

Christian Freigang/Frankfurt a. M. (Modern Gerthener. Vom Aufstieg einer Reichsstadt zum Architekturzentrum) stellte einen Werkmeister in den Vordergrund, der das Erscheinungsbild des heutigen Domes St. Bartholomäus in Frankfurt am Main entscheidend geprägt hat. Mit dem Bau des hohen Westturms ab 1415, also 155 Jahre nach Beginn des grundlegenden Umbaus, sei eine Zäsur eingetreten, nach der ein völlig neues Anspruchsniveau einsetzte: die architektonische Repräsentation der Stadt. Für diesen Wandel machte Freigang den Aufstieg neuer Eliten des städtischen Patriziats verantwortlich, die zunehmend die politische und kulturelle Macht übernahmen und nun nach Selbstdarstellung und Imagebildung trachteten. Mit Gerthener habe der städtische Rat als eigentlicher Bauträger der Kirche auf einen besonders innovativen, wohl im Parler-Umkreis geschulten und angesehenen Werkmeister zurückgreifen können. Den Aufstieg Frankfurts zu einem

überregionalen Architekturzentrum sah Freigang ganz wesentlich begründet im Wirken dieses Bau- und Werkmeisters, das einherging mit dem Repräsentationsbedürfnis patrizischer Eliten.

In der Abschlusßdiskussion resümierte Klein nüchtern: Systematische Schlüsse aus den Ergebnissen der Referate sind nur stark eingeschränkt möglich, ebensowenig Verallgemeinerungen bezüglich Definition, Funktion und Praxis des Werkmeisters. Weiterer Klärung bedürfen die Frage nach dem Zusammenhang zwischen den Bauhütten, Baumeisterfamilien, Städten und Landesherrschaften, auch hinsichtlich der Formvermittlung, der Bauprozess und seine Folgen. Unbeantwortet bleibt vorerst die Frage nach dem Einfluß von Bildkünstlern auf bestimmte Architekturformen und einem damit zusammenhängenden Stilbewußtsein der Werkmeister. Einzubeziehen bleibt der Profanbau.

Jörg L. Berger

Publications on Papal Building Policy in the Middle Ages

PIERRE-YVES LE POGAM, Les maîtres d'œuvre au service de la papauté dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle. *Rome 2004* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 337). 201 pp. [ISBN 2-7283-0707-5], € 28,-

PIERRE-YVES LE POGAM, De la 'Cité de Dieu' au 'Palais du Pape': Les résidences pontificales dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle (1254-1304). *Rome 2005* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 326). 813 pp., 318 figs. [ISBN 2-7283-0729-6], € 160,-

ALESSIO MONCIATTI, Il Palazzo Vaticano nel Medioevo. *Florence, Leo S. Olschki Editore 2005* (Fondazione Carlo Marchi, Studi 19). 454 pp., 12 line drawings, 24 colour plates, 230 b & w ill. [ISBN 88-222-54783], € 140,-

The statement by the sixth-century King Theodoric, that a palace reflects the image of the ruler who constructs it (Cassiodorus, *Variae*, VII.5), reveals a surprisingly early awareness of architectural rhetoric. The papal palaces of the Middle Ages conform to this rule, expressing the status, authority and

power of the bishops of Rome. The popes, then amongst the most powerful rulers in the West, resided at the Lateran *Patriarchium*, where they created one of the most significant examples of papal ideology. Thus, when Zacharias (741-52) and Leo III (795-816) furnished the Lateran with a tower-like

entrance, halls and *triclinia* in ostentatious imitation of the buildings of the imperial palace at Constantinople, they were advertising, by both visual and physical means, their desire to replace the rulers of the 'New Rome' and make themselves independent from Byzantium. By turning their Roman residence into an 'imperial residence', the popes created a worthy headquarters from which they could exercise their temporal power and spiritual supremacy in accordance with the newly created image of papal authority, as established by the eighth-century *Constitutum Constantini*.

In both concept and reality, therefore, the papal palace in Rome became far more than a form of mass *media* serving the agenda of political propaganda. Instead, it fulfilled many functions, both private and public, simultaneously serving as residence and 'office' for the popes and their entourage. Only when they left Rome was the situation further complicated by their mobility, a factor of increasing importance in the central Middle Ages. This new itinerancy of the Curia, marked by lengthy periods of absence from the City, can be variously explained in terms of conflict with the Roman factions, the practical need to escape the torrid heat of summer, and the popes' desire regularly to visit the territory under their control, the so-called Patrimony of St Peter. By the thirteenth century, therefore, the popes would be less and less represented by or identified with a single residence, because they lived and worked, not in one palace but in many. Papal palaces were thus highly complex structures, whose history, 'life' and appearance can shed new light on the dynamics of contemporary society, and hence, deserve the most dedicated of studies.

We should indeed welcome the recent publication of Alessio Monciatti's volume devoted to the Vatican Palace in the Middle Ages (*Il Palazzo Vaticano nel Medioevo*) and that by Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, dealing more widely with the papal residences in Rome and

the Patrimony in the second half of the thirteenth century (*De la "Cité de Dieu" au "Palais du Pape": Les résidences pontificales dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle, 1254-1304*). The latter finds a complementary volume in terms both of content and author in *Les maîtres d'œuvre au service de la papauté dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle*, which focuses on master masons who worked for the papacy in the second half of the Duecento.

Le Pogam's two books stem from his vast doctoral research project, drawing on the same body of archival and documentary evidence, namely financial acts, contracts and deliberations of communal Councils. Whereas *De la "Cité de Dieu" au "Palais du Pape"* is mainly concerned with topography, buildings and works, the 'entité matérielle' of the palaces, *Les maîtres d'œuvre au service de la papauté* focuses primarily on workshop organization and the complex relationships existing between patrons and master masons involving the Commune, the Curia, and the architects and/or craftsmen. These volumes cover an identical chronological span, namely 1254 to 1304, from the pontificate of Alexander IV to that of Benedict XI, the author's choice being dictated by the fact that most of the extant documentary evidence dates to the second half of the Duecento. This highly significant period in the history of the Roman Church was characterised by the rapid and alternating succession of French and Roman pontiffs, the consequent internationalisation of the Curia, and the rise of the Mendicants to the Holy See, under the Dominican Innocent V (1276) and the Franciscan Nicholas IV (1288-92). At this period and as a consequence of more prolonged absences from Rome, the popes were forced to become more and more concerned with the adaptation, decoration or construction *ex nihilo* of long-term residences outside the Holy City, whereas previously they had relied to a great extent on the use of pre-existing episcopal palaces, abbeys and convents.

To whom then would be entrusted the direction, supervision and practical undertaking of this remodelling, re-decoration or new construction? The aim of *Les maîtres d'œuvre au service de la papauté* is to provide an answer to this question by discussing three broader issues: the relationship between the Papacy and the Communal authorities, both involved in the patronage of the works; the role of architects/master masons belonging to religious orders; and the appearance of a new system of organization. The book consists of three chapters, each devoted to one of these issues. As for the geographical boundaries, its title seems to promise rather more than it actually delivers. Indeed, far from considering all the building campaigns promoted by the Papacy, Le Pogam deals exclusively with the papal residences, and therefore with the Patrimony of St Peter, focusing mainly on Lazio and Umbria.

The first chapter explores the negotiations between the Curia and the communal authorities regarding the sojourns of the pope and his court. This involves a discussion of the dynamics of the agreements, an examination of the different building works required to meet papal needs, an analysis of the public and private functions of the popes' residences, and finally a brief account of related economical and juridical problems. These investigations are mostly based on primary sources regarding Perugia, some of them published here for the first time. While the transcription of unpublished material is certainly one of the strengths of this volume, thereby providing significant insights, the risk is to rely too much on the Perugian documents in drawing more general conclusions.

Nevertheless, the author provides a splendid service in underlining the effects of a papal sojourn on urban development, pointing out how the arrival of the Curia implied much more than the mere adaptation or construction of buildings for the residence and the activities of the pope and his entourage.

On the one hand, it affected the *decorum* of the city, which had to be improved in order that the pontiff and cardinals, as well as important foreign dignitaries, should be honourably received. On the other – at more practical level – streets and fountains had to be repaired or built *ex novo* to ensure communications and water provision for an exponentially increasing population. This by no means represents a new line of enquiry, but is definitely one that has been considerably overlooked (with the significant exception of Paravicini Bagliani), and it is greatly to Le Pogam's credit to have re-addressed and re-awakened interest in these matters.

His second chapter is devoted to those architects who were members of religious orders. The role played by 'religious architects' in medieval workshops is particularly difficult to define on account of the ambiguous terminology employed in the Middle Ages. The very same expression, *magister operis* or *magister operum* (literally 'master of the work' or 'master of the works'), could be used to designate both the architect who had technical expertise and an administrative/financial supervisor, with no practical/artistic expertise. Similarly, the word *operarius* could be equally applied in the thirteenth century to architect and administrative superintendent alike. Le Pogam, therefore, rejects previous unilateral interpretations of the term as indicating the person in charge of the administrative direction of the works but, in so doing creates a dichotomy – the *operarius* being either an administrator or an architect – which might have been further nuanced had the author taken into account the visual sources. A manuscript illumination vividly depicting the construction of Modena cathedral (Modena, Archivio Capitolare, MS. O.II.11, fol. 1v), for instance, provides a significant representation of the distribution of work on a medieval building site (Fig. 1). Lanfrancus 'architector', wearing a hat and a blue robe above a long red



Fig.1
The construction of
Modena cathedral.
Modena,
Archivio Capitolare,
MS. O.II.11,
fol. 1v (author)

tunic, gives instructions to the ‘*artifices*’ in short clothes who are laying the stone blocks, whereas the ‘*operarii*’, shown with unkempt hair, carry heavy boxes of building material to the site. Although this illumination illustrates events taking place around 1099-1106, it is worth considering for the discussion of thirteenth-century workshops, inasmuch as the manuscript was produced in the Duecento, and the image thus reflects the organization of

a *cantiere* of that time. It indicates quite unequivocally that the term *operarii* could also indicate the non-specialized masons within a workshop, a meaning retained in the modern Italian word *operai*.

The section of the second chapter devoted to religious architects in general is noteworthy for tackling the historiographical cliché that most medieval religious architects and builders were Cistercians. Such a dominant

cliché, rooted in the model of the 'chantier gothique' – the theories of Viollet-le-Duc and his followers – has led scholars to overlook the significant role played by the Mendicants, the new rising Orders of the thirteenth century. Studies on mendicant art and architecture far too often focus on the very same themes: the influence of the new Orders (in particular the Franciscans) on iconography, the insertion of mendicant convents in cities and the physical appearance of the Orders' new churches as a reflection or expression of mendicant ideals of poverty and preaching. By searching both primary sources and secondary literature for central and northern Italy, Le Pogam has been able to present a number of friars, lay brothers and religious figures involved at various levels in medieval workshops, and to demonstrate that most were Mendicants. Before our eyes parade friar Francesco da Pistoia, '*magister cementarium*', who drew the plan of S. Francesco at Arezzo and brother Giovanni, '*carpentarius*' of S. Domenico at Orvieto, also active at Spoleto and Todi. The friars could be either engineers, architects, masons, marble workers, carpenters, or supervisors of the works with technical expertise. The evidence also shows that the friars worked for enterprises beyond their own Orders, in the service of the papacy as well as of the communal governments.

Le Pogam's book has, therefore, the merit of re-addressing the role of the Mendicants in the organization of thirteenth-century building workshops. It is significant that a new line of enquiry, questioning the 'myth' of the Cistercians as the architects/builders *par excellence*, and dealing with the issue of mendicant (especially Franciscan) *maestranze* and its economical and/or financial implications for contemporary society, has emerged in scholarship only in very recent years. Two books engaging with such issues were both published in 2004. Louise Bourdua's *The Franciscans and Art Patronage in Late Medieval Italy* (Cambridge 2004)

focuses on northern Italy, while *The Stones of Naples. Church Building in Angevin Italy: 1266-1343*, by Caroline Bruzelius (New Haven and London 2004), deals with the religious architecture commissioned in the Kingdom of Naples under three generations of Angevin Kings (1266-1343). Simultaneously, Joanna Cannon discusses the contribution of craftsman-architect friars to the conventual economy in '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 dei frati Minori e Predicatori fino alla metà del Trecento, Atti del XXXI Convegno Internazionale, Assisi 9-11 October 2003* (Spoleto 2004), pp. 217-62, esp. 253-58. It is unfortunate that these publications literally coincided with the appearance of Le Pogam's book, for all three would have had much to contribute to it.

From a general discussion on religious architects, Le Pogam moves to the analysis of some individual and controversial cases of friars and monks, documented for their activities in building workshops. One of them is Fra' Bevignate, the Silvestrine in charge of the construction of Orvieto cathedral between 1295-1300, and involved in the construction of S. Francesco at Gubbio. He is also documented in connection with bridges and fortifications in the *contado* of Perugia, the aqueduct and main fountain of Perugia itself, as well as the tomb of Martin IV there. On the basis of a detailed re-examination of documentary evidence, Le Pogam surmises that Fra' Bevignate – variously interpreted by scholars as being engineer, architect, genial *factotum* artist or superintendent – was in fact only an administrator and an accountant, often in charge of the direction of the works, and thus neither an engineer nor an architect in the proper sense. The newly advanced argument to this long-debated case is that, if Fra' Bevignate had really had specific architectural expertise, he would have taken

part in discussions about the construction of the papal palace in Perugia from the very early days, instead of appearing 'on stage' only after the preliminary structural and technical analysis concerning the stability of the buildings had taken place (p. 72). However, since Fra' Bevignate was in great demand, it is quite possible that he was not in Perugia when the first meetings took place. Indeed, he may well have been summoned to take charge of the direction of the works only when their feasibility had been ascertained, a phenomenon which is extremely common in the period under examination. Furthermore, the document attesting the payment of paper sheets for the drawing of the Perugia fountain (*pro ij. cartis quas habuit frater Bevegnate causa designandi fontem*), the inscription on its bronze conche (*hic operis structor fuit iste per omnia ductor*), and the mention of the friar as not only *superstans* but also *factor* and *actor* of the lost sepulchral monument of Martin IV still remain convincing evidence that Fra' Bevignate combined administrative skills with architectural and technical expertise.

The revision of the evidence and critical reading of the secondary literature about the Dominicans, Fra' Sixtus and Fra' Ristoro (pp. 72–79), is more convincing, defending their role as builders with particular expertise in the construction of vaults, against recent 'hyper-critical' re-readings of the sources which concluded by denying that Fra' Ristoro ever existed or that Fra' Sixtus was ever an architect. As to the hotly debated issue of whether the mosaicist Jacopo Torriti was a friar or not, Le Pogam favours Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto's hypothesis that the artist was a tertiary, but provides no further evidence or argument to advance research on this matter. The third chapter addresses more specifically the main question of the book and posits the birth of a new system of organization under Martin IV's pontificate when, in 1284, one finds the first mention proper of master

masons and engineers in the service of the pope (*maystri et inzignerii domini papae et Romane ecclesiae*). On the basis of extant documents regarding the residences of Rome, Viterbo, Rieti, and Orvieto, Le Pogam argues that, before then, the popes had made use exclusively of local or religious architects and craftsmen. His further significant observation is that the novelty is first documented at the time of a French pope: Martin IV might therefore have been responsible for the introduction of a practice already in use north of the Alps, and which was to become the precedent for the centralized administration of the papal workshop later attested in the palace of Avignon. This argument is very intriguing, and will – it is hoped – provoke further research in this direction. It must, however, be remembered that the change is suggested exclusively by the Perugian documents, appropriately transcribed in the two appendices, and that written evidence for the earlier and later period, and indeed for other residences, is scattered and fragmentary, thus rendering it very difficult to draw any clear conclusions.

Le Pogam maintains that this new organization never became a system proper before the pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294–1303), when a certain *magister* Cassetta is consistently documented as paid for by the Apostolic Chamber for works in various towns in Lazio. Previously, Nicholas III (1277–80) seems to have employed both Dominican lay brothers, Sixtus and Ristoro, and Roman lay master masons, the Cosmati, while the Franciscan Nicholas IV borrowed artists from his own Order to employ at the Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore, and very probably at Assisi too.

Le Pogam concludes that from the end of the thirteenth century the Papacy aligned itself with the great European courts, adopting a centralized organization already attested in England and southern Italy in the first half of the century. These conclusions are thought-provoking, but require a firmer grounding,

including at least an overview of the organization of royal workshops based on scholarship to date. The comparison must be drawn with caution, since it may well have been limited to the actual management of the *cantiere*. Royal workshops had very distinctive features, chief amongst them the fact that the work force was recruited by conscription, a phenomenon unlikely to find a comparison in the papal workshop. On the other hand, Le Pogam himself points out (p. 90) that the existence of a group of masons in charge of the works of Old St Peter's (*muratores Sancti Petri*), who were periodically paid for by the Apostolic Chamber, was attested in Cencius's *Ordo Romanus* as early as the late twelfth century. This is an important indication that precedents for a more systematic organization of the work can be found in Rome itself.

The physical outcomes of the papal commissions, that is, the actual physical fabric, are discussed in *De la "Cité de Dieu" au "Palais du Pape"*, which is divided into two major sections, the first consisting of a catalogue of the major papal residences in the second half of the thirteenth century, the second aiming to provide a broader interpretative overview.

The structure of the first section mainly follows the catalogue based on the papal itinerary reconstructed by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani in 'La mobilità della curia romana del secolo XIII. Riflessi locali', in *Società e istituzioni dell'Italia comunale: l'esempio di Perugia (secoli XII-XIV)*, Perugia 1988, I, pp. 155-278), but adapted by Le Pogam to cover only the second half of the thirteenth century. The residences are, therefore, discussed on the basis of the number of days on which the popes are documented to have resided there, in decreasing order, with the exception of the first chapter, which discusses the Lateran, the Vatican and Viterbo. This choice, which affords a high degree of clarity to the whole volume, is dictated by the role of 'poles of reference' of the Lateran and Vatican on the

one hand, and on the other by the existence of a recent exhaustive book on Viterbo (G. M. Radke, *Viterbo: Profile of a Thirteenth-century Papal Palace*, Cambridge MA, 1996). It is interesting to compare Le Pogam's papal itinerary with that of Paravicini Bagliani as the former clearly shows that, in the second half of the thirteenth century, the popes gravitated primarily towards Orvieto, which replaced Viterbo (and Anagni) as a favourite residence, while Ferentino and Segni, important in the first half of the century, were to become irrelevant in the second half.

In his analysis of the different palaces, Le Pogam provides a synthesis of the literature to date, followed – whenever possible – by an accurate archaeological and physical analysis of the buildings and by a clear articulation of his own hypotheses, supported by sensible and weighty – although occasionally speculative – arguments, which often advance our knowledge of these individual buildings. This is particularly the case in his discussion of the Palace at Perugia, of the Traietto Palace at Anagni, and the residences of S. Maria Maggiore and the Aventine in Rome.

The second part of the volume is more broadly conceived, attempting to contribute to our understanding of the topic in hand. The physical analysis of the fabrics presented in the first section is here combined with written evidence, in order to discuss a number of thematic issues.

The first chapter deals with the 'mise en œuvre'. Despite local differences, which are explicable chiefly in terms of the intermediary role of local authorities and the employment of local masons and materials, Le Pogam identifies some recurrent common features, ranging from the relationship between the milieu and the wishes of the patron, to the presence of military elements and decorative aspects. If style could vary from one residence to the other, precisely because of local differences, the way in which the palace worked was largely comparable.



Fig. 2
Rome,

Ss. Cosma e Damiano,
decoration of one of the
original apsidal windows
(author)

The second and third chapters provide an analysis of such 'fonctionnement' of the papal residences, from an 'inward' point of view. While the second chapter provides a useful discussion of the different spaces (large halls and offices for the Curia, loggias, balconies and gardens, rooms and service areas) and of their public and/or private functions; the third focuses on the spaces more specifically associated with the pope (his chamber and private apartments on the one hand, the papal chapel on the other). An 'outward' view is offered by the fourth chapter, where issues of possible models, topography, and insertion in the urban context are raised and discussed.

The fifth chapter provides a fascinating discussion of the architectural politics of the popes. The most significant contribution here is the contextualization of the residences within the artistic patronage of the different pontiffs. The overview of papal commissions is, however, by no means faultless: for instance, Le Pogam correctly ascribes the remaking of the apse mosaic of S. Paolo fuori le mura to Honorius III (p. 715), who is in fact represented in the mosaic itself, but does not acknowledge that the works had been first promoted – and very probably also begun –

before 1208 by Innocent III who gave '*pro musivo eiusdem basilicae, centum libras et decem et septem uncias auri*' (PL, vol 214, col. CCVI). These are more than just details, as they alter the balance of papal initiatives and commissions, together with the consequent understanding of the patronage of the different pontiffs.

Similarly, Le Pogam's depiction of Urban IV as mainly commissioning secular enterprises (pp. 717-19) should be taken with caution since he is too dismissive of Urban's religious patronage, which included the building of the eponymous churches of St Urbain at Troyes and S. Urbano ai Pantani in Rome. On the other hand, his portrayal of Nicholas IV as an independent and determined patron rather than a puppet in the hands of the Colonna clan (as predominantly described by previous scholars) is utterly convincing.

The above remarks should, on the whole, be received as minor criticisms of a book which is a worthy complement to the one on the *maestranze*, and will form an indisputable point of reference for any future research on papal residences.

Monciatti's *Il Palazzo Vaticano nel Medioevo* is aimed more towards a specialist readership

than Le Pogam's books. This monograph covers the history of the Vatican Palace from the earliest mention of *episcopia* in the *Life* of Pope Simmachus (498–514) to the mid-fifteenth century, prior to the significant transformations of Nicholas V (1447–55). It is divided into three parts, preceded by a 'preambolo' on the Lateran *Patriarchium*. Since the transformation of the Lateran residence reflected the changes in papal ceremonial as well as in political propaganda and personal tastes, this preliminary section serves as introduction and useful comparative reference for the study of the Vatican Palace. The core of Monciatti's book is its central section, entirely devoted to the reconstruction of the palace of Nicholas III Orsini, and its decoration programme, a key-moment in the history of the medieval Palace. This was the topic of Monciatti's doctoral thesis, expanded in the volume under review to include the earlier and later history of the site. The book begins with a section addressing significant thirteenth-century phenomena which not only prepared the way but also created the context for the creation of Nicholas III's palace: the mobility of the Curia within the Patrimony, the urban growth of Rome and its 'political topography', and finally the construction of residential structures at the Vatican prior to the Orsini pontificate. This is an informative section, which could have been improved by a more rigorous combination of visual evidence and written sources.

If the analysis of the paintings is always sophisticated and persuasive throughout the book, their contextualization within the building and in a broader historical context is at times less convincing. For instance, Monciatti accepts the traditional ascription to Innocent III's pontificate of the so-called *Aula Tertia*, of the 'thirteenth-century Tower' and of the service room attached to it. However, when describing the accomplished decorative fragments of mural paintings in the so-called 'Room of Innocent III' (perhaps originally a

chapel) on the first floor of the towered structure, he observes that these seem later than everything else we know from the pontificate of Innocent III. Hence, he persuasively compares them with decorative patterns in the crypt of Anagni cathedral and in the chapel of S. Silvestro at Ss. Quattro Coronati, the latter consecrated in 1246 (Monciatti, figs. 81–87). He therefore concludes by suggesting that Innocent IV, also documented as having commissioned works in the Palace, might have promoted the re-decoration of pre-existing structures (p. 107). Nevertheless, if one combines the data emerging from visual analysis, that is, the evident dating of the decoration around 1250, with a re-reading of the sources, it becomes highly probable that the so-called Tower of Innocent III was in fact not only elegantly decorated, but also built by Innocent IV (1243–54). This hypothesis was already propounded by other scholars, including K.B. Steinke in *Die mittelalterlichen Vatikanpaläste und ihre Kapellen*, Vatican City 1984, yet was neglected by Monciatti. The explicit mention of the construction of a '*turris pulcherrima*' among the commissions of Innocent IV leaves little doubts to the identification ('...*apud Sanctum Petrum palatium, cameras et turrim pulcherrimas bedificari et vineas ibi emi fecit*': Niccolò da Calvi, *Vita Innocentii IV*, 111).

It is interesting to compare the treatment of the same issue in Le Pogam's volume on the papal residences (pp. 59–62 and appendix p. 752). While Monciatti comes from an art-historical background, Le Pogam has a more archaeological approach, which allows him to review previous scholars' analyses of the masonry technique (in *tufelli*) and other architectural features (shape of the window openings), and to conclude diplomatically that 'les auteurs montrent de manière convaincante que plusieurs campagnes de construction appartenant au XIII^e siècle se sont succédées pour l'érection de la tour' (p. 61). It is a pity that the above-mentioned passage from the

Life of Innocent IV is not recorded in the final appendix (which includes only a passage on the palace at Assisi), and consequently is not discussed by Le Pogam, as this would have provided a firmer starting point for discussion than any comment on secondary literature.

The second chapter of Monciatti's volume reconstructs very accurately the enterprise promoted by Nicholas III and its contextualization, whereas the proposed original functions of the rooms are more conjectural, especially when they are based on scant and fragmentary pictorial evidence.

The book concludes with a chapter on the post-Nicholas III's history of the palace, its relationship with the Avignonese residence (especially in terms of reciprocal influences), and the restoration promoted by Urban V (1368–70) who had temporarily returned the papal Curia to Rome.

Monciatti's work fills a gap in the study of mural painting in Rome in the thirteenth century. The rich illustrative apparatus completing this handsome edition is particularly useful for the purpose. By carefully discussing recently discovered or recently cleaned – and formerly neglected – paintings in the 'Gothic hall' at Ss. Quattro Coronati, in the convent of S. Clemente, and in the so-called 'Tempio di Romolo', Monciatti has been able to reconstruct the pictorial milieu that preceded and prepared the commissions of Nicholas III. He has, therefore, been able to show that what has

been traditionally seen as a 'black hole', namely the period between the decoration of the oratory of S. Silvestro at Ss. Quattro Coronati, 1246, and the patronage of the Orsini Pope, 1277–80, was in fact 'latore di decorazioni dai programmi di insospettabili vastità e varietà' (p. 175).

Further *disiecta membra* should be added to the numerous fragments 'collected' by Monciatti, such as the highly accomplished decorative patterns in the intradoxes of the small windows in the apse of Ss. Cosma e Damiano (Fig. 2), published by P. L. Tucci, 'Nuove acquisizioni sulla basilica dei Ss. Cosma e Damiano', *Studi Romani* 49, 2001, pp. 275–93, all of which have escaped Monciatti's attention. These are undoubtedly part of the same decoration campaign as the *velarium* of the so-called Tempio di Romolo which served as the atrium of Ss. Cosma e Damiano (cfr. Monciatti, fig. 88), and find good parallels in the floral patterns of the decorative friezes in the S. Silvestro chapel at Ss. Quattro Coronati (cfr. Monciatti, fig. 87). They would thus have contributed towards reconstructing an even more comprehensive overview of pictorial culture in Rome before Nicholas III.

In spite of minor lacunae and reservations, scholars will find much to ponder in these three books which provide a useful contribution to a growing literature on papal palaces.

Claudia Bolgia

CHRISTOFER HERRMANN

Mittelalterliche Architektur im Preußenland. Untersuchungen zur Frage der Kunstlandschaft und -geographie

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Mit dieser materiell wie inhaltlich schwerewichtigen Publikation, die 2005 als Habilitationsschrift an der Universität Greifswald ange-

nommen wurde, liegt eine wertvolle Gesamtdokumentation des Bestandes mittelalterlicher Steinbauwerke im Preußenland vor, in den vier