



both the bibliographies as well as untranslated passages within the chapters may prove difficult to many undergraduate history students. It is true that ancient historians are perfectly capable of reading Latin, but the majority of undergraduates would need to be provided with the English translation in order to understand what was being discussed.

Regarding visuals, every section of the book is filled with maps to help the reader better conceptualize the locations that are described in each chapter. An abbreviations guide for lesser-known journals and works is also provided at the start of the book to help the reader better locate the sources that have been cited.

In conclusion, this book provides well-written examples of the presence of insurgency and terrorism throughout ancient history. The authors have thoroughly researched their respective topics, and each includes current bibliography. Scholars and graduate students will find in this book new treatments of these topics and opportunities for further investigation.

(This review was sent out to an external editor to avoid conflict of interest.)

Wijnendaele, Jeroen W.P. *The Last of the Romans. Bonifatius – Warlord and Comes Africae*. London: Bloomsbury, 2015. Pp. 182; \$88.00, ISBN 9781780937175, hdbk.

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According to the East-Roman historian Procopius, the fifth century produced two men worthy of the epithet 'last of the Romans': Flavius Aëtius and Bonifatius. This study is devoted to Bonifatius, the more obscure and less-studied of the two. His main claim to fame is the allegation - also put forward by Procopius - that he invited the Vandals into Roman Africa in 429. The last in-depth study of his life dates from 1941, a doctoral dissertation by Johannes de Lepper published in Latin. An accessible biography in English is thus much-needed and Wijnendaele's slim but elegant volume delivers just that. Wijnendaele shares de Lepper's favourable impression of Bonifatius, but deviates from his predecessor by arguing that he was not the last of the Romans at all, but rather the first of a new fifth-century phenomenon: that of the 'imperial warlord', i.e. a Roman officer who relied on private forces to establish local dominance, but who nevertheless continued to operate within a Roman imperial framework.

A major difficulty with a figure like Bonifatius, and indeed the fifth century at large, is the scantiness of

the source material. No detailed contemporary history has survived from this period. Information has to be pried from a jumble of letters, minor chronicles and later histories. Wijnendaele mentions new numismatic evidence from Roman Africa in his introduction, but ends up using it only sporadically (62-63). De Lepper made substantial use of the so-called Pseudo-Bonifatian letters, which he considered the work of a contemporary partisan of Bonifatius. Wijnendaele follows a more recent suggestion that ties this forgery to Ostrogothic Italy, weakening its link to the historical Bonifatius (5-6). Methodologically, Wijnendaele approaches his sources mainly with an eye to recovering facts. He seems less interested in exploring how these texts were themselves used as instruments of communication and manipulation. Though a defensible position for a biography, this sometimes results in promising lines of inquiry being abandoned prematurely, as happens for instance with Wijnendaele's brief discussion of the motives behind Prosper of Aquitaine's positive portrayal of Bonifatius (55, 117). On the whole, however, Wijnendaele shows himself a subtle reader of the sources, who manages to wring a surprising amount of relevant information from the scanty and contradictory evidence at his disposal.

We thus learn that Bonifatius was probably of African origins (29-30). He soldiered in Gaul against the Gothic king Athaulf in 413, before becoming a tribune of the *foederati* on the borders of Numidia. Here, he came into contact with Saint Augustine, who sent him several letters. One of these saw Augustine responding to a query about the difference between Arianism and Donatism, a relevant issue for Bonifatius because of the Gothic soldiers under his command. Another letter suggests that Bonifatius was anxious about the compatibility of his military and his Christian duties, and may even have expressed the wish to become a monk at some point. Wijnendaele's discussion of these letters is highly relevant, reminding us that fifth-century military men also moved in a world of Christian devotion and theological debate. In the early 420s, Bonifatius advanced further through the ranks, marrying a Gothic princess and being appointed *comes Africae*, one of the foremost military positions in the West. Wijnendaele makes a compelling case for seeing the hand of Galla Placidia behind both developments (50, 55) and goes on to sketch the repercussions of Bonifatius' ties to the plot-ridden Ravenna court: his political enemies had him branded Enemy of the State in 427 and tried to dislodge him from his African stronghold by dispatching several armies. It was at this point, according to Procopius, that Bonifatius appealed to the Vandals for aid and invited them to cross the Strait of Gibraltar. Modern commentators have long held this claim in suspicion and Wijnendaele too



dismisses it as retrospective East-Roman polemic, though he adds that Bonifatius may in fact have looked for military assistance among the Goths (74-78). Wijnendaele also discounts Procopius' insinuation that Aëtius was the master-mind behind Bonifatius' falling out with the Ravenna court in the late 420s. The two men only really came to blows in 432, when Galla Placidia offered Bonifatius the supreme command of the western armies, dismissing Aëtius in the process. Bonifatius won the ensuing Battle of Rimini - a small-scale encounter between the two men's personal retainers, according to Wijnendaele (101) - but died soon thereafter from a wound, possibly inflicted by Aëtius himself.

The book concludes with the argument that Bonifatius represented a distinct and novel type of *generalissimo*. Because of his personal army of Gothic retainers, Bonifatius was able to rule more or less rule autonomously in Africa, defying the imperial agents and armies sent to dislodge him. Yet unlike earlier strongmen, who either took the imperial title themselves (Constantine III) or acted as emperor-makers behind the scene (Arbogast), he never challenged the imperial dynasty itself. This seems a fair assessment of Bonifatius' career, though I was left wondering how exactly this career would have "paved the way...for the demise of usurpation of the imperial office and the disintegration of the western Roman army in the second half of the fifth century," as the author boldly asserts on the final pages (120-21).

As it stands, this is a careful study of one of the lesser-known generals of late antiquity and a solid contribution to our understanding of the complex and often confusing events of the early fifth century.

Heckel, Waldemar, Muller, Sabine and Wrightson, Graham, eds. *The Many Faces of War in the Ancient World*. Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015. Pp.340; \$52.99, ISBN: 9781443877688, hdbk.

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The Many Faces of War, originating from a 2012 conference of the same name, is a collection of eleven chapters by different authors, which the editors explain are intended to "show the importance and actuality of the research on the history of war and the diversity of the approaches to this task as well as the different angles from which to look on it." (xiii) It is divided into three parts: Archaic and Classical Greece, the Age of Alexander the Great, and War in the Time of Imperial Rome.

In the first section, Heinrichs discusses an Arkadian inscription that he shows must come from the Lykaion and highlights passages that concern the military training of Arkadian youths. In Chapter Two, Raaflaub argues that in our earliest evidence for *polis* structures, citizens' political and military roles are connected, and that hoplite development runs in parallel with political development. Despite its title, Tritle's Chapter Three, "Laughter in Battle" is a serious and sometimes saddening look at a phenomenon which is likely far from the experience of the majority of his readers. He is able to demonstrate that laughter directed at the horrific or the stressful is a coping mechanism that occurs in both ancient and modern warfare.

In Section Two, Müller's chapter on Poseidippos of Pella addresses the epigrams found in the Milan Papyrus, which date from the Ptolemaic court of the 3rd century BCE. Müller argues that although war is a central theme in the epigrams, it is a kind of war represented only in the sanitized symbols of "spoils, booty, omens and statues" (157), resulting in a stylized, heroic depiction of warfare. In "Introducing Ptolemy", Howe writes that Arrian's account of the battle of the Persian Gates, the only account in which Ptolemy appears, is derivative of Ptolemy's own histories. This, he argues, is Ptolemy first establishing himself in the Alexander story in a role that will continue to grow in the subsequent narrative. Chapter Six by Olbrycht concerns the origins of the *Epigonoi*, the Iranian troops which he identifies as the reinforcements that Alexander received in 326 BCE. Chapter Seven, Anson's "Shock and Awe à la Alexander the Great" returns to the technique of using modern terminology and concepts as a tool for examining the ancient world. The author points to the examples of Thebes, Tyre, and Gaza as places where the destruction of one population led to the submission of others. In Chapter Eight, Heckel attempts to put real numbers to Alexander's massacres and enslavements, laying out the claims of the sources and providing minimum and maximum numbers for each event. McLeod's appendix describes physical and psychological responses to combat trauma.

Section Three, Chapters 9-11, turns to the Late Roman Empire. Vanderspoel assesses the Emperor Jovian by carefully reading through the mostly hostile account of Ammianus Marcellinus, highlighting that although the loss of Nisibis and surrounding satrapies was Jovian's great failure, his negotiation of the mass emigration of Nisibis' people back to the Empire was a hard-won concession. Whately's Chapter Ten examines the finds from the fort of el-Lejjūn in Jordan for evidence of the presence of women. Finding nothing conclusive, he turns to the comparative evidence from similar