

Reviews

Baldi Bellini, Davide, *Ipnosi Turca. Un medico viaggiatore in terra ottomana (1618–1717)* (Medieval and Early Modern Europe and the World, 2), Turnhout, Brepols, 2022; hardback; pp. 239; R.R.P. €60.00; ISBN 9782503599700.

Davide Baldi Bellini gives us two works in this slim volume—the first is an account of the Florentine physician Alessandro Pini (1653–1717), and specifically his life and adventures in Egypt, Syria, and Turkey. The second is an Italian translation of Pini’s work *De moribus Turcarum* (‘On the customs of the Turks’), with extensive explanatory notes. Both works are an expansion and reworking of parts of a 2004 book, in which Baldi Bellini was also a collaborator: *Alessandro Pini viaggiatore in Egitto (1681–1683)*, ed., Rosario Pintaudi (Istituto Italiano di Cultura del Cairo, 2004). In addition, he is the author of the entry on Pini in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–2020), which also contains a summary of the material in the first part of this book. His book provides a detailed first-hand account of an Italian physician in the Middle East and will be valuable for those interested in the interactions between Western and Ottoman culture and science.

The account of Pini’s life and adventures is based on his correspondence with the polymath Francesco Redi (1626–1697), court physician to Grand Duke Cosimo III of Tuscany. Pini’s passion for the culture of the Middle East and its marvels is evident from his letters. This life-long enthusiasm is the basis for the book’s title: *Ipnosi Turca* (‘Turkish hypnosis’). Pini had trained as a physician and in 1681 was dispatched by Cosimo to Egypt to send back preparations of crystallised senna (*Cassia angustifolia*) and other medicinal simples. Senna is a laxative, and Cosimo prized the northern African variant over that available in Italy. Pini was entranced by Egyptian and Ottoman culture, quickly mastered the language, and considered himself as a cultural expert. In this edition, Baldi Bellini has used the letters to narrate a series of episodes of Pini’s life, such as his departure from Italy, his adventures in Egypt, his travels to Jerusalem and Syria, and his subsequent service as a naval doctor for the Venetian Republic. These are very readable and replete with quotations from Pini’s and Redi’s letters. The footnotes are long and discursive, full of background information. However, many scholars will find themselves looking for the complete texts of the correspondence provided in the 2004 book and might prefer the current book as a narrative support to the 2004 edition.

Pini’s text on the customs of the Turks, entitled *De moribus Turcarum*, can be found in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. The manuscript has only ten folios and terminates abruptly, but whether the rest is lost or was never completed

is unknown. Baldi Bellini's translation into Italian has been revised from the 2004 version and is laid out face-to-face with the Latin for easy reference. The translator has divided the text into chapters by subject, each of which is followed by an extensive set of editorial notes, new to this edition. These notes were derived from only a few sources, mainly Robert Mantran's *La vita quotidiana a Costantinopoli ai tempi di Solimano il Magnifico* (Rizzoli, 1985, but first published in French in 1965) and Vincenzo Abbondanza, *Dizionario storico delle vite di tutti i monarchi ottomani fino al regnante gran signore Acmet IV. e delle più riguardevoli cose appartenenti a quelle monarchia* (1788). The translator's purpose for these notes is unclear; each is a collection of largely disconnected observations and quotations from supporting sources, but with no structured commentary by the author that might help the reader understand the subject better, including any omissions or errors by Pini. The notes do fill out the brief cultural observations made by Pini, which is welcome. However, the editor does not take up the challenge of using Pini's undoubtedly well-informed observations to delve more deeply into the perception of Turkish culture by Western travellers.

RICHARD W. TAIT, *Monash University*

Barclay Lloyd, Joan, *Dominicans and Franciscans in Medieval Rome: History, Architecture, and Art* (Medieval Monastic Studies, 6), Turnhout, Brepols, 2022; cloth; pp. 460; 159 b/w illustrations, 10 colour plates; R.R.P. €110.00; ISBN: 9782503578835.

This is a richly illustrated, substantial volume that records and maps various medieval ecclesiastical structures found in Rome. In this book, Dr Joan Barclay Lloyd examines the seven buildings associated with the two preaching orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, in the medieval period. Her last chapter is on Catherine of Siena, who is buried at Santa Maria sopra Minerva, one of the churches covered in this survey.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part discusses four early Dominican and Franciscan foundations in Rome—the Dominican nunnery at San Sisto (now San Sisto Vecchio), founded *c.* 1218–21; the Dominican priory at Santa Sabina, founded *c.* 1220–22; the Franciscan church and friary of San Francesco a Ripa, founded in 1229; and the Franciscan nunnery of Santi Cosma e Damiano (San Cosimato), founded in 1234. The second covers the next wave of foundations. These are the Friars Minor at Santa Maria in Aracoeli, founded between 1248 and 1252; the Friars Preachers at Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, founded between 1266 and 1276; and the Franciscan nunnery at San Silvestro in Capite, founded in 1285. The final chapter focuses on medieval Dominican penitents from about 1286, particularly Catherine of Siena (1347–1380), who was canonised in 1461 and listed as a Doctor of the Church. Catherine was a lay member of the Dominican Order; a 'mantellata', as Dominican penitents were referred to in Siena. She travelled frequently for her public ministry and was one

of the great mystics of the late Middle Ages. She came to Rome in November 1378 and died there in April 1380.

Each set of buildings is dealt with systematically in individual chapters. Barclay Lloyd takes care to locate each in the topography of Rome, and the history of each site is given, often tracing their origins to earlier ecclesiastical foundations. For example, Santa Sabina is identified as being founded in the early Christian period. The building's adaptations by the Dominicans and the Franciscans are recorded, as is their usage. Indeed, alterations to these buildings that continued into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are also recorded. As part of Barclay Lloyd's project is to analyse and reconstruct the medieval elements, this tracking of their later evolution provides her with much useful data, as the medieval elements were often obscured by such changes.

Plans and maps are an important part of this study, and used extensively throughout, providing fascinating insights. Both historical and recent examples are used in the book, including those survey drawings produced by the author with the aid of architect Jeremy M. Blake. Archaeological examination and the careful study of masonry and other remains extend this further. For example, when examining the fabric of Santa Maria in Arcoeli, Barclay Lloyd can demonstrate that the evidence provided by Marten van Heemskerck's sixteenth-century drawing that the church originally had pointed clerestory windows is correct. There is, however, no evidence for the eight windows he drew, rather than the existing six. Fragmentary remains of the clerestory windows with their Gothic tracery can still be seen on the exterior. The architectural plans, showing not only ground plans but also elevations of both the churches and friaries, reveal just how complicated these plots were. At Santa Sabina, for example, remains of a Roman road and other ancient building works were found under the convent buildings, while a third-century mosaic was found below the first two bays in the nave.

While buildings are the focus of this study, Barclay Lloyd also gives examples of the medieval works of art contained within them that are still accessible or that are recorded in written sources. Ten plates reproduce several icons, mosaics, and frescoes originally found in these churches, including Margaritone of Arezzo's fine painting of Saint Francis of Assisi and a Byzantine icon of the *Mandylion* from the sixth or seventh century. The locations of these art works are considered, as is the role the orders played in the cultural developments of the time. Not surprisingly, the patrons who paid for these buildings and art works are also discussed.

The history of the two orders within Rome is also examined, from when the two founders visited Rome to the role of the papacy and how these orders developed over time. Gender, it is suggested, also played a part in the adaptation and design of convents, incorporating the demands placed on individual buildings through the presence of enclosed nuns within them. The importance of tertiaries is also noted as a significant aspect of the Franciscan and Dominican missions.

A substantial bibliography accompanies this book. In the introduction, and throughout her book, Joan Barclay Lloyd critically engages with the literature

that explores the mendicant churches of medieval Rome. A formidable corpus of studies on medieval church architecture in Rome has been produced, and is engaged with, here. This book is placed within this broader investigation and contributes to it by focusing on these seven Dominican and Franciscan buildings. It is an important addition to this field.

JUDITH COLLARD, *The University of Melbourne*

Bauduin, Pierre, **Simon Lebouteiller**, and Luc **Bourgeois**, eds, *Les Transferts culturels dans les mondes normands médiévaux (VIII^e–XII^e siècle). Objets, acteurs et passeurs* (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 36), Turnhout, Brepols, 2021; hardback; pp. 363; 69 b/w, 7 colour illustrations, 2 b/w tables; R.R.P. €90.00; ISBN 9782503593661.

This dense and copiously illustrated volume consists of fourteen articles, of which four are in English and the remainder in French. The articles in French are provided with brief abstracts in English, except for the introductory article by Pierre Bauduin and the concluding article by Geneviève Bühner-Thierry. The English articles do not have abstracts in French—it might have been simpler to translate the four English articles. The volume is the product of a 2017 conference, which itself formed part of an ongoing collaboration on cultural transfers in the Norman world begun in 2009. It is a great strength of this project that it brings home the vast geographical extent of Norman, or possibly Viking, influence. The editors' assumption that Normans are merely rebranded Vikings, though arguably justified, leads to a title that may well mislead prospective readers into neglecting a work with valuable contributions to their field. Most anglophone scholars would be surprised at the idea of Norman, as opposed to Viking, influence extending to Central Asia. The articles in this book, however, go a long way toward supporting the ongoing coherence of the Norman/Viking world.

Section I deals with objects as vehicles of cultural transfer. The first two papers discuss archaeological material recently uncovered by metal detectors. Anne Pedersen traces the gradual adoption of Christian symbols, firstly the cross and crucifix, then Christian animal motifs, on small personal ornaments, generally brooches and pendants in copper alloy or silver. Whereas burials and hordes preserve the possessions of the elite, these ornaments come from the common people. They provide us with evidence for the Christianisation of the Danes, which complements the top-down accounts of our other sources. Continuing with Denmark, Jens Christian Moesgaard examines the introduction of coinage. Originally, foreign coins functioned as bullion, but around 720 locally minted coins appear as standard exchange units at Ribe, then later at Haithabu. Endorsed by a succession of kings, the European model of coinage had imposed itself on the countryside by the mid-eleventh century, though not without resistance.

Jacques Le Maho argues that a funerary slab from Fécamp is that of two young sons of Richard I of Normandy and his wife Emma, daughter of Hugh the Great.

The only similar design is found on an altarpiece from Narbonne. The southern tombstone's presence in the north may be explained by the presence there of two prominent clerics from Occitania. These sculptural and personal connections supplement those already commented on from the *Song of Roland*. Alexandra Lester-Makin places the Bayeux Tapestry within the wider context of embroidered hangings used for political purposes throughout the Viking and Norman worlds. She shows that the commissioning of local artisans, in this case Anglo-Saxon and elsewhere Muslim, was a standard Norman strategy for consolidating relations with newly conquered people. She argues that the high status accorded this female work was itself part of a philosophy of unification.

Section II is entitled 'Translate, Transmit, Adapt'. Oaths were a fundamental aspect of pagan Scandinavian and Germanic society. Simon Lebouteiller looks at how Christianisation shifted the form of oaths, sworn by pagans on their weapons, the temple door ring, and their gods, to those sworn on Christian liturgical objects. Underneath this apparent replacement, however, lurks continuity, shown by the swearing of oaths at the church door and the use of the sword in the swearing of fealty, as well as a continued emphasis on shame and social exclusion rather than divine vengeance as the penalty for oath-breaking. Alban Gautier tackles the Roman tradition of identifying Norse gods with the Greco-Roman pantheon and its effect on naming the days of the week. Christian attempts to block this had varied success across Europe, as we witness to this day. Although generally supportive of local cults, Normans also brought their own saints with them to southern Italy, as Laura Vangone demonstrates in tracing the *Vitae* of two Merovingian bishops and a Neustrian abbess. Continuing with Norman Italy, Rosanna Alaggio analyses church mosaics depicting characters from *chansons de geste* and medieval romances, particularly the *Roman d'Alexandre*. These visual declarations supported royal authority and a common feudal ethic as the Normans positioned their Italian realm as the frontier of Christian Europe.

Section III is about people acting as agents of cultural transmission. Leszek Gardela uses the differing artistic styles of the Slavs and Scandinavians as indicators of ethnic identities in the area now known as Poland. The establishment of the state ruled by the Piast dynasty in the tenth century led to some ethnic hybridisation. Aleksandr Musin addresses a problem of unfortunate contemporary relevance, namely nineteenth-century Russian attempts to deny the Viking origins of Kyiv and of the first Russian dynasty. He argues against projecting backwards later concepts of identity. Through an examination of various literary and material signifiers, he argues in favour of the Vikings developing a hybrid identity while nevertheless remaining distinct and serving as specialised mediators between different cultural areas. Patrick Ottaway describes widespread innovation in the production of iron objects in Northern Europe between 700 and 1100, although he ascribes this to increasing trade rather than directly to the hypermobility of the Vikings. Anastasiya Chevalier-Shmauhanets points to Insular influence on ecclesiastical architecture in Normandy, as well as borrowings from southern

Italy. Following on from this, Luis Derosa traces Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian themes transmitted by the Normans in the architecture of southern Italy, as well as a syncretistic artistic identity sponsored by them.

This book is of obvious relevance to scholars of the Scandinavian diaspora and the Norman/Viking world generally. The different articles will be of particular interest to a variety of specialists, ranging from art historians and archaeologists to scholars of gender and identity studies.

LOLA SHARON DAVIDSON, *Sydney, Australia*

Bendall, Sarah A., *Shaping Femininity: Foundation Garments, the Body and Women in Early Modern England*, London, Bloomsbury, 2022; paperback; pp. 338; 150 colour illustrations; R.R.P £27.99; ISBN 9781350164116.

Sarah Bendall presents *Shaping Femininity* as a revision of anachronistic narratives of clothing history that have up until this point cast foundation garments—structural items of clothing worn to achieve fashionable sculptural silhouettes—as tools of patriarchal oppression. Situating the origin of these ideas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (and historical scholarship on these periods), Bendall outlines her ambitious project of rewriting the history of the foundation garment in England.

Not only does this rich history of the emergence and early evolution of foundation garments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries identify the limitations of the traditional archive, but it also uses experimental historical dress reconstruction to interrogate and enliven existing textual, visual, and material sources while proposing considered and methodical (as well as replicable) strategies for filling in the gaps. Like the foundation garment itself, as Bendall explains at various points, the insight provided by her experimental reconstructions is not consigned to the single, initial layer of the outfit—it is employed variously throughout to help shape, support, and showcase Bendall's argument. This is not insignificantly aided by 150 colour illustrations that place reproductions of contemporary woodcuts, prints, and paintings alongside modern photographs of both rare extant examples of foundation garments and her own experimental reconstructions.

The first chapter provides a chronological overview of structural fashions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, allowing Bendall to situate bodies, bum rolls, and farthingales in their broader early modern and European contexts and permitting her to proceed thematically in the subsequent chapters. The essential argument of this first section is that early modern discourse 'conflated foundation garments with the parts of the body that they clothed or concealed' (p. 19). Using a variety of visual, textual, and material evidence, Bendall illustrates the ways in which discourse, garments, and bodies shaped one another—both literally and metaphorically—in the early modern period.

Having established the conceptual conflation of body and foundation garment, Bendall explores the role that elite court aesthetics played in reshaping the female body in the sixteenth century. The premise that ‘the performativity of court life meant that all actions and gazes were interpretive’ (p. 58) is the basis of Bendall’s discussion of how innovations in fashionable dress are linked to both continuities and changes in ideas about elite femininity. Some of the visual evidence presented in Chapter 2 (for example, the Ditchley and Armada portraits of Elizabeth I), as well as the concepts discussed (such as *sprezzatura*), threaten to restate the well-rehearsed terms of engagement when it comes to ideas of self-fashioning. However, Bendall’s methodology provides refreshing insight that helps to add nuance and subtlety to existing readings. For example, insight into the European influences on the royal court helps us understand how fashion became an emblem for the court in general—an association that Bendall shows was mobilised by the elite itself but also appropriated by other sections of society to critique it.

Continuing to look beyond the upper echelons of society, Chapters 3 and 4 expand the scope of the debate by exploring the production of foundation garments by skilled artisans, and their consumption by middling and common women. Sources such as probate documents and receipts are supplemented with insight from Bendall’s reconstructions, and high-quality photographs help Bendall demonstrate the process of ‘learning to *read*’ material sources for ‘[t]races of [...] lost tacit knowledge’ (p. 133). These chapters are keen to give credit to the ‘material literacy’ of both producers and ‘calculated consumers’ (p. 152), thereby attributing early modern women with the agency to manipulate their position in a society dictated by strict social and gender norms. In Chapter 5, Bendall further develops the contrast between the ‘exaggerated myths [...] still commonly perpetuated and applied to bodies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries’ (p. 153) and the material and lived realities of foundation garments and their wearers using the insights facilitated by her reproduction garments.

The final section of the book returns, informed and emboldened by the revisionist insight of the intervening chapters, to foundation garments in discourse. Chapter 6 explores the relationship between the foundation garment and understandings and anxieties around female sexuality. Particularly insightful here is the suggestion of the subversive potential of foundation garments to render the female body ‘unreadable and potentially uncontrollable’ (p. 220). The final chapter charts how the histories of bodies and farthingales bifurcated. Where the earlier became symbols of control and self-restraint and therefore respectability (a trend accompanied by a shift in naming to ‘stays’), the descendant of the farthingale continued to face criticism, retaining negative, often sexualised, connotations. Bendall attributes the transformation of bodies in the early modern imaginary to the emergence of a newly affluent middle class whose behaviours, habits, and sensibilities now ‘imbued these garments with meaning’ (p. 253).

Fittingly, for a study concerned with materiality, this book’s greatest achievement is to have made so many previously elusive concepts tangible to

such a broad readership. Perhaps most significantly, Bendall's methodology presents a practical solution to the problem of interdisciplinarity by presenting her detailed analysis of material culture as a way of interrogating textual and visual evidence, elucidating ambiguities in sources, and furnishing lacunae in the archive. The depth and detail of Bendall's material analysis can sometimes result in the analysis of other sources—literary texts, for example—seeming comparatively superficial, so that at times links between evidence and inferences suggest causality or correlations where further justification or qualification is perhaps necessary. That being said, *Shaping Femininity* should be seen as an incitement for those interested in the history of early modern women and gender, material culture and consumption, and the history of the body to reinvigorate inherited narratives through reconstruction, as Bendall's bold, innovative (and entertaining) scholarship does in this fascinating book.

MARTIN THOMPSON, *The University of Manchester*

Brink, Stefan, *Thralldom: A History of Slavery in the Viking Age*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2021; cloth; pp. xii, 392; 37 b/w figures; R.R.P. US\$37.95; ISBN 9780197532355.

In his foreword and acknowledgements, Stefan Brink identifies *Thralldom* as a 'revised' and 'extensively extended version' of a book he published in Swedish in 2012. Though not further identified there, the book is *Vikingarnas slavar: den nordiska trälldomen under yngre järnålder och äldsta medeltid* (Atlantis, 2012), which was republished as a paperback in 2018. Signs of this origin remain evident in the English language book, most notably and somewhat confusingly in the use of Scandinavian periodisation practice, so that the Viking Age is 'prehistory' and the twelfth century is 'early medieval'. Some of the discussion, notably in the chapter devoted to Ålmeboda Parish in Småland, is most likely to have limited interest to an audience outside Sweden.

Despite its subtitle, this book is not a history of Viking Age slavery. As the author amply demonstrates, the sources do not permit such a chronological survey. But displaying mastery of a remarkably wide range of sources, including later literature and law codes but also encompassing archaeology, runic inscriptions, place names, personal names, DNA, and etymology, Stefan Brink provides a very rich, sound, and wide-ranging discussion about slavery in the Viking period. He clearly indicates that there seem to have been very diverse kinds of slavery and semi-slavery, and he argues that, except perhaps in Iceland, slavery was not as commonplace as some previous writers have believed. Much of the book focuses on comparing Nordic slavery to that elsewhere in the world, particularly the ancient world, the Islamic realms, and other parts of medieval Europe. (He argues that American antebellum slavery was not a comparable phenomenon.) The material relating to these societies is often fascinating, but perhaps it receives proportionally more attention than it deserves for purposes of comparison.

A listing of Brink's seventeen chapters is readily available online. It reveals a wide range of diverse topics and, arguably, a relatively loose structure. The chapter entitled 'The Rise and Fall of Scandinavian Thralldom: When Did Slavery Appear in Scandinavia?' is the fifteenth chapter, near the end of the book, and focuses almost entirely on the origins of slavery, its 'fall' being outside the Viking period. Some of the material that appears is at least mildly surprising in the context of this book. The long chapter 'Terms for Thralls and their Meanings' is largely a moderately in-depth study of etymology. Though *Beowulf* is of course set in Scandinavia, it is a little surprising, in a relatively concise book, to find several pages (pp. 167–72) in this chapter devoted to the poem's 'Wealththeow', a passage of only thirty-five lines quoted in the original Old English as well as translation.

There is some evidence that the editing process could have been stricter. The recruitment in the Ottoman Empire of non-Muslim boys who were trained to be Janissaries or officials is outlined on pages 13–14 and again in very similar terms on pages 17–18. Some of the runic inscriptions transliterated, presented in normalised Old Norse, and translated in the chapter on runes receive the same treatment again in the following chapter on 'Terms for Thralls and their Meanings'. Sometimes the text seems to contradict itself. On page 105, we read in the first paragraph that 'probably only six (perhaps nine) thralls are mentioned in around three thousand runic inscriptions from Scandinavia', but a few lines later, we read that 'not a single thrall is mentioned' in the inscriptions. On page 207, we are told that Scandinavian sources do not provide evidence for the marking or mutilation of slaves to help identify them, but, on page 208, that 'also in Scandinavia the bestial custom, common in other cultures, of physically mutilating the face of a slave was practiced'. Careful reading can resolve the apparent discrepancies, but it is fair to say that more than usual care is at times needed in following the argument in this volume.

This is an important book for students and researchers concerned with the Viking period, a work of formidably scholarly research by a writer with a probably unparalleled knowledge of the subject. For those needing a single English-language book on the subject it will replace Ruth Mazo Karras's *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia* (Yale University Press, 1988), a dated work that is open to methodological challenge. A Swedish-language reviewer of the original Swedish version in Sigtuna Museum's scientific yearbook *Situne Dei* (2012, p. 91) implied that the work would be enjoyable reading for a popular audience. The new book probably could not be enthusiastically recommended to the English 'general reader', but its sometimes entertaining, sometimes chatty and informal—one encounters the verb 'blabs' on page 91, 'taken a shine', and 'have his cake and eat it' on page 102—and sometimes densely written text will repay the attention of the scholar.

JOHN KENNEDY, *Charles Sturt University*

Brown, Meg Lota, ed., *Marginal Figures in the Global Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 47), Turnhout, Brepols, 2021; hardback; pp. xv, 225; R.R.P. €75.00; ISBN 9782503597034.

This book is not about classically marginal historical figures like the poor, the infirm, the elderly, children, or cultural others and outsiders. It will be of most interest to scholars interested in its constituent subjects, particularly those with a literary focus. The volume opens with a chapter by Arnaud Zimmern that explores conceptual gaps in the context and reception of John Donne, focusing on the original context of Donne's much-cited lines about islands and men. Zimmern explores the contrast evident in modern readings that inflect a 'secular cosmopolitanism' (p. 5) and suggests that the liturgical and ecclesiastical specificity of Donne's meaning has been forgotten in favour of an abstract, morally universalist reading of the lines. The same phenomenon, he argues, is evident in Donne's other much-quoted line about tolling bells, thereby marking a shift from an auditorily linked ecclesial community to abstract modern readings that envision a shared, global humanity.

The book's attention then shifts to British encounters with Japan through East India Company personnel, with Paul Hartle offering an interesting chapter drawn from snippets of source material to present a compelling case that the early modern British could engage in a more interrogative, open-minded, and curious encounter than is often assumed by scholars mesmerised by the obvious fact that Europeans tended to bring their own cultural baggage and educative viewpoint to such encounters. Kyle DiRoberto then returns the volume's attention from Japan back to those islands on the other side of Eurasia. He focuses on representations of the ploughman in the literary tussles between popular and Puritan writers in England. Of interest is the way that a dynamic of mutual response produced a discernible literary phenomenon whereby each group included 'the exaggerated presence in each other's writing of the opponents' style' (p. 64). Celtic mythology is surveyed in the following chapter, wherein Angela Loewenhagen Schrader offers descriptive accounts in turn of the banshee, pooka, leprechaun, evil eye, and the death coach.

From marginal island cultures, the volume then turns to address sex and gender. Elizabeth Labiner offers a chapter exploring how 'playwrights explored the exciting transgression of crossdressing' (p. 110), wherein the donning of male attire by female characters being played by male actors uncovers, so to speak, the performativity of gender. Albrecht Classen's next chapter is a study of German traces of the myth of the Old Man of the Mountain, which explores deeper cultural exchanges between Christian Europe and the Islamic Near East. He argues that such traces speak of a greater familiarity with mythic traditions than might normally be allowed. In an earlier article, here republished as the volume's seventh chapter, Meg Lota Brown and Kari Boyd McBride survey the contributions of a suite of women to Renaissance art and argue that, contrary to moralistic attitudes,

‘women were active participants in all fields and artistic media, making a unique contribution to the history of the Renaissance’ (p. 163).

The volume then shifts from Renaissance to resistance with a chapter on the Peruvian historian Inca Garcilaso, who, James W. Fuerst suggests, ‘is the first American thinker to see armed insurrection in the service of independence as an alternative to colonial rule’ (p. 186). Lindsay Weiler-Leon’s chapter then focuses on the way that European travellers saw Ottoman and Safavid Persian women through their own cultural lenses. Sharonah Esther Fredrick brings the volume to a close with a wide-ranging chapter on the Mayan Xtabay legend, analysing interconnected questions of historical survival, indigenous adaptation, nationalism, and various cultural frames.

NICHOLAS D. BRODIE, *Jane Franklin Hall, Hobart, Tasmania*

Claessens, Guy, and Fabio Della Schiava, eds, *Augustine and the Humanists: Reading the ‘City of God’ from Petrarch to Poliziano* (Colibri. Collected Studies in History and Literature, 2), Gent, LYSA Publishers, 2021; hardback; pp. 480; 21 colour plates; R.R.P. €75.00; ISBN 9789464447620.

Augustine called *De civitate Dei* his ‘magnum opus’; it is a leading source of theological thinking about the history, destiny, and politics of Christianity. It also yields abundant information about its period, the tipping point between pagan antiquity and the Christian Middle Ages: facts about Rome’s pre-Christian religion, extensive citation of lost classical sources, and miscellaneous detail (such as that it was customary to scatter powdered charcoal under boundary markers, so nobody could get away with shifting the stones afterwards). As the Middle Ages’ God-centred mentality gave way to Renaissance humanism, there was the potential for new uses of *City of God* to emerge—for it to evolve from a theological authority into a repository of antiquarian knowledge. To date, though, there has been little interest in exploring humanists’ engagement with it. This volume attempts to address that oversight. An introductory chapter by Eric Saak precedes fifteen contributions, each detailing one scholar’s engagement with the work (or, in the case of Antonio Manfredi’s chapter, two scholars: Tommaso Parentucelli and Giovanni Tortelli). Elisa Brillì concludes the volume with an interesting study of manuscript illuminations of *De civitate Dei* and what these imply about changing understandings of Augustine’s ‘City’ over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The contributors address the topic from varied angles. A uniform approach is not authorised or necessarily possible given the available evidence. One common, basal mode of investigation assesses Augustine’s influence by estimating the number of his works the humanist in question possessed or had read and the frequency of references to him in that individual’s writings. More is not always feasible. The most rewarding chapters succeed in providing further context. For instance, Fabio Forner describes how Enea Silvio Piccolomini, the future Pius II, deployed Augustine’s other writings, during the standoff between the papacy and

the Council of Cardinals, in defence of the cardinals before switching sides to the papal camp. Then, once the Turks captured Constantinople, he began citing and modelling his own writings on *City of God*, itself inspired by the Visigoths' sack of Rome. Sometimes there is enough evidence to allow focus on something specific in a scholar's use of the work. Thus, Sam Urlings gives a rundown of *City of God's* place in the Florentine Republic's political thought, before turning to Coluccio Salutati's account of the rape of Lucretia, the Roman Republic's foundation myth—an account that implicitly critiques Augustine's presentation of the rape. A few chapters treat Augustine's general influence, not *City of God's*, perhaps as there was little to say about the latter. It may be no coincidence that those contributions that engage most directly with the topic include the ones written by the editors (Fabio Della Schiava on Biondo Flavio, and Guy Claessens and Jeroen De Keyser on Francesco Filelfo). Della Schiava and Claessens's awareness of these men's especially close engagement with Augustine may have inspired the project.

Explicit connections between chapters can be observed, including commonalities in humanists' responses to Augustine's work. Several contributors describe the defensive use of *City of God*, from Petrarch onward, to counter condemnations of the reading of pagan philosophy or poetry. Here was an unimpeachable authority who had made extensive use of both to support his arguments. For Valerio Sanzotta, Marsilio Ficino invoked Augustine in the service of Platonism as a 'protective shield for a philosophical program that was [...] profoundly un-Augustinian in its essence' (p. 377). There seems to be agreement that the humanists under consideration engaged with Augustine in complex ways. Petrarch used him to oppose scholastic objections to pagan authors, but his response ultimately involved 'disappropriation' (Saak, p. 39). Later humanists essentially followed suit. Clementina Marsico's observation that Lorenzo Valla's relationship with Augustine was 'both convergent and contrasting' (p. 338) represents a typical assessment. Some humanists mined *City of God* for antiquarian detail, ignoring its theological side; others did the reverse; a few, such as Poggio Bracciolini (described by Outi Merisalo), drew on both aspects.

The other humanists covered are Petrarch (Marco Petoletti), Giovanni Boccaccio (Carlo Delcorno), Nicholas of Cusa (Enrico Peroli), Cardinal Bessarion (Gianmario Cattanea and Giuseppe Pascale), Niccolò Perotti (Marianne Pade), Angelo Poliziano (Francesco Caruso), and Pico della Mirandola (Ovanes Akopyan). The book itself is well presented and highly readable, likely to be of value to scholars of Augustine, the (Italian) Renaissance, and the humanists in question. The secondary scholarship cited throughout is up-to-the-minute. The chapters are inconsistent as to whether quoted passages come with translations, but, since the volume is fundamentally one for specialists, not undergraduates, this is unlikely to create difficulties.

PATRICK BALL, *Hobart, Tasmania*

Dyer, Joseph, *Readers and Hearers of the Word: The Cantillation of Scripture in the Middle Ages* (Ritus et Artes, 10), Turnhout, Brepols, 2022; hardback; pp. 268; 12 b/w, 17 colour illustrations, 14 musical examples; R.R.P. €85.00; ISBN 9782503592879.

In liturgical plainchant, as in art song, texts of greatest intrinsic worth do not necessarily beget musical settings of greatest artistic achievement. Musicological (and commercial) bias towards aesthetic interest reflects a sensibility that approaches plainchant more as artful musical compositions than as scripture and prayer solemnified through song. Hence the abundance of sound recordings of extended melismatic chants and the dearth, for example, of recordings of psalmodic recitation and cantillation of the epistle and gospel at Solemn Mass. Indeed, ‘The Cantillation of Scripture in the Middle Ages’, the subtitle of Joseph Dyer’s erudite, pellucidly written book, more likely brings to mind the sound world of the synagogue and mosque rather than places of Christian worship.

What Dyer originally intended to be an examination of the musical formulae for cantillation—defined as heightened speech, ‘a stylized mode of delivery that took into account both the sense of the text and the accent patterns of words at the ends of sense units’ (p. 63)—broadened into a study of every aspect of the ritual of which cantillation of the gospel was the centrepiece. His elegantly produced book presents a wide-ranging historical survey, a purview over a thousand-year tradition, drawing on more than 180 multidisciplinary late antique and early medieval sources. Enlivening his coverage are thought-provoking speculations and the occasional personal aside, displays of scholarly acuity and breadth of learning, ‘on how “hearers” of the early Middle Ages might have comprehended what they heard and how they experienced what they beheld’ (p. 12). At base, these speculations centre on the perennial questions of how long and to what extent Latin was understood by the laity, and specifically, for how long cantillated texts might have continued to be comprehended as vernacular languages progressively diverged from the Latin of late antiquity. While the pertinence of these questions is restricted to regions where Latin was once the *lingua franca*, as Dyer readily acknowledges, they set him to ponder more generally whether ‘comprehension of every single word sung or spoken was really essential to the medieval laity’s active involvement in the Mass’ (p. 14).

Intellectual comprehension of Scripture readings at Mass was not within the grasp of all the faithful, and rarely, in fact, does awareness of the laity even figure in medieval liturgical books. But this linguistic barrier, Dyer convincingly argues, did not necessarily preclude the laity from being able to engage meaningfully at Solemn Mass—‘in a way that met their needs and expectations’ (p. 119). Helping to bridge the gulf of verbal incomprehension was the spectacle of Solemn Mass itself, a sacral *Gesamtkunstwerk* that communicated through various modes of presentation and sensory appeal. Devotional books in vernacular languages, vade mecum guides to the Mass that provided texts for reflection, prayers (the paternoster as a default option), and instructions on how to comport oneself—these,

too, played an important role in attuning the faithful to the spiritual significance of what they were witnessing. One such book, the subject of the opening chapter, is *The Lay Folkes Mass Book*, a late fourteenth-century Middle English translation of a French text written about a century earlier. Functioning rather like an *idée fixe*, it is often recalled and alluded to by Dyer in his chapter explications of the various aspects and constituent elements of the solemn ritual. In this way, it serves to keep us, his readers, mindful of the silent majority, the ‘hearers’ of the Word.

The book’s first two chapters introduce the *dramatis personae*: laity ‘hearers’, and clergy ‘readers of the word’—lector, subdeacon, and deacon. Chapters 3 and 5 deal with liturgical texts, written and spoken: scripts, page layout and accentuation, ‘dialectalization’ of pronunciation, and, most importantly, punctuation, the understanding of which was integral to correct cantillation. Chapters 6 to 8 cover aspects of the *mise en scène* at High Mass: direction and physical placement for prayers and readings, separation of the sexes, choir screens, the siting of churches, vestments, and apparel. Chapter 4, ‘Cantillating the Epistle and the Gospel’, the book’s central and longest chapter, confronts the ‘field of ambiguity’, the difficulty inherent in studying musical repertoires, rich in local traditions, that were orally transmitted for almost a millennium before being captured in pitch notation. And then there are the perils of extrapolating retrospectively from much later sources—seven such documents are examined. The earliest of these late sources, the *Correctorium sancti Jacobi*, corrected Dominican service books, and the *Practica artis musice* of Englishman Amerus (Appendix 3), both date from the second half of the thirteenth century. The last two sources discussed, Martin Luther’s *Deutsche Messe* and the collaborative tome *Directorium chori*, assembled by Giovanni Giudetti in association with Palestrina, come from the latter part of the sixteenth century. Following insightful observations about rhythmic indications and accentuation in respect of these last two items, we are taken back to Isidore of Seville’s ‘De lectoribus’ (*De ecclesiasticis* II. 11; Appendix I), specifically to his advice on what today would be termed performance practice, how to convey the proper affects of the meaning of a text. Dyer observes:

singers were primarily responsible for arousing compunction in the hearts of listeners; lectors might discharge a comparable office by stirring the affections [...] Isidore of Seville insisted that the lector should attempt to convey the intentions of the biblical authors, not his own. It would be worth a study to discover how later medieval and Renaissance authors interpreted this widely disseminated Isidorean passage. (p. 93)

Readers of this fascinating book will surely hope that it’s a study that Joseph Dyer himself is of a mind to take up.

ROBERT CURRY, *The University of Sydney*

Folkerts, Suzan, ed., *Religious Connectivity in Urban Communities (1400–1550): Reading, Worshipping, and Connecting through the Continuum of Sacred and Secular* (New Communities of Interpretation, 1), Turnhout, Brepols, 2021; hardback; pp. 285; 2 b/w, 12 colour illustrations, 5 b/w tables; R.R.P. €80.00; ISBN 9782503590813.

By exploring the phenomena of religious connectivity and faith networks and addressing methodological issues concerned with their discernment, this worthwhile volume offers interesting insights into the role of religion in past societies.

Focusing on lay religious communities in Italy, Marina Gazzini opens the volume with a chapter that reveals the uniformity of confraternity statutes. This phenomenon, she argues, is strongly suggestive of intertextual modelling, including the reasonable possibility of clerical input in statute drafting, which in turn helps clarify the more individualistic features of individual communities. She encourages the viewing of confraternities as outward-facing entities, which should be seen as connected with wider social and political movements rather than just as a discrete ‘pious’ or ‘religious’ social expression. Cora Zwart’s chapter complements this, focusing on religious connectivity through a case study of the political career and religious actions of the sometime Mayor of Utrecht, Dirck Borre van Amerongen. Zwart draws attention to van Amerongen’s own annotations in personal manuscripts, material interactions with a parish through acts of foundation and donation, and his self-representation through a portrait, ultimately highlighting how religion provided a means of connectivity that transcended political circumstances and moments. A third chapter addressing lay religious communities is Megan Edwards Alvarez’s study of the Fleshers of Perth, providing a window into an urban Scottish community’s actions and sense of religious self through which economic activity is framed as necessarily also religious, breaking down the secular versus religious analytical frames so popular in the past century.

The notion of religion as a binding element of culture is brought out in Johanneke Uphoff’s study of book donations, a phenomenon that serves as a useful historical ‘indicator of the participation of the laity in religious culture and as evidence for the shared devotional culture between lay and religious professionals in the late medieval Low Countries’ (p. 99). Because such books preserve evidence of lay possession, they also point to the popularity of lay ownership of religious texts, show how family bonds and relationships worked to transcend formalised lay and religious divides within the wider community, and highlight the important role of lay religiosity in helping form religious communities’ libraries, thereby illustrating the importance of lay creative activity in the religious landscape and affirming the significance for historians of studying the materiality of books themselves as well as the ideas within them. Complementing this is An-Katrien Hanselaer’s case study of female tertiaries in Hasselt, which discerns signs of lay originality and self-direction and highlights that while a community might largely

rely on external religious texts, they nonetheless ‘entered into dialogue with other textual traditions’ (p. 144) through the selection and preservation of certain texts.

The following chapters focus on cultural outputs. Studying melodies in Dutch songs, Cécile de Morrée suggests that religious song collections perhaps reflect the ‘urban song culture to a greater degree than has hitherto been acknowledged’ (p. 159). While suggesting that this does not necessarily mean that religious tunes are secular in origin, de Morrée nonetheless holds out the possibility ‘that the traces of profane song that are present in religious song collections are the footprint of the late medieval sonic city’ (p. 179). In another tantalising use of sources to unpack culture, Delphine Mercuzot examines the relationship between William Caxton and printed indulgences. Arguing that ‘the printing and subsequent disappearance of indulgences illustrate the vivid religious life of fifteenth-century England, the need for tangible connectivity, and the eventual appropriation of religious printed objects by the laity’ (p. 189), Mercuzot challenges some still popular notions about the nature, reception, and use of late medieval indulgences. Unsettling straightforwardly economic readings of the phenomenon, Mercuzot delivers a more religiously nuanced picture of the role of indulgences in networks and relationships that involved printers, patrons, and purchasers. Similarly, the relationships between printers, the public, and artists are at the core of Elsa Kammerer’s study of the sixteenth-century *Figures of the Bible*, which highlights how workshops and communities of artists offer sites of study that reveal the constant and complex interdependence and connection of different types of people and content. This chapter captures a broad network beyond the binary of writer and reader, finding in that complex scene communities of practice, profession, pleasure, study, affect, and so on, which frequently overlapped.

The last two chapters focus on the importance of texts in forming religious bonds. María José Vega surveys shifting versions of the story of the coalman and devil, highlighting how the story endured even as it became the focal point for confessional disputes. Suzan Folkerts addresses the commonality of lay bible reading in Deventer, which once again reminds us of the importance of treating the phenomenon of religious connectivity as an expression of wider community bonds capable of transcending time and place, providing a fitting end to this excellent volume.

NICHOLAS D. BRODIE, *Jane Franklin Hall, Hobart, Tasmania*

Gylfi Gunnlaugsson and Clarence E. Glad, eds, *Old Norse-Icelandic Philology and National Identity in the Long Nineteenth Century* (National Cultivation of Culture, 28), Leiden and Boston, Brill, 2022; hardback; pp. x, 478, R.R.P. €123.00; ISBN 9789004499652.

We seldom get the chance to explore the origins, politics, alliances, and antagonisms that lie behind the scholarly fields that we so readily take for granted. Old Norse scholars learn the craft with an awareness of the many nineteenth-century Norwegian, Danish, and German editions of Old Norse-Icelandic

manuscripts, but seldom do we engage with these in any meaningful way. Even rarer is an understanding of where they came from and how their presence reflects the forces that shaped the field. This volume explores this topic, arising from the 2014–17 research project ‘Icelandic Philology and National Culture 1780–1918’, led by editors Gylfi Gunnlaugsson and Clarence E. Glad.

Romantic nationalism, patriotism, and international conflict over the rightful ownership of the manuscript heritage are in the DNA of Old Norse-Icelandic studies, yet this is often elided in our work. And then we find neo-Nazis appropriating it and wonder how to deal with that. No field is objective and apolitical, and this history is important for understanding what we do when working in Old Norse-Icelandic language, literature, and manuscripts. Indeed, the field was from the outset explicitly political, tied closely to burgeoning Icelandic statehood and the subject of bitter arguments for and against wars, Nordic nationalisms, and pan-Scandinavianism. Power swirled around nineteenth-century Copenhagen, causing tensions for Norwegians, Swedes, Icelanders, and Germans alike. This volume explores much of this. It is highly descriptive, biographical, and of great utility. In twelve chapters, the fortunes and misfortunes of scholars and their motivations for claiming authority are explored. People otherwise lost to time and known only from the title pages of old volumes are brought to life, their work placed in context, and their connections, roles, and struggles made clear.

The chapter order is chronological, commencing with Gunnlaugsson’s thorough mapping of scholarly work prior to 1830. In Chapter 2, Alderik H. Blom examines the weighty influence of Rasmus Rask (1787–1832) in asserting Icelandic as a language worthy of study and respect. Next, Annette Lasson looks at Peter Erasmus Müller’s (1776–1834) work protecting Icelandic from both Danish and German influences (who knew Jacob Grimm urged war against Denmark based on historical linguistics?). Glad follows with an exploration of relations between Danish and Icelandic scholars between 1816 and 1858. Finnur Magnússon (1781–1857), Carl Christian Rafn (1795–1864), and Sveinbjörn Egilsson (1791–1852) are noteworthy figures of the period. Glad then devotes a chapter to Sveinbjörn Egilsson’s role in education in Iceland. Jon Gunnar Jørgensen then provides a chapter on Rudolf Keyser’s (1803–1864) use of Old Norse texts in Norwegian nationalist discourse, and Glad returns with his third chapter seeking evidence that Jón Sigurðsson (1811–1879) considered Old Icelandic a nationalist cause. The differentiation between classical and Nordic scholarship played out in a number of intriguing ways through the nineteenth century, and Gylfi explores the relationship of Grímur Thomsen’s (1820–96) Hegelian aesthetics and classical learning to his approach to Old Icelandic. The final four chapters bring us to later years in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, when the nationalist and independence movements were bearing fruit. Hjalti Snær Ægisson examines Benedikt Gröndal’s (1826–1907) association with Classics and his dissent from the mainstram independence movement, and this is followed by Ragnheiður Mósedóttir’s examination of Guðbrandur Vigfússon’s (1827–1889) professional

trajectory, embracing both rejection from Copenhagen and a laudable career in Oxford. Matthew James Driscoll's chapter on the contentious Finnur Jónsson (1858–1934) and his role in consolidating Norse scholarship in Copenhagen follows, and Simon Halink rounds off the volume with a detailed exploration of the fraught relationship between Finnur Jónsson and Björn M. Ólsen (1850–1919), the first Professor of Icelandic at the University of Iceland.

The growth of Old Norse-Icelandic scholarship in this 'long' century was highly contested, and its modern form owes much to this. These are extraordinary and important tales to be told of scholarly work and political intrigue, and this volume sets the scene well. However, the book suffers in one respect: insufficient editorial oversight. While all chapters are thoroughly researched and well argued, certain passages would benefit from judicious, and perhaps extensive, editorial attention. Chapters 4 and 5 (116 pages in total), both by Clarence E. Glad, contain repetitive material and might be better combined into one cohesive chapter or two chapters more tightly framed. Moreover, Glad's prose rambles in places, and at times he uses idiosyncratic and inappropriate terminology (for example, Jón Sigurðsson's political activities characterised as a 'hobby' (p. 265), Ísafjörður called a 'county' in Iceland (p. 265)). All of this should have been corrected at the editing stage. But Glad is one of the editors, and to paraphrase Juvenal, who edits the editors?

RODERICK McDONALD, *Emu Forge, Sheffield, UK*

Hurlock, Kathryn, and Laura J. **Whatley**, eds, *Crusading and Ideas of the Holy Land in Medieval Britain* (Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe, 34), Turnhout, Brepols, 2022; pp. vii, 265; 5 b/w, 20 colour illustrations, 1 b/w table; R.R.P. €95.00; ISBN 9782503593883.

Recent historiography has moved beyond the notion of the Crusades as a series of military and political engagements. The Crusades are now examined as complex intercultural exchanges that remapped the Christian world and fundamentally impacted medieval European conceptualisations of the self. Kathryn Hurlock and Laura Whatley's *Crusading and Ideas of the Holy Land in Medieval Britain* is an important contribution to this new historiographical approach. The collection of nine essays takes a multidisciplinary approach to the Crusades as a cultural marker, focusing on the idea of the Holy Land transplanted 'in both its physical and metaphysical incarnations' (p. 15) to medieval Britain. The collection positions crusading within the existing devotional relationship with the Holy Land but also highlights the complex impact of the *idea* of crusading on medieval British ideas of power, gender, devotion, and the built environment. The overarching theme of the work is the medieval 'imaginative engagement with Jerusalem' (p. 16), a conceptualisation that existed before, during, and after the Crusades themselves. The essays can be grouped into three general approaches: translation; memorialisation; and vicarious crusading.

Meg Boulton's essay opens the collection with an examination of the Church in pre-crusade Britain, showing how pilgrimage narratives, architectural interpretations of holy sites (such as the Wilfridian crypt at Ripon, duplicating the Holy Sepulchre), and carved stone crosses. This essay is followed by others with a similar theme of translation: Natalia Petrovskaia compares *imago mundi* encyclopedic representations of both Europe and the Holy Land in texts from several regional traditions (including Welsh, English, and Anglo-Norman). Petrovskaia demonstrates how Europe is portrayed as a geographic and political space, whereas the Holy Land remains 'the timeless and eternally important "biblical" Orient' (p. 43).

Marianne Ailes's essay introduces themes of translation with her analysis of the mythologisation of Richard I's in medieval manuscripts. Ailes compares French, Latin, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English accounts of the Third Crusade and challenges the existing assumption that medieval translations were unoriginal. In a side-by-side comparison of the Latin and the vernacular productions, Ailes demonstrates how translators actively framed the myth of the crusader king.

The book then returns to the idea of the Holy Land's topography transplanted to British shores. Elisa A. Foster and Laura Slater both examine the interplay between monuments, honour, leadership, and ideas of masculinity. Foster's exploration of Walsingham as a pilgrimage site situates the shrine as an important compensatory device for Henry III, unable to depart for the Holy Land. Similarly, Slater's essay examines monuments and masculinity: how four families of English crusaders recreated the sacred architecture of the Holy Land, linking the men (and their descendants) to the Crusades. These imitation 'Jerusalems' became 'sites of dynastic rather than biblical memory' (p. 117).

Rounding out the memorialisation is Hurlock's intriguing examination of portraiture commissioned by the Stradlings, a Catholic Welsh family. The family's portraits, Kathryn Hurlock argues, are representative of a trend in Welsh Catholic gentry to claim a (tenuous) link to the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. This link served a twofold purpose: creating an ancestral connection to the Holy Land while distancing the family from the English Crown, with which the Crusades were associated.

The final three essays relate to medieval manuscripts as a way of vicariously experiencing a pilgrimage or crusade. Laura Whatley explores how the illuminated manuscript, the Lambeth Apocalypse, represented a 'dynamic and martial crusade allegory' (p. 172) and allowed its female reader, Eleanor de Quincy, to 'image and participate in various aspects of crusading' (p. 178). This essay is a fascinating exploration of the crusade movement relocated to the home front.

The two final essays examine later reworkings of crusader narratives. Erin Donovan examines the fifteenth-century addition of illuminations to reshape William of Tyre's crusader chronicles into a more suitable, kingly narrative for Edward IV. Donovan's work is followed by Katherine Lewis's close reading of a manuscript written for Henry VIII. The manuscript, written some two hundred

years after the fall of Acre, pointed to an inspirational and highly edited heroic past for a sixteenth-century king facing challenges with both France and the Ottoman Empire. Her analysis reveals how the idea of crusading was ‘an indispensable aspect of kingship and chivalry’ (p. 227).

This book is an outstanding collection of work that approaches an old subject with new and refreshing perspectives, drawing the reader away from typical crusader geographies and back to the home front. The emphasis on the multifaceted experience of the Crusades means this work ties in with other exciting areas of medieval studies: the environment and emotions, cultural exchange, and the role of narrative. It is well edited, and each chapter contains a thorough bibliography and high-quality images to support the text. This collection will not only complement existing crusader scholarship but is also very accessible for those readers new to the field. It is a worthy addition to crusade scholarship.

INES JAHUDKA, *The University of Melbourne*

Kirchner, Helena, and Flocel **Sabaté**, eds, *Agricultural Landscapes of Al-Andalus, and the Aftermath of Feudal Conquest* (The Medieval Countryside, 22), Turnhout, Brepols, 2021; hardback; pp. 277; 22 b/w illustrations, 40 maps (36 b/w, 4 colour), 8 b/w tables, 1 b/w line art; R.R.P. €80.00; ISBN 9782503593975.

This volume brings together considerable research experience and expertise, pooling common interests in the archaeology of water control systems both to explore such systems and to investigate connections between documentary records and landscape archaeology. It offers interesting insights that will help scholars better understand both the agricultural and pastoral histories of Al-Andalus and the potential and limitations of hydraulic archaeology as an investigative mechanism.

The opening chapter by Eugènia Sitjes, on the Andalusí settlements of Manacor, is indicative of the sort of methodological richness that follows, with a multifaceted approach that integrates toponymic analysis and documentary evidence, all supplemented by the use of digital data management tools. Describing the settlements, the author points to their interconnectedness, and a ‘corridor’ effect’ (p. 50). This is part of the volume’s first section, which addresses peasant irrigation systems. The second contribution to this section is Antoni Ferrer and Helena Kirchner’s study of Ibizan watermills, which similarly blends documentary and archaeological analysis to undertake the difficult task of understanding the sequence of construction in long-used structures. The authors suggest there are four major construction phases but also conclude that ‘hydraulic elements are significantly resilient to change’ (p. 88). Nonetheless, they also note that there remains evidence of the impact of the feudal rent system on windmill-equipped hydraulic systems. Signs of transition resulting from the Christian conquest are squarely in the sights of Enric Guinot Rodríguez, whose chapter offers a case study of an unusual system where the marker between periods is not so much abrupt technological change but rather periodic signs of growth. This is important

for highlighting that despite its relatively obscure origins, the technological system seemed to evidence little disruption either from the thirteenth-century conquest or the 1609 expulsions, meaning that the site can work as a window into ‘the organization of agricultural spaces in the Andalusi period’ (p. 119).

Urban irrigation is the focus of the volume’s second section, wherein Ferran Esquilache investigates the origins of Valencia’s major irrigation system, the Horta. In this fascinating chapter, the author posits three phases of development, broadly equating to an original village cluster phase, an extension phase, and an infill phase, and argues strongly for a peasant-led sequence of construction, largely responding to population growth, rather than a state-directed model of construction. In a second chapter focusing on urban irrigation, Helena Kirchner, Antoni Virgili, and Arnald Puy investigate hydraulic systems to the north and south of Tortosa, highlighting again the complementarity of archaeological and documentary analyses as tools for investigating complex landscapes.

The book closes with a series of chapters focused on hydraulic elements in dry farming and pasturelands. Félix Retamero highlights that the difference between dry and wet farming is a matter of scale and intensity rather than absolutes, and offers pointers for future directions of research along now familiar lines concerning whether and by whom hydraulic systems are designed, built, and maintained. Retamero draws particular attention to the need to consider the economic priorities of the peasantry as well as wider contextual factors like population change. While noting the significance of population growth and retraction, the final chapter by Josep Torró similarly uses a case study to reveal the importance of appreciating the complementarity of stockbreeding and agricultural systems. Torró also argues that the construction of hydraulic systems for pastoral use ‘is comparable to the construction of irrigated systems’ (p. 229) in the sense of their being proof of a communal resource and undertaking. An interesting element of this system worth noting is also the role and significance within the whole system of the transportation of manure, which again serves to underline the interconnectedness of pastoral and agricultural endeavours. Similarly, this interconnectedness is revealed in Jesús Brufal’s chapter, which highlights the long-term significance of drove-ways and cisterns as ‘an example of hydraulic infrastructure exclusively aimed at, and devised for, livestock’ (p. 245). In interesting contrast to a number of the other chapters in this volume, here the author argues for the importance of state-directed work, arguing that this particular system evidences ‘an obvious hegemony of urban oligarchies over the land they organized and managed’ (p. 254). This line of thought is followed in the subsequent chapter by Antonio Malpica Cuello, Sonia Villar Mañas, and Guillermo García-Contreras Ruiz, which argues against the habitual distinguishing ‘between urban and rural economic structures’ (p. 257). Part of an ongoing project, these authors are interested in relations within the wider context of Mediterranean agroecosystems.

Framed by the potential of hydraulic archaeology, with every constituent chapter highlighting the usefulness of integrated methodologies and adding

substantively to regional histories and larger questions about economic structures, origins, and maintenance, this is that rare kind of edited volume where chapters flow from one to the next and will very likely fertilise adjacent fields.

NICHOLAS D. BRODIE, *Jane Franklin Hall, Hobart, Tasmania*

Norrie, Aidan, Carolyn **Harris**, J. L. **Laynesmith**, Danna R. **Messer**, and Elena **Woodacre**, eds, *Later Plantagenet and the Wars of the Roses Consorts: Power, Influence, and Dynasty* (Queenship and Power), London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2023; hardback; pp. xxi, 292; 2 b/w, 9 colour illustrations; R.R.P. €119.99; ISBN 9783030948856.

One of Palgrave Macmillan's latest publications in the series 'Queenship and Power' is a four-volume collection called *English Consorts: Power, Influence, and Dynasty* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), edited by Aidan Norrie, Carolyn Harris, J. L. Laynesmith, Danna R. Messer, and Elena Woodacre, all of whom possess impeccable credentials in queenship and royal studies. The collection features individual biographies of all English and British consorts since England fell to the Normans in 1066. This book, *Later Plantagenet and the Wars of the Roses Consorts: Power, Influence, and Dynasty*, is the second volume of the collection. It includes the following queen consorts (in chronological order): Isabella of France (wife to Edward II), Philippa of Hainault (wife to Edward III), Anne of Bohemia (wife to Richard II), Isabella of Valois (second wife of Richard II), Joan of Navarre (wife to Henry IV), Katherine of Valois (wife to Henry V), Margaret of Anjou (wife to Henry VI), Elizabeth Woodville (wife to Edward IV), and Anne Neville (wife to Richard II). All these queens' tenures were 'marked by conflict and warfare' (p. 2), an unsurprising circumstance given that these women lived as queens during the Hundred Years War and the Wars of the Roses, two major conflicts that occurred in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As the editors point out, there are two main problems with previous single biographies and biographical collections of English and British consorts from 1066 onwards. The first is that not all royal consorts have been treated with the same attention and interest by scholars or popular writers, and the second is that there is no one single corpus of work covering all the said consorts. One of the editors' stated aims is, therefore, to provide 'a single scholarly compendium wherein all the consorts since the Norman Conquest can be consulted' (p. xxi). If this volume and the generally excellent quality of its biographical chapters are any guide, both problems have been successfully countered, at least for this group of consorts. Standout chapters for me include Louise Tingle's treatment of Isabella of Valois, 'one of England's most obscure and forgotten consorts' (p. 87), and Katherine J. Lewis's work on Katherine of Valois, another consort who is arguably just as obscure as Isabella.

Two features further distinguish this volume and collection from many other collected works. First, each biography has been written with a primary focus in mind, and, second, each volume includes thematic chapters that serve to

complement the biographies by addressing relevant issues. The specific focus of each biography is intended to convey to the reader a sense of what was exceptional about the consort and is signalled in the title of the chapter. For instance, the subtitle of Anne of Bohemia's biography is 'Overcoming Infertility', a clear signal that Anne's childlessness will be the primary focus of the chapter. This approach is laudable, since it would be impossible to write about all aspects of these queens' lives and tenures within the space of a few thousand words. The specific focus provides a lens through which to view the life of the consort, and, in many of the cases here, the adopted focus is, in fact, the aspect that frequently defines a particular consort.

Nevertheless, there are challenges posed by using this method. The contributors have had to sketch narrative facts quite hastily, which may irk readers who want such detail. Moreover, the lens chosen by some of the contributors is not necessarily that which has typically defined that consort, and choosing a specific focus, no matter how necessary this is, increases the risk that the consort is presented in a one-dimensional manner. Carole Levin's biography of Margaret of Anjou is a case in point, but the threat of one-dimensionality extends to all the biographies. The contributor defines Margaret as the passionate mother, presenting this as the primary explanation for her motivations and actions in response to the political events of the period, which stemmed in no small part from Henry VI's failings as a king. I do not disagree with the contributor's focus or findings. However, for me, this queen's popular representation as 'vengeful and violent' (see Helen Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England*, The Boydell Press, 2003, p. 1) and one who transgressed contemporary expectations for a woman and a queen has not been adequately reconciled with the primary focus of the chapter.

Conversely, the inclusion of thematic chapters is vastly beneficial for this collection of biographies, especially since another of the editors' aims is 'to create a vital reference work for scholars, students, and the wider public' (p. xxi). There are three overview chapters and three additional chapters that address specific issues related to these consorts as a group, namely, the dowers of England's medieval queens (by Katia Wright), the impact of civil/political unrest on the nature of queenship (by Anne Crawford), and the implications of having foreign women as consorts (by Elena Woodacre). The thematic chapters add a very useful layer of scholarly knowledge to the analytical framework of this volume and likely the whole series. They enhance the overall collection of biographies by pulling together and examining strands of connections between the consorts, thus helping to present the volume as a much more coherent whole than might be expected from a collection of biographies. In terms of methodology, the variety of research methods is much welcomed. Archival research sits side by side with, for instance, literary approaches to primary source material, and other scholarly biographies are occasionally quite heavily drawn upon.

Overall, this volume and the *English Consorts: Power, Influence, and Dynasty* series are a most welcome addition to royal studies. Nonetheless, the referencing in some of the biographical chapters is not comprehensive enough for me to conclude that the whole of this volume will be equally valuable to its intended audience. And while students and the wider public will likely be the most contented readers, I anticipate that not all researchers and scholars will be as satisfied as they would like to be.

MICHELE SEAH, *The University of Newcastle*

O'Mara, Veronica, and Patricia **Stoop**, eds, *Circulating the Word of God in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Catholic Preaching and Preachers across Manuscript and Print (c. 1450 to c. 1550)* (Sermo, 17), Turnhout, Brepols, 2023; hardback; pp. 516; 14 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. €125.00; ISBN 9782503585154.

It cannot be denied that the scholarship of recent decades has effectively dispelled the myth of a late medieval Catholicism that was entirely stagnant and moribund, and instead fostered a renewed interest in its cultural richness and vitality. However, scholars have largely refrained from engaging in extensive examinations of early modern Catholic preaching due predominantly to the sheer scarcity of sources; the iconoclastic and censorial character of ascendant Protestant movements simply means that, throughout much of Europe, swathes of such material are tragically lost. This volume, the seventeenth in Brepols's long-running 'Sermo' series, serves as a valiant attempt to remedy this neglect, and the historical detective work displayed by many of its contributors is impressive precisely because the surviving documents in manuscript and print are in many cases so few.

Originating as a series of conference papers in 2017, the essays collected here are arranged conveniently by region—England, Scandinavia, Transylvania, Romance regions, Germanic lands, and the Low Countries—and along broadly chronological lines. It is important to note that the book's goal is not to provide a definitive study of the late medieval and early modern Catholic sermon in any one geographical context, nor to offer a comprehensive history of European preaching. Rather, it provides a series of illuminating case studies designed to be, in the words of its editors, 'merely a start to the process' (p. 28), and to draw attention to the sermon as an important point of intersection between medieval and modern, Catholic and Protestant, manuscript and print, and public and private.

The complex relationship between manuscript, print, and personal marginalia is a prominent theme in many of the essays presented here, and it is the often-sensitive consideration of this interplay that is the collection's greatest strength. Anne T. Thayer, for example, provides a brief but valuable survey of trends in the printing and purchasing of model sermon collections in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and then goes on to examine those printed collections owned by the preacher Thomas Swalwell (d. 1539) of Durham Priory. In the regrettable absence of any surviving sermons composed by Swalwell himself, Thayer

argues that his annotations to printed works such as the *Rosarium sermonum predicabilium* of Bernadino de Busti (c. 1450–1513) and biblical commentaries by Hugh of Saint-Cher (c. 1200–1263) attest to his reliance upon earlier authors in formulating his own sermons and demonstrate the prominent role of printed model sermons in reinforcing Catholic orthodoxy through preaching on the eve of the Reformation. In a similar vein, Jonathan Adams effectively illustrates the lingering presence of Catholicism’s ghost in Reformation Denmark through an analysis of marginalia in the printed edition of Christiern Pedersen’s *Alle Epistler oc Euangelia* (1515). He notes its enduring popularity during the Reformation while drawing attention to annotators’ censorship of Catholic content, convincingly demonstrating that printed Catholic texts could be appropriated and reframed for Protestant use. Additionally, Pedersen’s disavowal of his own work following his conversion to Lutheranism serves as an especially fascinating example of printed works providing an intimate glimpse into the theological evolution of their author. Meanwhile, Oriol Catalán offers important insight into the ways in which the transition from manuscript to print might obscure authorial intent. Catalán compares earlier handwritten editions of sermons composed by the popular Dominican preacher Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419) with later printed versions that at times omitted reference to controversial theological or social topics. In doing so, he distinguishes with newfound nuance between what he terms ‘the original message of the saint from the layers superimposed or eliminated in later centuries’ (p. 224).

These are the essays that are especially proficient in establishing the sermon as a fluid entity shaped and reshaped by format, ownership, and confessional motivations; but other contributions in the collection have much to recommend them as well. Special attention might be paid to Jussi Hanska’s admirable efforts to attest to the presence of a vibrant pre-Reformation sermon culture in medieval Finland. Not a single sermon survives, and yet he presents his case convincingly through painstaking consideration of references to preaching in other sources (such as chronicles, administrative acts, catalogues, and even architecture). Likewise, Adinel C. Dincă and Paula Cotoi present a pioneering, if necessarily descriptive, survey of Latin sermon collections from late medieval Transylvania that will surely serve as the bedrock for any future scholarly inquiry into that region’s historical sermon culture.

Veronica O’Mara and Patricia Stoop are to be commended for the surely difficult task of editing such a complex and eclectic array of essays. Those familiar with their previous edited volumes can rest assured that the contributions to the present collection are characteristically erudite and that their ‘Introduction’ provides a sound justification for the book’s lofty goals. Given its exceptionally broad scope, however, the volume may have benefited from a concluding reflection designed to highlight the overarching conclusions that can surely be drawn when considering these essays in relation to one another. As is often the case with collections conceived at conferences, some of the contributions here do

sit rather uncomfortably under the book's thematic banner. For example, Christer Pahlmblad's essay considering the explicitly Lutheran postils published by Olavus and Laurentius Petri is a fine piece of scholarship, but it is difficult to justify its inclusion in a volume that purports to 'make no apology for highlighting the word "Catholic" in [its] title' (p. 18) and is unabashed in its intent to 'follow the thread of Catholic preaching [...] without being distracted by what might be termed the interpellation of Lutheranism' (p. 24).

But these are relatively minor quibbles. It would be unfair to characterise this collection as anything other than an impressive and valuable contribution to the ever-continuing scholarly work of making our understanding of Europe's Catholic past just a little less dim.

MITCHELL THOMPSON, *The University of Adelaide*

Papp Reed, Zsuzsanna, *Matthew Paris on the Mongol Invasion in Europe* (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 38), Turnhout, Brepols, 2022; hardback; pp. 469; 1 colour, 11 b/w illustrations, 2 b/w tables; R.R.P. €125.00; ISBN 9782503595528.

Whether among medieval readers or in scholarship, citing one or other of the Mongol-related documents incorporated by St Albans monk and famed historian Matthew Paris (d. 1259) into his *Chronica majora* has become quite common to testify to both the irruption of the Mongols on the eastern European scene in the early 1240s and the impact that this event had on contemporary Christendom. However, Zsuzsanna Papp Reed argues, in this stimulating book, that there is much more to Matthew Paris's entries about the Mongols than what excerpts detached from their context (manuscript, textual, and intertextual) reveal.

Scrutinising the forty occurrences of the Mongols and their bellicose interaction with western Eurasia in the later sections of the *Chronica majora* spanning two decades in entries from 1237 to 1257, Papp Reed challenges the sometimes-alleged assumption that the thirteenth-century English monk was an unorganised author who merely juxtaposed the abundant materials that converged on St Albans in order to compose his monumental chronicle.

This is first demonstrated in the first chapter, 'Inside the Book'. Having pointed to emplotment and *mise-en-abîme* as the historian's favourite literary tools in a first chapter thus entitled, Papp Reed diligently inspects, in Chapters 3 to 5, the contents and relative location of the relevant passages. Some are just snippets, while others are of much greater extent, as they contain documents fully quoted, many of them embedding multiple layers of recounting. Evidencing the interrelated character of the Mongol-focused occurrences, far from comprising scattered and disconnected mentions, Papp Reed thus allows a carefully crafted 'Mongol story' to emerge. Moreover, rather than a stand-alone narrative, she shows that this story constitutes a subplot of the author's overarching interpretive historical framework, namely, that of the conflict between papal and imperial powers, which in his view dominated mid-thirteenth-century western European

politics, with glimpses of the antipapal stance that we know Matthew adopted in many parts of the chronicle to which he personally contributed. In other words, the Mongol story, with its many details accounting for the reaction of contemporary actors to the Mongol threat, provides another lens through which to observe the papal–imperial conflict.

Such a reading leads Papp Reed to reconsider in Chapter 6 the purpose of the *Additamenta* to the chronicle that Matthew Paris produced in the last decade of his life. These include a bundle of six undated and contiguously copied letters related to the Mongol attacks on Hungary already chronicled, mostly emanating from the afflicted region. More detailed about the reality of the Mongol invasion than the documents incorporated in the *Chronica majora*, because of the more local intelligence provided, these letters escaped the Mongol story and its papal–imperial subplot. Therefore, they were relegated, Papp Reed argues, to the status of appendices. Rather than supplements messily gathered by a compiler overwhelmed by the task at hand, the Mongol letter bundle evidences how the *Additamenta* must be conceived as an appendix in the modern sense, ‘a separate volume with no plot’ (p. 311), and Matthew Paris as a skilled historiographer.

Integral to her demonstration of the English historian’s talents is Papp Reed’s minute investigation of Matthew’s Mongol story from ‘Outside the Book’. This phrase, used as the title for Chapter 2, points to the laborious task of reconstruction of both Matthew Paris’s sources and the information chains that pushed Mongol-related news and documents in the direction of St Albans. Although scholarship has long identified several of the chronicler’s direct English informants, Papp Reed argues that the *Chronica majora* reveals a deeper textual mobility and interconnectedness, identifying individuals and institutions beyond England that formed hubs responsible for gathering and disseminating information.

For each of the forty occurrences of the Mongols in the chronicle, as well as the *Additamenta* bundle, Papp Reed suggests numerous textual connections and possible itineraries for knowledge transfer. To give an example of the dense informational networks she uncovers, the reference to *Hungaria major* in the 1238 entry about the ravage of the Mongols in the ‘northern’ countries leads her to propose that Matthew had access to the so-called Riccardus and Julian reports, accounting for Dominican efforts to locate Greater Hungary in the late 1230s and relaying rumours of an impending Mongol invasion. Above all, Papp Reed proposes connecting these sources and many other elements of the Mongol story to the intelligence gathered at the 1245 Council of Lyon, the agenda of which aimed at dealing with the various enemies threatening Christendom, the Mongols included. There is, for example, much evidence associating the council with various individuals linked to what is probably the most famous Mongol-related document transmitted in the *Chronica majora*, namely, the letter of ‘confession’ incorporated into the 1243 entry, in which Ivo of Narbonne narrated how he came to learn about the Mongols, and their purported cannibalism visualised in an equally famous miniature illustrating Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 16II

(fol. 167r), and the terror they brought to Austria in 1242. With many Mongol-related documents reaching St Albans only after the council, Matthew's Mongol story chronicled from 1237 onwards is thus shown to be in substance the result of hindsight rather than of an automatic yearly task of juxtaposing news as it arrived at his monastery.

Matthew Paris on the Mongol Invasion in Europe is a dense read, to say the least, and the few paragraphs above do not do full justice to its richness. Some readers might find the compactness of Papp Reed's prose challenging, for example, her constant cross-references, often-digressive footnotes, and appendices, the sense of which is not always immediate to make. However, readers will be impressed by her command of multilingual scholarship and the refreshing contacts she establishes between English and eastern European, including Hungarian, Czech, and Polish, scholarly traditions. This is a book that will count in the 'Afterlife of Matthew's Mongol Story' (another study that Papp Reed conducts in an excellent last chapter) and will also ensure that Matthew Paris's historiographical writings continue, to borrow Papp Reed's own words, to 'hit my desk and yours' (p. 23).

HÉLÈNE SIRANTOINE, *The University of Sydney*

Petrosillo, Sara, *Hawking Women: Falconry, Gender, and Control in Medieval Literary Culture* (Interventions: New Studies in Medieval Culture), Columbus, The Ohio State University Press, 2023; hardback; pp. xxii, 216; 11 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. US\$99.00, ISBN 9780814215487.

Sara Petrosillo's monograph is an interesting and welcome contribution to both the study of the art of falconry and ideas concerning gender and control arising from medieval literary culture as expressed in writings and visual imagery of falconry. However, it is not just these imperatives that Petrosillo has in mind when crafting her argument. What she really aims to bring to light is how the physical training of these most noble of female birds (and falcons are indeed the female of the species, with the smaller male birds known as tercel/tiercel) and its expression in medieval falconry manuals demonstrate how poetic language functions and how these works represent women within the double meaning of liberation and constraint.

It is all too easy to take for granted the blanket assumption that medieval poetics of control emerged from the culture of the training of hawks, and indeed women, into submission, as a surface reading of conduct books and poetics designed for women would appear to suggest. Throughout her careful study, Petrosillo sheds light upon the reality that medieval women were falconers with their own falcons and that they were often represented as female hawks in lyrical poetry, thereby occupying both positions. Added to this, medieval women were the dedicatees of hawking and conduct manuals alike and chose deliberately to represent themselves using hawking iconography in their seals and in their choices and commissioning of decorative art and manuscripts.

None of this was exceptional in the greater scheme of things and in the context of the times. Historians have long demonstrated via archival sources, such as household accounts and epistolary in particular, how royal and high-ranking medieval and early modern women participated in the sport of hunting to an elite level with, and in competition with, their male peers. Moreover, they hawked (trained and practised), bred hunting dogs, and exchanged puppies, dogs, and bitches with male and female members of their political, diplomatic, familial, marital, and friendship networks, overseeing the breeding and care of valuable bloodstock to the extent of employing their own equeries to take charge of their personal stables. Testifying to this, sources such as Violant de Bar (d. 1431), queen consort of Aragon's, epistolary point to animal and literary exchanges with the 'poster-boy' of late-medieval hunting practice, Gaston III Fébus, Count of Foix. Violant's great-great-granddaughter, Anne of France (d. 1522) was also a skilled practitioner of hunting in all its forms, alluded to in poems addressed to her such as Jacques de Brézé's works *La Chasse*, *Les Dits de bon chien Souillard*, and *Les Lounages de Madame Anne de France*. There are many other examples that might be brought into the present discussion, not least in our own times, with the late Queen Elizabeth II a renowned and expert practitioner in the breeding of both dogs and horses, but I digress.

All of this is to say that, while Petrosillo treads the admittedly fraught path of calling out misogyny and the hegemony of premodern patriarchy with some skill, greater attention to context and archival evidence (not just literary sources) might have given the reader a more nuanced understanding of the actual motivations for the apparent misogyny underpinning the texts upon which she has chosen to focus, as well as the gender composition of the patriarchy—the 'go-to' source of constraint and female suppression *semper ubique, et ab omnibus* (at all times, in all places, by everyone). High-ranking premodern women were not passive horizontal conduits or enablers of supposed and/or actual male hegemony. More often than not, patriarchy was about dynastic success and durability, in which such women played a key role and frequently led the charge, assured the financing, and planned tactics and strategies to achieve shared dynastic and political priorities.

That to one side, there is a good deal of scholarly goodness to be found in Petrosillo's careful and fascinating literary study. She begins with a detailed introduction, which at times appears to argue against itself in an attempt to cover all bases and avoid criticism. Yet, despite this tendency, the author gives a clear indication as to how the study will unfold. The subsequent five chapters and the 'Conclusion' deal with the themes under discussion: 'Control'; 'Release'; 'Enclosure'; 'Seeling'; 'Mewing'; and concluding with 'Healing'. Each of these themes, drawn from the stages of training a falcon, are linked to a particular and relevant text from Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II's *De arte venandi cum avibus* to Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*. Petrosillo's methodology is clear and coherent and the journey she takes the reader upon is both fascinating and instructive. The inclusion of eleven relevant black and white images—fresco; folios; seals; and artefacts

such as a French ivory mirror—will assist the reader in visualising the works and ideas examined by the author. Petrosillo includes a handy guide to terminology as an appendix (‘The Birds’; ‘Raptor Life Cycle’; ‘Falconry Accoutrements’; and ‘Falconry Actions’), a useful bibliography for further exploration, and an index to round out the volume.

The present reviewer concurs with Petrosillo’s observation that the established analogy between the training of hawks (the hawks themselves) and women as expressed in medieval romances and treatises has been too readily and too often read as an easy allegory. Rather than this, a more nuanced reading of the complementary (and sometimes competing) power relationships between falconer and bird offers additional scope for understanding female agency than has been acknowledged in some quarters. In recent decades, practitioners of gender and women’s history have found innovative ways to step back from texts to take in the larger premodern historical tableau to explore the unexceptionality of female agency, power, and influence. As such, Petrosillo’s contribution is a worthy and welcome one, inviting further paths to explore and understand the actuality of premodern female undertaking and agency.

ZITA EVA ROHR, *Macquarie University*

Su, Minjie, (*Borders, Boundaries, Landscapes*, 3), Turnhout, Brepols, 2022; hardback; pp. 227; 13 b/w illustrations; R.R.P. €80,00; ISBN 9782503596006.

Minjie Su’s presents a compelling argument about the nature and role of werewolves in Norse-Icelandic literature and sagas. Su collects and examines the surviving Norse-Icelandic werewolf narratives and approaches them through a number of interesting and varied lenses, leading to a unique and comprehensive analysis.

Su does this throughout the structure of the text, which is divided into analyses of the various motifs that make up the medieval werewolf. These move from the external: ‘The Werewolf’s Skin’, ‘The Werewolf’s Clothing and the She-Wolf’; to the internal: ‘The Werewolf’s Landscape and Mindscape’, ‘The Werewolf’s Purpose’; and, rather adroitly, through the internalising of the external: ‘The Werewolf’s Food and Food Taboo’. This feels like a natural progression and allows the reader to move from what seems so obviously ‘other’ about the werewolf—the physical metamorphosis of man-to-beast—to the more complex internal ‘other’—the mentality of the man-as-wolf.

A particularly intriguing component of Su’s analysis is the juxtaposition of the werewolf and leprosy, using Susan Small and Didier Anzieu’s conceptualisation of the ‘skin-ego’, which Su develops to build a comprehensive examination of the importance of skin and its reflection of internal realities in medieval Norse-Icelandic literature. Su approaches this through the analysis of skin as an identifier through a reading of (. 1330), through which she ably demonstrates the importance of skin in both social acceptance and rejection, showing how ‘the skin channels

information from the inside and gives clues to the outside observers' in these narratives, which 'not only alters the individual's perception of self but also others' perception of that individual' (pp. 38–39).

Also important is Su's adoption of the concept of liminality as a potential explanation for the role of the werewolf in these works, adapting the sociological theories of Arnold van Gennep, Victory Turner, and Claude Lévi-Strauss, tracing the role of emotions in the stories, and what these can reveal about the society and cultures from which these stories sprang. Su also employs Guy Debord's theories of psychogeography, and Paul S. Langeslag's research relating to the role that seasons play in the creation of psychogeography. Su's use of semiotic squares to introduce and summarise the mindscapes of Norse-Icelandic werewolf narratives allows for a ready understanding of the uses of psychogeography in analysing these tales and presents Su's findings in an easily comprehensible format. Also of note is Su's approach to the role of the 'wicked woman' as a metaphorical wolf, as a monster in beautiful skin, presented as a counterpoint to her (former) husband's external monstrosity but internal humanity.

My primary criticism of Su's work lies in one of the arguments she makes in her third chapter, 'The Werewolf's Food and Food Taboo', where she states that werewolves 'come very close to tasting human blood and flesh [...] [which] leads to the problem of cannibalism, an othering act that would implicate the werewolves in complete monstrosity and [emphasis mine]' (p. 92). This may seem, at first glance, to be a reasonable position in relation to food taboos, and Su points to the words of P. Kenneth Himmelman, who argued that 'cannibalism which cannot be seen can be deemed morally acceptable', in order to justify the notion that a man who is a wolf must, by living as the wolf, at some point taste human blood or flesh (p. 92). But in another tale, albeit one that is not Norse-Icelandic in origin, that of Raimbaud de Pouget from Gervase of Tilbury's (*Gervase of Tilbury*, ed. and trans. by S. E. Banks and James W. Binns, Oxford University Press, 2002, III. 120, 'Human Beings who Turn into Wolves'), this is shown to not be the case. In this narrative, de Pouget 'devoured the young, and even mangled the old with savage bites'—Raimbaud de Pouget engaged in cannibalism (III. 120, pp. 812–15). Upon returning to his human form, Raimbaud de Pouget confesses to his sins and receives forgiveness for them. He does not, as Su argues 'irreversibly forfeit [...] [his] human status' (p. 92). I only mention the story of Raimbaud de Pouget as Su herself cites the as an example of werewolf tales from the time period, alongside Marie de France's 'Bisclavret', Gerald of Wales's werewolves of Ossory, the anonymous 'Melion', and others.

The structure of the work itself and the various lenses that Su adopts to analyse the werewolf narratives presented would alone make this work advance the study of werewolves generally and those of Norse-Icelandic literature more specifically. Su has created an interesting new way to examine not only werewolf tales but other tales from medieval sources that we might deem fantastical. As she points out, while these stories 'may wear a skin of the fantastic [...] they have the

potential for revealing the normative and the real' (p. 204), and this is what Su's work offers to the reader.

On the final pages of the work, Su asks a highly pertinent question that stayed with this reviewer for some time. Pointing to modern interpretations of the werewolf, Su points out that the werewolf is 'no longer a human under a wolfskin but a wolf growing out of a man' (p. 204), before asking the reader what this transformation says about our society more broadly. This change, from man-in-wolf's clothing to wolf-in-man, perhaps reveals something about what we see in the world around us and invites us to consider the differences between how medieval Norse and Icelandic people saw their world and how we see ours.

CHRIS WHITE, *The University of Queensland*