaining days. And indeed that was conceded to him, but very often he was interrupted by urgent necessities. This [is] partly in the Prologue of the book of “Retractions” and [in] a famous biography. Chapter 107.

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*One-hundred and eighth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus intelligens jams terminum vite sue, quem non possumus preterire, non longe distare, ne post decessum sum *ullus* (aliud) ambiciosus uel minus ydoneus cathedram spiritualem susciperet uel forte in eleccionis negocio scisma in Ecclesia fieret,

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<sup>236</sup> The change in tenses is in original text

<sup>237</sup> Literally “a releasing advice”

<sup>238</sup> Literally “the care about the Scriptures”

consuasit et consulendo petiit, ut eo viuento virum religiosum eligerent, ut eo decedente absque dissencione episcopatum susciperet eo quod viuento negocia Ecclesie et populi disponeret et solum maiora, cum oportunum esset, ad ipsum referret, velut eciam ipse talibus negociis non implicates, sed liber ab omnibus litibus deinibus iuxta posthabitam curam in duobus conciliis (consiliis) episcoporum ab omnibus coepiscopis (coepis) sibi impositam, uacare posset assidue leccioni et continue meditationi. Sic igitur factum est ut, compromisso in Augustinum facto, ipse quondam virum religiosum Eraclium nomine ad succedendum sibi eligeret, quem Augustinus in scola Christi erudierat et tam sanctitate quam sciencia imbuerat, in quem eciam Augustibus de omni<sup>um</sup> consensus suarum occupacionum sarcinam refudit, ipse vero studio uacauit (uocauit). Tunc igitur plures libros scripsit et libros pruis per eum editos revidit, relegit, examinauit atque ad unguem correxit. Et sic librum Retractacionum fecit. Hoc ex legenda famosa. Capitulum CVIII.

Here the holy Augustine, already understanding [that] the end of his life, which [we] cannot escape, was not very far, in order to avoid that after his death some ambitious or less capable [man] would seize his spiritual office or that maybe, during the carrying out of elections, a division in the Church may take place, persuaded [the people] and asked [them], while asking [their] advice [too], to choose, while [he] was alive, a pious man, so that, when he [Augustine] would be deceased, [he] would take up the bishop's office without dissension and so that while he was alive, [this pious man] would take care of the affairs of the Church and of the people, and reported to him only the most important, when it was needed, and, so to speak, he [Augustine] would not be entangled in such affairs but was free from all quarrels from that moment on, according to the command, given in two gatherings of bishops by his fellow-bishops, [which he had] postponed [until that moment], that [he] could be free for the incessant study and the continuous meditation. And so it happened that, according to the agreement done about Augustine, he himself chose a pious man, whose name was Eraclius, to be his successor, as he had been educated by Augustine<sup>239</sup> at the school of Christ, and he was full both of wisdom and of sanctity, and to him, by common consent, Augustine gave also the burden of his [public] affairs, and so indeed he was free for study. Therefore [he] then wrote many books and revised, re-read, examined and corrected perfectly the books which [he] had written before. And so he made the book of "Retractions". This [is] from a famous biography. Chapter 108.

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*One-hundred and ninth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus videns gentem barbarorum totem Affricanam prouinciam occupantem et omnia deuastantem, demum Ypponem ciuitatem manu valida obsidentem, videns nunc eciam istos occisos, alios effugatos, ecclesias sacerdotibus et ministries destitutas, virgins sacras et continents dissipatos (dissipatas), edificia ecclesiarum ignibus concremata, sollempnia diuinorum non esse, sacramenta diuina uel non queri uel querenti (querent) que tradat non facile (facili) reperiri, ipsosque ecclesiarum prepositos et clericos, que fortem necem ewaserunt, rebus omnibus spotliatos atque egentissimos flebiliter mendicare et forte deese que eis subuenirent, amarissimam et lugubrem duxit

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<sup>239</sup> Literally this verb is active

vitam fueruntque sibi lacrimae eius panes die ac nocte. Sub hac igitur tribulacione Augustinus uocauit fratres suos dicens eis: «Ecce rogauit Dominum, ut taut ab hiis perculis nos exuat aut pacientiam tribuat aut me de hac uita suscipiat ne tot calamitates uidere compellar (compellor). Et hoc ipsum episcopo et alii que aderant, ab eo exhortati, a Domino petiuerunt. Hoc Possidonius. Capitulum CIX.

Here the holy Augustine, seeing that the people of barbarians were occupying all the African province, and destroying everything, and in the end they were besieging the city of Hippo with a powerful army, and seeing also that many<sup>240</sup> [were] killed, others [had] fled, that the churches [were] abandoned by priests and ministers, the consecrated and chaste virgins were dispersed, the church buildings were burned to ashes, the sacred rites did not take place, the divine sacraments either were not requested or, if someone asked for them, it [was] not easy to find<sup>241</sup> [someone] who could administer them, and that the same priests in charge of parishes (=non-episcopal church) and clerics, who had escaped from the violent slaughter [were] deprived of everything and, being in great need, asked mournfully for alms, and indeed there was nothing by which [they] could support them, [Augustine] lived a very sad and mournful life and tears [were] his bread day and night. In this tribulation [he] called his brothers, saying to them: “Behold! [I] prayed the Lord, either that [he] would free us from these perils, or that [he] would give us patience, or that [he] would take me away from this life so that [I] would be no longer forced to see so many misfortunes.” And also bishops and others who were present, exhorted by him, asked this to the Lord. This [wrote] Possidius. Chapter 109.

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*One-hundred and tenth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus tertium quod petiuit obtinuit et tercio obsidionis mense febribus laborans lecto decubuit. Quo egrotante quidam eger ad ipsum uenit et ut sibi manum reponeret et ab infirmitate curaret (curat), instanter rogauit. Cuius instanciam et fidem Augustinus uidens facta oracione manum ergo imposuit et infirmus sanitatem recepit. Hoc Possidonius. Capitulum CX.

Here the holy Augustine, obtained for the third time what [he] asked and during the third month of siege [he] lied down in bed troubled with fevers. While he was ill, a certain sick man came to him and asked him insistentlly that [he] would impose his hands upon him and [that he] would heal him from his sickness. Seeing his perseverance and faith, Augustine, after having prayed imposed his hands upon the sick man and the sick recovered his health. This [wrote] Possidius. Chapter 110.

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<sup>240</sup> Literally “those”

<sup>241</sup> Passive in source text

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*One-hundred and eleventh Chapter*

Ibi sanctus Augustinus intelligens dissolutionem sui corporis imminere, septem psalmos penitenciales scribe fecit ipsosque *in lectulo* (recolo)<sup>242</sup> contra parietem positos decumbens legebat ac iugiter lacrimas fundebat: et ut Deo vacaret liberuis et eius intencio a nullo impediri (impedire) posset, ante decem dies sui exitus nullum ad se ingredi precepit, nisi cum medicus ingreretur uel cum refeccio uel aliud necessarium portaretur. Hoc Possidonius. Capitulum CXI.

Here the holy Augustine, understanding that the dissolution of his body was approaching, ordered that the seven penitential psalms should be written and attached in the small bed against the wall, [he] read them while lying and continually poured out tears; and to have more time for God and in order that his effort could not be hindered by anybody, ten days before his death he ordered that nobody should enter in his room<sup>243</sup>, if [they] did not come with a medicine or with food or [they] brought something necessary<sup>244</sup>. This [wrote] Possidius. Chapter 111.

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*One-hundred and twelfth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus pater Augustinus sciens tempus sue resolutionis iam in proximo instare corpus Christi receipt cum intima animi deuocione ac lacrimarum effusione, innuens nullum hominem quanticumque extollentis meriti super eukaristia debere transpire. Hoc ex legenda communi. Et cetera. Capitulum CXII.

Here the holy father Augustine, feeling that the moment of his release was imminent, received the body of Christ with a profound devotion of his spirit and pouring of tears, giving a sign that no man, even of exceptional merits, must neglect Eucharist. This [is] from a widely diffused biography. And others. Chapter 112.

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*One-hundred and thirteenth Chapter*

Ibi sanctus pater Augustinus ad extremam horam veniens quinto kalendas septembris anno etatis sue LXX[X]VI, episcopatus sui XL, Domini uero CCCCXXXVI, membris omnibus sui corporis incolumibus (incolumis), integro aspectu atque, fratrum conuentu astante et exitum eius cum oracionibus Domino commendante, obdormiuit in pace. Hoc in parte ex dictis Possidonius et in part ex cronica Eusebii. Capitulum CXIII.

Here the holy father Augustine, as [his] last hour was approaching<sup>245</sup>, in the fifth day from the Kalends of September<sup>246</sup> in the 86 [76]<sup>th</sup> year of his life<sup>247</sup>, the 40<sup>th</sup> year of his

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<sup>242</sup> cf. Philippe de Harvengt, *Vita Augustini* XXXI, P.L., t. CCIII, 1228B: « in lectulo » )

<sup>243</sup> Literally “next to him”

<sup>244</sup> Literally “if something necessary would be brought [by them]”

<sup>245</sup> Literally “as he was approaching to his last hour”

episcopacy, and indeed in the year of our Lord 436<sup>th</sup>, being all the limbs of his body uninjured, while his sight and hearing were unimpaired, while a gathering of brothers was present and confided his departure with prayers to God, fell asleep in peace. This [is] partly from the sayings of Possidius and partly from the chronicle of Eusebius. Chapter 113.

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*One-hundred and fourteenth Chapter*

Ibi venerabile corpus sancti Augustini a *beat*is (ab)tis coepiscopis suis et fratribus suis, que presentes aderant, *cum* (tam) gemittibus et in oribus lacrimis et ploratibus in loco, ubi ipse iusserat reponi corpus sum, honorifice cum aromatibus reconditum est et sepulture traditum... hoc ex legenda antique. Capitulum CXIII.

Here the venerable body of saint Augustine, was respectfully put in a coffin with balms and buried in the place where [he] himself had ordered that his body should be put, by his blessed fellow-bishops and his brothers who were present, with sighs and tears on [their] faces and weeps. This [is] in an old biography. Chapter 114.

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*One-hundred and fifteenth Chapter*

Ibi almifico corpore sanctissimi Augustini LXII annis quiescente, *cum* (et) barbarica gens terram istam deastaret, locum in quo illud venerabile corpus Augustini reconditum fuit ac alia loca sacra prophanaret, ecclesias catholicas clauderet, a CCXXti episcopis in Sardiniam est translatum. Hec ex cronica Eusebii. Capitulum CXV.

Here after the reverend body of the most holy Augustine had been resting for 62 years, as the barbarians were devastating that land, and [moreover] were about to profane<sup>248</sup> the place in which that venerable body of Augustine was hidden and other sacred places, [and] were about to close<sup>249</sup> Christian churches, was translated in Sardinia by 220 bishops. This is in the Chronicle of Eusebius. Chapter 115.

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*One-hundred and sixteenth Chapter*

Ibi corpus sancti Augustini venerabile in Sardinia multis annis quieuit. Hoc ex legenda famosa. Capitulum CXVI.

Here the venerable body of Saint Augustine rested in Sardinia for many years. This [is] from a famous 'life of saints'. Chapter 116.

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<sup>246</sup> In our calendar, the 28<sup>th</sup> of August

<sup>247</sup> In text apparently there is LXXXVI (86) but the correct figure is LXXVI (76)

<sup>248</sup> Literally “were profaning/profaned”

<sup>249</sup> Literally “were closing/closed”

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*One-hundred and seventeenth Chapter*

Ibi venerabile corpus beati Augustini, postquam in Sardiniam usque ad ducentesimum octogesimum obitus sui annum (anni) iacuerat, Luitprandus rex Lombardorum audiens Sardiniam a Sarracenis depopulatam et quod locus venerabilis in quo beatus Augustinus diu honorifice latuerat contmptui haberetur, mistit sollempnes legatos cum auro et argento ad magnatas istius terre, orans et obsecrans ut prece uel pecio uel quocumque artis ingenio reliquias sanctissimi Augustini Papyam deferent. Qui mango precio dato corpus almificum Augustini transtulerunt et ipsum usque ad litus Januensium deportauerunt. Quod deuotus rex audiens usque predictam ciuitatem cum mango exercitu eidem obuiauuit et sanctum illud corpus flexis genibus *ruens* (mens) in faciem humiliter adorauit ac reuerenter accepit. In cuius presencia multa illuc Deus miracula per beatum Augustinum operatus est. Hec ex legenda famosa. Capitulum CXVII.

Here the venerable body of the blessed Augustine, (after it) had lain in Sardinia till the 280<sup>th</sup> year since his death, [and] Liutprand king of Lombards, hearing that Sardinia was plundered by Saracens and that the venerable place in which he blessed Augustine had lain honourably for a long time, was [now] held in contempt, sent official ambassadors with gold and silver to the chiefs of that land, asking and begging that by prayer or by ransom or by any abilities of their trade [they] transferred the relics of the most holy Augustine to Pavia. And they, after having given a great ransom, translated the venerated body of Augustine and carried it to the coast of Genua. Having heard that, the devout king with a great army went to meet it all the way to the above said city and [then] revered humbly and received honourably that holy body after having bent [his] knees and prostrating on [his] face. And in its presence God worked many miracles through the blessed Augustine. These [are] in a famous 'life of saints'. Chapter 117.

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*One-hundred and eighteenth Chapter*

Ibi solute stacione nauali accepto corpore beatissimi Augustini rex et sui profecti sunt. Peracto uero labore diurne deposito corpore quieuerunt et cereis et lampadibus, ymnis et laudibus totam noctem festiuam reddiderunt. Quo autem facto rex iussit corpus tolli; quod tante inventem est grauedinis tantique ponderis, ut leuari uel moueri non posse tab immibus. Tunc rex diuino instinctu commonitus votum uouit dicens: «Si te, pater Augustine, ad locum quod elegi deferri permiseris, in hac villa, in qua sumus, ecclesiam in tuo honore edificabo et ipsam villam ac omnia que eius sunt ad usus ministrancium tibi in perpetuum dabo. Voto facto sine omni difficultate baiuli sanctum illud corpus sustulerunt et gradients iter optatum perrexerunt. Videns autem rex placere sancto quod in suo nomine ecclesia fieret ubi per noctem mansisset, in omni loco ubi rex cum corpore hospitabatur in suo honore ecclesiam construebat. Hec ex legenda famosa. Capitulum CXVIII.

Here, after [the ship] had left the harbour and the body of the most blessed Augustine had been received, the king and his [followers] left. As the labour (=the stage) of the day had

been completed, after having put down the body, they stopped to repose and with candles and lamps, with hymns and praises, they rendered joyful the whole night. Being that finished, the king ordered that the body would be taken up: [but] it was found to be so heavy and its weight was so great, that nobody could lift it up or move it<sup>250</sup>. Then the king, struck by a divine inspiration, made a vow saying: “If you, father Augustine, will allow to be carried to the place I chose, I will build a church in your honour in this farm where [we] are [now] and I will give the same farm and all its [annexes] in use to your ministers forever.” Once that vow was made, without any difficulty the porters lifted that holy body and proceeded walking on the chosen journey. The king, seeing that the saint liked that, where he had stayed during the night, were built churches in his name, in every place where the king was hosted with the body, [he] built a church in his honour. These [are] from a famous 'life of saints'. Chapter 118.

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#### *One-hundred and nineteenth Chapter*

Ibi deuotus rex et sui cum reliquiis sanctissimi patris Augustini Papyam partier deuenerunt et precurrentibus nunciis Leticia ineffabili tota ciuitas est commota et utriusque sexus innumera multitudo cum cereis, ymnis et laudibus obuiam progressa est, que omnes Deum laudauerunt quod reliquias tantas suscipere meruerunt. Hec ex legenda famosa. Capitulum CXIX.

Here the devout king and his [followers] with the relics of the most holy fathers Augustine arrived in the same way to Pavia, and as messengers were preceding [them], all the city was taken by an inexpressible joy and an innumerable crowd of both sexes with candles, hymns and praises preceded [them] to meet [them] and all of them praised God for having been deemed worthy to receive such great relics. These [are] from a famous 'life of saints'. Chapter 119.

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#### *One-hundred and twentieth Chapter*

Ibi corpus almificum beatissimi Augustini in basilica sancti Petre appostoli, que propter eius ornatum Celum Aureum uocabatur, V idus octobris, annp Domini setingentesimo XXVIII honorifice est conditum fratribus, ibidem multa miracula (multis miraculis) vidente Belbone camerario regis, que fideliter scripsit modum sue translacionis. Hec ex legenda antique et cronica Eusebii. Capitulum CXX.

Here the venerable body of the most blessed Augustine was honourably buried by brothers in the basilica of the Apostle St. Peter, which due to its decoration is called Golden Sky, on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of the month of October<sup>251</sup> of the year of Our Lord 728, and there many miracles [happened], in presence of Belbone, chamberlain of the king, who

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<sup>250</sup> Literally: In source text there are infinitives (infinite present passive) which I rendered with explicit relatives actives.

<sup>251</sup> Literally “on the fifth day before the Ides of October”

recorded faithfully its translation<sup>252</sup>. This is from an ancient 'life of saints' and [from] the Chronicle of Eusebius. Chapter 120.

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*One-hundred and twenty-first Chapter*

Ibi transactis annis plurimis, tempore regiminis venerabilis patris fratris Wilhelmi prioris generalis ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini, taman iam pro aliquot tempore monachi ordinis sancti Benedicti locum ubi requiescit corpus beati Augustini inhabitauerunt. Postea uero et nunc regulares canonici eciam in sua custodia corpus beati Augustini habuerunt (habuerint). Temporibus ergo istis nouissimis emisit fratrum predictorum, ut a summo pontifice corpus gloriosissimi patris sancti Augustini ordini antedicto (antedicte) tradi humiliter peteretur. Hec probantur esse vera ex effectu (affectu), et concilio partum ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini. Capitulum CXXI.

Here, after many years had passed, at the time of the guidance of the venerable father brother Wilhelm, general prior of the order of hermits of Saint Augustine, already for some time the monks of the order of saint Benedict had abode in the place where [it] rests<sup>253</sup> the body of the blessed Augustine. Afterwards, indeed, and at present, also the regular canons had in their custody the body of the blessed Augustine. Consequently, in these latest times Lord put in the mind of the mentioned father Wilhelm and of the other fathers of the above said order of brothers, that [he] would ask humbly to the highest Pontiff that the body of blessed Augustine would be entrusted [to them]. These [requests] were actually made [by him] and by the council of the fathers hermits of Saint Augustine. Chapter 221.

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*One-hundred and twenty-second Chapter*

Ibi ad deuotam instanciam venerabilis patris magistri Wilhelmi in Cremona primo anno (anni) sui generalatus officii dominus papa Johannes XXII, sacro approbante collegio dominorum cardinalium, locum et custodiam venerabilis corporis (corpus) beatissimi Augustini in perpetuum ordini fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini commendauit, contulit et condonauit, confirmans illam donacionem autentico priuilegio et gracioso, dignum quidem arbitrans ut pater suis filiis, caput suis membris, magister suis discipulis, dux suis militibus commendetur et condonetur. Hec ex priuilegio principali. Capitulum CXXII

Here, according to the devout request of venerable father master Wilhelm in Cremona, in the first year of his generalship office, lord pope John 22<sup>nd</sup> with the approbation of the sacred council of the lords cardinals, entrusted, attributed and conceded for ever to the order of the brothers hermits of Saint Augustine the location and the custody of body of the most blessed Augustine, confirming that donation by a gracious and valid charter

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<sup>252</sup> Literally “who wrote faithfully the mode of its translation”

<sup>253</sup> Present tense in original text



believing it worthy that the father would be committed and entrusted to his sons, the head to his limbs, the master to his disciples, the commander to his soldiers. These [are] from the main charter. Chapter 122.

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*One-hundred and twenty-third Chapter*

Ibi illustrissimus dominus Johannes rex Bohemie es speciali commissione domini Johannis pape ad locum, ubi venerabile corpus gloriosissimi patris Augustini requiescit, fratres heremitarum sancti Augustini introduxit atque corpus ipsius beati Augustini ad suorum custodiam condonavit. Hec probantur esse vera ex effectu. Capitulum CXXIII.

Here, the most distinguished Lord John king of Bohemia through a special mandate of lord John the pope ushered the brother hermits to the place in which the venerable body of the most glorious father Augustine rested, and entrusted the body of the same blessed Augustine to their custody. These [facts] are proved to be effectively true. Chapter 123.

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*One-hundred and twenty-fourth Chapter*

Ibi de *consensu* (causu) officium in basilica sancti Petri in Celo Aureo ubi sanctissimum corpus beatissimi Augustini requiescit, tam a canonicis regularibus quam a fratribus ordinis heremitarum sancti Augustini utrisque ordinibus ab ipso institutis partier agitur et sollempniter celebrator. Hoc ex gestis eiusdem ecclesie. Capitulum CXXIV.

Here by mutual agreement in the Basilica of St. Peter's of the Golden Sky, where lies the most sacred body of the most blessed Augustine, the service was ministered and solemnly celebrated equally by the regular canons and by the brothers of the order of hermits of saint Augustine of both orders instituted by him. This [is] in the [history of] deeds of the same church. Chapter 124.

## Appendix C: French to English Translation

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*First through fourth Chapters are missing*

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### *Fifth Chapter*

Augustin est amené à l'école par ses parents.

Augustine is brought to the School by its parents.

Dans la partie gauche de la miniature, Patricius et Monique quittent l'enfant. Le père l'encourage de la main gauche tendue, la mère se rejette en arrière, l'air désolé. Sur le seuil de l'école, l'enfant Augustin, à la chevelure bouclée, aux jambes et aux pieds nus, tient ses tablettes de la main droite. Le maître, en robe brodée d'hermine et bonnet de docteur, emplit tout l'espace de la porte d'école, dessinée en plein cintre. Ce personnage est traité dans l'esprit satirique qui égaie tout le manuscrit : il brandit de la main droite une botte de verges, saisit l'élève de la main gauche et pose le pied droit sur les deux pieds nus d'Augustin comme pour prendre possession de lui. Des inscriptions précisent les noms des personnages : «Monica-Patricius-Augustinus» ; les mots «scholae magister» sont tracés comme une enseigne sur le toit de l'école

On the left of the miniature, Patricius and Monique leave the child. The father encourages him with out-stretched hand; his mother is behind with a sorry rejected air. On the threshold of the school, the child Augustine, with curly hair, naked legs and feet, holds his slate in his right hand. The Master, dressed in an embroidered robe and ermine cap of a doctor, fills up all the space of the door of school, drawn in semicircular arch. This personage is treated in the satirical spirit which brightens all the manuscript: he holds up right hand a switch of branches and takes the student by the left hand and puts his foot over the bare feet of Augustine as to take possession of him. Inscriptions specify the names of the people: "*Monica-Patricius -Augustinus*"; the words "*school instructor*" are traced as a sign on the roof of the school

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### *Sixth Chapter*

Augustin apprend l'existence de Dieu et l'invoque afin de ne pas être fouetté.

Augustine learns the existence of God and prays in order not to be whipped.

Le peintre a représenté un angle de la salle de classe. À gauche, deux enfants, dont l'un est muni d'un livre, se tirent la langue au lieu de lire. Assis sur le même banc, le maître

saisit le premier enfant et lève sa chemise pour le fouetter devant le camarade qui tire la langue à son condisciple puni. A droite, le meme professeur se tient debout près d'Augustin ; celui-ci, à genoux, mains jointes, implore le Christ qui apparaît au-dessus de lui ; le maître lève de la main droite sa botte de verges et montre l'apparition de la main gauche. Cette scène qui décrit de manière ironique le traitement infligé aux jeunes écoliers par leurs professeurs, se retrouve vers la meme date dans le cycle de Benozzo Gozzoli à San Gimignano.

The painter represented a view of the classroom. On the left, two children, with which one is provided with a book, draw the language instead of reading. Sat on the same bench, the Master seizes the first child and raises his shirt to whip it in front of the comrade who draws the language with his punished school-fellow. On the right, the same professor is held upright close to Augustin; who is on his knees, hands united, beseeches the Christ who appears above him; the Master raises right hand his switch of branches and watch the appearance of the left hand. This scene which describes in a satirical way the treatment inflicted to the young schoolboys by their professors, and is found around the same date as the cycle of Benozzo Gozzoli in San Gimignano.

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### *Seventh Chapter*

Augustin enfant réclame le baptême.

Augustine child requests to be baptized.

Augustin, assis sur un lit de bois à baldaquin, lève la main gauche vers sa mère debout à son chevet. Monique étend les bras et montre de la main gauche une cuve baptismale dessinée à demi sur l'image. On voit à l'avant-plan une corbeille pleine de pains. C'est la dernière représentation d'Augustin enfant.

Augustine, seated on a wood bed with baldachin, raises the left hand towards his mother who is right up against his bedside. Monique extends her arms and with her left shows the baptismal tank drawn only half seen in the image. In the foreground there is a basket full of breads. It is the last representation of Augustin child.

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### *Eight Chapter*

Augustin enseigne la grammaire a Thagaste.

Augustine teaches grammar at Thagaste

Augustin en robe et bonnet de docteur est assis à gauche dans une chaire à baldaquin ; il tourne de la main gauche les pages d'un livre ouvert de face sur une sorte de lutrin ; de l'autre main il fait geste de la démonstration. A droite, au pied du pupitre, quatre figures jeunes, portant la chevelure sur les épaules, écoutent Augustin dans des attitudes variées, chacune assise sur un tabouret bas.

Une inscription se lit au-dessus du groupe: *Discipuli sui*.

Augustine in robes and doctor's hat is sitting down to the left in a pulpit with baldachin; he turns over a new leaf of a book with his left hand which is opened on a lectern; with his other hand he makes an expressive gesture. To the right, at the foot of the lectern, four young faces with shoulderlength hair, listen to Augustine with various degrees of attention, each is sat on a low footstool.

An inscription reads above the group: *Disciple himself*

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### *Ninth Chapter*

Baptême de Patricius converti par sa femme.

Baptism of Patricius converted by his wife

Il est rare de trouver dans un cycle de la vie d'Augustin des images sur lesquelles celui-ci ne paraît pas; c'est la cas ici. Au centre un prêtre baptize Patricius, nu, à mi-corps dans la cuve dessinée entièrement cette fois; c'est une cuve hexagonale au pied évasé ; on lit *Patricius* sur le panneau de face. Le prêtre, qui tient un livre de la main droite, étend la gauche sur la tête du baptize qui incline la tête et joint les mains. A gauche Monique est à genoux, mains jointes également. Dans l'angle supérieur droit, un ange aux grandes ailes et aux mains jointes, sort d'un nuage.

It is rare to find in a life cycle of Augustine pictures in which he does not appears; however here is an example. To the center a priest baptizes Patricius, bare, to the mid-body in the font which is drawn in its entirety this time; it is a hexagonal font with an évasé base; that inscribed with *Patricius* on the facing panel. The priest, who holds a book in his right hand, places his left on the head of the baptized who inclines his head with hands joined. To the left Monique is kneeling, also with hands joined. At an angle in the upper right, an angel with large wings and hands joined floats on a cloud.

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### *Tenth Chapter*

Mort de Patricius

Death of Patricius

Augustin est également absent de cette scène et de la suivante. Le mourant dont le nom est inscrit sur le bois du lit, à gauche, est représenté nu, la tête entourée de linges, le visage creusé par la souffrance. Une figure de nouveau-né s'échappe de ses lèvres accueillie par un ange aux mains tendues, aux ailes éployées, sortant d'un nuage. Ces deux figures sont peintes en réduction; elles symbolisent l'accueil de l'âme du mourant au ciel. Derrière le lit, à l'échelle des humains, un prêtre lève le goupillon et lit les prières des mourants dans un livre ouvert sur son bras gauche. Monique, au pied du lit, penche tristement la tête.

Augustine is equally absent of this scene and of the following. Death is the name that is registered on the wooden bed, to the left, he is represented bare, his head encircled with linens, the face wrought by suffering. A body of a newborn baby escapes from his lips to be received by an angel with outstretched hands, using its wings to float on a cloud. These two are painted in a smaller scale; as they symbolize the welcoming of the soul of the departed into heaven. Behind the bed, to inscale presentations of the main figures, a priest with raised morningstar he reads the death prayer from a book open on his left arm. Monique, at the foot of the bed, sadly inclines her head.

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### *Eleventh Chapter*

#### Inhumation de Patricius

#### Burial of Patricius's

On voit, sur la même page, l'inhumation de Patricius. Le cadaver est enveloppé dans un grand linceul ; un personnage à haut chapeau et robe courte le soulève par les épaules, tandis qu'un autre, nu-tête et robe longue, le tient par les pieds ; tous deux s'appêtent à le déposer dans la fosse creusée dans l'herbe. Monique et une autre femme, vues en buste derrière le mort, font des gestes de desolation et de prière. En bas du cadre le peintre a répété le nom de Patricius, et encore trace sur le linceul: « Patricius sepultus.»

On the same page we also see Patricius's entombment. The dead body is wrapped in a big shroud; a figure with high hat and short coat holds him by his shoulders, while another, bareheaded and long coat, holds him by his feet; as they both get ready to place him in the hole dug in the grass. Monica and another woman, seen behind the dead body, make gestures of desolation and of supplication.

At the bottom of the frame the painter repeated Patricius's name, and still trace on the shroud: "the noble burial of Patricius"

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### *Twelfth Chapter*

Augustin devenu manichéen ne croit plus à la réalité du corps du Christ; il nie la résurrection de la chair et croit que le figuier dont on détache une figue pleure.

Augustine as an educated man he does not believe any more in reality of the body of Christ; he denies the resurrection of the flesh and believes that a figtree cries when a fig is picked from it.

Le peintre a voulu son image aussi complète que possible; il a réuni les symboles et les personnages. Augustin est assis au centre, comme l'indique l'inscription au-dessus de sa tête ; il feuillette un livre ouvert sur un pupitre ; à ses pieds trois personnages assis sur un banc écoutent, main levée. Augustin tourne le dos au Christ incarné, représenté par l'enfant Jésus nu, nimbé, dans les bras de la Vierge. Celle-ci est couronnée; elle semble tenir dans sa main gauche un livre fermé ; son expression paraît mélancolique. Augustin tourne également le dos à la résurrection de la chair, représenté par un mort sortant à demi de la tombe, les mains jointes. À l'extrême droite, à mi-hauteur, Augustin cueille une figue. Le paysage de prairie s'étend en hauteur; des arbres se profilent sur un ciel nuageux.

The painter wanted his image as complete as possible; he joined together the symbols and the characters. Augustin sat in the center, as the inscription above its head indicates it; he riffles through a book open on the desk; at his feet three characters are sitting on a bench listen, with raised hand. Augustin turns the back on Christ re-incarnated, represented by the nude infant Jesus with a nimbus, held by the bottom by the Virgin. She is crowned; and seems to hold in her left hand a closed book; her expression appears melancholy. Augustin also turns his back on the resurrection of the flesh, represented by death half leaving the tomb, the united hands. On the extreme right-hand side, mid-distance height, Augustin is picking a fig. The landscape of meadow extends in height; trees are set against a cloudy sky.

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### *Thirteenth Chapter*

Monique prie et voit en songe Augustin à sa table, d'où elle l'avait exclu.

Monica asks and sees Augustine in her dream at his table, or is she excluded.

Le peintre juxtapose les images du rêve et de la réalité. À gauche Monique, à genoux, de face, prie les mains jointes. Au-dessus d'elle, le buste du Christ au nimbe crucifère apparaît sur un nuage. À droite, derrière une table dressée, Augustin et Monique discutent avec vivacité.

The painter juxtaposes pictures of the dream and reality. To the left Monica, on her knees, faces the vision, asks with joined hands. Above her, the torso of Christ crucified with nimbus appears on a cloud. To the right, behind a trained table, Augustine and Monica discuss with vivacity.

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#### *Fourteenth Chapter*

Le songe de Monique

The dream of Monique

La scène est conçue de la même manière que la précédente: à gauche Monique en prière devant le Christ; à droite la scène qu'elle imagine sous le cuop de l'inspiration. Monique est petite à genoux devant les degrés d'un autel fort maladroitement dessiné; sur ses faces sont esquissés de petits personnages, et une croix de Jérusalem est tracée sur la table. Une banderole forme le lien entre le ciel et la terre; on y déchiffre les mots mêmes des *Confessions* : «*Esto segura quia ubi tu, ibi ille*».

Augustin et sa mère, dans la partie droite, sont debout et montent un escalier à rampe de bois; leur expression est joyeuse. Nous avons ici l'image de la «règle de bois», symbole de la «règle de foi», iconographie qu'on retrouve identique, à la même époque, au dos stalles de Carlisle et dans un tableau du monastère de Nuestift.

En dessous dy Christ, on distingue des traces de peinture, on reconnaît une tête mitrée ; elle n'est autre que celle de l'évêque du folio opposé, qui s'est, pour ainsi dire, décalquée

The scene is conceived in the same manner of the preceding one: to the left Monique prays to Christ; to right the scene that she imagines of the inspiration. Monique is represented in diminutive scale in front of the clumsily drawn altar; on its façade are sketched small figures, and a cross of Jerusalem is traced on the table. A banner forms the link between the sky and the earth; one there deciphers words directly from the *Confessions*: «*be secure because where you are, so is he*»

Augustine and his mother, on the right part, are standing and climb a stairway to wood ramp; their expression is cheerful. We have the picture of the “wooden rule,” symbol of the “rule of creed,” identical iconography was rediscovers on the stalls of Carlisle, from the same time, and in a picture of the Monastery of Nuestift.

Underneath the Christ, one distinguishes traces of paint, one recognizes a head mitrée; she is other only the one of the bishop of the opposed folio, that is itself, so to speak, copied

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*Fifteenth Chapter*

Monique consolée par un évêque

Monique consoled by a bishop

Monique pleure, à genoux, mains jointes. L'évêque, dessiné majestueusement, est assis de trois quarts ; il étend la main vers Monique pour la persuader. Aucun élément de paysage ne distrait l'attention de ces deux larges figures.

Monique is kneeling and weeps whilst praying. The bishop, who is drawn majestically, sits in a three-quarter position; raises his hand towards Monique to persuade her. No landscape element distracts the attention of these two wide faces.

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*Sixteenth Chapter*

Augustin pleure son ami défunt.

Augustine mourns his late friend

L'ami d'Augustin est étendu sur le lit comme l'était Patricius, le buste et les bras nus sortant des couvertures. La poitrine est, comme d'ordinaire dans l'école souabe, fortement marquée, même pour les figures masculines. Augustin pleure au chevet de son ami. Notons la corbeille posée sur le sol à l'avant-plan comme dans l'image de la mort de Patricius, et deux inscriptions, l'une à gauche qui semble de la main du minitouriste: «amicus Augustini», l'autre, identique, au-dessus du lit. Le traversing à carreaux, sous la tête du mort, se retrouve dans la plupart des manuscrits allemands de l'époque.

The friend of Augustine is laid out in bed as was Patricius, the torso and the bare arms are out of the covers. The figure is, as usual in souabe style, masculine and hard. Augustine cries at the bedside of his friend. Let's note the basket upon the ground in the front plan as in the picture of the death of Patricius, and two inscriptions, the one to the left which seems of the hand of the minitouriste "Amicus Augustini", the other, and identical, above the bed. The checkered pattern, under the head of the dying is seen again in many of the German manuscripts of the period.



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### *Seventeenth Chapter*

Augustin lit l'Hortensius en classe; il est dirigé par cette lecture vers le christianisme.

Augustine reads Hortensius in class; it is directed by this reading towards Christianity.

Un maître est assis de guingois devant un pupitre sur lequel est pose un livre ouvert ; il enseigne. Quatre auditeurs sont assis à ses pieds sur un banc, dont trois paraissent traités de manière caricaturale. Un autre, vu de face, est vêtu de la toque et bonnet de docteur qui distinguent habituellement Augustin ; il est jeune et pensif. Le Christ apparaît au-dessus de la scène.

L'inscription «Augustinus» a été place par erreur au-dessus du maître, une autre inscription, en allemande, se voit au-dessus du premier auditeur.

A master is sitting down askew in front of a lecturn on which there is an open book; lecturing. Four listeners are sitting down with feet on a bench, of which three seem treated in a grotesque way. The other one, seen from facing, is dressed in the coat and hat of a doctor which usually distinguish Augustine; here he is young and thoughtful. Christ appears above the scene.

Inscription "Augustinus" was place by wrongly above the master, another inscription, in German, it above the first listeners.

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### *Eighteenth Chapter*

Augustin s'entretient avec Faustus de Milève.

Augustine discusses with Faustus de Milève (Numidia, modern Algeria).

Deux belles figures occupant la miniature ; Augustin et l'évêque manichéen Faustus sont assis sur un banc ; leurs gestes éloquents, leurs mains expressive évoquent un dialogue passionné. Faustus s'acharne à démontrer, mais Augustin fait un geste de dénégation. Une inscription tardive, en allemand, a été portée à la droite d'Augustin.

Two beautiful faces occupy the miniature; Augustine and the manichaeen bishop Faustus are sitting down on a bench; their eloquent and expressive hands gestures, tell of a passionate discussion. Faustus perseveres in his argument, but Augustine makes a gesture of denial. A later inscription, in German, was added to Augustine's right.

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*Nineteenth Chapter*

Augustin s'embarque pour Rome au désespoir de sa mère

Augustine himself embarks for Rome to the anguish of his mother

On ne voit que le buste d'Augustin, assis dans le bateau «cousu» que trois rameurs éloignent de la rive. Un homme au gouvernail fait un signe d'adieu au groupe qui débouche de la porte de la ville. Monique, au premier plan, étend les bras en avant ; un homme coiffé d'un turban la soutient par derrière. Le paysage côtier est indiqué d'une manière vive et réussie.

Only Augustine torso is seen in the "sewn" boat moving away from the bank by three oarsmen. A man at the boats rudder gives the sign of goodbye toward the group which has come out of the city gates. Monica, out first, spreads her arms forward; a man wearing a turban supports her from behind. The coastal landscape is appointed in a lively and flourishing way.

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*Twentieth Chapter*

Monique fait des distributions aux pauvres et prie les saints.

Monica makes gives to the poor and prays to the saints.

A gauche, Monique prend un pain dans une corbeille et le tend à un pauvre dont le corps est en partie coupé par le cadre. Elle est assistée d'un homme à haut chapeau. A droite, la même Monique, agenouillée au pied d'un autel, prie les mains jointes. L'autel est figuré en partie seulement sur l'image ; on voit le volet d'un retable ouvert avec deux personnages esquissés : saint Pierre et saint Paul, ce dernier porteur de l'épée, instrument de son supplice.

To the left, Monique takes bread from a basket and distributes it amongst the poor who is seen on the left cropped by the frame. She is assisted by a man in a high hat. To the right, Monique is seen kneeling at the foot of an altar, taken in pray. The altar is only partly seen on the left only on the picture; one sees the shutter of an altarpiece open with two figures: Saint Peter and Saint Paul, the latter carrying the sword, the instrument of his torture.

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*Twenty-first Chapter*

Augustin est malade a Rome.

Augustine is ill in Rome.

Augustin est couché dans l'attitude que l'illustrateur donne habituellement aux maladies ; il se distingue par un bonnet à oreillettes qui lui couvre entièrement la chevelure. A son chevet, un médecin en robe et toque examine le contenu d'une fiole. Une main postérieure au manuscrit a tracé une inscription en latin en travers de la poitrine d'Augustin ; «Augustinus egrotat valde» ; une autre inscription, en allemande, se lit près du médecin. Elle concerne la fiole (*Glas*)

As usual for this illustrator the ill are put to bed; Augustine distinguishes himself with the skullcap with earflap that covers his hair completely. At his bedside, dressed in coat and hat a doctor examines the content of a flask. A later hand on the manuscript has drawn an inscription in Latin in the middle of Augustine's chest; "*Augustinus intense sickness;*" another inscription, in German, concerning the flask written near the doctor reads. *It concerns the flask.*

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*Twenty-second through Twenty-fifth Chapters are missing*

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*Twenty-sixth Chapter*

Monique fait voile vers Milan et rencontre Augustin.

Monica sets sail towards Milan where she meets Augustine.

On voit en haut de l'image, à gauchr, le bateux où Monique est assise au pied du mât, entre deux rameurs. Le paysage côtier s'étend en hauteur. En bas, à droite, devant l'entrée de la ville, Augustin et Monique se donnent l'accolade.

The boat is presented at the top of picture, to the left, where Monica is seated at the foot of the mast, between the two oarsmen. The coastal landscape stretches full height. Down and to the right, in front of the entrance of the city, Augustine and Monica embrace.

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*Twenty-seventh Chapter*

Augustin, Alypius et Nébridius gémissent ensemble sur leurs passions.

Augustine, Alypius and Nébridius together moan on their passions.

Assis au premier plan d'un verger, les trois amis, dans attitudes variées, se lamentent. Les deux arbres encadrent la figure d'Augustin, qui tient sur ses genoux un livre ouvert.

Sitting in front of an orchard, the three friends, in various attitudes, moan. The two trees frame the face of Augustine, he holds on his knees a book open.

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*Twenty-eighth Chapter*

Augustin médite en lui-même

On his own Augustine meditates

La figure d'Augustin, seul, est établie au centre du tableau avec la même expression grave que dans la miniature précédente ; la tête penchée sur l'épaule gauche, il suit du regard les lignes qu'il montre avec son index sur le livre ouvert à côté de lui, à terre. Un arbre à droite, quelques plantes esquissées, forment un décor qui laisse au personnage toute sa valeur. La même main tardive a tracé en allemande une inscription où Augustin déclare qu'il ignorait alors ce qu'était l'esprit (*Geist*)

The face of Augustine, alone, is established in the centre of the picture with the same serious expression as in the preceding miniature; his head tilted toward his left shoulder, looking he follows the lines which he shows with his index on the book opened next to him, in the ground. A tree to the right, some sketched plants, form the only decoration which gives focus to the figure. The same late hand drew an inscription in German where Augustine declares that he was unaware then of what the spirit was

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*Twenty-ninth Chapter*

Augustin découvre qu'il est dans la «région de dissemblance» ; il entend une voix d'En-Haut

Augustine discovers that it is in the "region of dissimilarity "; it hears a voice from above

Augustin est étendu sous un arbre, à même le sol. Il dort. Du coin supérieur droit, la main de Dieu tenant un livre ouvert sort d'un nuage ; une banderole est restée vierge d'écriture.

Au point de vue du sujet, cette scène est à mettre en rapport avec une scène que nous avons étudiée ailleurs et qui représente aussi Augustin dans la «région de dissemblance». Mais l'iconographie rappelle surtout une fresque de Guariento à Padoue et un bas-relief du tombeau d'Augustin à Pavie, où un livre est également apporté du ciel au jeune Augustin.

On even ground Augustine is asleep under a tree. In the upper righthand corner the hand of God presents an opened book from within a cloud; the streamer remains free of writing. From the point of view of the subject, this stage is to put in context with a stage of studying elsewhere and which also represents Augustine in the "region of dissimilarity." But iconography recalls especially a fresco of Guariento of Padoue and a bas-relief of the tomb of Augustine to Pavie, where a book is equally presented from the sky to the young Augustine.

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### *Thirtieth Chapter*

Augustin va trouver l'ermite Simplicien.

Augustine goes in search of the hermit Simplicien.

Dans le même décor de verdure, Augustin et sa mère sont assis à gauche. Ils lèvent tous deux la main en s'adressant à deux ermites, réduits ici à l'état de masses indistinctes.

In the same setting of greenery, Augustine and his mother are sat to the left. They both raise their hand toward two hermits, who have been reduced to a vague state.

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### *Thirty-first Chapter*

Ponticianus s'entretient avec Augustin et Alypius sur saint Antoine

Ponticianus discusses Saint Antoine with Augustine and Alypius

Augustin est assis de face à une table massive ; il pose les mains sur un livre grand ouvert devant lui. Il tient la tête un peu penchée, dans l'attitude qui lui est habituelle. Alypius est assis à sa droite, la main gauche sur la table, vêtu d'un ample manteau, coiffé d'une toque. Un peu en retrait, à droite de l'image, la chevelure flottant sur les épaules, Ponticianus fait avec la main gauche le geste de la démonstration. Dans le haut de la miniature, le peintre, qui ne veut laisser aucune partie du texte sans illustration, a représenté une petite figure d'ermite, sans doute Antoine, enlevée au ciel par deux anges correspondant aux mots : «Caelum rapiunt» (*Conf.* VIII, 8, 19, 6, p191). Cette petite figure symbolique peut être comparée à la figure d'ermite dans une grotte, sur le tableau de Fra Angelico à Cherbourg.

Augustine is sat facing a massive table; he puts his hands on a big open book in front of him. His head is tilted to one side in his usual manner. Alypius is sat to his right, with his left hand on the table, wearing an generous coat, and a fur hat. Standing to oneside on the right of the picture, Ponticianus with floating hair shoulder length hair raises his left hand the gesture of the demonstration. At the top of the miniature the painter, who does not want to leave any party of the text without illustration, presents a small figure of hermit, doubtless St. Antoine, held aloft by two angels with the corresponding words: “Sky ravishment” (Conf. VIII, 8, 19, 6, p191). This small symbolic figure could be compared to the similar image to the hermit in a cave, in the pictures of Fra Angelico to Cherbourg.

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### *Thirty-second Chapter*

Augustin évoque devant Alypius les jeunes «serviteurs de Dieu»

Augustine recalls the young “servants of God” to appear in front of Alypius

Augustin assis et Alypius debout se tiennent de part et d’autre d’un arbre. Du haut d’une colline, à droite un groupe d’enfants ; une chapelle est située sur la crête. Ceci traduit en image le texte de la *Vita* : «Cogitando quomodo in ecclesia Deo servirent pueri et puellae»

Augustine sits in front of the standing Alypius anchored either side of a tree. A chapel is located on the crest of the hill to the right from where a group of children descend. This translates the text of *Vita* into the picture: “Thorough consideration the servitude of either boy or girl in that manner upon Gods’ church”

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### *Thirty-third Chapter*

Augustin, au jardin de Milan, entend une «voix»; il montre un verset à Alypius

Augustine, to the garden of Milan, hears a “voice;” it shows a verset to Alypius

Dans un paysage de collines verdoyantes et plantées d’arbres deux scènes sont juxtaposées. Dans la première, Augustin, à gauche, est couché au pied d’un arbre, les yeux ouverts cette fois. Un livre est grand ouvert à côté du lui. La main divine, qui sort des nuages, arrive très près d’Augustin; elle le bénit et laisse échapper trois rayons divins. Dans la scène de droite, au pied du même arbre, Augustin montre le verset des *Épîtres* à Alypius, qui étend les bras en grand geste d’étonnement.

In a landscape of green hills and planted with trees two scenes are juxtaposed. In the first one, to the left, Augustine with eyes opened is lying at the foot of a tree. A shining big book is opened next to him. A divine hand, which comes out of clouds, presents a blessing on it with three divine rays. In the scene to the right, at the foot of the same tree,

Augustine shows the verse of Epistles to Alypius, who spreads his weary arm in a gesture of astonishment.

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#### *Thirty-fourth Chapter*

Augustin et Alypius racontent leur conversion a Monique

Augustine and Alypius tell of their conversion to Monique

Les trois figures, dont l'iconographie nous familière, sont agenouillées à l'avant-plan d'une prairie ; Alypius, Augustin et Monique rendent grâces au ciel.

The three figures, whos iconography we are familiar, are knelt in the fore-plan of a meadow; Alypius, Augustine and Monica all make the sigh of the grace toward the sky.

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#### *Thirty-fifth Chapter*

Augustin juge fastidieux son enseignement et quitte sa chaire

Augustine considers teaching tiring and leaves his pulpit

L'image suit le texte de près. Le visage d'Augustin reflète la lassitude ; il enseigne à deux auditeurs assis sur un banc à ses pieds et représentés à une échelle plus petite, comme s'il s'agissait de jeunes enfants. A droite, Augustin s'est levé ; il part ; une partie de son corps est déjà en dehors de la miniature ; les élèves, coupés également par le cadre, sont restés dans la même position.

Text and picture follow closely. Augustine's face reflects exhaustion; he is teaching two students seated on a bench with feet but represented in a smaller scale, as though it was of young children. To the right, Augustine has got up; he is leaving; a party of its body has already exited the image; the pupils, also cropped by the frame, stayed in the same position.

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#### *Thirth-sixth Chapter*

Augustin et les siens mènent a la campagne une vie de prières

Augustine and his followers go out into the country for a life of prayer

Augustin, Monique et Alypius, agenouillés au premier plan, paraissent retirés du monde, enfouis au cœur de la forêt. Le Christ au nimbe crucifère apparaît dans la verdure au coin supérieur droit. L'ermitage est esquissé entre les arbres.

Augustine, Monica and Alypius, kneeling in the foreground, seem withdrawn from the world, buried in the middle of the forest. The crucified Christ appears among the greenery in the upper right to the corner. The hermitage is seen between trees.

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### *Thirty-seventh Chapter*

Scène du mal de dents. Augustin souffrant remet à sa mère des tablettes où il l'invite à prier ; Augustin, sa mère et ses amis prient

Scene of the toothache. Augustine with his mother puts a tablet where the invitation to pray, Augustine, his mother and friends pray

L'image s'accorde avec l'anecdote qui l'inspire. Augustin, assis, se tamponne la joue, un mouchoir dans la main gauche. Il tend ses tablettes à Monique. À gauche du tableau, Monique, deux amis et Augustin prient à genoux, les mains jointes, bénis par le Christ qui apparaît au-dessus d'eux sous sa forme habituelle.

The image is consistent with the story that inspired it. Augustine, seated, presses a handkerchief in his left hand against his cheek. He hands his slate to Monique. To the left of the picture, Monique, two friends and Augustine are knelt in prayer, with clasped hands, are blessed by Christ who appears above them in its usual form.

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### *Thirty-eight Chapter*

Augustin écrit à Ambroise et envoie par un messenger sa lettre

Augustine has written to Ambroise and sends his letter by a messenger

Trois personnages suffisent à évoquer deux scènes successives. À gauche, Augustin assis écrit, la tête penchée, l'air appliqué. Au centre, le messenger tend un rouleau à l'évêque en enlevant d'un geste large de la main droite un chapeau qui ressemble à un haut-de-forme. La grande et belle figure d'Ambroise, assis sur son trône, est dessinée avec sûreté. L'évêque tend les mains vers la missive, représentée à la manière d'une banderole.

Three figures are enough to recall two successive stages. To the left, Augustine studiously sits writing. In the centre, the messenger presents the roll to the bishop using his right hand and a broad gesture; in his left he holds a top hat. Ambroise's big and kind



face, is seated on a throne, and is drawn carefully. The bishop extends his hand towards the missive, represented like a streamer.

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### *Thirty-ninth Chapter*

#### Baptême d'Augustine

#### The Christening of Augustine

La miniature est composée comme un tableau à personnages nombreux. A droite, Augustin, Alypius et Adéodat alignés de face, chacun dans sa cuve, nus et les mains jointes, attendent le baptême. Ambroise, mitré, tient sa crosse de la main gauche et porte, en se penchant, la droite sur la tête d'Augustin. De son bras s'échappe une longue banderole dont l'inscription paraît du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle : «*Sanctus Ambrosius baptizauit.*» La banderole que tient Augustin est restée vierge d'écriture. Derrière Ambroise, Monique prie à genoux et le peuple de femmes en prière se devine derrière elle au moutonnement des coiffes ; une tête d'homme coiffé d'une toque émerge au dernier rang. Chaque cuve porte le nom du baptisé ; une main du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle a répété les noms au-dessus des personnages. Cette scène, qui forme le centre des cycles augustiniens, a été traitée ici aussi avec Bonheur ; la grande figure d'Ambroise se détache sur toutes les autres.

The miniature is composed as a picture of numerous figures. To the right, Augustine, Alypius and Adéodat lined up side-by-side, each in his own baptismal font and with hands held in prayer, wait for christening. Ambroise with bishops' miter leans his bishops' staff directly on Augustine's head. From his arms a long streamer appears inscription with what appears to be from the XVII<sup>th</sup> century. "The holy Ambroise christens." The streamer which Augustine holds remained blank. Behind Ambroise, Monica kneels in prayer along with a group of women in nuns head-dresses; a head of man wearing a hat emerges above them in the last row. Each font is inscribed with the name of those called; in the XVII<sup>th</sup> century these names have again been written above the figures. This scene, which forms the centre of Augustinian cycles, was treated with extreme care; Ambroise large scale figure looks over all of them.

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### *Fortieth Chapter*

Text only describing the following scene on the following page:

Ambroise revêt Augustin de robe noire et lui donne la ceinture de cuir

Ambroise clothes Augustine in the black robes and gives him the leather belt

La miniature qui illustre ce chapitre se trouve à la page suivante, au-dessus du texte du chapitre XLI. Ce fait suggère un changement de peintre, qui ne serait pas encore habitué à l'ordonnance du manuscrit.

Pour la dernière fois l'on aperçoit ici Augustin en costume de docteur. L'évêque lui tend la robe monastique qu'il reçoit agenouillé ; on le verra désormais accompagné de ces figures de moines anonymes au visage glabre, au crâne tondu, entouré d'une couronne de cheveux. Augustin se distinguera en gardant la toque de docteur.. A droite de la miniature deux femmes en prière, dont la première représente sans doute Monique, complètent la scène.

The miniature which illustrates this chapter XLI is found on the following page. This change suggests a change of artist, who would not yet be accustomed to the ordinance of the manuscript. It is for the last time that we see Augustine dressed as a doctor. The bishop presents the monastic dress to him whom he receives on bended knee; he will be seen from now on accompanied by figures of anonymous monks, with glabrous faces, shaved heads surrounded by a ring of hair (*Tonsure*). Augustine will be distinguished by wearing a doctor's hat. On the right of the miniature two women in prayer, the first undoubtedly represents Monique, which completes the scene.

La miniature illustre le texte du chapitre XL, édité p. 94. Le texte du chapitre XLI, qui se trouve au-dessous, est illustré par la miniature supérieure de la page 99.

The miniature illustrates the text of chapter XL, published p. 94. The text of the chapter XLI, which is below, is illustrated by the higher miniature of page 99.

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#### *Forty-first Chapter*

Augustin et ses compagnons de baptême sont « serviteurs de dieu »

Augustine and its baptism companions are “servants of god”

La miniature supérieure illustre le chapitre écrit sur la page précédente. Augustin est assis au centre, reconnaissable à sa toque, il s'adresse, main levée, à deux moines qui sont agenouillés à droite, mains jointes. Assis derrière lui, Monique et autre moine écoutent. Le décor rudimentaire se compose d'un arbre et d'une maison.

The upper miniature illustrates the chapter described on the preceding page. Augustine is seat to the center, recognizable to his fur hat, he addresses by raised hand, the two monks that are knelt to right, hands joined in prayer. Sitting behind him, Monique and another monk listen. The rudimentary setting is composed of a tree and of a house.

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*Forty-Second Chapter*

Monique demande a Augustin de regagner l'Afrique

Monique asks Augustine to return to Africa

Dans la miniature inférieure, Monique s'avance au premier plan d'une allée bordée d'arbres. Elle s'adresse, la main droite levée, à Augustin assis les mains croisées sur les genoux. Monique paraît mélancolique, chancelante même, puisqu'un laïc à son côté semble la soutenir ; ce personnage présente une grande ressemblance avec l'Adéodat du chap. XLV.

In lower miniature, Monique advances towards the foreground through an avenue of trees. She addresses herself, with a sign of blessing to Augustine who is seated with his hands crossed on the lap. Monique appears melancholic, unsteady even, the layman to her side seems to support it; this person resembles that of Adéodat from chapter XLV

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*Forty-third Chapter*

Augustin va réclamer douze «frères» a simplicien pour rentrer en Afrique

Augustin will claim twelve "brothers" has simplician to return in Africa

Texte et miniature ont retrouvé dans cette page leur concordance, Augustine est à genoux au premier plan d'une allée bordée de hauts arbres ; il implore deux personnages dont l'un est assis. Ils ont la tête couverte d'un capuchin. Monique attend humblement derrière lui, les mains sur la poitrine. On voit au fond la façade d'une chapelle.

Text and image are of one accord on this page, Augustine is kneeling in the foreground of an avenue of clipped high trees; he implores two figures one of whom is sitting down. They have the head covered with a hood. Monique humbly waits behind him, hands on the chest. One sees to the bottom the facade of a chapel.

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*Forty-fourth Chapter*

Simplicien accorde ces douze «frères» a Augustine

Simplicianus gives these twelve "brothers" to Augustine

L'ermite debout étend les mains ; de la gauche il bénit les « frères » agenouillés ; de la droite il désigne Augustin à genoux, mains jointes ; on voit un autre moine et Monique derrière lui.

The hermit stands with arms extended; with his left he blesses the kneeling “brothers;” to the right Augustin also kneeling, with hands raised in prayer; we see another monk and Monique behind him.

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#### *Forty-fifth Chapter*

Augustin part avec sa mère, son fils Adéodat, ses «frères» et ses amis

Augustine by his mother, his son Adéodat, his “brothers” and friends

Les pèlerins à la file suivent Augustin figuré à l'extrême droite. On reconnaît Monique derrière lui, et Adéodat court vêtu. Deux « frères » portent une besace, la plupart tiennent de lourdes bâtons.

Pilgrims queue behind Augustin who is on the extreme right. Monique is recognizable behind him, and Adéodat dressed in a short tunic. Two “brothers” carry a bag, most also hold heavy sticks.

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#### *Forty-sixth Chapter*

Monique sert tout les «frères» comme ses enfants

Monique serves all the “brothers” as her children

Dans un décor d'intérieur, Augustin est assis à l'extrême gauche, à une table servie ; il coupe les mets ; un moine attend, les mains jointes. Monique s'approche porteuse d'un plat. Droite le même Monique sert un autre moine assis, la tête couverte du capuchon.

In an interior setting, Augustine is seated at a table on the extreme left, he is carving and serving ; a monk waits, with clasped hands. Monique approaches carrying a dish. Right at the same Monique serves another monk who is seated, his head covered by a hood.

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#### *Forty-seventh Chapter*

Augustin en Toscane visite les ermites

In Tuscan Augustine visits the hermits

Augustin assis parle à trois moines assis en face de lui. Le décor est celui que le peintre répète chaque fois qu'il veut indiquer un ermitage ; un fond de hauts arbres touffus, une prairie vallonnée, une chapelle.

Augustine is sat speaking to three monks who sit in front of him. The setting is the one that the painter repeats whenever he wants to indicate a hermitage; a background of tall thick trees, an undulating prairie, and a chapel.

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#### *Forty-eight Chapter*

Augustin a Rome lutte contre les manichéens en écrivant deux livres

In Rome Augustine comes up against the Manicheans while writing two books

Deux images illustrent un même texte point par point. A gauche Augustin veut convaincre deux manichéens coiffés de chapeaux pointus, assis en face de lui. A droite Augustine, assis à son pupitre, termine le second livre ; le premier, ouvert au-dessus, est couvert d'écriture.

Two images illustrate the same text in succession. To the left Augustine tries to persuade two Manicheans who are seated in front of him with pointed hats. To the right Augustine, seated at a writing table, is finishing his second book; the first, opened above, is covered with writing.

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#### *Forty-ninth Chapter*

L'extase d'ostie

Ecstasy of Ostia<sup>254</sup>

Au premier étage d'une maison une fenêtre est ouverte. On aperçoit la tête et les mains de Monique ; Augustine est accoudé auprès d'elle. Derrière une autre fenêtre fermée on croit voir les têtes de deux personnages représentés à l'intérieur. Le jardin occupe la partie droite de l'image et le Christ apparaît dans un coin de ciel. La scène donne une impression de simplicité et de recueillement.

From an open first floor window of a house one notices the head and the hands of Monique; with her in the window Augustine rests on his elbow. Two people are believed to be seen behind the adjacent closed windows. The garden occupies the rest of the

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<sup>254</sup> Ostia, the harbor city of ancient Rome

picture and includes in the corner a vision of Christ who appears in a sky. The scene gives an impression of simplicity and of contemplation.

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### *Fiftieth Chapter [L.1 + L.2]*

Ce chapitre est illustré par deux miniatures. La première représente la mort de Monique ; la seconde représente les obsèques de Monique et se trouve placée avant le text du chapitre suivant, (p.115).

This chapter is illustrated by two miniatures. The first one represents the death of Monique; the second represents the funeral of Monique and is placed before the text of the following chapter, (p.115).

#### Mort de Monique

#### Death of Monica

Etendue dans le lit à baldaquin habituel, Monique rend l'âme sous forme d'un petit personnage accueilli par un ange. Augustin tient de la main gauche un livre ouvert et de la droite un goupillon avec lequel il asperge la dépouille. Les « frères » pleurent derrière lui. A l'avant-plan, on voit un coffre à fermoirs

Laid out in the usual manner in a four-poster bed, Monica soul returns in the form of a small figure to be received by an angel. Augustine holds an opened book in his left hand and of right a bottle brush with which he sprays the skin. "Brothers" cry behind him. In the foreground one see a chest with clasps.

#### Obsèques de Monique

#### Monica's funeral.

Recouverte d'un linceul Monique va être déposée dans la tombe. Cinq «frères» prient, livre ouvert on main étendue. Augustin debout à gauche tient une bourse (on une lanterne ( ?)) de la main droite et pleure dans un pan de son manteau. Cette miniature illustre la fin du chapitre, précédent qui, exceptionnellement, fait l'objet de deux images

Covered with a shroud Monica is being laid in a tomb. Around an open book five "brothers" pray, laying their hands on her body. Augustine standing to the left holding a (lantern (?)) and cries into a section of the coat held in his right hand. This miniature and the preceding one illustrates the end of the chapter, and is unusual being the object of two pictures

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*Fifty-first Chapter*

Le départ vers l'Afrique

The departure to Africa

Augustin et deux «frères» sont assis dans un bateau que trois rameurs éloignent de la rive. Augustin, représenté plus grand que les autres, garde l'expression désolée de la peinture précédente

Augustine and two "brothers" are sitting down in a boat which three oarsmen move away from the bank. Augustine, represented bigger than the others, keeps the desolate expression from the previous image

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*Fifty-second Chapter*

Augustin enseigne ses amis et les «frères» ramenés d'Italie

Augustine teaches his friends and the "brothers" bringing them back to Italy

La haute figure d'Augustin, assis à gauche, domine la scène. Devant lui les «frères» sont groupés au bas d'un autel ; deux sont agenouillés sur le premier degré. Le peintre a visiblement dessiné les figures d'une plume hâtive ; en revanche, il s'est plu à représenter les candélabres, le crucifix et le tableau d'autel. Comme on l'a remarqué au chap. XIV, l'écriture de la page opposée (chap LI) s'est décalquée, fait qui montre combien le manuscrit était peu soigneusement manipulé par ses auteurs mêmes, qui l'ont refermé avant que l'encre ne fût séchée

The imposing figure of Augustine, seated to the left, dominates the scene. In front of him the "brothers" are grouped to the bottom of an altar; where two are knelt on the first degree. The painter obviously drew the faces in a hurried manner; on the other hand, liked representing candelabrams, crucifix and picture on the altar. As seen in chp. XIV, the writing on the opposed page (chp SECURE) has been transferred onto the image and represents the minimal care that was given to this manuscript, that it was closed before the ink was dry.

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*Fifty-third Chapter*

Augustin, devanu célèbre, prêche a Hippone devant un laic très riche

Augustine, come to celebrate with a sermon at Hippo in front of very wealthy congregation

Augustin paraît surgir de la chaire ; à ses pieds, le laïc au riche costume et trois des « frères » l'écoutent. De nouveau l'écriture décalquée du Chp. LIII a sali le champ de la peinture.

Augustine seems to arise from the pulpit ; at his feet a secular man in rich costume along with three "brothers" listen. Again the script from Chp. LIII mess up the background the image. (Translators note : this script is actually from the following page and illustration, LV)

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#### *Fifty-fourth Chapter*

Augustin est accueilli par l'évêque Valerius d'Hippone

Augustine is welcomed by the Bishop Valerius of Hippo

L'évêque accueille Augustin à la porte de la ville. Deux «frères» derrière Augustin tiennent le bâton de pèlerin. Une main postérieure au manuscrit a tracé les inscriptions : «Aug<ustinus>», «Ne<bridius>», «Aly<pius>» près des trois têtes.

The bishop receives Augustine in the door of the city. Two "brothers" behind Augustine hold pilgrim staffs. A later hand has inscribed: "Aug <ustinus>", "Ne<Bridius>", "Aly<pius>" on the manuscript above the three heads.

---

#### *Fifty-fifth Chapter*

Valerius fournit un subside pour construire un monastère

Valerius provides funding to build a monastery

Augustine agenouillé reçoit des mains de Valerius un sac plein de pièces. Le chœur des «frères» est toujours debout derrière lui.

Augustine kneeling received a bag full of coins from Valerius. The chorus of "brothers" are still standing behind him.

---

#### *Fifty-sixth Chapter*

Augustin construit un monastère



### Augustine builds the monastery

C'est un des tableaux les plus vivants du manuscrit, en dépit de son évidente négligence. Les «frères» travaillent activement sur des échafaudages et vaquent à différentes besognes. Comme l'indiquent deux inscriptions de XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, le «PRIOR», à gauche, gâche du mortier ; un «CON<UERSUS>» fracasse des pierres, un autre monte un seau sur une échelle. Ils travaillent à la construction de la chapelle et du moulin.

This is one of the liveliest paintings of the manuscript, despite its obvious neglect. The “brothers” actively working on the scaffolding and going about various tasks. Add in the XV century two inscriptions indicate “PRIOR,” to the left who spoils the mortar; and “STUPID” smashes stones ; another climbs a ladder carrying a bucket. They work on the building of the chapel and the mill.

---

### *Fifty-seventh Chapter*

Augustin donne sa règle

Augustine presents his rule

Devant la chapelle achevée, qu'on reconnaît à son clocheton, Augustin représenté très grand tend le livre de la Règle à ses moines agenouillé.

In front of the finished chapel, which is recognizable by its steeple, an imposing Augustine presents the book of the Rule to his monks knelt before him.

---

### *Fifty-eight Chapter*

Augustin, dans la solitude, est blessé d'amour pour le Christ souffrant

Augustin, alone, is wounded of suffering love for Christ

Augustin est agenouillé au premier plan d'un paysage de collines boisées. Il tient ses mains levées en signe de prière. Derrière lui apparaît, dans une « mandola », la Trinité figurée selon la tradition par le Père assis tenant à deux mains le crucifix sur lequel se pose la colombe.

Augustin is kneeling in the foreground of a landscape of wooded hills. He holds his hands raised in prayer. Behind him the Trinity appears in a “mandola” representing the tradition of the Father sitting with both hands holding crucifixion from which a rises a dove.

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*Fifty-ninth Chapter*

Augustin, dans la solitude, pleure sur la passion du Christ

Augustine alone cries over the passion of Christ

Augustin est à genoux, mains jointes. Le Christ s'avance vers lui comme s'il venait de descendre de la croix ; mais il s'agit de la représentation d'une vision. Augustin le voit en esprit ; le Christ lève les mains pour montrer ses plaies.

Augustin is kneeling, hands held in prayer. Christ approaches him as if he had come down from the cross; but it is the representation of a vision. Augustin sees him in spirit; Christ raises his hands to show his wounds.

---

*Sixtieth Chapter*

Augustin réfléchit en silence sur les divers supplices du Christ

Augustine reflects in silence on the various torments of Christ

Augustin est représenté dans la même attitude de prière. Sa vision a pris la forme de trois figures, sans compter la croix, le fouet, l'éponge, la lance et les clous. À côté de Jésus supplicié, un buste surmontant la colonne de la flagellation et un autre buste au nimbe crucifère suggèrent que le martyr terrestre de Jésus le conduit à la gloire du ciel.

Augustine is represented in the same manner praying. His vision has taken the form of three figures, without counting the cross, whip, sponge, spear and the nails. The crucified Christ; the flagellation, as represented by a bust on top of the column ; and another bust of Jesus with a halo suggest that his earthly martyrdom led to the glory of heaven.

---

*Sixty-first Chapter*

Augustin desire mourir en embrassant la croix du Christ

Augustine desires to die by embracing the cross of Christ

Augustin étreint les pieds du Christ représenté entre Marie et saint Jean. Un moine, à l'entrée de la chapelle, paraît étranger à la scène.

Augustin hugs the feet of Christ presented between Mary and Saint John. A monk, at the entrance of the Chapel, seems out of place to the scene.

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*Sixty-second Chapter*

Augustin écrit letters et traités pour le service de l'Église

Augustine writes letters and drafts for church services

Augustin écrit sur un curieux pupitre ; c'est un bahut dont la porte entr'ouverte laisse apercevoir les livres en question. En dessous du fauteuil deux chats jouent avec des souris.

Augustine writes at a curious desk; its cabinet door open revealing the books being discussed. Below the Chair two cats play with a mouse.

---

*Sixty-third Chapter*

Augustin enseigne ses moines

Augustine teaches his monks

Sous la chaire hexagonale qui occupe une grande partie du tableau on distingue la forme d'un moine. D'autres, aux expressions diverses, assis devant lui, écoutent Augustin.

There appears to be the form of a monk sitting under the hexagonal pulpit which occupies a large part of the image. Others, with various expressions, are seated in front of listening to Augustine.

---

*Sixty-fourth Chapter*

Les frères ermites assistant à la messe jusqu'à la six

The brother hermits attend the mass from the sixth hour

Augustin à genoux, à la tête de la communauté, assiste à la messe qu'un prêtre célèbre devant l'autel surmonté d'un dais à colonnettes très orné : on crucifixion esquissée sur le tableau d'autel.

Augustine kneels as head of the community, attended by a priest and celebrates Mass at the altar surmounted by a canopy with ornate columns: the crucifixion is outlined on the altarpiece.

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*Sixty-fifth Chapter*

De la sixième a la neuvième heure les frères ermites font des lectures et des priers

At the sixth and ninth hour the brother hermits take readings and prayers

Augustin lit, assis au milieu des «frères». En dépit de la monotonie de ces images monastiques, le dessinateur a mis une note cocasse : la tonsure du moine assis de dos à l'extrême gauche et qui n'a nullement l'air d'écouter

Augustine reads, seated in the middle of the “brothers.” In spite of the monotony of these monastic pictures, the designer injects a comical note: on the extremely left a monk is seated backward his tonsure visible as he appears not to be listening at all

---

*Sixty-sixth Chapter*

A la neuvième heure les «frères» mangent en écoutant des lectures pieuses

At the ninth hour the brothers eat and listening to pious readings

Augustin, assis à la table dont une partie disparaît hors du cadre, prie entre deux « frères » ; un autre lit à un pupitre ; les murs blanchis du fond donnent une impression d'austérité.

Augustine is seated at a table part of which goes beyond the scene between two “praying brothers;” another reads at a desk; the whitewashed walls of the hall give the impression of austerity.

---

*Sixty-seventh Chapter*

Trés frugaux, les «frères» sont parfois servis par des oiseaux

The very frugal “brothers” are sometimes useful to the birds

Trois corbeaux apportent dans leur bec des aliments aux frères attablés. Augustin, à gauche, bénit la table.

Three ravens bring food in their beaks to the brothers at the table. Augustin, on the left, blesses the table.

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*Sixty-eight Chapter*

Après le déjeuner, les coupent des arbres

After lunch the "brothers" cut trees

Quatre «frères» armés de haches et d'une serpe, attaquent un arbre figuré au centre, dont le tronc est déjà profondément entaillé.

Four "brothers" armed with axes and a sickle, attacked a tree in the centre of the image, whose trunk is already deeply notched.

---

*Sixty-ninth Chapter*

Dans le desert où ils vivent les «frères» sont visités par les anges

In a desert or where they live the brothers are visited by the angels

Parmi des rochers, Augustin à droite et deux ermites encapuchonnés à gauche prient mains jointes, tandis que deux anges s'avancent vers eux sans qu'ils les voient. On aperçoit au loin la silhouette d'une ville.

Among rocks, on the right Augustin and on the left two hooded hermits all in prayer, while two angels draw near to them without them seeing them. In the distance the silhouette of a city.

---

*Seventieth Chapter*

Augustin appelle les ermites ses «frères» très chers

Augustine calls the hermits his very expensive brothers

Augustin debout à gauche s'adresse aux ermites qui sont agenouillés, mains jointes. Une banderole très contournée précise : «Ante omnia, fratres charissimi, diligatur Deus»

Augustin is standing to the left of the kneeling hermits who are praying. A very intricately woven banner says: "In presence of the Brothers, their gift from God is diligence"

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*Seventy-first Chapter*

Augustin est ordonné prêtre malgré lui

Augustine is ordered priest in spite of him

Le peintre a réduit la scène aux deux figures essentielles : l'évêque Valerius se retourne vers Augustin agenouillé et lui fait toucher le calice selon le rite de l'ordination ; ils se tiennent sur les degrés d'un autel à-demi caché, selon la manière habituelle du miniaturiste

The artist has reduced the scene to the two key figures: the Bishop Valerius returns to kneeling Augustine and makes him touch the chalice according to the ritual of ordination; they stand on the steps of the altar, which is half hidden, in the artist usual manner

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*Seventy-second Chapter*

Visite de Valerius au monastère

Valerius visits the monastery

Un monastère occupe presque la moitié de l'image. Un moine prie, mains jointes, sur le seuil ; Augustin, à droite, accueille Valerius en lui donnant l'accolade. On reconnaît dans les lointains les collines rocheuses que le peintre a données une fois pour toutes comme décor à la vie des « frères » ; l'une d'elle est surmontée d'une sorte de pin parasol brossé en quelques traits.

A monastery takes up almost half the image. On the threshold a monk with hands clasped is praying; Augustine, right, greets and embraces Valerius. It can be understood that the distant rocky hills surmounted by a kind of simplistic pine tree that the artist has created a visual backdrop to life of "brothers."

---

*Seventy-third Chapter*

Valerius donne à Augustin un jardin plus proche de la ville

Valerius and Augustin in a garden close to the city

Une ville est figurée derrière les deux figures qui s'avancent vers un jardin verdoyant ; Valerius le montre de l'index à Augustin comme s'il le lui faisait visiter ; celui-ci tient dans sa main gauche un livre fermé.

A city can be seen behind the two figures that move toward a lush garden; Valerius shows the index to Augustine; It is a closed book in his left hand

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*Seventy-fourth Chapter*

Augustin construit un nouveau monastère

Augustine builds a new monastery

L'illustrateur n'a inventé aucune architecture inédite et ne renouvelle pas son décor de falaises rocheuses. La porte d'un autre monastère à droite, par où débouchent les moines, rappelle les deux établissements successifs d'Augustin.

The illustrator invents no new architecture and does not renew the background of rocky cliffs. To the right the door of another monastery, from where the monks come out, is a reminder of both of Augustine's successive establishments.

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*Seventy-fifth Chapter*

Augustin donne l'ordre à ses «frères» de prêcher en public

Augustine gives orders for his brothers to preach in public

Augustin, à gauche au premier plan, reconnaissable à sa toque et à sa haute stature, instruit ses « frères » rassemblés à ses pieds devant une colline ; un peu plus loin, à droite, un « frère » exécute immédiatement l'ordre et prêche à un public composé de femmes assises. En haut du paysage, un autre « frère » encapuchonné console une femme à genoux. À gauche, à l'entrée du monastère, le frère portier est à son poste. Il faut remarquer ici l'essai de paysage avec les différents plans, les vallonnements superposés, l'arbre qui se détache sur le ciel.

Augustine, on the left foreground, is recognizable by his cap and his stature, instructed his brothers whom are gathered at his feet in front of a hill; a little further, to the right, a brother of the order drawn precisely is preaching to an audience composed of seated women. At the top of the landscape, another hooded brother consoles a kneeling woman.

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*Seventy-sixth Chapter*

Augustin discute avec Fortunat

Augustine converses with Fortunat

Augustin est assis en face de Fontunat vêtu d'un ample manteau rejeté sur l'épaule, les cheveux flottants. Tous deux gesticulent des deux mains. L'artiste a varié la composition en montrant Fontunat Presque de dos. Derrière lui un personnage porte une bourse et deux autres figures sont esquissées au bord du cadre.

Augustine was sitting in front of Fontunat who is wearing a large cloak thrown over his shoulder, and with floating hair. Both gesticulate with both hands. The artist has changed the composition showing Fontunat almost from the back. Behind him a scholar carries a grant and two other figures are outlined at the edge of the frame.

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*Seventy-seventh Chapter is missing*

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*Seventy-eight Chapter*

Augustin est sacré évêque

Augustine is made a bishop

A partir de cette image Augustin est figure en évêque avec la mitre et la chape. Les trois évêque devant l'autel forment un groupe recueilli, sans détail superflu. L'évêque qui se tient derrière Augustin est soit Megalius de Calama, soit l'un des évêque que Possidius dit avoir assisté à la scène.

Without any unnecessary detail this image shows Augustine being ordained as a bishop dressed with miter and clevis. The three bishops are gathered at the altar. The Bishop who stands behind Augustine is either Megalius of Calama, the other bishop is likely Possidius who is said to have witnessed the scene

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*Seventy-ninth Chapter*

Augustin établit un troisième monastère dans la maison de l'évêque

Augustine establishes the third monastery, the home of the bishop

Augustine évêque, à la tête des moines, entre dans sa nouvelle foundation. La procession sort de l'ancien monastère à clocheton et descend au milieu d'architectures serrées les autres ; les portes monumentales suggèrent bien les nombreuses foundations d'Augustin, figure plus grand que ses « frères » .



Bishop Augustine as head of the monks, enters his new foundation. The procession out of the former monastery with small steeple crosses through the tightly drawn architecture towards a monumental doorway which implies the many foundations of Augustine, his image is larger than that of the “brothers.”

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### *Eightieth Chapter*

Augustin décrit l’au-dela

Augustin describes the beyond (the after-life)

Augustin devant un pupitre paraît écrire de la main droite, prêt à effacer de la gauche. Il est nimbé, choses exceptionnelles dans le manuscrit ; mais ce nimbe tracé maladroitement et faiblement nous paraît de la même main postérieure qui a garni diverses images d’inscriptions cursives comme celle qui est tracée au-dessus de la tête d’Augustin. Tout le reste de la miniature présente un paysage de roches esquissé à grands traits et qui sert de cadre à des représentations irréelles et symboliques : Léviathan, en bas et à droite, regarde Augustin, la gauche remplie des figures minuscules des damnés ; en haut s’élèvent les remparts d’une ville avec une porte et une tour ; sur les murailles, des anges sonnent de la trompette devant des arbres touffus ; dans le coin droit la Trinité est représentée à la manière archaïque par Père assis tenant le crucifix porteur de la colombe ; cette apparition est entourée d’un nuage en forme de « mandorla ».

On the right Augustin is writing at his desk, ready to erase with his left hand. The image is suffused with many exceptional things; but the clumsy and poorly drawn halo seems to be that of the same hand which added cursive inscriptions and drawings to various images like the one drawn above the head of Augustine. The rest of the miniature presents a landscape of rocks sketched in broad outline and used as the framework for unreal and symbolic representations: Below and to the right Leviathan looks up at Augustine, filled with tiny little figures of the damned; at the top are the walls of a city with a door and a tower; on the walls in front of a wood Angels sound the trumpet; in the right-hand corner in the archaic style the Trinity is represented by seated Father holding the crucified Christ and the dove. This appearance is surrounded by a cloud in the form of “mandorla.”

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### *Eighty-first Chapter*

Augustin décrit les réalités terrestres

Augustine represents realities of the Earth

Augustin est assis tenant ouvert d’une main un livre sur son pupitre ; il lève l’autre en signe d’admiration. Par-delà le livre il considère le paysage qui s’étend devant lui et qui

forme une plus belles pages du manuscrit. Les prairies. Le fleuve avec ses poissons, les arbres, sont traités selon une perspective aérienne. Le grand nuage rempli d'étoiles et où se voit la face du soleil, formule païenne de la puissance céleste, illumine Augustin.

Augustin is sitting with one hand holding open a book on his desk; he raises the other as a sign of admiration. Beyond the book it considers the landscape which stretches in front of him and that forms one more beautiful pages of the manuscript. Prairie. The River with its fish, the trees are treated according to aerial perspective. A great cloud is filled with stars and there is the face of the Sun, a pagan form of celestial power, shining on Augustine.

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### *Eighy-second Chapter*

Augustin refute les hérétiques Félix, Pascentius et Faustus

Augustine refutes the heretics Félix, Pascentius and Faustus

Augustin est assis de profil et le peintre n'a pas triomphé des difficultés de la perspective ; les trois auditeurs, dont deux portent la coiffure pointue habituellement réservée aux hérétiques, sont mieux représentés ; celui qui est assis Augustin tient à deux mains un livre ouvert.

Augustine is seated in profile and the painter has not mastered the problems of perspective; three listeners, of which two supporting the pointed hairstyle usually reserved for heretics, are better represented; the one who is sitting down like Augustine holds an opened book in both hands.

---

### *Eighy-third Chapter*

Les hérétiques cherchent vainement a tuer Augustin

The heretics search in vain "kill" (dispute) Augustine's argument/faith

Augustin évêque apparaît avec sa crosse, assisté d'un moine et menacé par un circoncillon qui brandit l'épée au-dessus de sa tête. On trouve déjà en 1300, au vitrail d'Erfurt, Augustin menace par un porteur de hache.

Bishop Augustine appears with his staff, attended by a monk and threatened by a knight brandishing the sword above his head. In the XIV century window of Erfurt, Augustine can be seen being threatened by a holder of an ax.

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*Eighy-fourth Chapter*

Augustin opera des conversions

Augustine works on theirs conversion

Le peintre reprend las attitudes habituelles ; le jeu des mains supplée à l'expression des physiognomies. La figure d'Augustin vue de trios-quarts est cependant imposante.

The painter uses the usual attitudes, using the hands for the expression of physiognomy. The three-quarter figure of Augustine, however, is impressive.

---

*Eighy-fifth Chapter*

Augustin donne une règle de vie aux prélats et aux clercs

Augustine gives the Rule of life to the prelates and to the clerics

La figure d'Augustin devient de plus en grande et majestueuse par rapport à celles de l'évêque, du clerc et du laïc agenouillés devant lui. Il leur remet un livre ouvert.

The figure Augustine becoming large and majestic as compared to those of the bishop, priest and laity knelt before him. As he gives them an open book

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*Eighy-sixth Chapter*

Don d'une règle aux moines et aux religieux

... and to his monks

Le dessinateur ne s'enferme pas dans une formule, il caractérise chaque groupe et varie l'expression et la mimique d'Augustin. Celui-ci est droit et sévère pour parler aux moines et aux religieux

The designer does not lock himself in a single expression; he individualizes everyone and varies their expressions including Augustine. His is straight and harsh as he talks to monks and clerics

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*Eighy-seventh Chapter*

Aux moniales et aux recluses

... and to the sisters in seclusion

Il s'incline presque respectueusement pour leur tendre le livre

He bows respectfully to them, almost tenderly he give them his book

---

*Eighy-eight Chapter*

Don d'une règle aux vierges

Giving the rule to the virgins

Augustin se redresse pour donner des conseils d'un air dubitatif

Augustine stands up and is reticent in giving advice

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*Eighy-nineth Chapter*

Aux veuves

... and widows

Il tend le livre en toute confiance

He presents the book with confidence

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*Ninetieth Chapter*

Don d'une règle aux gens mariés

... giving the rule to the married people

Augustin semble adresser un sermon

Augustine appears to give a sermon

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*Ninety-first Chapter*

Aux rois et aux évêques

... and to the kings (knights?) and bishops

Il est assis et converse face à face avec roi et évêque ; à leur côté se trouve un docteur d'un livre.

He is seated and discusses face to face with a King and a Bishop; at their side is a doctor with a book.

---

*Ninety-second Chapter*

Augustin instruit les ignorants

Augustine teaches the ignoramuses (simple or uneducated?)

Le miniaturiste a rendu à Augustin sa stature géante, il tient les mains croisée. Assis à quelque distance, les ignorants forment un group de pygmées. Le bucrane est simplement le filigrane du papier, repassé à la plume par une main postérieure qui a sans doute tracé aussi les lignes au-dessus de l'image

« Augustinus hic est, quem nobis Affrica gignit

tertia pars orbis re minor, hinc potior. »

The miniaturist has made Augustine of giant stature, with arms folded. Sitting at some distance, a group of smaller scale figures represent the un-converted. The bullhead is simply the watermark of the paper which a later hand outlined on the image and wrote

“here is Augustine teaching that from now  
on the un-converted will better themselves”

---

*Ninety-third Chapter*

Augustin suit un régime frugal

Augustine follows a frugal regime

Augustin est assis entre deux moines ; tous trois prient, assis à une table servie. Ils ont en face d'eux chacun une assiette ; on voit un plat rond, deux verres et deux couteaux, mais aucune nourriture n'est représentée sur la table sauf trois pains ronds

Augustine is seated between two monks; all three pray, sitting at a table served. They have before them each a plate, we see a round dish, two glasses and two knives, but no food is shown in the table but three round loaves

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### *Ninety-fourth Chapter*

Augustin impose les mains a une malade

Augustine blesses a sick woman

Augustin mitré, debout au chevet d'une malade, étend la main pour le bénir. Cette image à deux personnages est une des plus belles du manuscrit au point de vue de l'expression plastique. Le grand geste d'Augustin, amplifié par sa cape étalée, paraît protéger la malade, et les plis du drap retombant sur le lit, semblent sculptés dans le bois

Augustine with a bishops mitre is standing at the bedside of the sick, he stretches out his hand to bless them. This image to two characters is one of the most beautiful of the manuscript in terms of artistic expression. The gesture of Augustine, amplified by his cape spread, seems to protect the patient, and the creases of the sheet falling off the bed, seem sculpted in wood

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### *Ninety-fifth Chapter*

Augustin visite les «frères» malades

Augustine visits the ill brothers

Les formes sont réduites ici à des taches foncées. Les visages et les mains paraissent négligés. Augustin est, cette fois, vêtu comme un moine ; il visite à gauche un « frère » alité, aux mains jointes, et à droite un vieillard assis, à moitié coupé par le cadre. A l'un Augustin porte un gobelet, à l'autre une écuelle. C'est l'une des rares images, depuis le chapitre du sacre jusqu'à la fin, où Augustin ne porte pas la mitre.

The forms here are reduced by dark spots. The faces and hands appear neglected. Augustine is, this time dressed as a monk, visiting a "brother" in bed on the left holding a cup, with hands held in prayer, on the right cut-off by the frame an old man is seated. This time Augustine holds a bowl to him. This is one of the few pictures from the chapter of the coronation until the end, where Augustine is not wearing the bishops' miter.

---

*Ninety-sixth Chapter*

Augustin visite les pauvres et les prisonniers

Augustine visits the poor people and the prisoners

Au moyen de deux images presque exactement parallèles et juxtaposées, le peintre montre Augustin évêque donnant un pain à un pauvre, puis en tendant un autre à des prisonniers qu'on voit derrière les barreaux de la prison. La courbe de la crosse est inversée d'une image à l'autre

With two pictures are parallel and juxtaposed to each other, the painter can show Bishop Augustine giving bread to the poor and also tending to the prisoners seen behind the bars of the prison. The curve of the crook is reversed from one image to another

---

*Ninety-seventh Chapter*

Augustin pourvoit aux besoins des «frères» ermites

Augustine endows hermits at the needs of the brothers

Les personnages semblent un peu écrasés par le décor d'arbres touffus et du monastère. Augustin mitré, tenant sa crosse de la manière qui lui est familière, s'avance vers les moines massés sous le porche. Il est d'un laïc qui tient à deux mains un lourd fardeau.

The characters seem a bit overwhelmed by the scenery of thick trees and the monastery. Bishop Augustine, holding his crook in a familiar way, approaches the monks gathered on the porch. a heavy burden is being carried by a layman in both hands

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*Ninety-eight Chapter*

Augustin refuse a ses proches les biens temporels

Augustine refuses his fellows the temporal path

Augustin debout, mitré, mais sans crosse, s'adresse d'un air sévère à deux personnages dont l'un est coiffé du chapeau haut souvent réservé aux païens et aux hérétiques ; celui-ci est barbu, chevelu et porte une longue robe. Le lecteur tardif qui s'est plu à annoter le manuscrit, souvent erronément, a écrit « Patricius » à gauche de la tête. Un deuxième

personnage, en robe courte et gesticulant, suit le premier. Tous deux expriment par leurs gestes et visage le mécontentement.

Bishop Augustine is standing, but without crook, sternly addressing two characters; one is bearded, hairy, and wearing a long robe and a high hat often reserved for pagans and heretics; The later reader who seems to be pleased in annotating the manuscript, often erroneously, written "Patricius" to the left of him. A second character, in short dress and gesticulating, behind the first. Both express discontent with their facial and body gestures.

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### *Ninety-ninth Chapter*

Augustin prie pour ses détracteurs

Augustine prays for the disbeliever

Augustin est à genoux, mains jointes, le visage empreint d'une belle expression de piété. Au-dessus de lui apparaît le buste du Christ bénissant. A gauche, un groupe de petits personnages variés forme contraste, par leur gesticulation, avec la figure majestueuse et calme d'Augustin. L'un d'eux montre Augustin du doigt ; un autre fait mine de lancer une pierre.

Augustine is kneeling, hands joined, his face drawn with a beautiful expression of piety. Above him is the bust of Christ blessing. On the left, a small group of gesticulating characters contrast the difference between the majestic and calm of Augustine figure and themselves. One of them shows the finger Augustine; another pretends to throw a stone.

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### *One-hundredth Chapter*

Augustin accueille les pécheurs repentants

Augustine receives the repentant sinners

Ici la disproportion s'accroît entre les figures des repentis agenouillés et la grande figure d'Augustin évêque qui prie, les mains jointes également.

Here the disproportion grows between the repentant kneeling figures and of the great figure of Bishop Augustine who also has hands joined in prayer.

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*One-hundred and first Chapter*

Augustin est aimable a l'égard des laïcs

Augustine is kind and respectful toward the nondenominational (non-Catholic?)

Augustin mitré, assis, converse avec des personnages qui l'écoutent attentivement ; la plupart sont coiffés de toques de docteurs.

Bishop Augustine, is seated while he converses with a groups who are carefully listen to him most of whom are wearing doctors hats.

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*One-hundred and second Chapter*

Pour les ornements, Augustin se garde des excès

For ornaments, Augustine is wary of excesses

Ici la figure d'Augustin prend une allure gracieuse, presque dansante, son visage est affiné, un peu triste. Il tient sa crosse tout en retenant son manteau, attitude nouvelle. De la main gauche il refuse les vêtements que lui apportent deux personnages coiffés de toques

Here the figure of Augustine takes on a gracefulness, although a little sad his face is refined. He holds his stick while holding his mantel drawn in a new way. With his left hand he refuses the clothes brought by two people wearing hats.

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*One-hundred and third Chapter*

Augustin ne cherche que le nécessaire et méprise les plaisirs

Augustine searches only essentials and despise pleasures

Le même figure d'évêque au visage amaigri, aux sourcils haut et très marqués, se tient debout, à droite d'un paysage qui fait de cette miniature une très belle page. Il détourne la tête d'un personnage agenouillé qui se découvre et répand le contenu d'une bourse à ses pieds. Ce personnage agenouillé représente sans doute la richesse, tandis que le groupe de gauche, où une femme paraît tenir un homme sur ses genoux, est probablement l'image des plaisirs. Dans sa main gauche, Augustin tient une banderole sur laquelle je propose, non sans une extrême hésitation, de déchiffrer comme inscription : « Super omnia | animalia homo | sum<mus> | ut sit oportet. » Le vaste

paysage, qui monte haut dans la miniature, est exprimé par quelques taches et de larges traits ; il dénote l'œuvre d'un peintre au courant de la perspective aérienne.

The same figure of a bishop in thin face, eyebrows high and very marked, standing on the right of a landscape that makes this a very beautiful miniature page. He turns away from a kneeling figure that presents and spreads the contents of his purse at his feet. The kneeling figure probably represents wealth, while the group of left, a woman appears to hold a man by the knees, and probably represents pleasures. In his left hand, Augustine holds a streamer on which I offer, not without an extreme hesitancy, to decipher as inscription: "become the greatest you must exist above all living things, animal and human" The vast landscape, which rises high in miniature, is expressed by a few spots and broad strokes, it denotes the work of an artist aware of the aerial perspective.

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#### *One-hundred and fourth Chapter*

Augustin prie pour les vivants et pour les morts

Augustine prays for the living and for dead

A genoux devant un autel placé de guingois, Augustin prie, les mains jointes. Derrière lui, un couple de taille beaucoup plus petite est agenouillé également, le pied de l'homme débordant du cadre. A quelque distance et plus petits encore, des personnages nus et environnés de flammes joignent aussi les mains ; ces deux groupes semblent correspondre aux vivants et aux morts.

With hands joined in prayer Augustine is knelt before an out of kilter altar. Behind him, a couple in a much smaller scale also kneels, the man foot coming beyond the frame. At a distance and smaller still in scale are some naked people and surrounded by flames also with their hands joined in prayer, these two groups suggest a correspondence between the living and the dead.

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#### *One-hundred and fifth Chapter*

Augustin, ravi devant la Trinité, ne voit pas une femme qui l'implore

Augustine was enraptured by the Trinity and does not see a woman who invoked it

Cet épisode tant aimé des illustreurs augustiniens comporte ici deux minitures. Sur la première Augustin est assis dans une chaire ; il ramène avec sa main gauche son manteau sur les genoux ; son visage méditatif est légèrement relevé. Au-dessus du pupitre où un livre est ouvert apparaît dans une « mandorla » l'image de la Trinité comme elle est

figurée habituellement dans le manuscrit. Au pied d'Augustin une femme se tient à genoux, les mains jointes ; elle est faussement appelée « Monica » par le lecteur tardif et ignorant qui a écrit aussi « Augustinus » au-dessus du pupitre. Les hagiographes précisent que cette femme était veuve.

This beloved episode of the Augustinians illustrator has combined the two miniatures. The first Augustine is sitting in a chair; with his left hand he is replacing his coat over his knees; his slightly raised face displays a meditative state. On the desk there is an open book over which appears in a “mandorla” an image of the Trinity as it has usually represented in the manuscript. At Augustine’s feet a woman is kneeling, hands joined in prayer; she has falsely been marked as “Monica” by the later and uninformed reader who has also written “Augustinus” over the desk. The hieroglyphics specify that this woman is widowed.

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*One-hundred and sixth Chapter*

Augustin célèbre la messe ; cette femme a la vision de la Trinité

Augustine celebrates mass; this woman has vision of the Trinity

Ce deuxième moment du récit légendaire est conçu comme un véritable petit tableau. L'image est plus haute que d'habitude, les visages sont grands et détaillés, les draperies des habits très souples, les petites figures multipliées sur retable d'autel. Augustin est debout à l'autel, les mains jointes devant le calice. La femme est agenouillée derrière lui, le visage très recueilli.

La main du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle a écrit à tort : « Mater Monica » au-dessus d'elle.

L'objet de la vision est représenté dans la « mandorla » très grande, qu'on ne voit qu'en partie. La veuve est à genoux, un ange vole vers elle et lui touche la tête de son bras étendu, pour lui signaler la trinité.

The second image of the legendary story is designed as a tableau. The image is usual in its details; soft clothes, the small figures on altarpiece and the altar itself. Augustine face is thoroughly executed as he stands at the altar, hands raised before the chalice. The woman with a look of composure is kneeling behind him. The seventeenth century someone wrongly wrote: “Mother Monica” over the figure. In part, the purpose of the image is represented by the very large “mandorla.” Within which the same widow is seen kneeling, with an Angel connecting through outstretched arms her head to the Trinity.

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*One-hundred and seventh Chapter*

Augustin lit, relit et corrige ses ouvrages

Augustine reads, rereads and corrects his works

Par le même procédé de style qu'au chapitre XCVI Augustin est représenté deux sous une forme Presque identique. Les attitudes sont variées et suggèrent le mouvement, ainsi que la succession des épisodes juxtaposés. Assis de trois-quarts devant un pupitre monumental, il pose la main sur le livre, puis s'en détache pour méditer.

Using the same style of that in chapter XCVI Augustine is represented in two almost identical images. Attitudes are varied and the succession of these juxtaposed episodes suggests movement. Seated at a three-quarter degree angle before a monumental desk, he raises his hand on the book, then to remove them to represent meditate.

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*One-hundred and eight Chapter*

Augustin sacre Eraclius

Augustine blesses Eraclius

Augustin, tenant sa crosse de la main droite, pose avec la gauche la mitre sur la tête d'Eraclius agenouillé. Un groupe de personnages variés assiste à la scène.

Augustine with his bishops' crook in one hand touches the Eraclius miter whom kneels before him. A diverse group of characters attended the scene.

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*One-hundred and ninth Chapter*

Augustine observe le siège d'Hippone et prie

Augustine witnesses the siege of Hippo and prays

Ce petit tableau extrêmement vivant a été composé d'une main expert. Hippone est devenue une cité allemande médiévale. Bien qu'aucun monument ne constitue une réplique fidèle d'une architecture réelle d'Augsbourg ou d'Ulm, cette tour aux deux chemins de ronde, ces toits pointus, ces échaugettes et ces bastions se retrouvent dans la plupart des manuscrits contemporains dans cette région. Un groupe de soldats, épées levées, attaque la porte que nous voyons de l'intérieur, fermée. Au-dessus des remparts (à

l'extrême droite pour laisser à la bataille le plus grand rôle) le peintre a peint Augustin très grand par rapport au compagnon placé à sa droite, et surtout disproportionné en comparaison des monuments qui l'entourent. Une immense cigogne, le cou renversé, le bec ouvert, les deux pattes posées sur son nid aussi grand que le toit, achève de donner de la couleur locale à la cité.

This small and extremely lively image was composed with an expert hand. Hippo has become a medieval German city. Although no monument in it is a faithful replica of the real architecture of Augsburg or Ulm, the two parapets tower, the pointed roofs, the turrets and the bastion are found in most contemporary manuscripts in this region. A group of soldiers, with swords raised, attack the closed door we see it from inside. Above the ramparts (in a featuring role, on the far right in the battle) the painter, in an especially disproportionate size, has painted a large companion figure to Augustine who is presented in an even larger scale. A huge stork, with upturned neck and open beak, stands with both legs in its rooftop nest giving local color to the city.

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#### *One-hundred and tenth Chapter*

Augustin alité impose les mains à un enfant malade

Confined to bed Augustine blesses a sick child

Augustin est à demi couché ; sa mitre disparaît presque entièrement sous le baldaquin ; il abaisse le bras gauche vers un enfant agenouillé. Au pied du lit un moine debout joint les mains en regardant la scène.

Augustine is half-lying, his miter disappearing almost entirely under the canopy; he lowers his left hand towards a kneeling child. At the foot of the bed stands a monk watching the scene with hands clasped in prayer.

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#### *One-hundred and eleventh Chapter*

Augustin fait placer au mur les psalms de la pénitence ; il interdit sa porte sauf au médecin

Augustine puts the psalms of penitence on the wall; it forbids any to enter except the doctor

À gauche et à l'extérieur de la chambre, le médecin repousse d'un bras autoritaire un moine qui s'avance mains jointes. À l'intérieur de la pièce le médecin, qui est entré seul, verse un remède tandis qu'Augustin attend, les mains jointes avec les mêmes traits que

dans l'image précédente. On voit sur une étagère, à la hauteur de ses yeux, le livre des psaumes ouvert.

To the left and outside the room, the doctor with an authoritative gesture pushes a monk who walks with hands clasped in prayer. Inside the room the doctor, who has entered alone, pours a cure while Augustine waits hands raised with the same features as in the previous image. At eye-level on a shelf, there is an open book of Psalms.

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*One-hundred and twelfth Chapter*

Augustine reçoit le corps du Christ

Augustine receives communion

L'évêque est adossé à des coussins superposés ; si ses mains jointes paraissent négligées et amenuisées, son visage agrandi, aux larges yeux ouverts, est particulièrement soigné. Un clerc revêtu de l'aube lui présente l'hostie ; leurs regards se croisent. Un groupe de moines agenouillés, coupé par le cadre, figure la communauté en prières.

The bishop is leaned up against a stack of cushions; his stretched face, with wide open eyes, is particularly carefully drawn yet his hands seem to be neglected and small. A cleric in communion robes gives him the Eucharist; their eyes meet. A group of kneeling monks, intersected the framework, represent the community in prayer.

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*One-hundred and thirteenth Chapter*

Augustin rend l'âme

Augustine returns his heart (soul)

Pour la quatrième fois, Augustin est représenté sur son lit, mais cette fois allongé ; il est toujours mitré et ses mains sont croisées sur le drap. L'âme, sous les traits d'un enfant nu, sort de sa bouche et vole vers un ange qui l'accueille. Au pied du lit, un moine muni d'un goupillon bénit le corps ; deux autres se lamentent.

For the fourth time, Augustine is represented in bed, but this time extended, his miter remains and his hands are folded on the sheet. His soul, in the guise of a naked child, is shown leaving him via his mouth and flying toward an angel who welcomes him. At the foot of the bed, a monk blesses his body with holy water; two mourn.

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*One-hundred and fourteenth Chapter*

Les obsequies d'Augustin

Augustine's funeral

Cette scène fait habituellement l'objet de tous les soins des illustrateurs ; elle paraît ici traitée d'une manière hâtive. Le saint est étendu sur une civière, la mitre coupée par le cadre. Un buste de moine éploré se dresse derrière le catafalque. Au premier plan et de proportions différentes, sans doute selon l'importance de chacun, deux évêques creusent une fosse, l'un à la bêche, l'autre à la pioche. Un moine de taille très réduite prie, agenouillé à l'extrême gauche...Deux grands cierges allumés encadrent le corps.

This scene is usually the subject the illustrators' utmost care; but here it seems here to be treated in a hasty manner. The saint is lying on a stretcher, his miter cut off by the framework. A torso of tearful monk stands behind the catafalque. In the foreground and different proportions, probably according to the importance of each, two bishops dig a pit, one with a spade, the other with a pickaxe. A very small monk prays, kneeling on the far left ... two large candles frame and light the body.

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*One-hundred and fifteenth Chapter*

Translation du corps en Sardaigne

Transportation of the body to Sardinia

Un navire s'éloigne de la côte, la voile gonflée par le vent. Augustin, dans le même costume que précédemment, est étendu, veillé par un évêque et des moines aux capuchons sur la tête. Deux rameurs, à l'avent et à l'arrière du bateau, regardent la dépouille du saint avec tristesse. La côte est légèrement esquissée au premier plan ; une croix est peinte sur la voile.

A ship moves away from the coast, the sail filled by the wind. Augustine, in the same costume as above, is extended, watched over by a bishop and monks with hoods on their heads. Two rowers, in the stern and the bow of the boat, look at the remains of the saint with sadness. The coast is lightly sketched in the foreground; a cross is painted on the sail.

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*One-hundred and sixteenth Chapter*

Augustin repose en Sardaigne

Augustine lies in Sardinia

L'image ne manque pas de grandeur. A l'avant-plan, le saint, immense est étendu les mains croisées sur la poitrine. Une femme veille, encadrée par le porche d'une des architectures qui emplissent toute l'image, églises et monastères pressés les uns contre les autres comme un fond symbolique et silencieux derrière le corps d'Augustin.

This image does not lack dignity. Filling the fore-ground, the monumental scaled figure of the saint is laid out with hands folded across his chest. Framed by a doorway a woman stands in front of one of the buildings among the churches and monasteries that fill the entire image, all pressed against each other as a symbolic and silent background to the body of Augustine.

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*One-hundred and seventeenth Chapter*

Le roi Liutprant accueille le corps d'Augustin en Italie

King of the Lombard's receives Augustine's body in Italy

De nouveau, on voit le corps d'Augustin étendu sur un bateau et veillé par des moines. Il arrive en Italie, la côte est figurée par deux tours médiévales. Le roi Liutprant, couronné sur la tête, est agenouillé à droite, les mains jointes. D'autres figures agenouillées sont esquissées derrière lui.

Again, we see the body of Augustine lying on a boat and watched by his monks. He arrived in Italy; the coast is represented by two medieval towers. The King of the Lombard's, with a crown on his head, kneels on the right, his hands joined in prayer. Other figures are outlined kneeling behind him.

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*One-hundred and eighteenth Chapter*

Le corps d'Augustin ne peut être soulevé

The body of Augustine cannot be raised



Trois porteurs donnent tout leur effort pour soulever la civière, qui reste ancrée au sol. A droite, Luitprant, reconnaissable à sa couronne, prie à genoux. Le saint, démesurément grand par rapport aux autres personnages, est figuré aux trois-quarts ; ses pieds sortent du cadre, et cette composition a tous les caractères d'un instantané.

Three carriers give their full effort to lift the stretcher, which is anchored to the ground. On the right, the King of the Lombard's recognizable by his crown kneels in prayer. The saint, who is disproportionately large, compared to other characters, is represented three-quarter profile, his feet are out of the frame, and this composition has all the characteristics of a snapshot.

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### *One-hundred and nineteenth Chapter*

Le peuple accueille la relique

The people receive the relic (body of Augustine)

Par sa composition, son décor, le nombre de ses personnages, l'impression de mouvement qui s'en dégage, cette image est une des mieux réussies du manuscrit. Elle forme exactement la suite de la précédente ; les porteurs ont soulevé la civière ; le corps du saint pénètre dans le cadre ; mais la tête est restée hors de l'image ; on voit seulement les mains croisées sur la poitrine et tout le bas du corps. Le cortège paraît avancer ; trois chevaux sont représentés par leurs trois têtes étagées. A droite du saint, le roi Liutprant arrive à cheval et montre du doigt l'église d'où le peuple sort en cortège, à la rencontre de la relique ; les deux premiers personnages, en torse et bonnet, tiennent des croix processionnelles. La ville garde l'aspect d'une cité germanique médiévale égayée par des oriflammes des girouettes et un nid de cigogne. Les proportions de chaque personnage sont soigneusement étudiées en fonction de leur importance : le saint est gigantesque et le roi Liutprant s'est vu accorder une stature intermédiaire entre celle d'Augustin et celles des petits personnages qui composent la foule.

By its composition, its decor, the number of characters and the sense of movement, this image is one of the most successful of the manuscript. It takes place just after the previous image where the bearers have now raised the litter, the saint's body enters the frame, but his head remained out of the picture, we see only the lower body with his hands folded on his chest. The procession appears to move forward, three horses are represented by their heads stacked up. To the right of the saint, the King of Lombardy arrives on horseback and points to the church where the people are coming out in procession to meet the saint, the first two figures, in torso and hat, hold processional crucifixes. The city keeps the appearance of a Germanic medieval city enlivened with banners, weather vanes and a stork's nest. The proportions of each of the character are carefully executed for their importance: the saint is huge and the King of Lombardy was given stature between that of Augustine and the small characters that make up the crowd.

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*One-hundred and twentieth Chapter*

Le saint repose dans la Basilique Saint-Pierre a Pavie

The Saint rests in the Church of St. Peter in Pavie

Dans la troisième image de cette « suite », le corps du saint repose au premier plan. Il n'est pas dans la basilique, mais à l'avant-plan d'un décor d'architecture qui envahit toute la composition ; architecture irréaliste où l'artiste a multiplié les tours, les clochetons, les oriflammes. Le corps garde ses immenses proportions et l'image vide de tout vivant donne une impression de profond silence et de repos définitif.

In the third image of this "suite," the saint's body lies in the foreground. It is not in the church, but to the forefront of architectural decor that pervades the entire composition. Unreal architecture where the artist has multiplied the towers, the towers, turrets, banners. The body remains huge in proportions and the image is devoid of any life that gives an impression of silence and rest definitive.

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*One-hundred and twenty-first Chapter*

Guillaume de Crémone demande a Jean XII que le corps soit a l'Ordre des Ermites

William of Cremona asks Pope Jean XXII that the body be given to the Hermit Order

Trois moines hâtivement esquissés, les mains jointes, sont agenouillés devant le pape assis sur un trône monumental comme sa tiare.

Three hastily sketched monks, with clasped hands, are kneeling before the Pope who is sat on a monumental throne wearing his papal crown.

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*One-hundred and twenty-second Chapter*

Jean XXII, avec l'approbation du college cardinalice, confie le corps d'Augustine a l'Ordre des frères ermites

Pope Jean XXII with the approbation of the College of Cardinals entrusts Augustine's body has the order of the brother hermits

L'artiste n'a fait aucun effort d'invention ; il a reproduit l'image précédente en modifiant le trône et en adjoignant au pape, par fidélité au texte, un cardinal et un évêque.

The artist made no effort inventiveness; he reproduced the previous picture but changed the throne and by fidelity of the text, adding a cardinal and a bishop to the pope.

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*One-hundred and twenty-third Chapter*

Jean de Luxembourg près de la relique de saint Augustin

John of Luxemborg close to the body of Saint Augustine

Le roi Jean, figuré sous les mêmes traits que le roi Liutprant dans les miniatures antérieures, sort de l'église accompagné de deux moines. L'architecture, traitée en grandes masses, forme le même fond au tombeau qui paraît ici un peu surélevé et où Augustin est figuré comme sur un lit.

King John is represented with similar traits to that of the King of Lombardy in the previous miniatures, leaves the church accompanied by two monks. The background architecture is treated as a large mass, the same way as in the earlier tomb image; however Augustine appears to be higher and presented on a bed.

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*One-hundred and twenty-fourth Chapter*

Chanoines réguliers et frères ermits celebrant l'office ensemble devant le corps de saint Augustin a Saint-Pierre au ciel d'or

Regular canons and brother hermits celebrate a service together in front of the body of St. Augustine in Saint-Pierre with gold sky

La longue suite d'images s'achève, hâtivement semble-t-il, par cette synthèse. Augustin est maintenant allongé au pied de l'autel. Deux chanoines à gauche, deux ermites à droite chantent à l'unisson, tournés vers le corps de leur fondateur.

The long sequence of images is completed; for this synthesis it seems in hast. Augustine is now lying at the foot of the altar. Two canons to the left, along with two hermits on the right all singing in unison, and are turned to the body of their founder.

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## Curriculum Vitae

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### Education:

M. A., History (2013) - Indiana University, IUPUI, Indianapolis. IN  
B.A., History (2007) - School of Liberal Arts, IUPUI, Indianapolis. IN  
B.A., Fine Arts; Art History (2005) - Herron School of Art, Indianapolis. IN  
B/Tec Diploma in General Art and Design, 1986 - Isle College, Cambridge:  
England

### Membership and Awards:

2007 - Deans List, Spring and Fall semesters: Volunteering at the Indiana State  
Museum. Roads Scholar.

2006 - Dean's List, Spring and Fall semesters

2005 - Dean's List, Spring semester

2004 - Adult Outstanding Scholarship Award. Herron Scholarship Fund Award.  
Dean's List, Spring and Fall semesters Highest Honor. Contributed to the  
writing of the new IMA guidebook.

2003 - Adult Outstanding Scholarship Award. William H. Bartlett Memorial  
Scholarship. Dean's List, Spring and Fall semesters. Associate of the  
Writing Fellows Program.

2002 - Adult Outstanding Scholarship Award. Landers Scholarship. Dean's List,  
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