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Pausing at the Intersection of Religion and Travel

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In Lucian's satirical dialogue, *The Ship*, several men travel from Athens to the Piraeus to witness a large vessel, the *Isis*, that had lost her course and docked there on her way from Egypt to Italy. Subtle yet significant throughout this fictional dialogue are the connections between travel and "religion," or honouring and soliciting the gods. The vessel personifies Isis, whose image is displayed on both sides (*Nav.* 5). The captain speaks of the terrors encountered in rough waters and of how "the gods were moved by [the shippers'] lamentations" and showed them the way in the pitch dark. Furthermore, "one of the Dioscuri put a bright star on the masthead, and guided the ship in a turn to port into the open sea, just as it was driving on to the cliff" (*Nav.* 8–9). Discussion of the whole incident reminds the men of a pilgrimage they had made to Aegina two days earlier (in a contrastingly small boat) to take part in the rites of Enodia (Hecate), guardian of the crossroads.

These passing references in one of Lucian's writings pale in comparison to an abundance of untapped evidence concerning the intersection of mobility and human activities relating to the gods in the ancient Mediterranean. Pausing at this intersection to reflect on its significance may provide a new vantage point on aspects of cultural life in the ancient world, including but not limited to Judaism and Christianity. Scholarly studies have looked at realities of travel in antiquity, and some have begun to consider issues pertaining to pilgrimage and ethnography, for instance. Lacking, however, has been a concerted effort to consider the ways in which realities of travel and discourses of travel played a role in religious life.

This volume of essays, representing the first fruits of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies' Travel and Religion in Antiquity Seminar, begins to address this need. Here in the introduction I begin to map out the territory where mobility and religion intersect and provide some direction on our journey into this largely uncharted territory. After surveying some scholarship in this field, I outline five main areas where travel and religion intersect, with a focus on the Greek-speaking, eastern part of the Roman Empire.

Trajectories in Scholarship

Recent work on mobility and transportation is beginning to offer many useful tools for this project, even though the subject of religion and travel specifically has been addressed in only limited, albeit useful, ways. Several studies consider realities of transportation. Lionel Casson studies the practical aspects of mobility. For example, he investigates road conditions, which vehicles or animals were used, where travellers stayed, and how long journeys took. In the process, he sometimes touches on issues relating to the gods, such as travel to healing sanctuaries and festivals and the role of deities in providing safety along the road or at sea.¹ Steven Muir examines these issues more fully in Chapter 2 of this volume. Yet as Ryan S. Schellenberg notes in Chapter 8, Casson's portrait of ancient travel is derived mainly from writings produced by the elites, and so may be less helpful in understanding the "on the ground" experiences of average traders or wanderers like Paul.

Colin Adams and Ray Laurence's (2001) recent edited volume reflects detailed work on transportation and geographical knowledge. It includes studies that explore archaeological materials (cf. Brodersen and Talbert 2004). In that volume, Kai Brodersen, for instance, examines the "simple question of how one knew where to go at all before one even started to

travel.”² He does so by considering geographical knowledge of the time as it was reflected in annotated and illustrated itineraries, which are the closest people had to maps. Adams sees his and Laurence’s volume as a challenge to scholarly traditions that posit *immobility* as the norm in the Roman period: “travel and mobility were not solely the preserves of the rich”; rather, “for many reasons, all but perhaps the very poorest could travel if need be.”³

Claudia Moatti’s (2006) work points out how some historians tend to minimize the significance of movement (cf. Moatti 2004). Her ongoing project on mobility and migration in the Roman Empire assesses the impact of these factors on politics, culture, and identity. Appropriate reactions such as hers to scholarly traditions that posit immobility should not lead us to ignore the potential hindrances to travel or the dangers encountered on the road and at sea, including the threat of brigandage.⁴ It is also important to attend to other factors that would have limited travel by some, especially issues of gender and socio-economic status. Several chapters in the present volume struggle with the problem of how to assess the extent and limits of travel in antiquity.

In addition to these scholarly contributions are several valuable studies that shed light on the interplay between culture or religion (activities associated with honouring or interacting with the gods) and travel specifically. In a number of studies, John (Jás) Elsner examines topics ranging from Herodotus’ ethnographic descriptions of Egypt to Pausanias’ status as pilgrim and the function of travel motifs in Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius*.⁵ Several works pay special attention to issues of mobility in connection with pilgrimage to festivals, oracles, and sacred sites. These include works by E.D. Hunt, Matthew Dillon, David Frankfurter, and Ian Rutherford.⁶

Some research deals with issues of mobility in connection with ancient ethnography and cultural encounters among travellers. François Hartog analyzes representations of the “other” in Herodotus (particularly regarding the Scythians) in one work and explores how the journey motif in Odysseus’ story influenced subsequent descriptions of the “other” in the Hellenistic and Roman eras in another work.⁷ An excellent study by James S. Romm deals with how ancient historical and fictional works by authors such as Herodotus, Strabo, and Antonius Diogenes represent geography and peoples at and beyond the edges of the known world, from the “real” Ethiopians in the south to the legendary Hyperboreans of the north, and from the Brahmins of the east to the inhabitants of faraway Thule in the northern Atlantic.⁸



Figure 1 Relief depicting Odysseus' travel by ship, along with the Sirens, on an Etruscan urn (2nd century BCE), now in the British Museum (D. 54) (photo by Harland)

Particularly noteworthy for its attention to the interplay of travel and culture is Silvia Montiglio's recent *Wandering in Ancient Greek Culture* (2005). That volume chronologically surveys representations of wandering and travelling in literature, from Homer's *Odyssey* to Hellenistic philosophers and the Greek novels. Montiglio plots out developments, including a shift from more negative notions of wandering found in earlier literature to the sometimes glamorized picture found in certain writings of the Hellenistic and Roman eras. Overall, she suggests, the literature of the Greco-Roman period is characterized by an ambivalence toward travel. Discourses of travel functioned in both positive and negative ways.

While the works mentioned above have made important contributions in a number of areas, few consider the interplay of religion and travel in broad and deliberate terms. That is what the chapters in this volume begin to do.

Why Travel? Areas for Exploration

To begin to chart the ways in which travel intersected with what we often discuss under the rubric of "religious" life, it will be worthwhile to begin by asking this simple question: Why travel? The answers that come for-

ward that have some connection to religion and culture are numerous and significant. The responses have implications for our analysis of both real travel by historical figures, on the one hand, and imaginary travel or discourses of travel in narrative sources, on the other. (The distinction between the two is sometimes blurry.)

Approaching the issue from the perspective of the motives for journeys may help us place people from various cultural backgrounds—including Judeans and Christians—within the framework of mobility and discourses of travel in the Mediterranean. It is important to note at the outset that not all motives for travel, which often overlap, apply equally to all people in antiquity, since issues of social status, wealth, education, and gender affected what types of journeys could be undertaken and how often. Here I discuss five main, overlapping areas where religion and travel intersect. This volume is organized around these areas:

- travel related to honouring deities, including travel to festivals, oracles, and healing sanctuaries
- travel to communicate the efficacy of a god or the superiority of a way of life, including the diffusion of cults or movements
- travel to explore and encounter foreign peoples or cultures, including descriptions of these cultures in ancient ethnographic materials
- migration
- travel to engage in an occupation or vocation.

1. Honouring the Gods

In light of the honour-centred culture of the time, what may first come to mind as a motivation for travel is that one travelled to honour gods or goddesses or to seek some benefactions or guidance from them. This reason for travel accounts for much of our evidence for mobility and religion among men and women of various social strata, encompassing what some scholars discuss under the rubric of ancient or pre-Christian pilgrimage.⁹ People travelled (a) to honour the gods at festivals or to take part in initiations at places such as Eleusis and Samothrace, and (b) to seek answers to life's problems (e.g., healing, oracles) at sanctuaries. As Steven Muir explains in Chapter 2, the gods and rituals for them played a key role in the process of travelling itself. He maintains that interactions with the gods while on the road served to reassert the identity of travellers, linking them with the familiar rituals of home and city.

(a) Attending Festivals and Initiations

A variety of festivals honouring the gods attracted travellers, both panhellenic and regional. The most important festivals (*panegyreis*) in the Greek East were, of course, the four main panhellenic gatherings: Isthmia in honour of Poseidon (every two years in April/May); Nemea in honour of Zeus (every two years in July/August); Pythia in honour of Apollo (every four years in July/August); and, best known, Olympia in honour of Zeus (every four years in July/August). In the Hellenistic and Roman eras, some cities or sanctuaries sought to introduce new panhellenic festivals, often claiming equivalency with the Pythian games at Delphi (“isopythian”). This was the case with the festival in honour of Artemis Leukophryene, established by Magnesia on the Maeander River, and with the festival established by Miletos at Didyma (third century BCE; cf. *IMagnMai* 16, 23–87). Alongside these celebrations were innumerable other festivals hosted by sanctuaries, cities, or provincial organizations, including those established in honour of emperors in the Roman period.

Of special interest are the catchment areas of festivals, the realities of transportation to them, and the identities and status of those who participated, especially in the Roman era. Ian Rutherford’s (1998) case study of pilgrimage to the temple of Isis at Philae in Egypt is suggestive. Inscriptions and graffiti from the sanctuary show that pilgrimage to honour Isis was undertaken by people from a variety of cultural backgrounds in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, including Greeks, Egyptians (Demotic), and Ethiopians (Meroitic). For the Ptolemaic era, the catchment area of the sanctuary included Greece, Asia Minor (e.g., Aspendos, Tarsus, Gortyn, Mylasa), Crete, and Cyrene (Rutherford 1998: 236–38). For the Roman era, we have information about the status or occupations of some who visited the sanctuary, including a scribe, a recluse of a god, mimes, and a painter (*IPhilai* 129, 154, 252, 168). Drawing on insights from anthropological studies of pilgrimage in the modern era, Rutherford also suggests that this sanctuary, like other pilgrimage destinations, might have become a ground for “contesting the sacred.” Different groups competed for the more important and central spaces (for their honorary inscriptions) within the sanctuary.¹⁰

Factual or fictional literary accounts of pilgrims provide another important source of information here. Elsner (1992) makes a convincing case for understanding Pausanias himself as a Greek pilgrim writing a guide for others on important sacred sites in Greece (cf. Rutherford 2001). Elsewhere, Elsner (1997) shows how Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius* uses

the rhetoric of travel in a twofold manner: to portray Apollonius as a pilgrim on a sacred journey to key sites; and, through Apollonius, to bring the reader (or hearer) along on a pilgrimage to sites of significance to this holy man's miraculous doings. Apollonius, who becomes a "focus for the sacred topography of the Greek world," is simultaneously both a pilgrim and the object of pilgrimage in the narrative (Elsner 1997: 27). Elsner makes another important point about the rhetorical function of travel motifs — a point that could also hold true for early Christian Gospels and Acts: "If the act of writing about pilgrimage is a surrogate form or repetition of the ritual, then likewise the act of reading about Apollonius' travels as a pilgrim had the effect of turning Philostratus' readers into *surrogate pilgrims*" (Elsner 1997: 28, italics mine).

Festivals centred on initiation into the mysteries of specific deities also attracted pilgrims from near and far. The most widely recognized destinations were the initiations at Samothrace in honour of the "great gods" (*theoi megaloi*) and at Eleusis in honour of Demeter and Kore. Fictional narratives, such as Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, provide important insights into initiatory journeys. Apuleius' story pivots on the wanderings of its asinine protagonist, Lucius, whose journeys ultimately end in salvation from the goddess Isis as well as initiation into the mysteries. It is worth noting that mythical and metaphorical journeys (e.g., Demeter seeking Kore, Isis seeking Osiris) seem to have played a role both in ritual re-enactments and in the experience of the initiates. Lucius' experience is described in terms of travel at the "frontier of death" as he "journeyed through all the elements and came back" (Apuleius, *Met.* 11.23.6–8). In a similar manner, Plutarch draws on the analogy of initiation in speaking of death and the soul's "wanderings," "tiresome walkings," "frightening paths in darkness that lead nowhere," which end, thankfully, in wonderful light and "walks about, crowned with a wreath, celebrating the festival" (Stobaeus 4.52.49; trans. Burkert 1987: 91–92).

Travel often continued even after the pilgrims' arrival at the sanctuary for an initiation or festival. In Chapter 5, Karljürgen G. Feuerherm discusses earlier Mesopotamian New Year's processions, which involved not only the movement of devotees but also the journeys of the gods themselves, in the form of their statues. This concrete understanding of mobile gods continued into Hellenistic and Roman times, as evidenced at Hierapolis in Syria, for instance.

The procession (*pompē*) continued as an important component in many festivals and initiatory rites in Hellenistic and Roman times as well,

whether it involved a shorter sacrificial procession at the temple or a more lengthy journey on the sacred way between city and sanctuary (as at Eleusis, Didyma, and Ephesos, for instance). There are several methodological tools for analyzing pilgrimages, processions to (or in) sanctuaries, and related activities involving interplay between people and their environments (be they natural or built). In particular, the emerging subdiscipline of the geography of religion and sociological, anthropological, and architectural studies of space and its relation to culture provide important insights into the movements of worshipers in antiquity, as Wayne O. McCready (Chapter 4) begins to illustrate in this volume.¹¹

As the chapters by McCready and Susan Haber on Judean pilgrimage show, interactions between pilgrims and spatial features of holy sites were important not only for sanctuaries of Zeus, Isis, or Atargatis, but also for other cults of the Levant, including the cults of Yahweh at Jerusalem, Elephantine, and elsewhere. In Chapter 3, Haber provides important context for the historical Jesus by examining the nature and patterns of pilgrimage in first-century Judea, as well as the importance of ritual purity in this connection. Employing insights from interdisciplinary studies of space, McCready considers the important role of space and place for diaspora Judeans. McCready focuses on the diaspora temple at Elephantine in Egypt to show how pilgrimage played a role in the emplacement and self-definition of those in the diaspora.

The largely fictional *Letter of Aristeas* relates a visit by an Egyptian pilgrim to the temple at Jerusalem. That visit was expressly made for ambassadorial reasons; nonetheless, the resulting letter seems to reflect the ideal perspective of the diaspora pilgrim: “I emphatically assert that every man who comes near the spectacle of what I have described will experience astonishment and amazement beyond words, his very being transformed by the hallowed arrangement on every single detail” (*Aristeas*, 99; trans. Shutt 1985).

There are stories of travel to historically or mythically important sites by popular Judean, Samaritan, and Galilean leaders, prophets, or messiahs and their followers, including journeys into the wilderness for salvation (emulating the wandering Israelites) and to more specific locations of importance to Israel’s past (cf. Davies 1979). Thus, when Josephus identifies a common denominator among many popular leaders, it is that they “persuaded the multitude to act like madmen, and led them out into the desert under the belief that God would there give them tokens of deliverance,” as did the Egyptian prophet around 56 CE (Josephus, *War* 2.259

[trans. LCL]; cf. *War* 2.560–263; *Ant.* 20.167–72; Acts 21:38). Similar popular pilgrimages to sites of significance are evident in the story of the Samaritan who led a crowd to the top of Mount Gerizim to see holy vessels supposedly buried by Moses himself. Furthermore, there is the account of Theudas, who persuaded “the majority of the masses” to join him in retracing the steps of Joshua to the Jordan (*Ant.* 18.85–87; 20.97–98; cf. 2 Kings 2:6–8). There Theudas planned to divide the waters for safe crossing in a manner reminiscent not only of Joshua, but also of Moses and of Elijah and Elisha.

(b) Visiting Oracles and Healing Sanctuaries for Benefits from the Gods
 Closely related to honouring the gods, whether in Israel or elsewhere, is the fact that people naturally expected some favours or benefactions in return, including ongoing salvation, safety, or protection in family life, in personal health, at work, and in travel. Such benefactions could be gained by travelling to seek guidance from the gods (especially Apollo) at oracle sites, or to seek healing (especially from Asklepios) at sanctuaries or from holy men or women who were close to the gods in question.

The most famous oracle was that of Apollo at Delphi. But there were other oracular sites that attracted regional and “worldwide” visitors: those of Apollo at Delos, Didyma, and Claros; of Ammon in Libya; of Baal in Syria; and of Sobek, Isis, Serapis, and other deities in Egypt.¹² The reasons for travel are sometimes reflected in the topics of consultation, which included questions about honouring the gods with cults or festivals; about civic matters; and about domestic matters such as births, marriages, deaths, and personal relations (cf. Fontenrose 1988: 89). Robin Lane Fox (1986: 210) notes that concerns over prospects of travel and trade were quite common in consultations of the dice oracle at Oenoanda.

Among the best-known healing sanctuaries in the Greek East that attracted visitors from near and far were those of Asklepios at Epidauros and at Pergamon. Aelius Aristides’ *Sacred Tales*, composed in honour of Saviour Asklepios (around 171 CE), provides important glimpses into travel for healing alongside issues of honouring the gods and seeking their help. Throughout, Aristides refers to dreams or to direct leading of Asklepios and other deities in connection with his journeys. Thus, for instance, he relates a time when he was in Lebedos, suffering from stomach illnesses (49.10–11; 147 CE). During a local festival, he decided it would be best to consult the nearby oracle of Apollo at Claros. The god’s response—that Asklepios would heal him—was accompanied by Aristides’ own



Figure 2 Approach to the oracular sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma (photo by Harland)

dream that night in which he saw inscriptions honouring the gods for healing: “And this vision inaugurated for me continuous sacrifices, and not only because I considered the dream, but I was receiving such *great benefits from the gods* and was also so inclined” (49.13; trans. Behr 1981–86: 2.310).

Apparently, the gods could command more extensive travel, and those who heard the command could be quite persistent in travel. Aristides relates an occasion (while he was in his hometown of Smyrna) when “the god indicated a journey to me. And I had to leave immediately. And we went out on the road to Pergamon” (*Sacred Tales* 51.1; cf. 48.11–17; 50.2–8; 51.1–10). After this pilgrimage, Aristides’ stomach condition and his sore throat eased up and he was “manifestly more comfortable” (*Sacred Tales* 10). It is worth noting both Acts’ depiction of Paul’s “deci-

sion” to go to Macedonia (Acts 16:9–10) and Paul’s own descriptions of his calling to engage in his travels to the Gentiles (e.g. Gal 1:15–17), which Schellenberg discusses in Chapter 8.

2. Promoting a Deity or Way of Life

(a) Travelling Philosophers and Holy Men

Though many made pilgrimages to oracles or healing sanctuaries in order to gain help from the gods in the more mundane aspects of their lives, some among the educated elites claim to have had more ambitious goals. Certain types of literature present figures travelling to seek education or revelation from the gods, or travelling to promote wisdom they had acquired from divine sources. As I discuss at length in Chapter 7, a recurring pattern emerges in narratives that relate a youth’s travel in pursuit of education and wisdom from the gods. An autobiographical letter to the emperor attributed to one Thessalos, which serves as a preface to a book of astrological–herbal remedies, illustrates well this common theme of journeys in pursuit of education and wisdom. Thessalos’ wanderings in pursuit of magical, curative wisdom ultimately bring him to a holy man and priest at Thebes, whose talents in divination allow Thessalos to experience an ineffable vision of Asklepios.

The motif of the travelling philosopher or holy man whose goal is to demonstrate the most fitting way of life and who communicates wisdom is widespread in biographical and other literature. Well into the Roman period, migratory figures such as Diogenes the Cynic and Pythagoras continued to serve as models of the travelling wise man.¹³ *The Passing of Peregrinus* offers an interesting case in point.¹⁴ Lucian’s satirical biography (placed in the mouth of a critical speaker at the Olympics) incidentally reveals Peregrinus’ many travels in order to advocate his understanding of the philosophical life (the glory-seeking life, in Lucian’s view). True to his name, he “roamed about, going to one country after another” (*Peregrinus* 10 [trans. LCL]).

Characterized as a Cynic philosopher, Peregrinus is pictured travelling to places well beyond his hometown of Parion in Asia, including Italy, Armenia, Syria, Egypt, and Greece. At Olympia, where his story ends (in about 165 CE), he sought to “teach [the crowds at the festival] to despise death and endure what is fearsome” (23) and to emulate Herakles by throwing himself into the fire (24–25, 33). Of course, Peregrinus’ travels had also brought him to Palestine, where he was accepted by the Christians as a “prophet” and “society-leader” before being arrested for some

reason (11–13). Peregrinus’ connections with the Christians evidently reached beyond Palestine, for “people came even from the cities in Asia, sent by the Christians at their common expense, to succour, defend, and encourage the hero” (13).

Like some other travelling philosophers or holy men, Peregrinus was soon after his death to receive honours the likes of which are often discussed under the rubric of the scholarly category of the “divine man.”¹⁵ In Peregrinus’ case, these honours included a cult with an oracular shrine and perhaps mysteries as well as a festival (as “predicted” by the speaker in the satire).

It is in the travels of figures such as Peregrinus, Thessalos, and Apollonius of Tyana, and in narratives about them, that we find rich resources regarding ancient conceptions of how travel and religion were intimately linked. In Chapter 6, Ian W. Scott explores key aspects of this area. In the process, he dismantles the scholarly category of the itinerant “divine man” (θεός ἄνηρ) first proposed by Richard Reitzenstein and still alive in scholarship today, albeit in modified form. Scott does so by analyzing the travels of Apollonius of Tyana in Philostratus’ work and the travels of Pythagoras in the works of Porphyry and Iamblichus. Though these and other works have in common discourses of travel, there are significant differences in how each portrays its central figure.

Biographic and hagiographic writings such as Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* are themselves attempts to use the travels of the holy man and the “wonders” (*thaumata*) that accompanied such travels as a rhetorical device to persuade the reader (or listener) both to recognize the philosopher’s special status and power (from the god[s]) and, at times, to pursue the philosophical life (cf. Elsner 1997: 28). One could say that through these travel narratives, the reader or hearer is brought along on the journey to witness the extraordinary things seen and done by the holy man.

(b) Travelling Cult Founders, Leaders, or Religious Practitioners

Another case reported by Lucian shows the importance of mobility for certain cult leaders or founders who were promoting the powers and effectiveness of a particular deity.¹⁶ Lucian’s account of Alexander of Abonuteichos, though far from objective, brings to life some of this prophet’s journeys in Macedonia, Bithynia, and Pontus that led to his founding of the cult and oracle of the snake-god, Glykon, in Paphlagonia. Lucian speaks of Alexander, who was educated by a disciple of Apollonius, as going “about the country practicing quackery and sorcery” along with his sidekick Coonnas (*Alex.* 6 [trans. LCL]). The same account demonstrates

the continued importance of networks of propaganda and the role of advocates in spreading word (“rumours,” for Lucian) of the god’s effectiveness. These advocates included official ambassadors to well-established oracles at Didyma and Claros (*Alex.* 24, 29, 37).

We also catch glimpses of the diffusion of Glykon-devotion as it made its way from Abonuteichos to the nearby regions of Bithynia, Thracia, and Galatia and finally to more distant locations, including Rome itself (cf. *Alex.* 30). As C.P. Jones points out, material evidence confirms Lucian’s picture of “radiating influence”: coins with Glykon’s image are found earliest at Abonuteichos and in nearby Tiesion in the time of Antonius Pius, then further inland at Germanicopolis (also in Paphlagonia) by the early third century, and in Nikomedia in Bithynia by the time of Caracalla. Other images and votive inscriptions associated with Glykon, though difficult to date, have been found at Tomis in Thracia (statue), Athens (bronze statuettes), and both Apulum in Dacia and Scupi in Illyria (votive inscriptions).¹⁷

There were other itinerant figures who focused on displaying the power of their god or goddess. In his discussion of the Delphic oracle, Plutarch complains of the many wandering prophets or practitioners of the sacred arts, such as those associated with sanctuaries of the Great Mother and of Sarapis (*Oracles of Delphi* 407C; cf. Burkert 1987: 31–35). Of these, we happen to know most about the “Mother beggars” (*mētragyrtaí*) or *galloi*, some of whom travelled in bands, playing drums and flutes and generally exhibiting the overwhelming powers of the goddess in their ecstatic and other activities, including healing and prophecy.¹⁸

(c) *Travelling Figures of the Jesus Movements and Narratives about Them*
 Narratives concerning figures such as Jesus, Paul, and others associated with groups of Jesus-followers provide further examples of travel to broadcast the efficacy of a god as well as a way of life. The study of Jesus and mobility specifically has focused largely on one particular theory first developed in the late nineteenth century, and it is important to say a few words here regarding the problems with that itinerancy theory. In 1884, Adolf von Harnack used the newly discovered *Didache* (chs. 11–15) to develop a highly influential theory that emphasized the clash between a primitive form of charismatic preachers with a thoroughly itinerant *lifestyle* and increasingly stationary offices that would ultimately develop into a monarchy under the bishop.

In its more comprehensive form as proposed by Gerd Theissen (1982 [1973]; 1978: 8–16), the itinerancy theory has come to take a strong hold

on studies of the earliest Jesus movements (including Cynic hypotheses). For Theissen, the synoptic tradition evinces an ethical radicalism that makes most sense as a message preached by homeless wanderers. The heart of this movement, as evidenced in the mission discourse (Luke 10:1–12; Matthew 10:1–16), relied on “travelling apostles, prophets and disciples who moved from place to place and could rely on small groups of sympathizers in these places” (Theissen 1978: 8).

Despite its wide acceptance, there have been significant critiques of this theory of thoroughgoing itinerancy, including those by Richard A. Horsley (1989) and Jonathan Draper (1998). In particular, William Arnal’s *Jesus and the Village Scribes* (2001) clearly establishes fundamental inadequacies of the Harnack–Theissen itinerant hypothesis, at least as it applies to the earliest stages of the Jesus movement as represented in Q. Arnal argues that this theory needs to be discarded rather than merely revised. It is true that we may still speak of “itinerancy” among Jesus and his earliest followers, yet this “would have looked more like morning walks” rather than a thoroughgoing *lifestyle* of wandering (Kloppenborg, in Arnal 2001: 94). Among other things, Arnal shows how scholars who adopt the itinerancy theory often fail to consider down-to-earth aspects of travel in a realistic manner (Arnal 2001: 71).

Moving beyond this, some recent studies investigate other ways in which travel is important for understanding Jesus, early Christian leaders, and writings about them. Loveday Alexander’s studies, which compare journey motifs and outline the “cognitive geography” of Greek novels and the Acts of the Apostles, are examples of the valuable work that has been done on how narratives depict the travel of these figures.¹⁹ Other literary and rhetorical studies point to the central importance of travel motifs within gospel narratives specifically. Studies of Luke’s central section (Luke 9:51–18:14) have long recognized the importance of Jesus’ ongoing travel to Jerusalem as an organizing principle in the narrative. Travel plays a central role in the overall purpose and rhetorical function of Luke’s first volume, setting the stage for the continuing travel theme, centred on Paul, in volume two.²⁰

Mention of the Acts of the Apostles brings us back to its central protagonist, Paul, who is best known for his travels to promote the efficacy of the Judean God and his “Son” to a non-Judean audience. The threefold “missionary journeys” of Acts — the “we” passages in particular — have been a focus of scholarship since the late nineteenth century (e.g., Ramsay 1896), and there is generally a stalemate on the usability of Acts regarding Paul’s actual travels.²¹

As Ryan S. Schellenberg details in Chapter 8, little attention has been given to realistically assessing Paul's own travel activities as evidenced in his letters. Schellenberg challenges common portraits of Paul with respect to the nature and meaning of Paul's travel. He shows how the portrait of the heroic traveller in the Acts of the Apostles and Victorian interpretations of this image in terms of the prototypical missionary have cast a shadow over scholarship on Paul's mobility. This shadow has obscured important questions regarding the realities and dangers of Paul's movements as reflected in his letters; it has also distorted the overall biographical picture of Paul that informs the research of many scholars. Building on Terry Donaldson's (2006) emphasis on contingency, Schellenberg analyzes key passages in Paul's letters, including 2 Corinthians 11:23–27, that shed light on the hindrances and hardships — “ignominious suffering rather than courageous adventure” — that were central to his experience. These passages make it problematic to speak of Paul's movements primarily in terms of conscious or purposeful “mission.”

Further work remains to be done to place Christian networks of communication within the broader framework of the Greco-Roman world — for example, regarding modes of contact between Christian leaders and their followers or among various Christian groups as evidenced in letter writing, letter delivery, and literature exchanges, among other things (cf. Colossians 4:16; Polycarp, *Phil.* 13–14; *Mart. Poly.* inscript. and 1; *Martyrs of Lyons* 1).²² Letters of introduction or recommendation such as those in the epistles of Paul and of John the elder provide additional glimpses into travel between Christian groups, and into how they established and maintained connections (e.g., Philemon; Romans 16:3; 2 Corinthians 3:1–2; 3 Jn). Warnings or suggestions regarding visiting leaders, prophets, or teachers in the Johannine epistles and in the *Didache* (11–13) provide a similar picture of interrelations and communication. In Chapter 12 of this volume, Lincoln Blumell points to papyrological evidence concerning mobility among Christians in Egypt in later centuries.

(d) Travellers and the Diffusion of Cults and Religious Movements

Tools from the geography of religion provide valuable insights regarding the diffusion of ancient cults or movements, including those promulgated by Peregrinus, Alexander, and Paul. Chris C. Park (1994: 93–127), in his survey of the geography of religion, highlights geographers' interest in the patterns of distribution of religious movements and in how religious innovations disperse across space, including the role of travellers and

migrants. Park builds on the contributions of R. Abler, J.S. Adams, and P. Gould (1972) regarding the diffusion of innovations. He sketches out some common “principles of religious diffusion,” which include an emphasis on the notion of “carriers” of innovations and “barriers” to the dissemination of new religious practices and ideas (Park 1994: 99–101). In the process, he outlines a common twofold typology of diffusion. First, *expansion diffusion* refers to cases when certain cultural innovations spread through contacts in a specific location. This can take place through *contagion* (everyday contacts within the population) or *hierarchy* (acceptance of an innovation by the elites, with subsequent trickle-down or imposition; Park 1994: 100). If the name of the movement is any indication, the Phrygian movement within early Christianity (a.k.a. Montanism or the New Prophecy) provides a case where expansion diffusion of the contagious type played a fundamental role, at least at the outset.²³ My initial impressions on ancient cases of expansion diffusion are that contagion seems to play a greater role than hierarchy. Yet there are clearly some cases of hierarchical diffusion, as when a cult for a deity initially introduced by an immigrant family or an informal association ultimately grows to gain the recognition, financial support, and promotional power of a city (*polis*) as a “civic cult.” Of course, the most thoroughgoing case of hierarchical expansion diffusion would be the processes associated with Constantine’s support for Christianity. The second main type is *relocation diffusion*, which involves the “initial group of carriers” travelling or moving to new locations. Carriers include occupational travellers and immigrants, as well mobile advocates of a particular deity’s (or deities’) powers.

Despite the limited nature of ancient sources, we can know some things about the diffusion of cults or movements and common patterns that were at work. There are at least two areas in which historians of Christianity and Greco-Roman religions respectively have fruitfully paid some attention to questions of geographical diffusion. On the one hand, Walter Bauer’s work on *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (1971[1934]) began a trend within the study of Christian origins. This trend gives special attention to the question of which forms of Christianity predominated in which geographical areas and which paths they took (cf. T.A. Robinson 1988).

On the other hand, there has been some research into the diffusion of Greek, Roman, and foreign cults, especially cults of Isis and other Egyptian



Figure 3 Statue of the Egyptian goddess Isis, from Italy (120-150 CE), now in the British Museum (no. 1545). (photo by Harland)

deities. A.D. Nock’s well-known study of “how eastern cults traveled” in *Conversion* (1933) set the stage for subsequent work. Building on Michel Malaise’s seminal research on the archaeological evidence for diffusion of Egyptian cults, a number of studies seek to explain the role of traders, soldiers, or immigrants as “carriers of cults.”²⁴

Now that we have briefly sketched out the role of travellers in bringing their religion with them, I turn to the question of how some educated travellers or explorers struggled with encountering or understanding the cultures and gods of others.

3. *Encountering Foreign Cultures*

“The motive and purpose of my journey lay in my intellectual activity and desire for adventure, and in my wish to find out what the end of the ocean was and *who the people were that lived on the other side*” (*Ver. hist.* 1.5 [trans. LCL]). Thus begins Lucian’s *very* untrue tale, titled *A True Story*. In it, Lucian parodies what he takes to be expected convention in travel narratives — both historical narratives that approach what we might call ethnography (i.e., that claim to describe historical peoples) and more explicitly mythical or fictional narratives (such as the otherworldly journeys of Gilgamesh and Odysseus). Lucian then goes on to relate the steps of his journey beyond the pillars of Herakles (the Straits of Gibraltar) with others in a ship that brings them a number of interesting adventures at the edges of the known world and beyond.

Among their adventures is their encounter with the very welcoming and Greek-speaking “women” on some unknown island, the so-called “Asslegs.” Their customs include feeding on the unsuspecting travellers who pass through, it turns out (*Ver. hist.* 2.46). The methods of ancient ethnographic description come to the fore more fully in the story of the inhabitants of the moon, the “Moonites.” They are born not of women but of men: “a man is thought beautiful in that country [i.e., on the moon] if he is bald and hairless, and they quite detest long-haired people . . . Over each man’s rump grows a long cabbage-leaf, like a tail, which is always green and does not break if he falls on his back” (1.22–26). On and on go the descriptions of the far-out characteristics and customs of these distant peoples, including the fact that honey runs from their noses and that they sweat milk, which makes a good cheese (Lucian’s comment, not mine).

Here we are witnessing Lucian’s parody of writings concerned with describing the customs of other peoples — namely, travel reports and ethnographic literature along the lines of what we encounter in the sometimes more restrained Herodotus of Halikarnassos, Ktesias of Knidos, Ephorus of Kyme, Hecataeus of Abdera, Strabo of Amaseia, Pliny the Elder, and others.²⁵ (In 2.31, by the way, Lucian explicitly names Ktesias and Herodotus among the “liars” he mocks.) These authors sometimes reflect having travelled or toured to gain direct knowledge of the peoples and places they describe, or they rely on the reports of others who did travel (traders, governmental officials, soldiers). These materials provide the historian with scenarios of cultural encounters among travellers in antiquity, including encounters that entail practices and world views relating to the gods.²⁶ These cultural encounters and their oral or written

expressions were also the means by which foreign ideas or practices—however much misunderstood—might be disseminated, as John F. Matthews' (1989) study of the “diffusion of cultural understanding” in antiquity shows.

Such ethnographic materials, which provide a window into cultural interactions, were used by historians such as Josephus, Tacitus, and Dio Cassius. In Chapter 9 of this volume, James B. Rives uses Tacitus' discussion of honours for gods among Germanic tribes as an avenue into two important issues. First, he considers scenarios regarding the travel of ideas concerning foreign peoples and their cultures and the nature of ancient ethnographic knowledge and writing. Second, he explores ancient cultural encounters involving the gods. Rives challenges common scholarly opinion, which tends to ignore the emic perspective of ancient authors, such as Tacitus' common assumption regarding the actual existence of the gods. This provides a new vantage point on the question of what a Roman interpretation of the gods of other peoples could entail.

Authors of (semi-fictional) narratives and biographies (e.g., *The Life of Apollonius*) or openly fictional Greek novels (e.g., Lucian's story) sometimes used ethnographic materials concerning faraway peoples and places.²⁷ This also seems true of Philo, certain Judean novelists, and the authors of Christian apocryphal Gospels and Acts. Philo's negative characterization of the “godless” and hateful Germans, who (it was rumoured) attempted to literally fight back the tides, is one example of such ethnographic “knowledge,” reflecting the sort of misinformation about the “barbarous” Germanic peoples beyond the edges of the empire that Strabo (using Posidonius) specifically critiques.²⁸ The largely fictional *Letter of Aristeas*, for instance, contains a substantial digression describing the temple, its cult, and the land around Jerusalem in idealized terms (83–120), evincing affinities with Hellenistic travelogues and ethnographic writings (cf. Hadas 1951: 48–50).

As the name suggests, the *Book of the Laws of Countries*, associated with the Christian thinker Bardaisan of Edessa (154–222 CE), makes considerable use of ethnographic materials concerning the customs of the Babylonians, Persians, Brahmins of India, and others.²⁹ Though quite late, traditions about the apostles' journeys to the land of the man-eaters (as preserved in both the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* and the *Martyrdom of Matthew*) reflect frightening travel tales of the type described by Herodotus (*Histories* 4.106) in reference to the nomadic “Androphagi” of the Black Sea region.

The line between fact and fiction, myth and reality, in descriptions of peoples is often quite thin or blurry, even in the likes of Herodotus and Strabo. As Dmitrii M. Dudko's (2001–2) study of Herodotus' perspectives on Slavic peoples shows, ancient ethnographic writings tend to describe distant peoples in fabulous, mythological terms in one of two extremes: as extremely unclean and condemnable, or as blessed and holy with a praiseworthy way of life (Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.1–36, 46–82, 99–117). Strabo's approach to these two extremes—reflecting ethnocentrism and its inverse—claims to depend upon the earlier historical work of Ephorus of Kyme (405–330 BCE). Ephorus advocated an idealizing and positive approach to describing peoples far from the current cultural centre.³⁰ Nevertheless, Strabo himself sometimes engages in the negative approach to other peoples and lands—going “overboard into the realm of the mythical,” as Strabo calls it (*Geog.* 15.1–57)—even though he criticizes that approach in other ethnographers or historians (see Romm 1992: 94–104).

Such travellers' tales and ethnographic reports shed as much light on the world of the authors and the nature of their (real or imagined) cultural encounters with “others” as they do on the peoples being described. These works provide valuable insights into the ways in which Greek and Roman authors used discourses of travel to grapple with the cultures of others in ways that expressed or reconfigured the identities of these authors and their audiences.³¹

Of course, the Judeans were sometimes on the list of peoples or nations to describe in ethnographic sections of geographical and historical works (as extracted and compiled by Stern 1974–84). Josephus' *Against Apion* alone is a treasure trove of excerpted ethnographic descriptions of the Judeans from authors such as Manetho, Chaeremon, and Apion. Louis Feldman (1993), Peter Schäfer (1997), and others valuably focus attention on the details of how Greek and Roman authors viewed Judean culture; less attention has been given to the broader framework of ancient cultural encounters or ethnography and its methods in this connection. Nor has much been done on comparing descriptions of non-Judeans with descriptions of Judeans in particular works.

Furthermore, as I show elsewhere, such ethnographic methods of stereotyping the “other” were similarly employed by Greek and Roman authors in their negative portrayals of those far-out Christians (see Harland 2009: 161–81). Similarly, Christian authors used these standard characterizations during internal mudslinging among diverse groups or leaders. So studies of ancient ethnography and description of the “other” shed

new light on the formation and expression of identities among “pagans,” Judeans, and Christians alike.

4. Migrating

We must be careful not to overemphasize the amount of displacement and the degree to which there was an accompanying sense of rootlessness among those who migrated during the Hellenistic and Roman periods — themes that were quite common in previous scholarship, as I explain elsewhere (cf. Harland 2003a: 90–97). Nevertheless, it is true that people could migrate and settle with some level of permanency in a new area for a variety of reasons, some voluntary and others involuntary. These reasons included war (in relation to both prisoners of war who were enslaved and fighting soldiers), governmental policies of settlement, pursuit of an occupation, and other factors that remain less clear.

Especially pertinent here are questions regarding immigrants’ methods for maintaining connections with the cultural life of the homeland, including communication with, and travel to, the country or city of origin. In another study I explore inscriptional evidence for associations of Syrians or Phoenicians abroad that points to significant connections with the gods and customs of their homelands (Harland 2009: 99–122). For instance, diaspora Judeans’ delivery of the temple tax (in the years before 70 CE) seems to have helped these emigrants maintain a connection with the homeland and its God when pilgrimage was a less feasible or affordable option.

In Chapter 10, Jack Lightstone shows the importance of migration for the development of Judean ways of life by highlighting commonalities in internal organization and other factors that are attested across the Mediterranean. He proposes that the similarities found among synagogues are best understood against the background of both common urban environments and networks of migration and communication.

An obvious mode of maintaining connections with the ways of one’s homeland — including honours for the gods — was to join together with others in the same situation. The Canadian Society of Biblical Studies’ seminars on associations and on religious rivalries have shed some light on the associational tendencies of urban populations.³² Yet there is a need for further studies of immigrant associations and cults specifically, both in their own rights and as a framework for making better sense of the experiences of groups of Judeans in the diaspora (see Harland 2009). Recent studies along the lines of David Noy’s (2000) work on immigrants at the

city of Rome clearly indicate the value in considering inscriptional and other evidence for non-Judean immigrant groups.³³

Paying special attention to the ways in which immigrants maintained their connections with the culture of their homeland may also shed new light on metaphors and discourses of migration, diaspora, and homeland in early Christianity and other literature. Thus, for instance, while many scholars fittingly explain 1 Peter as a “diaspora letter,” few further investigate the metaphor against the backdrop of immigrant groups (not just Judeans) in the Greco-Roman world in order to assess nuances of meaning in such discourses.³⁴ Metaphors of dispersion and foreignness, as well as the notion of being immigrants on the move, continue as important motifs within the literature well beyond the first century. The *Epistle to Diognetus* (second–third century) is a case in point: Christians “live in their own countries, but only as aliens; they participate in everything as citizens, and endure everything as foreigners. Every foreign country is their homeland, and every homeland is foreign” (*Diogn.* 5.5).

5. Making a Living

Those who made a living by travelling, such as merchants, were among the sources used by ancient ethnographers. Yet there are other important things to consider concerning occupational travellers and peoples whose living was based on movement, including nomadic peoples. We have already encountered some whose profession entailed ongoing travel or an itinerant lifestyle, including certain philosophers or holy men. And other occupations entailed a considerable amount of movement—athletes, performers, shippers, fishermen, lawyers, lecturers (sophists), physicians, government officials, soldiers, pirates, and brigands.

Two essays in this volume make important contributions to our understanding of mobile lifestyles related to occupation. In some cases, entire groups of people made their living based on a nomadic way of life, as Michele Murray (Chapter 11) shows in connection with the Nabateans. Murray’s exploration of archaeological evidence indicates the various ways in which the nomadic lifestyle is reflected in Nabatean artifacts and practices associated with the gods.

With a focus on Egypt, Lincoln Blumell (Chapter 12) sheds important light on occupational travel. He argues that the scholarly focus on literary evidence for pilgrimage has drawn attention away from the far more normal motivations for travel among Christians in late antiquity as witnessed in the papyri. In these letters, Christians travel primarily in connection

with occupation, and there is little evidence of travel for specifically religious purposes such as pilgrimage or missionizing.

Those whose profession or lifestyle entailed mobility offer us further insights into the intersection of religion and travel in at least two ways. First, the cultic activities and patron deities of occupational travellers are noteworthy. Epigraphic evidence for guilds of shippers, traders, performers, and athletes shows how such travellers could adapt their honorary activities for the gods to fit their “roving” lifestyles. Some athletic guilds and associations of performers, which were often devoted to Herakles or Dionysos, could even boast of “worldwide” connections with other groups of fellow-performers or athletes across the empire, as well as diplomatic connections with emperors.³⁵

Soldiers were often mobile, and developed ways of honouring gods that suited their way of life. Quite well known are the somewhat universal symbols and architectural forms that characterized the worship of Mithras, for instance, such that initiates in the Roman army might feel quite at home honouring that god while in Rome, in Dura Europos, or in London.³⁶

Second, as I have already begun to outline, travelling professionals and networks of trade played a role in disseminating cultic practices or devotion to particular deities. What do we know about the paths taken by shippers, traders, and their passengers (cf. Charlesworth 1961)? What role did they play in disseminating ideas and practices and in facilitating cultural interactions in the Roman Empire? Mark Humphries’s consideration of trade networks in northern Italy, for instance, suggests what light this focus can shed on the diffusion of both Isis cults and Christian groups.³⁷ Those who migrated from one locale to another — for example, the Egyptian priest who “brought his god [Sarapis] with him” to Delos in the third century BCE (*IG* XI.4 1299; cf. Nock 1933: 51–54) — could also be instrumental in introducing and spreading certain cults.

Conclusion

These initial sketches suggest just how much work remains to be done where religion and travel intersect. There were a variety of reasons for travel, and these are reflected in the activities of peoples from various parts of the empire and from different cultural and religious backgrounds. The papers in this volume, which are organized along the lines of these five overlapping motivations for travel, make some initial forays into this rich area of study, providing new perspectives on Greeks, Romans, Nabateans, Egyptians, Judeans, Christians, and others. Continued research in

this area will make significant strides by consistently keeping in mind a bird's eye view of the ancient Mediterranean world when investigating and comparing specific cases regarding the intersection of travel and religion.

Notes

- 1 Cf. Casson 1994[1974]: 66, 69, 71, 82–85, 155. On realities of administrative, diplomatic, and military travel, also see Mosley 1973; Adcock and Mosley 1975; Millar 1977; Olshausen and Biller 1979; Gruen 1984; A. Bowman 1987; Chevallier 1988; Camassa and Fasce 1991; Ziethen 1994; Canali De Rossi 1997; and Gozalbes Cravioto 2003. Considerable archaeological work has also been done on Roman roads and milestones in the empire, including the contributions of David H. French for Asia Minor. French 1980, 1988, 1994; cf. Macpherson 1954; Wiseman 1970; Chevallier 1976.
- 2 Brodersen 2001: 7; cf. Brodersen 1999; Sherk 1974.
- 3 Adams 2001: 159 (see also 157); Laurence 2001: 169–70.
- 4 On banditry, see Shaw 1984; Horsley 1985: 48–87; Winter 2000; Adams 2001: 153–58.
- 5 Elsner 1992, 1994, 1997, 2001a, 2001b; Elsner and Coleman 1995.
- 6 Hunt 1984; M. Dillon 1997; Frankfurter 1998b; Rutherford 1995, 1998, 1999, 2001; cf. Ellis and Kidner 2004; Elsner and Rutherford 2005.
- 7 Hartog 1988[1980], 2001[1996]; cf. Dougherty 2001.
- 8 Romm 1992; cf. Cunliffe 2002.
- 9 Greeks and Romans lack a term that directly corresponds to our “pilgrimage.” Beyond the term for official “emissaries” (*theōroi*), the Greeks tend to use down-to-earth expressions such as “those going” to the festival or “those wishing to consult the oracle” (M. Dillon 1997: xv–xvi; cf. Rutherford 2001: 40–41). Nonetheless, the term pilgrimage remains a useful scholarly designation for journeys to festivals, oracles, and healing sanctuaries.
- 10 Rutherford 1998: 250–53; cf. Eade and Sallnow 1991.
- 11 Geography: Park 1994: 245–85; Jackson and Henrie 1983; Blagg 1986; Rinschede and Sievers 1987. Social sciences: Hillier and Hanson 1984; Rapoport 1994.
- 12 On oracles see, for instance, Fontenrose 1978 (Delphi) and 1988 (Didyma); Parke 1985; Lane Fox 1986: 168–261; Frankfurter 1998a: 145–97 (Egypt). Cf. Lucian, *Syrian Goddess*.
- 13 Cf. *The Cynic Epistles*; Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Life*; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*.
- 14 For a discussion of the work, see C.P. Jones 1986: 117–32; cf. Benko 1980: 30–53.
- 15 The definition and use of the “divine man” category is controversial and will no doubt remain so. Scholars who have used the category have not always carefully distinguished between descriptions of *actual historical figures*, on the one hand, and *literary techniques and patterns* used by authors and biographers, on the other (see the cautions of P.C. Miller 1983, who argues that the “holy man” motif is primarily useful in relation to the latter only). For recent discussion, see Koskeniemi 1998; Anderson 1994; and the review of both in Flinterman 1996; as well as Ian W. Scott's contribution in this volume.

- 16 On varieties of cult foundations see, for instance, Richard Ascough 2003: 28–42.
- 17 See C.P. Jones 1986: 138–39; Robert 1980: 397–98, figs. 7 and 8 (Athens); *CIL* III 1021, 1022 (Apulum), *CIL* III 8238 (Scupi).
- 18 Cf. Apuleius, *Met.* 8; Roller 1999; Elliott 2003: 202–8. An inscription on an altar dedicated to the Syrian goddess (Atargatis) by a man named Lucius refers to his role as the “slave” (*doulos*) of the goddess and may refer to his begging activity in connection with twenty trips that brought the goddess seventy bags of money per trip (Fossey 1897: 59–61, no. 68 as also cited in full in Elliott 2003: 203n156). On itinerant beggars of Cappadocian Ma and Lydian Men, see Elliott 2003: 202 and Fishwick 1967: 145.
- 19 Cf. Alexander 1995a and 1995b; cf. Schierling and Schierling 1978; Praeder 1981; Huxley 1983 (on the imagined itinerary of the *Acts of Thomas*); Pervo 1987.
- 20 On the geography of Jesus’ travels in the synoptic gospels generally, see the works of C.C. McCown (1932, 1938, 1941). On the nature and function of the travel motif in Luke-Acts see, for instance, Filson 1970; D.W.J. Gill 1970; Wenham 1981; Moessner 1983a, 1983b, 1989; Brodie 1989; Denaux 1993, 1997.
- 21 For recent studies of the “we” passages and shipwreck narratives, see Robbins 1975, 1978; Praeder 1987, 2001; Wehnert 1989; S.E. Porter 1994; Rapske 1994; Spencer 1999.
- 22 See the discussion of letter carrying and delivery in *NewDocs* VII 1–3 (S.R. Llewelyn), J.L. White 1986: 214–16 (and throughout), Epp 1991; and Richards 2004: 156–209. On postage in the empire, see Holmberg 1933; Kolb 2001.
- 23 Cf. Frend 1984, 1988; Stewart-Sykes 1997.
- 24 Egyptian cults: Malaise 1972, 1984; Budischovsky 1976; Cleveland 1987; Takács 1995: 5–7; Humphries 1998. The quote is from MacMullen 1981: 114; also see 112–30. Mithras cults: Daniels 1975; Beskow 1978; Beck 1984; Beard, North, and Price 1998a: 301–2; Aune 1998. Gods from Asia Minor in Dacia: A. Schäfer 2004. Manichees: Lieu 1985, 1992. Cf. Goodman 1994: 20–37.
- 25 A genre emerged around reports of the “coasting voyage” or “circumnavigation” (*periplous*). See Oikonomides 1977; Cunliffe 2002; Romm 1992: 18–26; and Dueck 2000: 40–45.
- 26 Herodotus visited Egypt (*Histories* 2.12), Tyre (2.49), Babylon (1.194), Samos (3.39–62), Athens, and the area around the Black Sea, including Scythia. Ktesias spent some time in the Near East as physician to the Persian royal family and likely had contact with travellers from India. Hecataeus spent many years among the Egyptian peoples he presents in his historical work. Cf. Hartog 2001[1996]: 64–66. Strabo proudly claims that the extent of his travels put him in a better position than any before him to write such a *Geography* (2.5.11; see Dueck 2000: 15–30). Lucian did not visit the moon.
- 27 See, for example, Heliodorus, *An Ethiopian Story* 9.9, 22; 10.6. Consult Hägg 1983[1980]: 117–18; Romm 1992: 82–120, 202–14; Bowersock 1994: 29–53; Elsner 1997; Burstein 2000; Dougherty 2001.
- 28 On this see Lührmann 1991; Philo, *On Dreams* 2.120–21; Strabo, *Geog.* 7.2.1. Cf. Philo, *Embassy to Gaius* 10; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 16.1.3–4. Further instances of what could be described as ethnographic descriptions in Philo

include his account of an Egyptian festival (see *Life of Moses* 2.195), which in this case became the source for a passage in Heliodorus' romance, *An Ethiopian Story* (9.9).

- 29 See especially the *Book of the Laws of Countries*, ss. 583–611; and Drijvers 1964:40–63. Cf. Romm 1992: 82–120 on Greek and Roman perceptions of India.
- 30 Strabo, *Geog.* 7.3.9; see Romm 1992: 45–81; cf. Hartog 2001[1996]: 98–101, 110.
- 31 Cf. Hartog 1988[1980] and 2001[1996].
- 32 See the contributions of these seminars in Kloppenborg and Wilson 1996; Donaldson 2000; Ascough 2005; Vaage 2006.
- 33 Cf. La Piana 1927; Baslez 1988; MacMullen 1993; Vestergaard 2000.
- 34 Yet do see J.H. Elliott 1990[1981], of course, who takes the “aliens” terminology literally.
- 35 Cf. Pleket 1973; Millar 1977: 456–63; Le Guen 2001; Aneziri 2003. See Ascough 1997 on extralocal connections among associations.
- 36 Cf. Beck 1984; Beard, North, and Price 1998a: 301–2.
- 37 Humphries 1998; cf. Frend 1964; Pietri 1978 on Christianity in Gaul.