

**THE TRADITIONAL  
MEDITERRANEAN:  
ESSAYS FROM THE ANCIENT  
TO THE EARLY MODERN ERA**

**AT. IN. E. R.**



**Athens Institute for Education and Research**



**EDITED BY:  
JAYOUNG CHE  
AND  
NICHOLAS C. J. PAPPAS**

**AT.IN.E.R. AND I.M.S.  
2011**



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# **Introduction and Acknowledgments**

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and**

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Athens Institute for Education and Research**

It is a great honour and a privilege that the Athens Institute for Education and Research is publishing a joint volume in Mediterranean Studies with the Institute for Mediterranean Studies, Pusan University for Foreign Studies in South Korea. While our two nations on different ends of great Eurasian continent, they share many historical experiences, indeed vicissitudes.

Geographically, both our nations have resided on peninsulas with rugged mountainous terrains for centuries. Greeks and Koreans have survived by making the best use of their lands and taking to the seas around them. Both Korea and Greece have many islands surrounding their respective peninsulas and both have developed a rich maritime and naval tradition.

In various times in their history, both nations developed merchant fleets to trade with their neighbours and at other times mustered naval fleets to defend their coasts and islands from the threat of invaders and pirates. Great naval leaders like Themistocles and Constantine Canaris among the Greeks and Jang Bogo and Yi Sun-Sin among the Koreans attest to this great maritime heritage. Innovations such as Greek Naval Fire by Kallinikos of Syria in the 7<sup>th</sup> Century, Korean naval cannon by in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, the Turtle-Ships of Yi Sub Sin, and the Fire-Ships of Canaris in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century affirm to not only to the skill of Korean and Greek seaman, but of their technical skill in defending their homelands. Today, Greek-owned merchant ships under different flags constitute the world's most numerous merchant fleets, while Korean shipyard construct the greatest number of ships in the world.

Another fateful thing that both Korea and Greece have in common is the unenviable place of being relatively small peoples caught amidst a surging whirlpool of rising and falling empires, occasionally succumbing as well to the siren song of imperialism. Both Korea and Greece have legendary first Kingdoms, knowledge of which is based upon later records and recent archaeological discoveries. Korea's first kingdom, Gojoseon, has its Greek counterpart in the Minoan and Mycenaean kingdoms in the Aegean. In the first millennium B.C. both Greece and Korea evolved politically from small localized polities, known as city states in Greece and walled town-states in Korea to larger Kingdoms like Hellenistic kingdoms and leagues in Greece and the three kingdoms of Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla in Korea. By the first century B.C., both Korean and Greek lands came under the direct or indirect

rule of the two great empires of that Era, the Han Dynasty of China in the East and the Roman Empire in the West.

With the decline of the Han, the Three Kingdoms of Korea reasserted their independence and two of them took their turns at empire building. The northern kingdom of Goguryeo for a time dominated northern Korea and nearly all of Manchuria, while Baekje and Silla controlled the western and eastern parts of the rest of the peninsula respectively. Later the Tang Dynasty of China encroached upon Korean lands and Goguryeo and Baekje succumbed to Chinese rule, while Silla resisted and survived, developing a maritime trade empire in the process. Later in the tenth century, Silla was supplanted by the Goryeo Dynasty, which was in turn transformed into the Joseon Empire or Choson, which into the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The breakup of the Roman Empire in the third to the fifth centuries, led to the emergence of the Eastern Roman Empire centered at Byzantium-Constantinople. In time, the Greek element co-opted and took over the reins of administration, economy and culture of that empire, which modern historians call the Byzantine Empire. It was able to survive, in one form or another, the movements of peoples, the rise of Islam and the Crusades, disintegrating in the 250 years between the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade and the Ottoman conquest. Between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century most Greek lands came under Ottoman rule, while some coastal and insular regions remained under the control of a declining Venetian empire. The national movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> century led to the emergence of the Modern Greek state.

Two common denominators that both Korean and Greek history have are the problem of foreign incursion and rule on the one hand and the problem of Civil War on the other. Over the centuries, various Chinese Dynasties, the Japanese, the Mongols and others have threatened and/or ruled Korean lands. Similarly, the Achaemenid Persians, the Romans, the various Germanic and Slavic peoples, the Arabs, the Crusaders, the Venetians, and the Ottomans invaded and controlled Greek lands. In modern times, the great powers—France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States have influenced the affairs of both peninsulas and their peoples. The Achilles heel for both Greeks and Koreans that has allowed for foreign domination and interference has been chronic civil strife among Greeks and among Koreans. From the Peloponnesian War in the 5<sup>th</sup> century to the Greek Civil War of 1946-1949, Greece has allowed itself to be weakened and controlled by outsiders by its internecine conflicts. Similarly Korea has been divided and ruled by outside forces in part because of division among Koreans from the Several States Period (1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. to 4<sup>th</sup> Century) and the Three Kingdoms Period (4<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> Century) to the Korean War of 1950-1953. It is significant to note that both Greece and Korea became battlefields in the Cold War between 1945 and 1991. The Cold War still divides Korea twenty years after its end. It is our fervent hope that Korea will peacefully reunite and the Korean people reconciled in the near future.

A more positive common thread in both Korean and Greek history is that both peoples have been creators and transmitters of culture and civilization. Both Korea and Greece passed elements of their own civilization as well as the

cultures of their neighbours to other. Through much of its history, Korea transmitted elements of near Confucianism and Buddhism, together with facets of its own culture, to Japan and beyond. Similarly, Greece became a conduit through which elements of Near Eastern civilization through the prism of Greek culture, to Rome and beyond in both antiquity and the middle Ages. In this process, both Korea and Greece diffused and spread aspects of their own civilization as well as others. It is in this tradition that both of our institutes present a collection of essays dealing with the history of one of the great zones of civilization—the Mediterranean.

Essays in this collection were presented at the History and Mediterranean studies conferences organized by ATINER over the last few years. They were produced by scholars of all ranks, from full professors and to graduate students, and by investigators from Australia, Canada, Egypt, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Romania, Russia, Turkey, and the United States. Among ATINER's goals is to provide a forum for the exchange of ideas within disciplines by scholars from all ranks and from as many countries as possible. This publication is dedicated to satisfying this goal within the interdisciplinary field of Mediterranean study. It not only includes studies by historians, but also offerings by scholars in related fields such as archaeology, architecture, art history, classics, humanities, Islamic studies, Medieval studies, numismatics, philosophy, political science, science and technology. Several of the essays appearing in this volume are in fact authored by graduate students. These submissions faced the same review process as did any that came before the editors. The fact that roughly one third of the present volume is by graduate students demonstrates both the availability of excellent work by such authors and the crying need to provide credible, refereed publication opportunities to scholars at the beginning of their careers. We are proud to have made this contribution towards easing the crisis and look forward to expanding such opportunity further.

This year's volume marks an important step in the development of the Institute and the nature of the History Conference publications. To enhance the quality of our essays and to increase the frequency of citations of our publications, the institute has elected Professor George Poulos, Emeritus Professor of Linguistics from the University of South Africa, to serve as Vice President for Research. He will coordinate our publications to allow for more theme-based collections of essay that will be more readily available for citation and review. Under his leadership, each research unit will reorganize its peer review process to assure a thorough and timely editorial process. For this collection the editors sent essays under consideration to selected members of the earlier editorial board who, in turn, sent them to colleagues who could judge work in their fields. Each of the referees received papers for review appropriate to their own fields of expertise. They then read over the papers and responded with quantitative scores as well as with narratives of their reactions to the papers. The editors then compared both these quantitative and narrative results to assist them in making final paper selections. As a result there were

inevitably good, solid essays that did not make the final cut. The editors encourage each of those authors to persist with their efforts. All of our submissions had merit and those not appearing in this collection may well be selected for another, pending successful revision. We believe this to be the very heart of the process: to strengthen and expand the quality of scholarship and to give authors explicit avenues to achieve those goals. We believe that the results more than justify the process.

Readers will find that this volume divided into eight parts covering historical themes from the Bronze Age until the industrial revolution. They include chronological, regional and topical themes that include as aspects of the history of Anatolia and the Ancient Near east, Hellenic Greece, the Hellenistic era, Greco-Roman civilization, the image of the Roman Empire, Byzantine and Islamic Civilizations, Medieval and Early Modern era, and the heritage of the historical Mediterranean for modern culture.

The first part has three studies that look at aspects of the history of Anatolia and the Levant in antiquity. The first is an interesting study by İlknur Taş of Hitit University in Çorum, Turkey on fire rituals in religious sacrifices among the Hittites, looking at the evidence for the rites and practices of the Hittites and comparing and contrasting the role of fire in the ceremonial customs of neighbouring peoples. This is followed by a Jeremy LaBuff's examination, based upon research for his dissertation from the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania USA of the interaction of Carian natives and Greeks in southern Anatolia, mostly in Hellenic and Hellenistic times, and how it affected their ethnic identities. The first part concludes with an essay by Avi Avidov of Beit-Berl College in Doar Beit Berl, Israel that is a challenging assessment of Jewish historiography—or the lack of it—in the second temple period, when historical writing was flourishing among other peoples, like the Greeks and the Romans.

It is to the Greeks of the Hellenic period, that is, those of the city states in of the archaic and classical era to which the authors of trio of essay of the second section turn their attention. The co-editor of this volume, Jayoung Che of the Institute for the Mediterranean Studies, Pusan University of Foreign Studies in Pusan, Korea, begins this section with her detailed investigation of the intricate relations between Athens and the neighbouring community and cult centre of Eleusis from earliest times to end of the Classical era, describing the complexities of ties between the *asty* of Athens with the *periphēria* of the *phyle*, *deme* and *gene* affiliated to the greatest city-state in mainland Greece. Subsequently Matthew Dillon of the University of New England in New South Wales, Australia deals with one of the greatest Athenian politicians of the sixth century, Solon, and the question of his *mania* over Athenian claims to Island of Salamis, or was his *mania* (madness) a *manteia* (prophesy) in the eyes of his contemporaries. In the final member of this trio of studies, Vernon Provencal from Acadia University in Novas Scotia, Canada looks into the Herodotus' prologue of Histories, in which the father of history assesses the responsibility for the opening of the conflict between East and West, Europe and Asia, Greece and Persia, investigating its rhetorical and philosophical implications.

This struggle between east and west resolved itself with the conquests of Alexander the Great and curious amalgamation of things Greek and Near Eastern that we know as Hellenistic Civilization, which is the theme of the third part of this volume. This part begins with a study of Alexander the Great and ends with investigation of events in Alexandria during the encounter of Caesar and Cleopatra. Edward Anson, of the University of Arkansas-Little Rock, Arkansas USA critically analyzes the claims of recent historians that Alexander the Great intentionally halted his advance into India by surreptitiously fomenting a mutiny of his forces to preserve his reputation and place in history. Next Manuela Puddu, of the University of Cagliari in Sardinia, Italy, conducts a study of 48 funerary monuments, *stelai*, in Byzantium, mostly from the Hellenistic era, and concluding that the symbolism of these gravestones indicates a strong sense of Hellenism among the departed citizens of Byzantium. Third and final essay studies one of the most dramatic events of the closing years of Hellenistic era. In it, Mohamed Gaber Elsayed of Minia University in Minia, Egypt discusses the great conflagration in Alexandria of 39 B.C. from the perspective of not only the destruction of the Great Library, but as part of a greater crisis in Ptolemaic Egypt.

The Roman expansion around the Mediterranean and especially in Hellenistic east produced Greco-Roman Civilization. The four essays in this section cover aspects of this hybrid culture and community as Rome met Greece. In the initial study of this section, Robert Kebric of the University of Louisville in Louisville, Kentucky, USA ponders Greek and Roman attitudes toward aging, a very timely topic in light of the greying of the baby-boom generation. This is followed by a discussion by recent graduate of Seton Hall University in University in South Orange, New Jersey USA, and documentary filmmaker, Alon Milwicky, of the Roman account of Alexander the Great throwing the spear at Troy upon his landing in Asia and its incorporation into later Alexandrian lore. This is followed by a fascinating account by David Wick of Gordon College in Wenham, Massachusetts USA, on the transformation of Athens into the Oxford or Cambridge of the Greco-Roman world with the continued survival and popularity of the Academy with Romans and Greeks of the later Republican era. From Roman Athens, we move to Roman Corinth, where William Batson of Prairie View A & M University in Prairie View USA presents an architectural survey of the Roman Baths at Isthmia, an example of one of the enduring institutions of Greco-Roman civilization, continued in Byzantium and adopted wholeheartedly by Islam. In the final offering of this section, Glen Cooper of Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah USA, who has worked on the Greek and Arabic editions of Galen, considers the work of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-century Physician as a pioneering effort in the development of the scientific method. Therefore, Greco-Roman civilization represents the combined elements of the Roman and Hellenistic experiences that were passed on to both the east and the west

The fourth part of our collection is dedicated to the study of society and the state of Republican and Imperial Rome and consists of four essays. The first is

a singular analysis by John Evans of the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, Minnesota USA of slavery in Rome, which challenges many of our assumptions of the recreational lives of slaves, especially among those in the cities engaged in crafts. This is followed by Roman Frolov's study, based upon his dissertation research at Yaroslavl State University in Yaroslavl, Russia, concerning the status and legality of the *contiones*, the ad hoc and unofficial meeting by citizens of the Roman Republic, and how their role changed as the Republic evolved. This study is in turn complimented by researches Petya Andreyva, a Ph.D. Candidate in Archaeology at Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski" in Sofia, Bulgaria, into the imperial cult in Thrace under the Principate and how it was influenced by native cults, Greco-Roman rites, customs from Anatolia, and the shifting nature of the imperial office. In another analysis of the image of the Empire, Aladar Kuun of University of Debrecen in Debrecen, Hungary, surveys the coinage of the Western Roman Empire in the last seven decades of its existence and how the declining power of the imperial office was represented by a melange of pagan and Christian symbolism.

Within two centuries after the breakup of the Roman Empire in the west, the Eastern Mediterranean was dominated by two rival civilizations, Byzantium and Islam, until the onset of the Crusades. The sixth part of this essay collection contains offerings that deal with aspects of both pre-Islamic Arabia and the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates, and their relations with the Eastern Roman Empire. Fatemeh Ahmadvand and Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Ph.D. students at universities in Teheran, Iran present an engaging description of economic, social and political life of the Jewish communities in the Hijaz on the advent of Islam. Then Nani Gelovani of Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University in Tbilisi, Georgia analyses the accounts of Khalifa Ibn Khayyat of the hostile relations between the Umayyad Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire, featuring the annual and semi-annual raids (*razziah*) of the Muslims into Anatolia in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. This study is then followed by one written by Salah H. al-Haideri of the University of Salahaddin in Erbil, Iraq, which discusses the influence of the Caliphate's relations with the Byzantines upon the fluctuations in Caliphal policies towards religious minorities in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The section on Islam and Byzantium concludes with an absorbing enquiry into the rivalry and interchange between Baghdad and Constantinople over the *automata* or *hiyal* (mechanisms of devices) that enthralled visitors to the Caliphal and Imperial courts from Constantin Canavas of the Hamburg University of Applied Sciences in Hamburg, Germany.

The penultimate and most varied part of this volume of essays covers the broad chronological period of the Mediterranean in Medieval and Early Modern Eras, which is from the 6<sup>th</sup> century to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. It begins at the cusp of the ancient and medieval eras with Philip Petrov's research into the philosophical influences and roots of Cassiodorus and his seminal work *On the Soul*. The next offering comes from the other end of the middle ages in which Fabrizio Conti of the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary considers Franciscan Observant Bernardino Busti's sermons as sources in

studying superstition and witchcraft in northern Italy in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In the subsequent essay, Carmelina Gugliuzzo of the University of Messina in Messina, Italy looks into the role of the *arsenale*, the naval shipyards, in Messina and its role, not only in the economy and prestige of the city of the straits, but also in the strategic developments of naval affairs in the Mediterranean in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. After dealing with issues of empire in earlier times, two studies look into empires in early modern times. One study by Yasuhiro Mikura of Chuo University in Tokyo, Japan deals with two involved in the expansion of the Spanish Empire in the Americas and north Africa and the records they left of their roles in and attitudes toward that growth of Empire. Elizabeth Myers of the George H.W. Bush Presidential Library in College Station, Texas USA follows this with an examination of the army Ottoman Empire, in particular its encampments, through the eyes of three western observers in different periods and an assessment of the changes in the Ottoman military during what some scholars call “the Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe. The concluding contribution in this section is a fascinating and intriguing study of the origins and development of collections of folk remedies among the modern Greeks in Ottoman times, in which Steven Oberhelman of Texas A&M University in College Station, Texas USA convincingly shows that they can be traced to ancient and Byzantine medical treatise.

The final part of this collection of essays includes four presentations that consider the influence of the traditional Mediterranean upon later modern cultural and society as represented in literature and architecture. The first two essays deal with the concepts of gender and sexuality in the traditional Mediterranean as expressed in elements of culture. Richard Almeida of Francis Marion University in Florence, South Carolina USA presents a perceptive investigation into how Athenian drama appropriated *thumos* (spiritedness, ferocity, anger) to women thus changing the role of women in a patriarchal society and culture and influencing later concepts of gender relations in the west. Subsequently, Kyriaki Frantzi of MacQuarie University in Sydney Australia offers an insightful survey of the role of Eros and erotic love in Mediterranean culture across the ages, dealing with the dichotomy and tensions existing in the body and spirit. The last two essays in the final section deal with aspects of the architectural heritage of the traditional Mediterranean. In the first of these, Jeni Mihova and Matt Fraser from Victoria University of Wellington in Wellington, New Zealand report on the efforts to use new technologies to develop an accurate interactive modelling of one of the great monuments of the Mediterranean, the acropolis of Athens. In the second of the two essays on architectural heritage Maria Urmă of the University of Arts George Enescu in Iași, România also uses the Acropolis of Athens, as well as other Greek, Egyptian and Roman monuments to analyse the Greek view of space and perspective in architecture in comparison to other civilizations, such as Egypt and Rome, in its influence the spatial concepts of succeeding civilizations.

As seen by this preview of the collection, includes a tremendous diversity and range of topics and epochs. Because of this variety and scope, the editors owe a debt of gratitude to a number of people. First and foremost, we would like to thank the select anonymous members of the editorial board and their colleagues, who worked on the referee process in their respective disciplines.

We also would like to thank the authors of each of the studies in this volume for submitting their papers to the editing process and for their patience in dealing with this process. Thanks must also be presented to directors and members of the two institutes. Finally we wish to thank the staff of the Athens Institute for Education and Research for all of their help in developing this volume in a timely manner. In this regard special thanks go to Afrodete Papanikos, publication coordinator, and Gregory Papanikos, the director of the Institute, for their patience, confidence, and encouragement.