of the diving bell which first appears in the eighth century. Perhaps this muddle can be related to the fact that the only English version of *AR* mentioned in her bibliography (or the additional bibliography provided for the English edition) is a translation of the Armenian version; a French translation (of the Greek recension L alone) is also given.

The book is an almost infinite resource of unsupported, *ex cathedra* statements which any student should be warned to steer clear of. It has no new interpretations (though several old ones) to offer the scholar, and is a startling recommendation, by negative example, of the benefits of international cooperation and debate in classical scholarship.

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EASTERN CONTACTS

M. SCHUOL, U. HARTMAN, A. LUTHER (edd.): *Grenzüberschreitungen. Formen des Kontakts zwischen Orient und Okzident im Altertum*. (Oriens et Occidens 3.) Pp. 414, pls. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002. Cased, €76. ISBN: 3-515-07962-9.

The present publication is a collection of thirteen papers presented at a colloquium held at the FU Berlin in March 2001. The theme of the colloquium is aptly entitled *Grenzüberschreitungen*, 'frontier crossings', as the contributions aim to investigate the prerequisites, forms, and consequences of contacts between West and East in antiquity (p. 7). They exemplify or highlight individual cases of intercultural contacts, covering an extensive period of Near Eastern and classical antiquity, from the second millennium B.C. to late antiquity, and offering a well-balanced range of topics, including literary, historical, archaeological, anthropological, philological, and numismatic evidence, reflecting the varied levels on which cultural influence between West and East took place. The collection of papers, each provided with an extensive bibliography, is complemented by a brief introduction by the editors, and by a series editor, as well as the opening lecture to the colloquium given by Alexander Demandt on Alexander and Islam.

The chronological framework is marked by two contributions on nomads and settled peoples. U. Scharrer's contribution discusses the case of Tadmor in the second millennium B.C., while S. Stark considers the nomadic and settled groups of Middle and Central Asia in the sixth to eighth centuries A.D. Scharrer highlights the case of Tadmor's early phase of settlement, in which scarce evidence has led to two polarized views, which either regard Tadmor as a centre of trade as early as the second millennium B.C. or as a nomadic centre which did not become a city until the Hellenistic period (p. 280). Scharrer argues that, despite its scarcity, written evidence allows the conclusion that Tadmor was already settled by the second millennium B.C., while being surrounded by a nomadic population, a phenomenon which Scharrer describes as an 'eingeschlossene Sesshaftigkeit'. In support of his argument he refers to later documents which testify that Tadmor held an important strategic position on the trade route between Mari and Qatna. S. Stark concentrates on another neglected area of research, i.e. on aspects of the pre-Islamic history of Middle and Central Asia and its characteristic diverse population consisting of settled and nomadic groups. He highlights the very complex relationship between those groups who pursued *Weidewirtschaft* (pastoral agriculture), those who lived in areas which allowed them to

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have an agrarian economy, and those in areas which were dependent on climate changes and changes in the environment as well as from social and political influences. These factors led to a complicated interaction of different nomadic and settled groups, which was far more complex than the prevalently followed model, in which interaction between settled and nomadic groups is seen as alternating between belligerent conflict and peaceful exchange of goods (p. 398).

Those contributions offering a comparative study are perhaps the most rewarding for the readers of this volume, since they most clearly make a case for the influence of Near Eastern cultures on the classical world. Among those is B. Gufler's investigation of the oriental roots of Gorgon representations in Greek art, in which she makes a case for the origin of Greek representations of the Gorgon in the figure of Humbaba, the monster of the cedar forest mentioned in the Epic of Gilgamesh, who is slain by Gilgamesh and his friend Enkidu. The parallels to the story of the Gorgon are apparent in the killing of a terrible monster (Humbaba/Gorgon), which lives outside the city, i.e. outside the civilized world, and is killed by the hero (Gilgamesh [Babylonian version]/Enkidu [Sumerian version]/Perseus, with the aid of another person, Enkidu/Gilgamesh/Athena/Hermes). The hero has the support of a divinity (Shamash, with Enkidu in the Babylonian version/Athena/Hermes). Gugler suggests that Greek cultural knowledge of the Orient came from artistic transfer as well as a degree of literary knowledge. The cultural exchange could have occurred in north Syria and parts of south Cilicia (pp. 78–9). She quite rightly points out that in regard to the depiction of the Gorgon the investigation needs further research into figures such as Lamashtu and Pazuzu.

M. Schuol investigates possible links between the Homeric epics and old Anatolian traditions. In contrasting the literary tradition of cuneiform texts and early Greek literature, and in pointing out similarities as well as discrepancies in their use of oral and written tradition, she aims at establishing a possible common tradition for the transmission of epic poetry. In a detailed and thorough investigation of the Homeric texts and the Hurrian–Hittite bilingual (KBo XXXII 11) which derives from a *c*. 1700 B.C. original, she argues convincingly that the literary tradition which existed in Asia Minor must have served as a model for the Homeric epics, as can be traced in the use of particular narrative units and structures.

Several historical studies offer stimulating scholarly discussions. A. Gebhardt reviews the question of whether Domitian did prepare a Parthian campaign after the pacification of the Dacians, arguing that the increase of minted coins in Cilicia and Syria in 93/4 or 94/5 is a perhaps more factual indicator of such plans than the less reliable evidence provided in Statius. E. Baltrusch revisits the problem of understanding the two edicts regarding the status of the Jewish population under Antiochus III and Antiochus IV. He suggests that the change in the politics of the Seleucid kings towards the Jews was due to the fact that the development of Hellenism meant a loss of political independence of other groups. Antiochus III may have followed a benign political stance in emphasizing the *patrioi nomoi* of the Jews, but Jewish religion lost its political dimension which meant that in the long term a political cooperation between the two powers was to become impossible. This was partly due to the victory-driven image of the king, and partly due to the fact that it was impossible to combine the imperial cult with the Jewish cult (p. 29).

P. W. Haider provides a thorough analysis of the evidence in his attempt to explain the extraordinary position of Heliopolis/Baalbek as one of the most important cult centres in the Roman empire, arguing on the basis of the archaeological and literary evidence that the cult images and the religious ideology of the city can only be

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satisfactorily explained if the religion of Egyptian Heliopolis is being considered. Haider demonstrates that the depiction of the city's Roman deities can be consistently identified with Egyptian deities (Jupiter = Atum-Re, Venus Heliopolitana = Isis-Hathor, Mercurius Heliopolitanus = Hermes-Thot). The emphasis of Egyptian cults in this city is explained by the fact that Baalbek was a border city of the Ptolemaic kingdom in Syria and as such might have been given particular attention by the Ptolemies to secure the city's loyalty by pursuing an intensive religious policy (p. 114).

Starting from Horace, *Odes* 4.15.4–8, A. Luther investigates the possibility that the reference to the River Tanais in this passage refers not to Sarmatians or Scythians, but to the border of the Bosporan kingdom, and that the River Tanais is a synonym for the kingdom itself. Luther tackles a difficult topic, not facilitated by problems of chronology, especially in regard to the reign of Asander on the one hand, and the dating of coins on the other. Despite these difficulties, he presents a lucid discussion of the problems. A further historical study is offered in U. Hartman's contribution on the exile of the Greek philosophers at the Sasanian court in 532 A.D., which illuminates their situation at the court and offers an explanation for their brief stay there.

Other contributions focus on individual cases. Hartman and Luther tackle the problem of dating a bronze coin kept in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, bearing the legend '*wrwd*' (Worod), lord of Hatra, which according to their suggestion, ought to be dated before 138 A.D., while Ph. Huyse submits an important scholarly paper on the linguistic contacts and borrowings between Greek and Latin languages on the one hand, and Iranian (and Indian) languages on the other, offering a very useful survey of Middle Iranian words which entered Greek and Latin, and, vice versa, Greek and Latin words which found entry into the Iranian languages.

I. Huber's contribution on the Persian-Nomos of Timotheus offers a particularly interesting insight into the Greek–Barbarian discussion, asking whether it is not more accurate to speak of an 'Asienbild' (image of Asia) rather than a 'Perserbild' (image of the Persians), due to the fact that an original Greek resentment of the inhabitants of Asia Minor in both literary and archaeological evidence eventually changes into the resentment of Persians (p. 183). In her view, the reasons for this resentment after the mid-fifth century B.C. are to be found in the focus on an external enemy in the attempt to divert attention from internal political problems (p. 190).

Perhaps least successful within the theme of *Grenzüberschreitungen* is Klintott's paper on the function of the Apadana in Susa, which is based on a discussion of Darius' Foundation text of Susa (DSf). Little new insight is offered in the statement that the *apadana* and the foundation inscription document the integral policy of the Achaemenids which aimed at presenting the peoples of all lands.

The present volume is an impressive and laudable academic achievement. The diversity of the topics reflects the rich tapestry of cultural contacts and exchange across the Near East, Egypt, and the classical world. The high academic quality of the papers is testimony to the scholarly approach with which problems were presented and analysed, and solutions offered or their limits acknowledged. Furthermore, the editors must be praised for producing a volume which has been edited with considerable care and attention to detail. As a theme, 'frontier crossings' is a much needed undertaking for scholars of the classical world as well as of the ancient Near East. In this, the volume must be regarded as a success, and the editors, as well as the contributors, should be encouraged to continue to pursue their line of investigation.

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