

The Augustine Screen in Carlisle Cathedral*)

This is one of four painted screens¹⁾ erected in the cathedral church in the late fifteenth century, when it was still occupied by Augustinian canons regular. These screens are happily preserved, among the few such objects to have survived the iconoclasm of the succeeding age. The only exact dating possible to assign to them is that of the episcopate of Richard Bell, at one time Benedictine prior of Durham and then bishop of Carlisle, 1478-1495²⁾. It has been conclusively shown³⁾ that some of the pictures on another screen, with the life of Cuthbert, were taken from a manuscript, then in the Durham monastic library and loaned, surely at Bell's instance, to Carlisle for this purpose, which is now British Library Additional 39943. Some have thought a narrower dating possible, that a 'T.G.' monogram can be discerned in the whorled layers of faded pink paint, now only faintly differentiated in colour, which contribute a vaguely floral pattern to the damascened background of the Augustine screen's Scene 17, 'A diabolical apparition', and that this might record that the screen was executed during the priorate, elsewhere commemorated by such a monogram, 1484-1507, of Thomas Gondibour⁴⁾; but most observers will find this imaginative effort beyond their powers. E. W. Tristram, who cleaned and repaired the screens, is quoted by Bertram Colgrave⁵⁾ as having seen in them the work of two artists, one, the painter of the Augustine and Cuthbert screens, 'quite highly skilled in

*) A recent publication is Edmund Colledge: 'Caxton's Addition to the "Legenda sancti Augustini"' (*Augustiniana* 34, 1984, pp. 198-212), where I have recorded my obligations, among others, to the British Academy, the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, and Mr. Guy Pawle, for his photography. I am especially grateful to the Dean, the Very Revd J. H. Churchill, for his expert counsel on the order followed by the screen's pictures.

¹⁾ For the others, see 'Caxton's Addition', pp. 198-199.

²⁾ Robert T. HOLTBY: *Carlisle Cathedral* (London, 1972), p. 15.

³⁾ Bertram Colgrave: 'The St. Cuthbert Paintings on the Carlisle Cathedral Stalls' (*The Burlington Magazine* 23, 1938, pp. 17-19).

⁴⁾ The originator of this mare's nest was a knowledgeable Carlisle layman, Charles PURDAY, author of a pamphlet, printed locally in 1859, *Architecture of Carlisle Cathedral*. When Canon C. G. V. HARCOURT was preparing his work, *Legends of St. Augustine, St. Anthony and St. Cuthbert* (Carlisle, 1868), he appealed to Purday for advice on their date, and this is what he was given.

⁵⁾ 'The St. Cuthbert Paintings', p. 17.

this class of decorative painting', the other, 'the poorer and coarser craftsman', responsible for the Anthony screen, to whom Tristram also attributed, more dubiously, the apostles screen⁶). Since the present writer is familiar only with the Augustine screen, he cannot comment on this; but it seems that one man alone copied the captions for all three saints — but not for the apostles — and that these captions must have been composed locally, after the scheme for each screen had been planned. There can be little doubt that the subject-matter and the inscriptions of the Augustine pictures derive from James of Voragine's immensely popular Latin collection, the *Legenda Aurea*⁷); but the further probability that they were produced after the publication, c. 1485, of William Caxton's English translation of the 'Legend'⁸) cannot be proved, and so must be advanced only tentatively.

It will be seen⁹) that the Augustine screen is no longer in the place for which it was designed. It is composed of six vertical strips, the first five containing each four pictures with their accompanying texts; but the sixth has only two such scenes, leaving an upper space blank except for a crude geometrical pattern, so that the rest, and a small portion at the top of the fifth strip, could remain unpainted. Evidently this was because these areas would be covered by a masking arch which can no longer be identified in the surviving structure of the choir.

The screen showing the apostles is executed with a certain professional skill, and, Tristram's opinion notwithstanding, it may have originated in some atelier where such studies were regularly produced; but the other three — at least, in this writer's view — are the work of a different man, who cannot be rated higher than a not incompetent journeyman. Whether he was employed full-time on such enterprises we cannot know; but the ease and correctness with which the verse couplets and the Latin tags, suspensions and all, are copied, and the deftness with which they are made to fit into the total design of each picture suggest that the same artist made both images and inscriptions, and that he may have been a scribe, with talent for illustrating his work, such as we often encounter in the fifteenth century¹⁰).

⁶) HOLTBY — see note 2 — p. 17.

⁷) COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' — see note 1 — pp. 198-208.

⁸) *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁹) 'Augustine screen: overall view'.

¹⁰) See Edmund COLLEDGE and J.C. MARLER: "'Mystical" Pictures in the Suso "Exemplar"; MS Strasbourg 2929' (*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 54, 1984, pp. 293-

A striking feature of these three screens is the arrangement of pictures of single events in sequences. This technique has become what is known colloquially as the 'comic strip'; and David Kunzle¹¹⁾ has provided a wealth of illustration of how it was used. He takes his earliest examples from fifteenth-century block-books, and then from the first made with moveable type. Discussing the genre, he isolates, as its essential features, 'a sequence of images', the 'preponderance of image over text', 'a mass medium' and 'topical moral narrative'.

Had Kunzle investigated even older art-forms, he could have found some of the same characteristics. Walter Cahn¹²⁾ has shown such pictures arranged in strips in 'Scenes with Samuel and Saul' which he calls 'the oldest Bible illustrations of Christian origin thus far discovered'. Margaret Rickert¹³⁾ has examples of single episodes in pictures arranged sequentially in a variety of illustrated mediaeval English Bibles; and her first instance is the sixth or seventh-century 'Gospels of St. Augustine' which originated, if not in Italy, then at Canterbury¹⁴⁾. It is true that such costly volumes cannot be classed as 'mass media', but with this exception Kunzle's criteria apply. Margaret Rickert, it should be noted, believed that in this style of illustration 'the possible influence of early Christian or Carolingian wall-painting' could be traced¹⁵⁾.

In many later mediaeval manuscripts such sequences of illustrations have been preserved¹⁶⁾; and numerous reproductions in Kunzle show broadsheets containing 'topical moral narratives', with each event in the story given one picture in a series. His sixth chapter, 'Private Crime. Public Execution', is a lavish catalogue; and one should observe

354), and the literature we cite there, especially Francis WORMALD: 'Some popular Miniatures and their rich Relations' (*Miscellanea pro Arte: Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres*, Düsseldorf 1965, pp. 279-285) and Rosemary WOOLF's account, in *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), of MS British Library Add. 37049.

¹¹⁾ *The Early Comic Strip (History of the Comic Strip Volume I*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1973).

¹²⁾ *Romanesque Bible Illustration* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1952), Plate 4, reproducing the 'Quedlinburg Itala', MS Berlin Staatsbibliothek theol. lat., f. 485, and p. 13.

¹³⁾ *Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages* (2nd edition, Harmondsworth, 1954).

¹⁴⁾ Margaret RICKERT's authority is Francis WORMALD: *The Miniatures in St. Augustine's Gospels* (Cambridge, England, 1954).

¹⁵⁾ P. 67.

¹⁶⁾ Margaret RICKERT: *Painting in Britain*, Plates 67, A and B, 86; Malcolm BAKER: 'Medieval Illustrations of Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert* (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41, 1975, pp. 16-49.

particularly his Plate 6-18, a report of one such crime, printed at Prague in 1609, with a direction that the verses accompanying the pictures are to be sung 'to the tune "God help me to succeed"'. Here we have evidence of a form of public entertainment which, if it existed in the British Isles, seems not to have left any vestiges, but was practised in Germany by what were called the *Moritätsänger*, immortalized in Bertold Brecht's *Dreigroschenoper*, singers of ballads recounting (usually) gruesome deeds who will enhance their story by indicating with a pointer one after another in successions of lurid paintings depicting the events they are recounting in song.

A similar procedure, one believes, would account for the presentation of the pictures and captions of the three Carlisle screens; and in the best-preserved of them, the Augustine screen, we have the features described by Kunzle strikingly instanced.

It is probable that the artist, once commissioned by the Carlisle canons to paint Augustine's life, was given a pattern-book from which to copy the scenes. This book, of which there is now no known trace, seems to have been much older than the screen. It is certain that it was made under the supervision of the Augustinian canons regular, using as their literary source James of Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, and that the explanatory verses were composed in Northern England, it may be in the Carlisle house for which the screen was made.

The preparation of such pattern-books for painters to copy is well attested, and there survive two manuscripts with independent series of cyclical pictures of episodes in his life narrated by Augustine and others, and one other which contains Latin verses without illustrations but intended to serve as captions¹⁷). They display different chronological orders, although James Legrand's verses begin, as does the screen, with Augustine being brought to school¹⁸). That these copies were taken from older patterns is suggested, for the screen, by the fashion of the women's dress in Scenes 1 and 16, and also by the affinities of the landscapes in Scenes 6, 7 and 8 with the treatment in similar scenes from books of the fifteenth century. We can be sure that at least the immediate models for such scenes as 13 were designed to the requirements of the canons, since they show Augustine and his brethren vested in canons' choir-habit,

¹⁷) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' — see note 1 — pp. 207-208.

¹⁸) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *Iconographie de saint Augustin: Les cycles du xv^e siècle* (Paris, 1969), p. 17.

black *pellicea* and *almucia* with a white mantle¹⁹). One can be all but certain that the literary source of the pattern-book was the *Legenda Aurea*, which is the only work known to the present writer which can provide most incidents depicted and most texts quoted on the screen. That its English verses were composed in the north of England, or, at least, by someone speaking an English with some northern forms, is demonstrated by such distinctive variants as *banes*, *kyrk*, *tald*, *tothwark* and *tyll*, although they show that admixture of non-northern forms which is to be expected in most vernacular texts of the late fifteenth century.

In what follows, a photograph of each scene contained in the screen is reproduced; and these plates follow the screen's order, vertically from the uppermost picture of the left-hand strip. The English verses are transcribed (the letter 'thorn' being transliterated as 'th') and translated. The Latin inscriptions are given; and in both English and Latin, abbreviations are expanded silently. In the discussions, the most important and relevant literature is cited²⁰).

Scene 1 Augustine is put to school.

Caption Her fader and moder of sanct Austyne
fyrst pvt hym her to lerne doctrine.

'Here St. Augustine's father and mother first brought him to school to acquire learning'.

Monica, leading a lagging Augustine by the hand, and Patrick, making to doff his cap, greet the master in the school porch. He holds a birch-rod as his symbol of office; and Patrick's age is suggested by the staff with which he walks, Augustine's status as a pupil is shown — unrealistically — by the bound volume secured with a clasp which he holds, rather than a mediaeval schoolboy's normal writing equipment, a waxed tablet.

Monica's dress is a serviceable ground length, and Patrick's tunic covers his calves. Yet Augustine and the master wear gowns trailing on the ground. Perhaps in Augustine's case this hints at the frugality of the

¹⁹) For our knowledge of a mediaeval canon's habit, see Scene 15 and notes.

²⁰) In the footnotes, the following title-abbreviations are used: LCI *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Rome, Freiburg i.B., Basle and Vienna, 1968-1971); PL *Patrologiae latinae cursus completus* (Paris, 1879-).

family, who have left room for him to 'grow to' his new attire; but we may suppose that the schoolmaster is so shown to give an effect of importance. In one illuminated initial in an encyclopaedia of canon law, made c. 1340, probably in England, now in the British Library, an altercation is shown between distinctively-attired lawyers and knights; and the clerks have robes which more than cover their feet²¹). Both garments seem to be lined; and it has recently been observed that 'The word *fururata* ... which in French accounts usually means simply "lined", in English accounts definitely means "Lined with fur"'²²).

In this scene and in Scene 3, Monica is dressed in the same style, though, since more than twenty years must have elapsed between Augustine's early school days and his departure for Rome, the artist should be given credit for his care in showing Monica in different costume, of another colour and with distinctive trimmings. In the later scene she also wears a long cloak lighter in shade than her dress. In this age painters were usually negligent in such matters, which is shown in Scene 16, where a woman surprises Augustine rapt in study. This story, probably apocryphal²³), was told of him as a bishop, by which time he was at least forty-five years old; yet this suppliant woman is dressed in the same style as his mother in the two previous scenes, showing events possibly forty and twenty years earlier, with the exception that this woman has abandoned Monica's veil, as all but nuns were beginning to do in the fifteenth century²⁴), and wears instead what seems to be a dark hood, covering her head and neck, over a linen coif.

Monica in Scenes 1 and 3 and the woman in Scene 16 are shown dressed in gowns — or, it may be, skirts without bodices — and over this in each case a 'cote-hardie' or super-tunic, which must have been pulled on over the head, since it is not shown buttoned as persons of fashion wore it. In Stella Mary Newton's informative study, she has a telling juxtaposition of a contemporary drawing of a lavishly-buttoned 'por-point', hip-length tunic worn by a knight, and a modern photograph of such a garment, its beautifully-made fastenings intact, probably worn by Charles of Blois, ob. 1364, claimant to the duchy of Brittany²⁵).

²¹) Stella Mary NEWTON: *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1980, p. 70, Fig. b.

²²) Id., p. 113.

²³) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' — see note 1 — p. 204.

²⁴) James LAVER: *A Concise History of Costume* (London, 1969), p. 64.

²⁵) *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince* — see note 21 — Illustrations 39 and 40.

Monica's dresses have the hems trimmed, in Scene 1 with what is intended to represent 'miniver', in Scene 3 with what looks like piping of a lighter shade.

In the family group of Scene 1, the only hint of sartorial extravagance is in Patrick's long and narrow-toed shoes, 'crakows', as they were called. A Malmesbury chronicler, writing of the year 1362 and deploring degenerate fashions in clothing, wrote: 'They wear shoes shaped like birds' beaks which are known as «crakows», with points longer than a finger, that one would take for devils' talons rather than for any human adornment'²⁶). It has been suggested that this name, and 'Poulaines', given to the pointed toes themselves, show that this new fashion in footwear was introduced in 1381-2, when Richard II's marriage with Anne of Bohemia was negotiated and celebrated; but it is evident that the style, and its name, had already been in use.

It is not remarkable that it is Patrick and not Monica who has been given this one trait of modishness. All that Augustine relates of his mother speaks of the strict moderation of her life; and it has been observed of the Middle Ages that 'Women, in general, were less extravagantly clad than men'²⁷).

Neither need we be surprised that the artist of the Carlisle screen, working, we suppose, in the 1480s, recorded this fashion, which had been introduced into England more than a century before. He was almost certainly copying the pattern-book which had been given to him; and there are numerous features of the screen which suggest that there had been a considerable interval between the making of the patterns and their copying in the screen.

Since the subjects of state portraits and funerary monuments are most often shown attired in splendour, it is not to be wondered at that this screen's representations of humble lay attire cannot be paralleled with others which it is possible to date accurately. Their nearest relatives are to be found in the genre scenes of the marginalia of late mediaeval manuscripts. This has been liberally allowed for by Stella Mary Newton, who has a chapter, 'Livery and Dress of the Poor', in which one of her most frequent sources is the lively pictures of the Luttrell Psalter²⁸), where we are shown women in a variety of agricultural and domestic

²⁶) *Eulogium historiarum*, ed. F. S. Hayton (*Chronicles and Memorials*, 1863), p. 231.

²⁷) *Concise History of Costume* — see note 24 — p. 70.

²⁸) Ed. E. G. MILLAR, London, 1932.

occupations; but in almost every case they are depicted, unlike Monica, simply clad in long gowns, seldom with any indication that the skirt and bodice might have been made separately. It is impossible to decide whether this suggests that the artist has endowed Monica with attributes of prosperity greater than peasant women enjoyed, or if she is shown wearing a fashion introduced later than the mid-fourteenth century, to which the Luttrell Psalter is ascribed²⁹).

That the schoolmaster is shown brandishing a birch-rod is a commonplace; and we find a close parallel to this entire scene in a window, which can be dated as of the fifteenth century though not more precisely³⁰), in St. Martin-le-Grand, York, celebrating the fame of the church's patron, Martin of Tours. One scene from a side light shows the young Martin being brought to school by his parents and presented at the schoolhouse door to the master. As on the screen, the father and mother are greeting the master respectfully, he raising his cap, and the master carries a birch-rod. Augustine testified to the harsh exercise of this authority³¹). Through a clumsy rearrangement of sections of the glass, the York master is also invested with a mitre. In both pictures the child is held by the mother's hand, but in the York version the reluctance which it shows is even more marked. Knowles calls this 'another scene which was included as a matter of course in the lives of the saints', but he instances no further examples, though elsewhere he mentions the detail from the apocryphal *Cursor Mundi*, a verse narrative older than either the York window or the Carlisle screen, telling how Christ as a child resented and resisted his teachers' brutality, and how one of them, making to strike him, died because of that³²).

There is a marked diversity among the various mediaeval representations of Monica; and the distinguished iconographer George Kaftal has suggested that her cult was a late one, and 'probably originated at the translation of her relics in 1430 from Ostia' (where she died and remained buried until her bones were identified by an inscription) 'to Rome'; and he states that 'her earliest images do not seem to go back further than the

²⁹) *Ibid.*, p. 1.

³⁰) J. A. KNOWLES: 'The West Window, St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York' (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 58, 1953, pp. 148-184).

³¹) Luc VERHEIJEN, ed.: *Confessionum Libri XIII* (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina XXVII, Turnhout, 1981), p. 8.

³²) Ed. Richard MORRIS, vol. 2, Early English Text Society OS 59, 62, 1875-6, pp. 629 e.s.

middle of the fifteenth century'³³). By this account, those of the Carlisle screen are among the first.

Scene 2 Augustine teaching.

Caption Her taught he grammor and rethorike;
emongys all doctors non was hym lyke.

'Here he taught grammar and rhetoric; there was no-one to equal him among all teachers'.

The immediate source of this is the first chapter of the only contemporary biography of Augustine, by Possidius, one of his disciples and later bishop of Calama, where he writes: '... first he taught grammar in his own city, and later rhetoric in the African capital, Carthage. Then as time passed he crossed the sea to Rome, and settled in Milan ...'³⁴). Characteristically, this is a much-conflated version of Augustine's own account of his academic progress, unsystematic and subordinated to his story of his arduous spiritual pilgrimage which led to the crowning, as it then seemed, of his teaching career by his appointment in 384 to what we in England today should call 'the Regius chair' of rhetoric at Milan, then the seat of imperial government³⁵).

He tells us of the care exercised by the governor of Milan, the prefect Symmachus, in filling this chair, and of the support for his own candidature given by his then co-religionists, the Manichaeans. In the Greek and Roman worlds, a professor of rhetoric was entrusted not merely with the fostering of his pupils' abilities as men of letters and public speakers, but with the formation of their attitudes towards life and morality. Finally, Augustine turned away from the profession and practice of rhetoric; but his gifts — and here the author of the English couplet is not exaggerating — ensured that he remained, till the end of the Middle Ages and thereafter, the most potent influence among all Christian writers, the New Testament alone excepted.

The picture is a genre study of a mediaeval lecture-room. The professor is shown occupying his stately 'chair', with pupils seated on benches around him. He employs the traditional 'teaching gesture', most familiar from representations of Thomas Aquinas; on the Augustine

³³) *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence, 1952), pp. 749, 752.

³⁴) PL 32 35.

³⁵) *Confessions* — see note 31 — II v.

screen, it is even better shown in Scene 14, as the Manichaeian Fortunatus enumerates the points he is making when confronted by his adversary. Here, the saint is expounding a text, one, open, of two clasped books lying before him on the table with its cloth with embroidered border. The student on the right may be following the text, but the rest do not, because, in due course, they will be able to buy copies of the lecture from the university stationers or to rent them for their own copying, whether they had been dictated for this purpose to a secretary by the professor or taken down in a primitive shorthand by writers whom the stationers employed. Care has been taken to show the pupils in a variety of costume different from the professor's attire. Four of them have clerics' tonsures.

Scene 3 Augustine eludes his mother and embarks for Rome.

Caption Her promysid he with hys moder to abide
 bot he left hyr wepying and stal the tyde.

 'Here he promised to remain with his mother, but he left
 her weeping and sailed away by stealth'.

Inscription Grace de Du.

 'The grace of God'.

The source of this incident is in Book V of the *Confessions*³⁶). Monica is shown kneeling in prayer on the African shore, where the artist has drawn flowers, as she looks across the sea, with its crudely-drawn fish, to the ship in which Augustine, dressed in professor's robes, and two other laymen are being carried away by an off-shore wind. Monica's costume has already been discussed.

Mr. Ian Friel of the Archaeological Research Centre at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, who has generously examined photographs of this scene, writes: 'The hull shape of this vessel is somewhat stylized, but some details of construction and rig are competently rendered (such as the shrouds, lifts, pintle straps, etc.) The rig is the most important datable feature of this painting: two-masted rig does not appear to have been known in England before the early fifteenth century ... The hull form has been simplified and the proportions of the aftercastle are rather too small, but the painter seems to have tried to depict clinker planking. Planks are edge-fastened in clinker construction

³⁶) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 65.

and the nail-heads in this painting are found consistently on the lower edges of the planks'.

The artist has named the ship merely by inscribing 'Grace de Du' on the mainsail. Whether this was then the practice may be doubted; but 'God's grace' as a ship's name is well attested. In 1372 Edward III embarked at Sandwich for France in his ship which was so called³⁷); and in 1373 a merchant was permitted to transport a cargo of old wheat to Bordeaux from London in another vessel of the same name³⁸).

Scene 4 Augustine teaches at Rome.

Caption Thus taught he at Rome the sevyn science.
There was gret prece tyll hys presence.

'So he taught the seven branches of knowledge at Rome,
where he had a crowded auditorium'.

The *Confessions*³⁹) tell us that Augustine went to Rome with the intention of teaching rhetoric, as he did until appointed to a chair in that subject at Milan (see Scene 2). A possible explanation of this misstatement, that he there taught the 'seven branches of knowledge', that is, the traditional school curriculum of the 'trivium', grammar, rhetoric and logic, and the 'quadrivium', arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy, is that it may have originated as an erroneous interpretation of such a picture as that numbered 'v' in MS Berlin Kupferstichkabinett 78A 19a⁴⁰), showing the boy Augustine with the local schoolmaster (see Scene 1) acquiring all the 'liberal arts', the 'seven branches' except arithmetic.

The picture here is merely a variant of Scene 2, except that, strangely, flowers are shown growing between the floorboards. There is a damask-figured background, an embroidered table-cloth, and Augustine, seated in state, employs the 'teaching gesture', surrounded by admiring students who hold books but take no notes. The Courcelles observe⁴¹) that they have been given different ages, and that 'their gestures and their facial expressions convey only complacency, ancient

³⁷) *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward III*, vol. XIII, 1369-1374 (Rolls Series, 1911), p. 461.

³⁸) *Id.*, p. 516.

³⁹) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 69.

⁴⁰) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *XV*, Plate III.

⁴¹) *Id.*, p. 122.

heritage of the Roman schools in England'. What this means is not apparent; and they seem to read too much into the artist's cultivated naif graphic style.

The authority for the 'crowded auditorium' seems to be Philip of Harveng (see the notes to Scene 18) in his chapter vi, or some earlier source which he was using: 'He came to Rome, where many pupils flocked into his lecture-theatre, so that soon he became known to them and through them to the whole city'⁴²). This is not in Possidius, whose treatment of the events described in the *Confessions* which precede the conversion is perfunctory.

Scene 5 Ambrose preaches on the interpretation of Scripture.

Caption Her prechyd Ambrose and oft tymys mevid
Quod littera occidit wych Austine mevid.

'Here Ambrose preached and often argued that "The letter kills", which convinced Augustine'.

The source of this is *Confessions* Book V⁴³), where Augustine tells of one of the several turning-points in his way into the Church, as Ambrose in Milan gradually persuaded him that 'the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life'⁴⁴) is applicable to the understanding of Scripture, and that Manichaean belittling of the Bible, for long a stumbling-block for Augustine, was founded upon literal interpretation of what should be understood in a spiritual sense. This passage from the *Confessions* is found neither in Possidius nor in the *Legenda Aurea*, but in Philip of Harveng's chapter 7⁴⁵).

Ambrose is in a pulpit in episcopal vestments, Augustine is dressed as a tonsured cleric who may be holding upright the processional cross. There is no indication that the veiled woman represents Monica.

The artist was so limited by his architectural setting that he could not find room for the last letter, 'd', of the second 'mevid' in the caption. He draw a hyphen, intending to add it below, but this he forgot.

⁴²) PL 203 1209.

⁴³) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 77.

⁴⁴) II Corinthians 3.6.

⁴⁵) PL 203 1210.

Scene 6 Ponticianus recounts the life of Anthony to Augustine, who then addresses Alypius.

Caption Her Ponciane hym tald the lyffe off sanct Anton
And to Elipius he stonyshed said thus onone:

Inscription Quid patimur? Surgunt indocti et celum rapiunt,
et nos cum doctrinis nostris in infernum demergimur.

'Here Ponticianus told him of the life of St. Anthony, and astonished he said at once to Alypius: "What is wrong with us? The ignorant rise up and take heaven by storm, and we with our learning are being thrust down to hell"'.

The source of this is an episode recounted in the *Confessions*⁴⁶). Augustine and his fellow townsman Alypius, who had followed him to Milan, where they were sharing a rented house, were anxiously seeking for proofs of the truth of the Christian faith; and another African, Ponticianus, who although an earnest Christian held high rank at the imperial court, had told them of the severe asceticism which the hermit Anthony used to practise in the Egyptian desert.

The text gives us Augustine's reaction, charged, as is the whole passage, with intense emotion. It is not taken exactly from the *Confessions*, but as the story is retailed by James of Voragine in the *Legenda Aurea*⁴⁷), where the allusion to Matthew 11.12 and Luke 10.15 is stressed. Bonaventure in his commentary on Luke 11.32 also uses this version⁴⁸).

The figure on the left certainly represents Augustine, in a professor's cap and furred robe; and the central figure most probably is that of Ponticianus, telling him of the marvels of Egyptian eremitical life and pointing towards the right-hand figure, a man at prayer, most likely Anthony, who may have been identified by the inscription above, now wholly obliterated. The Courcelles adduce the *Historia Augustini*, from MS Berlin Kupferstichkabinett 78A 29a⁴⁹), where, over the heads of Ponticianus, Augustine and Alypius, angels are displaying a heavenly

⁴⁶) VIII 8 (19), ed, VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 125.

⁴⁷) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'James of Voragine's "Legenda sancti Augustini" and its Sources' (*Augustiniana* 35, 1985, pp. 281-314), — line 76 e.s.

⁴⁸) *Bonaventurae ... in Lucam enarratio* (Venice, 1574), p. 254. Fr. Eelcko YPMA and Mr. J. VAN SINT FEITH have given valuable help in the elucidation of this passage.

⁴⁹) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *XV*, p. 123, Plate X.

vision of a nimbed figure captioned 'anima scti Anthonii'. They also observe that the form of the name 'Ponciane' here and on the Carlisle screen is found in the *Legenda Aurea*.

This is the first of three scenes — the others are 7, 'Augustine bewails his sins', and 8, 'Tolle lege', which follow the *Confessions* in providing a garden setting for the events described or depicted. They are strongly reminiscent of another such scene in MS British Library Nero A. x, f. 37. The manuscript contains the late fourteenth-century English alliterative poem *Pearl* and the other works ascribed to its unknown author; and E. V. Gordon called it 'not later than c. 1400'⁵⁰). F. 37 has an illustration showing the poem's conventional opening, with the poet-dreamer asleep on the flower-grown banks of a stream, where we find the same stylized treatment, especially of botanical detail, as on the screen. Gordon called the pictures 'crude and inartistic'⁵¹). As a judgment, 'simplified and popular' might be preferred.

Scene 7 Augustine bewails his sins.

Caption Her sore wepyng al hys gret syn
 He went to morne a garth within.

'Here, weeping sorely for his many sins, he went to lament inside a garden'.

This picture appears to serve as a multiple illustration to Augustine's narrative in *Confessions* VIII 12⁵²), where he describes the spiritual crisis during which he prostrated himself under a fig tree and gave way to a violent fit of weeping. Recovering himself somewhat, he retrieved the copy of the Scriptures which he had been studying, and his eye fell on the text from Romans 13.13-14, 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and impurity ... but put on the Lord Jesus Christ'.

The central figure in this picture, once again, is identifiable by its professorial dress as Augustine, and the book over which he is exclaiming is, presumably, the Epistle to the Romans. If so, the figure to the rear with minatory finger raised must be Paul. Augustine tells how he then returned to Alypius to show him this verse, when Alypius drew his

⁵⁰) Ed. *Pearl* (Oxford, 1953), p. XLIII.

⁵¹) Id., frontispiece; p.x.

⁵²) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — pp. 130-132.

attention to the continuation, Romans 14.1: 'Now help him who is weak in faith . . .'; and this probably accounts for the left-hand couple, at the rear of the garden, with another open book between them.

The garden is surrounded by a fence of palings, with a gap at the angle to permit entry. Such fences are a common feature of 'gardens of love', as in manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*⁵³); and very often there is in this allusion, which, however, we need not suppose here, to the notion of the 'enclosed garden', *hortus conclusus*, a common appellation in mediaeval devotional literature of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The formal, stylized arrangement of flowering hillocks may be compared with Scenes 1 — where a garden setting is vaguely suggested — 6 and 8. In this scene, however, there is a strong resemblance to a 'strip' arrangement of four miniatures on f. 125 of MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge 286⁵⁴), now generally agreed to have been written in Italy in the sixth century and to have been sent to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, c. A.D. 700. In one miniature, the Agony in the Garden is shown. At the back, where bushes and mounds are roughly sketched, Christ is shown prostrate in prayer. In the foreground he appears a second time, with finger pointed in admonition towards three sleeping disciples. From a cloud a 'manus Dei' is extended. The picture is in fact a conflated illustration for Matthew 26.36-45, with a possible allusion to Luke 22.43; and one may not impertinently speculate whether the originator of the Augustine pattern-book from which the Carlisle scene was taken saw and wished to indicate to others an analogy between these events of the Passion and Augustine's account of his own 'agony in a garden'.

Scene 8 'Tolle lege'.

Caption Her wepyng and walyng as he lay
Sodenly a voice thus herd he say:

Inscription Tolle lege, tolle lege.

'Here as he lay weeping and wailing, he suddenly heard a voice that said: "Take it and read it, take it and read it"'.
The opinion of one modern commentator is that the text is a 'read it and read it'.

⁵³ See the illustrations to Eithne WILKINS: *The Rose-Garden Game* (London, 1969), and John V. FLEMING: *The 'Roman de la Rose': a Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton, 1969).

⁵⁴ All four are reproduced as Plate IV by Francis WORMALD: *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine* — see note 14.

Resemblances have already been indicated between the picture in MS Cotton Nero A. x, showing the *Pearl* poet dreaming in a garden, and pictures of the Carlisle screen. The resemblance is especially marked here in Scene 8, showing Augustine reclining in such a setting as he receives his locution.

The narrative in the *Confessions* which this scene illustrates is a sequel to what is shown in Scenes 6 and 7. Ponticianus, visiting the friends in their Milan garden, found them, to his surprise, reading Romans; and this led him to tell them of Antony and the Desert Fathers. Then he went on to recount an incident of which this reminded him, when he and some companions had visited a house of religious at Treves, and one of them, chancing on a book which contained a life of Anthony, read in it the precept: 'Go, sell what you have and give it to the poor ...'⁵⁵) and resolved at once to do so. Ponticianus's story led Augustine to exclaim to Alypius: 'What is wrong with us ...?' as we have seen in Scene 6; and then he describes the exchanges between them over the Romans text which seem to be indicated in Scene 7. Then Augustine withdrew, so as not to distress Alypius with his tears; and he continues: 'And all at once I heard a voice from a house near by, singing these words again and again, as it were some boy's voice or a girl's, I do not know what: "Take it and read it, take it and read it"'⁵⁶).

This Carlisle scene, with the words 'Tolle lege' inscribed on a cartouche which a winged angel is displaying in the air, is an interpretation not, we may think, supported by Augustine. He suggests that what he heard may have been some child in a neighbour's house, and that the words might have been part of a children's game, though he could not recall having heard them before; yet he understood this to mean that he ought to examine again what he had read from Paul's epistle: '... Not in riotousness and wantonness ... but clothe yourselves with our Lord Jesus Christ'⁵⁷).

The opinion of one modern commentator⁵⁸) supports this: the command which Augustine had somehow received, 'Take it and read it', may have conveyed another precept such as Ponticianus's friend had

⁵⁵) Matthew 19.21.

⁵⁶) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 131.

⁵⁷) Romans 13.13-14.

⁵⁸) Adolar ZUMKELLER, trans. Edmund COLLEDGE and Janet BLOW: *Augustine's Ideal of the Religious Life* (New York, at press).

found by chance at Treves, and its force was that Augustine too should act with no further delay.

This is in a lower key than the Carlisle artist's suggestion of an angelic visitant; and it is not inapposite, as one considers this conjunction of angel, visionary and open book, to remark how often in mediaeval representations of the Annunciation — in that, for example, by Hans Memling, now in a New York private collection, and that by Lucas van Leyden in the Munich Alte Pinakothek⁵⁹) — Mary is shown interrupted by Gabriel in her devout reading.

Scene 9 Augustine, speechless for toothache, asks the people's prayers.

Caption No worde for tothwark myght he say
but wrate to the pepil for hym to pray.

'He could not utter a word because of toothache, but he wrote to the people asking them to pray for him'.

The source is the ninth book of the *Confessions*⁶⁰). The same interior is shown as in Scene 18. In Augustine's narrative there is nothing to justify this setting in a church. He tells how he spent the summer vacation which preceded his baptism on a country estate outside Milan with Alypius and other friends; and it was their prayers he asked for when he was so tormented with toothache that he could not speak. Right, Augustine lifts one hand in supplication and with the other holds a cloth to his face. Behind him a group also kneels in prayer, one veiled laywoman, three laymen and two clerics, differently attired.

Scene 10 Augustine's baptism.

Caption Her of sant Ambrose cristynynd was
The goode doctor Austine throgh godes grace.

'Here by the grace of God the good teacher Augustine was baptised by St. Ambrose'.

Inscription Te deum laudamus, te dominum confitemur.

'We praise you, God, we confess you to be the Lord'.

⁵⁹) See reproductions in LCI IV (1972), 'Verkündigung an Maria', Tafel II.

⁶⁰) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 140.

The source is Book Nine of the *Confessions*⁶¹); and the inscription recalls the legend⁶²) that it was on this occasion that the *Te Deum* was first recited by Ambrose and Augustine, divinely inspired to compose the hymn in alternating verses.

Ambrose is in episcopal vestments, and on the right stand two laymen, presumably Augustine's sponsors. He stands naked in a chalice-shaped font. Another such font, with Martin of Tours receiving baptism, is shown in a painted glass lunette at Chartres⁶³); and Benozzo Gozzoli in his San Gimignano fresco incorporates the *Te Deum* inscriptions in his picture of Augustine's baptism⁶⁴).

Scene 11 The death of Monica.

Caption Her deyde hys moder callyd Monica
As thai war retvrnyng in to Affrica.

'Here his mother, named Monica, died on their return journey to Africa'.

The source of this is Book IX of the *Confessions*, when Augustine's famous account of their talk, while he and Monica waited at Ostia at the Tiber's mouth for sea transport, about being lifted up to heaven in prayer, is followed by his story of his mother's death, before they could take ship, and of his grief⁶⁵).

The left-hand part of this composite picture is of a conventional death-bed, with Monica, her hands folded in prayer, attended by Augustine, who is here and in the right-hand part shown in professor's attire, and two other laymen. Right, a ship is being driven by an off-shore wind, with Augustine, accompanied by another man, looking back at the land they are leaving and towards his dead mother.

The helpful account which Mr. Ian Friel has given of the ship shown in Scene 3 is in many respects applicable also to this. Either picture shows a portion only of a ship; and Mr. Friel wrote: 'Without seeing the bow of the ship, it is impossible to know if the vessel was intended to be a three-master ... By the late fifteenth century, representations of three-masters were becoming much more common'.

⁶¹) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — pp. 140-141.

⁶²) For the documents concerning this, see Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' (first note), p. 204 and n. 33.

⁶³) See Ursula MIELKE, art.: 'Taufe' (LCI IV, 1972, 245).

⁶⁴) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *XV*, Plate LIX.

⁶⁵) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 148 e.s.

Although here we can see the ship's mizzen mast and yard, with the lifts and shrouds, and the after castle, constructed, as is the other ship, with clinker planking, only one corner is shown of the mainsail and a short section of the main yard, without, as in Scene 3, the main mast or top castle.

Scene 12 Valerius ordains Augustine priest.

Caption Her was he sacred prest and vsyd
 of Valery the bishopp thofe he refusyt.

'Here he was ordained priest and employed by the bishop
Valerius despite his reluctance'.

The source for this is the *Legenda Aurea*'s repetition of Possidius's chapter 4⁶⁶), telling how the bishop of Hippo insisted that Augustine should receive priestly ordination, and how many onlookers misinterpreted his tears of reluctance as a sign of his pride.

There seems to have been deliberate defacement, but it is still easy to discern the bishop, centre, in mitre and Mass vestments, with, right, Augustine, also vested in alb, dalmatic and chasuble, and, left, a deacon in alb and tunicle. Augustine and Valerius extend hands towards one another, and, as the deacon is holding the bishop's gloves, it seems that the artist chose to represent the moment when the candidate's palms are anointed. The setting is a church interior, with chequered floor and a pillar marked with one of the crosses blessed at the church's consecration with chrism by a bishop.

Scene 13 Augustine delivers his Rule.

Inscription .. proximus.

This scene has suffered more damage than most; and it is evident that much of it has been deliberately inflicted. The caption has been so completely erased as now to be illegible; nineteenth-century reconstructions⁶⁷) are purely conjectural.

Though each-member of the group of figures occupying the lower half has been decapitated, what remains shows four men in Augustinian canons regular choir habit, which will be discussed in Scene 18, kneeling

⁶⁶) Their common source is Augustine's *Sermon 355*, preached long after the event. See Peter BROWN: *Augustine of Hippo: a Biography* (London, 1967), pp. 138-139.

⁶⁷) One such is printed by J. and P. COURCELLE: *XV*, p. 127.

and facing a fifth, who evidently was seated in a chair placed on a dais with pierced supporting board. The fifth man's right arm and shoulder are in the same pale colouring as the mantles of the four, suggesting that he had been shown in a habit identical with theirs; but nothing else of him has survived. From the position of his right arm and the outstretched hand of the first kneeling cleric, one may presume that the seated figure was depicted handing some object to the cleric. What that object was, and what the subject of the scene, the cartouche occupying its upper half tells us.

Again, the cartouche's inscription has been erased, but not so thoroughly that its last word, 'proximus', cannot be discerned. This is enough to tell us that in its original state the cartouche must have read: 'Ante omnia, fratres carissimi, diligatur Deus, deinde et proximus'⁶⁸, 'Before everything, dearest brethren, let God be loved, and then also your neighbour'. These are the opening words of that form of Augustine's rule for religious known as the *Ordo monasterii*⁶⁹.

Such a scene is not uncommon; and a close analogue is to be found in MS British Library Arundel 155, f. 133, which has a drawing, c. A.D. 1012-1023, of Benedict presenting his Rule to kneeling Canterbury monks⁷⁰. An author giving his book to a kneeling recipient, or, it may be, himself kneeling to present it to a patron is a mediaeval commonplace. The Augustinian friar John Capgrave so embellished presentation-manuscripts of his writings with illuminated initials of crude, doubtless local execution, as the frontispiece to Fr. Cyril Smetana's edition of MS Huntington HM 55 shows⁷¹. Margaret Rickert has similar illustrations, also of the fifteenth century, showing 'Prince Henry and Hoccleve'⁷², 'Lydgate and Henry VI'⁷³, 'Lydgate and the Earl of Salisbury'⁷⁴, 'Bishop Bekynton and Chaundler'⁷⁵.

Who was responsible for these defacements, and why this picture was singled out, one can only conjecture. The last Catholic prior of Carlisle, Lancelot Salkeld, became the cathedral's first Anglican dean. In

⁶⁸ Luc VERHEIJEN: *La Règle de s. Augustin* (2 vols., Paris, 1967), p. 148.

⁶⁹ On this and other received forms of the Rule, see Edmund COLLEDGE's review of VERHEIJEN's *La Règle*, *Medium Ævum* 39, 1969, pp. 328-332.

⁷⁰ Reproduced as Plate 41 in Margaret RICKERT: *Painting in Britain* — see note 13.

⁷¹ *The Life of St. Norbert* (Toronto, 1977).

⁷² *Painting in Britain*, Plate 175(A).

⁷³ Id., Plate 183(A).

⁷⁴ Id., Plate 184.

⁷⁵ Id., Plate 185.

the royal commissioners' report on the house, its inmates and its possessions, as it fearfully awaited its suppression, it is stated that he had been 'defamed'⁷⁶) (denounced, that is, for his misdemeanours), though there were few such reports which did not seek in this way to justify events which everyone knew to be impending. Even so, he was named as the prior who was to succeed Christopher Slee and assent to the legal forms requisite for transforming a religious house into a cathedral church with its chapter. His then ambiguous position is eloquently described in an indenture of 1537 which calls him 'prior ecclesie cathedralis beate Marie Carliolensis'⁷⁷). Salkeld did not resign his new decanal office until 1548; and one can well believe that for him to be repeatedly confronted with a painted and inscribed reminder of how his status under Henry VIII and what he now professed differed from what he once had been and the way of life which he had formerly followed could have been a constant reproach, to himself and to others, which he may have wished to avoid.

Fr. Luc Verheijen is our leading authority today on the text of the monastic rule which Augustine composed; and more than twenty years ago he published his warning⁷⁸) against any narrow interpretation of Possidius's statement, in his fifth chapter, that the saint

... once he was made priest established a monastery close by the church, where he began to live, with the servants of God, according to the manner and rule instituted under the holy apostles: especially that no-one in that company should have anything of his own, but that all things should be for them common property, and what each one needed should be given out to him ...⁷⁹)

Here, Verheijen insists, 'rule' (*regula*) must be understood not as referring to what Augustine wrote, but to the 'norm', 'way' described in Acts. Yet he concedes that for many centuries Possidius was taken to mean by this a written text. Beyond doubt, this would be the interpretation of, for example, Philip of Harveng, James of Voragine and the Carlisle canons.

⁷⁶) James WILSON: 'The Priory of Carlisle' (*Victoria County History, Cumberland II*, 1905, pp. 131-136).

⁷⁷) Carlisle Dean and Chapter Registers II, f. 37*.

⁷⁸) 'La Vie de saint Augustin par Possidius et la *Regula sancti Augustini*' (*Mélanges offerts à Mademoiselle Christine Mohrmann*) Utrecht-Antwerp, 1963, pp. 270-279.

⁷⁹) PL 32 37.

Scene 14 Augustine refutes the Manichaeian teachings of Fortunatus.

Caption Her Fortunate the heretyk he
 the lawys of Ma

The Courcelles reprint (with some inaccuracies) the antiquary Carlisle's eighteenth-century reconstruction of this couplet:

Her Fortunate the heretyk concludit he
 Informyng the lawys of Maneche⁸⁰),

which appears to mean 'Here the heretic Fortunatus made an end of expounding the Manichaeian system'. 'Maneche' seems to be treated as if it were an independent proper name and not a derived adjective.

Both Fortunatus and Augustine are seated in official-looking chairs. Fortunatus is in professor's dress, backed by two figures perhaps intended as laymen. Augustine is in canon's habit, as are his five supporters, though he alone has his hood, of the same pale shade as his mantle, drawn over his head. The other canons have their backs turned upon Fortunatus, one of whose entourage seems to be watching him anxiously while, with the 'teaching gesture' he expounds. His facial expression is a caricature of fearful doubt. The book on which Augustine rests his hand perhaps represents the Scriptures through which he is defeating Fortunatus and his sect.

The source is Possidius's chapter vi⁸¹), where he describes the success which Fortunatus, serving as a priest to the Manichaeians in Hippo, was enjoying, and how many citizens and visitors he was seducing, until Augustine was asked, not only by the orthodox Catholics but also by the Donatists, to engage him in disputation. At the end of two days of this, Fortunatus was completely and publicly disgraced, in the eyes even of his own adherents, and left the city, never to return.

This account by Possidius is repeated by Philip of Harveng⁸²). The Courcelles list numerous late mediaeval renderings of the scene. This Carlisle version associates the Augustinian canons regular with the defence of the true faith, even though Possidius insists that in this

⁸⁰) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *XV*, p. 128; *The Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Saint Mary, Carlisle, drawn by Robert Carlisle* (1791, no place of publication).

⁸¹) PL 32 38.

⁸²) PL 203 1219-1220.

Augustine had enjoyed the support of the Catholic laity and also of Donatists.

Scene 15 Augustine's episcopal consecration.

Caption Consecrate byshop was thys doctour

. cuntre wyth gret

'This teacher was consecrated bishop region
with great'

Sufficient in the first line, though not in the second, has survived to confirm in part Carlisle's reconstruction, which Harcourt follows, as do the Courcelles⁸³). The sense of the entire couplet can only be guessed at.

Two bishops in mitres, chasubles, dalmatics and pallia stand on either side of Augustine, already vested so except for the pallium, to whom one bishop is giving a crosier such as the other holds while blessing Augustine, seated in what seems to be a chair of state. The background is patterned damask and the floor tiled.

Although Augustine had been bishop of Hippo for three years when he wrote his *Confessions*, he makes no mention there of his consecration. The climax of that work is reached with his embracing of Christianity — see Scene 10 — and his mother's death — see Scene 11. Our chief source of information is chapter viii of Possidius's *Vita*⁸⁴).

Scene 16 A woman finds Augustine in ecstasy.

Caption As this women come to hym for consolacion

She saw hym with the trinite yn meditacion.

'As this woman came to him for solace, she saw him rapt
in meditation upon the Trinity'.

Inscription . . . Augustine . . .

The experts consider that this story, told by James of Voragine, cannot be true⁸⁵), but it is one of several which had accumulated over the years. This is how James recounts it:

⁸³) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *XV*. p. 128.

⁸⁴) PL 32 39-40.

⁸⁵) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' — see first note — p. 204.

When a certain woman had suffered injury from certain malicious enemies, she came to blessed Augustine to beg him for advice about this. She found him deep in study and greeted him respectfully, but he neither looked at her nor made any reply. She thought that perhaps because of his great sanctity he did not want to look a woman in the face, so she drew nearer and carefully explained her business, but he did not turn towards her or give any answer. So she went away very sad; but another day, when Augustine was celebrating Mass and this woman was there, after the elevation of the body of the Lord she was rapt in spirit and saw herself placed before the most holy Trinity's judgment seat, and there she saw Augustine, deeply inclined in sight of its glory and disputing with all subtlety and zeal; and a voice came to her, saying: 'When you came to Augustine, he was pondering deeply like this about the glory of the Trinity, and therefore he was quite unaware of your presence; but do not fear, return to him, and you will find him kindly disposed, and you will receive helpful advice'. She did this, and Augustine listened benevolently to what she had to say, and gave her excellent counsel⁸⁶).

In the inscription on the cartouche, there is one illegible word preceding 'Augustine' and another following it, which Carlisle and Harcourt do not attempt to reconstruct. 'Augustine' is the vocative case of the Latin name — 'O Augustine!' — and not the English, which in this epoch was 'Austin' — see Scenes 1, 5.

Harcourt follows Carlisle in drawing a mitre suspended in the air over Augustine's head, crowned with a skull-cap; and this can still be faintly discerned. Over the woman Carlisle indicated a lozenge-shaped erasure, which may have shown some emblem of the Trinity. Ottaviano Nelli painted such an image (the so-called 'Italian Trinity') some time after the year 1400 in his frescoes for the Augustinian church at Gubbio⁸⁷).

The woman's dress has been discussed; see Scene 1.

Scene 17 A diabolical apparition.

Caption When he cumplyn had sayd and come to luke
He was full cleyn owt of this knafys buke.

'When he had recited compline and returned to see, he had completely disappeared from this scoundrel's book'.

⁸⁶) Munich clm 13039, f. 210^d.

⁸⁷) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *XIV*, p. 85 and Plate XCVI.

Inscription Penitet me tibi ostendisse librum.

'I am sorry that I showed you the book'.

Augustine and the devil are shown standing on ground grown with flowers; but the background is a damask tapestry with larger flowers interspersed with rosettes. Scepticism about this displaying a 'T.G.' monogram has already been expressed. Augustine grasps with his left hand a crosier, and with the right gestures towards the devil. He wears cope and mitre, and, under the cope, a dalmatic over an appparelled alb. Facing him is the devil, with a beast's snout, horns and pelt, and with clawed paws and hooves. He holds a sapling, head downwards, which has been cut off at the root. Plainly this symbolizes the power which he supposes that he has to terminate life; and there may be allusion to Luke 13.7. His buttock nearer to the viewer is shaped like a savagely grinning face.

Mediaeval devil-iconography demonstrates a fusion of two originally distinct traditions, one showing the fiend in human form, the other, as here, in beastly or monstrous shape⁸⁸). Another tradition avers that if he should appear like a man, he will be marked by some tell-tale defect which he will be at pains to conceal from those whom he wishes to deceive⁸⁹). It is perhaps to this tradition that the second face here alludes, and the fantasy is recorded elsewhere. Among the grotesques and prodigies thronging the margins of the fourteenth-century Luttrell Psalter, several have predatory beaks and jaws growing in place of bellies or genitals, and one is a biped furnished with spotted legs and clawed feet, the head that of a woman wearing a wimple, the rear end another head with a fierce animal face and protruding, pointed tongue⁹⁰).

The source of this scene is the story, also apocryphal⁹¹), it need not be said, recorded by James of Voragine in the *Legenda Aurea*, of Augustine encountering the devil with a book in which he recorded men's sins. Augustine asked if he might see if his own name were there, and the devil showed him the entry which told how he had forgotten to recite compline one day. Asking him to await his return, the saint went into church and said the office with its customary prayers, and, returning,

⁸⁸) Beat BRINK, art.: 'Teufel' (LCI 4, 1972, 295-300).

⁸⁹) Edmund COLLEDGE and James WALSH, ed.: *A Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich* (Toronto, 1978), p. 636.9 and note.

⁹⁰) Facsimile ed. E. G. MILLAR (London, 1932), f. 184^v.

⁹¹) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' — see first note — pp. 204-205.

asked to be shown the same page; but when the devil leafed through his book, the record was missing, so that he angrily said: 'You have deceived me foully. I am sorry that I showed you the book'⁹²).

The close analogy between the Carlisle screen's Scene 1 and that of the St. Martin-le-Grand window at York showing a similar incident in the life of St. Martin of Tours has been observed; and there is an equally striking instance here. In the same window Martin is shown as bishop⁹³), attired and gesturing as on the Carlisle screen. The devil's skin is shaggy, and his hands and feet have claws. His forehead is horned, and the face, partly human, has a look of deep sorrow. He holds a closed book (in either case, this is carefully shown as James described it, '*... demonem librum humeris baiulantem ...*', but it should have been represented as open, not clasped); and in the window the entire figure is surrounded by a cartouche, very difficult to decipher, in which can be read: '*... nocere ... semper ego uere tibi michiique*', which seems to be some allusion to Sulpicius Severus's story⁹⁴) that God promised Martin: '*Quocumque ieris vel quocumque tentaveris, diabolus tibi adversabitur*'⁹⁵). Hippolyte Delehaye has discussed the *Vita Antonii* of Athanasius as the source for this⁹⁶). The inscription of the Carlisle picture is more readily identifiable as a paraphrase of James of Voragine. Whether this might help in establishing the priority of the Carlisle scene, and that the legend had been transferred from Augustine to Martin, is doubtful. Other tales about 'recorded sins marvellously blotted out' were circulating in this era, told of various holy persons⁹⁷).

Yet there seems to be special significance in James's attribution to Augustine of forgetfulness in the performance of religious observances. Margaret Jennings has a richly-documented account of the devil's appearances in mediaeval literature when he is recording sins, frequently of inattention or irreverence during worship in church, in his book⁹⁸); and there she observes that Augustine, and even more frequently Martin of Tours, appear in such stories.

⁹²) 'Penitet me quod librum meum tibi ostendi'; see Edmund COLLEDGE, 'Sources', 1.501.

⁹³) J. A. KNOWLES: 'The West Window' — see note 30 — 'Panel XII'.

⁹⁴) See Clare STANCLIFFE: *St. Martin and his Hagiographer* (London, 1953).

⁹⁵) PL 20 164.

⁹⁶) 'Saint Martin et Sulpice Sévère' (*Analecta Bollandiana* 38, 1920), p. 45.

⁹⁷) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' — see first note — p. 205.

⁹⁸) 'Tutivillus: the Literary Career of the Recording Demon' (*Studies in Philology, Texts and Studies* 1977, Volume LXXIV Number 5).

Scene 18 Augustine's burial at Hippo.

Caption Thay beried hys body wyth deligence
her in hys avyn kyrk of Yponence.

'They buried his body with care here in his own church at Hippo'.

'Yponence', formed from the adjectival 'Hipponensis', is merely for the sake of a rhyme with 'deligence', and can only have been used in the hope that it would not be scrutinized by proficient Latinists.

The windows, vaulting and tiled floor suggest a church interior, in which a bier is placed, covered by a dark pall with what seem to be linen strips arranged cross-wise, on which five candles are placed. On one strip the initials 'I.S.' have been incised.

Around the bier stand six men habited as canons regular. Of the three nearer to the viewer, the centre figure has been so much defaced that only his tonsured head can be discerned.

The others are shown in white rochets — or, perhaps, mantles — with short black shoulder-capes with hoods, variously known as 'almuces' or 'capuches'. The canon on the left in the back row wears his hood over his head.

We have, in MS Glasgow University Library Hunter 215, a record of what were regarded from c. A.D. 1100 onwards as the essentials of a canon's wardrobe⁹⁹). This is a combined customary and chartulary copied for the canons regular of Holy Trinity within Aldgate, London¹⁰⁰). Each canon is to be issued with four rochets, two for feast-days and two for daily wear, four tunics 'de blanket' — a necessary provision against the intense winter cold of unheated churches and cloisters — two worsted mantles with capuches, one such without capuche, and 'j capa pluuiialis cum ij capucijs'. That is to say, he was equipped with a separate capuche, which could be worn as protection against chill or rain; and in several pictures of this screen Augustine and his canons are shown wearing them over their mantles. However, the

⁹⁹) The Glasgow University Librarian and his staff have kindly permitted and helped in the consultation of this manuscript.

¹⁰⁰) On its foundation, see C. N. L. BROOKE, assisted by Gillian KEIR: *London 800-1216: the Shaping of a City* (London, 1975), pp. 314-325.

Augustinian canons' religious habit could display many variations, as was often the case in the late Middle Ages¹⁰¹).

That Augustine was buried at Hippo is not stated in the *Legenda Aurea*, but it is implied where we are told that he died during the siege of the city. In this it follows Possidius's chapters 29-31¹⁰²). Philip of Harveng, however, Premonstratensian abbot of Bonne Espérance in the diocese of Cambrai, a contemporary of Bernard of Clairvaux¹⁰³), in his *Vita sancti Augustini* wrote: 'Then when blessed Augustine died in his city of Hippo in the third month of its siege ... he was buried there by the holy bishops who were present, and by his brethren, with mourning and grief'¹⁰⁴). Of course, the Carlisle canons directed that the 'brethren' should by their habits be identifiable with themselves.

Scene 19 The translation of the relics to Pavia.

Caption Her Liedbrand the kyng of Lumberdy
hym translate fro Sardyne to Pavy.

'Here Liutprand the king of Lombardy moved him from
Sardinia to Pavia'.

The source of this is the *Golden Legend*, where James of Voragine, after reporting Augustine's death at Hippo, as in the previous scene, at a time when the city was already under siege from the Vandal invaders of Carthagina, continues:

After this, when the barbarian peoples had occupied that land and profaned its holy places, the faithful took Augustine's body and transported it into Sardinia. When two hundred and eighty years had passed after his death, about the year of our Lord 518, in the time of Pope Leo III (the *Legend's* chronology is, as often, erratic) a devout king of the Lombards, Liutprand, hearing that Sardinia had been laid waste by the Saracens, sent trusted agents there so that they might remove the holy teacher's relics to Pavia; and after they had paid a large sum, they moved St. Augustine's body and brought it as far as Genoa. When the king heard this, he went to that city to meet it with great joy, and reverently received it. But when the next

¹⁰¹) J. G. DICKINSON: *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), pp. 185 e.s.

¹⁰²) PL 32 59-66.

¹⁰³) I am greatly indebted to Fr. Alberico DE MEIJER for his help in identifying Philip.

¹⁰⁴) PL 203 1230.

day they wanted to take the body away, it could not by any means be shifted from the spot, until the king had taken a vow that if the saint were to allow himself to be moved, the king would build a church there dedicated to him. When he had sworn this, the body was at once removed without any difficulty; and the king fulfilled what he had vowed, and built a church there in honour of St. Augustine¹⁰⁵).

It will be observed that the caption's last word, which has here been supplied as 'Pavy', is now wholly illegible, though the *Legend* narrative and the need for a rhyme with 'Lumberdy' suggest this. The entire scene has suffered much damage, but this one word seems to have been deliberately defaced. In the foreground, two figures in secular attire, standing in a flower-grown meadow, can be discerned; centre, there is a wagon surmounted by a sarcophagus, and behind, with little regard for proportion, two elaborately-caparisoned draught horses and the figure of King Liutprand, crowned and grasping a sword and with the other hand lifted in supplication, at the entrance to a church, no doubt that which he was promising to build.

Since the place-names 'Lumberdy' and 'Sardyne' have survived, one must ask why 'Pavy' was singled out for obliteration. We owe to Mr. David O'Connor of the History of Art Department of the University of Manchester the ingenious suggestion that 'Pavy' might easily have been mistaken by the semi-literate for 'Pape', the Northern dialect form of 'pope', which word, a royal proclamation of June, 1534 had ordered, was to be deleted from all liturgical books. 'Fearful owners of other works in monastic libraries deemed it prudent to carry out the deletion in them as well'¹⁰⁶); and many *Golden Legend* manuscripts and printed copies were so defaced; but the author knows of no other instances of an 'expurgated' picture. This is not surprising, since most art objects which so offended must have been destroyed.

Even so, evidence has survived that the Carlisle canons possessed some collection of saints' legends in which the required changes had not been made. On May 1, 1540, local justices of the peace reported the complaint of a cleric, Hugh Sewell, that the community of the former monastery were making use of 'one book called a "legend"', in which,

¹⁰⁵) Munich clm 13029, f. 210a.

¹⁰⁶) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'The Capgrave "Autographs"' (*Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6, 1975, p. 141, describing MS British Library Add. 36704, containing John Capgrave texts).

despite the proclamation, 'the service of Thomas Becket and the usurped name 'papa' of the bishop of Rome were unrased'¹⁰⁷). From this it seems that the one-time canons continued to recite their old Latin office; and the picture given is not one of complete accord with newer ways. Not remarkably, their dean, Salkeld, seems to have wanted to temporize and delay; but the denunciation by Sewell caused much alarm, and it may well be that it was at this time that 'Pavy' was erased as a precaution.

It is generally agreed among those who have made a study of saints' 'legends' (that is, episodes from their lives written down, usually for reading aloud, for that is the word's original meaning) that after a marvellous event was attributed to some one holy man or woman, it would often be repeated with a different saint as the subject¹⁰⁸). It has been suggested¹⁰⁹) that the form of the story about relics which refused to be moved best known in Western Christendom is preserved for us by James of Voragine in his 'legends' for the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross, when he describes how the Emperor Heraclius rescued that precious object from its pagan captors and restored it to Jerusalem:

... but when he came down from the Mount of Olives and wished to enter by the same city gate as our Lord used on his way to suffer, but mounted on a royal steed and in an emperor's array, at once the stones of the gate descended and joined together as a single wall, and to everyone's amazement an angel of the Lord appeared on high carrying a token of the Cross and saying: 'When the king of heaven entered by this gate to go to his Passion, he came not adorned as a king but mounted on a simple ass, and he left this example of humility for those who worship him'.

Then the emperor, bathed in tears, took off his shoes and his clothes down to his shirt, and taking the Lord's Cross he bore it towards the gate, which immediately obeyed the heavenly command and lifted itself up and allowed men to enter¹¹⁰).

This tale, it will be seen, ascribes — as does that of Augustine's bones at Genoa — to objects without life yet with associations of

¹⁰⁷) James GAIRDNER, ed.: *Letters and Papers ... of Henry VIII* XV (Rolls Series, 1896), p. 301.

¹⁰⁸) For the process by which Augustine latterly became the subject of the story of the infant weeping by the hole which it had dug, see Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' — see first note.

¹⁰⁹) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Sources' — see note 47.

¹¹⁰) Munich clm 13029, f. 224^b.

peculiar sanctity supernatural powers of discernment and choice; and the experts point out that this is also the case with the Ark of the Covenant¹¹¹), which is regarded as the Old Testament 'type' — that is, foreshadowing — of the True Cross, abducted, desecrated by pagans and then victoriously regained. Such stories are not uncommon; elements in them have attached, in England, to legends of the relics of St. Cuthbert and St. Swithin. When we read these claims for the origins of a church dedicated to St. Augustine in Genoa, we recall that they were recorded by James of Voragine, which is Varazza or Varaggio, a township some thirty kilometers to the west of the great city, so that we expect him to have been well versed in its traditions.

Scene 20 Enshrinement of the relics at Pavia.

Caption Thay shrynyd hys banes solely
In sanct Peter kyrk thus at Pavy

'This is how they ceremonially enshrined his bones in
St. Peter's church at Pavia'.

As in Scene 19, 'Pavy', rhyming here with 'solely', has been completely obliterated; but 'sanct Peter kyrk' unambiguously determines that the setting of this is the church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia. Philip of Harveng in his chapter xxxiii does not specify in which church the re-interment took place¹¹²), but the *Legenda Aurea*, in its story of Augustine appearing to the crowd of crippled pilgrims to direct them to his relics to obtain healing — see Scene 22 — makes him say: 'Go to Pavia and ask for the monastery of St. Peter called "Celum Aureum"'¹¹³). Since Liutprand's translation of them — see Scene 19 — the remains have not been moved, though there was for long bitter conflict between canons and friars for their legal ownership.

Again, there has been wilful defacement, but one can see that this is a variant of Scene 18. Here a tomb, surrounded by six canons, is surmounted by a baldachino supported on columns.

¹¹¹) Numbers 10.33.

¹¹²) PL 203 1234.

¹¹³) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Sources' — see note 47 — 1.559.

Scene 21 The miraculous healing of a prior.

Caption Thys prior he bad do euynsang her
And helyd hym that was sek thre yer.

'Here he commanded this prior to recite vespers without delay, and healed him who has been sick for three years'.

There has again been deliberate damage, to all the faces in this picture except two. Augustine, vested as bishop and with a crosier, surrounded by five canons, blesses the prior, unclothed in a bed covered with a counterpane embroidered with a botanical scroll design and resting on a tiled floor. The right-hand canon holds a book with clasped cover.

There has also been much damage, though not, it seems, wilful, to the caption; but Carlisle's transcription seems to be accurate apart from a single word.

A form of this story is recorded by James of Voragine, when, as was his custom, he instances notable cures or other miracles worked through the subject's intercession. The beneficiary in this case had been some religious superior: James wrote 'praepositus', which does not have the same narrow connotation as 'prior'. He recounted:

The superior of a certain church had great devotion to St. Augustine, and when for three years he was so afflicted with severe illness that he was unable to get out of bed, when the feast of St. Augustine was approaching and the bells were rung for its vespers, he addressed his prayers with all fervour to the saint, who, dressed in white, appeared to him, calling him by name and saying: 'See, here I am, just as you called to me. Get up and say my vespers'. To the astonishment of all he rose, and going into church recited the whole office¹¹⁴).

Scene 22 Augustine commands sick pilgrims to go for healing.

Caption Her he aperyd vnto
And bad tham go to

Carlisle's conjectural reconstruction, which Harcourt reproduced, may be translated: 'Here he appeared to these three men, and commanded them to go to healed'; but one may question whether Carlisle could see any more than is now possible.

¹¹⁴) Id.; Munich clm 13029, f. 211^a.

The picture, certainly, shows Augustine in white episcopal vestments confronting three cripples, two with crutches, outside a church. What this represents is shown by another *Legenda Aurea* anecdote. This evidently is also apocryphal, and it has been shown¹¹⁵) that it belongs to the programme for attracting pilgrims to Pavia and its wonder-working shrine. James of Voragine had written:

About the year of our Lord 592 some men gravely crippled, in number more than forty, were making their way from Germany and Gaul to Rome, to the threshold of the apostles, some of them so contorted that they were dragging themselves along the earth by 'benches'¹¹⁶), others propped up with crutches, others blind and following leaders, others with malformed hands and feet. When they had crossed mountains to the place called 'Carbonaria', and arrived at the spot known as 'Cana', three miles distant from Pavia, St. Augustine, vested as a bishop, appeared to them from the church built in honour of SS Cosmas and Damian, and greeting them, asked where they were going? When they told him he replied: 'Go to Pavia and ask for the monastery called "The Golden Heaven", and there you will find the mercy you seek'. When they asked him for his name, he said: 'I am Augustine, one-time bishop of Hippo', and at once he vanished from their sight. So they made their way to Pavia, and when they arrived at the monastery he had named and found his body, they all began to cry aloud together: 'Holy Augustine, help us!' At this sound the citizens and monks came flocking to see this great spectacle; and then much blood began to flow from the distension of the nerves¹¹⁷), so that it reached to the convent doors, and the whole earth around St. Augustine's tomb seemed to be sprinkled with blood; and when they approached his sepulchre, they were all completely healed, as if there had never been any defect in their bodies. From then on the saint's fame began to grow and multitudes of the sick to have recourse to his grave, and they, telling of the blessings of their healing, left tokens of their cures behind them¹¹⁸). The number of such tokens became so great that

¹¹⁵) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Sources' — see note 47.

¹¹⁶) 'benches', *scampnis*. A *scamnum*, 'stool' or 'bench', was the name for a small piece of board with short legs which a cripple could use to propel himself along the ground with less hurt to his hands. Such a 'bench' is shown so used by a crippled beggar in Peter Bruegel's *Fight between Carnival and Lent*. See Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Aliri' (*Medium Aevum* 27, 1958, pp. 111-113).

¹¹⁷) A literal translation of the Latin, the precise meaning of which is not clear; but the implication is that the body was incorrupt, and began to bleed.

¹¹⁸) Such a token was traditionally a crutch hung up at a shrine by a healed cripple. For an engraving of the Pavia tomb so ornamented, see Schelte Bolswert's illustrations to *Iconographia magni patris Aurelii Augustini*, Paris, 1624 (Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: XVI-XVII, p. 45 and Plate LIII).

the whole oratory and porch of St. Augustine was filled, and it was impossible to enter or leave, so that the monks were compelled to clear them away¹¹⁹).

This screen and its pictures command our attention today because of such objects' rarity; yet they have other claims. The later Middle Ages witnessed in most European countries the appearance of literature intended to interest and please ordinary men and women, by showing awareness of what life held for them; but little has survived to tell us how they could also find entertainment and sympathy in the work of plastic artists. We have compared some features of these paintings with drawings preserved in the margins of contemporary manuscripts; but such jests were intended to amuse a minority only, who were, for the most part, religious; and the same is true of that other repository of ancient jokes, misericord seats. Screens such as this, however, were destined to be viewed by sightseers in great numbers; had it not been so, they would have failed in part of their reason for existing, the eliciting of alms. It has been shown that as an art-form they must be close kin to the ancient forbears of the 'comic strip', and that they have as common characteristics mass appeal and a 'preponderance of image over text'.

Yet what we have shown here of the forms in which the Augustine legends commemorated on the screen have come down to us ought to teach caution in applying the epithet 'popular'. In one sense, such screens and objects resembling them — sculptures, frescoes, painted windows — are beyond doubt 'popular': they were made to be seen by the people, who were meant not merely to learn from them but also to be entertained. Beyond doubt, the devil and the angel we see here, like their counterparts in the mystery plays, were introduced because seeing them gave pleasure to many. Yet every one of the Augustine pictures has some literary source, the *Confessions* or some later hagiographical treatment; and it has been suggested that in places there is further allusion, implicit indeed in all that Augustine and every other Christian of the Middle Ages ever wrote, to that one supreme literary source, the text of sacred Scripture, which constituted the very air breathed by mediaeval man.

If we seek to attach to the concept 'popular' any notion of independence of learning and literature, this examination of the contents of the Augustine screen should show us that this is false. Deliberately the

¹¹⁹) Munich clm 13029, f. 211^b.

artist was aiming at effects which would have general appeal, because they evoked the ordinariness of the lives of all but a few. This naivety can become studied, as he eschews every hint of refinement or sophistication — Patrick's 'crakows' alone excepted — yet even so, the people did in their own fashion share in society's store of knowledge, where ignorance was culpable; and pictures such as these were to help to dispel it.

Even more, they were to stress the applicability of the Gospel message to plain men and their everyday lives. Monica is dressed as were women of their own time, her son sails away from her aboard such a ship as plied between the harbours around the coasts of England. By implication, the screen told visitors to the canons' church what Margery Kempe had rejoined, not long before, to the priest who had sought to silence her noisy grief at the sight of a pietà with 'Jesus has been dead a long time' — 'His death is as fresh to me as if he had died this very day, and I think that it should be so for you and every other Christian'¹²⁰).

The painter made these scenes from far-off days and places local and contemporary by a variety of devices; and one is that he has shown nothing to his public to suggest that Augustine was not, as they for the most part would be, simple, modest, frugal. We have indicated the possibility that this is the work of some travelling craftsman, perhaps also a scribe, whom the canons commissioned; but it is a world removed from the luxurious ceiling ordered by Prior Simon Senhouse and painted for his apartments in the monastic enclosure in the early 1500s¹²¹). Those delicate fantasies with their brilliant technique might have adorned any palace; but Augustine had no such aspirations to aristocratic ways, and this unostentatious screen is his faithful memorial.

Edmund COLLEDGE, O.S.A.

¹²⁰) *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. S. B. Meech and H. E. Allen (London, 1940), p. 148.

¹²¹) Richard BOWER: 'Mural and other painted Decorations in the Diocese of Carlisle' (*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* XV, 1899, pp. 14-15; J. H. MARTINDALE: 'Notes on the Deanery, Carlisle' (id., New Series VII, 1907, pp. 188-192).