



**Junta de Andalucía**  
Consejería de Transformación Económica,  
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הקרן הלאומית למדע  
المؤسسة الإسرائيلية للعلوم  
Israel Science Foundation



אוניברסיטת בר-אילן  
Bar-Ilan University



# The Mediterranean, a View from the East

Research workshop of the Israel Science Foundation

Benefactors: Israel Science Foundation, Bar Ilan University, HCMH,

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## 14-17 November 2022

Jerusalem Gardens Hotel

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*The Mediterranean: A View from the East.*

**Daniela Dueck**, Bar Ilan University.

*Tiridates' Mediterranean journey.*

**Giusto Traina**, Université Paris-Sorbonne.

According to the peace treaty between Rome and the Parthians in 63 CE, the Parthian prince Tiridates was recognized king of Greater Armenia. However, he was obliged to go to Rome and receive the royal diadem from Nero to validate his title. Tiridates' crowning took place only three years later, and his outward journey lasted nine months because: as a Zoroastrian magus, he was not allowed to tread a watery surface. However, once he was officially appointed king, he seems to have abandoned his status as a priest: in fact, he embarked in Brundisium and returned to his homeland by sea. Starting from this episode, this study will consider some aspects of the image of the Mediterranean sea from the point of view of the Armenians.

*The Corybantes, Phrygian ecstasies, and biased thinking, ancient and modern.*

**Yulia Ustinova**, Ben Gurion University.

The Corybantes were *daimones* who belonged to the retinue of Meter. Their mythological activities were centred on Crete, and the place of their origin was either Phrygia or Samothrace. They danced to the sounds of tambourines and pipes, were prone to induce madness, and, if properly implored, could heal it.

In fifth-century BCE Athens, Corybantic initiations were well-known to the upper classes. The rites involved rapturous music as well as dancing, producing a powerful effect on the participants. Their physical and mental condition was certainly not the normal baseline state and in modern terms can be appropriately described as an alteration of consciousness.



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People cured in a Corybantic initiation needed to experience telestic mania over and over, as a means of maintaining their mental health. They performed their rites in associations, which had to meet more or less regularly. Anthropological studies of possession trance behaviour suggest that spirit possession and ecstatic behaviour have a moderating influence on stress levels and adaptation.

The Corybantic initiates who did not suffer from any mental problems whirled to exhaustion, and developed an emotional connection bordering on addiction to these practices. The delight of unbounded telestic *mania* and the feeling of cleanliness following the initiation account for the attractiveness of the Corybantic rites throughout antiquity. The Corybantic rites were often juxtaposed or even merged with *bakcheia*.

In current scholarship, the Corybantes are regarded as Oriental deities whose exotic cult was imported to Greece from Phrygia. However, there is no Phrygian evidence for practices from which the Corybantic rites could have derived. Furthermore, the Greek cult of the Mother of the Gods included high arousal rites at a very early date, and retained its ecstatic character in the Classical period. When the Greek Rhea merged with the Phrygian Meter, the high arousal element was probably introduced from the Greek side.

Just as in some other high arousal cults, notably that of Dionysus, the association of the Corybantic rites with a foreign country seems to ensue from a combination of embarrassment and an ardent wish to experience a liberating trance, felt by many initiates. By culturally dissociating themselves from the ecstatic practices, the Greeks resolved the cognitive inconsistency between their self-perception as citizens of the decorous civilised world and their surrender to the irresistible allure of high arousal cults. These false attitudes allowed cognitive consonance, attained the status of indubitable truth, and persuaded many modern scholars.



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*Biblical Views of the Mediterranean: Between Greek and Ancient Near Eastern Traditions.*

**Guy Darshan**, Tel Aviv University.

The book of Genesis relates that when the Flood subsided, Noah and his sons left the ark "and from these the people of the whole earth were dispersed" (Gen 9:19). The following chapter, Genesis 10, called in research the Table of Nations, is devoted to the dispersion of Noah's sons, structured as a genealogical list deriving from Noah. While this chapter may seem to be a coherent text, it is in fact a compilation of two rival "tables" of geographical or ethnic eponymous forefathers that portray separate points of view, which have yet to be studied in detail. In this paper, I will examine the two competing concepts of the Mediterranean basin embedded in Genesis 10. As part of this examination, I trace and compare similar concepts and traditions from ancient Near Eastern, Greek, and biblical literature.

*The Jews and the Greek cosmography.*

**Anca Dan**, CNRS.

Is there any possible connection between the Biblical Genesis and the Greco-Roman philosophical descriptions of the cosmos? Our study of the first Greek cosmography preserved until today, Pseudo-Aristoteles' *On the Cosmos* (usually known by the Latin title *De mundo*), shows that the author was familiar with the Jewish theological representations of the world. The coherence of this text with the later Judeo-Christian doctrine explains its success through the centuries – not only in Greek, but also through the numerous Latin, Armenian, Syriac, Arabic versions.

In this paper, we try to show that *De mundo* was composed between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, for a Jewish prince, called Alexander. First, we will present the geographic and historic elements proving this date. Second, we propose an identification of the mysterious island *Phebol*, in the Arabic gulf, which remained until now



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unexplained. Third, we discuss the geohistorical allusions to the life of Alexander, homonymous of the Macedonian king, to whom this didactic work was dedicated.

*De mundo* was written as a treaty of Greek theology for a Jew, with the stylistic features and the ideas specific to the Judeo-Hellenistic literature. In conclusion, we show its impact on the tradition of the western pagan and Christian representations of the world, from the generation of Seneca and Pliny the Elder until modern times.

*The Geographical Image of the Mediterranean in Ancient Jewish Sources: Bible, Second Temple Literature and Rabbinic Literature.*

**Eyal Ben Eliyahu**, University of Haifa.

Biblical literature contains no comprehensive geographical description of the Mediterranean Sea. Josephus, writing just after the destruction of the Second Temple, characterized the people in Judea as "hill people," and expressed the distance the Jews felt from the sea and its shores.

Rabbinic literature, created and edited primarily during the first half of the first millennium CE in the Land of Israel and Babylonia, counts the "Great Sea" as one of the seven seas, which surround the Land of Israel. The Babylonian Talmud makes a statement about the ocean that surrounds the world, while the Bible's Aramaic translations identify the Mediterranean Sea with the ocean.

The geographical reference to the Mediterranean Sea in rabbinic literature concerns the western border of the Land of Israel. The border, within this context, is the line that determines the area in which the agricultural religious laws—mandated solely in the Land of Israel—must be observed. This discussion contains two views on the question of the Land of Israel's maritime border. One approach draws a line from northern Syria to Egypt, with the area east of the line considered the "Land of Israel." The other approach stretches a line westward from the shore's northernmost point and another line westward from the



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southernmost point. The area between the lines, including the water and the small islands in the sea, is considered to be within the borders of the Land of Israel.

*Flavio Josefo y los géneros de la historiografía griega.*

**Candau Morón, José M<sup>a</sup>, Universidad de Sevilla.**

Mi intervención tratará de analizar hasta qué punto las convenciones de la historiografía griega actúan en la obra de Flavio Josefo. Para ello examinará las diferencias entre los relatos sobre Herodes que ofrecen la *Guerra judía* y las *Antigüedades Judías*. Las dos obras se inscriben en géneros historiográficos distintos, dotados, por tanto, de pautas expositivas y objetivos literarios distintivos. El examen de las variaciones entre los dos relatos ayudará a esclarecer si la información que ofrece Josefo está condicionada por las diferentes tradiciones historiográficas griegas.

My paper will try to analyse to what extent the conventions of Greek historiography are active in the work of Flavius Josephus. To this end, I will examine the differences between the accounts of Herod offered by the *Jewish War* and the *Jewish Antiquities*. The two works pertain to different historiographical genres, each of them characterized by its own narrative guidelines and literary objectives. The study of the variations between the two accounts will help to clarify whether the information offered by Josephus depends on the different Greek historiographical traditions.

*Flavio Josefo, transmisor.*

**Fátima Aguayo Hidalgo, Universidad de Sevilla.**

Fátima Aguayo Hidalgo

Jesus' trial before Pontius Pilate was a crucial episode of the Passion. The rare historical evidence that remains on this matter caused different hypotheses about the figure of two of the participants: the aforementioned Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, and Barabbas. The



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objective of this work is to know, in the first place, to what extent the first of them, Pilate, contributed to the condemnation of Jesus and, in second place, to elucidate whether or not he was responsible for such an act. The testimony of Flavius Josephus, one of the few authors who speak of Pilate as a historical figure and not as a biblical character, can contribute to the resolution of the question. Studying the passages that deal with Pilate and his relationship with the Jews can help us, firstly, to understand the actions of the Roman governor and, secondly, to glimpse if there are antecedents that justify his behavior in the face of pressure from the Jewish people.

*The Periegetic Mode in Augustan Poetry.*

**Andrea Rotstein**, Hebrew University.

The Periegetic Mode in Augustan Poetry Andrea Rotstein The city of Rome emerges as a literary theme in some of the major poets that were active after Augustus' victory in Actium. This talk will focus on descriptions of Rome in Vergil (Aeneid 8), Tibullus (2.5), Propertius (4.1) and Ovid (Tristia 3.1), which evoke the style of tourist-guides in performance. In Vergil's Aeneid king Evander, himself a refugee from Arcadia, guides Aeneas through the site that will be Rome. Tibullus, in turn, addressing Apollo, goes back to the times when Rome was simply unimaginable. In Propertius a passer-by is told about the past of well known landmarks, while in Ovidius' exile poetry it is his book that gets a tour of the Palatine, in search of a library. Hence, in the tradition of periegetic literature, Augustan poets summon their readers to tour the city and observe its monuments, often alluding to myths of origins and etiologies of names and rituals. Each text displays different preoccupations and engage differently with the current regime, but they share some similar features. Movement through space, characteristic of periegetic literature, combined with constant allusions to the past, allow audiences to envision the familiar city of Rome as if it was foreign. Time is, in a way, colonized through the superimposition of meaning over topography. Our poets, many of them born outside Rome (i.e. Vergil, Propertius, Ovid), merge topographical description with features of



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several literary genres, such as lyric, epic, pastoral, epigrammatic, hymnic, panegyric, etc. The tone of their descriptions is one of both nostalgia and admiration at the present Rome that once was a meadow. Thus, by encouraging readers to imagine an Ur-Rome, humbler and simpler, at times of major urban transformation, poetic descriptions of Rome invite a reflection on the advantages and disadvantages of growth and expansion under Augustan rule.

*Las costas de Arabia en la literatura geográfica latina.*

**Manuel Albaladejo Vivero**, Universidad de Valencia.

El objeto de mi ponencia es el de analizar las costas de Arabia tal y como son descritas en diversas obras geográficas de época romana (la Corografía de Pomponio Mela, la Historia natural de Plinio el Viejo y el Periplo del mar Eritreo, que, aunque está redactado en griego, se ha fechado en el siglo I d.C.) poniendo una mayor atención en las noticias acerca de puertos, fondeaderos y, sobre todo, los emporia ubicados en dicha península, con la finalidad de determinar su posible situación de dependencia con respecto a los poderes políticos que había en la zona. La hipótesis de partida consiste en plantear que los puntos principales de la costa estaban controlados por entidades estatales o preestatales, cuyos respectivos centros se encontraban al interior de la península, y el interés que tenían por dominar los puertos y emporia era por participar en el comercio del mar Eritreo y los ingresos que proporcionaba, en forma de impuestos, aranceles aduaneros y derechos de uso de las instalaciones portuarias.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the coasts of Arabia as they are described in various geographical works from the Roman era (Pomponius Mela's Chorography, Pliny the Elder's Natural History and the Periplus of the Erithraean Sea, which, although written in Greek, has been dated to the 1st century AD) paying more attention to the news about ports, anchorages and, above all, the emporia located in the aforementioned peninsula, in order to determine their possible situation of dependency with respect to the political powers that were present



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in the area. The starting hypothesis consists of proposing that the main points of the coast were controlled by state or pre-state entities, whose respective centers were in the interior of the Arabian peninsula, and the interest those centers had in dominating the ports and emporia was to participate in the profitable trade of the Erithraean Sea and the revenues it provided, in form of taxes, customs duties and fees for using port facilities.

*The Ancient Road Map of Palaestina: A Study of Ptolemy and the Tabula Peutingeriana*  
**Milka Levy Rubin and Rehav (Buni) Rubin**, Hebrew University.

Various classical sources reveal that Hellenistic and Roman authors had a well-established concept of the territory called then Judea or later Palaestina. This concept referred to an elongated region, between Syria and Egypt. Its western border was the Mediterranean coast and the eastern border was the Jordan River, running from Paneas in the north, through the Sea of Galilee, to the Dead Sea.

This territory was traversed by international, regional and local roads, many of which were created during the Roman period and marked by milestones. This road system is well researched. The aim of this study is not to describe or reconstruct this road system yet again, but to examine to what extent this road system is reflected in the ancient maps that survived from the second to the sixth centuries.

The paper will study the relations between Ptolemy's Geography (Γεωγραφική), the Tabula Peutingerina, Eusebius' Onomasticon, and the Madaba mosaic map. The paper has two aims: to show that they all reflect a contemporary road map, and to exhibit the development of this road map throughout the Roman-Byzantine period.



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*Imagined Geographies of the East in Early Medieval Saints' Lives.*

**Yaniv Fox**, Bar Ilan University.

Bishop Gregory of Tours (d. 594) is our foremost guide into the religious world of sixth-century Gaul. More than anything, he is renowned for his historiographical oeuvre, the *Ten Books of History*, an ambitious panorama of Christian history spanning from Creation until his own day, with special focus on Gaul. As metropolitan bishop of Tours, a city which housed the remains of one of its most illustrious saints—Martin of Tours (d. 397)—Gregory oversaw a veritable hotspot of cultic activity. Gregory was not a native of Tours, however; his family came from the Auvergne on his father's side and Burgundy on his mother's. As a child, he grew up worshipping other saints, whose cult left a deep imprint on his religious preferences as an adult.

The shrines of these saints and others, which Gregory often mentions in his writings, were not confined to the city. Some were in the countryside, others were located in the 'wilderness', and the miracles they wrought were a ubiquitous feature of Gaul's varied landscapes. In the writings of Gregory, in other words, the environment was more than mere background; it was an important participant. His protagonists, both living and dead, constantly interact with their surroundings and are transformed by it. Setting not only determined available degrees of freedom; it also imbued movement with an added layer of meaning. Gregory wrote history, whether as a continuous narrative in his *Ten Books of Histories* or as a series of vignettes in his so-called 'hagiographical corpus'. This history unfolded according to God's plan and the environment was the stage upon which it was enacted.

Saints, as God's agents, played a central role in this divinely orchestrated drama. Perhaps more so than any other aspect of his prose, they have defined Gregory as an author. As he himself admits, devotion to saints was of utmost importance in his personal life, and its influence is equally noticeable in his compositions. The relationship between the saints and the spaces they inhabited in Gregory's works will be the topic of this presentation. Its aim is



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to describe Gregory's methods of conceptualizing space and, more particularly, saintly space, either by examining its visitors—invited and uninvited—and by analyzing those stories that propel saintly protagonists through it. In his treatment, the more distant landscapes of the East are of special importance. The East was the seat of Roman power in Gregory's day, but for him this fact was secondary in importance to its function as the stage for the biblical narrative. While his understanding of eastern geography was at best tenuous, this did not prevent him from conceptualizing it as an authoritative space wherein western saints would 'test their mettle'.

My discussion will focus primarily on one of Gregory's longer compilations, *The Miracles of the Martyr Julian*, a collection dedicated to a saint he considered his special protector. Julian of Brioude was martyred in the late third or early fourth century, but his cult was relatively unknown until Gregory's family appropriated and promoted it. One of the ways in which Julian's effectiveness could be authenticated was through his acceptance in the East. As bishop, Gregory was also eager to reconcile his ancestral traditions with those of his episcopal city and its patron, Martin. The tales recounted in the *Miracles of the Martyr Julian* can be read as an attempt by the bishop of Tours to diffuse problems attendant to the cult of Julian and to harmonize it with other, more prominent, cults of his day. In the *Miracles* we catch a glimpse into the conceptual framework that defined Gregory's understanding of the saints, their agency, and particularly their ability to transform the Gallic topography into a landscape infused with Christian significance.

*Ideas and Geography: Late Antique Formative and Religious Routes.*

**Emilio González Ferrín**, Universidad de Sevilla.

"Ideas, shapes and styles are always travelling, but not necessarily together. Architectural styles, modes of trade or religious rituals are spread out and distributed throughout the Mediterranean coasts in parallel to the trips that a series of thinkers make from East to West and vice versa. I intend to draw the maps of ideas transferred through people who sought a



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specific training focussing in Late Antique times. From Plotinus to Augustine of Hippo, a series of intellectuals frame their travel routes initially in the Alexandria-Athens-Nisibis triangle and later on, with the closure of the Academy of Athens, following a specific eastern route (eastern neoplatonists) or the western alternative (of the North Africa to Rome, Turin, Trier). My aim is to offer a map of these ideas' routes in Late Antiquity from two overlapping perspectives: on the one hand, the difficult border between philosophical and religious thought, and on the other the reality of an always connected Mediterranean basin, against Pirenne's interpretation".

*Back and Forth. East-West-East Processes of Transculturation in Ancient Religion.*

**Jaime Alvar Ezquerro** and **Valentino Gasparini**, Univ. Carlos III Madrid.

The progressive globalization of the Mediterranean, accentuated in the Hellenistic epoch and even more so under the Roman Empire, promoted the mobility of people, with the consequent transfer of goods, ideas and customs. Such high social permeability generated processes of cultural reception as varied as the different actors involved and the geographic contexts they were embedded in. This paper focuses on some aspects of the dynamics of reception in the East of nominally "Oriental" gods previously subjected to a process of transculturation in the West.

In the transition from the 19th to the 20th century, the East was believed to have lent the West new and more elaborate religious options which could meet the changing needs of the Empire's populations, thus paving the path to the "triumph" of Christianity. A century later, this historical reconstruction has been dismantled. Among others, this question was debated by Jaime Alvar on the Romanisation of Eastern gods, Miguel John Versluys on the Orientalisation of Roman gods, Richard Gordon and Valentino Gasparini on Persianisation and Egyptianisation. Following this direction, we argue for a cultic discontinuity between original experiences in the East, praxis in the Mediterranean, and finally reception of new cultic forms



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in the East. The divinities of Eastern origin "displaced" to the West did not come back to the East under their original forms, but rather transformed by the process of contact with different cultural realms. In this paper we will analyze how such round trip did not return to the East its religious products unaltered, but how it reinserted them in their original cultural landscape making them coexist alongside local rituality thus producing further adaptations. These changes were linked, on the one hand, to a far-reaching process of constructing global gods (Greg Woolf, Jaime Alvar) suited to the new reality of the Roman Empire and its world-economy, and, on the other, to the Greco-Roman cultural capability of manufacturing "bespoke" gods and empowering them up to the highest plausible level (Valentino Gasparini).

Case studies will be selected from the strategies employed in these religious "high-stakes bets", particularly focusing on a) the transfer to supernatural beings of onomastic and iconographic attributes originally pertaining to human political leaders; b) the combination and grouping of deities; and c) the creation of an "ultra-divine" power.

*Identity and territory in Byzantium.*

**Juan Signes Codoñer**, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

The paper will approach the problem of the Hellenic identity in Byzantium by questioning some of the current assumptions prevailing today in the research. The link between territory and cultural or national identity, evident in modern Nation states, was alien to the Hellenism in the Roman and Byzantine periods, as Greek speaking population were scattered through many territories and even migrated from one region to the other following the invasions of foreign peoples, thus abandoning the Balkans after the Slavic penetration in the 7th century or Asia Minor after the Turkish Landnahme in the 11th. Moreover, in the Empire identity was constructed in layers, so that the inhabitants of Byzantium combined a public Roman identity, built up mainly by the Christian faith and the adherence to the Roman State, with many other



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regional or even local identities. Classical or Koine Greek was certainly the vehicular language of the Empire in the official communications, but did not determine the identity of their subjects, for it was a dead language, established as the written norm in order to avoid the plurality of spoken languages actually used by the subjects of the Empire. These languages included not only Slavic, Armenian, Romanian (Vlach) or other non-Greek regional languages spoken by Christians, but also a plurality of Regional Hellenic languages that were certainly not 'varieties' or 'dialects' but languages of their own with a territorial basis.

*How did the Byzantines orient themselves? Some answers from texts and manuscript figures.*

**Inmaculada Pérez Martín**, CSIC Madrid.

The only Byzantine testimonies taken into account by scholars of ancient and medieval cartography are the manuscripts with the Ptolemaic maps, which are rightly considered cartographic evidence of the Alexandrian tradition. But in Byzantine codices of geographical or other content there are representations that show a certain variety of spatial orientations, from the South orientation that is considered typically Arabic to the East orientation typical of Latin mappamundi. We take an assessment of this evidence to understand whether in Byzantium the known world was oriented towards the East and the Holy City, to evaluate the influence of Arabic and Latin usages on Byzantine spatial orientation, and to cross-check the evidence of the illustrations with Byzantine texts.

*From Hecataeus to Strabo about Pelasgians and migrations*

**Roberto Nicolai**, Università Roma Sapienza.

The research tries to identify lines of tradition concerning the most enigmatic Pre-Greek people: the Pelasgians. The starting point is a famous *excerptum* by Hecataeus in Strabo in which he states that the Peloponnesus, before being occupied by the Greeks, was inhabited by barbarians (FGrHist 1 F 119 = Strab. 7. 7. 1). Strabo's passage goes on to extend this



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statement to almost the whole of Greece and gives examples of barbarian characters (Pelops, Danaus) and barbarian peoples (Driopians, Caucones, Pelasgians and Leleges) from the sagas of the earliest times. Herodotus, when speaking of the Pelasgians, focuses mainly on the linguistic datum and the relations between Athenians and Pelasgians, while Thucydides in his *Archaeology* is mainly interested in the socio-economic dynamics of migration. In his work, the Pelasgians play a very small role. Herodotus' major interest in the Pelasgians, evidenced by the large number of mentions, is connected with the attempts of some Greek cities, and Athens in particular, to define their identity by going back to the earliest times and also with the question of autochthony, a theme very much present in the intentional history of the *logoi epitaphioi*. Hellanicus of Lesbos is the first author to consider the name Pelasgians as the ancient name of the Etruscans. Strab. 5. 2. 4 is a kind of short treatise on the Pelasgians and their relations with Italy and reports Ephorus' opinion on the Arcadian origin of the Pelasgians. The high number of quotations from poets (Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, Euripides) and prose writers (Ephorus, Anticlides, the Attidographers) confirms Strabo's competence as a philologist and also his interest in the more ancient events witnessed by the poets. The quotation from Hom. *Od.* 19. 175-177 on the ancient inhabitants of Crete, among them the Pelasgians, leads one to believe that on the one hand there was a strong interest of Homer's exegetes in the identity of the Pelasgians mentioned by the poet, and that on the other that this interest, scarcely present in the Homeric scholia, found its way into historical (Ephorus, Attidographers) and geographical (Hecataeus, Strabo) literature. In particular, interest in the Pelasgians in the 5th century appears to be linked on the one hand to the search for the origins of the opposition between Sparta and Athens (Dorians versus Pelasgians), and on the other to contacts with the Etruscans. When these two centres of interest waned, the Pelasgian question became an object of study for philologists and historians interest in remote antiquity.

The Latin sources confirm the picture I have tried to outline: on the one hand in epic poetry the name *Pelasgi* indicates the Greeks of the earliest times, on the other a people of ancient inhabitants of central Italy. Less attention than one might think receives the idea of *Pelasgi* as



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an ancient name for the Etruscans. In Latin literature, too, the Pelasgians are present above all in epic poetry (Ennius, Virgil) and its exegesis (Servius), and also in encyclopaedic works such as Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia*.

From the research on the Pelasgians in Greek and Latin sources, several lines of tradition emerge: those present in the historians and geographers of the 6th-5th centuries (Hecataeus, Herodotus), who were interested in the earliest history of Greece (Hecataeus) also in relation to the political order contemporary to them (Herodotus); the socio-economic line of Thucydides; the antiquarian tradition, which developed from the exegesis of epic poetry and became prevalent during the Hellenistic age and later in Rome. In this last line of tradition, the studies of grammarians are intertwined with historical and geographical literature, from Ephorus to Strabo.

*The East of the Mediterranean in Diodorus' Book V.*

**Serena Bianchetti**, Università di Firenze.

In Book 5 §§ 47-84, of his *Library*, Diodorus Siculus describes some islands in the central-eastern Aegean Sea.

The text largely retrieves the mythical past, which plays a prominent role in the most ancient section dedicated the history of peoples and contains few references to the authors consulted (56,7; 80,4) so that it is difficult to reconstruct the sources of this part of the book.

The fact that the paragraphs in question contain frequent references to the Trojan War and in particular to data from the *Iliad* has led scholars to think that Diodorus drew here from Apollodorus of Athens, who, in the 2nd century BC, had commented, in twelve books, on the *Catalogue of Ships*.

The problem of sources appears particularly complex here and in my paper, I will try to identify some common threads of the Diodorean historical exposition, from which a precise line of reference seems to emerge that goes back to Plato and that must be analyzed in order to highlight Diodorus' possible original contribution.



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In the first books of the *Library*, the historian is in fact highly interested in human progress and civilization, and the *nesiotiké biblos* can provide, in the paragraphs examined here, an exemplification of the Diodorean method.

*El análisis de la geografía fragmentaria y sus problemas: el caso del periplógrafo Timageto.*

**Francisco Javier González Mora**, Universidad de Sevilla.

Con la salvedad de las obras monumentales de Estrabón y de Tolomeo, ambas íntegramente conservadas, y del grupo de los pequeños tratados conocidos como "Geógrafos Griegos Menores", el resto de la importante producción geográfica greco-latina solo nos es conocida hoy de forma fragmentaria, es decir, fundamentalmente gracias a las citas indirectas que nos han legado de ella un buen número de transmisores que sí tuvieron acceso a estas obras, directa o indirectamente. El análisis filológico de estos autores fragmentarios constituye uno de los objetivos prioritarios de los diferentes investigadores vinculados a la Asociación GAHIA, en especial los que se adscriben a la Universidad de Sevilla.

Un caso muy particular de este tipo de autores fragmentarios lo constituye el periplógrafo Timageto. Lo poco que sabemos de él se reduce a que fue autor de un tratado geográfico titulado *Los puertos* o *Sobre los puertos*, en al menos dos libros, del que solo se conservan siete citas, todas transmitidas por los escoliastas de Apolonio de Rodas salvo una que nos ha conservado Esteban de Bizancio. Esta intervención pretende dar muestras de la complejidad que tiene el especialista a la hora de interpretar correctamente y de extraer datos de unos fragmentos (todos relacionados con la leyenda de los Argonautas) que exigen ser tratados con la máxima destreza y rigor. Se hará una demostración de cómo la lectura de los mismos permite datar al autor en la segunda mitad del s. IV a.C. (quizás con posterioridad al 340), con alguna influencia de parte de Teopompo, fecha a partir de la su obra fue ampliamente utilizada por Apolonio de Rodas, para luego perderse su rastro hasta finales de la Antigüedad, cuando de nuevo parecen haberla manejado eruditos como los comentaristas de Apolonio y Esteban de Bizancio.



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Apart from the monumental works of Strabo and Ptolemy, both of them preserved in their entirety, and the collection of small treatises known as "Minor Greek Geographers", the rest of the important production of Greco- Latin geographic literature is only known to us today in fragmentary condition, that is, mainly through references by later authors who, directly or indirectly, had access to the original works. The philological analysis of these fragmentary authors is one of the main research aims of the GAHIA Association, especially those belonging to the University of Seville.

The periplographer Timagetus is a very particular case among these fragmentary authors. What little we know about him is that he was the author of a geographic treatise entitled *The Ports or On Ports*, in at least two books, of which only seven quotations have survived, all of them transmitted by the scholiasts of Apollonius of Rhodes except for one that has reached us thanks to Stephanus of Byzantium. This paper aims to show how complex it is to interpret correctly and to extract data from fragments (all connected with the legend of the Argonauts) that require to be handled with the greatest care and accuracy. I will attempt to show that the reading of these fragments allows us to date the author to the second half of the 4th century BCE (indeed, influence from Theopompus apparently points to a date after 340 BCE), when his work was widely used by Apollonius of Rhodes. After that moment we lose its track until the end of Antiquity, when it seems to have been used again by erudite scholars, such as the commentators of Apollonius and Stephanus of Byzantium.

*The site of Ἱεροσόλυμα in Strabo's Geography*

**Francesca Grasso**, Università di Firenze.

My paper aims to analyse the geographical description of Judea and the site of Jerusalem in the XVI book of Strabo's "Geography". In my opinion, some particular aspects (for example: the incorrect proximity of Judea to the Mediterranean Sea, and the mistaken presence of the same lake, called "Sirbonis", in both the borders of Judea) seem to prove that Strabo was



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using an ancient source for describing the region, and that his mistakes are not simply due to an oversight of the geographer, as modern scholars say.

*Geografías paralelas: el sueño incumplido de Alejandro.*

**Francisco Javier Gómez Espelosín**, Universidad de Alcalá.

Alexander was clearly not the same at the beginning and at the end of the conquest of the Persian empire. Many things had changed completely during the long campaign, including his world view, which was now the view of one who had become lord of Asia as a result of his conquest of the Persian empire. Among the so-called last plans, which he had theoretically laid out at the end of his reign in Babylon, was the conquest of the lands of the western Mediterranean, a possibility that was discarded by his troops after his death and later by many modern scholars. However, the feasibility of such a project can perhaps be better understood from the new view adopted, looking at the world from the east, which necessarily implied the continuity of some Achaemenid practices. The Persians at different points in their empire had indeed considered this possibility, and it was to be expected that Alexander, who now took his place, would also have such concerns. The aim of this paper is to explore precisely this view and the implications it may have had for the future conquest of these western territories.

*De las guerras médicas a Gaugamela: el Mediterráneo oriental en la literatura pre-alejandrina.*

**Encarnación Castro Páez**, Universidad de Málaga.

El siglo IV a. C. ha sido descrito por la historiografía tradicional, en más de una ocasión, como un hiato sin un gran peso histórico entre los dos grandes periodos por antonomasia de la historia de Grecia: los siglos V y III. Como consecuencia, la producción histórico-literaria que ve la luz a lo largo de este supuesto *impasse* también ha sido analizada como mero tránsito u



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ocupando un papel secundario o complementario con respecto a los grandes nombres de la Atenas de Pericles o a la revolución cultural de época alejandrina. Desde esta perspectiva, hablar de geografía en la Grecia del siglo IV a. C. –ya sea como disciplina teórica objeto de reflexión científica, ya sea como género literario– puede parecer, de entrada, una tarea estéril. No obstante lo dicho, pensamos que un análisis que parta de la base de este momento histórico como un ente con personalidad propia, claramente individualizado frente a la etapa de la Grecia Clásica y el mundo helenístico-alejandrino, puede llevarnos a algunas conclusiones interesantes. Para ello, y teniendo en cuenta la temática sobre la que gira esta monografía, focalizaremos nuestras apreciaciones tomando como ejemplo, mayormente, el tratamiento dado a Asia.