seems to envisage that the merchants arrived by ship, but this seems unlikely as the Salto do Lobo makes the Guadiana unnavigable downstream from Merida. R. is happy to concede that there was trade with the Eastern Mediterranean, but sees this as concentrated into a few months of the year and restricted to costly luxury goods. He even casts doubt on whether the purveyors of such goods were primarily merchants, agreeing with Arce's suggestion that they could have been primarily pilgrims or ambassadors. Unless something has been suppressed by the hagiographer here, the dramatic date of *VPE* means that the merchants were being extremely provocative to the Arian authorities if this second suggestion is correct. Similarly, while R. is probably right to see luxury trade strictly controlled by the authorities, the date of *VPE* means that the Orthodox Bishop Paul could not have performed this function, as at this time the official church in Spain was Arian.

R. uses the theories of Karl Polanyi to draw a sharp distinction between luxury trade and everyday economic activity. He argues that coinage may have circulated mainly among the aristocracy and the king, and hence there would be no need to postulate that large numbers of coins were circulating in Spain during this period, as has sometimes been held. For R. coin is merely an aristocratic vehicle for capturing peasant production, but does not require peasants to possess coins. The model outlined is a stimulating approach to the dynamics of a peasant economy.

In short, this wide-ranging collection has much to offer not just to Spanish studies, but to students of late antiquity in general.

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GUILDS

O. M. VAN NIJF: *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East.* Pp. iv + 314. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1997. Cased, Hfl. 145. ISBN: 90-5063-257-2.

This book attempts to set the epigraphical material relating to the *collegia* of the Roman East into its proper social setting. Much of it (Chapters III–VI) focuses on the involvement of these associations at public festivals and in civic processions, and their implication in patronage relationships, all fashionable topics. Chapter I, however, deals with their funerary activities, perhaps the rôle best attested in epigraphy, and consequently already well studied for the Latin West. Van Nijf provides a useful summary of material relevant to the East.

It is with the central category of enquiry that I have problems, since the study imposes curious restraints upon itself. On the one hand, N. continually uses the Latin term *collegium*, a dubious move for the Greek East because this use of Latin terminology implies such organizations are to be regarded as the result of Romanization in the East. In fact, they had a long history in both the classical and, especially, Hellenistic East, and it is disappointing that N. has taken for granted a set of cultural influences which might have formed a central problematic of the study. In other words, how much did these associations owe to the (Greek) past, and how far did Roman rule modify this? This curious use of Latin terminology for the Greek East occurs throughout—I find it difficult to accept that the (repeated) description of 'the *plebs media* in Roman provincial towns' (e.g. pp. 28, 243) is the appropriate way to describe the audience for these associations in the Greek world.

On the other hand, he restricts the meaning of *collegia* to 'professional associations'

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and does not treat the whole range of organizations (e.g. religious) that would be described under this rubric in Latin—although the restriction is never strictly maintained. In several of the chapters where he is clearly straining to find evidence, non-occupational *collegia* are in fact examined. So, for instance, at pp. 53–4 the Athenian Iobacchoi, a religious, not professional, association, are discussed, as are at p. 168 the Taureastai and Herakleiastai at Histria. Indeed, the whole concept of 'professional associations' is too broad: how useful is it to see the international 'World-Wide Organization of Dionysian Artists' (whom we find corresponding with Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors in defence of their privileges) in the same category as the small occupational groups of small towns in rural Asia Minor?

Unfortunately, good chapters (such as Chapter II, which investigates the sometimes tricky relationship between *collegia* and rich benefactors) are accompanied by weaker chapters. For example, in Chapter V, 'Professions on Parade', there is insufficient evidence to answer the questions posed, and so many pages simply revisit work done on the Vibius Salutaris foundation at Ephesos and the Demostheneia at Oenoanda (pp. 192–4). It is discouraging to read this summary and then to learn at p. 195 that 'neither Salutaris nor Demosthenes of Oenoanda had any place for private associations in his version of the social order'. The remainder of the chapter introduces perhaps irrelevant evidence of earlier religious (not professional) organizations from Hellenistic Athens, and material from Rome (pp. 195–7). Similarly, at p. 234 N., in the midst of a discussion of reserved seating for associations in cities of the Greek East, digresses for half a page to discuss two cities in Gaul (but nowhere else in the West).

My greatest complaint, however, is the question which is continually evaded throughout the work, that of the *collegium* as a potential focus of political unrest. In his conclusion he argues that 'this evidence shrinks the myth of the dangerous and unruly *collegium* back down to its proper dimensions' (p. 244), but nowhere is the 'myth' itself examined. It is not just that modern comparative studies of trade unions (one thinks here of the work of E. P. Thompson) should prompt such questions, but that ancient evidence too suggests that the Roman authorities had an extremely ambivalent attitude towards these organizations. On several occasions N. refers to the relevant literary evidence (the Ephesian silversmiths' riot in Acts, the riot between Pompeii and Nuceria at Tac. *Annals* 14.17), but Roman imperial worries about the disruptive rôle *collegia* might play within cities are dismissed in a footnote (p. 21 with n. 84). This is an extraordinary omission, given that the book attempts to argue for a picture of *collegia* as well integrated within the framework of the *polis*.

This may be explained by excessive reliance on the face value of terminology. For example, N. rightly observes that by describing themselves as a 'phyle' the linen-weavers of Saittai in Lydia wanted to be seen as a natural part of the civic body (p. 233), but is wrong to make this the end point of his investigation. Just as philanthropic acts of British trade unions did not prevent their becoming a focus of serious labour unrest, so too an argument from language is insufficient to prove that *collegia* could not also act as a focus of discontent.

At various points the book attempts to make a contribution to larger debates about the degree of economic self-interest, or otherwise, that the *collegia* display. N. effectively casts doubt on Moses Finley's belief that these associations had no real economic purpose in mind—and here he employs comparative evidence drawn from the world of medieval trade guilds (pp. 12–23). Yet sometimes this comes close to mere picturesque detail, and he draws back from the more radical implications of what he is arguing. The early part of this book would have benefited greatly if it had had the courage of its own convictions.

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Overall, the book is a disappointment. Too much of it simply sums up existing debates about, *inter alia*, the status of epigraphy as public writing, the state of the ancient economy, and seating plans in theatres. Moreover, the selective presentation of individual inscriptions as 'case studies' for in-depth examination leaves the reader with no idea of the typicality (or not) of the forms of behaviour under examination.

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GOING NATIVE

P. S. WELLS: *The Barbarians Speak. How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe*. Pp. xii + 335, figs. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999. Paper, £18.95. ISBN: 0-691-05871-7.

The book is not concerned with the whole of Roman Europe, as the title implies, but focuses on central Europe. Those, however, who are interested in the cultural history of Germany and adjacent areas in the Roman period will not be disappointed. The first section is devoted to the battle of the Teutoburg Forest, recently located at Bramsche-Kalkriese. (Wells rightly disregards the continued doubts about the location.) This battle, which marked the end of large-scale imperial expansion in northern Germany, is taken as an introduction to a much wider study of the interaction of immigrants and natives in the Roman period in central Europe. Rome encountered a very sophisticated culture in Gaul. A masterly summary of *oppida*, ritual sites, and the rich material culture of the Iron Age is followed by the history of the Roman conquest and the resulting mutual influences between native population and immigrants. W. is right in stressing that most of the newcomers were not from the city of Rome, but this has always been known, and scholars use the adjective 'Roman' in the imperial period to describe either a legal status or the culture of a heterogeneous Empire. It is hard to follow him, therefore, when he proposes to describe Samian ware of provincial origin as 'Roman-style' (pp. 127–8). His claim (p. 187) that there is no indication of large-scale abandonment or mass immigration in any of the frontier regions needs to be qualified. There certainly were considerable regional variations in the level of immigration and in the resulting cultural impact. A very high proportion of the population of the area between the 'Limes' and the upper Rhine consisted of immigrants (E. Sauer, *OJA* 15.1 [1996], 79; p. 87 n. 103 with references), notwithstanding that comparatively few came from Italy. Nevertheless, W. is certainly right in stressing that all sections of provincial society exercised influence on each other and that there was no such thing as a one-way process of Romanization.

Many Iron Age traditions continued long after the conquest. As most of the examples are very convincing, there is no need to repeat them here. However, the widely held theory that coin offerings in springs have to be seen as a continuation of prehistoric offerings in watery places, adopted also by W. (pp. 37–8), is incorrect. The deposit of coins in springs and wells was a custom imported from Italy (E. Sauer, *JRA* Suppl. 34 [1999], 52–79). Cultural influences were active both ways. Whether the third-century deposits from wells at Rainau-Buch, comprising a range of objects, most of them made of metal, constitute ritual deposits in native tradition, as W. postulates (pp. 166–7), or non-recovered hoards remains open to debate. The concealment of hoards in a watery place during a period of insecurity would not be without parallels (K. Randsborg, *Hjortspring* [Aarhus, 1995], 110).

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