

Pausing at the Intersection of Religion and Travel in Antiquity

Philip A. Harland, Concordia University, Montreal

(with bibliographical assistance from Angela Brkich and Daniel Bernard)

May 13, 2005 edition - DRAFT FOR DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

In Lucian's satirical dialogue, *The Ship*, several men travel from Athens to the Piraeus specifically to witness a huge ship, "the Isis," which had lost her course and docked there on its way from Egypt to Italy. Subtle, yet significant, throughout this fictional dialogue (and throughout Lucian's writings) are the connections between religion and travel. The vessel personified Isis, whose image was displayed on both sides (5). The captain spoke of the terrors encountered in rough waters, and 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" (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 cross-roads.

These passing references in one of Lucian's writings pale in comparison to an abundance of untapped evidence concerning the intersection of religion and travel in antiquity. Pausing at this intersection to reflect on its significance may provide a new vantage point on aspects of cultural life in the ancient world, and on both Judaism and Christianity within that world. Although several studies have looked at realities of travel in antiquity, and others have begun to consider issues pertaining to pilgrimage and ethnography, for instance, lacking is a concerted effort to consider the ways in which realities of travel and discourses of travel played a role in religious life, including attention to the implications this has for early Judaism and Christianity.

The purpose of this paper, which focuses on the Greek East in the Roman era, is to begin to map out the territory where religion and travel intersect, to point us towards key topics for discussion, and to provide us with some direction on our journey into this largely uncharted territory.

TRAJECTORIES IN SCHOLARSHIP

Some preliminary comments on two main trajectories of study relating to early Christianity—corresponding to Jesus and Paul—may begin to place the discussion in the context of biblical studies and lead us into studies of mobility in the Mediterranean world generally. To put it bluntly, one could characterize these two trajectories as a dead-end and a stalemate respectively.

On the one hand, in 1884 Adolf von Harnack used the newly discovered *Didache* (chs. 11-15) to develop a highly influential theory that emphasized a clash between a primitive form of charismatic preachers with a thoroughly itinerant *lifestyle* and increasingly stationary offices which would ultimately develop into the mono-episcopate. It is in its more comprehensive form as proposed by Gerd Theissen (1982 [1973], 1978:8-16) that the itinerancy theory has come to take such a hold on studies of the earliest Jesus movement (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 (Lk 10:1-12 // Mt 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 some important critiques of this theory of thoroughgoing itinerancy, including those by Richard A. Horsley (1989) and Jonathan Draper

(1998). Most importantly, Bill Arnal's recent work (2001) clearly establishes the 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, and he convincingly 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, as cited by 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). Agnes Choi's paper in our seminar does pay attention to such realities of mobility among peasants in the Galilee, leading in more helpful directions for understanding the context of the peasant Jesus and his earliest followers.

A second trajectory finds its early proponent in William M. Ramsay. Ramsay's *St. Paul the Traveler and the Roman Citizen* (1896) reflects a combination of an intimate knowledge of the archeology of Asia Minor, including its roads, with a conviction of the complete historical reliability of Acts. It is in regard to the former—his attention to realities of transportation—that Ramsay's work is commendable. The three-fold "missionary journeys" of Acts and the "we" passages in particular continued to be a focus (one could say an obsession) of scholarship in the century that followed (see the section on "Paul, the Acts of the Apostles, and Travel" in the classified bibliography at the "Travel and Religion in Antiquity" website, prepared by Angela Brkich).

In recent decades, scholars have come to somewhat of a stalemate on the use of Acts and

the “we” passages in particular as they pertain to the actual travels of Paul.¹ So, on the one hand, J. M. Gilchrist (1996) still outlines the bases on which the “we” passages might be considered as dependant on actual travelogues. On the other, Dennis R. MacDonald (1999) draws attention to parallels between Acts and Homer’s *Odyssey*, which, if one finds them convincing, would place the “we” sections firmly into the realm of imaginative fiction.² In some respects, these discussions tend to focus more attention on the literature (Acts specifically) and less on realities of travel for our understanding of Paul in the ancient Mediterranean context. Robert Jewett’s paper on the Troad, which pays close attention to archeological work in the area and is grounded in down-to-earth aspects of transportation, heads in a new direction in this regard (cf. Jewett 2000).

To state the problem in more general terms, in light of the demise of theories which posit a thoroughgoing itinerant *lifestyle* as the heart of Christian origins and the seemingly never-ending difficulties in the use of Acts for approaching Paul’s actual travel, how should we reconfigure our approach to travel as it impacts early Christianity and its parent, Judaism? I would suggest that we need to expand well beyond these two trajectories to consider broader issues of how travel and religion intersect in the ancient Mediterranean and the ways in which early Christians and Jews were part of a larger world influenced and constrained by realities of travel and by what John Elsner calls “discourses of travel” (Elsner 1997; cf. Hartog 2001[1996]:8). As an entry into this endeavour, this paper focuses primarily on the broader

¹For some recent studies of the “we” passages and shipwreck narratives, which make reference to earlier work see Robbins 1975, 1978; Praeder 1987, 2001; Wehnert 1989; Porter 1994; Rapske 1994; Spencer 1999.

²Now see Gnuse 2002 who, alternatively, proposes a relation between Josephus’ accounts of his own shipwreck adventures and those narrated in connection with Paul in Acts.

Mediterranean context, more so than on Jewish and Christian materials specifically.

In many respects, recent work on mobility and transportation is beginning to offer the tools we will need for such a project, even though the subject of religion and travel specifically has been addressed in only limited, though useful, ways. Several studies consider realities of travel and transportation (see the corresponding section of the classified bibliography at the “Travel and Religion in Antiquity” website, prepared by Daniel Bernard). Thus, for instance, much of Lionel Casson’s life-work is devoted to the study of travel by land and by sea in the ancient world (from Mesopotamia to the Roman world). Casson focuses on down-to-earth aspects of transportation such as the nature of roads, what vehicles or animals were used, where one stayed when one traveled, and how long journeys would take (cf. Constable 2003). Casson sometimes touches on issues relating to religion in the process, such as travel to healing sanctuaries and festivals and the role of gods in providing safety while on the road or at sea, something that Steve Muir examines more fully in our seminar (cf. Casson 1994 [1974]:66, 69, 71, 82-85, 155).³ Considerable archeological work has also been done on Roman roads and milestones in the empire, including the contributions of David H. French for Asia Minor.⁴

Most recently, an exemplary study edited by Colin Adams and Ray Laurence (2001) reflects detailed work on transportation and geographical knowledge in the Roman world (cf. Brodersen and Talbert 2004). Kai Brodersen’s article, for instance, examines the “simple

³Raymond Chevallier (1988) also deals with both realities of travel and voyages for administrative, diplomatic, military, economic, and religious purposes. Cf. Camassa and Fasce 1991; Gozalbes Cravioto 2003. On diplomacy specifically see Mosley 1973; Adcock and Mosley 1975; Millar 1977; Olshausen and Biller 1979; Gruen 1984; Bowman 1987; Ziethen 1994; Canali De Rossi 1997.

⁴French 1980, 1988, 1994; cf. MacPherson 1954; Wiseman 1970; Chevallier 1976.

question of how one knew where to go at all before one even started to travel” by considering the extent of geographical knowledge reflected in annotated and illustrated itineraries (the closest we come to maps; Brodersen 2001:7; cf. Brodersen 1999; Sherk 1974). Anne Kolb considers the workings of the Roman *cursus publicus*, the imperial postage system (cf. Holmberg 1933; *NewDocs* VII 1-3). And Jon Coulston looks at what imperial sculpture—in this case the column of Trajan—can reveal about realities of travel within the Roman army, as well as the role that travel motifs could play in imperial propaganda. Adams’ illuminating piece taps into papyrological evidence to shed light on how one got “there and back again” in Egypt. This edited volume as a whole challenges scholarly traditions which posit *immobility* as the norm in the Roman period. Instead, as Adams states, “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” (Adams 2001:159, see also p. 157 and Laurence 2001:169-70). This notwithstanding the fact that there were potential hindrances to travel or dangers encountered on the road or at sea, including the threat of brigandage which Lincoln Blumell outlines for us (cf. Shaw 1984; Horsley 1985:48-87; Winter 2000; Adams 2001:153-158). Of course, issues relating to social status, gender, and age were also factors affecting the ability to travel in certain circumstances, factors which we will need to take into consideration in this seminar.

Added to these scholarly contributions are several useful studies which begin to shed light on the interplay of *religion* and travel specifically, though seldom expressed in these terms. It is worth briefly mentioning some key scholars here, whose work I return to at appropriate points. 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* (Elsner 1992, 1994, 1997, 2001; Elsner and Coleman

1995). Several scholars, including Elsner, give special attention to issues of mobility in connection with ancient pilgrimage to festivals, oracles, and sacred sites, including works by E. D. Hunt (1984), Matthew Dillon (1997), David Frankfurter (1998b), and Ian Rutherford (1995, 1998, 1999, 2001; cf. Ellis and Kidner 2004; Elsner and Rutherford 2005). Elsner's coedited work with Joan-Pau Rubiés reflects a more encompassing interest in the cultural history of travel generally (Elsner and Rubiés 1999), an area of study which has seen most attention given to periods of exploration in the expansion to the New World and in colonialist travels of the nineteenth century.⁵ In this regard, our studies of travel in the ancient context may have much to gain from cross-cultural comparisons and from the methods developed to study issues of travel and cultural matters in other periods.

Some studies touch on issues of travel in connection with ancient ethnography and cultural encounters. François Hartog's analysis of Herodotus (on the Scythians), which gives attention to representations of the "other," was followed by his recent work on how the journey motif in Odysseus's story influenced subsequent descriptions of the "other" in the Hellenistic and Roman eras (Hartog 1988 [1980], 2001 [1996]; cf. Dougherty 2001). An excellent study by James S. Romm deals with how ancient historical and fictional works by authors such as Herodotus, Strabo, and Antonius Diogenes (who wrote the novel *Wonders Beyond Thule*) represent geography and peoples at and beyond the edges of the known world, from "real" Ethiopians in the south to legendary Hyperboreans of the north and from the Brahmins of the east to the inhabitants of far-distant Thule (Iceland [?]) in the Atlantic (Romm 1992; cf. Cunliffe

⁵On travel writing in the modern era see, for example, Pinkerton 1808-1824; Pemble 1987; Campbell 1988; Pratt 1992; Robertson 1994; Youngs 1994; Teltscher 1995; Clifford 1992 and 1997; Rojek and Urry 1997; Duncan and Gregory 1999, and the works in their bibliography on pp. 10-13.

2002). John F. Matthews' (1989) interesting article, which speaks of the "diffusion of cultural understanding," considers not only the ways in which Greeks and Romans perceived far-distant peoples, but also of how those in India and China perceived the Greeks and Romans based on travelers' reports.

Moreover, while the scholars outlined above make important contributions in a number of areas, few consciously consider the interplay of religion and travel in a more comprehensive fashion and none fully address how study of this subject in the ancient Mediterranean may shed new light on early Judaism and Christianity. This, then, is our somewhat ambitious task in this seminar, but how can we begin to approach it?

WHY TRAVEL? AREAS FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

In order to begin to chart the ways in which travel intersected with what we often discuss under the rubric of "religious" or "cultural" life, it will be worthwhile to begin by asking a simple question: Why travel? The answers that come forward that have some religious connection are numerous and significant, and they 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 of travel here from the perspective of the reasons or motivations for such journeys—as opposed to categorizing the discussion based on the religious affiliations of the travelers—may help us to firmly place Jews 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 motivations 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.

1. Honouring the gods, obeying the gods, and seeking their help

In light of the honour-centred culture of the time, what may first come to mind as a motivation for travel is that one traveled to honour gods or goddesses, or to seek some benefactions or guidance from them. As simple as this may sound, this reason for travel accounts for much of our evidence for religion and travel among men and women of various social strata, encompassing what Elsner, Dillon, Rutherford, and others discuss under the rubric of ancient (pre-Christian) pilgrimage.⁶ People traveled to honour the gods at festivals, to take part in initiations at places such as Eleusis and Samothrace, to seek healing at sanctuaries, to consult oracles on day-to-day problems, and (in the case of the educated elites, at least) to seek wisdom or education from the gods or their earthly representatives. A brief overview of festivals, oracles, and related phenomena here may set the stage for further studies by participants in this seminar.

Attending festivals and initiations

There were a variety of festivals in honour of the gods that could attract travelers, 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

⁶Greeks and Romans lacked a term that directly corresponds to our “pilgrimage.” Beyond the term for official “emissaries” (*theōroi*), the Greeks tended to use down-to-earth expressions such as “those going” to the festival or “those wishing to consult the oracle” (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.

Apollo (every four years in July / August), and, most well-known, Olympia in honour of Zeus (every four years in July / August). In the Hellenistic and Roman eras, cities or sanctuaries might seek to introduce new panhellenic festivals, often claiming equivalency with the Pythian games at Delphi (isopythian), as was the case with the festival in honour of Artemis Leukophryene established by Magnesia (on the Maeander River) and the festival established by Miletos at Didyma (third century BCE; cf. Fontenrose 1988:19, 67-76; *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. Simon Price's discussion of imperial cult festivals in Asia Minor clearly shows the involvement of the general populace alongside the elites in such activities (Price 1984:101-132). As Plutarch, Pausanias, and Lucian attest, foreigners visiting sanctuaries for festivals or other reasons could count on the help (or hindrance) of local tour guides (*periegetai*, *exegetai*), who expounded the significance of buildings, monuments, and other sacred artefacts.⁷ Much remains to be explored regarding the catchment areas of festivals, realities of transportation to them, and the identities and status of those who participated, particularly in the Roman era.

In this respect, Ian Rutherford's case study of pilgrimage to the temple of Isis at Philae in Egypt is suggestive of the sorts of topics we might investigate further in connection with other sanctuaries and festivals (Rutherford 1998). Inscriptions and graffiti from the sanctuary show that pilgrimage to honour Isis was undertaken by persons 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

⁷Pausanias, throughout; Plutarch, *The Oracles at Delphi*, 2ff.; Lucian, *Amores* 8; cf. Casson 1994 [1974]:262-299.

Minor (e.g. Aspendos, Tarsus, Gortyn, Mylasa), Crete, and Cyrene (Rutherford: 1998:236-238). 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 the possibility that this sanctuary, like other pilgrimage destinations, could become the grounds for “contesting the sacred,” with different groups competing for the more important and central spaces (for their inscriptions) within the sanctuary (Rutherford 1998:250-253; cf. Eade and Sallnow 1991).

Beyond such inscriptions and artefacts, factual or fictional literary accounts of pilgrims provide another important source of information here. Elsner makes a convincing case for understanding Pausanias himself as a Greek pilgrim writing a guide for others on important sacred sites in Greece (Elsner 1992; cf. Rutherford 2001). Pausanias’ *Guide to Greece* also illustrates ancient methods of “turning travel into text,” as Maria Pretzler (2004) puts it. To offer another example, Lucian provides a positive, first-hand account of a pilgrim’s experience at the sanctuary of mother Atargatis (“Hera” in Lucian’s terms) in his home-province of Syria, at Hierapolis (*The Syrian Goddess*; cf. Jones 1986:41-42; Elsner 2001b; Harland 2003b). Furthermore, Elsner shows how Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius* uses the rhetoric of travel in a two-fold 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 (Elsner 1997). 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 which may profit us in our approach to travel in other literary sources,

including 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 were also a clear attraction for pilgrims from near and far. The most widely recognized destinations were initiations at Samothrace in honour the “great gods” (*theoi megaloi*) and at Eleusis in honour of Demeter and Kore.⁸ Fictional narratives as found in ancient novels may also provide important insights into initiatory journeys (cf. Mackie 1996). The story in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* 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 of both Isis in Greece and Osiris at Rome. It is worth mentioning that mythical and metaphorical journeys (e.g. Demeter seeking Kore or Isis searching for 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, *Metamorphoses* 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. The procession (*pompē*) was an important component in many festivals and initiatory

⁸Cf. Cole 1984. Burkert 1987 does not substantially discuss pilgrimage in connection with the mysteries.

rites, whether 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). In this connection, we may wish to pay special attention to the geography and topography of the sacred in this seminar. There are several methodological tools for analyzing pilgrimages, processions to (or in) sanctuaries, and related activities involving the interplay between people and their environments (whether natural or built). In particular, the emerging sub-discipline of the geography of religion and sociological, anthropological, and architectural studies of space and its relation to culture may provide important insights on the movements of worshipers in antiquity.⁹ Others have employed similar insights in analyzing archeological remains, pointing to the ways in which architecture and spatial design can reveal important things about human behaviour and movement which would otherwise remain unnoticed (cf. Sanders 1990).

Issues regarding the interaction between pilgrims and spatial features of holy sites are not only important for sanctuaries of Zeus, Isis, or Atargatis, but also for other cults of the Levant, including the cult of Yahweh at Jerusalem. The degree of pilgrimage from outside of Judea and from the diaspora may occupy our attention, particularly in connection with the festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles (cf. Freyne 1991:287-93; Sanders 1992: 125-145; Horsley 1995:144-47). Josephus refers to pilgrims from Galilee, Idumaea, and Peraea at the Jerusalem festivals, and the author of Acts can reasonably claim the presence of those from further afield, including Mesopotamia, Asia Minor (Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia), Crete, Egypt, and Libya during Pentecost, for instance (*Ant.* 17.149-167, 213-18; Acts 2:5-11).

The largely fictional *Letter of Aristeas* relates a visit by an Egyptian Jew to the temple at

⁹Geography: Park 1994:245-285; Jackson and Roger 1983; Blagg 1986; Rinschede and Sievers 1987. Social Sciences: Hillier and Hanson 1984; Rapoport 1994.

Jerusalem which, although expressly made for ambassadorial reasons, nonetheless 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” (99; trans. by Shutt 1985). Nevertheless, Allen Kerkeslager’s examination of pilgrimage in connection with Jews in Egypt specifically argues that, although the journey to Jerusalem may not have been very common among diaspora Jews, local traditions of pilgrimage or festival celebration developed, including journeys to regional temples (e.g. Elephantine, Heliopolis) and important synagogues (e.g. Alexandria) (Kerkeslager 1998:104-109).¹⁰

Kerkeslager also touches on other signs of pilgrimage among Jews in this period that would be worth exploring further. There are many instances of travel to historically or mythically important sites by popular 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 [LCL]; cf. *War* 2.560-263; *Ant.* 20.167-172; 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, and in the story of Theudas who persuaded “the majority of the masses” to join him in retracing the steps of

¹⁰For celebrations of festivals elsewhere in the diaspora see Reynolds 1977:242-47, no.17 (Berenike, 24 CE); *IJO* II 196 (Hierapolis, c. 200 CE); cf. Barclay 1996:415-16.

Joshua to the Jordan, where he 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 (*Ant.* 18.85-87; 20.97-98; cf. 2 Kings 2:6-8; Horsley 1985:164-67).

Similar memories of desert wanderings and motifs of pilgrimage and travel play an important role within early Jewish and Christian literature (cf. Davies 1979). We may wish to consider the manner in which the patriarchs' journeys and the Israelites' wanderings in the desert were remembered and re-told by authors of later times, including Philo, Josephus, and authors of the Pseudepigrapha. The story of the temptation of Jesus for forty days in the desert as recorded in Q is, of course, a recapitulation of Israel's forty years of wandering (Mt 4:1-11 // Lk 4:1-13). Although Ernst Käsemann's argument is in need of some modification (especially his gnostic redeemer spin), clearly the theme of the wandering people of God and of the patriarchs as sojourners in search of a homeland play an important role at key points in the book of Hebrews (chs. 3-4, 11-12; cf. Käsemann 1984 [1957]; Johnsson 1978; Attridge 1989:114 n.15, 328-329).

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 traveling 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.

Beyond the most famous oracle of Apollo at Delphi, there were a number of other oracular sites that attracted regional and "worldwide" visitors, including those of Apollo at Delos, Didyma, and Claros and those of Ammon in Libya, Baal in Syria, and Sobek, Isis,

Serapis, and others in Egypt.¹¹ Further analysis of epigraphical and archeological materials from oracular sites may provide important information regarding who traveled to such sanctuaries, how far they traveled, and for what reasons. These reasons for travel are reflected in topics of consultation, including 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). Concerns over prospects of travel and trade, in particular, are quite common in consultations of the dice oracle at Oenoanda, for instance (cf. Lane Fox 1986:210).

Among the most well-known healing sanctuaries in the Greek East that attracted visitors from near and far were those of Asklepios at Epidauros and Pergamon. Aelius Aristides' *Sacred Tales*, composed in honour of Saviour Asklepios (around 171 CE), provide important glimpses into travel for healing alongside issues of honouring the gods and seeking their help (cf. Rutherford 1999). Throughout, Aristides refers to the dreams or direct leading of Asklepios and other deities in connection with his journeys. Thus, for instance, Aristides relates a time when he was in Lebedos, suffering from stomach illnesses and finding a doctor's prescription unhelpful (49.10-11; 147 CE). During a local festival, he decided it was best to consult the nearby oracle of the god Apollo at Claros, "both concerning my present troubles and general weakness" (trans. Behr 1981-86:2.310). The god's response—that Asklepios would heal him—was accompanied by Aristides' own dream that night in which he saw inscriptions thanking 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" (13).

¹¹On oracles see, for instance, Fontenrose 1978 (Delphi) and 1988 (Didyma); Parke 1985; Lane Fox 1986:168-261; Frankfurter 1998a:145-197 (Egypt). Cf. Lucian, *Syrian Goddess*.

The gods could directly command more distant travel, and those who heard the command could be quite persistent in travel (at least Aristides claims he was). In this connection, it is worth noting both Acts' depiction of Paul's "decision" 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). Aristides relates an occasion, while he was in his hometown of Smyrna, that "the god indicated a journey to me. And I had to leave immediately. And we went out on the road to Pergamon" (51.1; see 51.1-10 [165 CE]; cf. 48.11-17; 50.2-8). Aristides and his attendants continued on the road with carriages and pack animals throughout the day and, deciding not to stay over night at Cyme, which they reached about midnight, they continued on through the night until they reached Myrina by early morning. After a brief rest there, "I thought it best not to be soft and sleep, when it was day, but to pile work on work, and to walk to the Temple of Apollo, to Gryneion, as it was my custom to sacrifice to the god, both when I went and when I returned" (6). After resting at the next stop, Elaia, Aristides and his crew arrived at Pergamon the following day, and he had planned to stay for some time. However, once again a "dream came" which "ordered me to press on and not to do otherwise," and so the group pressed on to their final destination, a temple of Olympian Zeus. After this pilgrimage, Aristides' stomach condition and his sore throat eased up and he was "manifestly more comfortable" (10).

Seeking wisdom or revelation from the gods

Although many made pilgrimages to oracles or healing sanctuaries in order to gain help from the gods in the more down-to-earth aspects of their lives, some among the educated elites claim to have had more ambitious goals in traveling to seek education or revelation from the gods. A recurring pattern emerges in accounts of a youth's education, frustration (including suicidal thoughts), and travels to pursue the wisdom that only gods (or their holy representatives)

can provide, a pattern that is also evident in Christian writings such as the tales associated with Clement (*The Clement Romance*).

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.¹² This first or second century account clearly demonstrates the role of the gods in providing answers to problems at key points in the journey. In it, Thessalos relates the story of his early education in Asia which was followed by medical training in Alexandria, where he traveled around the libraries in search of the most effective curative procedures. After being extremely disappointed (to the point of suicidal thoughts) by the failure of cures as prescribed in a seemingly promising book by King Nechepso, Thessalos begins to “wander around Egypt, driven by a sting in [his] soul” (10 [trans. mine]).

These wanderings in pursuit of magical, curative wisdom ultimately bring him to a holy priest at Diospolis (Thebes), whose talents in divination successfully allow Thessalos to experience an ineffable vision of Asklepios (cf. Frankfurter 1998a:168-69, 217-221). “Oh blessed Thessalos attaining honour in the presence of the god,” Asklepios proclaims. “As time passes and your successes become known, men will worship you as a god. Ask freely, then, about what you want and I will grant you everything” (25). Asklepios then reveals to the visionary the times at which plants must be selected in order to ensure the curative powers

¹²See Friedrich 1968; Festugière 1967; Smith 1978; Fowden 1986:162-165. The preface to Thessalos’ herbal shares some things in common with the introduction to Dioscurides’ *Medical Materials*, which stresses his many travels in pursuit of effective remedies (see the translation in Scarborough and Nutton 1982:196, paragraph 4). On the theme of a young man’s journeys in pursuit of education see, for instance, Lucian’s satirical *Lover of Lies*, in which Eucrates relates his own experience in traveling to pursue education, which he ultimately finds in a holy man and wonder-worker in Egypt who “shared all his secret knowledge with me” (*Pseudophiles* 33-36).

associated with the sympathy of plants with the movements of the stars. After Thessalos receives this knowledge from the god, he does not keep it a secret. Instead he broadcasts the efficacy of the god's wisdom in the form of a guide to herbal and astrological healing and, perhaps, by traveling and teaching others, which anticipates our next main section. But first, a discussion of some more wide-reaching—some might say mythical—journeys to seek wisdom from the gods (or God) is in order.

Otherworldly journeys as related in apocalyptic literature can be considered in connection with traveling in pursuit of wisdom, in this case wisdom revealed by the God who instigates both the vision and the travel.¹³ In *1 Enoch*, Enoch is taken on two journeys to the edges of the earth and beyond in which God reveals to the visionary the secrets of the universe. The first, in the Book of Watchers, seems to represent our earliest and most influential evidence for such tours in Jewish apocalyptic literature. In this journey Enoch is guided by an angel, where he witnesses mountains, rivers, oceans, and, generally, the workings of the universe, including the prison of the fallen watchers, of course (chs. 17-36). In book three, Enoch is taken on a more astronomically-focused journey in which God, through the angel guide, reveals the workings of the sun, moon, stars, and winds (chs. 72-82). We may wish to further explore the nature and function of such tours of the heavens and the underworld, including journeys of ascent and descent, which continued as important themes within both Jewish and Christian

¹³For otherworldly journeys and the landscapes encountered see *2 Enoch*, *3 Baruch*, *The Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, *The Testament of Abraham*, and *The Testament of Levi*; John J. Collins 1998 [1984]:6-9, 55-59; Carlsson 2004. For geographical approaches to *1 Enoch* see Grelot 1958; VanderKam 1984:135-40; Bautch 2003; Ventor 2003. On ascent and descent see the essays by Tzvi Abusch, Adela Yarbro Collins, John J. Collins, Guy G. Stroumsa, and, especially, Martha Himmelfarb in Collins and Fishbane 1995. Also see the work of our own Dan Smith on Jesus in the gospel narratives.

literature (cf. 2 Cor 12:2-10), and which owe something to earlier mythological journeys in other traditions.

So there may also be some valuable comparisons to be made between journeys in apocalyptic literature (as well as the mythical landscapes encountered) and travels to the ends of the earth and beyond in Mesopotamian, Persian, Greek, Roman, and other mythological or fictional narratives, some of which I also briefly address below in connection with ethnography.¹⁴ Thus one could consider the ways in which various myths (in art, architecture, and literature) depict the travels of the gods or other mythological figures (e.g. Gilgamesh, Odysseus, and their “successors”),¹⁵ or the ways in which gnostic authors emphasize journeys of descent and ascent by divine figures. Conceptually related to the latter are notions concerning the “journey of the soul” through the heavens within several Greco-Roman traditions among certain gnostics, Mithraists, and philosophers.

2. *Communicating the efficacy of a god or the superiority of a way of life*

Traveling philosophers and holy men

The motif of the traveling philosopher whose goal is to demonstrate the philosophical way of life and communicate wisdom is widespread in biographical and other literature. Well

¹⁴Cf. Shaked 1999, on Zoroastrian visionary journeys.

¹⁵Following the death of Enkidu, for instance, Gilgamesh’s journeys (in tablets 9-10) to the far distant one, Utnapishtim, require that he go to the edges of the world through ominous mountains and beyond the deadly sea that only Shamash (the Sun) has crossed. Such patterns of wandering in mythology become widespread. In an interesting article, Michael L. Barré (2001) explores the ways in which “wandering about” is used as a *topos* for grief and depression in Ancient Near Eastern literature, including the Hebrew Bible. On the journeys of Odysseus and their influence on subsequent travel narratives see François Hartog 2001 [1996] and Carol Dougherty 2001.

into the Roman period, migratory figures such as Diogenes the Cynic and Pythagoras continued to serve as models of the traveling wise man (cf. *The Cynic Epistles*; Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Life*; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*).¹⁶ *The Passing of Peregrinus* offers an interesting case in point, which also happens to intersect with Christianity.¹⁷ 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).¹⁸ True to his name, he "roamed about, going to one country after another" (*Peregrinus* 10 [LCL]).¹⁹

Characterized as a Cynic philosopher, Peregrinus is pictured traveling to areas well-beyond his home-town of Parion in Asia, including Italy, Armenia, Syria, Egypt, and Greece. At Olympia, where Peregrinus' 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 a 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 "cult-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).

¹⁶The educational activity of broadcasting wisdom need not entail a desire by the philosopher to gain "converts" or to have others join a philosophical group, though (cf. Goodman 1994:32-37, correcting Nock 1933:164-192).

¹⁷For a discussion of the work see Jones 1986:117-132; cf. Benko 1980:30-53.

¹⁸Philostratus (*VS* 2.562) seems to have had a more positive view of Peregrinus, in that he describes him as "courageous" in his philosophy.

¹⁹For Lucian's direct encounters with Peregrinus see 2 and 43-44.

Like some other traveling 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 “divine man” (*theios anēr*) category,²⁰ including a cult with an oracular shrine and perhaps mysteries and a festival (as “predicted” by the speaker). It is in the travels of figures such as Peregrinus, Thessalos, and Apollonius of Tyana, and in narratives about them, that we may find rich resources for our studies of travel and religion.

Biographic and hagiographic writings such as Philostratus’ *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, for instance, are themselves an attempt to use the travels of the holy man and the “wonders” (*thaumata*) that accompanied such travels as a rhetorical device to convince 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). Through these travel narratives, one could argue, the reader or hearer is also brought along on the journey to various places to witness the extraordinary things seen and done by the holy man. In this regard, Ian Scott’s paper here makes some valuable contributions regarding Apollonius’ journeys.

Traveling cult founders, leaders, or religious practitioners

Another case reported by Lucian shows the importance of mobility for certain cult

²⁰The 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 Miller 1983, who argues that the “holy man” motif is primarily useful in relation to the latter only). For recent discussion, see Koskenniemi 1998, Anderson 1994, and the review of both in Flinterman 1996. There is a sense in which this seminar may wish to move beyond this specific category which was developed primarily with the gospels in mind and which therefore tended to sift and read “pagan” materials from this angle.

leaders or founders who promoted the powers and effectiveness of a particular deity.²¹ Lucian's account of Alexander of Abonuteichos, although far from objective, brings to life some of this prophet's journeys in Macedonia, Bithynia, and Pontus that led to his foundation 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 Coconnas (6 [LCL]). The account also demonstrates the continued importance of networks of propaganda and the role of advocates in spreading word ("rumours," for Lucian) of the god's effectiveness, including official ambassadors to well-established oracles at Didyma and Claros (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. 30). As C. P. Jones points out, material evidence seems to confirm Lucian's picture of "radiating influence," as coins with Glykon's image are found earliest at Abonuteichos and in nearby Tiejion 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 Tomi (statue), Athens (bronze statuettes), and both Apulum in Dacia and Scupi in Illyria (votive inscriptions).²² This seminar will provide an opportunity to investigate what we can know about the journeys and propagandistic efforts of Alexander and less-studied cult founders or leaders like him.

²¹On varieties of cult foundations see, for instance, Richard Ascough 2003:28-42.

²²See Jones 1986:138-139; Robert 1980:397-398, figs. 7-8 (Athens); *CIL* III 1021, 1022 (Apulum), *CIL* III 8238 (Scupi).

There were other itinerant figures focused on displaying the power of their god or goddess whom we can investigate. 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 Sarapis (*Oracles of Delphi* 407C; cf. Burkert 1987:31-35). Of these, we happen to know most about the “Mother beggars” (*métragyrtai*) or *galloi*, some of whom traveled 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 (cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 8; Roller 1999; Elliott 2003:202-208).²³

Traveling figures of the Jesus movement and narratives about them

Figures such as Jesus, Paul, and other promulgators of (what became) the Jesus movement provide further instances of travel to broadcast the efficacy of a god, as well as a way of life. I have already mentioned the need to examine realities of travel among historical figures, popular leaders, and peasants such as Jesus and his earliest followers in Palestine. Furthermore, discourses of travel in narratives about Jesus (or other early Christian figures) and the rhetorical function of motifs of journey will also deserve our attention. Moreover, I would suggest that we pursue comparative studies of the literary or rhetorical function of travel in a variety of genres of ancient literature, including the biography and the novel. Such studies with a focus on how travel functions in the author’s purposes may provide new perspectives on early Christian Gospels and Acts (both canonical and apocryphal), if Loveday Alexander’s (1995a) study of

²³An 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 2003:203 note 156). On itinerant beggars of Cappadocian Ma and Lydian Men see Elliott 2003:202 and Fishwick 1967:145.

journey motifs in Greek novels and the Acts of the Apostles is any indication.²⁴ In another interesting article, Alexander (1995b) approaches both Acts and the novels of Chariton and Xenophon from the perspective of “cognitive geography,” focusing on the mental maps or geographical horizons implied in the narratives.

Some literary and rhetorical studies point to the central importance of travel motifs within gospel narratives specifically. Thus, for instance, Fernando F. Segovia builds on the work of others to argue that both the heavenly and earthly “journeys of the Word of God” serve as a central factor in the plot-line of John’s gospel (Segovia 1991). Studies of Luke’s central section (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.²⁵

Mention of Acts brings us back to its central protagonist, Paul, who is most well-known for his travels to promote the efficacy of the Jewish God and his “Son” to a non-Jewish audience. I have already mentioned the tendency of past scholarship (on Paul’s travels) to focus on questions of the historical reliability of Acts to the neglect of other questions regarding realities of transportation among advocates of the Jesus movement. Much remains to be done in placing Paul and other Christian leaders firmly within the context of realities of mobility in the Roman

²⁴Cf. Alexander 1995b (on narrative or mental maps); Schierling and Schierling 1978; Praeder 1981; Huxley 1983 (on the imagined itinerary of the *Acts of Thomas*); Pervo 1987.

²⁵On 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; Gill 1970; Wenham 1981; Moessner 1983a, 1983b, 1989; Brodie 1989; Denaux 1993, 1997.

empire, including consideration of Paul's and other leaders' own travels, the travels of their assistants, the travels of their opponents, and their maintenance of contacts with communities by way of emissaries or letters. One of the earliest known Christian epitaphs (pre-216 CE), the grave of Abercius of Hieropolis, demonstrates that travels continued to be an important aspect of identity among some Christian leaders: "the holy shepherd. . . sent me to Rome to make articulate the kingdom . . . and I saw the plain of Syria and passed through all the cities, having crossed the Euphrates. Everywhere I had as companions Paul [lacuna]. . . (trans. by Snyder 2003:248).

Further work remains to be done in placing Christian networks of communication within the broader framework of the Greco-Roman world, including modes of contact between Christian leaders and their followers or among different Christian groups as evidenced in letter writing, letter delivery, and literature exchanges, among other things (cf. Col 4:16; Polycarp, *Phil.* 13-14; *Mart.Poly.* inscript. and 1; *Martyrs of Lyons* 1).²⁶ Letters of introduction or recommendation such as those we find in the epistles of Paul and of John the elder provide additional glimpses into travel between Christian groups, as well as the establishment or continuation of connections among them (cf. Philemon, Romans 16:3; 2 Cor 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.

²⁶Despite the number of works that consider early Christian letters in their ancient epistolary context, very few consider the actual mechanics of how early Christian letters and documents traveled. Do see, however, the discussion of letter carrying and delivery in *NewDocs* VII 1-3 (S.R. Llewelyn), White 1986:214-16 (and throughout), Epp 1991, and Richards 2004:156-209. On postage in the empire see: Holmberg 1933; Kolb 2001.

Travelers and the diffusion of cults and religious movements

In many respects one could very well discuss the diffusion of cults or movements in connection with occupational travelers or those who migrated from one locale to another (topics addressed in separate sections below). Nevertheless, to address the issue earlier rather than later, here I outline some insights from the geography of religion while on the topic of those like Peregrinus, Alexander, and Paul for whom travel seems to have played a key role in the communication of the power or efficacy of a god (what has often been discussed as “mission”—a loaded term you may have noticed I have avoided in this paper).

Chris C. Park’s survey of work on the geography of religion points out how geographers are interested in patterns in the distribution of religious movements and in how religious innovations disperse across space, including the role of travelers and migrants in this process (Park 1994:93-127). Building on the contributions of R. Abler, J. S. Adams, and P. Gould (1972) on the diffusion of innovations, Park 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).

Furthermore, there is a common two-fold typology of diffusion. First, *expansion diffusion* refers to cases when certain religious or other 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, then 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 (cf. Frend 1984, 1988; Stewart-Sykes 1997). My initial impressions on ancient cases of

expansion diffusion is 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 the city (*polis*) as a “civic cult.” Of course, the most thoroughgoing case of hierarchical expansion diffusion would be the processes associated with Constantine’s adoption of Christianity as the imperial religion. The second main type is *relocation diffusion*, which involves the “initial group of carriers” traveling or moving to new locations, carriers such as occupational travelers and immigrants, as well mobile advocates of a particular deity’s (or deities’) powers.

Despite the limited nature of our sources for antiquity, we may wish to explore what we can know about the diffusion of cults or movements in the ancient Mediterranean and the *common patterns* that were at work.²⁷ It is worth mentioning two areas in which historians of Christianity and Greco-Roman religions respectively have fruitfully paid some attention to geographical diffusion. On the one hand, Walter Bauer’s work on *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (1971 [1934]) began a (commendable) trend within the study of Christian origins, a trend which gives special attention to the question of what forms of Christianity predominated in what geographical areas and what paths they took (Robinson 1988). On the other, we may expand on research into the diffusion of Greek, Roman, or foreign cults along the lines of what has been done on Isis and Egyptian cults since A. D. Nock’s well known study of “how eastern cults traveled” in *Conversion* (Nock 1933, esp. pp. 48-98). Building on Michel Malaise’s seminal research on the epigraphical and archeological evidence for diffusion of

²⁷A focus on diffusion can also be integrated with sociological insights into the role of social networks in the formation, development, and spread of movements.

Egyptian cults, a number of studies seek to explain the role of traders, soldiers, or immigrants as “carriers of cults.”²⁸ Now that we have briefly sketched out the role of travelers in bringing their religion with them, we can turn to the question of how some educated travelers or explorers struggled with encountering the cultures and religions of others.

3. “Exploring” and encountering foreign peoples and customs (*ethnography*)

“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*” (*A True Story* 1.5 [LCL]). Thus begins Lucian’s very untrue tale, entitled *A True Story*. In it, Lucian parodies what he takes to be expected convention in travel narratives, both in historical narratives that approach what we might call ethnography (that claim to describe historical peoples and places) and more explicitly mythical or fictional writings (such as the otherworldly journeys of Gilgamesh and Odysseus and other tales about journeys to the far-distant places, such as those in the novel *Wonders Beyond Thule*). Lucian then goes on to relate the steps of his journey beyond the pillars of Herakles (usually the Straits of Gibraltar) with others in a ship which brings them a number of interesting adventures at the edges of the known world (*oikoumenē*) and beyond.

Among them is their encounter with the very welcoming and Greek-speaking “women” on some unknown island, the so-called “Asslegs” (quite literally, he discovers to his horror in the

²⁸Egyptian cults: Malaise 1972, 1984; Budischovsky 1976; Cleveland 1987; Takács 1995:5-7; Humphries 1998. The quote is from MacMullen (1981:114; also see pp. 112-130). Mithras cults: Daniels 1975; Beskow 1978; Beck 1984; Beard North, and Price 1998:301-302; Aune 1998. Gods from Asia Minor in Dacia: A. Schäfer 2004. Manichees: Lieu 1985, 1992. Cf. Goodman 1994:20-37.

bedroom), whose customs include feeding on the unsuspecting travelers who pass through, it turns out (2.46). The methods of ethnography, so to speak, come to the fore more fully in the story of the inhabitants of the moon, the “Moonites,” who are not born 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 (how would you stop the kids from eating that!) and 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 geographic or 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, the ethnographers of Alexander the Great’s time (as used in Strabo and reused in the *Alexander Romance*), Strabo of Amaseia, Pliny the Elder, and others (Lucian explicitly names Ktesias and Herodotus among the “liars” he mocks [2.31]).²⁹ These authors, who to some degree reflect having traveled or toured to gain direct knowledge of the peoples and places they describe or who sometimes rely on the reports of others who did travel (traders, governmental officials, soldiers), can provide us with scenarios of cultural encounters among travelers in antiquity, including encounters that entail religious

²⁹A genre emerged around reports of the “coasting voyage” or “circumnavigation” (*periplous*). Hence the *periploi* of Hanno the Carthaginian (see Oikonomides 1977), of Himilco the Carthaginian, of Pytheas the Greek (see Cunliffe 2002), and others (cf. Romm 1992:18-26; Dueck 2000:40-45). Closely related to what we might label ethnography was the Hellenistic genre of paradoxography, marvel-writing focused on listing pseudo-scientific exotica (cf. Romm 1992:92, 205).

practices and worldviews.³⁰ These cultural encounters and their oral or written expression were also the means by which foreign ideas or practices—however much misunderstood—might be disseminated, as Matthews (1989) shows. Such ethnographic materials, which provide a window into cultural interactions, were also used by historians such as Josephus, Tacitus (e.g. *Germania*), and Dio Cassius.

Furthermore, authors of (semi-fictional) narratives and biographies (e.g. *The Life of Apollonius*) or openly fictional Greek novels (e.g. Lucian’s story) sometimes reflect use of ethnographic materials concerning far away peoples and places.³¹ We have yet to find out to what degree this may be true of Jewish and Christian literature, including works by those such as Philo, Jewish novels, and Christian apocryphal Gospels and Acts. Philo’s negative characterization of the “godless” and hate-worthy 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 which Strabo (using Posidonius) specifically critiques.³² The largely fictional *Letter of Aristeas*,

³⁰Herodotus 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 travelers from India. Hecataeus spent numerous 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.

³¹See, for example, Heliodorus, *An Ethiopian Story* 9.9, 22; 10.6. Consult Hägg 1983 [1980]:117-118; Romm 1992:82-120, 202-214; Bowersock 1994:29-53; Elsner 1997; Burstein 2000; Dougherty 2001.

³²On this see Lührmann 1991; Philo, *On Dreams* 2.120-21; Strabo, *Geography* 7.2.1. Cf. Philo, *Embassy to Gaius* 10; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 16.1.3-4. For a more extensive ethnography, see Tacitus’ *Germania*, which generally caricatures Germans as sinister and dangerous peoples. Further instances of what could be described as ethnographic descriptions in

for instance, contains a substantial digression which describes 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 of the dialogue suggests, the so-called *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 (sections 583-611; Drijvers 1964:40-63).³³ Although quite late, traditions about 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 the type of frightening travel-tales described by Herodotus (*Histories* 4.106) in reference to the nomadic "Androphagi" in the Black Sea area (neighbouring the Scythians).

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, then. As Dmitrii M. Dudko's (2001-2002) study of Herodotus on Slavic peoples (book 4, 1-36, 46-82, 99-117) 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. Strabo's approach to these two extremes of ethnographic method—reflecting ethnocentrism and its inverse—claims to depend upon the earlier historical work of Ephorus of Kyme (405-330 BCE), who advocated an idealizing and positive approach to describing peoples far from the current cultural centre (Strabo 7.3.9; see Romm 1992:45-81; cf. Hartog

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).

³³Although not mentioning Bardaisan, Romm discusses Greek and Roman perceptions of the social and religious customs of India (Romm 1992:82-120).

2001[1996]:98-101, 110). 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 (15.1-57)—which he criticizes in other ethnographers or historians (Romm 1992:94-104).

So in many respects such travelers’ tales and ethnographic reports may 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 described. These works provide valuable insights into the ways in which Greek or Roman authors used discourses of travel to grapple with the cultures of others in a manner that served to express or reconfigure the identities of these authors and their audiences (cf. Hartog 1988 [1980] and 2001 [1996]).

Of course, the Judeans (as well as the less geographically pin-pointed Christians) were sometimes on the list of peoples or nations to describe in ethnographic sections of geographical and historical works (as extracted and collected together by M. 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, of course, Apion, who wrote a five-volume history of Egypt which included his attack on Judeans and their ways. We may wish to re-approach these descriptions of the Judeans from the comparative perspective of travelers’ tales and ethnography in this seminar. Although 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 the ways in which particular authors describe various peoples, including Judeans.

Furthermore, such ethnographic methods of stereotyping the “other” were similarly employed by Greek and Roman authors in their negative portrayals of those far-out Christians

and by Christian authors in internal mudslinging among differing groups or leaders (“proto-orthodox” vs. “heretics”). So further investigations into ethnography and description of the “other” may shed new light on the formation and expression of identities among “pagans,” Jews, and Christians alike.

4. Making a living (Occupational travelers)

Those who made a living by traveling, such as merchants, were among the sources used by ancient ethnographers. Yet there are other ways in which we may wish to investigate the significance of occupational travelers. We have already encountered some whose profession entailed ongoing travel or an itinerant lifestyle, including certain philosophers or holy men. Yet there are others whose occupation entailed a considerable amount of travel, including athletes, performers, shippers, fishermen, lawyers, lecturers (sophists), physicians, government officials, soldiers, pirates, and brigands. In some cases, entire groups of people made their living based on a nomadic lifestyle, as Michele Murray’s paper shows in connection with the Nabateans. Those whose profession or lifestyle entailed ongoing movement may offer us further insights into the intersection of religion and travel in at least two ways, I would suggest.

First of all, the religious activities and patron deities of occupational travelers deserve our attention. Thus, for instance, we can consider the primarily epigraphical evidence for shippers and traders or performers and athletes that formed themselves into guilds and devoted themselves to honouring appropriate deities in a way that fit their “roving” lifestyles. Some of the latter guilds, 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 the emperor (cf. Pleket 1973; Millar 1977:456-63; Le

Guen 2001; Aneziri 2003).

Soldiers were often mobile and it would be worthwhile exploring how those in the army developed ways of honouring gods that were suited to this 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 in honouring that god while in Rome, in Dura Europus, or in London (cf. Beck 1984; Beard, North, and Price 1998:301-302). Yet seldom have such topics been addressed with issues of mobility at the forefront.

A second main area for investigation, which I have already begun to outline, is the role that traveling professionals and networks of trade played in the dissemination of cultic practice 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? Humphries' consideration of trade networks in northern Italy, for instance, shows what light this focus can shed on the diffusion of both Isis cults and Christian groups (Humphries 1998; cf. Frend 1964 and Pietri 1978 on Christianity in Gaul). Those who migrated from one locale to another, like the Egyptian priest who "brought his god [Sarapis] with him" to Delos in the third century BCE (*JG* XI.4 1299; cf. Nock 1933:51-54), could also be instrumental in the introduction and spread of certain cults, which brings us to the topic of migration.

5. Migrating

We need to be cautious 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 within previous scholarship, as we have heard in earlier seminars here (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, others involuntary, including war (both prisoners of war who were enslaved and fighting soldiers), governmental policies of settlement, and pursuit of an occupation, as well as other factors that remain less clear. Particularly pertinent to our purposes are questions regarding immigrants' modes of maintaining connections with the cultural and religious life of the homeland, including communication with, and travel to, the country or city of origin. 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, for instance.

Clearly, one of the most obvious modes of maintaining connections with the ways of one's homeland, including its cultic life, was to join together with others in the same situation. Through our seminars on associations and on religious rivalries we have become very familiar with the associational tendencies of urban populations. Yet we can pursue further studies of immigrant associations and cults specifically both in their own rights and as a framework in which to make better sense of the experiences of groups of Judeans in the diaspora. 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 (cf. La Piana 1927; Baslez 1988; MacMullen 1993; Vestergaard 2000).

In what ways did immigrants maintain connections with their homeland and continue to hold to specific cultural practices and worldviews while also adapting to their new environment? What new configurations of social and religious life emerged out of this interplay in the

diaspora? Social scientific studies of the processes of migration, acculturation, and assimilation may provide important insights as we pursue such questions. Investigating this topic will begin to clarify the degree to which Judeans in the diaspora maintained connections with their homeland and its culture in ways that were similar to, or different from, other peoples.

Furthermore, paying special attention to the manner in which immigrants maintained their connections with the culture of homeland will 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 the genre of 1 Peter in terms of the “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 (yet do see Elliott 1990 [1981], of course, who takes the “aliens” terminology literally). Metaphors of dispersion and foreignness, as well as the notion of being immigrants on the move, continue as important motifs within Christian literature well beyond the first century, as the *Epistle to Diognetus* (2nd-3rd century) illustrates: 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” (5.5).

CONCLUSION

These initial sketches may begin to indicate just how much work remains to be done where religion and travel intersect and may also get you thinking about topics to pursue as we proceed. Moreover, I have suggested that this seminar will make far more significant contributions to the study of religions in antiquity, including early Judaism and Christianity, by consistently keeping a bird’s eye view of the ancient Mediterranean world in mind in its

comparative investigations into specific cases regarding religion and travel. For this reason, the discussion here has deliberately scanned this expansive Mediterranean landscape more so than focusing on early Judaism and Christianity specifically. Yet it is hoped that after reading this paper you will also return to familiar materials with new eyes for issues of mobility and ears attuned to discourses of travel.

REFERENCES

- Abler, Ronald, John S. Adams, and Peter Gould
1972 *Spatial Organization: The Geographer's View of the World*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Abusch, Tzvi
1995 "Ascent to the Stars in a Mesopotamian Ritual: Social Metaphor and Religious Experience." In John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane, eds.: *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 15-38.
- Adams, Colin
2001 "'There and Back Again': Getting Around in Roman Egypt." In Colin Adams and Ray Laurence, eds.: *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge, pp. 138-165.
- Adams, Colin, and Ray Laurence, eds.
2001 *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge.
- Adcock, F. E., and Derek J. Mosley, eds.
1975 *Diplomacy in Ancient Greece*. Aspects of Greek and Roman life. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Alcock, Susan E., John F. Cherry, and John (Jás) Elsner, eds.
2001 *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Alexander, Loveday
1995a "'In Journeyings Often': Voyaging in the Acts of the Apostles and in Greek Romance." In C. M. Tuckett, ed.: *Luke's Literary Achievement. Collected Essays*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 17-49.
1995b "Narrative Maps: Reflections on the Toponymy of Acts." In M. Daniel Carroll, David J. A. Clines and Philip R. Davies, eds.: *The Bible in Human Society: Essays in Honour of John Rogerson*. England: Sheffield Academic Press Ltd., pp. 17-57.
- Anderson, Graham
1994 *Sage, Saint and Sophist: Holy Men and Their Associates in the Early Roman Empire*. London: Routledge.
- André, Jean-Marie, and Marie-Francoise Baslez, eds.
1993 *Voyager dans l'antiquité*. Paris: Fayard.
- Aneziri, Sophia
2003 *Die Vereine der Dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft*. *Historia Einzelschriften*, 163. Munich: Steiner.
- Arnal, William E.
2001 *Jesus and the Village Scribes*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Ascough, Richard S.
2003 *Paul's Macedonian Associations: The Social Context of Philippians and 1 Thessalonians*. WUNT, 161. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck.
- Attridge, Harold W.
1989 *The Epistle to the Hebrews*. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Aune, David E.
1998 "Expansion and Recruitment Among Hellenistic Religions: The Case of Mithraism." In Peder Borgen, Vernon K. Robbins, David B. Gowler and Vernon K. Robbins, eds.: *Recruitment, Conquest, and Conflict: Strategies in Judaism, Early Christianity and the Greco-Roman World Emory Studies in Early Christianity*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 39-56.
- Barclay, John M.G.
1996 *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora from Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE-117 CE)*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Barré, Michael L.
2001 "'Wandering About' as a *Topos* of Depression in Ancient Near Eastern Literature and in the Bible." *JNES* 60:177-187.
- Baslez, M.-F.
1988 "Les communautes d'orientaux dans la cité grecque: Formes de sociabilité et modèles associatifs." In *l'Etranger dans le monde grec: Actes du colloque organisé par l'Institut d'Etudes Anciennes, Nancy, mai 1987*. Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, pp. 139-158.

- Bauer, Walter
1971 [1934] *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*. Robert A. Kraft, John E. Steely, David Hay and Stephen Benko, trans. London: SCM Press.
- Bautch, Kelley Coblentz
2003 *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19: 'No One Has Seen What I Have Seen.'* JSJSup, 81. Leiden: Brill.
- Beard, Mary, John North, and Simon Price, eds.
1998 *Religions of Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beck, Roger
1984 "Mithraism Since Franz Cumont." *ANRW* 2.17.4:2002-2115.
- Behr, Charles A., trans.
1981-1986 *P. Aelius Aristides: The Complete Works*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Benko, Stephen
1980 *Pagan Rome and the Early Christians*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bernand, André
1969 *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae*. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Beskow, Per
1978 "The Routes of Early Mithraism." In J. Duchesne-Guillemin, ed.: *Études Mithriaques: Actes du deuxième congrès international*. Téhéran-Liège: Bibliothèque Pahlavi, pp. 7-18.
- Blagg, Thomas
1986 "Roman Religious Sites in the British Landscape." *Landscape History* 8:15-25.
- Budichovsky, Marie Christine
1976 "La diffusion des cultes Egyptiens d'Aquilee à travers les pays Alpains." *Antichita Altoadriatiche* 6:207-227.
- Borgen, Peder, Vernon K. Robbins, and David B. Gowler, eds.
1998 *Recruitment, Conquest, and Conflict: Strategies in Judaism, Early Christianity and the Greco-Roman World*. Emory Studies in Early Christianity. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Bowersock, G. W.
1994 *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian*. Sather classical lectures, 58. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bowman, Denvy Allen
1987 *Roman Ambassadors in the Greek East: 196 to 146 B.C.*. PhD dissertation. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Brodersen, Kai
1999 *Mastering the World: Ancient Geography*. Approaching the Ancient World. London: Routledge.
2001 "The Presentation of Geographical Knowledge for Travel and Transport in the Roman World: Itineraria non tantum adnotata sed etiam picta." In Colin Adams and Ray Laurence, eds.: *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge, pp. 7-21.
- Brodersen, Kai, and Richard Talbert, eds.
2004 *Space in the Roman World: Its Perception and Presentation*. Münster: Lit.
- Brodie, Thomas L.
1989 "Animadversiones: The Departure for Jerusalem (Luke 9,51-56) as a Rhetorical Imitation of Elijah's Departure for the Jordan (2 Kgs 1,1-2,6)." *Biblica* 70:96-109.
- Bruce, F. F.
1992 "Travel and Communication: The New Testament World." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 6. New York: Doubleday, pp. 648-653.
- Burkert, Walter
1987 *Ancient Mystery Cults*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Burstein, Stanley M.
2000 "Exploration and Ethnography in Ptolemaic Egypt." *The Ancient World* 31:31-37.
- Camassa, Giorgio, and Silvana Fasce
1991 *Idea e realtà del viaggio: il viaggio nel mondo antico*. Genova: ECIG.
- Campbell, Mary B.

- 1988 *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Campbell, Thomas H.
1955 "Paul's 'Missionary Journeys' as Reflected in His Letters." *JBL* 74:80-87.
- Canali De Rossi, Filippo
1997 *Le ambascerie dal mondo greco a Roma: in età repubblicana*. Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto italiano per la storia antica, 63. Roma: Istituto italiano per la storia antica.
- Casson, Lionel
1991 [1959] *The Ancient Mariners: Seafarers and Sea Fighters of the Mediterranean in Ancient Times*, 2nd edition. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
1995 [1971] *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
1994 [1974] *Travel in the Ancient World*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Charlesworth, M. P.
1961 *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Chevallier, Raymond
1976 *Roman Roads*. London: Batsford.
1988 *Voyages et déplacements dans l'empire romain*. Paris: A. Colin.
- Cleveland, Ingrid T.
1987 *The Egyptian Cults in Ancient Rome: A Study of the Diffusion and Popularity of the Cults in Roman Society*. Ann Arbor, MI: U.M.I.
- Clifford, James
1992 "Travelling Cultures." In Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson and Paula A. Treichler, eds.: *Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge, pp. 96-116.
1997 *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Cole, Susan Guettel
1984 *Theoi Megaloi: The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace*. EPRO, 96. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Collins, Adela Y.
1995 "The Seven Heavens in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses." In John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane, eds.: *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 57-92.
- Collins, John J.
1995 "A Throne in the Heavens: Apotheosis in Pre-Christian Judaism." In John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane, eds.: *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 41-56.
1998 [1984] *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd edition. Biblical Resource Series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Collins, John J., and Michael Fishbane
1995 *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Constable, Olivia Remie
2003 *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Conybeare, F.C., trans.
1912-1921 *Philostratus: The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. LCL. London: William Heinemann.
- Coulston, Jon
2001 "Transport and Travel on the Column of Trajan." In Colin Adams and Ray Laurence, eds.: *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge, pp. 106-137.
- Cunliffe, Barry W.
2002 *The Extraordinary Voyage of Pytheas the Greek*. New York, N.Y.: Walker & Company.
- Daniels, C. M.
1975 "The Role of the Roman Army in the Spread and Practice of Mithraism." In John R. Hinnells, ed.: *Mithraic Studies: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies Volume II*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 249-274.

- Davies, Graham I.
1979 *The Way of the Wilderness: A Geographical Study of the Wilderness Itineraries in the Old Testament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Denaux, Adelbert
1993 "The Delineation of the Lukan Travel Narrative Within the Overall Structure of the Gospel of Luke." In Camille Focant, ed.: *The Synoptic Gospels: Source Criticism and the New Literary Criticism*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, pp. 357-392.
1997 "Old Testament Models for the Lukan Travel Narrative." In C. M. Tuckett, ed.: *The Scriptures in the Gospels*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, pp. 271-305.
- Dillon, Matthew
1997 *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece*. London: Routledge.
- Dormeyer, Detlev
1993 "Jesus as Wandering Prophetic Wisdom Teacher." *HvTSt* 49:101-117.
- Dougherty, Carol
2001 *The Raft of Odysseus: The Ethnographic Imagination of Homer's Odyssey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Downing, Francis Gerald
1992 *Cynics and Christian Origins*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Draper, J.A.
1998 "Weber, Theissen, and 'Wandering Charismatics' in the Didache." *J ECS* 6:541-576.
- Drijvers, H.J.W., trans. and ed.
1964 *The Book of the Laws of Countries: Dialogue on Fate of Bardaisan of Edessa*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Duchêne, Hervé
2003 *Voyageurs et antiquité classique*. Dijon: EUD.
- Dudko, Dmitrii M.
2001-2002 "Mythological Ethnography of Eastern Europe: Herodotus, Pseudo-Zacharias, and Nestor." *Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia* 40:75-92.
- Dueck, Daniela
2000 *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome*. London: Routledge.
- Duncan, James S., and Derek Gregory, eds.
1999 *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*. London: Routledge.
- Eade, John, and Michael J. Sallnow, eds.
1991 *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*. London: Routledge.
- Edwards, Douglas R.
1989 "Acts of the Apostles and the Graeco-Roman World: Narrative Communication in Social Contexts." *SBLSP* 28:362-377.
- Elliott, John H.
1990 [1981] *A Home for the Homeless: A Social-Scientific Criticism of I Peter, Its Situation and Strategy*, 2nd edition. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Elliott, Susan
2003 *Cutting Too Close for Comfort: Paul's Letter to the Galatians in Its Anatolian Cultic Context*. JSNTSup, 248. London: T & T Clark.
- Ellis, Linda, and Frank L. Kidner, eds.
2004 *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity: Sacred and Profane*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Elsner, John (Jás)
1992 "Pausanias: A Greek Pilgrim in the Roman World." *Past & Present* 135:3-29.
1994 "From the Pyramids to Pausanias and Piglet: Monuments, Travel and Writing." In Simon Goldhill and Robin Osborne, eds.: *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 224-254.
1997 "Hagiographic Geography: Travel and Allegory in the Life of Apollonius of Tyana." *JHS* 117:22-37.
2001a "Structuring 'Greece': Pausanias's Periegesis as a Literary Construct." In Susan E. Alcock, John F.

- Cherry and John (Jás) Elsner, eds.: *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 3-20.
- 2001b "Describing the Self in the Language of the Other: Pseudo (?) Lucian at the Temple of Hierapolis." In Simon Goldhill, ed.: *Being Greek Under Rome: Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic, and the Development of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 123-153.
- Elsner, John (Jás), and Simon Coleman
 1995 "Piety and Identity: Sacred Travel in the Classical World." In Simon Coleman and John Elsner, eds.: *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 10-222.
- Elsner, John (Jás), and Joan-Pau Rubiés, ed.
 1999 *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*. London: Reaktion Books.
- Elsner, John (Jás), and Ian Rutherford, eds.
 2005 *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity: Seeing the Gods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Engberg-Pedersen, Troels
 1998 "The Hellenistic Öffentlichkeit: Philosophy as a Social Force in the Greco-Roman World." In Peder Borgen, Vernon K. Robbins, David B. Gowler and Vernon K. Robbins, eds.: *Recruitment, Conquest, and Conflict: Strategies in Judaism, Early Christianity and the Greco-Roman World*. Emory Studies in Early Christianity. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 15-38.
- Epp, Eldon Jay
 1991 "New Testament Papyrus Manuscripts and Letter Carrying in Greco-Roman Times." In Birger A. Pearson, ed.: *The Future of Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, pp. 35-56.
- Feldman, Louis H.
 1993 *Jew & Gentile in the Ancient World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Festugière, André-Jean
 1967 "L'expérience religieuse du médecin Thessalos." In *Hermétisme et mystique païenne*. Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, pp. 141-180.
- Filson, Floyd V.
 1970 "The Journey Motif in Luke-Acts." In W. Ward Gasque and Ralph P. Martin, eds.: *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce on His 60th Birthday*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 68-77.
- Fishwick, D.
 1967 "Hastiferi." *JRS* 57:142-160.
- Flinterman, Jaap-Jan
 1996 "The Ubiquitous 'Divine Man.'" *Numen* 43:82-98.
- Foertmeyer, Victoria Ann
 1989 *Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Doctoral dissertation. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Fontenrose, Joseph
 1978 *The Delphic Oracle: Its Responses and Operations with a Catalogue of Responses*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
 1988 *Didyma: Apollo's Oracle, Cult and Companions*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fossey, C.
 1897 "Inscriptions de Syrie." *BCH* 21:29-65.
- Fowden, Garth
 1986 *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Frankfurter, David
 1998a *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
 1998b "Introduction: Approaches to Coptic Pilgrimage." In David Frankfurter, ed.: *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 3-48.
- French, David H.
 1980 "The Roman Road-System of Asia Minor." *ANRW* 2.7.2:698-729.
 1988 *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Oxford, England: B.A.R.
 1994 "Acts and the Roman Roads of Asia Minor." In David Gill, W. J. and Conrad Gempf, eds.: *The*

- Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 49-58.
- Frend, W. H. C.
 1964 "A Note on the Influence of Greek Immigrants on the Spread of Christianity in the West." In *Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser Jahrbuch Für Antike und Christentum*. Münster Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, pp. 125-129.
 1984 "Montanism: Research and Problems." *RSLR* 20:521-537.
 1988 "Montanism: A Movement of Prophecy and Regional Identity in the Early Church." *BJRL* 70.3:25-34.
- Freyne, Sean
 1980 *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian, 323 B.C.E. to 135 C.E.* Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier Press.
 1996 "Jesus the Pilgrim." In Sean Freyne and Virgil Elizondo, eds.: *Pilgrimage*. London: SCM Press, pp. 25-34.
- Friedrich, Hans-Veit, ed.
 1968 *Thessalos von Tralles: griechisch und lateinisch*. Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 28. Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain.
- Gilchrist, J.M.
 1996 "The Historicity of Paul's Shipwreck." *JSNT* 61:29-51.
- Gill, David W.J.
 1970 "Observations on the Lukan Travel Narrative and Some Related Passages." *HTR* 63:199-221.
- Gnuse, Robert
 2002 "Vita Apologetica: The Lives of Josephus and Paul in Apologetic Historiography." *JSP* 13:151-169.
- Goodman, Martin
 1994 *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gozalbes Cravioto, Enrique
 2003 *Viajes y viajeros en el mundo antiguo*. Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha.
- Grelot, Pierre
 1958 "La géographie mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources orientales." *RB* 65:33-69.
- Gruen, Erich S.
 1984 *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hadas, Moses, ed. and trans.
 1951 *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)*. Jewish Apocryphal Literature. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Haenchen, Ernst
 1965 "'We' in Acts and the Itinerary." *JTC* 1:65-99.
- Hägg, Tomas
 1983 [1980] *The Novel in Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Halfmann, Helmut
 1986 *Itinera principum: Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich*. Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien, 2. Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden.
- Harland, Philip A.
 2003a *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
 2003b "Christ-Bearers and Fellow-Initiates: Local Cultural Life and Christian Identity in Ignatius' Letters." *J ECS* 11:481-499.
- Harmon, A.M., and M.D. Macleod, trans.
 1913-1967 *Lucian*. LCL. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Harnack, Adolf von
 1884 *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Hartog, François
 1988 [1980] *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*. Janet Lloyd, trans. The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics. Berkeley:

- University of California Press.
 2001 [1996] *Memories of Odysseus: Frontier Tales from Ancient Greece*. Janet Lloyd, trans. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hembold, W.C., and F.H. Sandbach, trans.
 1927-1969 *Plutarch: Moralia*. LCL. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Hillier, Bill, and Julienne Hanson
 1984 *The Social Logic of Space*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Himmelfarb, Martha
 1995 "The Practice of Ascent in the Ancient Mediterranean World." In John J. Collins and Michael Fishbane, eds.: *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 121-136
- Holmberg, Erik John
 1933 *Zur Geschichte des cursus publicus*. Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska bokhandeln.
- Horsley, G. H. R., Llewelyn, ed.
 1981-2002 *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. North Ryde, Australia: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University.
- Horsley, Richard A.
 1985 *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs: Popular Movements in the Time of Jesus*. Harrisburg: Trinity Press
 1989 *Sociology and the Jesus Movement*. New York: Crossroad.
 1995 *Galilee: History, Politics, People*. Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International.
- Humphries, Mark
 1998 "Trading Gods in Northern Italy." In Helen Parkins and Christopher Smith, eds.: *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City*. London: Routledge, pp. 203-224.
- Hunt, E.D.
 1984 "Travel, Tourism and Piety in the Roman Empire: A Context for the Beginnings of Christian Pilgrimage." *EMC* 28:391-417.
- Huxley, George
 1983 "Geography in the Acts of Thomas." *GRBS* 24:71-80.
- Jackson, Richard H., and Henrie Roger
 1983 "Perception of Sacred Space." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 3:94-107.
- Jewett, Robert
 1979 *A Chronology of Paul's Life*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
 1997 "Mapping the Route of Paul's 'Second Missionary Journey' From Dorylaeum to Troas." *TynBul* 48:1-22.
 2000 "Paul and the Caravanners: A Proposal on the Mode of 'Passing Through Mysia.'" In Stephen G. Wilson and Michel Desjardins, eds.: *Text and Artifact in the Religions of Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson*. Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, pp. 74-90.
- Johnsson, William G.
 1978 "The Pilgrimage Motif in the Book of Hebrews." *JBL* 97:239-251.
- Jones, C.P.
 1986 *Culture and Society in Lucian*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
 2001 "Apollonius of Tyana's Passage to India." *GRBS* 42:185-199.
- Käsemann, Ernst
 1984 [1957] *The Wandering People of God: An Investigation of the Letter to the Hebrews*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing.
- Kent, Susan
 1990 *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kerkeslager, Allen
 1998 "Jewish Pilgrimage and Jewish Identity in Hellenistic and Early Roman Egypt." In David Frankfurter, ed.: *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*. RGRW, 134. Leiden: Brill, pp. 99-225.
- Kern, Otto
 1900 *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Berlin: W. Spemann.

- Kolb, Anne
2001 "Transport and Communication in the Roman State: The *cursus publicus*." In Colin Adams and Ray Laurence, eds.: *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge, pp. 95-105.
- Koskenniemi, Erkki
1998 "Apollonius of Tyana: A Typical *theios anēr*?" *JBL* 117:455-467.
- Lane Fox, Robin
1986 *Pagans and Christians*. New York: HarperSanFrancisco.
- La Piana, George
1927 "Foreign Groups in Rome During the First Centuries of the Empire." *HTR* 20:183-403.
- Laurence, Ray
2001 "Afterword: Travel and Empire." In Colin Adams and Ray Laurence, eds.: *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge, pp. 167-176.
- Le Guen, Brigitte
2001 *Les Associations de technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique*. Études d'Archéologie Classique, 11-12. Nancy: Association pour la Diffusion de la Recherche sur l'Antiquité (De Boccard).
- Lefranc, Georges
1933 *Les grands voyages de l'antiquité: Les Argonautes – Hannon – Himilcon – Sataspées – Carausius – l'Atlantide*. Paris: Librairie de la Revue nautique.
- Levi, Peter
1971 *Pausanias: Guide to Greece*. 2 vols. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Lieu, Samuel N. C.
1985 *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China a Historical Survey*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
1992 *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China*. 2d edition. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.
- Linforth, Ivan M.
1926 "Greek Gods and Foreign Gods in Herodotus." *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 9:1-25.
- Lührmann, Dieter
1991 "The Godlessness of Germans Living by the Sea According to Philo of Alexandria." In Birger A. Pearson, ed.: *The Future of Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, pp. 57-63.
- MacDonald, Dennis R.
1999 "The Shipwrecks of Odysseus and Paul." *NTS* 45:88-107.
- Mackie, Chris
1996 "Initiatory Journeys in Homer." In Matthew Dillon, ed.: *Religion in the Ancient World: New Themes and Approaches*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert.
- MacMullen, Ramsay
1981 *Paganism in the Roman Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
1993 "The Unromanized in Rome." In Shaye J.D. Cohen and Ernest S. Frerichs, eds.: *Diasporas in Antiquity*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, pp. 47-64.
- Macpherson, I. W.
1954 "Roman Roads and Milestones of Galatia." *AnSt* 9:111-120.
- Malaise, Michel
1972 *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*. EPRO, 22. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
1984 "La diffusion des cultes égyptiens dans les provinces européennes de l'Empire romain ." *ANRW* 2.17.3:1615-1691.
- Matthews, John F.
1989 "Hostages, Philosophers, Pilgrims, and the Diffusion of Ideas in the Late Roman Mediterranean and Near East." In F.M. Clover and R.S. Humphreys, eds.: *Tradition and Innovation in Late Antiquity*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 29-49.
- McCasland, S. V.
1962 "Ships and Sailing in the New Testament." In George Arthur Buttrick, ed.: *The Interpreter's*

- Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 4. New York: Abingdon Press, pp. 335-337.
- 1962 "Travel and Communication in the New Testament." In George Arthur Buttrick, ed.: *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 4. New York: Abingdon Press, pp. 690-693.
- McCown, C.C.
- 1932 "The Geography of Jesus' Last Journey to Jerusalem." *JBL* 51:107-129.
- 1938 "The Geography of Luke's Central Section." *JBL* 57:51-66.
- 1941 "Gospel Geography Fiction, Fact, and Truth." *JBL* 60:1-25.
- Meijer, Fik
- 1986 *A History of Seafaring in the Classical World*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Meijer, Fik, and Onno van Nijf, eds.
- 1992 *Trade, Transport and Society in the Ancient World: A Sourcebook*. New York: Routledge.
- Miesner, Donald R.
- 1978 "The Missionary Journeys Narrative: Patterns and Implications." In Charles H. Talbert, ed.: *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*. Scotland: T & T Clark Ltd., pp. 199-214.
- Mikalson, Jon D.
- 2002 "Religion in Herodotus." In Egbert J. Bakker, Irene J.F. de Jong and Hans van Wees, eds.: *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 187-198.
- Millar, Fergus
- 1977 *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC - AD 337)*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Miller, Patricia Cox
- 1983 *Biography in Late Antiquity: A Quest for the Holy Man*. The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 5. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Moessner, David P.
- 1983a "Paul and the Pattern of the Prophet Like Moses in Acts." In Kent Harold Richards, ed.: *SBLSP*. California: Scholars Press, pp. 203-212.
- 1983b "Luke 9: 1-50: Luke's Preview of the Journey of the Prophet Like Moses of Deuteronomy." *JBL* 102:575-605.
- 1989 *Lord of the Banquet: The Literary and Theological Significance of the Lukan Travel Narrative*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Morton, Jamie
- 2001 *The Role of the Physical Environment in Ancient Greek Seafaring*. Mnemosyne Supplementum, 213. Leiden: Brill.
- Mosley, Derek J.
- 1973 *Envoys and Diplomacy in Ancient Greece*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Nicolet, Claude
- 1991 *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Nock, Arthur Darby
- 1933 *Conversion: The Old and New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Noy, David
- 2000 *Foreigners at Rome: Citizens and Strangers*. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co.
- Oikonomides, A.I. N., trans.
- 1977 *Hanno the Carthaginian: Periplus, or Circumnavigation [of Africa]*. Chicago: Ares Publishers
- Olshausen, Eckart, and Hildegard Biller
- 1979 *Antike Diplomatie*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Park, Chris C.
- 1994 *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion*. London: Routledge.
- Parke, H.W.
- 1985 *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor*. London: Croom Helm.
- Patai, Raphael, James Hornell, and John M. Lundquist, eds.
- 1998 *The Children of Noah: Jewish Seafaring in Ancient Times*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Pemble, John
- 1987 *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Pietri, Charles
1978 "Les origines de la mission Lyonnaise: Remarques critiques." *Les Martyres de Lyon* 177:211-231.
- Pinkerton, John
1808-1824 *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees.
- Pleket, H. W.
1973 "Some Aspects of the History of Athletic Guilds." *ZPE* 10:197-227.
- Porter, Stanley E.
1994 "Excursus. The 'We' Passages." In David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf, eds.: *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*. The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting, ume. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 545-574.
- Praeder, Susan Marie
1981 "Luke-Acts and the Ancient Novel." In Kent Harold Richards, ed.: *SBLSP*. California: Scholars Press, pp. 269-292.
1987 "The Problem of First Person Narration in Acts." *NovT* 29:193-218.
2001 "Acts 27:1-28:16: Sea Voyages in Ancient Literature and the Theology of Luke-Acts." *CBQ* 46:683-691.
- Pratt, Mary Louise
1992 *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge.
- Pretzler, Maria
2004 "Turning Travel Into Text: Pausanias at Work." *GR* 51:199-216.
- Price, Simon R.F.
1984 *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ramsay, W. M.
1896 *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Rapoport, Amos
1994 "Spatial Organization and the Built Environment." In Tim Ingold, ed.: *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. London: Routledge, pp. 460-502.
- Rapske, Brian M.
1994 "Acts, Travel and Shipwreck." In David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf, eds.: *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, Vol. 2. The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 1-47.
- Reinhartz, Adele
1998 "On Travel, Translation, and Ethnography: Johannine Scholarship at the Turn of the Century." In Fernando F. Segovia, ed.: "What is John?" *Volume II: Literary and Social Readings of the Fourth Gospel*. SBLSymS. Atlanta: Scholars Press, pp. 249-256.
- Reynolds, Joyce
1977 "Inscriptions." In J.A. Lloyd, ed.: *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish Benghazi (Berenice)*. Volume I: *Buildings, Coins, Inscriptions, Architectural Decoration*. Supplements to Libya Antiqua, 5. Libya: Department of Antiquities, Ministry of Teaching and Education, People's Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, pp. 233-254.
- Richards, E. Randolph
2004 *Paul and First-Century Letter Writing*. Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press.
- Rinschede, Gisbert, and Angelika Sievers
1987 "The Pilgrimage Phenomenon in Socio-Geographical Research." *The National Geographical Journal of India* 33:213-217.
- Robbins, Vernon K.
1975 "The We-Passages in Acts and Ancient Sea Voyages." *Biblical Research* 20:5-18.
1978 "By Land and By Sea: The We-Passages and Ancient Sea Voyages." In Charles H. Talbert, ed.: *Perspectives on Luke-Acts*. Scotland: T & T Clark Ltd., pp. 215-242.
- Robert, Louis
1980 *A travers l'Asie Mineure: Poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie*. Paris: De Boccard.
- Robertson, George

- 1994 *Travellers' Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement*. Futures, New Perspectives for Cultural Analysis. London: Routledge.
- Robinson, Thomas A.
1988 *The Bauer Thesis Examined: The Geography of Heresy in the Early Christian Church*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Rojek, Chris, and John Urry
1997 *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. London: Routledge.
- Roller, Lynn E.
1999 *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Romm, James S.
1992 *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rougé, Jean
1975 *Ships and Fleets of the Ancient Mediterranean*. Susan Frazer, trans. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.
- Rutherford, Ian
1995 "The Dangers of Pilgrimage in Greek Religion and Society." *SMSR* 61:275-292.
1998 "Island of the Extremity: Space, Language and Power in the Pilgrimage Traditions of Philae." In David Frankfurter, ed.: *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt*. RGRW, 134. Leiden: Brill, pp. 229-256.
1999 "'To the Land of Zeus.': Patterns of Pilgrimage in Aelius Aristides." *Aevum Antiquum* 12:133-148.
2001 "Tourism and the Sacred: Pausanias and the Traditions of Greek Pilgrimage." In Susan E. Alcock, John F. Cherry and John (Jás) Elsner, eds.: *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 40-52.
- Sack, Robert David
1986 *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*. Cambridge studies in historical geography, 7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sanders, Donald
1990 "Behavioral Conventions and Archaeology: Methods for the Analysis of Ancient Architecture." In Susan Kent, ed.: *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 43-72.
- Scarborough, John, and Vivian Nutton
1982 "The Preface of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary." *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 4:187-227.
- Schäfer, A.
2004 "The Diffusion of Religious Belief in Roman Dacia: A Case-Study of the Gods of Asia Minor." In W. S. Hanson and I. P. Haynes, eds.: *Roman Dacia: The Making of a Provincial Society*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series, 56. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, pp. 179-190.
- Schäfer, Peter
1997 *Judeophobia: Attitudes Toward the Jews in the Ancient World*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Schierling, Stephen P., and Marla J. Schierling
1978 "The Influence of the Ancient Romances on Acts of the Apostles." *The Classical Bulletin* 54:81-88.
- Scott, M. James
1994 "Luke's Geographical Horizon." In David W. J. Gill and Conrad Gempf, eds.: *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, Vol. 2. The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 483-544.
- Segovia, Fernando F.
1991 "The Journey(s) of the Word of God: A Reading of the Plot of the Fourth Gospel." *Semeia* 53:23-54.
- Shaked, Shaul
1999 "Quests and Visionary Journeys in Sasanian Iran." In Jan Assmann, Guy G. Stroumsa, H.G.

- Kippenberg and E.T. Lawson, eds.: *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions*. Studies in the History of Religions, 83. Leiden: Brill, pp. 65-86.
- Shaw, Brent D.
1984 "Bandits in the Roman Empire." *Past and Present* 102:3-52.
- Sherk, Robert K.
1974 "Roman Geographical Exploration and Military Maps." *ANRW* 2.1:534-562.
- Shutt, R. J. H.
1985 "Letter of Aristeas." In James H. Charlesworth, ed.: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. 2. New York: Doubleday, pp. 7-34.
- Skeel, Caroline A. J.
1901 *Travel in the First Century After Christ*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Jonathan Z.
1978 "The Temple and the Magician." In *Map is not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*. SJLA, 23. Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 172-189.
- Smith, Morton
1998 [1978] *Jesus the Magician: Charlatan or Son of God?* Berkeley, California: Seastone.
- Snyder, Graydon F.
2003 *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine*, 2nd edition. Macon: Mercer.
- Spencer, F. Scott
1999 "Paul's Odyssey in Acts: Status Struggles and Island Adventures." *BTB* 28:150-159.
- Stark, Rodney
1996 *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stern, Menahem, ed. and trans.
1974-1984 *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.
- Stewart-Sykes, Alistair
1997 "The Asian Context of the New Prophecy and of Epistula Apostolorum." *VC* 51:416-438.
- Stowers, Stanley Kent
1986 *Letter Writing in Greco-Roman Antiquity*. LEC, 5. Philadelphia: Westminster Press.
- Takács, Sarolta A.
1995 *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World*. RGRW, 124. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Teltscher, Kate
1995 *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600-1800*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Theissen, Gerd
1978 *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity*. John Bowden, trans. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
1982 [1973] *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth*. John H. Schütz, trans. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Tilley, A. F.
2004 *Seafaring on the Ancient Mediterranean: New Thoughts on Triremes and Other Ancient Ships*. BAR international series, 1268. Oxford, England: John and Erica Hedges.
- Topham-Meekings, Diana
1976 *The Hollow Ships: Trade and Seafaring in the Ancient World*. Basingstoke ; New York: Macmillan.
- Torr, Cecil
1964 *Ancient Ships*. Chicago: Argonaut Publishers.
- Townsend, John T.
1985 "Missionary Journeys in Acts and European Missionary Societies." In Kent Harold Richards, ed.: *SBSSP*. Missoula: Scholars Press, pp. 433-437.
- VanderKam, James C.
1984 *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*. CBQMS, 16. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America.
- Van Elderen, Bastiaan
1970 "Some Archaeological Observations on Paul's First Missionary Journey." In W. Ward Gasques

- and Ralph P. Martin, eds.: *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce on His 60th Birthday*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, pp. 151-161.
- Venter, Pieter M.
 2003 "Spatiality in Enoch's Journeys (1 Enoch 12-36)." In F. García Martínez, ed.: *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Biblical Tradition*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, pp. 211-230.
- Vestergaard, Torben
 2000 "Milesian Immigrants in Late Hellenistic and Roman Athens." In Graham J. Oliver, ed.: *The Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp. 81-109.
- Vliet, Edward Ch.L. van der
 2003 "The Romans and Us: Strabo's Geography and the Construction of Ethnicity." *Mnemosyne* 56:257-272.
- Votaw, Clyde Weber
 1970 [1915] *The Gospels and Contemporary Biographies in the Greco-Roman World*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Weber, Valentin
 1920 *Des Paulus Reiserouten bei der zweimaligen Durchquerung Kleinasiens*. Würzburg: C. J. Beker.
- Wehnert, Jürgen
 1989 *Die Wir-Passengen der Apostelgeschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wenham, J. W.
 1981 "Synoptic Independence and the Origin of Luke's Travel Narrative." *NTS* 27:507-515.
- White, John L.
 1986 *Light from Ancient Letters. Foundations and Facets*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Winter, Bruce W.
 2000 "Dangers and Difficulties for the Pauline Missions." In Peter Bolt and Mark Thompson, eds.: *The Gospel to the Nations: Perspectives on Paul's Mission*. Illinois: Intervarsity Press, pp. 285-295.
- Wiseman, T.P.
 1970 *Roman Republican Road Building*. PBR, 25. Liverpool: Francis Cairns.
- Wright, Wilmer Cave, trans.
 1968 *Philostratus and Eunapius: The Lives of the Sophists*. LCL. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Youngs, Tim
 1994 *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850-1900*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Ziethen, Gabriele
 1994 *Gesandte vor Kaiser und Senat: Studien zum römischen Gesandtschaftswesen zwischen 30 v. Chr. und 117 n. Chr.* St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag.