

subject of Escribano Paña's paper) provide much of the material for the papers on early Christianity. There is a difference of opinion about the Council of Elvira, with Vilella supporting Meinecke's view that the canons as we now have them are a compilation of various councils, while Ubiña and Marcos see them as the product of a single council. Ubiña provides an overview of the church in its entirety during this period and the tensions produced by its transformation from a sect into a state religion. Marcos, on the other hand, concentrates on the impact of ascetic movements within the church, examining both the problems these caused for the church and in the wider social arena, particularly among the upper classes and women.

Overall, the collection provides a stimulating discussion about the Iberian peninsula in this period and also contains much of interest for students of late antiquity in general.

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RELIGION IN GAUL

W. VAN ANDRINGA: *La religion en Gaule romaine. Piété et politique (Ier–IIIe siècle apr. J.-C.)*. Pp. 336, maps, ills. Paris: Editions Errance, 2002. Paper, €29. ISBN: 2-87772-228-7.

This is a thorough and systematic study, which will be consulted with much profit by students of Roman religion in the provinces. In terms of geography, Van Andringa focuses on Gallia Comata, the provinces of Lugdunensis, Aquitania, and Belgica, but gives considerable attention to Roman Germany as well. In terms of organization, he follows a topical rather than chronological approach. An introductory chapter discusses the sources and broader questions of methodology. Part I examines ritual space and its rôle in the cult life of Roman Gaul. Part II treats the nature of the gods worshipped in Roman Gaul. Part III is devoted to the worshipper, as priest, citizen, and private individual. A very brief conclusion is followed by a series of appendices, listing holders of priesthoods and occurrences of such cult formulae as 'In Honorem Domus Divinae' in inscriptions from Roman Gaul. The book concludes with an extensive but incomplete bibliography, a glossary, and an index. The purpose of the glossary is unclear. Any reader who had plowed through detailed discussions of epigraphical and archeological evidence will hardly need to be told that a 'citoyen romain' is 'un membre de la cité de Rome'. The index is unevenly useful. Some entries, such as 'genius', are broken down into accessible categories, while, on the other hand, thirty-seven undifferentiated page references are given under the topic 'Jupiter'.

The book began life as a 1997 doctoral thesis at the University of Toulouse—Le Mirail. However, according to V.A., his work took a decisive turn at Oxford under the direction of Simon Price and Martin Henig. It bears both the strength and weaknesses of recent British scholarship on Roman religion, as seen not only in the work of Price and Henig, but also that of Mary Beard, John North, and others.

V.A. is complete and up-to-date in his collection and discussion of the epigraphical and literary evidence. His appendices collecting the evidence of the inscriptions for formulae relating to the imperial cult offer valuable material for emperor worship in the provinces. He brings together and discusses a range of recent archeological work on

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Gallic sanctuaries. He places this material into the context of widely used models derived from the social sciences. He transports into French the language fashionable in much British and American classical scholarship, speaking easily of 'civic elites' (p. 33) and of the error of traditional scholarship in 'privileging' certain religious forms and sources over others (pp. 15, 16). Again reflecting much current scholarship, V.A.'s focus is on the process of Romanization as reflected in the religion of Gaul. For V.A., the city was at the core of religious expression and function in Roman Gaul. The Augustan era was seminal for the process by which the gods of the Gauls were joined into an inextricable nexus with Rome and the emperor. Religion became the primary support for loyalty to Rome, and the cults of civic life the essential vehicle to express the ideology of imperial power, resting upon the gods and the emperor, who held a halfway position between the immortal gods and ordinary humans. Religion provided a potent mechanism of propaganda. Far from being tolerant about the religion of the provincials, Roman leadership actively directed cult forms and institutions by means of provincial élites.

V.A. thus challenges the view fashionable a century ago of Roman tolerance in religious matters. In the first volume of his *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain* ([Paris, 1907], pp. 15, 468), Jules Toutain described the Romans as quite disinterested in the religion of their provincials, allowing them to worship as they pleased. V.A. rejects this as anachronistic, religious tolerance being a concept born of the modern state. Here, he is wrong. The Christian apologist Athenagoras knew better. He pleaded to Marcus Aurelius for tolerance, reminding the emperor that in his great empire men are allowed to worship whatever gods they please, without fear of punishment (*Apology* 1). This absence of a wider context for understanding Roman religion is one of the weaknesses of V.A. and the current school of scholarship his work represents. The same is true of his absolute disinterest in the iconography of the monuments. The Jupiter Columns of Roman Gaul and Germany deserve more than a passing mention (190-1). V.A. gives much discussion to a hypothetical reconstruction of the Drusus monument at Mainz and to a funeral altar to Gaius and Lucius Caesar at Trier. However, he has no interest in the rich symbolism of the Jupiter Column at Mainz or the Igel Column near Trier, documents of fundamental importance for the romanization of religious ideas in Roman Gaul and Roman Germany. He eschews the valuable insights provided by comparative religion. He maintains the fiction that we can somehow separate the erection of cult monuments and inscriptions from any concern with the religious ideas that prompted the erection and dedication of these monuments and inscriptions.

In fact, V.A. is not as far removed from Toutain as he might wish to appear. His methodology is very much that of Toutain, rigidly dividing cult practice from religious ideas, concentrating on the epigraphical material, refusing to consider the evidence of comparative religion, and scorning Cumont's attention to iconography. Indeed, it is sobering to read Toutain's thorough, meticulous, and detailed discussion of religion in Roman Gaul (*Les cultes païens dans l'empire romaine* iii [Paris, 1920], pp. 193-467) and realize how little real progress has been made by almost a century of scholarship. Models and terminology change; but the basic approach and outline of our knowledge remain the same. However, for those wishing a current and detailed scholarly study of religion in Roman Gaul, V.A. is the place to start.

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