

**Erika Manders and Daniëlle Slootjes, *Leadership, Ideology and Crowds in the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2020. Pp. 200. €44. ISBN: 9783515124041.**

This short book, comprising an introduction and eleven chapters and based on a conference held in Göttingen in 2015, looks at some of the various ways that leadership changed over the course of the fourth century CE, and how these changes are treated in a wide variety of different kinds of evidence. The book also promises to provide both bottom-up and top-down approaches to this material.

In the introduction, by Jan Willem Drijvers, Erika Manders, and Daniëlle Slootjes, the authors discuss the assorted rights and responsibilities of the emperor and how their position changed over the course of the fourth century CE. They look at other late antique leaders too, like the members of the clergy, and the ideological approaches that underpin the rule of both kinds of leader, emperors and clergy. Jaeschke's chapter examines imperial capitals during the tetrarchy, the trio of palace, circus, and mausoleum, and some of the other distinctive features of these locations. She notes the tendency for circuses to be constructed where palaces were in the tetarchic era, thus highlighting the relationship between ruler and crowd. Along the way, Jaeschke raises interesting questions about what made a capital a capital at the dawn of late antiquity. Omissi's chapter shifts to the literary evidence, especially the panegyric material, with a focus on the perspective of the orator. He sees panegyric as a medium of upward communication and notes its unparalleled abundance between 284 and 404 CE, with the authors all well-educated individuals with varied backgrounds. Omissi ultimately argues that panegyric offered a point of contact between ruler and ruled. Manders' chapter uses the numismatic evidence to look into anti-Christian propaganda. She challenges the view that the presence of gods on coins from this period (early fourth century CE) should necessarily be associated with persecution. Rather, she shows that coin patterns were tied nicely to established images used by emperors.

Herrmann-Otto's chapter focuses on the Constantinian legislation in the *Theodosian Code* and the ways the emperor tried to reach the people through the law. To do so, she uses a number of case studies, particularly legislation dealing with marriage, children, and slavery. Herrmann-Otto concludes that though Constantine devoted a great deal of effort to effecting these changes, his legislation was often overturned. That said, he felt compelled to adopt a moralizing tone in his legislation to communicate more effectively with the people, even if he used assorted rhetorical tools that work in the real purpose of his laws. Curran centres his chapter on the uses of the term *iudaeoi* in a wide variety of texts. He notes the term's complexity, and the many ways that different sources, like John Chrysostom and the *Codex Theodosianus*, refer to Jews, with some, like the laws, often openly hostile. He notes that it was much more serious to hate Judaism in general than Jews in particular because of all that this might entail (eradication of all things Jewish). De Kleijn's chapter examines

some of the varied ways that we can, should, and have evaluated leadership, with an especial focus on Constantius II. It includes a discussion of the criteria used to evaluate rulers in the ancient Mediterranean, but also some of the modern means established by leadership scholarship. De Kleijn includes the evidence of Ammianus and Zosimus, among others, and concludes that Constantius II's record was mixed.

Sághy turns to the crowds, and their role in making and unmaking leaders, here the bishop of Rome. Sághy looks closer at the competition between Damasus and Ursinus during the election. Damasus made very effective use of crowds to his benefit. He also made catacombs places of worship, and the epigrams attached to them evoked past periods of mob turbulence, so reflecting his manipulation of crowds in varied ways. Cvetković provides a fascinating account of Niceta of Remesiana's travels across the Balkans, particularly through the evidence of Paulinus' poetry. She argues that we should seek to explain Niceta's travels in terms of what was going on in Illyricum itself, not elsewhere, as well as the prominence of ecclesiastical politics. Cvetković also shows how valuable Paulinus' poems are for a wide variety of different issues.

Magalhães de Oliveira also looks at crowds, especially the relationship between popular mobilization and episcopal leadership. Bishops served both as pacifiers and instigators of crowds, and they played an important role in the religious violence usually associated with the age (albeit perhaps not always correctly). Besides making good use of the evidence of Optatus, Magalhães de Oliveira provides a persuasive reading of Augustine's attempts at calming a riotous crowd in 401. Icks delves into the visibility of emperors, and in particular the changing accessibility of the holders of imperial office. He considers how writers thought the emperor should appear in public, and he notes that the emperors continued to draw big crowds in late antiquity. Ultimately, there were three aspects of fundamental importance to imperial visibility, the emperor appearing in public, the emperor seeming to be close to the people, and the emperor's attempt to set a good example. McEvoy's chapter, the final one in the volume, follows Icks' nicely, though focusing more specifically on Arcadius' appearances in Constantinople. Though there is little evidence specifically for Arcadius himself, she highlights his role in the growing importance of Constantinople for the emperor. Arcadius might have a reputation for being a palace-bound emperor, but what we find instead is a ruler often found in public in the capital, at military occasions, marriages, and other events, which allowed the city's inhabitants to participate in the evolving imperial office.

Overall, the quality of the contributions is consistent, and the authors have done a fine job of highlighting both the changing nature of leadership in the fourth century and the role of crowds of managing all this. We do get a varied picture of leadership, or at least the different ways the empire's emperors and bishops ruled and manipulated the people along the way. The authors use poetry, epigrams, coins, letters, classicizing histories, and even architecture to illuminate much of this. Plus, the book is full of novel interpretations of a range of issues, like the travels of Niceta,

Damasus' agenda, Arcadius' activities in Constantinople, and Constanine's legislative propaganda (if we can call it that). Indeed, it is hard to identify much wrong with this (the book was well polished), besides the absence of a conclusion that ties it all together, admittedly a problem common to the edited collection.

To finish, then, I want to highlight some of things missing, or better to highlight how the conclusions they have reached might be expanded upon in future work on leadership in late antiquity. The only category of evidence missing the book is the papyrological material. There is no shortage of fourth century papyri, though it has little to do with imperial, and, for the most part, episcopal leadership. But it does detail crowds and leadership of a different sort. Abinnaeus and Theophanes both filled leadership roles, albeit at a much lower rung of society, Theophanes with his band of fellow travelers *en route* to Antioch, Abinnaeus over members of the surrounding area who sought him out for help with official matters. These are very different sorts of leaders, these middle managers, whose ideology is perhaps more difficult to discern. There were plenty of military rulers in the fourth century too, both inside and outside the empire, subject to ideology of their own and often in close contact with varied crowds, both of soldiers and civilians. But, as I say, most of this is probably best left for future ventures, and I hope that future work will take the observations and conclusions found in this fine collection and apply it to other comparable contexts.

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