same saints who take pride of place at Saint-Aignan. Readers familiar with the Heiligen Geist Spital at Lübeck will certainly be struck by the similarity between much of the iconography in the hospital chapel and the later medieval images depicted in this book. Indeed, the list of possible comparisons is a long one, extending from Canterbury to Florence, and it is a shame that a few have not been included here. Exactly how the Saint-Aignan images were explained to an audience of largely unlettered pilgrims must remain a matter of speculation, although the preaching of sermons *ad status* in hospitals offers some interesting clues that might have been pursued.

Kupfer's grasp of medical history is not as secure as her understanding of the religious and cultural milieu of the men and women about whom she writes. A study such as this, which begins with the proposition that sight exercised a profound effect upon both mind and body, would have benefited from a sustained and detailed explanation of medieval assumptions about the connection between eye, brain and spirits, which (from a religious standpoint) reached its apogee during the celebration of the Mass. A more serious criticism attaches to Kupfer's discussion of medieval leprosy, a topic that tends to bring out the very worst in cultural historians, and on which this book offers some predictably purple passages. Her belief that the late medieval leper was 'a malignant, noxious entity to be spewed forth from the collective body' (p. 135) reflects a simplistic, and now largely discredited, nineteenth-century mythology of the disease, which, like Frankenstein's monster, has endured a life far beyond the grave. We, are for instance, informed that, by the late thirteenth century, 'the medicalized stereotype of the irascible leper, derelict, foul and lascivious, drowned out the competing paradigm [*sic*] of the poor Lazarus' (p. 142). Not only (as Luke Demaitre has shown) were medical authorities extremely non-judgemental about the many presumed causes of leprosy, but also inclined to approach its victims with sympathy rather than overt condemnation. The surgeon, Guy de Chauliac (d. 1363), was hardly unusual in reassuring his patients that 'God loved Lazarus the leprous man more than any others', a view endorsed in countless late medieval homilies and morality tales.

Whatever shortcomings Kupfer's study may have in this area are, however, offset by her sensitivity to the intimate relationship between religion and healing, and her capacity to tease a multiplicity of meanings from these neglected images. Saint-Aignan is clearly destined to become an important stopping place for a new generation of pilgrims.†

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Pour en finir avec la Croisade: Mythes et réalités de la lutte contre les Turcs aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles. By GÉRAUD POUMARÈDE (Paris: P.U. de France, 2004; pp. 686. Eur 38).

FOR many years historians of the crusades have been aware that crusading ideas and attitudes persisted into the early modern period and exerted an influence on the conflict that was conducted by some of the European powers, notably the papacy, Venice and the Habsburgs, against the Ottoman Turks. We have

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owed this awareness in large measure to the monumental studies of Kenneth M. Setton, not just the two volumes of his *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)* (1984) that covered the sixteenth century, but also his *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century* (1991). But, valuable as Setton's contribution to the topic was, it was vitiated by his refusal to analyse the huge amount of new material that he published from the archives, mainly those in Rome and Venice. Readers of his work could not fail to be struck by the continuities from the middle ages, but they received no clear impression of the depth and breadth of their impact. It was clear that the crusade in the sixteenth century was a fascinating subject which warranted serious treatment. Géraud Poumarède's fine study answers a good many, though not all, of the questions that arose.

Poumarède has certainly earned the right to write authoritatively on the Turkish wars: his many archival references derive from Dijon, Marseilles, Modena, Nantes, Paris, Parma, Poitiers, Rome and Venice. In addition he has read a formidable amount of primary and secondary published literature. The massive volume of documentation that this has yielded is set out in three sections, very much in the *Annales-ESC* mode. Thus we are given three chapters on ideas and words, two on the management of war and trade at state level, and finally three on manpower (*les hommes*). Although not ideal, this structure works well, and Poumarède states his argument in a highly accessible manner. He has a particular talent for summarising his conclusions with great clarity at the close of each chapter.

The three opening chapters demonstrate how powerfully the ideas and rhetoric of crusading impregnated the political, religious and cultural worlds of Early Modern Europe. Chapter one reviews the image of the Turk as the common enemy of all Christians, while chapter two surveys the corpus of prophecies that looked to the downfall of the sultanate and linked it to those powers that were either engaged in conflict with the Turks or had a resonant crusading past. In chapter three Poumarède analyses the various projects hatched in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to conquer the sultanate. Throughout these pages there are numerous similarities with the views and ideas of those fifteenth-century theorists and propagandists who had laboured, with mixed results, to reconfigure crusading as a means for dealing with the advancing Turks.

A benefit of spending so long establishing the extent of this discourse of hostility based on religious and cultural difference is that the rejection of a crusading framework for military and commercial affairs then becomes all the more emphatic and significant. Poumarède's middle chapters show the popes constantly striving to make political and military reality fit the rhetoric that largely constituted their own language. In this they failed in nearly all respects. Relations between Christian powers were not significantly affected by the need to unite against the common foe in the east. Papal attempts to intervene in conflicts between Catholic rulers with a view to defeating the Turks were largely unsuccessful. The anti-Turkish leagues of the sixteenth century were for the most part ineffective, while the coalitions of Christian powers that succeeded them in the seventeenth century were entirely pragmatic in character. Attempts to veto trade with the infidels in war materials did not work, nor did the project of barring imports of alum from the Ottoman lands, not least because it clearly served the papacy's own interests, given its exploitation of the alum mines at

Tolfa. The determination that the papacy showed in attempting to make international affairs fit patterns that were based on religious difference was remarkable, but it was trying to hold back the tide.

The third section, on the human response to this scenario, is the most telling. Throughout this book the author's sense of balance is commendable, and in chapter six he presents an empathetic and eloquent account of those many groups of nobles who went as volunteers to fight the Turks because such an activity was still considered virtuous and chivalric. But striking as such groups were, the overwhelming majority of those who fought against the Turks were professional fighting men. For them the Turkish war was no different from any other combat for which they enlisted. As for the 'professional crusaders', the Knights of St John and Knights of Santo Stefano, their relentless pursuit of the *corso* against the Turks met with growing resistance from those European powers, led by France and Venice, which saw it solely as a menace to free commerce. By the close of the seventeenth century warfare against the Turks had long since become 'everyday' (*banalisé*), though the cultural differences between the sultanate and the European powers meant that it could not be treated as just another power in international affairs.

This is an admirable book, and Poumarède's treatment of his subject is consistently both shrewd and careful. Questions remain: for example, given that much crusading had been in the hands of enthusiasts since the fourteenth century, while crusading armies had included mercenaries since the thirteenth, how had things changed? Similarly, complaints had been lodged against the Knights of St John since the fourteenth century to the effect that their naval war against the infidels damaged peaceful trading relations by other Christian powers. Like all fundamental shifts of sensibility and mood, the process by which Europe lost its attachment to crusading is extremely hard to pinpoint with any certainty. Discussion of the influence that crusading ideas had on the early modern world will not be settled by this book, but it will certainly take place in a much more informed context. And in an age when important new works are usually published at astronomical prices, it is pleasing that this one comes within anybody's budget.†

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