

clausum from November 324 to March 325); the mission of Hosius foundered, so he returned to Nicomedia in spring 325; it was then too late to convene a synod to deal with Arius (according to P. the first session was held on 19 June) and thus the Council must have been planned earlier and for other reasons. P. suggests that in autumn 324 Constantine summoned the bishops for the opening ceremony of the celebrations for the twentieth anniversary of his reign. Only on that ‘splendid occasion’ did he intend to neutralize the Meletian schism, determine the date of Easter and work out a single profession of faith (137).

Both the fundamental contention of P. as well as the arguments used by him (summarized only briefly above) have been previously considered by scholars, but here they receive a particularly clear and coherent treatment. P.’s discussion — bold and revisionist — has met with an equally robust response. The first reactions of Polish scholars appeared soon after publication. W. Stawiszyński, *Vox Patrum* 34 (2014), 567–72 and S. Bralewski, *Vox Patrum* 36 (2016), 75–97 rejected P.’s suggestion of Constantine’s *vicennalia* as the reason for convening the Council. The Donatist schism (not the Meletian!) and the controversy over the date of Easter were instead advanced as the principal reasons for convening the Council.

As with these various aspects of the fourth century (particularly the period of the first Tetrarchy and of Constantine), the history of Constantinople is one of the most important research topics currently studied by Polish academics in the field of Late Antiquity (cf. also M. J. Leszka and K. Marinow (eds), *Miasto na skrzyżowaniu mórz i kontynentów. Wczesno- i średniobizantyński Konstantynopol jako miasto portowe* [Metropolis between Seas and Continents: Early and Middle Byzantine Constantinople as a Port City] (Byzantina Lodziensia 22), Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2016). As yet, Polish scholarship has not provided a settled vision of this century of profound change. The vibrant intellectual debate on these topics continues — and will bear further fruit in the form of new interpretations.

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G. GREATREX and H. ELTON (EDS), *SHIFTING GENRES IN LATE ANTIQUITY*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015. Pp. xv + 341, illus. ISBN 9781472443489 (bound); 9781472443496 (e-book). £75.00.

There seems to be universal assent to the concept that languages shift over time and therefore it would be inadvisable to impose the categories of Homeric grammar upon modern Greek. Greatrex and Elton’s edited collection offers a welcome reminder that such fluidity needs to be recognized in other realms as well. The *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* series has sometimes suffered in that the conference it is based on has themes of such wide scope that many of the resulting edited volumes feel rather too loosely connected, but this entry, treating shifts in literary and material genre, is more focused than the majority of the previous volumes. The twenty-two chapters are divided into six sections: ‘Homiletics and Disputation’, ‘Ecclesiastical Genres’, ‘Visual Genres’, ‘Procopius and Literature in the Sixth-Century Eastern Empire’, ‘Technical Genres’ and, finally, ‘Other Literary Genres’. As reviews with a broader focus have already appeared (*BMCR* 2016.04.02, *CR* 66.1 (2016), 154–6), I will focus in my review on several of the chapters that I believe are especially significant or well argued.

Colin Whiting examines Jerome’s *Lives of the Illustrious Men*, which is typically seen as derivative propaganda in the genre of bibliography. Jerome indicated that his purpose was both to provide Christian bibliography, and an apologetic tool to be used against paganism. Whiting tries to look past what the text says to see how it was read, looking first at the context, noting that both forgery of, and contemporary references to, earlier Christian authors as authorities were becoming more frequent, and also reviewing similar literature of anti-heresy handbooks. He proceeds to the content, noting that Jerome’s work included some decidedly non-illustrious entries, as well as characters that he wrote about negatively. Indeed, the format plays a rôle in Whiting’s analysis as well, as he argues that the table of contents demonstrates that this was not an argued demonstration of superiority, but a ready reference work. While the final chapter on Jerome himself did seek to show his superiority, it also demonstrated the credibility required to judge the inclusion or exclusion of other authors.

Geoffrey Dunn treats two surviving letters of Bishop Zosimus of Rome from 417–418 and argues that they have been wrongly categorized as papal decretals, letters which command authority, but also render a legal decision with binding regulations. The concept of papal decretals was in place by the fifth century, but Zosimus' two letters, not intended as such, were so categorized by those collecting the letters in the 430s. Dunn's first example is a letter to Hesychius, the bishop of Solin, who had written seeking input rather than orders. In his reply, Zosimus evidently expected his advice to be obeyed, but not least because it was in accord with previous canonical decisions. The second was a warning to a group of clergy, referencing an earlier group he had excommunicated. His recipients had violated existing canon law by appealing directly to the imperial court. As authoritative as this sounds, it was not an exercise of universal papal authority, but an example of a local bishop dealing with his own clergy. While Dunn must build his case upon relatively few examples, the impact of his argument on the debate regarding the development of papal authority is significant.

Christopher Doyle tracks shifts in genre in the field of numismatics, looking specifically at the genre of 'victory coins' in order to trace both the decline of paganism and the collapse of order. While the appearances of most pagan deities on coins declined, Victoria's did not, although she appeared more and more often with Christian symbols such as the labarum and the cross, marking a victory of sorts for Christianity as the genre was infused with new meaning. Victoria played a key rôle through the reigns of Constantine and his relatives, Theodosius and his heirs and challengers, and finally Honorius, as coinage was a more universally distributed medium for celebrating victory over one's opponents than panegyric. She had originally been displayed to commemorate external victory, but with the increasing pace of attempted usurpations, her appearance documented the Empire's slide into disorder.

Ralph Mathisen offers a wide-ranging but careful look at the language of identity, using both epigraphic and textual evidence to challenge the assumption that citizenship and identity were centred only in Roman or municipal citizenship. His research reveals that once universal citizenship was attained in the third century, people were free to redefine their own identity and frequently chose the language of geography and ethnicity to do so. Many in Late Antiquity employed new categories to identify themselves, such as using *gens* and *natio* in reference to ethnicity, but they also used existing categories in new ways, using 'provincial' in a generic as well as a legal sense, describing themselves as 'citizens' of ethnicities, and using *natio* in association with a city or terrain type. While this extraordinary fluidity is interesting in itself, it also depicts identity as more local and personally self-constructed, which Mathisen links to the disassociation from Roman-ness that contributed to the break-up of the Western Empire.

Procopius focused on Belisarius' final campaign in Italy in the seventh book of his *Wars*, and Charles Pazdernik sheds light on Procopius' crafting of his material. Pazdernik demonstrates convincing parallels between Totila's speech in Procopius' hands, and Pericles' speech in Thucydides'. Both Pericles and Totila exhorted their audiences not to be misled by wrath, but rather to use reason and appreciate the sound judgement that put them on their present courses of action. That sustained comparison was surely informed by the contemporary awareness that Pericles' speech was itself not the appropriate rhetorical response, as noted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Aelius Aristides. Indeed, Procopius must have known that Thucydides had been criticized for putting too much of himself into the speech as he consciously used the speech for his own purposes, showing that, while a capable leader, Totila was no Pericles.

Edward Watts begins his study of Himerius by reviewing the genre of monody, which was heavily influenced by the works of Menander and Aelius Aristides, and argues that Late Antiquity was different, an age in which authors were taking established forms and doing new things with them, infusing traditional philosophical and religious categories with new ideas. He highlights Himerius' talent, offering a new dimension to the self-serving aspect of his character by suggesting that despite the fact that his monody was for his dead son, it was also a tool to get back to Athens. Himerius was in line with the shift in fourth-century oratory, breaking with Menander's rule not to make family the focus of monody, and placing self at the centre of the oration, as Libanius also did with Julian's monody. Watts uses Himerius to demonstrate that late antique oratory was not simply derivative, but interested in stretching genre creatively, rather than creating new categories afresh.

Each of these examples demonstrates not only familiarity with sources, careful research and thorough argumentation, but draws out the relationship to shifts in the wider world of Late

Antiquity. This valuable contribution offers a more nuanced and sympathetic view of late antique culture that will be welcomed by researchers in classics, divinity and medieval studies alike.

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T. MINAMIKAWA (ED.), *NEW APPROACHES TO THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE*. Kyoto: Kyoto University, The Department of European History, The Graduate School of Letters, 2015. Pp. xii + 182. ISBN 9784990192921.

Ancient history is taking a global turn. Responding to broader trends in the discipline, recent volumes have gone beyond the Mediterranean heartlands of Classical studies to compare (for example) the resources and legitimating frameworks of ancient empires across Eurasia (e.g. A. J. S. Spawforth (ed.), *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies* (2007); W. Scheidel (ed.), *Rome and China: Comparative Perspectives on Ancient World Empires* (2009) and idem (ed.), *State Power in Ancient China and Rome* (2015)). One concern raised in the context of an analogous project — the UK ‘Global Middle Ages’ network (<http://globalmiddleages.history.ox.ac.uk/>) — is that of participation: it is less than ideal if the discipline goes global, but its practitioners remain largely drawn from Europe and the US. Against that wider backdrop, *New Approaches to the Later Roman Empire* is both timely and welcome. Stemming from a 2014 colloquium at Kyoto University — and building on the success of the ancient history journal *Kodai* — *New Approaches* presents studies of the late antique Mediterranean by nine Japanese and three European scholars, interlaced with responses from other participants.

A useful introduction by the editor, Takashi Minamikawa sets out the key question: where next for Japanese historians of the later Roman Empire after the return of its ‘fall’ in Anglophone historiography? From the papers which follow, the consensus seems to be a need to combine cultural history with attention to political institutions: a marriage of the competing emphases of the ‘transformation of the Roman world’ and ‘the fall of Rome’. In his opening chapter, Mischa Meier sets out a prospectus for one version of this synthesis, sketching developments in the political culture of the Eastern Empire after 476.

Readers looking for systematic comparison of Eurasian empires will have to turn elsewhere. As might be expected, the location of the conference inspired many to reflect briefly on similarities and differences between societies at opposite ends of the Eurasian landmass, but the volume focuses predominantly on the Roman Mediterranean. The implications of East–West dialogue come through most clearly in the second section on late Roman élites. John Weisweiler summarizes his arguments for a ‘domestication’ of the senatorial élite in the later Empire (outlined in greater detail in a paper in J. Wienand (ed.), *Contested Monarchy: Integrating the Roman Empire in the Fourth Century AD* (2015)). Weisweiler gestures towards parallel features in Han China, a comparison taken up in a short response by Hajime Tanaka, and in the next paper, by Fuminori Inoue, on the separation of military and senatorial élites in the later third and fourth centuries. Inoue sets out a sharp contrast of intermarriage between military and civilian élites in China with endogamy among their Roman counterparts (a contrast finessed by Weisweiler in his own response, at 80–2). Finally, Kosuke Yamashita teases out (from a series of constitutions in the *Theodosian Code*) the administrative processes surrounding petitions for the granting or pre-emptive possession of *bona caduca*: land inherited by the fisc.

The third section turns to miscellaneous issues in late antique cultural history. Hajime Tanaka’s chapter is an elegant study of Book 5 of Theodoret of Cyrrhus’ *Ecclesiastical History*. Through careful elucidation of subtle omissions and chronological distortions, Tanaka sets out a convincing case that Theodoret’s rôle in contemporary ecclesiastical politics shaped his presentation of late fourth- and early fifth-century history. Moving from the micro to the macro, Masahiro Nishimura considers various aspects of late Roman ideology as presented in surviving panegyrics. Meanwhile, Hiroaki Adachi presents an engaging account of the famous fifth-century Alexandrian philosopher Hypatia as a Christian holy woman *manquée*. In his response to this section, Richard Flower rightly draws attention to the sensitive perspectives on ‘artful’ late antique literary texts on display (143).

The final section presents two treatments of problems in Byzantine history. Isao Kobayashi asks why the Arab armies under Mu‘āwiya raided western Asia Minor in the early 660s, when they