

of the final two papers. Shlenov examines the afterlife of the seeming paradox of the emperor's abasement with its late antique antecedents, and Milliner the *longue durée* of the iconography of the suffering virgin well past Byzantium's demise. The first and last contribution belong to Peter Brown. His original closing address now opens the volume, highlighting the impact of Romanian scholars on his work. The volume closes with a 2006 interview Petre Guran conducted with Brown at Princeton. Faith and community around the Mediterranean, as this volume attests, are themes of international relevance that concern us all and demand the *pointilliste* attention so well exemplified by Peter Brown and all those gathered here to honor him.

Susanna Elm

University of California, Berkeley

doi:10.1017/S0009640724000258

***Trafficking with Demons: Magic, Ritual, and Gender from Late Antiquity to 1000.* By Martha Rampton. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2021. x + 465 pp. \$65.00 cloth.**

*Trafficking with Demons* is a dense and textured analysis of roughly a thousand years of material pertaining to the topics of magic, demons, and gender as Christian communities adopt and modify previous pagan understandings of the three subject areas. Rampton's goal in the book is to illuminate the "social and intellectual evolution" (14) that occurred in this adoption and modification over the first millennium, with particular attention paid to the elite Carolingian rejection of the efficacy of women's magical practices. Given this rather large goal and the time period which the book covers, it is hard to offer comparable monographs that attempt to do the same sort of work, though Richard Kieckhefer's *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Valerie I. J. Flint's *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), and Brian P. Copenhaver's *Magic in Western Culture: From Antiquity to the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) spring to mind as volumes that cover comparable time frames with equally far-reaching conclusions.

The book is separated into four parts which consist of fourteen chapters. In "Part 1: Studying Magic," Rampton begins by defining the terms used in the book (for example, witch, ritual, magic) and the source material for magic (broken into four categories: pastoral, polemic, and didactic; legal records; narrative sources; and medical materials). In chapter two, "Demons of the Lower Air," the book addresses perceptions of demons, those things which they can and cannot do, and how they interacted with human beings.

"Part 2: Breaking In: Christianity in Classical Rome" features several chapters that deal with Christians facing the intellectual legacy of their Roman pagan forebears. Chapter three covers the way in which certain rituals (for example, feasts) and practices (for example, juggling) were either deemed fit for Christians or the provenance of the demonic. The next chapter, "A Thousand Vacuous Observances," explores how traditional categories of magic (for example, divination, *sortes*, ligatures) came to be

associated with the demonic. Chapter five offers various ways in which the needle is threaded between illicit practices of necromancy and the licit miracles of the Bible. Finally, the last chapter in the section deals with the literary figures of the *striae* and *lamiae*, articulating the various layers of reality to which these beings belonged and how their characteristics gendered practices of magic and impacted women.


The third part, "Traffic with Demons: Post-Roman Europe," returns to many of the same categories and condemnations as they developed in the Merovingian period. At issue is the further codification of Christian practice which brings increasingly more observances under the rubric of magic. "Sub Dio," chapter seven, particularly returns to the sacred spaces of chapter three to address the trend of destroying outdoor shrines and replacing them with churches, while chapter eight revisits many of the categories from chapter four, arguing for both consistency in their condemnation by church officials and consistency of practice among the laity. "The Awesome Power of the Woman's Craft" returns once again to the topic of women's (perceived) magical practice and its construction as terrifying and villainous but also efficacious.

"Part 4: Skepticism: The Carolingian Era" represents the meatiest part of Rampton's argument. In chapter ten, Carolingian elites are shown to be "dubious about the efficacy of magical rituals" (292), a dubiousness reflected in a greater concern for the intention of those thought to be dealing with demons rather than any harm that might come from such empty practices. Chapter 11 tracks how this same Carolingian critique of efficacy was also applied to those engaging in divinatory practices (including superstition and unsanctioned veneration of angels and saints). "Women's Magic Challenged" addresses gendered magical practices (for example, love magic, birth magic) and gendered magical beings (for example, *lamiae*, *striae*) in the wake of Carolingian rejection, arguing that Carolingian elites had largely rejected the reality of the magical beings and had relegated the practices almost exclusively to penitentials. Chapter 13 addresses the cases of Judith, Theutberga, and Waldrada, arguing that the three were charged with sorcery which was perceived as actual but ineffectual, "the worst of both worlds" (358). Finally, the last chapter looks at the presence of magic in the *materia medica* (for example, *Lacnunga*, *Bald's Leechbook*, *Herbariancorpus*) and argues that feminine imagery is used widely throughout the corpus, both positively and negatively.

Peculiarly, what some might consider a weakness of the book is the feature that guarantees its longevity and usefulness. Rampton is encyclopedic in her treatment of the subject matter, carefully categorizing practices and perceptions of magic through extensive source use. At times, this can even take the form of brief conversational asides as she weighs the value of different scholars' perspectives for the material at hand, offering useful generalizations and qualifying what can and cannot be known within them. As a result, there are sometimes whole chapters in which it is difficult to discern her argument, only functioning as background to issues which will eventually be raised. By the conclusion – which nicely ties all the elements back together – the reader may be under the impression that they have read three books: one on magic, one on demons, and one on gender, all as seen across a *longue durée*.

Yet, this is precisely why the book belongs on every early medievalist's shelf. The chapters are eminently readable and exceptionally well-sourced. For those looking for a refresher on the major issues in a field or those coming to the material for the first time, they are invaluable reads. They could easily be given to graduate students as an introduction to the field or even to advanced undergraduates. My own copy is – after the first read – thoroughly dog-eared with reminders to myself regarding sources, and I am already restructuring some syllabi around the intention of using individual

chapters as student resources. Rampton's *Trafficking with Demons* may not be your typical work, but it does far more work than is typical as well.

Michael E. Heyes   
Lycoming College

doi:10.1017/S0009640724000271

***The Book of Kells: The Masterwork Revealed: Creators, Collaboration, and Campaigns.* By Donncha MacGabhann. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2022. 323 pp. \$150.00 cloth; \$75.00 paper; \$15 PDF; and free online from the publisher.**

This is *not* a coffee-table book filled with dazzling color plates of what is arguably one of the most beautiful medieval manuscripts ever created. There's not even one full-page color plate of the actual Book of Kells here. Instead there are hundreds of details of the script and the script-embedded decoration reproduced in color. Donncha MacGabhann's book should be read with the digitized version of the manuscript in easy reach as the author readily acknowledges (<https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/hm50tr726?locale=en>) (21). The book's small-scale illustrations reflect the author's painstaking approach and support his bold thesis that only two masters were responsible for the entire Book of Kells, as opposed to the team of scribes and artists assumed by most scholars (26). MacGabhann dubs these individuals the Master-Artist and the Scribe-Artist. His Master-Artist largely overlaps with Françoise Henry's proposed "Goldsmith," that is, the highly esteemed individual responsible for most of the manuscript's full-page color illustrations (57) (F. Henry, *The Book of Kells*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1974, p. 212).

MacGabhann's focus is the Scribe-Artist whom he believes created all of the text, the initials, most of the small-scale decoration of the text pages, and almost all of the display lettering, but who also played a role in many of the full-page illustrations as well, either under the mentorship of the Master-Artist, or later in the second campaign as he attempted to complete the manuscript. This Scribe-Artist is further characterized as a scribal-exegete whose sophisticated knowledge of the Gospels and incredibly fertile imagination imbue Kells' letters and their ornament with endless variation. The author proposes that work on the manuscript extended over two campaigns separated by a significant hiatus. The first campaign comprised a rich period of collaboration with the Master-Artist serving as mentor to the talented Scribe-Artist. The second campaign was initiated after the presumed death of the Master-Artist and is divided by MacGabhann into an early and late phase. During the second campaign, the Scribe-Artist desperately attempted to complete the manuscript single-handedly in the face of his own mental and physical decline. This two-campaign proposal complements the long-held belief that the manuscript was begun on Iona and completed at Kells, but the author notes that it is not corroborated by any specific evidence from his study (245).

MacGabhann did not begin his career as a manuscript scholar, but rather as a practicing artist and a second-level art teacher (15–16). In 2007, he proposed to one of his