

Chapter 3

Entombing the Founder St Augustine of Hippo

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The power of relics was as important in the fourteenth century as in the earliest days of Christianity. All religious orders, including the mendicants, looked after the remains of their saints and paid particular attention to those of their founder or founders. This proved arduous for the Augustinian Hermits. They were obliged from the fourteenth century to share custody of the body of their alleged founder, Augustine of Hippo, with the Augustinian Canons, a distinct and older religious order that also claimed him as a founder. This situation was unlike that of other mendicants, as the circumstances of Augustine's entombment were very different from those of Sts Francis or Dominic. Moreover the fourteenth-century *arca* conceived for Augustine was not to contain the saint's remains until the twentieth century. This was not for lack of effort: despite repeated attempts, the Augustinian Hermits were unable to translate bones believed to be those of their founder from the crypt of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro into their new effigy tomb.

A study of the *arca* of Augustine of Hippo poses particular challenges. The monument itself is not in its original location (fig. 6). Although built for San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia, where it remains, it was dismantled on several occasions as a result of repeated moves and currently stands raised on a high platform as a retable to the high altar.¹ As will be argued here, the narrative reliefs and figural elements were reassembled in an order different to the original programme. Through a reappraisal of the documentary record (including an extant account book spanning the years 1380 to 1402),² and analysis of the *arca* itself, I will demonstrate that the project may have

1 Suffice to note that in the eighteenth century the tomb was moved three times. In 1737 it was given by the Hermits to the newly erected high altar to St Augustine and therefore moved from the sacristy to the high altar. This transfer would have necessitated at least partial dismantlement of the three-tiered monument. In 1785, the friars moved to Milan and the Dominicans moved into San Pietro. In 1786, there was another move out of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro to the Gesù where the tomb was left in pieces, and a third relocation into the cathedral of Pavia where it was reassembled. This is where it was observed by C. Ferreri and D. Sacchi, *L'Arca di S. Agostino: monumento in marmo del sec. XIV ora esistente nella Chiesa Cattedrale di Pavia* (Pavia, 1832). It was moved again (for the last time) into the restored chancel of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in 1900. For further bibliography, please see the *List of Abbreviations* and Anne Dunlop's *Introduction* to this volume.

2 Liber A Expensarum Operum ab Anno 1380 ad Annum 1402 (del convento di S. Agostino in Pavia), Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria; catalogued as no. 509 in L. de Marchi and G. Bertolani, *Inventario dei Manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Pavia*, 2 vols (Milan, 1894), vol. 1, pp. 298-9.



Figure 6. Followers of Giovanni di Balduccio, *Arca of St Augustine*, marble, tomb of St Augustine of Hippo, San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia (Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art)

formed part of a bid by the Augustinian Hermits to shift the focus of the cult away from the crypt which they shared with the Regular Canons, to an area over which they had sole jurisdiction. Alternatively, the *arca* may have had to be moved to a 'Canon-free' area as a result of disputes between the two communities.

The tomb's iconographic programme was, in many ways, unlike other contemporary cycles commissioned by the Augustinian Hermits. Its emphasis lay on Augustine as the great bishop saint, famed for his miracles and healing. Little prominence was given to Augustine as the true founding father of the Hermit friars. He was shown receiving a monastic habit at his baptism and giving a rule to a group of friars, but this is a relatively minor aspect of the nineteen reliefs.³ In general, the textual sources used were not the newly created histories of the early fourteenth-century friars, but the less contentious *Golden Legend* and the fifth-century *Vita Augustini* by Possidius, as well as Augustine's own *Confessions*.⁴

Despite St Augustine's *fama*, and the current historiographical interest in Trecento sculpture, in saints' tombs and in sanctity in general, relatively little attention has been paid to his monument. This is not only due to the loss of early documentation and neglect of the history of the Augustinian Hermits (as opposed to the other mendicant orders), but also to the aesthetic narrowness of modern art historians, who have judged the workmanship to be of inferior quality when compared to roughly contemporary tombs such as those of Azzo Visconti or Peter Martyr in Milan. Nor has the unresolved attribution to unnamed followers of Giovanni di Balduccio helped: the tomb has not made it into the canon of sculpture. In addition, the centuries-long dispute between the Canons and the Hermits over the remains of the saint, which as we shall see was already heated in the fourteenth century, and the renewed controversy over the identification of relics discovered in the crypt in 1695, created a mass of manuscripts and pamphlets which appear to contradict each other. This combination of factors may have dissuaded scholars from undertaking a full reappraisal. Thus the two seminal works remain those of the Pavians Defendente Sacchi, illustrated with engravings by Cesare Ferreri of 1832, and Rodolfo Maiocchi's monograph of 1900.⁵ Sacchi and Ferreri's work was reprinted, taking on board some of Maiocchi's observations, as a commemorative publication for the Jubilee Year of 2000.⁶

Outside Pavia, Anita Moskowitz, Sharon Dale and Jan T. Hallenbeck have given thought to the *arca*'s design and location of Augustine's relics over recent years.⁷ Moskowitz's work deserves special mention. She argues that the shrine was not erected

3 On the wider aspects of these two scenes see Cordelia Warr's essay in this volume.

4 For these authors, see the 'Introduction' by Anne Dunlop.

5 Sacchi and Ferreri, *L'Arca di S. Agostino*; R. Maiocchi, *L'Arca di S. Agostino in S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro* (Pavia, 1900).

6 *Agostino e la sua arca. Il pensiero e la gloria*, ed. Comunità Agostiniana San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (Pavia, 2000).

7 S. Dale, 'A House Divided: San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in Pavia and the Politics of Pope John XXII', *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), 55-77; Sharon Dale's awaited monograph may reveal new perspectives. I am grateful to Catherine Harding for alerting me to this forthcoming work. J. T. Hallenbeck (*The Transfer of the Relics of St. Augustine of Hippo from Sardinia to Pavia in the Early Middle Ages*, *Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity*, 41 [Lampeter, 2000]), focuses only on the translation and its representation.

as a 'simple matter of veneration for the saint's remains', and thinks it probable that the impetus for erecting the tomb came from the Augustinian Hermits alone.⁸ But the main thrust of her argument is the belief that the tomb played a role in another conflict, that of the political rivalry between Pavia and Milan.⁹ Politics, in my view, need not have anything to do with it. There is sufficient evidence to support the claim that the tomb is the result of Augustinian Hermits' initiative alone. What remains puzzling, however, is the motivation behind its fourteenth-century location in the friars' sacristy.

Description

In its current placement the tomb has been raised above ground by over one and a half metres and forms an integral part of an altar – a sort of reredos – complete with a *mensa* in front and a *confessio* beneath (fig. 6). Through its grille can be seen a silver casket discovered by accident in the crypt in 1695, containing remains later decreed to be those of Augustine by a papal bull issued by Benedict XIII.¹⁰ The tomb itself has no less than four levels of decoration. Its verticality is emphasised by projecting standing figures which act as piers dividing the structure into three compartments. The base is reminiscent of a sarcophagus decorated with an *arcade* of trefoil arches and twisted columns displaying pairs (on the long sides) and trios (on the short sides) of apostles, evangelists, deacons and hermits.¹¹ Its solidity reflects its initial function as a support for the weight of a delicate funeral chamber above, topped by two registers of narrative reliefs. This tripartite chamber is sustained by figured piers. Within the chamber six deacons hold an embroidered shroud on which Augustine rests. Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory the Great and a hermit holding a stick in the shape of a Tau stand around his head and feet.¹² The saint appears in full episcopal regalia and holds a book, as if reading, though the pages are blank. Above him is a figured vault with the Redeemer in the central position, surrounded by a mandorla of seraphim; male and female saints

8 '... very possibly as part of a program to aggrandize Augustinian prerogatives, thus diminishing those of the Canons both in the church and in the city of Pavia itself'. A. Fiderer Moskowitz, *Italian Gothic Sculpture c. 1250- c. 1400* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 210; see also A. Fiderer Moskowitz, 'A Tale of Two Cities: Pavia, Milan, and the *Arca* di Sant' Agostino', *Source: notes in the history of art* 11 (1992), 1-9.

9 Moskowitz, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, p. 210.

10 C. Zuradelli, *La basilica di S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro ed i suoi ricordi storici* (Pavia, 1884), pp. 191-7.

11 Beginning with the long side which now faces the viewer, from left to right and moving in a clockwise direction around the *arca*: Philip, Matthew, James the Less, Simon, Thaddeus, Matthias, Stephen, a Hermit (Paul?), Lawrence, Peter, John, James, Andrew, Thomas, Bartholomew, Mark, Paul, Luke. Luke and Paul's names are carved on their bases; the lack of inscription for others may be due to refurbishment. A further means of identification is provided by the presence of their name on the scroll they carry.

12 The Hermit has been identified as Simplicianus (who was instrumental in Augustine's conversion) by Ferreri and Sacchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino*, p. 10), and as Monica by W. G. Waters (*Five Italian Shrines. An Account of the Monumental Tombs of S. Augustine at Pavia, S. Dominic at Bologna, S. Peter Martyr at Milan, S. Donato at Arezzo and of Oragna's Tabernacolo at Florence* [London, 1906], p. 64).

occupy the severies. The next tier has nine rectangular panels depicting Augustine's life, conversion, giving of the Rule and translation of his relics to Pavia, separated by another twelve figures (mainly hermits). Above are ten gabled reliefs separated by figures serving as pinnacles.¹³ A gable-shaped lid creates a roof effect not unlike house reliquaries.

History

Although the tomb seems to have been opened at some point in the eleventh century,¹⁴ the remains of Augustine were inaccessible by 1330, as confirmed by Opicinus de Canistris' *Libre de laudibus civitatis ticinensis*, written in Avignon. Opicinus reported that the relics had been placed by the Lombard king Liutprand (712-744) in a 'deep and most secret place' in the crypt of the church during the eighth century.¹⁵ Writing shortly before Opicinus, Vincent of Beauvais had recorded that there was a well in the crypt which overflowed miraculously each year on the saint's feast day (28 August), and pilgrims may have gathered there.¹⁶ Thus the focus of the cult of Augustine during the early part of the fourteenth century was the crypt of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro.

Only in 1327 did the Augustinian Hermits obtain shared custody of the church in which the body of their reclaimed founder Augustine of Hippo rested.¹⁷ In 1329 the General Chapter of the order asked the Prior General to convene with the Regular Canons of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro (of the Congregation of Mortara) to negotiate the building of a house for the friars.¹⁸ The Hermits were only able to gain access to the premises in 1331 because the papal bull authorising their custody of the tomb was not executed until that year.¹⁹ They were granted permission to build their own convent

13 Some of their heads were replaced in the sixteenth century as is evident from visual observation. Ferreri and Sacchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino*, p. 17 n. 5) cite a receipt which I have not yet uncovered.

14 For the veneration of Pope Benedict VIII and the emperor Henry; Aethelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, acquired the left shoulder of the saint. B. Hackett, 'San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', in *Augustine in Iconography*, pp. 201-2.

15 Cited in Hallenbeck, *The Transferal of the Relics of St. Augustine*, p. 25.

16 *Speculum Historiale*, cited in Hallenbeck, *The Transferal of the Relics of St. Augustine*, p. 23, and in Latin, pp. 211-2. The well is illustrated in Zuradelli, *La basilica di S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro*, plate facing p. 45.

17 With the bull *Veneranda sanctorum patrum*. R. Maiocchi and N. Casacca, *Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini Papiae* (Pavia, 1905), vol. 1, pp. 13-19; G. Romano, 'Eremitani e Canonici regolari in Pavia nel secolo XIV', *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 22 (1895), pp. 5-42.

18 'Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 4 (1911-12), 82.

19 The delay was caused by the Canons of Mortara who were based at San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro and had enjoyed sole custody until then. The canons first petitioned the podestà and the *Consiglio del Comune* of Pavia to intervene with Pope John XXII to revoke the bull. The dispute was prolonged by the next podestà who was a ghibelline and refused to execute John's bull. On 6 June 1331, the Canons and the Hermits agreed pacts and conventions. The events are described in full in Romano, 'Eremitani e Canonici', 8-10, 12; full documents in Maiocchi and Casacca,

only in 1333.²⁰ On 5 April 1335, the city council of Pavia decreed that an annual sum should be allocated to the Hermits to deal with the extra expenses associated with the attendance by other Augustinians at the church on the saint's feast day.²¹ In 1338, the General Chapter, meeting in Siena, decided to commemorate the uniting of the friars with the body of Augustine with an annual feast day on 5 June, the anniversary day 'on which possession of the said place (St Augustine in Pavia) was taken'.²² Moreover, the Chapter ordered a levy on every friary for the new house at Pavia but without specifying the amount. This was in addition to a provincial tax of 12 florins for the communal chest of the order.²³ Taken together, these events suggest that although San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro was fast becoming a focal point of devotion for the friars, the tomb project could not have been conceived before the late 1330s.

There is no consensus on the date of the tomb. An inscription on the upper part of its base records the date of 14 December 1362 and the name of Bonifazio Bottigella, who was then prior of the Augustinian Hermits of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro.²⁴ This has often been taken as a *terminus post quem*: the sixteenth-century prior of San Pietro, Antonio da Tortona, claimed that the tomb was begun on that day as recorded in an entry in a now lost 'giornale' of the convent. Later authors, including Jeanne and Pierre Courcelle and Anita Moskowitz, have on the other hand proposed a starting date *c.* 1350 on the basis of another observation made by the same Antonio da Tortona, noting that the friars served food to workers from 1350.²⁵ Moskowitz also finds it 'likely' that the monument was planned during the 'heady period of Pavian resistance [to Milan] in the early 1350s',

Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Eremitarum, vol. 1, pp. 13-225. For a summary of John XXIII's bull *Veneranda sanctorum patrum*, see Hackett, 'San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', pp. 205-6.

20 Zuradelli, *La basilica di S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 26.

21 By 1342 the municipal statutes confirmed this annual subsidy of no less than thirty *lire pavesi*, Zuradelli, *La basilica di S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro*, pp. 160-61; see also Moskowitz, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, p. 351.

22 'Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 4 (1911-12), 178; Hackett, 'San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', pp. 204-7. The commemoration of Augustine's two translations, first from Africa to Sardinia (11 October) then to Pavia (28 February), first took place in 1343. See 'Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis', p. 233. F. Roth, *The English Austin Friars 1249-1538*, 2 vols (New York, 1966), mistakenly exchanges the two dates, vol. 1, p. 191.

23 'Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis', p. 183; Roth, *The English Austin Friars*, vol. 1, p. 207.

24 Romano favours this as the date of execution. 'Eremitani e Canonici', 31.

25 '...e sempre facevano del mangiare alli lavoratori per tutto quel tempo... incominciando nel 1350 a fol. 10, dove ancora sono molte spese di essa *arca* e in diversi luoghi', in Maiocchi, *L'Arca di S. Agostino in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 11. Maiocchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino in Ciel d'Oro*, pp. 12-13), initially took 1350 as a start conceding that the upper parts might be later but still before 1400; a few years later (Maiocchi and Casacca, *Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Eremitarum*, vol. 1, p. 131), he judged it finished before 1380. Ferreri and Sacchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino*, pp. 15, 17) were unsure whether only the base was completed before Visconti's will of 1406. Hackett ('San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', p. 208), thinks it was built between 1360-1380. M. J. Gill (*Augustine in the Italian Renaissance: Art and Philosophy from Petrarch to Michelangelo* [Cambridge, 2005], p. 42) cautiously notes a starting date in the 1350s and completion in 1362 'to at least the lower section that bears this date'.

and built to compete with the *arca* of St Peter Martyr in Sant'Eustorgio which is, in her view, synonymous with Milan and Visconti patronage.²⁶ The acts of the General Chapters offer some precision, however, if not the whole story: the Chapter meeting in Toulouse in 1341 encouraged friars to visit Pavia; that of Milan (1343) repeated the call for a helping hand for the house at Pavia from each convent.²⁷ The brief record of the 1348 meeting in Pavia is silent on the matter, while the General Chapter of Basel (1351) ordained that each province should pay 12 florins for the next three years 'pro collecta beati Augustini', in addition to 12 florins for the order's common coffers.²⁸ This suggests to me that the friars had done their sums and envisaged an expensive tomb monument by the 1350s which would be mainly financed from within by a provincial levy. Extracting the revenue from the provinces proved laborious and necessitated the establishment of initial collection points and further expansion throughout the 1350s.²⁹ By 1362, the two taxes had been merged into a reduced payment of 18 florins, which may suggest that the financial response was good.³⁰

Had the tomb of the Augustinian Hermit founder been in progress by the 1350s, one might expect to find some mention of it in Jordan of Saxony's *Liber Vitasfratrum*, completed by 1357, and indeed there is perhaps a hidden reference.³¹ This was the Order's new, comprehensive history which would eventually eclipse Henry of Friemar's *Treatise on the Origin and Development of the Order of the Hermit Friars and its True and Real Title* of 1334.³² Jordan does not refer to current works on the *arca per se* but does report a vision concerning the neglect of an effigy tomb of Augustine by the Canons. Whilst this tale has been seen as a thinly veiled attack on the Canons and a justification of the Hermits' right to the body through the alleged neglect of the tomb, it is worth considering whether Jordan had an actual tomb in mind. He does after all refer to an effigy tomb, which is exactly what was constructed. Jordan records that a 'certain friar of the order' (along with other religious and lay people) saw a vision of a raised tomb with the carved effigy of a great bishop, in a church not belonging to the Hermits. He adds that neither the tomb nor the church was kept in a decent state. All witnessed the image of the bishop rise, shake the dust off and move to the front of the altar inviting the audience to sing. The vision ended with the friar's realisation that the bishop was none other than the spirit of Augustine. Jordan implies that the vision occurred *c.* 1327 by reporting that less than two months later, letters from the Papacy arrived confirming

26 Moskowitz dates Peter Martyr's tomb to 1339. Moskowitz, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 209-211; in her earlier article ('A Tale of Two Cities', p. 7 n. 1), she views the presence of 'an iron railing' around the tomb of St Augustine in 1383 as a sign that the tomb 'was essentially complete by then'.

27 'Pro loco beati Augustini de Pavia', in 'Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis', 205, 237.

28 'Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis', 277.

29 Chapters General of 1354, 1357, 1359, in *ibid*, 309-10, 378.

30 The province of Cyprus was allowed a discount: 12 florins, in *ibid*, 429.

31 *Jordani de Saxonia ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini Liber Vitasfratrum*, eds. R. Arbesmann and W. Hümpfner (New York, 1943). For an English translation of the *Liber vitasfratrum*, see Jordan of Saxony, *The Life of the Brethren*, ed. J. E. Rotelle, trans. G. Deighan (Villanova, 1993).

32 R. Arbesmann, 'Henry of Friemar's "Treatise on the Origin and Development of the Order of the Hermit Friars and its True and Real Title"', *Augustiniana* 4 (1956), 37-145.

that the Hermits had custody of the body of the saint.³³ As noted above, the relics at this date were buried deep in the crypt and there was certainly no tomb.

The next stage in the tomb's documentary history is provided once more by Antonio da Tortona: he notes that on 20 August 1365, under the prior Andrea da Bologna, the 'foot or base of the *arca* was brought into the sacristy where it is now located',³⁴ an arrangement that lasted until the eighteenth century. What was recorded as the new sacristy (*sacrestie nove*) was more than a robing room from at least 14 September 1381, when it was noted that it had an altar and was used for the friars' daily liturgy.³⁵ If Antonio da Tortona is reliable, his testimony may suggest that the base was initially carved elsewhere, such as in a workshop or another part of the convent, only later to be installed in the sacristy. It could also have been begun many years earlier. The remainder of the works appear to have taken place *in situ* or nearby.³⁶ The General Chapter of 1365 addressed funding once again, and asked that provinces now contribute eighteen florins for the order in general and six florins for the convent at Pavia, to allow repairs, or enlargement, and other uses.³⁷ What remains uncertain, however, is whether the *arca* was designed to be located in the sacristy of the Hermits from its conception or whether a dispute between the Hermits and the Canons meant that it had to be moved there by the mid 1360s. Disputes between the two groups were a regular occurrence; the joint custodial arrangements meant that the Canons and Augustinian Hermits shared the church and took turns celebrating offices at the high altar but lived in their own separate buildings.³⁸

33 *Liber Vitae fratrum* I, 18, pp. 65-67. The tale is summarised in Hackett, 'San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', pp. 203-4.

34 '... fu portato il piede ossia base di essa *Arca* in sagresti dove si vede ora...', from f. 92 of the journal as reported by Tortona quoted in Maiocchi, *L'Arca di S. Agostino in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 11; *Dichiaratione della fabrica dell'Arca Pretiosa del Gran Patriarca Sant'Agostino, ricavata da varie scritture antiche dell'archivio del convento di Sant'Agostino di Pavia*, Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Mss Ticinensia, vol. 1, Opusc. 30, f. 1r.

35 *Liber A Expensarum Operum ab Anno 1380 ad Annum 1402*, f. 4v. There is no comprehensive history of sacristies as spaces. For a tentative first attempt see G. Baldassin Molli, *La sacrestia del Santo e il suo tesoro nell'inventario dal 1396. Artigianati d'arte al tempo dei Carraresi* (Padua, 2002).

36 Rather romantically, Antonio da Tortona believed that this was in the room of a particular friar, on account of matching pieces of marble under the chimney and windows, and he advised the reader to take a walk in the second cloister near the large wall and dig around to find other pieces of stone. Printed in Maiocchi, *L'Arca di S. Agostino in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 11. A different story emerges when we read the convent's extant account book spanning the years 1380 to 1404: stonemasons regularly worked on friars' individual cells, the two cloisters, refectory, school, dormitory and hostel during the 1380s, which may account for Antonio's discarded rubble. See the account book *Liber A Expensarum Operum ab Anno 1380 ad Annum 1402*, ff. 4-5, 9-10, 12-13, 16, and *passim*. We also read in those accounts that craftsmen were fed by the friars in addition to being paid (some on a monthly basis, others weekly).

37 '...et florenos sex pro loco beati Augustini; qui floreni ponantur in reparatur edificiorum, ampliacione areo (sic) et cultura possessionum predicti loci, nec in usum alium possunt poni', in 'Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis', 451.

38 For an account of how rituals were split see Hackett, 'San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', pp. 205-6; see also Zuradelli, *La basilica di S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro*, pp. 76-7. A parallel shared arrangement

In 1365 the tomb was in a state fit to be visited by Petrarch who was in Pavia from late summer until December.³⁹ In a letter written to Giovanni Boccaccio at the end of his stay, he enthused about Pavia's marble bridge, built in 1353, and the equestrian gilded bronze known as the *Regisole*. As for Augustine's tomb, he also recorded seeing it, though using the briefest of terms: '... Avresti pure veduto sortisse (sic?) Agostino la tomba, e Severino prima l'esilio indi la morte: i quali ora in due urne sotto uno stesso tetto riposano con re Liutprando...'.⁴⁰ Since urn and tomb are synonymous with an *arca* or a simple sarcophagus,⁴¹ the letter leaves us none the wiser as to the state of the works. Petrarch may have been describing the sarcophagus base alone which, as noted above, bears the inscription 14 December 1362, or a larger structure.

The convent's one extant account book from the fourteenth century reveals that work was proceeding on the *arca* during the 1380s.⁴² The loss of earlier accounts means that we cannot know whether these were refurbishment works or the continuation of an earlier project. The possibility of long delays to the commission need not be surprising given the perpetual state of dispute between the friars and the Regular Canons. The numerous other artistic projects which were being funded concurrently, including a substantial *tabula* on the high altar, paintings on the vaults and in the tribune of the high altar, windows, an organ with doors, a wooden *pulpitum*, a large cross for the middle of the church and altar frontals, may also have absorbed funds, delaying work on the tomb.⁴³ The first reference in the new account book, from the last day of

was also found at S. Ambrogio, Milan. On this arrangement see A. Ambrosioni, 'Controversie tra il monastero e la canonica di S. Ambrogio alla fine del secolo XII', *Rendiconti. Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche dell'Istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere*, 105 (1971), 643-80.

39 E. H. Wilkins, *Petrarch's Later Years* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 85-6. Lionel, third son of king Edward III of England and duke of Clarence (d. Milan, April 1368), was buried at San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, while his heart and bones were transferred to the English Augustinian church of Clare. John Capgrave (1393-1464) records that his body lay 'fast by the tounge of Seyn Austin...', and '...carnibus suis cum visceribus coram sepulchro Doctoris eximii devote relictis'. Roth, *English Austin Friars*, vol. 1, pp. 55-6 and notes; see also Hackett, 'San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', p. 208; Zuradelli, *La basilica di S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 172, who does not cite its location, however.

40 *Lettere senili*, V 1, ed. G. Fracassetti (Florence, 1869-70) in: *Francesco Petrarca. Opera omnia*, ed. P. Stoppelli (Rome, 1997), p. Maiocchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 9), is one of the few authors to refer to Petrarch as a pilgrim there; Gill (*Augustine in the Italian Renaissance*, p. 40), is another.

41 *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti* (Rome, 1937-45), vol. 34, 809-810; *Dizionario etimologico italiano*, ed. G. Battisti and G. Alessio (Florence, 1975), vol. 5, 3960, 3814; *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana*, ed. M. Cortelazzo and P. Zolli (Bologna, 1988), vol. 5, 1346, 1401.

42 Interestingly, C. Baroni (*Scultura gotica lombarda* [Milan, 1944], 98-9), considers the reliefs of the tomb to date after 1362 on stylistic grounds.

43 These works were in addition to the building of cloisters and a school. The projects and costs were listed in a dispute document of the 1390s as follows: pictures on the vaults of the church which cost 100 gold florins; repair to upper and lower windows to enable services to be said without wind or rain which are estimated to have cost 50 florins; a large cross in the middle of the church bought in Venice for 400 florins; a majesty located at the high altar also from Venice which cost 200 florins; two altar frontals of silver, with gilding and enamel for that altar, one of 300 florins and the other 100; a pastoral from Venice estimated at 50 florins; an organ

June 1381, shows a payment was made to gild the *arca*.⁴⁴ In October of that year the vault was painted, and a substantial iron structure (*crate ferrea*) weighing an astonishing 718 pounds was placed in the sacristy. This was surely a complex structure designed to protect the newly gilded *arca*.⁴⁵ From the end of December 1382 until January 1383, a master Valentino and his son (both woodworkers),⁴⁶ spent many days making an additional wooden structure requiring tin nails – a *spranzata*/ *spranzanda* – for the *arca*.⁴⁷ They were helped over four days by an unnamed associate (*sotio*) of Master Antonio the painter. This *spranzata* also needed paint (though one assumes nothing too fancy), as attested by payments to the painter's assistant. On 16 January 1383, Valentino and his son worked four days on a *canzellum* for the *arca*, and on the 17th, the painter's assistant was paid once again.⁴⁸ Thus the monumental *arca* was first gilded, then surrounded by a substantial iron grate, a *spranzata* (perhaps an enclosure?), and a little later with an

with doors, also from Venice for 80 florins; a wooden *pulpitum* built in the middle of the church with three altars for 200 florins; paintings made in the tribune above the high altar; lead covering for the roof costing 80 florins. Romano, 'Eremitani e Canonici', 33-36. A description dated 19 April 1599 also lists a large *tabula* on the high altar. R. Maiocchi, *Codice diplomatico artistico di Pavia dall'anno 1330 all'anno 1550* (Pavia, 1937), vol. 1, pp. 16-17 no. 58. As for the dispute, the Canons accused the friars of twice stealing books from their sacristy in the dead of night, of damaging the abbot's throne, and of other breaches of agreements. The full set of documents is found in Maiocchi and Casacca, *Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Eremitarum*, vol. 1, pp. 154-209; see also Hackett, 'San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', pp. 210-11.

44 'Item eodem die dedi pro tercibus auribus arce libre 1 soldi X', Liber A Expensarum Operum ab Anno 1380 ad Annum 1402, f. 1v.

45 Ibid., ff. 5r-v: 'Item dedi Jacobi de Berno ferraio pro crate ferrea posita in sacrestia qui fuit ponderis. Librarum ccccccviij et uncias. x. libr. lxxxv. s. svj. ...'. Maiocchi and Casacca (*Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Eremitarum*, vol. 1, p. 131), who printed the documents interpret the *crate ferrea* as an iron grate placed on a window in the sacristy. However, an entry of 14 September 1381 had carefully referred to such a window (for the entrance corridor to the sacristy) as a '*fenestra ferea*'. The weight of the *crate ferrea* is so great as to suggest a complex structure to be assembled on site. The single payment recorded (for iron, transport and installation) is reminiscent of the payment arrangements of 1290 for the grill above the tomb of Eleanor of Castile in Westminster Abbey. See J. Geddes, *Medieval Decorative Ironwork in England* (London, 1999), p. 346, and (p. 10) for the difficulties in getting iron into workable form in England. I am grateful to Jane Geddes for discussing these issues with me.

46 Their identification as woodworkers is confirmed by the payments received for wooden refectory tables made in 1386. We further learn that Valentino is deceased by February 1386, and his son is named Lanfranchino; he also has a *cognato* named Jacobo, Liber A Expensarum Operum ab Anno 1380 ad Annum 1402, f. 23r. See also Sacchi and Ferreri, *L'Arca di S. Agostino*, p. 16 nn. 5-6.

47 Liber A Expensarum Operum ab Anno 1380 ad Annum 1402, f. 10r-v; published in part in Maiocchi and Casacca (*Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Eremitarum*, vol. 1, pp. 133-34), who interpret the *spranzata* as a 'riparo o cancellata'. Ferreri and Sacchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino*, p. 16 n. 3), did not attempt to translate this word but interpreted their work as 'pulimento o di riparazione'.

48 '...quatuor diebus in faciendo canzellum arche...', Liber A Expensarum Operum ab Anno 1380 ad Annum 1402, f. 10v; payments summarised in Maiocchi and Casacca, *Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Eremitarum*, vol. 1, pp. 133-34.

additional painted wooden structure, the *canzëllum*.⁴⁹ In addition, its vault was painted and the north wall was decorated with an image (now lost), of Augustine dressed in episcopal vestments and protecting the leaders of Pavia under his pivial,⁵⁰ as a Madonna della Misericordia would have done.

By 1392, the Hermits had spent some 4000 gold florins on the *arca*, as reported in a judgement of 1396.⁵¹ Yet, in the eyes of two powerful laymen at least, work was still incomplete: Gian Galeazzo Visconti requested in his will (dated variably between 1397 and 1402) that the *arca* be brought to completion and that the body of Augustine be placed in it.⁵² Another prominent knight, Giacomo dal Verme, was clearly not satisfied with the location of the tomb, despite the fact that the sacristy's vault and the north wall had been painted and other furnishings provided an appropriate setting. In his testament of 1406 he made provisions for a house to be sold to enable the friars to move the *arca nova* from the sacristy to the *loco debito*.⁵³ This is unlikely to have been the crypt of the church since the tomb is too high. Location in another communal area such as the nave or transept, or indeed the chancel, may have been intended.⁵⁴ In practice, neither will was executed, perhaps because in 1400, Pope Boniface IX issued the bull *Pro singulorum fidelium* which physically divided the church into two parts in the hope of settling the disputes between the Canons and the friars.⁵⁵ Moreover, physical signs of a cult in the crypt were beginning to be visible: by 1394 an altar had been erected near

49 Moskowitz ('A Tale of Two Cities', 7 n. 1), reports that the *arca* was 'surrounded by an iron railing' in 1383, possibly interpreting the *canzëllum* as this structure? Waters (*Five Italian Shrines*, p. 60) had also followed this interpretation. A later enclosure was provided for the tabernacle of Orsanmichele, Florence. *Orsanmichele a Firenze / Orsanmichele Florence*, ed. D. Finiello Zervas, 2 vols (Modena, 1996), volume of essays, p. 165.

50 Zuradelli, *La basilica di S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 77.

51 Printed in Romano, 'Eremitani e Canonici', 35-6 n. 3. See the discussion below, p. 48.

52 'Item quod *arca* marmorea quae est in ecclesia Sancti Augustini, sita in cittadella Papiae, compleatur et corpus Sancti Augustini quod esse dicitur in ipsa ecclesia reponatur in *arca praedicta*', printed in Ferreri and Sacchi, *L'Arca di S. Agostino*, p. 16 n. 1; *Dichiarazione della fabbrica dell'Arca*, written while the tomb was still in the sacristy, records that the friars begged Galeazzo to finish it. Interestingly, Faustino Gianini (*La basilica di S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro di Pavia nella storia e nell'arte*, 2nd edn [Pavia, 1972], p. 46), is one of the few to consider the tomb to be incomplete whilst suggesting two periods of works, the first from the end of the Trecento and the early Quattrocento. Oddly, he finds that there are no works in the register of 1380 to 1402.

53 '... quod *Arca Nova* existens in Sacrestia dicte ecclesie corpori S. Augustini debeat superponi in loco debito cum laboreris et edificiis necessariis in hoc', dated 5 January 1406, cited in Maiocchi, *L'Arca di S. Agostino in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 14. See generally, M. Mallett, 'Dal Verme Iacopo', in *DBI* vol. 32, pp. 262-7.

54 Two recent reconstructions of saints' tombs suggest interesting arrangements and locations: that of San Cerbone in the north aisle of the cathedral of Massa Marittima in the 1320s, and a raised tomb-chest for the Franciscan Blessed Egidio in San Francesco al Prato, Perugia. D. Norman, 'A Place of Pilgrimage: a proposal for the original location of the *Arca* of Saint Cerbone', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69 (2001), 191-221; D. Cooper, "'Qui Perusii in archa saxea tumulatus": the shrine of Beato Egidio in San Francesco al Prato, Perugia', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69 (2001), 223-44.

55 Maiocchi and Casacca, *Codex Diplomaticus Ordinis Eremitarum*, vol. 1, pp. 219-22; Hackett, 'San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', p. 211.

the remains of the saint.⁵⁶ Thus by the end of the fourteenth century there were two competing *loci* of veneration at San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro: an empty monumental effigy tomb with narratives of the saint's life in the sacristy of the Augustinian Hermits and an altar connected to the site of the eighth-century translation in the crypt.

Design and Iconography

As Anita Moskowitz has remarked, the design owes more to a bishop's tomb than that of a saint's tomb.⁵⁷ There are reasons for the adoption of such a design that go beyond its appropriateness as a monument to a great bishop. By erecting an effigy tomb for their founder saint, were the Augustinian Hermits hoping to draw attention away from the fact that they did not have his body, or was the design chosen to win over the Regular Canons to the idea that the cult would be focused on the monument?⁵⁸ The way in which Augustine himself was represented on the narrative reliefs as both a bishop and a hermit suggest some deliberate and careful thinking. A full iconographic investigation of all the figurative elements is not, however, feasible for the moment given the repeated dismantling of the monument over the centuries, together with the restoration of some heads. Nonetheless, some observations can be made about the two tiers of narrative reliefs. Since we do not know the original placement of the tomb in the sacristy it is impossible to know how the monument was viewed – whether there was a front and back, and sides – thus my references will be to long and short sides but I will still refer the viewer to the present viewing arrangement.

We might have expected Jordan of Saxony's *Liber Vitasfratrum* to be the textual source for the lower tier as it was the most recent history of the Augustinian Hermits and was disseminated to the entire order.⁵⁹ However, just as Jordan remains elusive on the tomb project, so the *arca* reliefs ignore Jordan and use other texts as models, especially Augustine's *Confessions*, Possidius' *Vita*, and Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*.⁶⁰ In its current reconstructed state four reliefs from Augustine's *vita* appear in chronological order. On the short side to the left when facing the tomb, the young Augustine occupies the space of two panels. He is engaged in teaching seven students

56 J. Fontanini, *De Corpore Sancti Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi et Ecclesiae Doctoris Ticini reperto In confessione aedis sancti Petri in Coelo aurea Disquisitio ubi antiqua Ecclesiae disciplina, in tumultu corpore sancti Augustini servata, ex postrema ejus inventione explicatur: quam etiam summorum pontificum diplomata, Praesulum Ticinensium acta, veterum tabularum atque historicum fides cumulate confirmant* (Rome 1728), p. 94. By 1500, the chronicler of the Canons Regular of the Lateran (who replace the Congregation of Mortara) stated that Augustine's body lay behind the high altar; cited in Hackett, 'San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', p. 219.

57 Moskowitz, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, p. 212.

58 Padre Maestro Matis de Carmagnuola, who penned the seventeenth-century (?) tract entitled *Invenzione del corpo di S. Agostino*, Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS. Ticinensia, vol. 32, f. 9v., thought the Hermits must have hoped to move the body of Augustine into their tomb.

59 Indeed, it became the basis of new visual histories such as the choir cycle of Sant'Agostino in Gubbio; see S. Dale, 'Benozzo Gozzoli's Frescoes of the Life of Saint Augustine in San Gimignano: Their Meaning in Context', *Artibus et Historiae* 7 (1986), 35–53.

60 A classic test is the baptism scene which includes Ambrose; Jordan's *Liber Vitasfratrum* always omits him. See Anne Dunlop's introduction to this volume for these authors.

and is framed by representations of the cities of Milan and Rome. The next three reliefs to the right (the long side currently forming the front of the tomb) depict the preaching of Ambrose, Augustine's visit to the hermit Simplicianus, his conversion under the fig tree whilst reading, and his baptism and vestition (figs. 2 and 7).

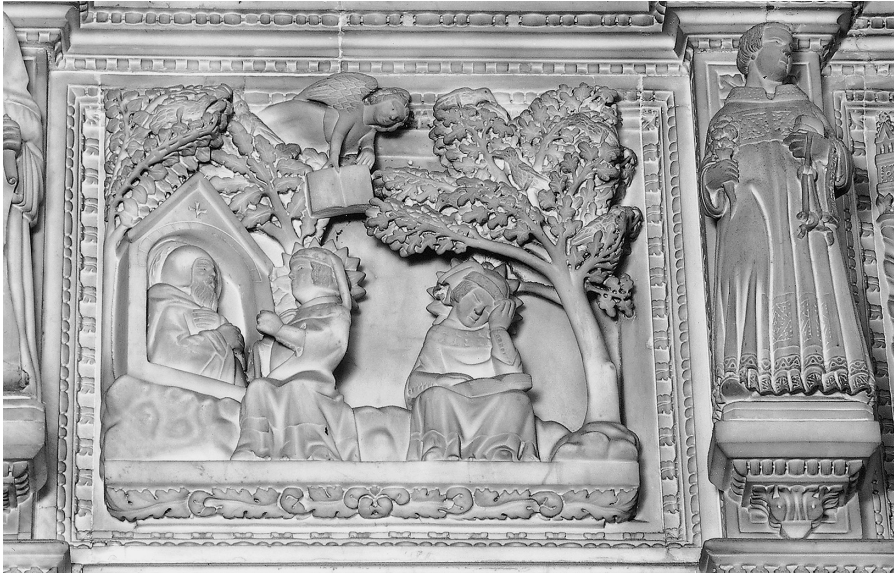


Figure 7. Followers of Giovanni di Balduccio, *St Augustine visits Simplicianus; conversion of Augustine*, marble, tomb of St Augustine of Hippo, San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia (Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art)

All these reliefs find their source in the *Confessions* except the vestition (fig. 3).⁶¹ This episode is related in the histories written by the Augustinian Hermits themselves, such as the Pseudo-Ambrosian *Sermones de baptismo et conversione sancti Augustini*.⁶² The act of vestition dominates the scene while the baptism is only alluded to by the presence of a font. The narrative is divided into three by twisted columns which suggest an architectural framework reminiscent of a church nave and two aisles. In the central space, Augustine kneels before the font, already tonsured. Bishop Ambrose and a layman (presumably Augustine's friend Alypius, mentioned in the text) help him pull a monastic habit over his head. The habit is carefully carved so that the pointed hood and sleeves of the friars can be clearly distinguished. A boy kneels on the other side

61 The literary sources for all events in Augustine's life are reviewed in F. Van Fleteren and J. C. Schnaubelt, 'Literary Sources for the Iconography of Saint Augustine', in *Augustine in Iconography*, pp. 7-62. The *Confessions* V, 12 and VI, 6, note separate events of Augustine teaching in Rome and working in Milan; these are cited in Van Fleteren and Schnaubelt, 'Literary Sources', pp. 16, 18.

62 *Ad fratres in heremo, sermo XXVII*, in *Patrologia Latina* XI: 1, 233-358: 82; see also Arbesmann, 'Henry of Friemar's "Treatise"', 49; for an English translation see E. A. Foran, *The Augustinians: from St Augustine to the Union* (London, 1938), p. 49.

of the font: he is either Augustine's son, Adeodatus, or Evodius, a young man who features in the *Confessions* and the *Golden Legend*.⁶³ The event is watched from the side by Simplicianus (holding a book) and Augustine's mother Monica.⁶⁴

The next scene, on the short side to the right when facing the tomb, interrupts the chronology and presents a posthumous event, the translation of Augustine's remains from Sardinia to Pavia in the early eighth century. Here the two reliefs are to be read from right to left, and from top to bottom and up again. The composition effectively transforms two reliefs into one and the eye is led in a circular motion. As Hallenbeck has recently shown, the relief has no known textual source and differs from previous accounts in that on the right King Liutprand himself travels to Sardinia to 'rescue' Augustine's body, returning and accompanying it to the city and to its final resting place in San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, along with bishop Peter of Pavia his kinsman, some friars and laymen.⁶⁵ The *Golden Legend* and the earlier traditions always reported the king sending emissaries and legates. Thus, here was a new version of the translation which now presented a 'royal-episcopal enterprise', giving prominence to bishop, king and the city itself, and designed to instil Pavian patriotism. As Hallenbeck rightly observed, the Pavians' only king, Liutprand, is depicted as a key player in the acquisition and translation of the body of St Augustine and even acts as the chief pallbearer by holding Augustine's head. The bishop is the other figure closest to the body of the saint, but all manner of civilians, clergy and friars carry the body.⁶⁶

The other long side (now the back of the tomb) follows a chronology of events after the baptism of Augustine, as set out in the *Golden Legend*. It begins on the left with the *Funeral of Monica*, proceeds with the *Giving of the Rule* to the friars, and ends with the *Refutation of Fortunatus*, a Manichean priest. The death of Monica receives only a passing mention in the *Golden Legend* so there was little for the sculptor to follow.⁶⁷ The composition relies therefore on that of the procession of Augustine's body into San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro carved on the short side, with Augustine wearing the hermit's habit at the head of the procession and eight friars carrying the corpse. Three men in secular dress look on.

63 *Confessions*, IX, VIII, 17; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. W. G. Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton, 1993), vol. 2, p. 121. Given his diminutive size, he is more likely to be Adeodatus.

64 Perhaps the nearest dated parallel work is Guariento's version in the *cappella maggiore* of the Eremitani in Padua. It shares the tripartite division of the *Arca's* relief. In Padua, however, the font is located to the right of centre and Augustine is shown wearing the habit and receiving the belt from Ambrose and Simplicianus. The emphasis on the belt is significant as it is an accessory crucial to the Hermits as thoroughly discussed in Henry of Friemar's treatise of 1334. See my "'De origine et progressu ordinis fratrum heremitarum": Guariento and the Eremitani in Padua', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66 (1998), 177-92, esp. 186-7.

65 Hallenbeck, *The Transferral of the Relics of St. Augustine*, pp. 40-41, 45-8. Note however the error in Hallenbeck (p.40), where upper relief should be read as 'lower' and lower as 'upper'.

66 Maiocchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 44) corrected Sacchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino*, p. 12) who had identified the pallbearers exclusively as friars.

67 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, p. 21; The *Confessions* (IX, xi: 28) note only that Monica's body is carried out and placed beside the tomb prior to burial (and according to African tradition).



Figure 8. Followers of Giovanni di Balduccio, *St Augustine giving the Rule*, marble, tomb of St Augustine of Hippo, San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia (Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art)

The *Giving of the Rule by Augustine*, dressed in a habit and wearing his cowl (but no mitre), is indebted in general terms to Possidius' fifth-century *Vita Augustini* (fig. 5). After becoming a priest, Augustine 'established a monastery ... and ... began to live according to the manner and rule instituted by the Holy Apostles'.⁶⁸ Yet Augustine appears dressed as an Augustinian Hermit, hooded and surrounded by friars whose waist bands indicate the existence of the distinctive belt.⁶⁹ He stretches out both arms and holds out a large scroll above a group of tiny kneeling friars touching the Rule in a manner which, remarkably, recalls a Madonna della Misericordia sheltering the friars. It is unlike Guariento's painted version of the scene at the Eremitani in Padua with no attempt made to situate the scene geographically in the Tuscan hills (or Africa); nor are there temporal allusions such as depicting friars wearing a diversity of habits.⁷⁰ That the scene appears immediately after the death of Monica follows both the chronology of

⁶⁸ *The Life of Saint Augustine by Possidius Bishop of Calama* ed. J. E. Rotelle (Villanova, 1988), p. 47.

⁶⁹ On the importance of the habit to the friars see Cordelia Warr's essay in this volume.

⁷⁰ Visual references to Africa would imply knowledge of Jordan of Saxony's *Liber Vitasfratrum* who situates the giving of the Rule after Augustine's return to Africa. See Bourdua, 'De origine et progressu', 185. Gill (*Augustine in the Italian Renaissance*, p. 55), sees the *Arca*'s reliefs as compositional models for Guariento's frescoes but it seems to be that the relationship may have worked the other way. I will develop this issue further in a separate study on art production in Padua during the fourteenth century.



Figure 9. Followers of Giovanni di Balduccio, *St Augustine tricks the devil having recited compline*, marble, tomb of St Augustine of Hippo, San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia (Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art)



Figure 10. Followers of Giovanni di Balduccio, *The devil shows St Augustine the book containing the sins of mankind*, marble, tomb of Augustine of Hippo, San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia (Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art)

the *Golden Legend* (if we read from left to right),⁷¹ and the fourteenth-century histories of the friars such as Henry of Friemar's treatise.⁷²

The last scene on this register illustrates the *Refutation of the Manichean Fortunatus* and presents Augustine as a hermit bishop (with monastic habit and mitre). The change in dress suggests a loosening of the ties between the reliefs and Possidius' *Vita Augustini* and the *Golden Legend*: both texts situate this episode before Augustine's ordination as bishop.⁷³ Indeed, the *Golden Legend* makes the briefest mention of it whereas the narrative relief labours over details: on the left Augustine sits amid friars and disputes with a man wearing a bell-shaped hat (Fortunatus). On the right, the same man leaves the building visibly distraught, his face buried in his hands, while underneath Augustine baptizes a group of male and female youths.

The gable reliefs depicting miracles in the upper register do not follow a precise order, and interestingly Augustine appears as a hermit bishop three times,⁷⁴ and as a bishop the rest of the time (with cope and mitre).⁷⁵ There may well have been some logic in representing Augustine in two guises, but the textual sources shed no light on

71 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, p. 122.

72 Arbesmann, 'Henry of Friemar's "Treatise"', 95-7.

73 Possidius, *Vita*, VI, in *The Life of Saint Augustine by Possidius* pp. 49-50; Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, p. 122.

74 In the healing of the layman lying in bed, in the exorcism scene and in the healing of a man from Augustine's death bed.

75 For a fuller account see Cordelia Warr's essay in this volume.

this distinction. The haphazard disposition of miracle scenes is more contentious in my view, and there is evidence to suggest that a muddle may have occurred during the most recent reconstruction.⁷⁶ Some gable reliefs clearly belong together as the framing elements form a whole, such as those above Augustine teaching rhetoric: on the left a lay woman watches Augustine healing a bed-ridden layman, while on the right a group of lay men and women stand in front of a church.⁷⁷ However, the two panels dealing with temptations by the devil located above the procession of Monica's body and the giving of the Rule only make sense if viewed as continuous scenes read from right to left (as opposed to the customary left to right) (figs. 9-10).⁷⁸ This strongly suggests an erroneous repositioning. This is the story of an encounter between Augustine and the devil, as described in the *Golden Legend*, in which the devil produced the book containing the sins of mankind and in which Augustine read that he had once forgotten to recite compline. Tricking the devil, Augustine asked him to wait, went into the church, recited the missing Office and told the devil once more to show him the page where the sin had now vanished.⁷⁹ To understand this narrative now, the viewer must start by reading the middle gable which displays a double scene in which Augustine on the left disputes with a bearded figure with clawed feet and hands who carries a closed book; on the right the same man opens it and Augustine points to a page (fig. 10). The completion of the story is found in the next relief to the left where we observe initially Augustine kneeling before an altar and finally standing next to his hoofed companion and pointing to the open book (fig. 9).

The remaining miracles focus on the liberation of prisoners, on casting out demons, and on healing the sick and the lame. Pierre and Jeanne Courcelle convincingly linked two episodes of deliverance located above Ambrose preaching and the conversion of Augustine (on the front of the tomb) to a miracle in the *Golden Legend* where imprisoned men are denied water and are taken by Augustine to the Gravelone river to be refreshed.⁸⁰

76 The Courcelles (J. and P. Courcelle, *Iconographie de St Augustin. Les cycles du XIV^e siècle* [Paris, 1965], p. 68), noted that the miracles did not follow a chronological or logical order but could not find an explanation. Maiocchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino in S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro*, pp. 41-2), gives a nineteenth-century description recording a different order than the one seen today for the standing figures separating the gables on the attic storey, and a 1799 account which describes four seated pontiffs where there are now two: the remainder have acquired the headgear of bishops during restoration. I have not been able to trace these early accounts.

77 Their identification beyond this description is impossible. Sacchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino*, p. 13), and Maiocchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 45), identified this scene as the healing of the knight of Hippo whose leg was to be amputated but there are no visual clues to support this; moreover he mistakes the lay woman witnessing the event for a religious man. The tightly buttoned sleeve under the cloak suggests lay dress and the veil confirms her gender. As for the second scene Maiocchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 47), makes a rather vague and unconvincing link to an episode relating to Bishop Valerius.

78 Sacchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino*, p. 13), interprets these scenes as Augustine's combat against the heretics Pelagius, Arrius and Donatus, while Maiocchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 48), does note that they are intimately related but only describes them as general references to combatting heresy.

79 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, p. 130.

80 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, p. 130; Courcelle, *Iconographie de Saint Augustin. Les cycles du XIV^e Siècle*, pp. 70-71; Van Fleteren and Schnaubelt, 'Literary Sources for the

On the left a layman has been freed from a tower and kneels next to Augustine; he places his right hand on the man's wrists and holds the discarded shackles in his left. In the next scene Augustine leads the same man (now carrying the shackles) to a river situated in front of a church. In the final relief Augustine exorcises a woman brought to him by a group of women and girls.⁸¹

The healing of pilgrims in search of a cure is appropriately placed above the translation scenes on the short side (right side when facing the tomb). In the first scene on the left, Augustine stands before a group of men leaning on crutches, with crooked legs and withered hands. In the second, on the right, another gathering enters the church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro; among them is a blind man recognisable by the long staff he carries in his right hand and the way he places his left hand on the shoulder of the man in front. Another man, evidently cured, leaves the church on the right hand side. This episode can be related to a miracle dated to the tenth century in the *Golden Legend*: some three miles from Pavia at a place called Cana, Augustine appeared to a group of the sick heading for Rome and told them to go to the church of San Pietro.⁸²

The final miracle scene, located above the *Refutation of Fortunatus* (on the front) occurs on Augustine's death bed.⁸³ As told in the *Golden Legend* and Possidius' *Vita Augustini*, a layman with an infirmity (holding his hands before him as if withered) insisted on being admitted and begged the dying Augustine to cure him. The saint is seen blessing him, clutching a book in his left hand while two friars witness the deed.⁸⁴

Thus rather than presenting Augustine of Hippo as the founding father of the Hermit friars, the tomb is more akin to that of a bishop saint, displaying his life and posthumous miracles and seemingly directed to the pilgrim.

Patronage

Jurisdiction over the body of St Augustine was shared between the Augustinian Hermits and the Regular Canons, but did this extend to the tomb commission? As noted above, the inscription of 1362 records the name of the prior of the friars (Bonifazio Bottigella) and not the canons, and the acts of the General Chapter meetings document centralised fund raising by means of local canvassing followed by provincial taxation. Despite the order-wide interest in the tomb project, Pavian friars supervised and paid the workers, and justified expenses to their local chapter as confirmed by the accounts from 1380 to 1402.⁸⁵ A lay *superstans* oversaw the works (and was responsible to the prior), purchasing

Iconography of Saint Augustine', p. 58.

81 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, p. 126; Possidius, *Vita*, XXIX, relates similar cures, cited in Van Fleteren and Schnaubelt, 'Literary Sources for the Iconography of Saint Augustine', p. 45. See also Maiocchi, *L'Arca di S. Agostino in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 48.

82 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, vol. 2, p. 131; Van Fleteren and Schnaubelt, 'Literary Sources for the Iconography of Saint Augustine', p. 57.

83 Sacchi (*L'Arca di S. Agostino*, p. 13) incorrectly identified this relief as the death of Augustine, but was corrected by Maiocchi, *L'Arca di S. Agostino in Ciel d'Oro*, p. 45.

84 Ibid, 126; Possidius, *Vita*, XXIX, in *The Life of Saint Augustine by Possidius*, p. 115.

85 Liber A Expensarum Operum ab Anno 1380 ad Annum 1402, f. 1r. begins in April 1380 and notes the presence of the prior Jacobi de Cremona and the lay brother Andrea 'superstantes

materials when needed. Thus the mechanisms of patronage are not unlike those of Dominican friars.⁸⁶ By the 1390s the total costs of the *arca* were estimated by the friars as having amounted to four thousand gold florins. Admittedly this figure may have been a little inflated, given that this was a counterclaim to litigation.⁸⁷ Nonetheless the friars lost and the priory had to be bailed out by the entire order. The General Chapter meeting at Munich in 1397 ordained that Pavia should receive 100 ducats annually to recover from the sentence and this subsidy was confirmed in 1403.⁸⁸

Was it the Hermits' wish, as proposed by Moskowitz, to build the tomb '...very possibly as part of a program to aggrandize Augustinian prerogatives, thus diminishing those of the Canons both in the church and in the city of Pavia itself'?⁸⁹ This view is perhaps too strong as there are other aspects to consider. We should compare the Augustinian Hermits' foundation at Pavia to the other large mendicant foundations of San Francesco at Assisi and San Domenico at Bologna, since San Pietro at Ciel d'Oro became the first General House of the Order. With the papal decree of 1327, the Augustinian Hermits were entitled to establish a convent adjacent to the church with a minimum of 25 brethren. The Regular Canons were expected to sell them land to enable this to happen. The Prior General himself, William of Cremona, headed the community in its early days and the special status of the house was confirmed in the 1340s by being made immediately subject to the prior general.⁹⁰ By 1343 the friars' internal school had become a *studium generale*,⁹¹ and by the end of the fourteenth century this had been enlarged and was enhanced by a large refectory, a novitiate, guest house and dormitories with individual cells for certain friars.⁹² In addition, accounts of a large pictorial programme in both the church and the sacristy including a high altarpiece with

operum'. They are still in charge in January 1383 (f. 10v), and Andrea is again recorded in December 1385 (f. 22v), March 1386 (f. 24v), March 1390 (f. 33r); in June 1396 the prior is Domenico de Forchino and he is helped by brother Luchinus de Comitibus (f. 42r); f. 8r, in August 1382 the lay brother Agostino is reimbursed for expenses incurred in Venice and Bologna in purchasing painted glass; f. 13v. (June 1383) notes a friar worker, the lay brother Comino who is paid for 13 days' labour on the guest house. The expenses in November 1392 are justified to the priory on f. 37r.

86 L. Bourdua, '13th-14th C. Italian Mendicant Orders and Art', in *Economia e Arte secc. XIII-XVIII. Atti della "Trentatreesima Settimana di Studi 30 aprile-4 maggio 2001. Istituto internazionale di storia economica "F. Datini"* (Prato, ed. S. Cavaciocchi (Prato, 2002), pp. 473-88; J. Cannon, 'Sources for the Study of the Role of Art and Architecture within the Economy of the Mendicant Convents of Central Italy: A Preliminary Survey', in *L'economia dei conventi di frati minori e predicatori fino alla metà del trecento. Società internazionale di studi francescani. Atti del XXXI convegno internazionale Assisi, 9-11 ottobre 2003* (Spoleto, 2004), pp. 215-62.

87 They were using the high costs as a counterclaim to an accusation by the Canons that they had damaged the abbot's throne, stolen books, vestments and one hundred florins, alienated property and committed other irregularities. See Romano, 'Eremitani e Canonici', 34-47; Hackett, 'San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', pp. 210-211.

88 'Antiquiores quae extant definitiones capitulorum generalium ordinis', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 4 (1911-12), 150, 222.

89 Moskowitz, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, p. 210.

90 Hackett, 'San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', pp. 207-08.

91 Ibid, p. 209.

92 Liber A Expensarum Operum ab Anno 1380 ad Annum 1402, passim.

the Virgin Mary, St Augustine, saints and friars, and wall paintings depicting the life of both Augustine and Nicholas of Tolentino (all lost, but some recorded as having been undertaken under the prior Bonifacio Bottigella) confirm that the *arca* was only one element of a grand scheme.⁹³

We should also think about the *arca's* intended audiences: friars (local and international – either visiting the tomb or studying at the *studium generale*), other religious (not least Augustinian Canons), and the laity (both Pavians and pilgrims from afar). For the Pavians it was a monument of pride in addition to being a healing shrine. As we have seen, these two concerns are evident in the translation and miracle reliefs on the tomb itself. Moskowitz indeed comments on the appropriateness of the tomb's design for this group:

To the Pavians of the second half of the fourteenth century, however, the monument must have served its purpose to perfection. It combined and integrated allusions to three traditions: that of monumental, freestanding saints' *arcas* with their cycles of Virtues and biographical narratives; the tradition of ecclesiastical tombs that highlight the individuality and station of the deceased by way of the effigy....⁹⁴

Whether Pavians would have really been reminded of the Arch of Constantine, as she further proposes, understanding the tomb as 'an ancient symbol of the triumph of Christianity over paganism', is less easy to ascertain.⁹⁵

Similar difficulties arise when we consider the hypothesis, also put forward by Moskowitz, that the tomb was produced as an organ of Pavian resistance to Milanese invasion. While it is likely that the monument was in part funded by alms stemming from the people of Pavia and contributions from the *Comune*, the bulk must have come from the levy on all Augustinian Hermit houses, just as had been the case for the Dominican tomb of Peter Martyr at Sant'Eustorgio Milan. Moreover, outsiders were also donors including the Marchese of Monferrato and the Visconti themselves.⁹⁶

It seems highly significant to me that the tomb reliefs were not used in a crude propagandistic way to assert the Augustinian Hermits' true lineage to the founder, as in the case of Guariento's fresco cycle at the Eremitani in Padua.⁹⁷ The nineteen reliefs make greater use of Augustine's own *Confessions* and the *Golden Legend* than the new late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century treatises of the order such as the works by Nicholas of Alessandria and Henry of Friemar.⁹⁸ Augustine is therefore presented in all his facets: as a hermit and bishop, a preacher and confounder of heretics, and a miracle-worker. In many ways this might seem an obvious formula for a shrine,

93 These are described in the litigation documents of the 1390s, the sixteenth-century description of Antonio da Tortona c. 1578, and that of Gian Giacomo Cerri in 1599; Romano, 'Eremitani e Canonici', 35-6; Maiocchi, *Codice diplomatico artistico di Pavia*, vol. 1, pp. 12, 16-17; Hackett ('San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', p. 209), reports a sighting by Queen Mary Tudor of a 'lively image of St Augustine' in 1555, but without citing a source. I plan to return to this wider decorative programme in a future article.

94 Moskowitz, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, p. 213.

95 Indeed, Gill (*Augustine in the Italian Renaissance*, p. 43 n.73) queries this emphasis.

96 Hackett, 'San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia', p. 207.

97 Bourdua, 'De origine et progressu', passim.

98 On these authors see the introduction to this volume, pp. 00.

and comparisons can be drawn with other tombs.⁹⁹ By entombing their founder the Augustinian Hermits did justify their antique status and their claim to Augustine of Hippo as a father figure, albeit with subtlety. The choice of an effigy tomb (not so usual for saints but not as uncommon) was, I believe, carefully designed to draw attention away from any other *locus* within San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, including the crypt. Thus pilgrims seeking Augustine's thaumaturgic powers would gather around his image.

In addition the tomb effigy would have been particularly meaningful to all the friars who knew Jordan of Saxony's tale of the vision of Augustine shaking off the dust in disgust at the shoddy treatment of his relics. But could this single focus for devotion have been partly designed as an attempt to resolve the dispute by acknowledging both elements of the saint to reflect both congregations, as a gesture of *concordia*? One might think that the Regular Canons should have been relieved to see their saint depicted as a great bishop, but the litigation documents of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries suggest that they may never have been allowed near it. A papal bull of 1400 physically divided the church into two halves.¹⁰⁰ Thus, not even the great shrine of St Augustine could heal the wounds between the two congregations.

99 Aside from the well-discussed comparison with the tomb of Peter Martyr, the tomb of the Blessed Margaret of Cortona and the tomb of San Cerbone spring to mind.

100 See above note 55; Gill, *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance*, p. 41.