

Lieve Watteeuw and Jan Van der Stock, eds. *The Anjou Bible: A Royal Manuscript Revealed*.

Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 18. Low Countries Series 13. Documenta Libraria 39. Leuven: Peeters, 2010. xii + 336 pp. index. illus. bibl. €85. ISBN: 978-90-429-2445-1.

Cathleen A. Fleck. *The Clement Bible at the Medieval Courts of Naples and Avignon: A Story of Papal Power, Royal Prestige, and Patronage*.

Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010. xx + 350 pp. + 4 color pls. index. illus. tpls. map. bibl. \$124.95. ISBN: 978-075466-9807.

Neapolitan studies have recently seen a significant upsurge in international activity with conferences, monographs, articles, and collections of essays on art, architecture, urbanism, political and religious thought, court culture, and the digitization of archival collections. Two recent publications bring to bear the insights from this new research on manuscript studies.

The Anjou Bible presents a splendid collection of twelve essays focusing on K. U. Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, Ms 1 (the Anjou or Malines Bible). This has been published in conjunction with an exhibition and colloquium on the Bible in November 2010 stemming from its stabilization, restoration, and digitization.

The essays cover codicology (Gistelinck, Dequeker, Delsaerd, Watteeuw); technical examination of the manuscript, its construction and archaeology, including a fascinating discussion of quantitative hyperspectral imaging (Padoan et al.); artistic technique (Watteeuw and Van Bos); genre (Lowden); Angevin visual culture (Tomei and Paone, Bock); patronage (Fleck); the politics of art under Robert the Wise and his heirs (Duran); and Cristoforo Orimina as artist (Perriccioli Saggese). The essays are accompanied by generous annotations, brief biographies of Robert and Giovanna I, a comprehensive bibliography, and reproductions of all the illustrated folios with calendar, but no index.

The manuscript is one of the most lavish and well-known illustrated Bibles of the later Middle Ages. It was probably commissioned in the late 1330s by King Robert and largely completed by 1340 by two of the court's artists, the scribe Iannucius de Matrice and the illuminator Cristoforo Orimina. Orimina is also responsible for about forty Neapolitan illuminated manuscripts, including several other outsized Bibles, such as the Hamilton Bible (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Ms78. E.3), the Planisio Bible (BAV Vat. Lat. 3550), and perhaps the *Clement Bible* (BL Ms. Add. 47672; see below). The Anjou Bible was probably intended as a wedding present for Robert's granddaughter and heir, Giovanna I, and his grandnephew, Andrew of Hungary, but it was completed under the patronage of

royal counselor and later chancellor, Niccolò d'Alife, at Queen Giovanna's request after Andrew's assassination in 1345. The painting-over of Andrew's coats of arms with d'Alife's provides poignant evidence of this transfer. D'Alife then bequeathed the Bible to the Celestine house of the Ascension before his death in 1367. By 1402 it already appeared in the inventory of Jean, Duc de Berry. It may have made its way to France via the Celestines or via Giovanna's close political and symbolic ties with the Valois, as Vitolo has recently demonstrated (see my review, *RQ* 62.1 [2009], 200–201). After Jean's death it was sold in Paris in 1418 to Bishop Nicolas Ruterius of Arras, who bequeathed it to the Arras College of Leuven on his death in 1509. After the college's suppression in 1797 the Bible was transferred to the episcopal seminary at Mechelen (Malines) where it had been cataloged by 1821. Spared the destruction of Leuven's collections in 1914 and 1940, since 1970 it has been part of the theology faculty's Maurits Sabbe Library. Emile Léonard, Alessandra Perricioli Sagese, and Millard Meiss helped draw international attention to it. Restoration began in 2008.

There are miniature portraits of the royal family throughout, including the frontispiece portrait of Robert enthroned among the virtues overcoming the vices (3^v), the famed Angevin pictorial genealogy (4^r), Robert commissioning the Bible (217^r), and a delightful scene of Robert and Queen Sancia playing chess (257^r). The tender miniatures of young Giovanna and Andrew conversing (249^f) and out riding (278^f) also counter the early slanders of their mutual disdain and then open hostility used as circumstantial evidence for the queen's purported role in Andrew's brutal murder.

Certain historiographical traditions strive against one another here, including what I have termed elsewhere the "black legend of the Angevins": the blood- and guilt-soaked conquest by Charles I, Robert's "usurpation" of the throne (Lowden, 12; Duran, 74, etc.), Andrew's disinheritance (Lowden 13, 27; Duran, 74; contradicted by Fleck, 40, 48; and Paone, 71n121), Giovanna's murder of Andrew (Lowen 23, 28), and the collapse of the kingdom and its cultural life during her wanton and incompetent rule. This publication is thus of major importance for the greater clarity it provides for Giovanna's reign, her piety, and her dynastic agency. Here we possess evidence, long ago emphasized by Léonard, of both the queen's moral education and the important political and propaganda machinery that was placed at her disposal by King Robert through such objects as the Anjou Bible. But Robert's anxieties, expressed clearly and repeatedly in this Bible, were not about his own legitimacy (this had been settled years before, and by the pope himself), but about the premature death of his son and heir Charles of Calabria in 1328 and the problematic inheritance of the crown by a woman within the French and Angevin royal lines. It was Giovanna's right to the throne — not Robert's or the Angevin dynasty's — that is visually bolstered here.

Given the great beauty of these folios, the wealth of historical information offered in their illustrations, and the restricted access to the physical codex, the mixed publication plan of the volume makes great sense. This generous and important print volume is accompanied by an even more beautiful online, open-access version of the

illustrated folios, presented in a high-resolution image viewer at: <http://www.anjoubible.be/thebibleonline>.

Cathleen A. Fleck's excellent and insightful "biography" of the Clement Bible (BL Ms. Add. 47672), based on her dissertation completed under Herbert Kessler and her own extensive published work, also offers an intriguing tale of discovery and analysis. While she employs several traditional codicological techniques, she also deploys a "social commodity approach" borrowed from anthropology (Mauss on gifts, Appadurai and Kopytoff on singularity and social meaning of artifacts) and Campbell's theory of "cultural translation." Fleck traces the Bible's life from its creation in Naples ca. 1330–34, perhaps once again as a gift for Andrew of Hungary. Without ascribing it to Orminia, she places it firmly in the Neapolitan *cavalliniano* context both on stylistic grounds and through the prominence of apocalyptic themes and imagery analyzed by Emerson and Lewis, focusing on the Babylon-Jerusalem duality. Using Williman's archival research and database, Fleck is able to trace its later possession by Abbot Raymond de Gramat of Monte Cassino, its consequent seizure as "spoils" by Benedict XII on Raymond's death in 1340, its (less convincingly argued) role in the papal palace at Avignon and appropriation by Clement VII, its sojourn with antipope Benedict XIII in Aragon and its return to Naples after antipope Clement VIII granted it to Alfonso V (I of Naples). She then quickly surveys its disappearance, reappearance in France in 1788, purchase by the earl of Leicester in 1816 and acquisition by the British Museum in 1952. She employs a new methodology for manuscript studies that focuses as much on art-historical questions and approaches (patronage, stylistics, schools and influence, materials and techniques), which we see at work in the analysis of the Anjou Bible, as on the shifting valences of meaning attached to context, diachronicity, and exchange.

Fleck demonstrates the continuity of artistic tradition, style, and personnel between Naples, Rome, and Avignon in the Trecento and the common visual language (and secular and religious iconography) shared by painting and manuscript illumination during this period, establishing value through social and cultural context. She emphasizes the apocalyptic imagery and the political symbolism of Jerusalem as key to the tension inherent in the Roman bishop's prolonged residence in Avignon and Trecento criticisms (including those of Dante, Petrarch, and Cola di Rienzo) of that Babylonian exile. Her interpretation derives partly from Elliott and Warr's recent studies on Sta. Maria Donna Regina, partly on her original interpretation of the angelic hierarchies and King Robert's role in the beatific vision controversy, and partly on theories of Neapolitan court culture as propaganda, following Kelly. Given Fleck's heavy emphasis on context, Queen Sancia of Majorca's absence from these pages is surprising. Nonetheless, Fleck's insightful research and original methodologies convincingly confirm what Bruzelius ("Queen Sancia of Mallorca and the Church of Sta. Chiara in Naples," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 40 [1995]) and this reviewer ("Queen Sancia of Naples [1286–1345] and the Spiritual Franciscans," in *Women of the Medieval World*, ed. Kirshner and Wemple [1985]; "Franciscan Joachimism at the Court of

Naples, 1309–1345: a new appraisal,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 90 [1997]) saw as the essentially apocalyptic — if not Joachite — court culture fostered by Robert and Sancia in letters and sermons, their support of the Spiritual Franciscans and their construction of Sta. Chiara at precisely the period of this Bible’s composition.

Apropos both volumes under review, this reviewer has cautioned elsewhere (*RQ* 57 [2004], 984–85) that one should not make too much of the Burckhardian theory (via Greenblatt) of Renaissance identity creation in the service of legitimization, an interpretation of King Robert forcefully argued by Kelly and restated by Fleck. Robert was less looking forward to models of invented Renaissance personas than fitting into a long tradition of pious medieval rulers, their virtues, devotion, and ambitions (emphasized by Duran, Bock, and Paone). Nor ought one to overstate Bruzelius’s thesis of French influence, which she herself has recently nuanced in favor of more local and mendicant models.

On the whole, however, the rich scholarly findings and consequent dialog reflected in both these books makes them highly valuable as evidence of the healthy international state of Neapolitan studies.

RONALD G. MUSTO

Italica Press