

The edition of the *Vita S. Augustini* in Boston Public Library MS 1483*

This most attractive volume, superbly produced by the Études Augustiniennes with the aid of the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique contains a late medieval Life of St. Augustine, masterly edited by Pierre Courcelle and Jeanne Courcelle-Ladmirant from a manuscript dating from the second half of the 15th century and now belonging to the Public Library of Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. (Rare Books Dept., ms. 1483). In the volume, the critical edition of the text, accompanied by the facsimiles of the manuscript and an iconographical commentary (pp. 33-249), is preceded by an introduction (pp. 11-14) and three chapters which deal respectively with the text and its sources (pp. 15-19), the iconography (pp. 21-25) and the style of the miniatures (pp. 27-31). At the end, the editors have added an index of proper names (pp. 251 f.) and a table of the scenes represented in the manuscript (pp. 253-256).

The significance and charm of the Boston manuscript, apart from the technique of its making, rests not so much on the text of the *Vita* as on the cycle of miniature pictures which represent the most complete Augustinian iconography known so far. As a matter of fact, even a cursory examination of the text reveals that, in composing it, the author did not aim at producing a narrative complete in itself, but rather at furnishing each picture with a heading in the form of an explanatory note giving a brief description of the scene it represents. That this is the actual scope of the text, is also evident from the adverb « Ibi » emphatically placed at the very beginning of each heading — corresponding to the picture immediately beneath — and brought into further prominence by a large ornamental initial. The *Vita* is divided into one hundred and twenty-four chapters. As a rule, the chapters are indicated at the end of the explanatory text of each chapter, the only exceptions being chapters 40, 44, 45 and 50, where this indication has been omitted. Since, however,

**Vita Sancti Augustini imaginibus adornata* : *Manuscrit de Boston, Public Library*, N^o. 1483, S. XV, inédit. Texte critique établi par Pierre Courcelle. Commentaire iconographique par Jeanne Courcelle-Ladmirant. Paris : Études Augustiniennes, 1964. Pp. 256, including 109 plates.

the chapter which should have been chapter 77, was mistakenly made « capitulum LXXVIII », the total number of chapters actually amounted but to one hundred and twenty-three. Each chapter contains a picture with the explanatory text placed above, except chapter 50 which has been illustrated by two pictures (death and funeral of St. Monica). Thus in spite of the error in the numeration of the chapters, the one hundred and twenty-three chapters were illustrated by one hundred and twenty-four pictures. The arrangement of the chapters within the manuscript was done in such a way that the explanatory text and the illustration of one or, in a few instances, of two chapters appear together on the same page. The only exception to this grouping occurs in chapters 40 and 41, where the picture illustrating the text is found on the following page. The explanatory text, written in *bastarda cursiva*, varies in length from chapter to chapter, the shortest (chapters 10 and 11) filling but one line, the longest (chapter 40) occupying as many as twenty-four lines and thus causing the previously mentioned deviation from the rule of having text and illustration of a chapter on the same page. Normally the text of each chapter averages five to six lines apiece. The scribe made a number of mistakes which have been emended by Professor Courcelle's sensitive hand. The pictures painted in water color, are 12.5 cm in width ; their height varies from 7.5 to 14 cm. Each picture was first drawn in a thin and exact pen-outline ; then the painter (probably a different person) filled in the colors with heavier brush-strokes, at times applying the colors so thickly as to obscure completely some details. The main colors employed are a vitreous blue, a red orange, green, yellow and black. Some gray has been used to bring out details in the black habits of the numerous Hermit Friars appearing in a great number of scenes. A few traces of gold leaf are preserved in the mitres and croziers of the two bishops officiating at Augustine's episcopal consecration (illustration of chapter 78). The frames of the pictures are painted in vermillion. The reader of this edition will be gratified especially by seeing (opposite the title page) two of the scenes reproduced in colors, namely, the ecstasy of Ostia (chapter 49) and the siege of Hippo observed by St. Augustine (chapter 109).

The illustrations, to be sure, are not the work of a great artist or even a master craftsman. There is a lack of imagination in the composition of the individual scenes, a certain monotony in the treatment of the figures, and a poor perspective which is especially noticeable in the scenes in which figures are placed in an architectural setting. On the other hand, the illustrations are not without charm. The lively directness and refreshing humor displayed by the illustrators in some of the episodes compensate at least in part for the lack of ingenuity and artistic skill (see, e.g., the pictures of chapters 5 and 6, illustrating Augustine's first unpleasant experiences in school life ; the pictures of chapters 56 and 74, showing Augustine's brother hermits occupied with the building of monasteries).

The genre of the Boston manuscript, the form of its script, the style of its illustrations, as well as the material used for its manufacture, possess all the characteristics of that popularization of book making, which experienced a true period of flowering in south-east Germany during the second half of the 15th century, with Augsburg as its center : emphasis is laid on the pictorial ; cursive script is used instead of a formal book-hand ; rapid pen drawing replaces the elaborate work of miniaturists ; paper takes the place of parchment.

The original cover of the manuscript, strengthened with leather at the back, has been preserved. The manuscript itself numbers fifty-four leaves of paper, measuring 28.5 by 19.5 cm. Because of the loss of four leaves, eight chapters, namely, chapters 1 to 4 and 22 to 25, are missing today, and the original number of pictures has been reduced to one hundred and sixteen. The loss of the *incipit*, due to the mutilation of the manuscript at the very beginning, and the lack of an *explicit*, are especially deplorable, since they might possibly have given us some information about the author of the *Vita*. From a note written at the top of the last folio, we learn that, in 1591, the manuscript was the property of a community of the Order of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine : « Hic liber pertinet fratribus Eremitarum s. Augustini. 1591. » The other entries made further below on the same folio, have unfortunately become almost illegible. The names of persons and places remain uncertain. If the reading Professor Courcelle suggests for one of these entries is correct, the religious community owning the manuscript in 1591, would be the Augustinian monastery of Constance (see p. 12 n. 2 of the edition).

There seems hardly to be any room for doubt that the author of the text of the *Vita* was a member of the Order of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine, and that the manuscript, together with its illustrations, was executed for a monastery of the same Order. Since the end of the 13th century, the tradition of the Order had embroidered the life of St. Augustine especially with three stories or legends. Though varying in details, all three represent Augustine as a hermit. In the first story we are told that, besides the grace of God and the instruction by St. Ambrose, it was the example of the saintly hermit Simplicianus, which played a decisive part in the conversion of St. Augustine. Simplicianus, the story went, was superior of a community of hermits, which had been founded on the outskirts of Milan after the model of the early monastic settlements in the Egyptian desert. During his residence in Milan, Augustine became acquainted with Simplicianus and his hermits, and their mode of life made such a deep impression upon him that, still a layman and catechumen, he joined their community, that after his baptism he received the monastic habit of a hermit from the hands of St. Ambrose who, in this solemn ceremony, was assisted by Simplicianus, and that he lived for about a year in the Milanese hermitage. The second story refers to the time from St. Monica's death at Ostia to Augustine's final departure

to Africa. After the death of his mother, Augustine is said to have retired into the forest solitude of the Tuscan hills. There he found followers of the founders of eremitical life, Paul the first Hermit and Antony. He gathered these hermits into communities, lived with them for a while and gave them a fixed mode of life in the form of a monastic Rule, the *Regula sancti Augustini*. Augustine's companions in these first eremitical settlements established by him are the ancestors of the *fratres heremitae ordinis sancti Augustini de Tuscia*, a Tuscan congregation of hermits, conspicuously successful after their union, in 1244, into one body under the Rule of St. Augustine and a Prior General. In the third story we are told that, on his return to Africa, Augustine was accompanied not only by his closest friends, Alypius and Evodius, who had likewise embraced the eremitical mode of life, but also by twelve other hermits, all members of the Milanese monastery, whom he had obtained from his spiritual father, Simplicianus. With this group Augustine first established a monastic community of lay hermits on the small estate he had inherited from his father outside his native town, Tagaste. Later he founded many more monasteries of the same type, among them one in the wilds outside the city of Hippo. To the latter monastery he retired from time to time, even when he was bishop, to devote himself to prayer, meditation and study as well as to the instruction of his brother hermits in whose midst he also is said to have died.

The three legends originated through arbitrary and fanciful interpretations of some passages in Augustine's *Confessiones* and the *Vita* of the saint by his friend and biographer Possidius. Enlarged by picturesque additions drawn from the pseudo-Ambrosian *sermo de baptismo et conversione S. Augustini*, the pseudo-Augustinian *sermones ad fratres in eremo* and other apocryphal sources, they grew ever more elaborate and further from the foundation of fact. This is especially true concerning the Tuscan legend with which soon also the *Vitae* of other legendary hermits were closely interwoven. It was not long before the three legends became a fixed part of the Order's tradition (on the origin and growth of these legends, see R. Arbesmann, « The Vita Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi in Cod. Laurent. Plut. 90 Sup. 48 », *Traditio* 18 [1962] 319-355 ; « Mönchslegenden in mittelalterlichen Augustinusviten », *Perennitas* [Festschrift für Thomas Michels], Münster 1963, pp. 91-104). Their aetiological character is obvious. In the first place, they serve to explain the Order's full title « ordo fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini ». Moreover, the information then available concerning the origin of the Order after the latter's establishment in its modern form in the year 1256 overwhelmingly pointed to Tuscany and the Tuscan Hermits of the thirteenth century. The three legends provided the connecting links between St. Augustine's early monastic foundations in Africa and the Order of the Hermit Friars of St. Augustine, as recognized by the popes in the course of that century.

The stories appear in a number of *Vitae* or *Legendae S. Augustini*, written by members of the Order since about the beginning of the 14th century and now, for the most part, still buried in manuscripts in European libraries. We first mention the *Vita S. Augustini* by Jordan of Saxony, or of Quedlinburg, as he is called after his native town (ca. 1300-1380). It is preserved in ms. 251 of the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal of Paris, fol. 54^r-70^r. The manuscript which originally belonged to the Augustinian house of studies in Paris, is in Jordan's own hand. The *Vita* is followed (fol. 70^r-71^v) by a tract *de duplici translatione S. Augustini*, containing an account of how St. Augustine's body was first brought from Hippo to Sardinia and from there to Pavia ; except a few additions by Jordan himself, the text of the *translationes* is taken from the *Vita beati Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi* by Philip d'Harvengt (+1182), second abbot of the Premonstratensian abbey, Bonne Espérance, in the diocese of Cambrai (PL 203. 1206-1234). The same manuscript also contains (fol. 97^r-104^r) a *Legenda de S. Augustino* which is but a shorter version of the *Vita* by Jordan and the *translationes*, unfortunately mutilated at the beginning. Two additional copies of Jordan's *Vita S. Augustini* are found in the Bibliothèque municipale of Toulouse, ms. 169, fol. 1-21, saec. XIV (originally of the library of the Augustinian monastery in Toulouse), and in the former Private Library of the Austrian Emperor in Vienna, cod. 9375 A n. 22, fol. 81-96, saec. XV. It was also printed by J. Hommey in his *Supplementum Patrum* (Paris 1684), but did not attract much attention. It found, however, its greatest recognition when, about 1450, John Capgrave, a learned English Augustinian friar, considered it worthy of being translated into English (ed. by J. J. Munro, *Early English Text Society Publications*, N° 100, London 1910). We mention, furthermore, the anonymous *Vita Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi*, written by a friar of the Augustinian monastery S. Spirito in Florence shortly before 1331 and preserved in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, cod. Plut. 90 sup. 48, fol. 1^r-13^r, saec. XV. When, in 1334, Henry of Friemar the Elder attempted to give to the persistent tradition of his Order a more solid foundation in his *Tractatus de origine et progressu ordinis fratrum heremitarum et vero ac proprio titulo eiusdem*, he was obviously somewhat bewildered by the fact that, in the *Confessiones*, St. Augustine made no mention of his sojourn in Tuscany. With charming naïveté, he suggests (see our edition of the treatise in *Augustiniana* 6 [1956] 96) that St. Augustine himself explained his silence when he said (*Conf.* 9.8.17) that, being in a great hurry, he passed over many things in recounting the events of his life immediately after his mother's death. Moreover, Henry tried to establish a chronology that would account for the three years Augustine lived an eremitical life with Simplicianus and the Tuscan Hermits (*Augustiniana* 6.96 f.). Though Jordan of Saxony shortly after demonstrated the faultiness of this chronology in his *Liber Vitas fratrum* 1.7 (ed. R. Arbesmann and W. Hümpfner, New York 1943, pp. 24-26), he did not go so far as to discard altogether the Tuscan story,

but contented himself with restricting Augustine's presence in Tuscany to a short visit : « partim per viam eundo et fratres eremitas in Tuscia et Centumcellis visitando velut in quodam transitu. » Even Fra Andrea Biglia, a highly cultured and learned humanist (ca. 1395-1435), defended his Order's tradition according to which Augustine had stayed for a while with the fabled Tuscan hermits and given them a Rule which later he also introduced among the hermits and clerics in Africa. In the forest solitude of Lecceto, an Augustinian hermitage near Siena, he wrote the treatise *Ad fratrem Ludovicum de nostri ordinis forma ac propagatione* (preserved in cod. Ambros. H. 117 inf., fol. 125^r-142^v) in which he adduces the venerable age of a number of Augustinian hermitages in Tuscany as a witness to the « vetustissima omnium fama... Augustinum eius temporis hominibus regulam tradidisse » (fol. 135^r). The very words used in his preface reveal the spirit in which the treatise was written : « Sum enim propterea ex Senis egressus, ut mecum essem paululum ab his liber qui me solent aliis studiis occupare. Hicve ipse locus sic suadet, quippe Illicitum veni, ubi prima fere nostri ordinis initia memorantur » (fol. 125^r).

In view of the Order's firmly rooted tradition which made St. Augustine a follower of the Desert Fathers, Paul the first Hermit and Antony, and the founder of eremitical life in the West, it is not surprising that the three legends loom large in the medieval *Lives of St. Augustine* written by members of the Order of the Augustinian Hermits. This also holds true concerning the Boston *Vita* in which, beginning with the illustration of chapter 40, St. Augustine always appears in the habit of an Augustinian Hermit. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the Boston *Vita* made its appearance at a time when the long and heated dispute between the Augustinian Hermits and Canons, both claiming for themselves the prerogative of being the first Order founded by St. Augustine, had so agitated learned Christendom that, on May 11, 1484, Pope Sixtus IV felt himself compelled to impose silence on both parties with the bull « Qui apostolis praecepit » (L. Empoli, *Bullarium Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini*, Romae 1628, pp. 321-324).

Special mention deserves Professor Courcelle's circumspect evaluation of the sources employed by the author of the Boston *Vita*. As a matter of fact, like the latter, also Jordan of Saxony and the Anonymus Florentinus did not use the *Confessiones* and Possidius directly. Their direct source was rather an earlier *Vita*. This can still easily be recognized in certain characteristic expressions both have in common, as well as in passages in which the sober, factual report of the *Confessiones* or of Possidius has been changed into a rather fanciful story. From one of these earlier *Vitae* — Henry of Friemar calls them « antiquae legendae non abbreviatae » (*Augustiniana* 6.96) — they also no doubt took over their quotations of sources, e.g., « Hec ipse nono libro Confessionum », or « Hec Possid(on)ius et in legenda famosa ». In quoting the « legenda famosa », the authors refer either to the *Legenda aurea* by Jacopo da Voragine or to the *Vita beati Augustini* by Philip d'Harvengt. The latter is sometimes

also called « *legenda antiqua* ». In many cases, the references to sources are kept extremely vague. As an example we may select chapter 47 of the Boston *Vita*. It reads : « Ibi sanctus Augustinus iter per Tusciam faciens, ubicumque in locis illis heremitas fratres sui propositi inuenit, ipsos caritatiue visitauit, moram cum eis contraxit, eos suis collacionibus salutis pabulo dulciter recreauit. » The foregoing passage agrees almost *verbatim* with the text in Jordan's *Vita* (Bibl. de l' Arsenal, ms. 251, fol. 60^r) : « Transiens autem [Augustinus] et iter faciens per T(h)usciam, ubi, ut fertur, plura erant loca heremitica, ubicumque fratres sui propositi inuenit, ipsos caritatiue visitauit et eos suis collacionibus salutis pabulo dulciter recreauit. » As to his sources for this passage, the author of the Boston *Vita* simply states : « Hec ex quibusdam legendis et eciam dictis quorundam doctorum de ista materia loquencium. » Jordan contents himself with a vague « *ut fertur* », referring no doubt to the « *legendae antiquae non abbreviatae* » mentioned above. Or take chapter 115 in which the author recounts how, at some time during the continued persecutions by the Vandals, the remains of St. Augustine were brought by two hundred and twenty-two bishops from Hippo to Sardinia, and gives the « *Cronica Eusebii* » as his source. Since the *Chronicle* of Eusebius of Caesarea comes to an end with the year 325, it could, of course, not contain such an information. The author of the Boston *Vita* obviously refers to one of the continuators of the Eusebian *Chronicle* which, in the form of St. Jerome's Latin translation, had continuously been retouched and brought up to date by a long succession of chroniclers throughout the centuries. Their works were kept in many medieval and Renaissance libraries. We find, for instance, among the books owned by Onofrio Panvinio, the famous sixteenth-century historian and archaeologist, the « *Cronica Eusebii Pamphili Caesariensis diuo Hieronymo interprete, et diui Hieronymi presbyteri, ac Prosperii Aquitanici, et unâ Matthaei Palmerii Florentini et Matthaei Palmerii Pisani, ac eruditi cuiusdam, et M. Aurelii Cassiodori, et Hermanni Contracti* » (see the inventory of Panvinio's books in cod. Vat. lat. 7205, fol. 58^r). The banishment of two hundred and twenty African bishops to Sardinia during the Vandalic persecutions has been recorded by a number of chroniclers, though they say nothing about the translation of St. Augustine's body on this occasion. We mention Bede, *Chronica maiora* (MGH, *Auct. ant.* 13.306), who is followed by Hermann (the Lame) of Reichenau, *Chronicon* (MGH, *Script.* 5.85), Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica* (*ibid.* 6.313), and Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon Wirziburgense* (*ibid.* 6.24) and *Chronicon universale* (*ibid.* 6.138). In view of our author's method of employing source material, we may safely assume that he did not use any of the chronicles directly, but copied the reference from one of the earlier *Vitae*. In this connexion we should like to mention that a marginal note to the passage recounting the same event in the tract on the *translationes* in Jordan of Saxony's autograph (Bibl. de l' Arsenal, ms. 251, fol. 70^v) likewise reads : « Hec ex cronica Eusebii. »

The distinguishing feature of the Boston *Vita* is, as we have mentioned before, the pictorial treatment of St. Augustine's life, analyzed with delicate perceptiveness by Dr. Courcelle-Ladmirant in her iconographical commentary. While individual scenes illustrating the life of Augustine make their appearance first in manuscripts of Augustinian works, cycles portraying his life, such as the one of the Boston manuscript, are of a later date. As it was learned but recently (see V. Beyer, « Eine Strassburger Glasmalerwerkstätte des 13. Jahrhunderts und ihre Beziehung zu den Rheinlanden », *Saarbrücker Hefte* 4/1956, S. 53-56), a window of the Dominican church at Strasbourg, belonging to « about 1260 », contained medallions with scenes from the legend of St. Augustine. From the 14th century on, cyclical representations become more numerous. They originated above all in churches of the Augustinian Hermits and Canons, in manuscripts executed for their monasteries, and in the centers of the veneration of the saint.

In their introduction the editors of the Boston *Vita* (p. 11) mention some of the characteristic cycles of Augustinian iconography : the thirty-three medallions of the *Augustinusfenster* in the church of the Augustinian Friars at Erfurt ; the twenty frescoes in S. Agostino at Gubbio (Augustinian Friars) ; the seventeen famous frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli in S. Agostino at San Gimignano (Augustinian Friars) ; the twenty paintings on the stalls at Carlisle Cathedral (Augustinian Canons) ; and the sketches for another cycle of forty-nine compositions, apparently conceived as miniatures by a Crosier (Augustinian Canon) of Huy in Belgium and preserved in a manuscript of the University library of Liège.

The medallions of the *Augustinusfenster* at Erfurt are of special interest, because they represent the earliest example of a serial treatment of St. Augustine's life in pictures, which has come down to us. Documentary evidence places the medallions before 1334, and they may well be as early as the first decade of the 14th century (see the comprehensive discussion of the window, its history, its artistic features and its relation to local schools of glass-painters by D. Rentsch, *Glasmalerei des frühen vierzehnten Jahrhunderts in Ost-Mitteldeutschland* [Mitteldeutsche Forschungen vol. 10], Köln und Graz 1958, pp. 25-44 ; 52-55 ; 61-63 ; 75-76 ; 102-105 ; 125-136 ; plates 19-35). The cycle has suffered various kinds of damage. Some sections have been lost, and the gaps have been filled by scenes from another window ; in the course of the restorations also the original sequence of the scenes must have been changed. The loss of some sections and their replacement by pieces from another window, the disturbance of the original arrangement of the units, and the fact that the pictures are for the most part limited to two persons, make the interpretation of a number of scenes difficult. Section 4c of the cycle, for instance, shows Augustine, dressed as a layman, in lively conversation with a monk who sits on a bench and holds a book ; a banderole above them reads : AUGUSTINUS ET MONACHUS (Rentsch, pp. 31 and 129 ; plates 23 and 34). The scene is usually interpreted as representing

Augustine's visit with the hermits on Mons Pisanus in Tuscany. This interpretation overlooks, however, the fact that, in the picture, Augustine still wears the costume of a layman. We consider it more likely that the scene refers to that part of the Augustinian legend in which we are told that Augustine deeply impressed by a conversation with Simplicianus joined, still a catechumen, a community of lay hermits under the direction of Simplicianus outside of Milan. We should like to suggest, therefore, that the scene represents either Augustine's conversation with Simplicianus or a conversation between Augustine and a monk of the Milanese hermitage. This assumption is corroborated by the subsequent episodes in the legend. For, as we are told, Augustine received the habit of a hermit from the hands of St. Ambrose on the occasion of his baptism, and it was in this habit and in the role of an organizer of eremitical life that he spent some time in Tuscany. As a matter of fact, both Benozzo Gozzoli (fresco no. 12, background) and the illuminator of the Boston *Vita* (chapter 47) picture Augustine wearing the habit of an Augustinian Hermit during his sojourn in Tuscany. Also section 100 (Rentsch, pp. 33 and 133 ; plate 32) seems to permit two interpretations. Augustine, in the robe of a monk and without nimbus, is seated on a bench, while, from the right, there approach two monks ; the banderole reads : AUGUSTINUS ET FRATRES SUS (*sic*). The picture has been interpreted as representing a scene from Augustine's first monastic foundation in Africa, established in his native Tagaste. But it could equally well represent, we think, a scene from Augustine's visit with his brother hermits in Tuscany. We may add that, in 1312, the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt became the permanent abode of Henry of Friemar whose vigorous defence of his Order's tradition we have mentioned above. Whether he had any part in the planning of the scenes of the *Augustinusfenster*, we do not know. Nothing to that effect is found in our sources. However this may be, the scenes which originally belonged to the cycle of the *Augustinusfenster*, follow no doubt the version of the « origo et progressus ordinis fratrum heremitarum », given by Henry in his treatise.

The cycle of the Boston *Vita* differs from others cycles not only in the by far larger number of scenes but also in that it carries the story beyond the death of St. Augustine or the translation of his body to Pavia by including some important events in the history of the Augustinian Hermits. In 1327, on the petition of William of Cremona, then Prior General of the Order, Pope John XXII appointed the Augustinian Friars custodians of the tomb of St. Augustine in the basilica of St. Peter in Ciel d'Oro in Pavia and granted them the privilege of establishing a monastery attached to the basilica as well as of celebrating the Divine Office in common with the Augustinian Canons who, up to that time, had been the exclusive custodians of the saint's relics. After negotiations with the Canons had dragged on for some time, the Hermits who found a powerful protector in John of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia,

were able to acquire some buildings from the Canons and other private owners and to take possession of their new home and task in 1331. They interpreted their appointment as custodians of St. Augustine's tomb in Pavia by the highest authority of the Church as a confirmation of their Order's direct foundation by St. Augustine and its continued existence until the Great Union of 1256. Accordingly, the events connected with this appointment are recorded in chapters 121 to 124 of the Boston manuscript. To a community of Augustinian Friars, therefore, the Boston *Vita* could well serve as a kind of manual which not only fulfilled an historical function by describing the beginnings and the unfoldings of the Order's history, but also gave spiritual nourishment to its members who strove for a vital consciousness of unity and historical continuity. One thing is certain. The names entered by later hands around many figures in the illustrations of the Boston manuscript as well as the subsequent additions (see, e.g., the note written in German across the illustration of chapter 28, and the distich in praise of St. Augustine below the text of chapter 92) seem to give almost tangible evidence of its continued use.

St. Augustine's spiritual as well as mental journey toward God, his career as a scholar and churchman, his work as « the Father of Western Monasticism » and — last but not least — the prodigious cycle of legends which, in the course of time, had collected around the striking figure of the bishop of Hippo, formed an inexhaustible source of inspiration to medieval and modern artists alike. The very wealth of motifs employed by glass-painters, sculptors, painters and miniaturists in their treatment of St. Augustine's life, on the other hand, raises a number of complex problems, and may be the reason that a systematic and exhaustive work on his iconography has still to be written. In recent years a propitious start has been made to fill this gap. Here we must call attention to the substantial contributions made by M. and Mme Courcelle prior to their beautiful edition of the Boston *Vita*.

We first mention Professor Courcelle's monumental work, *Les « Confessions » de saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire : Antécédents et postérité*, likewise published by the Études Augustiniennes at Paris in 1963. In a special appendix (*Appendice VI*), numbering forty-eight pages (pp. 641-688) and fifty-four plates, M. and Mme Courcelle have given a scholarly and most enlightening analysis of an astonishingly large amount of iconographical material relating to the story of St. Augustine's conversion. This study can, at the same time, serve as a concise historical survey of this particular part of Augustinian iconography from the early fourteenth-century medallions of the *Augustinusfenster* at Erfurt (on p. 643, the authors suggest the same interpretation of the scene in section 4c of the cycle we have advanced above) to a present-day fresco by Helmuth Macke in the former Augustinian monastery at Marienthal on the Lower Rhine.

It is hardly surprising that, in the story of St. Augustine's conversion, the dramatic TOLLE, LEGE scene in the garden at Milan and his baptism

by St. Ambrose caught the imagination of artists, and that these very scenes are among those for which definite types of representation were developed. One motif frequently used by artists in painting the scene of St. Augustine's baptism — represented in most instances as taking place in the interior of a richly decorated and columned church — is taken from the well-known legend according to which the hymn *Te deum laudamus* was spontaneously composed by St. Ambrose and St. Augustine on this occasion. As we are told in Jacopo da Voragine's *Golden Legend*, the bishop of Milan intoned, *Te deum laudamus*, and his famous pupil responded, *Te dominum confitemur*, and thus in alternate order they sang the hymn to the end. In pictures showing the baptismal scene, the opening line of the hymn either appears between the architectural setting of the background, or is inscribed on banderoles which, in a picturesque arrangement, are floating around the persons taking part in the ceremony. Here we must call attention to another contribution by Mme Courcelle, entitled « Les deux Augustin dans une miniature du XV^e siècle » (*Revue des études augustiniennes* 8 [1962] 169-175). The article contains an exquisite discussion of an interesting feature in the *Breviary of Salisbury*, a manuscript famous for the wealth of its illustrations executed by a French miniaturist (Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 17294). A large and beautiful miniature with scenes from the life of St. Augustine of Canterbury decorates fol. 461^v, the first page of the office of the saint (see plate 1 of Mme Courcelle's article). While, in the scenes in the upper part of the miniature, the artist on the whole followed the account of St. Augustine of Canterbury's missionary activity in England found in our sources (Augustine's arrival in England, his reception by King Ethelbert, his preaching before the king and members of the royal court), he obviously became confused when, in a logical continuation of the series, he set about to paint the scene of Ethelbert's baptism by the Apostle of England (lower right corner of the miniature). At first glance nothing in the picture seems to be out of order; all the persons appearing in the scene can be accounted for. A closer examination, however, reveals that there has been added a motif which, as we have mentioned above, had been inspired by Jacopo da Voragine's *Golden Legend* and, since the early fourteenth century, had become traditional in the representation of the baptism of St. Augustine of Hippo. We see two banderoles. On the one spiraling upward from the font in which Ethelbert is baptized, we read: *Te deum laudamus*; the other winding downward is inscribed: *Te dominum confitemur*. Moreover, to the left of the figure of St. Augustine of Canterbury there is written the name: *S. Ambroise* (see Mme Courcelle's thorough analysis of the scene in her article, pp. 171-173 and plates I and II). Nor did the confusion in the mind of the miniaturist end here. Without discrimination, he filled the remaining part of his miniature with paintings of two scenes which have no relation to the life of St. Augustine of Canterbury at all, but belong to medieval iconographical cycles of St. Augustine of Hippo. Both scenes represent episodes recounted by Augustine himself

in his *Confessiones* : the boy Augustine is presented by his parents to the headmaster of a school ; his mother Monica is assured by a vision of Augustine's final conversion to the Catholic faith (see the article cited above, pp. 173 f. and plates I, III and IV). Mme Courcelle's study, distinguished by lucid interpretation, offers a rare and instructive excursion into the realm of iconography.

The latest contribution by M. and Mme Courcelle to the whole complex of Augustinian iconography is contained in an article entitled « Scènes anciennes de l'iconographie Augustinienne » (*Revue des études augustiniennes* 10 [1964] 51-96, including 24 plates). The conclusions the authors arrive at are important. They may be summarized as follows. Entire cycles portraying the life of St. Augustine did not come into existence before 1300. Generally they are monumental works of art by glass-painters, sculptors and fresco-painters. Their appearance was intimately connected with the first period of flowering the Order of the Augustinian Hermits experienced during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Thus, unlike some other saints, the bishop of Hippo was included into this particular genre of iconography at a relatively late date. On the other hand, miniatures representing isolated scenes can be found as early as the tenth century. The authors describe twenty-four beautifully reproduced miniatures, for the most part belonging to the period from the tenth to the twelfth century, and list as principal subjects of the scenes the following : St. Augustine converses with a disciple ; he talks to a group of persons (either monks or clerics or members of the faithful) ; he gives his monastic rule ; he debates with an individual heretic or a group of heretics ; he receives an inspiration (plates I-XXI). From the twelfth century on, miniaturists also began to represent narrative scenes : the baptism of St. Augustine ; St. Augustine and the child on the seashore ; St. Augustine's death (plates XXII-XXIV. 2). Thus there can hardly be any doubt about the existence of an Augustinian iconography prior to the fourteenth century.

After such valuable and substantial contributions to the vast and complex problem of Augustinian iconography, we are looking forward to the publication of the comparative study of the Boston manuscript and other cycles of Augustinian iconography, M. and Mme Courcelle have promised in their edition of the Boston *Vita* (p. 11 n. 1).

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