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Article abstract

Une analyse attentive des monuments-clés de la période de l'« Âge d'or » du Mont-Cassin semble montrer l'intérêt particulier de cette communauté pour la personne de l'apôtre Pierre. Cette attention pourrait confirmer leur volonté de se rapprocher du Saint-Siège, et surtout de participer au grand mouvement de la Réforme grégorienne dans sa tentative d'un retour vers les valeurs de l'Église primitive. Par contre, la sympathie des moines pour Pierre pourrait être aussi comprise comme un reflet de l'importance locale de Pierre au Mont-Cassin et de la grande influence que l'abbé Didier exerçait sar l'Église de l'Italie du sud.

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Glenn Gunhouse, University of Alberta

Résumé

Une analyse attentive des monuments-clés de la période de l'«Age d'or» du Mont-Cassin semble montrer l'intérêt particulier de cette communauté pour la personne de l'apôtre Pierre. Cette attention pourrait confirmer leur volonté de se rapprocher du Saint-Siège, et surtout de participer au grand mouvement de la Réforme grégorienne dans sa tentative d'un retour vers les valeurs de l'Église primitive. Par contre, la sympathie des moines pour Pierre pourrait être aussi comprise comme un reflet de l'importance locale de Pierre au Mont-Cassin et de la grande influence que l'abbé Didier exerçait sar l'Église de l'Italie du sud.

In 1072, the Norman rulers of the principality of Capua – in an attempt to further reinforce their ties to the strategically important abbey of Montecassino – transferred the monastery of Sant'Angelo in Formis from their personal possession into the hands of Montecassino's abbot, Desiderius. The new owner immediately set about restoring the fabric of the monastery, and soon after had its church decorated with an extensive programme of frescoes. The decoration of Sant'Angelo in Formis was only one of many such projects undertaken by Desiderius during Montecassino's so-called "Golden Age" (the period from the mid-eleventh to the mid-twelfth century), and it was by no means the most significant. However, it is the only one to survive largely intact, and thus stands as one of the most important sources of information on the character of Desiderian artistic patronage.[1]

The fresco decoration of Sant'Angelo in Formis is extensive and complex. The programme includes images of Christ in Majesty, the Last Judgement, the life of Christ, the story of Genesis, the lives of saints, and portraits of prophets, saints and the abbots of Montecassino. The choice of subjects in this programme, as well as the iconography of individual scenes, is, for the most part, quite traditional. A few scenes, however, are strikingly unusual, and it is those scenes that I wish to focus on here.

The first is the scene of the Mother of James and John Pleading for her Sons (fig. 1). This event is described in the Gospel of Matthew (20: 20-21) as follows:

> Then the mother of the sons of Zebedee came up to [Christ], with her sons, and kneeling before him she asked him for something. And he said to her, "What do you want?" She said to him, "Command that these two sons of mine may sit, one at your right hand and one at your left, in your kingdom."

The scene at Sant'Angelo in Formis shows the mother of James and John kneeling before Christ, as described in the Bible text. The presence of James and John, shown standing behind their mother, is likewise consistent with the biblical account of the event. What makes this scene unusual, however, is the presence of *Peter*, who, though not mentioned at all in the scriptural version of the story, is presented here as one of its most important players. Peter's position, immediately in front of James and John, serves to focus attention on him, rather than on them. Peter literally "upstages" James and John.

Of the many scholars who have written on Sant'Angelo in Formis over the past century, only Charles Minott has commented on the unusual presence of Peter in this scene.[2] He suggested that the painters of Sant'Angelo in Formis were forced to create this scene *ad hoc*, by altering some other scene, and that the figure of Peter, which must have been present in their model, was mistakenly retained by them in the new composition. Before attributing the inclusion of Peter to mere incompetence, however, we ought to examine more carefully the possibility that it was done deliberately, and ask whether it might have been intended to communicate a message related specifically to Peter.

That Peter might have had some special importance for the designers of Sant'Angelo's fresco decoration is supported by the fact that Peter is emphasized in other parts of the cycle as well. In several scenes (for example, the Tribute Money, the Washing of the Feet, and the Agony in the Garden), Peter plays a central role in the story depicted.[3] Even when relegated to the sidelines, Peter always occupies a position of at least *relative* importance, usually at the head of a crowd of Apostles. This is the case, for example, in the scene of the Entry into Jerusalem.[4]

In the scene of the Transfiguration (fig. 2), Peter is emphasized by means of visual cues that focus attention more intently on him than on the other Apostles in the scene. These cues become clear when Sant'Angelo's Transfiguration is compared with more conservative versions of the same iconographic type, such as that represented on a twelfth-century mosaic icon from Constantinople, now in the Louvre.[5] Such images show Christ standing within a mandorla, flanked by Moses and Elijah, while the three Apostles – Peter, James and John – witness the vision from

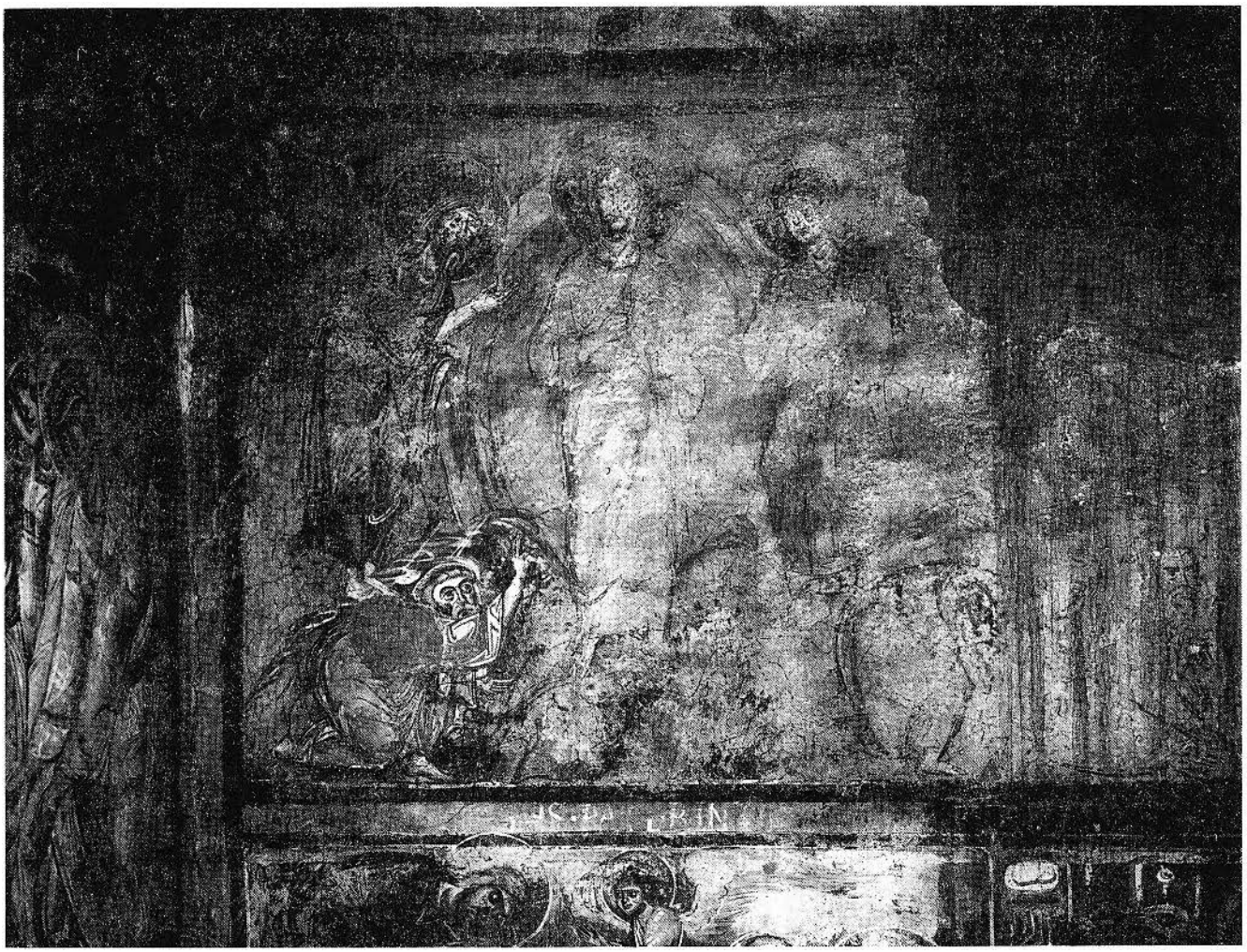
Figure 1. Mother of James and John Pleading for her Sons. Sant'Angelo in Formis (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY).

below. In most cases, one of the Apostles is shown directly below Christ, while the other two are shown to either side. In Transfigurations of this more common type, Peter, on the left, always faces Christ, and the Apostle to the right usually does the same. Rays issuing symmetrically from the body of Christ generally illuminate each of the three Apostles, as well as both prophets. Sant'Angelo's Transfiguration departs from this standard iconographic scheme in a number of ways. In the first place, the composition has been compressed, vertically, to fit it to a horizontal space.[6] James and John have been displaced from their usual positions near the centre of the scene and appear instead in positions relatively far off to the right. Both are shown fallen on their hands and knees, and both look away from Christ.[7] Peter appears in his usual place, in the lower left of the scene, and is shown in his usual pose – kneeling, facing Christ, and gesturing towards him. Unlike James and John, Peter is placed very close to Christ – so close, in fact, that his right arm falls within the compass of Christ's mandorla. Peter is also the only one touched by the rays of light that emanate from Christ's body. The traditional Transfiguration iconography has been modified, therefore, in ways that place special emphasis on Peter.

In the case of the Transfiguration scene, the emphasis given to Peter can be justified – at least to some extent – by reference to the Bible text. In the Gospel of Luke, for example, the Apostles who witnessed the Transfiguration are referred to as "Peter and those who were with him" (Luke 9: 32), and in all three versions of the Transfiguration story Peter is the only one of the three Apostles to speak. Exegesis on the Transfiguration similarly emphasizes the role of Peter.[8] Pictorial versions of the Transfiguration story, however, tend to present all three Apostles as nearly equal in importance (see, for example, the Louvre icon discussed above). Though Peter is always the only Apostle shown speaking, he is rarely distinguished from the other two Apostles in any more conspicuous way.[9]

Aside from Sant'Angelo in Formis, there are few extant monuments in which Peter is emphasized so strongly. Among the monuments of southern Italy, only the Salerno

Figure 2. Transfiguration. Sant'Angelo in Formis (Photo: Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome).



Antependium depicts the Transfiguration in a similar way (fig. 3).[10] The Salerno scene departs from the standard Byzantine Transfiguration iconography in ways very similar to those employed earlier at Sant'Angelo in Formis. The scene has again been adapted to a horizontal format, for example. In this case, however, since the space was only slightly wider than it is tall, it was not possible to displace the Apostles to the left and right, as was done at Sant'Angelo in Formis. Instead, they are squeezed uncomfortably into a narrow zone along the bottom of the plaque. James and John are strictly confined to this lower zone. They fall on their hands and knees and turn their faces to the ground. Peter, on the other hand, rises on one knee, breaks through the upper boundary of the lower zone, and intrudes into the space occupied by Christ, Moses and Elijah. Peter is the only one of the three Apostles to be shown facing Christ, and the only one to be depicted with a halo.[11] At Salerno, then, as at Sant'Angelo in Formis, the Transfiguration has been modified in ways that emphasize the importance of Peter.

That Peter should have been emphasized in similar ways both in the ivories of the Salerno Antependium and in the frescoes of Sant'Angelo in Formis should not be too surprising. These two monuments have long been associated with one another in art-historical literature, on account of their numerous other points of similarity.[12] Both monuments employ a similar selection of scenes, for example. Their Old Testament cycles, though highly abbreviated, have a large proportion of their available space devoted to illustrations of the first chapter of Genesis. Both cycles include the scenes of the Thank Offering of Noah and the Building of the Tower of Babel, though these are absent in most Italian monumental Old Testament cycles. The two monuments also resemble one another iconographically. They both depict the tomb of Christ in the same unusual way, for example (as a strigillated sarcophagus beneath a

Figure 3. Baptism of Christ and Transfiguration. Ivory plaque from the Salerno Antependium. 13.2 x 24.6 cm. Salerno, Museo del Duomo (Photo: Luciano Pedicini).

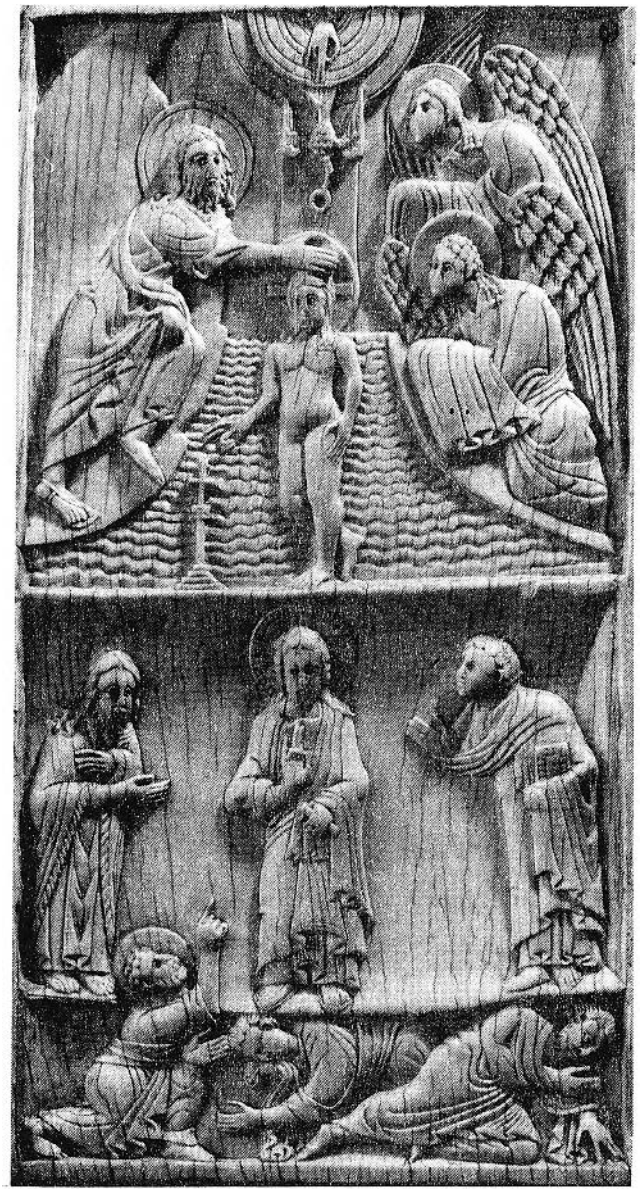
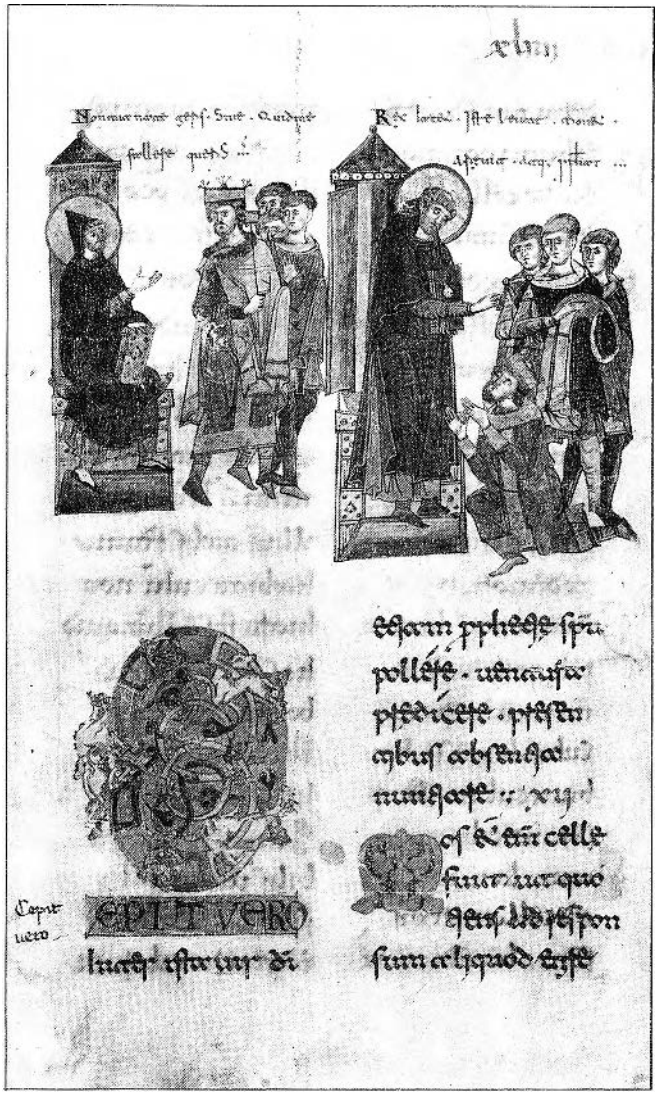


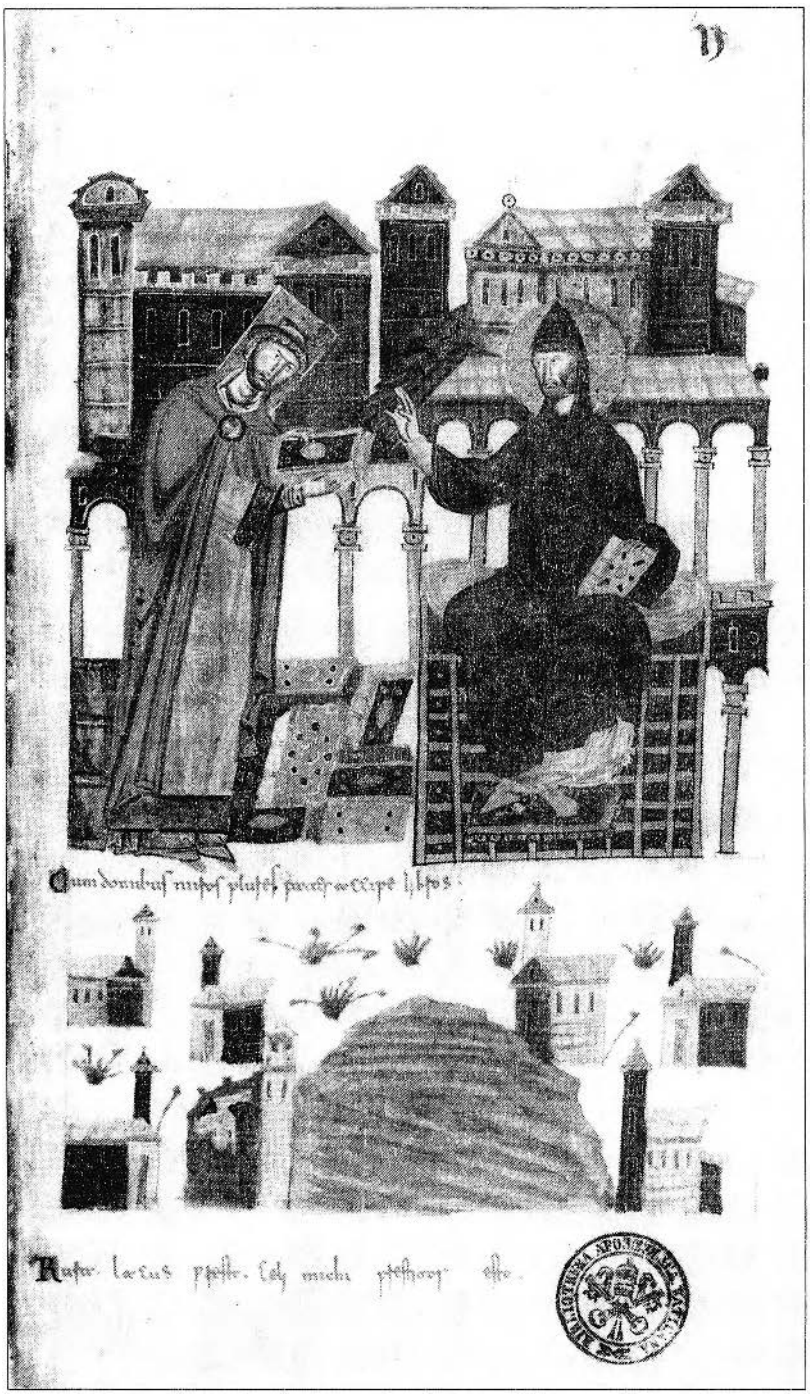
Figure 4. Totila Paying Homage to Benedict. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1202, fol. 44r (Photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).



domed ciborium), and both show the Doubting of Thomas taking place behind a short foreground wall with a central, locked gate. Both the frescoes of Sant'Angelo in Formis and the Salerno Antependium have columns separating the individual scenes of their narrative cycles, and both have enlarged scenes of the Crucifixion and Ascension.

Many of these same features can also be found in other south Italian monuments, all of which appear to derive from a common prototype. I have argued elsewhere, along lines laid down earlier by Otto Demus, that this prototype was a programme of church decoration developed at the abbey of Montecassino.[13] The evidence in support of this conclusion is circumstantial, but persuasive: Desiderius' decoration of St Benedict's at Montecassino is known to have included Old and New Testament cycles;[14] the group of similar monuments is concentrated in southern Italy, where Montecassino's influence was strongest; many of the monuments in question are Benedictine monasteries; none of the monuments with a programme of this type is earlier than the completion of Montecassino; and the earliest member of the group (Sant'Angelo in Formis) is a south Italian, Benedictine monastery, dependent on Montecassino, the decoration of which was commissioned by Desiderius himself immediately after the completion of the decoration of St Benedict's. There can be little doubt, I think, that the programmes of Sant'Angelo in Formis and the Salerno

Figure 5. Donor portrait. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1202, fol. 2r (Photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).



Antependium were inspired by the decoration of Montecassino. Presumably, the emphasis on Peter – which we find accomplished in such similar ways in both of these derivative monuments – was present already in their common model. The decision to emphasize Peter, therefore, should be credited not to the designers of Sant'Angelo in Formis or the Salerno Antependium, but to the artists or patrons of Montecassino.

St Peter had always been the object of a certain amount of veneration at Montecassino, in part because he was thought to have passed by the abbey on his way to Rome.[15] He seems to have become especially important there, however, during the abbacy of Desiderius (1058 to 1087).[16] It is interesting to note, for example, that the church which Desiderius built as a temporary replacement for St Benedict's, and which served as the main monastic church during the latter's reconstruction, was dedicated not to Benedict but to Peter.[17] This church of St Peter was eventually torn down, but the cult of Peter was continued in a new chapel which Desiderius installed in one of the towers of St Benedict's new atrium. This chapel soon became the focus of a new stational liturgy, in which antiphons were sung to Peter.[18]

By the end of the century, the feast of St Peter was being celebrated at Montecassino with the same solemnity as the feast of St Benedict.[19] According to the Chronicle of Montecassino, this last stage in the elevation of Peter's status at the monastery came about as the result of a miraculous appearance of Peter, who was reportedly sighted on the road to Montecassino in the summer of 1087, only a few months before Desiderius' death.[20] When asked where he was going, Peter is said to have replied, "I am going to my brother Benedict, to keep the anniversary of my death with him...."[21] The report of this vision is an important document, because it suggests that the importance of Peter at Montecassino was to be explained, at least in part, by his perceived fraternal relationship to Benedict.

That Benedict and Peter were linked in the minds of Cassinese monks, even *before* the vision of 1087, is suggested by the way in which the two saints were related, visually, in the art of the Desiderian period. An interesting example of this can be found in the so-called "Codex Benedictus" (Vat. lat. 1202), where – as Beat Brenk has pointed out – St Benedict is occasionally depicted with the features of St Peter.[22] The best example of this is a scene on folio 44r (fig. 4), in which King Totila is shown paying homage to Benedict by bowing down before him. The substitution of Peter's face for Benedict's in this particular scene has been interpreted by Brenk as a sign of Montecassino's political

Figure 6. Donor portrait. Montecassino, Cod. cas. 73 (Photo: Luciano Pedicini).

relationship to Rome (see below), but it is also important for the way in which it equates Peter and Benedict, using an episode from the life of one as the basis for an allegory involving the other.

A similar device is employed in the donor portrait of Vat. lat. 1202 (fig. 5), in which Desiderius is represented in a way that associates him with Peter, rather than with Benedict. Earlier donor portraits from Montecassino, such as that in Cod. cas. 73 (fig. 6), show the donor abbot dressed in the habit of a Benedictine monk. This habit, because it matches the dress of Benedict himself, serves to draw a clear visual parallel between the donor abbot and the founder of the monastery. In the frontispiece of Vat. lat. 1202, however, the donor abbot (Desiderius) is dressed *differently* from Benedict, and this serves to distinguish the two figures from one another, rather than to equate them.

In Vat. lat. 1202, Desiderius wears an alb, dalmatic and cope, instead of a tunic and cowl. He wears essentially the same garments in the donor portrait of Sant' Angelo in Formis (fig. 7).[23] These vestments identify Desiderius not as a Benedictine abbot but as a priest.[24] At the time these portraits were painted, Desiderius was, in fact, a cardinal-priest, having been appointed to that position by Pope Nicholas II in 1059.[25] That same year, Nicholas had also made Desiderius a papal vicar, charging him with overseeing the reform of the monasteries of southern Italy.[26] As a papal vicar, Desiderius was entitled to wear a red cope, the official use of which was restricted at the time to the pope and his appointed representatives.[27] That Desiderius is depicted wearing a red cope in these two portraits, then, clearly associates him with the papacy rather than with the abbacy of Montecassino.

It should also be noted that Desiderius is represented in both these portraits with the distinctive hairstyle of St Peter – that is, with a crown of white hair arranged in curls across the forehead. The resemblance to Peter is especially clear at Sant'Angelo in Formis, since the fresco cycle includes images of Peter with which one can compare the portrait of Desiderius (see fig. 1).[28] I would argue, by analogy with the similar use of Peter's features on Benedict in the scene of Totila Paying Homage in Vat. lat. 1202, that the portraits of Desiderius in Vat. lat. 1202 and Sant'Angelo in Formis have been designed to look like Peter, and that this was done in order to associate Desiderius with the Prince of the Apostles.

If this is true, then the frontispiece miniature of Vat. lat. 1202 (fig. 5) shows Desiderius as Peter before Benedict, that is, it represents Peter and Benedict as a pair, standing in a particular relationship to one another. The same would be true for the apse of Sant'Angelo in Formis (fig. 8), in which Benedict appears opposite Desiderius/Peter in the lower zone of the apse.[29]

A Cassinese interest in relating Peter and Benedict is suggested also by the fact that the church of St Benedict at Montecassino clearly resembled Old St Peter's in Rome.[30] This resemblance was due in large part to design decisions

Figure 7. Desiderius. Main apse, Sant'Angelo in Formis (Photo: Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome).

made during the construction of the previous church on the site,[31] but it seems to have been strengthened by the addition, in Desiderius' reconstructed church, of other features derived from Old St Peter's. The dedicatory inscription on the main arch of Desiderius' new church, for example, is clearly modelled on a similar inscription on the arch of the Roman basilica.[32] St Peter's was the model, too, for the Cassinese programme of monumental paintings on which the frescoes of Sant'Angelo in Formis and the ivories of the Salerno Antependium evidently depend.[33] This is clear from the fact that the frescoes of Sant'Angelo in Formis exhibit many of the distinctive features of the Vatican basilica (figs. 9, 10). The programme combines Old and New Testament narratives, a series of standing prophets, and a series of portraits in medallions. Columns separate the scenes of the narrative cycles, and the Crucifixion is exceptionally large. All of these elements are derived ultimately from Old St Peter's.[34] Many of the same features appear also in Sant'Angelo's little known sister church, San Pietro ad Montes (fig. 11).[35] The latter's resemblance to Old St Peter's is especially striking, since, unlike Sant'Angelo in Formis, it includes a true double-register Crucifixion. The common model that lies behind Sant'Angelo in Formis, San Pietro ad Montes and the Salerno Antependium, therefore, must have resembled St Peter's quite closely. Since that model was presumably designed at Montecassino, under the direction of Desiderius (who commissioned its use in the frescoes of Sant'Angelo in Formis), we may take it as confirmation of the theory that Desiderius sought to copy Old St Peter's.

Desiderius' copying of Old St Peter's is interpreted by most scholars as a sign that he was interested in reviving the artistic forms of the Early Christian church, and that he was therefore a supporter of the "Gregorian Reform." This movement, which reached its climax under Pope Gregory VII (1073-85), argued for a return to the pure ideals of the Apostolic Age. For these reformers, the image of the Roman Church under the leadership of its first bishop,

Figure 8. Main apse, Sant'Angelo in Formis (Photo: Luciano Pedicini).

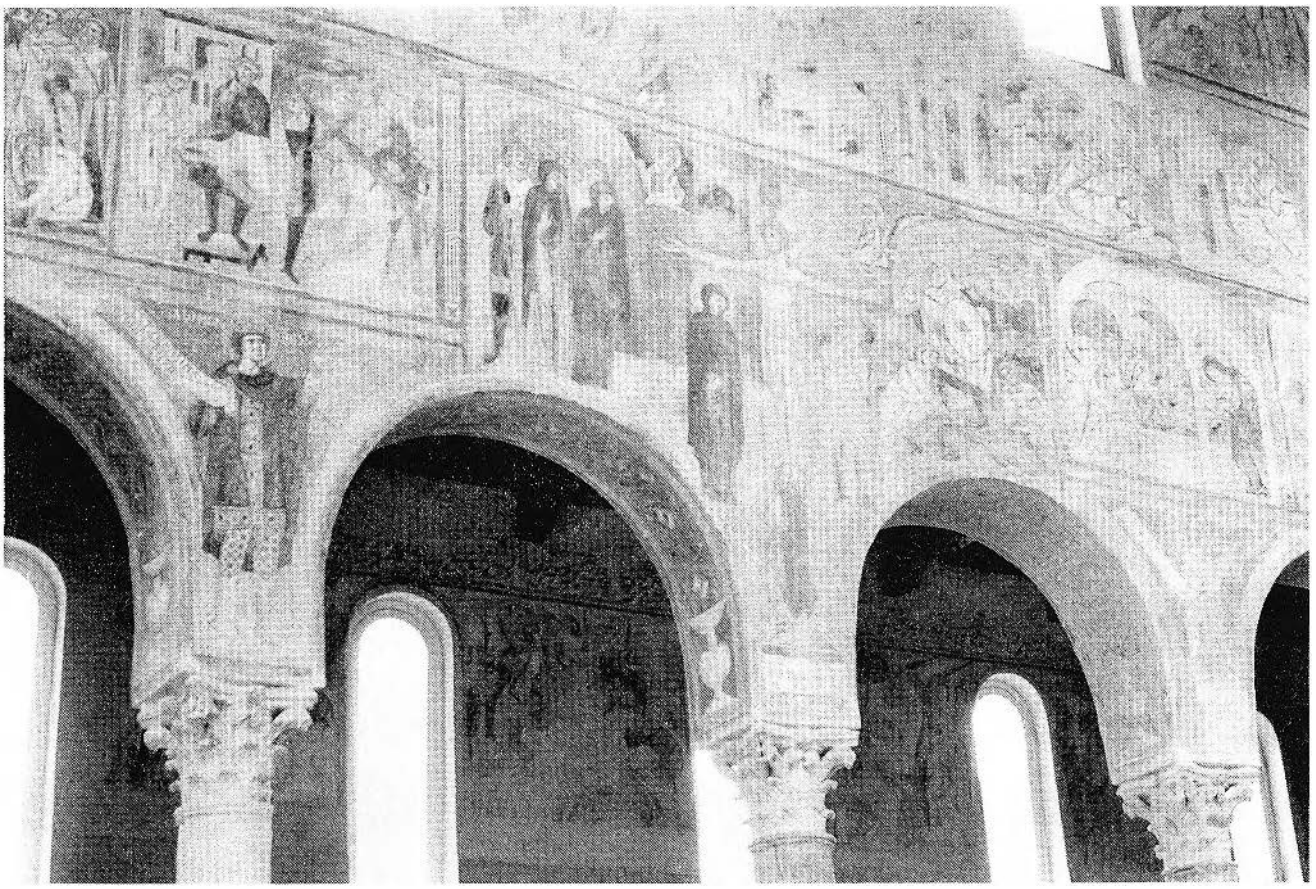
the Apostle Peter, was a powerful and appealing one that figured prominently in the art and literature produced by them.[36] It is commonly accepted that the copying of St Peter's basilica at this time was just another way of communicating the "Gregorian" desire for a return to the Golden Age of Early Christian Rome. In general, however, the copying of Old St Peter's seems *not* to have been associated with the idea of revival.[37] Instead, it seems to have been used as a way of equating one church (or city, or saint) with another *in the present*. San Paolo fuori le mura, for example – the most accurate of all known copies of Old St Peter's – copied the Vatican basilica not as a way of linking the present to the past but rather as a way of linking Peter with Paul.[38] The desire to evoke comparisons with Peter seems also to have motivated the Carolingian designers of St Boniface at Fulda, who, it would seem, copied the Vatican basilica as a way of expressing the obvious parallel between Peter, the Apostle to the Jews, and Boniface, the Apostle to the Franks.[39] Given such precedents, it seems reasonable to suggest that Desiderius' point in making St Benedict's resemble St Peter's was not to evoke the Early Christian period, but rather to express in visual terms the fraternal relationship that the monks of Montecassino believed joined Peter to Benedict.

At Montecassino, of course, Benedict was the more important member of the Benedict/Peter pair. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that the monks of Montecassino represented Benedict as not merely equal to, but even superior to Peter. In the donor portrait of Vat. lat. 1202, for example (fig. 5), Desiderius-as-Peter is shown as a supplicant before Benedict, presenting him with gifts of books and churches. Peter, in other words, is shown *in service* to Benedict. If, therefore, we were to take Benedict and Desiderius/Peter as metaphors for Montecassino and Rome, as some have done, we could say, furthermore, that Rome is shown here *in service* to Montecassino.[40] Such a claim is at odds with the view of many art historians that, in the area of ecclesiastical politics, Montecassino was the follower and servant of Rome.[41] But it is consistent with historical evidence that, even during the abbacy of Desiderius, political relations between Montecassino and Rome were often cool, if not actually unfriendly.[42] That some believe otherwise is due, in large part, to the Romanist interpretation of the Petrine imagery found in South Italian art of the Desiderian period – imagery which, in my view, might better be explained as a reflection of the local importance of Peter than as a sign of Cassinese allegiance to the Reform Party in Rome.

Notes

1 Of the many books and articles on Sant'Angelo in Formis, the most important for the present study are: Glenn Gunhouse, "The Fresco Decoration of Sant'Angelo in Formis," Ph.D. diss., Johns

Figure 9. Left wall, Sant'Angelo in Formis (Photo: Glenn Gunhouse).



Hopkins University, 1992; Hélène Toubert, *Un art dirigé: Réforme grégorienne et iconographie* (Paris, 1990), chapters IV-VI; Charles Ilsley Minott, "The Iconography of the Frescoes of the Life of Christ in the Church of Sant'Angelo in Formis," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1967; Anita Moppert-Schmidt, *Die Fresken von S. Angelo in Formis* (Zurich, 1967); Janine Wettstein, *Sant'Angelo in Formis et la peinture médiévale en Campanie* (Geneva, 1960). See also Ottavio Morisani, *Gli affreschi di S. Angelo in Formis* (Cava dei Tirreni, 1962) and, most recently, Gian Marco Jacobitti and Salvatore Abita, *La Basilica benedettina di Sant'Angelo in Formis* (Naples, 1992). On Montecassino's "Golden Age" see H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983); Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), esp. pt I, chap. IV, "Byzantium and the Golden Age of Monte Cassino under Abbot Desiderius;" *L'età dell'abate Desiderio*, Miscellanea Cassinese LIX-LX (Montecassino, 1989).

2 Minott, "The Iconography of the Frescoes of the Life of Christ," 140-42. Guillaume de Jerphanion also mentioned Peter but did not find his presence unusual. Jerphanion believed that Peter was inserted as a way of illustrating Matthew 20:24, "And when the ten heard it they were indignant at the two brothers." Guillaume de Jerphanion, "Le cycle iconographique de St Angelo in Formis," *La voix des monuments: Notes et études d'archéologie chrétienne*, I (Paris, 1930), 260-80.

3 Don Faustino Avagliano has noted that Peter appears "many times" in the frescoes of Sant'Angelo in Formis. Faustino Avagliano, "Monumenti del culto a San Pietro in Montecassino," *Benedictina*, XIV (1967), 57-76.

4 Morisani, *Gli affreschi*, pl. 34.

5 Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, I, trans. Janet Seligman (London, 1971), fig. 411.

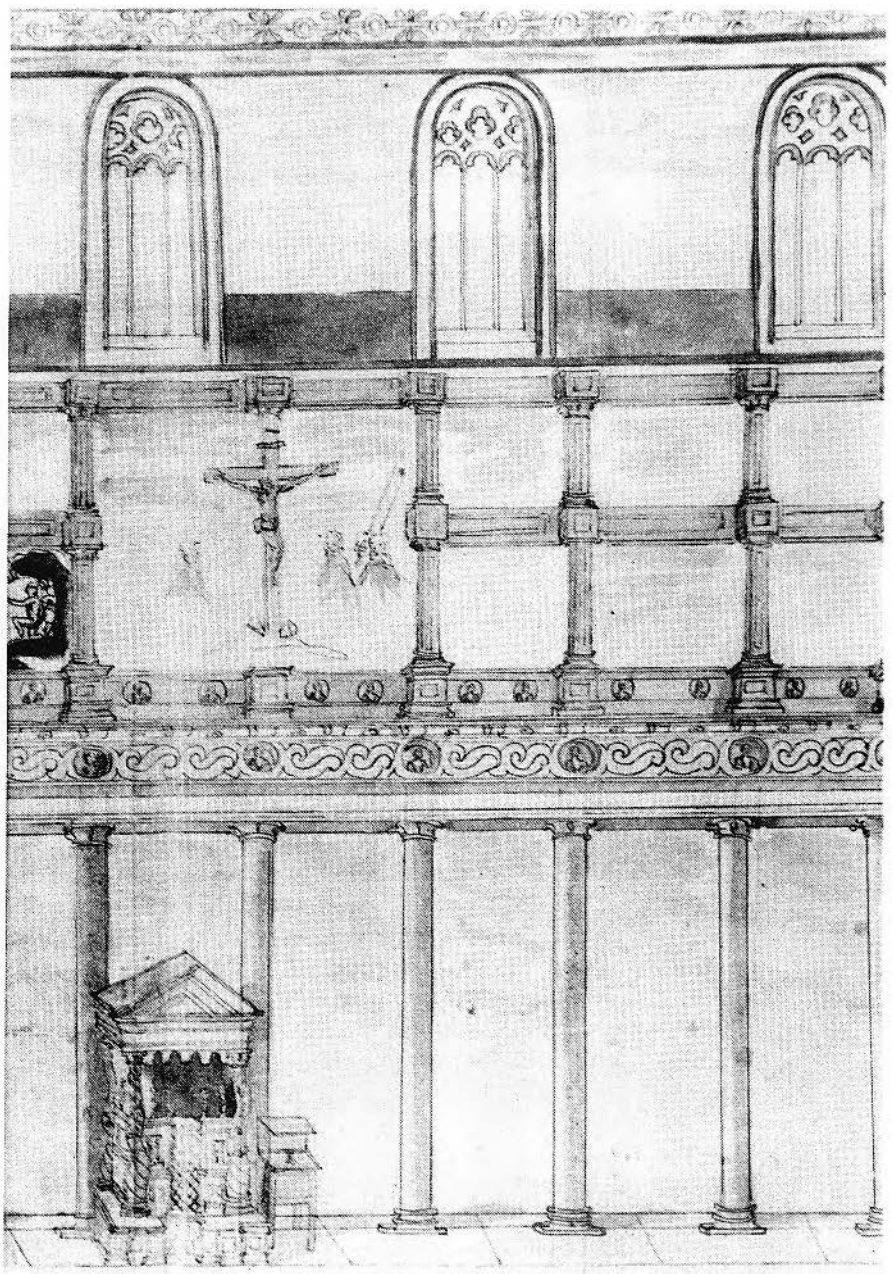
6 Minott, "The Iconography of the Frescoes of the Life of Christ," 105ff.

7 This part of the fresco is badly damaged and is difficult to decipher even at close range. It is clear, however, that the two Apostles are prostrate and facing away from Christ, as indicated in fig. 2.

8 For a survey of exegesis on the Transfiguration, see J.A. McGuckin, *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition*, Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity IX (Lewiston, N.Y., 1986).

9 An alternate tradition of Transfiguration iconography shows Peter awake and talking to Christ, while James and John continue to sleep, huddled together at the right (see, for example, the Transfiguration in the Ingeborg Psalter). Transfigurations of this type conflate two different stages in Luke's version of the story: the

Figure 10. Left wall, Old St Peter's, Rome. Illustration from Giacomo Grimaldi's *Descrizione della Basilica antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, ca. 1620. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 2733, fols. 113v-114r (Photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).



Apostles sleeping, and Peter speaking to Christ. The result is an image in which Peter is strongly differentiated from James and John, much as he is in the fresco at Sant'Angelo in Formis. The scene at Sant'Angelo in Formis is not related to this alternate tradition, however. It belongs to the tradition in which all three Apostles were shown awake, and its strong emphasis on Peter must therefore be seen as a departure from tradition.

10 Robert P. Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories: Ars Sacra from Medieval Amalfi* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 66f.

11 Bergman, *Salerno Ivories*, 67.

12 Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (1949; repr. New York, 1988), 251ff; Edward B. Garrison, "Note on the Iconography of the Creation and the Fall of Man in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Rome," *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting*, IV, 2 (1961), 201-10; Bergman, *Salerno Ivories*, 7ff, 14, 74.

13 Josef Garber, *Wirkungen der frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters und Paulsbasiliken in Rom* (Berlin, 1918), 52f; Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 206ff, 256ff; Gunhouse, "Fresco Decoration," 228ff.

14 *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, III, 27-28 in *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis (Die Chronik von Montecassino)*, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores XXXIV (Hanover, 1980), 396f; Leo of Ostia, *Narratio de consecratione et dedicatione ecclesiae Casinensis* (Cod. cas. 47, 45-48; PL 173, 997ff). See also Alfanus of Salerno, *De situ constructione et renovatione Casinensis coenobii (PL 147, 1234-38); Anselmo Lentini and Faustino Avagliano, I carmi di Alfano I, arcivescovo di Salerno*, Miscellanea cassinese XXXVIII (Montecassino, 1974), 171-78; Amatus of Montecassino, *Storia de' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino volgarizzata in antico francese*, ed. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, Fonti per la storia d'Italia LXXVI (Rome, 1935); Bruno Albers, "Verse des Erzbischofs Alfanus von Salerno für Monte Cassino," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXXVIII (1913), 667-69; Wettstein, *Sant'Angelo in Formis*, 51; Nicola Acocella, "La basilica cassinese di Desiderio in un carme di Alfano da Salerno," *Napoli nobilissima*, III (1963-64), 67-78; Nicola Acocella, *La decorazione pittorica di Montecassino dalle didascalie di Alfano I (sec. XI)* (Salerno, 1966); Paul Meyvaert, review of Nicola Acocella, *La decorazione pittorica di Montecassino dalle didascalie di Alfano I (sec. XI)* (Salerno, 1966) in *Speculum*, XLV (1970), 650-52; Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 53ff.

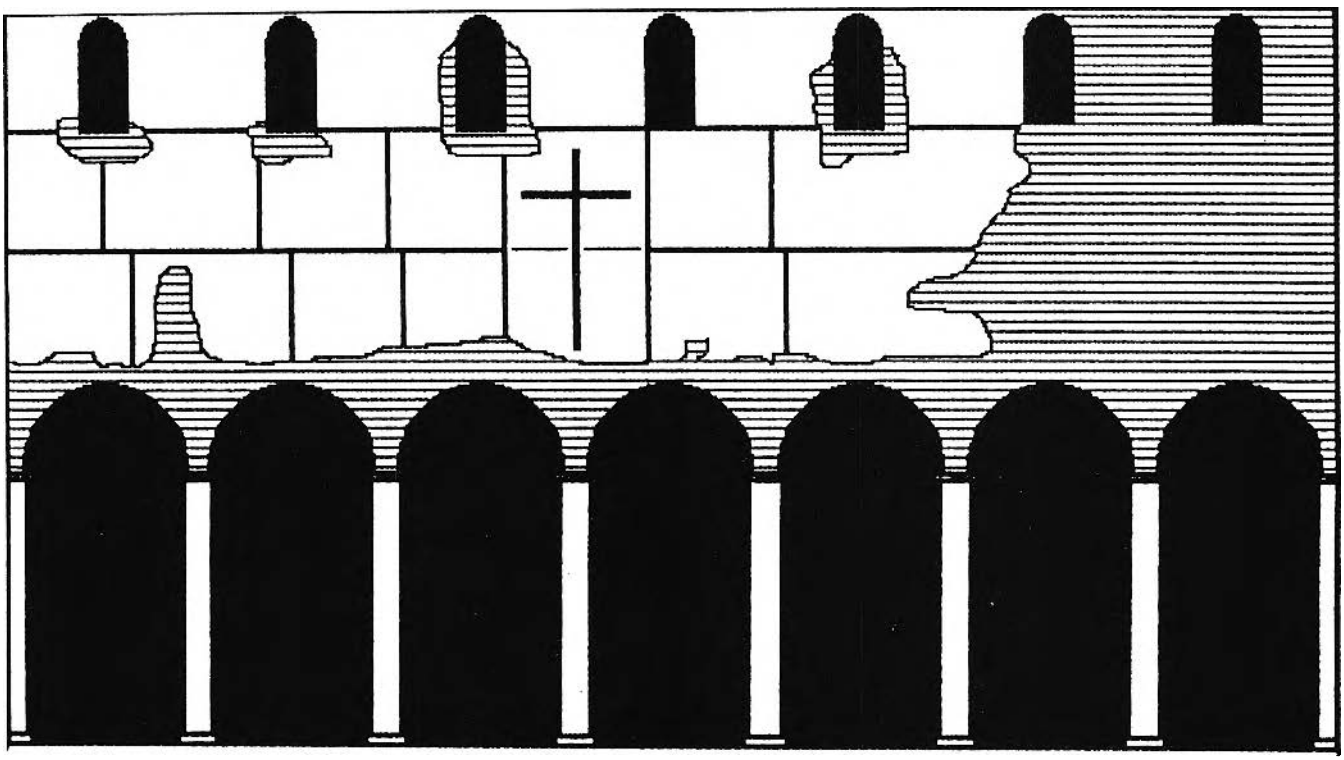
15 For the cult of Peter at Montecassino, see Avagliano, "Monumenti."

16 Avagliano, "Monumenti."

17 *Chron. Mon. Cas.*, III, 26 (Hoffmann, *Chronica*, 394); Avagliano, "Monumenti," 61.

18 Avagliano, "Monumenti," 64. Peter was honoured in literature, as well. Amatus of Montecassino, for example, wrote a poem in

Figure 11. Left wall of nave, San Pietro ad Montes (Drawing: Glenn Gunhouse).



honour of Peter, as did Desiderius' friend Alfanus, the Bishop of Salerno. Anselmo Lentini, *Il poema di Amato su S. Pietro apostolo*, Miscellanea cassinese XXX-XXXI (Montecassino, 1958-59); Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius*, 26, 75ff; Anselmo Lentini and Faustino Avagliano, *I carmi di Alfano I, arcivescovo di Salerno*, Miscellanea cassinese XXXVIII (Montecassino, 1974), no. 37.

19 *Chron. Mon. Cas.*, III, 69 (Hoffmann, *Chronica*, 452); Cowdrey, *Age of Abbot Desiderius*, 79.

20 "Eo itidem tempore dum quidam peregrini orationis gratia ad beatum Benedictum venirent, obvius illis quidam vir canonicus factus est. Quem, quis esset, interrogantes, Petrum apostolum se esse respondit. Et illi: "Quo tendis?" et sanctus apostolus: "Vado ad fratrem Benedictum, ut cum illo passionis mee diem celebrem...." *Chron. Mon. Cas.*, III, 69 (Hoffmann, *Chronica*, 451f).

21 The translation is from Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius*, 79.

22 Beat Brenk, *Das Lektionar des Desiderius von Montecassino, Cod. Vat. Lat. 1202: Eine Meisterwerk italienischer Buchmalerei des 11. Jahrhunderts*, Belser faksimile Editionen aus der Biblioteca apostolica vaticana (Zurich, 1987), 74f; Beat Brenk, "Il significato storico del lezionario di Desiderio Vat. lat. 1202," *L'éta dell'abate Desiderio*, II, *La decorazione libraria*, Atti della tavola rotonda, Montecassino, 17-18 maggio 1987 (Montecassino, 1989), 25-39. See also Penelope Mayo, "An Art Historical Introduction to the Codex Benedictus," *The Codex Benedictus: An Eleventh-Century Lectionary from Monte Cassino*, ed. Paul Meyvaert, pref. Herbert Bloch (New York, 1982), 33-47.

23 The portrait of Desiderius has been partially obscured by overpainting, but enough of the original fresco survives to enable the identification of the main of components of Desiderius' vestments.

24 Gerhart Ladner, *I ritratti dei papi nell'antichità e nel medioevo*, I (Vatican City, 1941), 225-26; Fernanda de' Maffei, *L'iconografia di Sant'Angelo in Formis, Ia parte* (corso tenuto all'Università degli studi di Roma, Facoltà di lettere, anno accademico 1970-71, dispense a cura di M. Cammarata), 155.

25 Desiderius was cardinal-priest of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere. *Chron. Mon. Cas.*, III, 12 (Hoffmann, *Chronica*, 374).

26 *Chron. Mon. Cas.*, III, 12 (Hoffmann, *Chronica*, 374); Paul Meyvaert, "The Historical Setting and Significance of the Codex Benedictus," *The Codex Benedictus*, 11-22; Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius*, 62.

27 See references to Desiderius and his "cappam rubeam" in *Chron. Mon. Cas.*, III, 66 (Hoffmann, *Chronica*, 449, 449 n. 6, 611 supplementary note to *Chron. Mon. Cas.*, III, 66).

28 The best comparison can be found in the scene of Christ and the Adulterous Woman. See Morisani, *Gli affreschi*, pl. 22.

29 The figure of Benedict at Sant'Angelo in Formis is a later restoration but is generally assumed to duplicate the subject of the eleventh-century fresco that it replaces.

30 Emile Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale de la fin de l'Empire Romain à la conquête de Charles d'Anjou* (Paris, 1904), 188f; Richard Krautheimer, "San Nicola in Bari und die apulische Architektur des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, IX (1934), 5-42; Toubert, *Un art dirigé*, 97. The

relationship between St Benedict's and Old St Peter's has recently been questioned by Dale Kinney. See Dale Kinney, review of Bloch, *Montecassino in the Middle Ages* in *Art Bulletin*, LXXII (1990), 136-38; Brenk, *Das Lektionar*, 22ff.

31 Desiderius' church resembled St Peter's in large part because both churches had a transept. The presence of a transept at Montecassino was, in fact, the main reason why Krautheimer associated the church with Old St Peter's. It has become increasingly apparent in recent years, however, that there had been a transept on the previous church of St Benedict, which was erected by Abbot Gisulf in the early ninth century. On the problem of the transept, see Ermenegildo Scaccia Scarafoni, "Note su fabbriche ed opere d'arte a Montecassino," *Bollettino d'arte*, XXX (1936), 97-121; Angelo Pantoni, "Problemi archeologici cassinesi: La basilica pre-Desideriana," *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, XVI (1939), 271-88; Hans Thümmler, "Die Baukunst des 11. Jahrhunderts in Italien," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, II (1939), 141-226; Géza de Francovich, *Storia dell'arte medioevale, 2, La pittura medioevale campana, 1: La basilica di Sant'Angelo in Formis e la sua decorazione pittorica*, dispense a cura della Dott.ssa L. Cochetti Pratesi, Università degli Studi di Roma, Facoltà di Lettere, anno accademico 1964-65 (Rome, 1965), 93; Giovanni Carbonara, *Iussu Desiderii: Montecassino e l'architettura campano-abbruzzese nell'undicesimo secolo* (Rome, 1979), 68ff.

32 Toubert, *Un art dirigé*, 97. These connections to the Roman basilicas were noted, briefly, by Bertaux, in *L'art dans l'Italie*, 188f. The Roman origin of the inscriptions was noted also in Herbert Bloch, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, III (1946), 165-224; and Werner Weisbach, *Religiöse Reform und mittelalterliche Kunst* (Einsiedeln, 1945), 61.

33 Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 206; Gunhouse, "Fresco Decoration," 230ff.

34 See Herbert L. Kessler, "L'antica basilica di San Pietro come fonte e ispirazione per la decorazione delle chiese medievali," *Fragmenta Picta: Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano* (Rome, 1990), 45-64; Herbert L. Kessler, "'Caput et Speculum Omnium Ecclesiarum': Old St Peter's and Church Decoration in Medieval Latium," *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Functions, Forms and Regional Traditions; Ten Contributions to a Colloquium Held at the Villa Spelman, Florence*, ed. William Tronzo, Villa Spelman Colloquia I (Florence, 1989), 119-46. Kessler has suggested that the New Testament scenes of Old St Peter's might have been designed in such a way that they stressed the importance of Peter (Kessler, "L'antica basilica"). This raises the possibility that the emphasis on Peter in the New Testament scenes of Sant'Angelo in Formis might be another of the many features derived from the Vatican basilica. The iconography of Sant'Angelo's New Testament cycle is not based on Old St Peter's, however. Its sources were Middle Byzantine Gospel illustrations in which Peter is not likely to have been emphasized so strongly. The emphasis on St Peter at Sant'Angelo in Formis, therefore, must have been added by the designers of the south Italian programme, rather than copied by them from their model. Gunhouse, "Fresco Decoration," 157ff.

35 These frescoes have not yet been adequately published. See Pietro Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana, I: Il medioevo*, II (Turin, 1927), 1027 n. 16; Giuseppe d'Anna, *Caserta ed il suo "Borgo medioevale"* (Naples, 1954), 28ff; Ottavio Morisani, *Bisanzio e la pittura cassinese* (Palermo, 1955), 10; Janine Wettstein, "Considerazioni sulla pittura italiana dell' XI e del XII secolo," *Napoli nobilissima* I (1961), 113-15; Giuseppe Tescione, *Caserta medievale e i suoi conti e signori: Lineamenti e ricerche* (Marcianise (Caserta), 1965); Antonio Thiery, "Per una nuova lettura degli affreschi medievali campani," *Commentari*, XX (1969), 3-19, esp. 13f; Mario d'Onofrio and Valentino Pace, *La Campania*, Italia romanica IV (Milan, 1981), 322f.

36 On the Gregorian Reform, see Augustin Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne et la reconquête chrétienne (1037-1123)*, Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours VIII (Paris, 1940); Giovanni Miccoli, *Chiesa gregoriana* (Florence, 1966); H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970); Giovanni Miccoli, "La riforma gregoriana," *La storia religiosa*, Storia d'Italia (Turin, 1976), 480-516; Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989). On the art of the Gregorian Reform, see Weisbach, *Religiöse Reform*; Peter H. Brieger, "Bible Illustration and Gregorian Reform," *Studies in Church History*, ed. G. J. Cuming, II (London, 1965), 154-64; Ernst Kitzinger, "The Gregorian Reform and the Visual Arts: A Problem of Method," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, series 5, XXII (1972), 87-102.

37 The Carolingian copies may have been exceptions to this rule. See Richard Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," *Art Bulletin*, XXIV (1942), 1-38.

38 On San Paolo, see Kessler, "Caput et Speculum," 121ff. On the brotherhood of Peter and Paul, see Herbert Kessler, "The Meeting of Peter and Paul in Rome: An Emblematic Narrative of Spiritual Brotherhood," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XLI (1987), 265-75 (with further bibliography).

39 Krautheimer, "Carolingian Revival."

40 This point was made recently by Dale Kinney, in her review of Bloch.

41 See Toubert, *Un art dirigé*; Brenk, *Das Lektionar*, 74f.

42 Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius*, 66.