Les Vandals et l'Empire romain by Yves Modéran (review)

Erika T. Hermanowicz

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of the task of New Testament exegesis, while his response to Kingsbury on the Christology of Matthew (Chapter Three) is very well done but not groundbreaking. It is fair to say that, viewed from above, the essays in Part II ("Gospel") highlight Kelhoffer's considerable expertise in the textual scholarship of late antiquity, while the essays in Part III ("Legitimacy") find him unmasking the interests and ideologies of the Christian writers from Paul to Sozomen. One gets the impression that Part IV was perhaps a bit of an afterthought (in the Mohr Siebeck catalog, but not in the published book, it bears the title "Varia"), but if so, it is a welcome one. (The comparison of the Pauline and deutero-Pauline letters on anger management is really excellent.) The prevailing tenor of the book is thoroughly philological and historical, but there is also a not unwelcome hint of contemporary moral and theological concern. This comes out most clearly in the programmatic comments in Chapter One, but also briefly in the Acknowledgements, in which Kelhoffer fondly recalls his tenure as a Lutheran exegete among the Jesuits at Saint Louis University. In this and other respects, Kelhoffer's work is reminiscent of the work of David Aune, to whom Chapter Sixteen of this book is in fact an *hommage*. This analogy does, I think, give a fair impression of the kind of book this is, but it also indicates the distinguished company in which Kelhoffer's work places him.

Matthew V. Novenson, University of Edinburgh

Yves Modéran
Les Vandals et l'Empire romain
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It is difficult not to feel wistful about this book, which was left unfinished at the time of Modéran's death. The emotion owes its genesis to this reviewer's scholarly interests, which she shares with *JECS* readers, rather than shortcomings within the text as we have it. Modéran's style always gave punch to his arguments, and here too his conclusions cap reviews of previous scholarship, with the latter all laid out clearly as proceeding from one thesis to the next. Clarity still defines Modéran's work, but only six chapters and a fraction of the seventh are extant. There were to be twelve chapters in all, with the tenth dedicated to ecclesiastical matters, including a section on the "war" between the "two" churches, Catholic and Arian. What remained of the Donatist church was, I assume, not slated to receive equal attention. I would have liked to read that tenth chapter, for the extant ones leading up to it put historical and economic questions into play which implicate African churches in very interesting ways.

As to the Vandal presence *in Africa* (I skirt the first three chapters tracing Vandal origins, their desultory movements in the first centuries C.E., and then the hurried press into Roman territories at the beginning of the fifth century), the stage for their arrival is set by the revolt of Heraclian in 413, whose disastrous loss of both men and ships in his attempt on Italy weakened African defenses.

Close allies of the Catholic church were swept away in the purges after Heraclian's murder, including Marcellinus and Apringius, whose undoing Jerome blamed on the Donatists. Marcellinus's 411 ruling had to be confirmed by the emperor Honorius when the Donatists asked for its repeal. Religious interests had a part to play in this drama, and yet no Catholic bishop was harmed. Nor, apparently, were Donatist clergy affected by subsequent backlash: confiscations of Donatist property called for by the 411 ruling actually *slowed* in the aftermath of Heraclian's rebellion. Were African bishops too important as religious figures, or not important enough as political and economic players, to merit hard scrutiny?

Subsequent chapters invite similar questions about the clergy, and readers of Modéran's work published in *Antiquité Tardive* will already be familiar with some of his arguments. Chapter Five investigates Vandal control and distribution of land, concentrating on Vandal expansion of authority westward from the early 440s until the 480s, all the way to the borders of Mauretania Tingitana. Modéran argues that the *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Africae* proves Catholic bishops west of Proconsularis and Byzacena converted to Arian belief in substantial numbers. He attributes these defections to an internal fragility within African ecclesiastical structures present even before the invasion and exacerbated by subsequent political upheaval and geographical distance from Carthage. Increasing control over western territories, however, would have allowed the Vandals to squeeze bishops more with threats of property confiscation, as Roman emperors had likewise bullied African landowners with Donatist sympathies in the early fifth century. Internal tensions and theological loyalties aside, conversion by Catholic bishops may also have been prompted by economic interests.

Chapter Six argues for massive property confiscations in Proconsularis, and this evidence prompts another, and perhaps different, look at ecclesiastical wealth at the time of the Vandal invasion. Landowners of high status in Proconsularis (*senatores*, *honorati*, and *nobiles*) were relieved of their possessions in successive steps, possessions that were turned over to Vandal supporters of the king (the *sortes Wandalorum*). Property belonging to Catholic clergy, however, was confiscated and given to their Arian counterparts, so that, in the words of Modéran, "Proconsularis was a veritable forbidden zone" (176). Modéran distinguishes municipal and Roman senators from clerics, and he does so because the Vandal kings, Victor of Vita, and the emperors Valentinian III and Justinian seem to have done the same. Vandal kings may have considered clerical wealth as a different animal, and later attempts by emperors to remunerate wealthy landowners and bishops acted in a similar fashion. But why? Was clerical office, with all that implies, including Arian bishops awaiting receipt of their own rewards, of paramount importance and thus the explanation for the distinction? Or, does separation further affirm the notion that African clerics (or their churches) did not enjoy wealth and standing akin even to municipal councilors? If wealth, or lack of it, was fundamental to reasons why clerics and churches were considered apart, recent conclusions regarding economic power of the African churches merit reconsideration.

Modéran's book is elegant and compelling. One cannot help but wish for more.

Erika T. Hermanowicz, University of Georgia