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Religious Tourism in Roman Greece

David James Stark
Wilfrid Laurier University

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by

David James Stark

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THESIS

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David J. Stark
Dr. Judith Fletcher, Dissertation Supervisor

ABSTRACT

In recent years, Roman travel and tourism has become a focus of scholarship. Most of the scholarship however has focused either on religious travel through studies of pilgrimage or on secular travel through studies of tourism. Many tourism scholars however have begun to recognize that the differences between what is a tourist and what is a pilgrim is not as large as was once thought. These scholars have coined a new term, the religious tourist, to describe those travelers who seem to bridge the gap between the traditional definition of a pilgrim and the traditional definition of a tourist. Through examining the work of the travel writer Pausanias and the travels of famous Romans such as Aemilius Paullus, Cicero, Mucianus, Nero, and Hadrian, one begins to understand that the majority of tourists in the Roman world visited religious sites. Travelers were interested both in the religious nature of these sites as "houses of the gods" and in their secular nature as home to countless wonders of art, relics of history, and athletic and cultural festivals where the very best athletes and artists competed for prestige and prizes. Although many travelers made dedications or sacrificed victims, many of them also took time to marvel at the artwork and admire the museum-like nature of the Greek Sanctuary site. Although these travelers have previously been classed as either tourists or pilgrims, it is clear that they are best considered religious tourists as they participated in both religious and secular activities while at these sites.

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supporting a family is entirely possible. Lastly, special thanks to the Baans and the Uyars for their love and support as always.

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INTRODUCTION

Religious sites have always held an important place in society as destinations that people wished to visit. Many visitors over the centuries have traveled to these places for strictly religious reasons; to offer a sacrifice, or to pray to a god, or even to have a "spiritual awakening". In recent years, however, many of these religious sites have become popular destinations not only for the pilgrim but also for the average tourist. In fact when Forbes Traveler magazine released a list of "The Fifty Most Visited Tourist Attractions in the World", a religious site, namely the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, appeared at number nine on the list with an estimated twelve million visitors per year.[1]

In recent years, scholars have noted that many travelers to religious sites, even those traveling on tradition pilgrimage routes such as the *Camino* to Santiago de Compostella in Spain, possess characteristics that have traditionally been associated with the tourist in addition to their inherent characteristics as pilgrims. These travelers carry cameras, sightsee at surrounding attractions, marvel at the physical features of the sites themselves, and even buy souvenirs.[2] Many of these religious sites not only attract practicing followers of their specific religion, but also attract visitors from outside of their religion as well. It is for these reasons that many sites are now considered tourist destinations in addition to being religious sites.

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[1] **Sandra Larriva and Gabe Weisert,** http://www.forbestraveler.com/best-lists/most-visited-tourist-attractions-story.html. Created: April 25, 2007. Accessed: April 24, 2009. Many lists of this type exist and although none of them is completely accurate, as they use a variety of different and sometimes suspect sources to compile their data, the information is used here not to say which sites are the most attractive in the world nor to say exactly how many people visit each site, each year, but to argue that certain types of sites, namely religious ones, are popular. Forbes Traveler notes that the Notre Dame data was taken the Office du Tourisme et des Congrès *http://en.parisinfo.com/IMG/pdf/CP_frq_culturelle_2005.pdf.*

[2] Preston 1992: 43 notes that sightseeing and "tourist activities are common interludes on pilgrimage journeys". Digance 2006: 40 also notes that even in medieval times, "souvenirs were sold at the major shrines" and that this tradition has continued today.

Not only have scholars noted that traditional pilgrims now exhibit more tourist-like qualities, they have also noticed that many traditional tourists are exhibiting some of the qualities formerly reserved to describe the pilgrim. Many tourists going to a place of personal importance, such as an Elvis fan going to Graceland or a golfer going to the Old Course at St. Andrews, have a sort of spiritual awakening on their journey and can therefore be viewed as a kind of secular pilgrim.[3] Due to the uncertainty surrounding the current understanding of these terms, scholars such as Vukonic have avoided labeling certain travelers as tourists and others as pilgrims and have instead used the term "religious tourist" to describe those travelers that seem to bridge the gap between the traditional understanding of what is a pilgrim and what is a tourist.[4]

Traveling to sites of religious importance is not a new phenomenon. In the ancient world many thousands of people traveled to sites such as the temple of Isis on Philae Island in Egypt and the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi in Greece.[5] Although the majority of these people traveled to these sites to worship and therefore have often been labeled as "pilgrims", some, especially in Roman times, seem to have engaged in activities that are more commonly associated with the modern day "tourist". Could these travelers, therefore, have been an early form of what scholars are now calling the "religious tourist"?

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[3] See Zakus 2002: 850 and Digance 2006: 42-43.

[4] Morinis 1992: 3-4 notes, "While there is little dispute labelling as pilgrim a devout Muslim who has journeyed to Mecca for the *hajj* or a Catholic attending Holy Week in Rome or a dutiful Hindu performing ancestral rites at Gaya, the clear definition of pilgrimage starts to fray in the cases of the provincial Russians who bring their newborn babies for the blessing of contact with Lenin's tomb in Red Square and the pilgrimage like aspects of tourism, such as visits to Disneyland, seaside paradises, and other tourist 'Meccas'".

[5] For Philae cf. Foertmeyer 1989: 208-256 but esp. 214. Foertmeyer cites over 430 cases of "tourist grafitti" found on this temple. More will be said about graffiti of this nature in later chapters. For Delphi cf. Dillon 1997 and Weir 2004 who cite both Plutarch (*De Pythiae Oraculis*) and Pausanias (book X) as sources. More will be said about Delphi in subsequent chapters.

Aims and Parameters of this Study

The goal of this study is to examine the evidence for religious tourism in the ancient world and discuss why tourism at religious sites might have existed. The focus will be on both the travelers themselves and the religious sites that they traveled to. Many of the religious sites featured attractions common to the modern museum and attracted not only worshippers but also a wider cohort of society. By examining these sites in detail and the travelers who visited them, I will attempt to prove that religious tourism existed in the ancient world.

Although a study of religious tourism in the ancient world could span several thousand years, the focus of this study will be on the period for which we have the richest sources and best evidence for long distance travel: the late Hellenistic age and early Roman Empire spanning roughly from 200 BCE to 200 CE.[6] Within this time frame existed an era that many have called a "golden age" of travel that provides many examples of travelers visiting religious sites.[7] Authors such as Pausanias, Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and Philostratus, document a great movement of peoples from all over the Mediterranean world. Many of these travelers made their way to the religious sites of "Old Greece", or the Roman province of Achaea, the Greek islands and the Greek cities of Asia Minor and therefore it will be these regions that will feature within this particular study.[8]

In chapter one I will define the terms that I will be using throughout the rest of the study and discuss their relevance to the ancient world. In chapter two I will investigate

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[6] Alcock 1993 has described this period as the "Early Roman Period" in Greece.
[7] The era of the "pax Romana", from roughly 31 BCE to 200 CE, has been described this way by Casson 1994: 56-57, Anderson 1993: 2, Pretzler 2007a: 34, and Hutton 2005: 30. More will be said on this is chapter five.
[8] Although "Greece" did not exist as a country in the ancient world, for the purposes of this study "Greece" and "Old Greece" will refer to the territory that became the Roman province of Achaea, stretching from Thessaly through the Peloponnese.

the travel writer Pausanias, using him both as an example of a typical traveler in this period and as a writer who promoted travel and tourism in the Roman province of Achaea and at religious sites in particular. In chapter three I will turn my attention to the sites themselves and discuss both the attractions they possessed and the ways in which they favorably compare to modern museums. In chapter four I will discuss the athletic and cultural festivals that Greek sanctuary sites hosted and the reasons why they attracted the interest of foreign travelers. In chapter five I will examine the typical religious tourist in the Roman period and discuss what type of background he or she might have had. In the last chapter I will do an in-depth examination of the travel itineraries of five different Roman travelers. These five travelers came from different walks of society, lived in vastly different time periods and even traveled for different reasons but each one of them traveled to sanctuary sites and participated in religious tourism.

Although this study is not the first to examine travel and tourism in the Roman world, it is the first study to acknowledge both the secular and the religious aspects of travel and tourism in this period. Previous studies, such as the works of Stumpf, Elsner and Rutherford, and Scullion, have focused either on the secular, by studying tourism, or the religious, by studying pilgrimage, as they existed in the ancient world.[9] This study however is the first to acknowledge what travel and tourism scholars have known for years: that the concepts of pilgrimage and tourism are intricately linked, especially when travelers are visiting religious sights. Hopefully this will be the first of many studies to acknowledge this link and to study religious tourism in the ancient world.

[9]See Stumpf 2003, Elsner and Rutherford 2005, and Scullion 2005.

CHAPTER ONE: DEFINING THE TERMS

The evidence considered in this study makes it clear that many Romans during the last two centuries of the Republic and the first two centuries of the empire traveled to Greece. While in Greece many of these Roman travelers chose to visit sanctuary sites. What the evidence does not say, however, is whether these Romans were tourists or pilgrims, since these words did not exist in Latin or Ancient Greek.[10] Instead the journeys of men like Solon and Livy are described as κατὰ θεωρίης ("For the purpose of sightseeing", *Hdt.* 1.29.1) and *circumeundam Graeciam visendaque* ("[in order to] make a circuit around Greece and see [the sights]" Livy 45.27.5). If these terms did not exist in the ancient world, why then should one use them and the additional modern term "religious tourist", as I intend to do in this study?

These terms, although they describe modern concepts, can help the modern scholar understand a phenomenon of the past as long as the scholar allows the ancient evidence to inform the study rather than the modern concept. In this particular study, I will show that the ancient evidence supports the idea that these Roman era travelers were in fact early tourists as they engaged in many of the same activities as modern tourists do and that they did so primarily at religious sites. By using the new term religious tourism

[10] Dillon 1997: xv argues that there is no term for "pilgrim" in Ancient Greece but only descriptions of those visiting sanctuary sites and attending festivals. Dillon cites an Athenian inscription *IG* I^3 79.13-14 for the term "those going to the rites" "βαδίζεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά". In the New Testament the term προσκυνητής (worshipper) is used to refer to Christian worshippers and in later centuries becomes the Greek word for a religious traveler although it is not used in this way in the Roman period. Rutherford 2000 argues that the term θεωρία describes an ancient pilgrim although scholars such as Scott Scullion (2005) disagree. As for tourist, no term is used in the ancient world to describe this concept except possibly the terms θεωρία or θεωρός which Foertmeyer 1989: 3, 7, 8 and Scullion 2005: 123 argue could refer to sightseers rather than pilgrims. The root of these terms could be either a combination of θέα (spectacle, sight) and θαῦμα (marvel, wonder) or possibly θέα and ὁράω meaning literally "sightseer" (cf. Porkorny 1959: 243). Foertmeyer also argues that the term ἱστορία, used so famously at the beginning of Herodotus, refers to the curiosity that fuelled the desire to sightsee. Herodotus himself (I.29.1) uses the term κατὰ θεωρίης to describe Solon's sightseeing journey during his self-imposed ten-year exile from Athens. As will be discussed throughout the rest of this paper, however, it is not the use of terms "tourist" and "pilgrim" that determine whether a traveller is a "tourist" or a "pilgrim" but the description of their actions.

to describe their actions I hope to show that ancient travelers, like modern ones, bridged the gap between the concepts of tourism and pilgrimage and therefore, like modern travelers to religious sites, should be considered different from pure pilgrims or purely secular tourists. Although I will use modern comparisons to further my arguments, it should not be assumed that I believe that modern religious tourism and the type of religious tourism that existed in Roman times are exactly the same. Modern tourism is conducted on a much broader scale with an ease of transportation and safety unheard of in the ancient world. As shall be shown however, although ancient religious tourists used different methods of transportation, and fewer people were able to be religious tourists, those that were able to travel were motivated by similar desires to see what was worth seeing and to marvel at the history of other cultures. But before I use the terms "tourist" and "religious tourist" I will first define what they mean.

What is a tourist?

As noted in the introduction, the traditional definition given for a tourist is someone who travels to a particular place or site to engage in sightseeing or some other activity of personal interest.[11] The term itself, however, was originally coined to describe a particular type of traveler at a particular point in history. The first "tourists" were young Western European aristocrats who traveled around France and Italy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, on educational tours of the important places of high culture including the cities of Paris, Florence, Naples, and Rome. Their tour became known as the "Grand Tour" and they became known as "tourists" or "those on tour". The

[11] See Williamson 2005: 220.

educational journeys of men such as Cicero and Aemilius Paullus as will be discussed in chapter six, mimic the travels of these first "tourists".

In the last fifty years, however, as the ease and affordability of travel have grown, the term "tourist" has come to describe the activities of a much wider cohort of people. Scholars such as Dean MacCannell have argued that tourists are "quintessentially middle class sightseers" traveling the world in search of the authentic experience.[12] This definition of "tourist" is the one that we are more familiar with in modern society; those who travel via packaged tours, spend their winters in the Caribbean and work their way around the major sites of Europe each summer, snapping thousands of photographs as they go.

The accepted definition of a tourist according to the leading tourism scholars, however, discusses neither a traveler's class nor his or her motivation. A tourist to them is "someone who travels temporarily (at least 24 hours but less than a year) away from home to another region".[13] In addition to our modern understanding of the concept, therefore, this definition also includes those who travel to volunteer in third-world countries, to do business abroad, and even those who travel to sanctuary sites as an act of religious devotion.[14] The reason that these travelers are also considered tourists is that even though the motivation for their trip might be business or humanitarianism rather than pleasure, while abroad they often visit local museums or see sights of local importance or simply walk through the local main square and by doing so act as "sightseers" because they are seeing sights of local importance that are different from the

[12] MacCannell 1976.
[13] Olsen and Timothy 2006: 6.
[14] Olsen and Timothy 2006: 6-7.

sights they would normally encounter in their home towns.[15] In addition many of these business or volunteer travelers purchase souvenirs while abroad and therefore engage in another act associated with the tourist. Since the majority of travelers discussed in this study traveled abroad primarily because of a political, military, or business venture and took in the "sights" along the way, it is important to note that the motivation for their trip does not bar them from being considered tourists along with those who traveled purely for reasons of pleasure. Who is a tourist, therefore, is not simply determined by motivation, nor destination, nor even by time period but a tourist is simply one that travels away from home and engages in the typical "tourist activities" such as sightseeing.

What is a pilgrim?

In stark contrast to this definition of a tourist, the accepted definition of a "pilgrim" is entirely determined by the motivation and destination of the traveler. Pilgrimage has been defined as "a physical journey in search of truth, in search of what is sacred or holy"[16]. Another common definition is that a pilgrimage is "a spiritual quest in search of meaning"[17]. "Pilgrims" therefore are travelers who are motivated to travel by a particular spiritual yearning and therefore travel for an exclusively spiritual purpose. In addition to being motivated by a spiritual purpose, pilgrims also usually travel to sites of spiritual importance. Alan Morinis has described a pilgrimage as "a journey undertaken by a

[15] It should be noted that although the terms "sightseer" and "tourist" will be used almost interchangeably in this study, sightseeing is merely a component of being a tourist and not a complete description of tourist actions which also include, amongst other things, buying souvenirs. Since there is very little evidence of actual souvenir purchase but a great deal of evidence for sightseeing and since all sightseers are by definition tourists, this term will be used to describe both ancient and modern tourists.
[16] Olsen and Timothy 2006: 3. See also Vukonic 1996: 80.
[17] Digance 2006: 37.

person in quest of a place or state that he or she believes to embody a valued ideal."[18] In most cases this "valued ideal" is represented by a place of religious importance such as the shrine of a saint or a particularly ancient temple of a god. Unlike a tourist, who is simply someone engaging in tourist-like activity, a pilgrim is one who travels away from home for spiritual reasons and travels to a place of spiritual importance.

Although the term "pilgrim" was originally used to describe Christians traveling to holy places such as Jerusalem, Rome, and the shrines of various saints, it quickly came to describe all persons on a spiritual quest to a sacred site no matter what their religious background was. By this definition therefore, Mulsims on the Hajj, Hindus performing ancestral rites, and possibly even ancient Greek and Roman travelers visiting sacred sites can all be consider pilgrims.[19]

What is a religious tourist?

On the surface, pilgrims and tourists are very different types of travelers. Recent scholarship has noted, however, that pilgrims can often act like tourists and tourists can often act like pilgrims. Although modern pilgrims traveling on accepted pilgrimage routes, such as many who travel on the *Camino* to Santiago de Compestella or travel to Lourdes in France, are still motivated by religion and travel to a religious destination, en route they become tourists because they also engage in tourist activities. For instance, modern pilgrims are known to carry cameras, to take pictures, to stay in hotels, to sightsee, and even partake in the local nightlife while en route.[20] Since the definition of a

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[18] Morinis 1992: 4.

[19] There is a fair amount of debate in scholarship whether the term "pilgrim" can be used to describe the travels of the pre-Christian Greeks and Romans. Elsner and Rutherford 2005: 1-40 discuss this debate at length. In this study it will be discussed further later in this chapter.

[20] Olsen and Timothy 2006: 7. See also Gupta 1999: 91, Fleischer 2000 and Eade 1992.

"tourist" makes no mention of motivation, these pilgrims therefore are just as much "tourists" as the third world aid worker who also engages in tourist type activities.

In addition many modern tourists traveling to a variety of locations seem to become pilgrims en route when they engage in religious based activity. As mentioned earlier, these "tourists" visit sacred sites such as Notre Dame and St. Peter's where they often maintain an attitude of respect and even engage in religious activities such as lighting devotional candles and saying prayers.[21] In this sense, therefore, although a person might primarily be traveling for a non-religious purpose as a tourist, by visiting religious sites and engaging in religious activity, he or she too can become a sort of pilgrim.

Further complicating the issue is the idea that for many people the "valued ideal" that Morinis writes about has nothing to do with religion. As Digance has argued, if a person has rejected religion and has instead taken up a new "god" such as "Wealth" or even "Sport", his or her "act of faith" might not be traveling to a religious site such as St. Peter's or Mecca, but instead it might be traveling to Wall Street or even the Old Course at St. Andrews.[22] It is clear, therefore, that although certain people are clearly tourists and certain people are clearly pilgrims, the line between what is a pilgrimage and what is an act of tourism is blurred.[23] Those that fall into this gray area, therefore, can be classed not only as tourists or pilgrims but as religious tourists.

A religious tourist therefore is someone who engages in tourism but does so at religious sites. Like the tourists mentioned above who light devotional candles and say prayers, these tourists can also be pilgrims of a sort, since many of them engage in

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[21] See Olsen and Timothy 2006: 6-8.
[22] Digance 2006: 42-45. See also Zukus 2002: 850.
[23] See Morinis 1992: 3-4. It should also be noted that from a strictly economic standpoint nothing separates the pilgrim from the tourist as both buy the same things, eat the same amounts and often stay in the same types of places See Stumpf 2003: 1 and Olsen and Timothy 2006: 8.

"religious activity" at the religious sites they travel to. Although sites like the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris are often primarily religious in nature, they also often have a cultural significance that is important to the visitor as one of the oldest buildings in a city or country or the place where an important historical event took place, such as the crowning of Napoleon as Emperor which took place at Notre Dame. It is travelers that engage in tourism at religious sites, both for their culture and their religious significance, who are the focus of this study. This means that travelers who traveled strictly for religious reasons such as Aelius Aristides, the writer of the *Sacred Texts,* who traveled exclusively to healing sanctuaries in order to be healed of his many ailments, and those who traveled to Greece strictly for initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries will largely be ignored.[24] Before turning to examine specific cases, however, it is necessary to examine the arguments for and against using the terms pilgrimage, tourism, and the new term religious tourism, to describe activities in the ancient world.

Pilgrimage in the Ancient World

Recently, ancient religious travel has been a popular area of study. In 2000 Jas Elsner and Ian Rutherford hosted a symposium on this very topic the proceedings of which were published in 2005 with the title *Pilgrimage in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity*. Among the topics debated at this symposium was whether or not pilgrimage existed in the pre-Christian world. Elsner and Rutherford stated that although religion and religious practice in the ancient world was very different than modern religion, namely that ancient religion is focused more on practice rather than belief, denying that

[24] It should also be noted that the purpose of this study is not to argue for or against pilgrimage in the pre-Christian world as others (such as Elsner and Ruthorford 2005) have already done that. Instead the focus is strictly on tourism at religious sites or where tourism and pilgrimage overlap.

pilgrimage existed altogether "denies the cult-centres of antiquity their rightful place at the center of a vital network of religious activity whose meanings were...about subjectivity, culture and individual and collective identity."[25]

Although most scholars at the symposium agreed with this idea, some like Scott Scullion vehemently disagreed and argued that using the term pilgrim to describe all who visited secular sites gave too much religiosity to what were primarily secular acts.[26] Scullion, although he agrees that many people traveled a great distance to visit ancient religious sites, argues that those who did so traveled not for religious reasons but for largely secular ones such as bringing political messages, competing in athletic festivals, or spectating at athletic competitions. Therefore to scholars like Scullion, visitors to religious sites were not pilgrims but were instead tourists practicing what Scullion called, "sacred sightseeing."[27]

What separates our modern idea of pilgrimage from what the ancients engaged in, therefore, is that modern religion focuses primarily on spiritual understanding whereas ancient religion focused primarily on observance. As Elsner and Rutherford argue, however, ancient observance also included many activities that a modern observer might deem to be more secular in nature, such as attending an athletic competition dedicated to the gods.[28] To an ancient Greek, traveling to the Olympic games was likely an act of piety as much as it was an act of sightseeing and secular fun. To be sure, sightseeing and secular activity must have taken place in these cases, but it would be wrong to discount the religious elements of these festivals.

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[25] Elsner and Rutherford 2005: 8.
[26] See Scullion 2005: 123.
[27] Scullion 2005: 123. It should be noted that the term "sacred sightseeing" may be Scullion's way of describing the concept that I will call "religious tourism". Scullion, however, largely focuses on the Classical period in his writings whereas I will be focusing on the Roman period.
[28] Elsner and Rutherford 2005: 12-14.

The ancient concept of pilgrimage therefore is just as complicated as the modern one. Just like in the modern understanding, even those traveling for religious reasons to religious sites still engaged in what might be deemed as non-religious activity. This study aims to show, therefore, that many of these travelers, particularly those traveling in the Roman period, are better classed as "religious tourists" rather than "pilgrims".

Tourism in the Ancient World

Tourism in the ancient world is, in some ways, much more difficult to discuss than pilgrimage. A tourist, as defined previously, is simply one that travels away from home and engages in tourist activities such as sightseeing and souvenir buying. In the ancient world travel was prevalent. Traders, sailors, ambassadors, soldiers and even politicians traveled away from home on a fairly regular basis and likely engaged in some sort of sightseeing while abroad just as modern business and military travelers do. What is more problematic to determine, however, is whether or not the type of tourism common in the modern world, where travelers explicitly engage in sightseeing rather than just implicitly do so in the course of travel, also existed in the ancient world.[29]

Although the ancient writers rarely state explicitly that they went around to view the sites, several examples of explicit sightseeing do seem to exist. According to Livy the Roman statesman Aemilius Paullus traveled around Greece to "sightsee" in the second century BCE.[30] The later Roman politician Mucianus also took time to visit

[29] As Stumpf 2003: 11 and Foertmeyer 1989: 1 note however, the primary purpose that these travelers are away from home does not have to be "sightseeing" as long as they engage in sightseeing while abroad. This allows one to consider traders, governors, soldiers, and ambassadors as tourists as long as they engage in tourism while away from home.

[30] Livy 45.27.5 notes that he traveled around Greece in order to *visenda* ("see" presumably the sights). His entire journey is recorded from 45.27.5-28.6 and involves quite a lot of what one would call "sightseeing". Paullus' trip is

famous sites such as the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Cnidos where he likely marvelled at Praxiteles' famous statue of the goddess.[31] Germanicus, the adopted son of the emperor Tiberius, likely took the most famous and explicit sightseeing tour when he traveled to Egypt in order to study the antiquities and marvel at the sights.[32]

Although there was no term for tourist in the ancient world, there were some who acted in a manner that leads many, including myself, to class them as tourists. The best evidence for these "tourists" comes from Egypt where, unlike in Greece, thousands of examples of personal inscriptions or "graffiti" have been preserved on monuments such as the ancient statue of Memnon near Thebes and the tombs of the valley of the kings called the "Syringes" by the Greeks and Romans.[33] Many of these ancient graffiti artists recorded not only their names but also often where they came from, what they did for a living and what they came to see. At sites like Memnon, tourists explicitly recorded that they came to "hear the statue crying" and at the Syringes they state that they came to see the tombs.[34] A poet viewing the boat procession near Philae in southern Egypt recorded

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also mentioned in Plutarch (*Vit. Aem.* 28.1-5) and Polybius (30.10) although Livy's is the most detailed. Consult further Stumpf 2003: 232-233.

[31] Excerpts of Mucianus' own work describing his journeys are frequently cited in Pliny's *Natural History* including at 2.231, 3.59, 4.66, 4.67, 4.77, 5.50, 5.83, 5.128, 5.132, 7.36, 7.159, 8.6, 8.201, 8.215, 9.33, 9.68, 9.79, 9.94, 9.180, 11.167, 12.9, 13.88, 14.54, 16.213, 19.12, 21.33, 31.16, 31.19, 32.62, 34.36,36.131, 31.134. His visit to Lindos is mentioned at 9.79. *Cf.* Williamson 2005, especially 247-252 for a compilation and translation of these passages.

[32] Tacitus *Ann.* 2.59-61. Tacitus records Germanicus visiting ancient Thebes, taking in the famous statue of Memnon, and sailing down to Elephantine Island and Syene (modern Aswan). Tacitus states that his trip was primarily undertaken to study Egypt's antiquities (*profiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis, 2.59*) and notes that Germanicus was interested in seeing the wonders of Egypt (*miraculis,* 2.61). It should also be noted that Germanicus was severely reprimanded for this trip by Tiberius as it was illegal for a senator to enter Egypt without the permission of the emperor (*Ann.* 2.59) (*cf.* Foertmeyer 1989: 113-115).

[33] The inscriptions in the Syringes were compiled by Baillet in four volumes from 1920 to 1926 hereafter referred to simply as Baillet. The inscriptions on the statue of Memnon are compiled in Bernard and Masson 1960. The inscriptions at Philae were compiled in two volumes by A. Bernard and E. Bernard in 1969, henceforward referred to as *Philae* I and *Philae* II. For all other sites cf. Foertmeyer 1989: 336-338. It should also be noted that from literary sources we know that other ancient sites, including sanctuaries like the spring of Clitumnus in Umbria (Pliny the Younger, *Ep. 8.8*), were also covered in graffiti. *Cf.* Foertmeyer 1989: 14.

[34] Foertmeyer counts 104 cases where the inscribers have cited hearing the statue as the reason for visiting Memnon and 2150 cases where the inscribers have cited seeing the tombs as their reason for visiting the Syringes. cf. Foertmeyer 1989: 72 and the chart on 319.

that what he saw was ἀξιθέωρος or a worthy spectacle.[35] Although there are no similar tourist graffiti from Greece, authors such as Cicero and Pausanias describe their own actions in such a way that suggests that they were also "tourists".[36]

Although the term "tourism" or an equivalent word to describe "sightseeing" may not have existed in the ancient world, there is evidence to suggest that many ancient travelers did engage in tourist behaviour nonetheless. Since many of these travelers engaged in this tourist behaviour at ancient sanctuary sites, often even engaging in acts of religious devotion while there, they can also be classed as "religious tourists".

In the subsequent chapters both the evidence for religious tourism and the reasons why ancient sanctuary sites were popular tourist destinations will be discussed.

[35] *Philae* II no. 158. *cf.* Foertmeyer 1989: 72, 92.
[36] Pausanias will be discussed in the next chapter and Cicero and other similar Roman tourists will be discussed in chapter six.

CHAPTER TWO: PAUSANIAS THE TRAVEL WRITER

No work on tourism would be complete without a discussion of the travel writer Pausanias, whose work and actions provide some of the best evidence for the existence of tourism, and specifically religious tourism, in the ancient world. Writing in the latter half of the second century CE, Pausanias wrote a guidebook of the Greek mainland called the *Description of Greece*.[37] Although for many years this book was largely ignored in scholarship, or mined for nuggets of Greek history rather than examined as a work in and of itself, in the past twenty years Pausanias' work has received more attention. In 1985 Christian Habicht was the first of a series of scholars to study Pausanias' work in its entirety, trying to answer questions such as: who was Pausanias? Why was he writing? How did he fit into his time period? Who was his intended audience? And what did he have to say about the Greeks and the Romans? In this chapter I will discuss some of these scholars' findings in order to better understand who Pausanias was and whether or not his work can be used as evidence for tourism, and specifically religious tourism, in the ancient world.

Who was Pausanias?

Unfortunately, this question is not an easy one to answer. There is no Roman or Byzantine biography of Pausanias nor is there even a passing sentence explaining where he might have come from.[38] In fact, not only does Pausanias go unmentioned by his counterparts but so does his entire work until Stephanus of Byzantium in the sixth century CE used the *Description of Greece* to extract the names and ethnicities of Greek

[37] Habicht 1985: 5 notes that this is the title that Stephanus of Byzantium uses but was not necessarily Pausanias' original title.
[38] Habicht 1985: 8.

cities to further his own studies.[39] Scholars have tried over the centuries to identify Pausanias with other famous men who were also named Pausanias. The identification that was made most often was with one Pausanias of Damascus. Aubrey Diller, however, showed that this Pausanias wrote a treatise in the second century BCE on ancient coastlines and since references to later Roman emperors place Pausanias the writer of the *Description* in the second century CE, the two men cannot be one and the same.[40] Since all other identifications run into similar chronological problems, it is clear that the Pausanias who wrote the *Description of* Greece is an unknown figure except from the work itself.

So what does the *Description of Greece* tell us about Pausanias? The first thing that can be gleaned from the work is when Pausanias must have written. In V.1.2, Pausanias notes that, at the time of composition, it had been 217 years since the Corinthians returned to their land at the behest of the "emperor". From other sources we know that that the city of Corinth was refounded in 44 BCE by Julius Caesar, having been destroyed in 146 BCE by the Roman General Mummius and therefore it can be assumed that Pausanias must have written book five, and likely book six as well since these books are both set in the region of Elis, in 174 CE during the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. Although no other exact date is given in the text, other clues suggest that the *Description* was not all composed in this one year but that its composition spanned several decades. In VII.43.6, Pausanias notes the victory of Marcus Aurelius over the German tribes, the Marcommani and the Quadi, and the Sarmatians, an event which has been dated elsewhere to 175 BCE, meaning that Pausanias must have written

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[39] Habicht 1985: 1.

[40] Diller 1955: 276ff. *Cf.* Habicht 1985: 8-9, especially note 45 for authors who identified Pausanias the *Periegete* with Pausanias of Damascus.

book seven sometime after 175 BCE. Since Pausanias mentions every emperor from Nerva to Marcus Aurelius, but not Marcus Aurelius' successor, his son Commodus, who began to reign in 180 CE, it can be assumed that the *Description* was finished no later than 180 CE.[41] As for when Pausanias started composing his work, the only clue given in the text is that it must have occurred sometime before 160 CE. In VII.20.6 when describing the Odeon at Patrae, Pausanias notes that in his earlier description of Attica, book one, he did not mention the beautiful Odeon built by Herodes Atticus in commemoration of his wife's death because it had not yet been built. Since other sources suggest Regilla, Herodes' wife, died around 160 BCE, book one must have been written before this time. How long before is anyone's guess, but since Pausanias traveled to each region of Greece personally,[42] since travel conditions at the time were such that he walked most of the way, and since his work of ten books runs over nine hundred pages in the Teubner edition, it can be surmised that he likely started his travels some time in the 140s or maybe even the 130s. Pausanias' life seems to have spanned a good portion of the second century CE, although the exact dates cannot be known with the evidence that exists today, and his work reflects the tradition and conditions of travel in this period.[43]

The second thing that can be surmised about Pausanias from his work is that he must have been wealthy and likely came from a wealthy family. Traveling in the second century CE, although easier than in earlier centuries, was both difficult and expensive.[44] Booking passage on merchant vessels required a fair amount of money as did, one can

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[41] This is the assumption made by Habicht 1985: 9, although it should be noted that this is merely an assumption since it is possible Pausanias wrote more after this date and merely had no reason to mention Commodus.

[42] Although Pausanias quotes many authors who discuss the regions he visits (Habicht 1985: 142), the details he gives about topography, road conditions and what he sees (cf. Pretzler 2007a: 35) are so precise that they could only be made by someone who had visited each region personally. Cf. Hutton 2005: 26-27 who argues that Pausanias might have even visited many places, such as Athens, more than once.

[43] For more on Pausanias' dates consult Habicht 1985: 1-11 and Bowie 2001.

[44] For more on the difficulties of life on the road consult Casson 1994: chapters 9 through 12 and Stumpf 2003: 183-189.

assume, buying provisions while on one's journey and paying for accommodations.[45] Since the *Description* suggests that Pausanias visited not only Greece but also Italy, the majority of Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, it can be assumed that Pausanias must have been rich.[46] One thing that could have eased Pausanias' travel burden considerably would have been if he could have secured lodging and hospitality at the houses of friends or acquaintances of his family. If he was a member of the local provincial elite in Asia Minor, as many have suggested,[47] this would have been quite possible. Signs in Pausanias' work point to this elite status as well, for he shows himself to be quite well read, quoting not only major authors like Homer and Herodotus but also obscure authors, such as the poet Hegesinus who wrote a poem called the *Atthis* (IX.29.1), whose works he might have come across while researching his project in one of the great libraries of the ancient world.[48] Affluent families, like the one Pausanias likely came from, would have provided their sons with a good Greek education, a solid foundation in Classical literature, and access to the great libraries of the Greek East such as the libraries at Alexandria and Pergamum.[49] Pausanias, therefore, was likely the son of an aristocratic father and therefore was quite affluent.

The final thing that we learn about Pausanias from the *Description* is that although he never explicitly states it, it is clear that he is not from the Greek mainland.

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[45] It is interesting to note that although Pausanias' descriptions and directions are quite detailed, not once does he mention where he ate or where he stayed. Although this might seem out of character with a modern travel guide, travel writers such as Bill Bryson rarely mention these details either unless they are particularly noteworthy.

[46] More will be said on the exact nature of travel in the second century CE in chapter five, but suffice it to say travelers would have to pay for passage on merchant vessels, provisions for themselves and any attendants they might bring with them, and for accommodations once they reached their destinations. Since trips ranged from weeks to years, a traveler would likely have to be independently wealthy.

[47] Arafat 1996: 12; Stumpf 2003: 68, Alcock 1993: 262, and Habicht 1985: 17. More will be said on Pausanias' origins in Asia Minor in the next paragraph.

[48] Habicht 1985: 144 notes that Pausanias would learn the names of sculptors from statue bases and then look up the sculptors in one of the Great libraries in order to tell his readers more about them. cf. VI.4.4 where Pausanias quotes an inscription he read at Olympia.

[49] Habicht 1985: 17.

He treats his subject as an outsider would, traveling from region to region and pointing out the notable sights,[50] never showing any particular favoritism for one region over another. His knowledge of Asia Minor is extensive and this suggests this province to be his possible homeland.[51] Other passages suggest a more specific location, namely the town of Magnesia on the slopes of Mount Sipylus in Lydia. Pausanias mentions seeing different sights in the area around Mount Sipylus in every book other than books four and nine, showing Pausanias' remarkable familiarity with the region.[52] In I.24.8, Pausanias notes having seen swarms of locusts destroyed in this part of Asia Minor at least three times, something which, as Habicht notes, would hardly have been a common occurrence.[53] Perhaps most telling of all, however, is a passage in book V.13.7 where Pausanias notes, "In my country there are still left signs that Pelops and Tantalus once dwelt in it. For there is a notable grave of Tantalus, and there is a lake called after him. Further, there is a throne of Pelops, on a peak of Mount Sipylus, above the sanctuary of Mother Plastene" (trans. Frazer). According to Greek mythology, the slopes of Mount Sipylus were home to the cursed king Tantalus and his children Pelops and Niobe[54] and archaeologists in the 19th century found a throne of Pelops near lake Saloe, three miles east of Magnesia, and the remains of a sanctuary to Mother Plastene just as Pausanias had described.[55] Since Pausanias refers to this area as "παρ' ἡμῖν ἠνοικήσεως", literally "around the dwelling place for me" and since the other references suggest a prolonged

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[50] Pausanias states in book one and then again in book three that his goal was not to describe everything in Greece but only those things most worthy of noting (I.39.3) or most memorable (III.11.1). More will be said on Pausanias' intentions in the next section.

[51] Chapter five of book seven, on Achaea, is devoted to the Greek East and specifically Ionia which Pausanias thinks was colonized by the Achaeans.

[52] I.21.3, II.22.3, III.22.4, VI.22.1, Vii.24.13, VIII.2.7, 17.3, 38.10, X.4.6. *cf* Habicht 1985: 15.

[53] Habicht 1985: 14.

[54] Habicht 1985: 13.

[55] Habicht 1985: 14.

stay in this region, it is more than likely that this was where Pausanias was from, and possibly even where he returned to in order to compose his work.[56]

Although an unknown figure outside of this one volume, details of Pausanias' life can be stitched together. He was clearly from the area of Mount Sipylus in Asia Minor, likely a part of the local aristocracy, and quite probably a Roman citizen.[57] He started writing sometime before 160 CE and finished writing sometime after 175 CE. These facts are important as they paint a picture of who the typical traveler of this period was and where he came from. What remains to be discussed however, is for whom Pausanias wrote, and why.

Who was Pausanias' intended audience and why was he writing?

As has already been mentioned, Pausanias seems to have gone largely unnoticed by his contemporaries. The first reference to his work is more than 350 years after it was written and even then it is used for a purpose that could hardly have been Pausanias' original intention. Some scholars have even surmised that, before Stephanus, the only copy of Pausanias that existed was the one he deposited in one of the famous libraries.[58] This, however, is only a supposition and it is possible that Pausanias was widely read in his own time since our only evidence that he was not read is the fact that he goes unmentioned in the sources we have. Regardless of how Pausanias' work was received, we can assume he intended that his book be read and so we must ask the following questions: who did he intend to read it and what did he hope his readers would use it for?

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[56] For more on Pausanias' origins cf. Bowie 2001: 24-25 and Konstan 2001: 58 who argues that Pausanias returning to Greece is like a New Zealander of Scottish descent returning to Scotland and being wowed by the Medieval castles.
[57] Habicht 1985: 17.
[58] Habicht 1985: 1 cites Schubart 1853: 385-410 and Diller 1957: 169 for having made this argument.

There has been quite a debate in scholarship over the answer to the first question. Early scholars such as Hermann Hitzig and Hugo Blümner, argued that Pausanias was not writing for Greeks. Otto Regenbogen countered that Pausanias was definitely writing for Greeks like himself, from Asia Minor. Peter Levi disagreed and suggested that he was writing for Philhellenic Romans. Joyce Heer said he wrote for the Roman and Greek public outside of Greece and Bowerstock argued that he wrote only for Greeks and not for Romans.[59] The truth of the matter is that one cannot really be sure for whom Pausanias wrote his text since he does not state his intended reader within the text itself nor does any other author state how his text was received. What is known, however, is that regardless of who read his book, Pausanias clearly intended it for an audience that admired ancient Greece, as he writes extensively on this one subject and does so in Greek. This does not necessarily eliminate a Roman audience, since many of them were able to read Greek, but it does suggest that if Romans were among his intended audience, they were likely Philhellenic Romans. In addition, it can be surmised that his intended audience was likely the affluent class as they would be more likely to have the money to travel to the places he describes and the ability and leisure to read his book.

Much has been said in scholarship about the genre and style of Pausanias and how this relates to his intended reader. Some argued that his work is a type of guidebook meant to be used as we would use the Lonely Planet guidebooks today.[60] Others argue vehemently against this notion and instead postulate that Pausanias was writing a treatise to re-invent Greek identity as both communal and based on a religious identity.[61] Others

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[59] Hitzig and Blümner vol. 1, part 2: 553-554, Regenbogen 1956: 1013, 1032, 1048, 1093, Levi 1971 vol. 1: 1, Heer 1979: 24, Bowersock 1985. For more on these various arguments *cf.* Habicht 1985: 24.
[60] Most notably Frazer 1898 and Casson 1994 who entitles his chapter on Pausanias: "Baedeker of the ancient world. cf. Hutton 2005: 242-247 for a discussion of the merits of their position
[61] Most notably Elsner 1992 but also Alcock 1993: 174. cf. Arafat 1996: 2 n.3.

have looked at individual books, such as Pausanias' journey around Arcadia, and have noticed how much Pausanias emphasizes regional variety over a communal Greek identity.[62] Although all of these points have some merit, in order to determine Pausanias' intentions for how his work was to be received, one might suggest it is best to first understand the genre in which he was writing.

Although it has been noted that the title of Pausanias' work is unknown before Stephanus, and therefore the common title used today, the *Description of Greece*, might not have been Pausanias' original title,[63] the genre of his work is quite clear. Beginning in the third century BCE, a new genre called Periegetic literature emerged in the Greek world. This type of literature focused on presenting and discussing the topography, monuments, history, artwork, votive offerings, and anthropological features of a particular place or region.[64] Typical titles included the "Description of the Athenian Acropolis", the "Description of Syracuse" and the "Description of the Treasures in Delphi". The names and works of several periegetic authors are known including Polemo of Troy, who wrote in the second century BCE, and Telephus of Pergamum, who was a contemporary of Pausanias. Pausanias' work fits nicely into this genre as he describes the topography, monuments, history, artwork, offerings, and anthropological features of each of the nine regions he discusses in his description of Greece.[65] The difference, of course, between Pausanias and these other similar works, is that Pausanias discusses not

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[62] Jost 2007 esp. 118.
[63] cf. Habicht 1985: 5.
[64] Bischoff 1937: 25-42. *cf.* Habicht 1985: 2.
[65] Although Pausanias wrote ten books, books five and six both address Elis as he has quite a lot to say about Olympia. It is possible in fact that his work started as a more typical shorter piece on Olympia, or even the Acropolis at Athens on which he spends a lot of his time, and then expanded to all of Greece, although this is merely speculation. The regions he covers are, in order, Attica, Corinth (including the Argolid), Laconia, Messenia, Elis, Achaea, Arcadia, Boeotia, and Phocis.

just one site, or even one region, but sets out, in his own words, to discuss "πάντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά" or "all the Greek matters".[66]

Knowing the genre of Pausanias' work, it is now possible to postulate how he might have wanted his work to be used. Although Elsner and others have argued convincingly that Pausanias clearly intended to describe Greece either as he saw it, or as he hoped it would be seen rather than how it might have actually appeared in his day,[67] it is hard to escape the notion that Pausanias intended his work, first and foremost, to be used as a guidebook. His noted intentions are to describe the sights of Greece particularly emphasizing those most worth recording.[68] Over thirteen times in his text Pausanias describes things that are "worth seeing",[69] implying that he is not merely recording a history or constructing an identity, but that he is pointing out to his readers what they should see if they were to ever visit Greece. In addition, there is his curious style of writing, which follows an unusual pattern of traveling from the border of a region to the largest city, discussing it, and then taking a road out from the city to another region, and describing the notable sites, and then repeating the process until all roads out of the city have been covered before moving on to another region. This style seems to imply that he is writing a guidebook of sorts, telling his readers exactly what they will

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[66] I.26.4. Some have noted, quite rightly, that Pausanias does not in fact discuss all of mainland Greece as he leaves out large portions of Aeolia, Thessaly, and the island of Euboea. Some have even postulated that Pausanias may have intended to write more and either died or was prevented from completing his work. As Habicht 1985: 7 notes however, despite more than 100 self-references in Pausanias to other passages in either early or, at least 35 times, later books, not one reference implies an additional book that was either written and has been lost or that Pausanias intended to write but never had the chance to.

[67] Elsner 1992 cites repeated references to instances when the Greeks united together (most notably VIII.52.1-5 where Pausanias praises Miltiades, Leonidas, Themistocles, Aristides, Pausanias the Spartan, Xanthippus, Cimon, Epaminondas, Leosthenes, Aratus and Philopoemen as benefitters of the Greek nation as a whole) and the prevalence of descriptions of sanctuary sites to argue that Pausanias was constructing for Greece a "religious identity, deeper than socio-political realities, which lay in the sacred sites and monuments of Greece." (Elsner 1992: 5)

[68] I.39.3. See note 50 above.

[69] The Greek is most commonly some combination of the words θέας (seeing) and ἄχιον (worthy). References include I.1.3, I.14.1, I.19.2, I.44.2, II.1.7, II.15.2, II.23.7, II.27.5, III.14.1, VII.20.6, VIII.10.1, VIII.19.1, VIII.30.3, and IX.20.4.

find in the capital of each region and then what they will find on the roads out of each region that they might want to see.[70] In several places he also gives not only distances to and from places but even records cities with no notable sights simply because they would be passed on the road the traveler would take and they are used as physical landmarks to guide the reader and assure him that he remains on the correct path.[71] Clearly, therefore, although Pausanias may have tailored what is "worthy of seeing" to suit his own beliefs, he intended his work to be used, first and foremost, as a guidebook helping future travelers find their way.[72]

Pausanias and his time period

In the last section I suggested that Pausanias wrote a guidebook with the intended goal of recording the sights most worthy of seeing in Greece. On several occasions Pausanias notes that it is he himself who is making the decision of what is worthy to record and what is not.[73] Several scholars have noted that quite often the things that Pausanias finds worthy of note are things that are old, namely things that are from the

[70] Some might argue that this style would have made it very difficult for a tourist to use this book as a guide as they would always have to return to the capital before setting out again. I disagree, however, as, just with modern guidebooks, a tourist would not necessarily wish to take every road mentioned in the guide but would rather take only those roads that either they needed to or that had a sight of particular wonder that they wanted to see. In either case Pausanias points out what can be seen on each route thus informing the traveler of what to look out for. For more on Pausanias' descriptive technique cf. Hutton 2005, Pretzler 2007a and Elsner 2001.

[71] A good example of this is in IX.24.3 where Pausanias notes, "About twelve furlongs to the left of Copae is Olmones, and about seven furlongs from Olmones is Hyettus: both places are and have always been mere villages. Both they and the Athamantian plain belong, I think, to the district of Orchomenus. ...At Omones they had nothing whatever to show that was worth seeing; but at Hyettus there is a temple of Hercules, and the sick can be healed by him: he is represented, not by an artifical image, but in the ancient fashion by an unwrought stone." (trans. Frazer) A furlong here is Frazer's translation but the Greek word would have been *stade* (roughly 200 m).

[72] Arafat 1996: 35 notes that this does not necessarily mean that the intended purpose was simply to be used for a walking tour around all of Greece. He notes that it most likely was also intended to be read in advance of a trip in order to plan an itinerary, just as guidebooks are so often used today.

[73] Most notably II.34.11 where he notes "ἄλλα παρείχετο καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ποιήσασθαι μάλιστα ἠξίωσα μνημην." ("But I hold even these [following things] being most worthy to make mention of") cf. Habicht 1985: 22.

Classical Period or earlier.[74] These scholars have noted that although Pausanias records a few monuments that were built in Roman times, he largely ignores Roman improvements and when discussing the city of Corinth, seems to have a greater interest in pre-Roman Corinth than in the new foundation of the city.[75] Many scholars have used this evidence to argue that Pausanias was therefore anti-Roman, and created his work to describe what was still left of ancient Greece in his own day.[76] Although Pausanias definitely does favor the ancient in his descriptions, I would suggest that he does so for reasons that go beyond any anti-Roman sentiment. In his own time period, intellectuals such as Polemo tended to emphasize the Greek past over the Roman present and it could be argued that Pausanias was merely fitting in with his contemporaries by favoring the past over the present.[77]

The argument that Pausanias favors the past stems as much from the monuments he chooses to exclude from his work as from the monuments he does choose to describe.

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[74] Habicht 1985: 132 notes his preference for fifth century architecture noting in particular the Propylaea (I.22.4) and the temple of Apollo at Bassae (VIII.41.8)

[75] Elsner 1992: 15 notes, "what interested Pausanias about Corinth were its ancient (pre-Roman) associations and sights, which were explained to Pausanias by his contemporary Corinthians." He goes on to note that the stories Pausanias relates about Corinth are all ones from its early history (the story of Artemis and Corinth II.3.2, Medea II.3.6f, Bellerophon II.4.1.f and the history of the Corinthian kings II.4.3-4). For more on Pausanias' love of older monuments, cf. Habicht 1985: 134.

[76] Habicht 1985: 163 notes that much of "Old Greece" had either been carried off by the Romans or destroyed by the passage of time. Elsner 1992 seems to argue that Pausanias was creating a new myth of a unified free Greece to combat the loss of freedom under the Romans. He reads VII.27.1 as "πλὴν ὅσων κατὰ συμφορὰν ἀρχῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων μεταβεβήκασιν οἰκήτορες" ("except the inhabitants that had been removed because of the occurrence of the rule of the Romans") rather than "πλὴν ὅσων κατὰ συμφορὰν **ἐπι** ἀρχῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων μεταβεβήκασιν οἰκήτορες." ("except the inhabitants that had been removed because of the occurrence **under** the rule of the Romans") as Clavier emended the text (supported by Palm 1959 and Habicht 1985: 119-120 and Rocha-Pereia who published the passage with the added `e0pi` in the Teubner edition of the text). Arafat 1996 examines Pausanias' treatment of the Romans carefully and does not find him anti-Roman (cf. 1996: 202-215) but does note that Pausanias does give the sense that there was a decline in Greece after the coming of Mummius. For more on the supposed "backwater nature" of Roman Greece cf. Alcock 1993.

[77] More will be said on the nature of writing in the first and second centuries CE but Anderson 1993 notes that many authors of this era wrote in a style that mimicked classical authors and set many of their dialogues in the classical era. He notes that, "it is a familiarly accepted phenomenon that in the Early Empire the Greek world looked back with nostalgic self-awareness to the classical era" (Anderson 1993: 101). It could also be argued that the sights Pausanias records were the most noteworthy sites because of their size, location and beauty, regardless of who built them, and that when Pausanias fails to mention Roman era monuments it is because he simply does not find them particularly large, well-located, or beautiful.

For instance, as Habicht has observed, although Pausanias notes the stadium of Herodes Atticus in Athens (I.19.6) he fails to mention two other post-classical monuments, the stoa of Eumenes and the stoa of Attalus, as well as the monument to Augustus' right hand man Agrippa.[78] Although the omission of the stoa of Attalus, which still, in its refurbished form, dominates the Agora, seems surprising, he may simply have neglected to record it as it would be both obvious to the eye and without any other noteworthy feature, as far as Pausanias was concerned, rather than having consciously omitted it as an act of defiance. Certainly his inclusion of sites such as the Odeon of Herodes Atticus and the Stadium, both built in his lifetime and both of which he calls worthy of seeing, seems to suggest that he was not entirely opposed to the new.

Although he may not have been opposed to modern creations as some like Habicht have suggested, there is no denying that Pausanias favored the past.[79] This, however, could simply have been a matter of taste in his own time period.[80] In the second century CE, a new intellectual movement called the Second Sophistic emerged in the Greek East.[81] The Second Sophistic philosophers tended to focus their studies and their teaching on the classical Greek world. They imitated the style of classical authors, including Homer, Thucydides, Xenophon, Euripides and Herodotus, to whose work Pausanias' work has often been compared.[82] Anderson even calls the Second Sophistic authors "heritage historians" focusing on the Greek past over the Roman present.[83] The majority of these sophists were from Asia Minor, just as Pausanias was, and often plied

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[78] Habicht 1985: 134.
[79] Many scholars, including Habicht 1985: 23, 131-132, have noted that of the 179 different artists Pausanias mentions, he favours the older masters, including the mythological Daedalus, and that two of his four favourite buildings, the Propylaea in Athens (I.22.4) and the temple of Apollo at Bassae (VIII.41.8), are from the fifth century.
[80] Alcock 1993: 174 calls Pausanias' work a "product of its age".
[81] For more on the Second Sophistic period as a whole *cf.* Anderson 1993 and Whitmarsh 2005.
[82] Anderson 1993: 70.
[83] Anderson 1993: 126.

their trade at the major festivals in mainland Greece, as will be discussed in the next section.[84] Although Pausanias himself may not have been a member of this movement, his intended audience certainly would have been intellectuals of his own time who not only had the money to travel but also seem to have been interested in Classical heritage of Greece.[85] If these men were predominantly interested in the past, it makes sense that Pausanias would tailor his description to meet their interests.[86]

Another reason why Pausanias may have favored the past over the present is that many of the monuments of ancient Greece were disappearing in Pausanias' time and he may have wanted to note the monuments that still remained before they too were destroyed. As Habicht notes, "Pausanias knew all too well that many Greek treasures had already disappeared: hundreds of famous statues had been carried off to Italy, others were lost while being transported there, others had been destroyed at their original sites."[87] The practice of Romans "stealing" Greek statuary has been well documented and several times Pausanias mentions the practice himself, usually deploring it.[88] In addition to losing monuments, Greece was also losing communities as many had either been destroyed or abandoned over the course of time.[89] In a few cases Pausanias visits these cities and describes the ruins that are left of them.[90] It should also be noted that although Pausanias favors older monuments and artwork, he records them as he finds them in his

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[84] The term "Second Sophistic" was coined by Philostratus in the 3rd century CE when he wrote his "*Lives of the Sophists*". cf. Anderson 1993.

[85] Anderson 1993: 28 calls the sophist a "cultural traveler and cultural ambassador" traveling literally everywhere around the Roman world. Pretzler 2007a: 32 also notes that "travel was a standard part of the elite life in the Roman Empire." More will be said in chapter four about the presence of sophists and major festivals throughout Greece and about their need to travel in order to attract new students.

[86] This point is also made in Pretzler 2007a: 32.

[87] Habicht 1985: 163.

[88] In IX.27.3-4 he discusses the theft, restoration, and re-theft of the image of Eros from Thebes by Caligula, Claudius, and Nero respectively. At IX.33.6 he discuss the various atrocities of Sulla including the theft of several religious objects, and at 8.46.1-4 he discusses the theft of the image of Athena Alea which, although he does not approve of it, he accepts since Augustus put the image on public display in Rome. *Cf.* Pretzler 2007a: 28.

[89] Alcock 1997: 103.

[90] Such as VI.22.1 where he describes the remains of Pisa's city walls. cf. Alcock 1993: 207.

own day, not as they may have appeared in the past.[91] It can be said therefore that Pausanias was trying to record what ancient monuments still survived to be seen in Greece, both for visitors who were planning to travel there, and for posterity's sake, so that later readers, such as ourselves, could know what the landscape of Roman Greece looked like during his time.[92]

Pausanias, therefore, chose to record what he did for many reasons. He recorded firstly what he found most interesting or noteworthy and secondly what his readers might have found most worthy of seeing for themselves. Because many of the monuments of ancient Greece had disappeared or gone into disrepair, Pausanias may also have focused on the past in a desire to preserve the knowledge of these ancient things for his future readers. It is also unsurprising that Pausanias considered older monuments to be more important or more venerable as even today many tourists are drawn to places of ancient significance, such as the Coliseum of Rome, over newer constructions such as the monument to Vittorio Emanuele II.

What does Pausanias tell us about ancient religious tourism?

So far this chapter has looked at Pausanias from a broad perspective in an attempt to understand who he was and why he wrote his description of Greece. In this last section the focus will narrow from the broad to the specific, as I will discuss what Pausanias tells us about tourism, and religious tourism in particular, in Roman Greece.

The first thing that Pausanias' work tells us is that tourism did exist in some form in Roman Greece. In the last chapter, I discussed the evidence for tourism in Roman

[91] Pretzler 2007a: 29.
[92] If this was in fact Pausanias' intention, his work has been a wild success, as much of what we know about the monuments and sites of ancient Greece comes from a careful study of his work.

Egypt and Pausanias provides one of the strongest pieces of evidence for its existence in Greece as well. Firstly, Pausanias himself is evidently a tourist traveling from site to site around Greece primarily for the purpose of sightseeing. He admires art-work, praises architecture, witnesses festivals and rites, visits tombs, points out battlefields, and generally visits the places in Greece that he deems most worth visiting. Most importantly, Pausanias wished to see with his own eyes what he had previously read or heard about. In Book VII.16.3, Pausanias records his visit to the grave of Aepytus in Arcadia. He notes: "I beheld the grave of Aepytus with great interest, because Homer mentions the tomb in his verses about the Arcadians. It is a mound of earth of no great size surrounded by a basement of stone. That it should have stirred Homer's wonder was natural, as he had never seen a more remarkable tomb" (trans. Frazer). As Stumpf notes about ancient tourism, "visiting a place far exceeded reading about it, in terms of simple prestige value, but also in terms of psychological value. It was far more satisfying to see the very places where X happened, to inspect the very possessions of Y."[93] As well, Pausanias seems to travel primarily for the purpose of sightseeing, unlike the other examples of ancient tourists discussed later in this study who seem to sightsee en route to a business transaction or political posting. He records no other ulterior motive for traveling save for a desire to write his *Description*. Instead of business transactions, Pausanias records what he saw and what he thinks others should see. Pausanias himself as an individual is, therefore, proof that tourism existed in the ancient world.

In addition to being a tourist himself, Pausanias also provides clues that tourism might have actually been quite common in the ancient world and not limited to peculiar cases such as himself. Despite the disadvantages of travel including long journeys,

[93] Stumpf 2003: 150.

bumpy roads, bandits, filthy accommodations and dangerous weather, it is clear from Pausanias' account that travel was undertaken and that many travelers wished to "sightsee".[94] Since Pausanias points out the sites "most worth seeing" to his readers it can be assumed that readers were interested in visiting such sites, or that at least Pausanias was under the impression that such readers would exist. In addition, Pausanias frequently cites local guides[95] as his sources for particular tidbits of information, and in at least one case, names his guide, saying that Aristarchus was the local guide at Olympia.[96] Although the existence of guides at large panhellenic sanctuaries like Olympia and Delphi is not surprising,[97] Pausanias also cites local guides at cities like Troezen (II.31.4), Patras (VII.6.5) and Platea (IX.3.3) as well as countless others at obscure villages throughout Greece. Since the purpose of a guide is to show a visitor around a site and tell him or her about its features, the existence of guides in so many places seems to suggest that visitors frequently came to these places and wanted to be shown around.[98]

In addition to providing evidence that ancient tourism existed, Pausanias also serves as a source for ancient religious tourism, as his work suggests that sanctuary sites were popular destinations for tourists. The fact that Pausanias was attracted to sanctuary sites is evident throughout his text. In every region and in every city he points out

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[94] For more on the difficulties of travel in the ancient world *cf.* Casson 1994: chapters 9-12.

[95] The Greek word is ἐξηγητής and means teacher, advisor, or guide. For more on Pausanias use of this word and its meaning cf. Jones 2001.

[96] V.20.2. Other passages include: I.13.8, I.31.5, I.34.4, I.35.8, I.41.2, I.42.4 II.9.7, II.23.6, II.31.4, IV.33.6, V.6.6, V.10.7, V.15.10, V.18.6, V.20.4, V.21.8-9, V.23.6, VII.6.5, IX.3.3. For more on Pausanias' use and description of guides *cf.* Stumpf 2003: 422-425 and Jones 2001.

[97] Although Pausanias does not cite local guides at Delphi, the two main characters in Plutarch's *De Pythiae Oraculis* debate the merits of the guides at the sanctuary thus suggesting regular guides operated at the site.

[98] Pausanias is not always pleased with the guidance the local guides give him and occasionally notes when they err (II.23.6) and he also cites at least once that two different guides gave him differing accounts of the same object, namely the chest of Kypselos (V.18.6). Since he names Aristarchos at Olympia and since he has nothing discouraging to say about him, it is quite plausible that in addition to telling his readers what to see, he was even pointing out for them which guides they should use if they themselves visited a place like Olympia. For more on the chest of Kypselos and Pausanias' description of it *cf.* Snodgrass 2001.

sanctuary sites both prominent and obscure.[99] Often the only site in a town or village that he mentions is the local sanctuary.[100] Pausanias also shows himself to be a religious man on several occasions, praising the Athenians for their piety (I.17.10) and the Boeotians of Tanagra for regulating their worship and sanctuaries (IX.22.2)[101] and implying that he often sacrificed at sanctuary sites (VII.42.11).[102] Many scholars have cited this religious behavior and evident interest in sanctuary sites as evidence that Pausanias was not just a tourist but that he was also a pilgrim and was trying to redefine the landscape of Greece as a sacred landscape.[103] Although Pausanias does note a large number of sanctuary sites in his text and could well have been a pious man, I hope to show that his interest in sanctuary sites was not so much as a pilgrim but as a tourist and a travel writer, who was most concerned with pointing out the sights that were most worth seeing.

The first piece of evidence that Pausanias was primarily interested in these sites as a tourist is the fact that he also notes many other sights that are not of any religious nature. For the most part these sights are graves of famous men, such as the grave of Aeptyus cited above (VIII.16.2), or the descriptions of the agoras in each of the large towns he visits, but he also occasionally points out other more curious sights. He points out places of historical significance such as a place where Philip II of Macedon camped in Arcadia (VIII.7.4) and the ruins of Mycenae (II.15.4). He also describes peculiar

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[99] Cf. Arafat 1996: 10 and Habicht 1985: 151.

[100] A good example of this comes in IX.24.3 mentioned above, where Pausanias notes that the only thing the town of Hyettus had that was worth seeing was a sanctuary of Heracles.

[101] Cf. Habicht 1985: 151.

[102] Pretzler 2007b: 135 makes this last assertion but the actual passage runs as follows, "Chiefly for the sake of this Demeter [a statue] I went to Phigalia, but I sacrificed no victim to the goddess, such being the custom of the natives;" Although this passage may, therefore, imply that he regularly sacrificed at the sanctuaries he visited it does not outright say so. Elsner 1992: 13 argues that Pausanias' work implies that to be a true tourist and fully visit a place, one had to act as the locals did. In this case since the locals did not sacrifice, Pausanias would not either. If locals had sacrificed Pausanias would have sacrificed as well, but possibly only because it was what the locals did and not because of any particular feeling of religious devotion.

[103] This is the basic tenet of Elsner 1992 and is repeated in Alcock 1993. Others, such as Stumpf 2003: 13 and Scullion 2005 have argued against this citing a disconnect between the modern idea of pilgrimage and the nature of ancient religion.

fauna, such as the yellow serpents at Epidauros (II.28.1), and places of natural beauty, such as the river Ladon in Achaea, which he notes has the most beautiful water in Greece (VII.20.1). In Argos he records that the brazen chamber that Acrisius made to imprison his daughter is well worth seeing (II.23.7) and near Corinth he comments on passing the place where the robber Sinis once trapped his victims with pine trees (II.1.4). Since not one of these sites is religious in nature, but are still included in his text, it is safe to assume that Pausanias' primary purpose was not simply to construct a sacred landscape for Greece by recording only the sights of a religious nature.

The second piece of evidence that it was not Pausanias' intended purpose to construct his Greece as a sacred landscape comes from the fact that Pausanias almost always points out a reason to visit each sanctuary site aside from just the fact that they are sanctuary sites. He sometimes notes that a site has a particularly beautiful cult statue, or a particularly old one. He sometimes records a peculiar architectural feature, such as the double temple at Mantinea (VIII.9.1) or the temple with an upper story in Laconia (III.15.10), or the temple with a mirror in which the cult statues reflect clearly but the viewer seems blurry (VIII.37.4). Sometimes he makes note of peculiar festivals that a particular sanctuary held, such as the festival of Dionysus that the Cynatheans held in which the men greased themselves and then chose a sacrificial victim to carry from the flock to the temple (VIII.19.1) or the *Laphria* at Patros (VII.18.7) in which the virgin priestess of Artemis rode out on a deer. If Pausanias' purpose was religious in nature he would not have gone to the trouble of encouraging visitation based on ulterior motives and would have merely mentioned the religious aspects of the sanctuaries in question.[104]

[104] More will be said on the various attractions that could be found at Greek sanctuary sites in the Roman period in the next chapter.

The third piece of evidence against the notion that Pausanias was a pilgrim constructing a religious identity for Greece is the fact that sanctuaries themselves seem to have become synonymous with civic identity in the ancient Greek world. The civic nature of the sanctuary site has been discussed at length by scholars, such as Marinatos, Pedley, and Alcock, and scholars like Arafat have argued that Pausanias was in fact more interested in this civic nature than in the religious nature of these sites.[105]

The fourth, and perhaps most compelling, argument against the notion that Pausanias recorded religious sites because he wished to construct a religious ideal for Greece is that, if Pausanias did not note sanctuary sites as much as he did, he would have had very little material to write about. When Pausanias visited Roman Greece, there was no such thing as Disney World, the Eye of London, or even the CN Tower. Instead there were houses, farms, civic buildings, and religious sites. As discussed previously, when there was something else to note, such as a tomb or a historical spot, Pausanias noted it, but when there was not, he simply pointed out the most prominent public buildings in the city, which, more often than not, would have been sanctuary sites.[106] Since he goes to the trouble of mentioning so many of them, it can be assumed that even the smaller sanctuaries, those without panhellenic connections, were of interest to the typical traveler and Pausanias, as discussed above, always

points out why a traveler might want to go out of his or her way to visit a particularly peculiar sanctuary site in person.

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[105] Cf. Marinatos 1993: 233, Pedley 2005: 233, Alcock 1993: 172-173. Arafat 1996: 10 notes, "At least part of Pausanias' interest in sanctuaries is therefore derived from his evident concern with what constitutes a city. Hence his interest in symbols of community identity, which inevitably involved antiquity and concentrated particularly on sanctuaries, which were the focus of community par excellence." *Cf.* Alcock 1993: 119.

[106] It is important to note that Pausanias did in fact mention civic buildings as well, such as the council house in Athens (I.3.5), but presumably only when they seemed worthy of mention.

Pausanias' work therefore informs us not only that tourism did exist in Roman Greece but also that sanctuary sites were predominant destinations for tourists. In the next chapter I will examine more closely the reasons why ancient Greek sanctuaries were popular destinations. Once again, Pausanias and his description of how Greece appeared in the second century CE will inform this section of the study, as quite a lot of the evidence of what each sanctuary site once held comes from his work.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE GREEK SANCTUARY SITE AS A MUSEUM

In the last chapter, I examined the works of the travel writer Pausanias and touched on his frequent mention of sanctuary sites. Pausanias had a keen interest in sanctuary sites and, as I argued in the last chapter, not merely because he was a religious man. The evidence from Pausanias, and from other authors and inscriptions as will be discussed in this chapter, suggests that by the Roman period sanctuary sites throughout the Greek world were far more than just religious sites. It has been argued elsewhere that the Greek sanctuary site became a type of "museum" of the past, housing relics of history and other curiosities.[107] This chapter aims to examine the ancient evidence that sanctuary sites functioned in this way and to discuss the other attractions that Greek sanctuary sites might have offered to the travelers of the Roman period.

What was a Greek sanctuary site?

Before discussing the ways in which the sanctuary site acted as an ancient version of the modern day museum, it is necessary to discuss what a typical Greek sanctuary site might have looked like. It is not hard for the modern reader to think of a typical Greek sanctuary site. The most prominent remains of ancient Greece in existence today are its sanctuary sites including the Acropolis at Athens, the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, and the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. To a typical modern person therefore, the typical Greek sanctuary consists of a large temple, several outlying buildings to hold dedications and some sort of theatre or stadium. Although many of the larger sanctuaries would have

[107] Casson 1994, Shaya 2005, Higbie 2003, and Stumpf 2003.

appeared this way to the Roman traveler as well,[108] not all Greek sanctuaries had this structure and neither theatre nor a stadium was, in fact, necessary for a site to be considered a Greek sanctuary site.

Although no ancient text defines the nature of the Greek sanctuary site as such, several of them hint at how a sacred site was defined and set apart from the surrounding landscape. In Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, Antigone describes for her father where they are, stating that, from their surroundings including thick laurel trees, olive branches, and singing nightingales, she would guess that they were in some sort of sacred place (16-18).[109] In Plato's *Phaedrus,* Socrates too finds himself in an unfamiliar location but calls it a sacred place both because it has natural beauty, like the place Antigone describes, and because he sees evidence that the gods are being worshipped there, in this case in the form of votive offerings (230B). These passages, therefore, suggest that to the ancient Greek mind, a sacred spot was defined as a place of natural beauty and a place where the gods were worshipped. Although many sanctuary sites, including Delphi and Olympia, were located in places of natural beauty, others, such as the Acropolis at Athens, were located in the heart of big cities.[110] Whenever there was a doubt, therefore, as to whether a site was a sanctuary or not, one could always turn to the second criterion, and try to find evidence for the gods being worshipped at that site.

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[108] Pausanias' descriptions of the Acropolis (Book 1), Olympia (Book 5 and 6), and Delphi (Book 10) emphasize these structures as well, although, it should be noted, he also discusses other important features, such as altars (Olympia - V.13.8-11), that the modern visitor might not immediately notice.

[109] "χῶρος δ' ὅδ' ἱερὸς, ὡς ἀπεικάσαι, Βρύων
δάφνης, ἐλαίας, ἀμπέλου· πυκςόπτεροι δ'
εἴσω κατ' αὐτὸν εὐστομοῦς' ἀηδόνες·" **"this place is sacred, to make a guess, being full of the laurel, the olive tree, and the vine; and thick feathered nightingales sing sweetly within it."**
cf. Emerson 2007: 6.

[110] cf. Pedley 2005: 3 who suggests that all sanctuary sites were placed near a phenomenon of nature or in a place of political importance.

The ancient Greek gods could be worshipped in many ways. They could receive votive offerings, such as the ones described in Plato or the thousands described in Pausanias. They could have games or other competitions dedicated in their honor, such as the games at Olympia in honor of Zeus or the theatrical festival in honor of Dionysus in Athens. They could have libations poured to them or clothing made for their cult statues, such as was done for the Panathenaea in Athens. The most common form of worship, however, was the burnt offering of a particular animal.[111]

Most burnt offerings occurred on an altar in the heart of the sanctuary site. Unlike the Jewish tradition, which had altars inside temples, the majority of Greek altars were outside the temple. Altars could come in all shapes and sizes, including elaborate stone structures. The traditional altar was a simple pit in the ground filled with the ashes of previous sacrifices.[112] Archaeological evidence suggests that many simple sanctuaries were no more than altars and a *temenos* or boundary around the altar, defining what was sacred from what was not.[113]

Many sanctuary sites, including the most famous ones such as the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia and the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, included much more than this simple altar and *temenos* construction. They could include a single temple, or more than one temple, often dedicated to different gods. They could contain roofed stoas that could house dedications and provide shelter to sanctuary visitors. They could have walls and

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[111] Burkert 1985: 65 notes that specific animals were sacrificed for particular gods including bulls for Zeus and Poseidon, stages and goats for Artemis and Apollo, rams and he-goats for Hermes, and doves for Aphrodite.
[112] cf. Tomlinson 1976: 16-17. An elaborate version of the traditional ash altar is described by Pausanias as having existed at Olympia (V.13.8-11). Pausanias also describes 69 other altars at Olympia (V.13.4 - V.15.2) suggesting that larger sanctuary sites would have included multiple altars possibly for sacrificing to different gods or at different times of the year.
[113] Cf. Pedley 2005: 6.

elaborate entranceways called Propylaea,[114] not to mention theatres and stone stadiums, such as the one built by Herodes Atticus at Delphi.[115] Sites that were treated as Panhellenic rather than local, such as the home sanctuaries of the four Panhellenic Games (Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia and Nemea), often also included private treasury houses where city-states such as Athens and Corinth could house their own dedications and show off their devotion to the sanctuaries and the gods.[116] Many sanctuary sites also had special amenities for visitors such as elaborate fountains[117] and even sleeping accommodations.[118]

The larger and more elaborate the sanctuary, of course, the more likely it was to attract visitors. Since prominent visitors in the Roman period, such as Herodes Atticus, were also known to sponsor new building programs at the famous sanctuary sites, it can also be said that the more prominent the visitors to a sanctuary site, the more elaborate the buildings it was likely to have. As discussed above, however, a simple sanctuary could be no more than an altar on the side of the road, much like the roadside shrines dedicated to minor saints found in many countries today.[119]

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[114] The Propylaea at Athens, as it appeared in Roman times, is described in Pausanias I.22.4. Pausanias states that its marble roof could not be matched in beauty or size.

[115] This is attested in Phil. *VS.* 551 and Pausanias X.32.1. cf. Arafat 1996: 197, who notes that Pausanias is wrong in saying that the stadium was built out of pentellic marble (unless it had marble facing that has since been lost), and Weir 2004: 79.

[116] Herodotus mentions the treasury house of the Corinthians at Delphi (τῶ Κορινθίων θησαυρῶ, I.14.2). Morgan 1993: 20 notes that many of the earliest treasuries at these panhellenic sites were built by the Greek colonies in other parts of the Mediterranean. She argues: "since colonies owed their existence to the actions of their mother cities, yet their independence to separation from them, dedication at a mainland sanctuary like Olympia would have the advantage of maintaining general links with the source of a colony's Greek identity, while avoiding the close connection with the mother city."

[117] Cf. Tomlinson 1976: 41. Scanlon 2002: 54 also notes that Herodes Atticus built an elaborate water system at Olympia to provide for visitors, although this must have been built in the later half of the second century CE and therefore would not have provided for earlier visitors.

[118] Pedley 2005: 9 mentions stoas as possible sleeping accommodations. Cf. Kraynak 1984: 24 who notes that four of the six references to guesthouses in ancient Greek literature come from rental accounts of sanctuary owned property and therefore there was likely a connection between the two. For the location of guesthouses near sanctuary sites cf. Kraynak 1984: 24, 25, 39, and 73.

[119] Pausanias VIII.11.1 records just such a circular roadside altar that marked the boundary between Tegea and Mantinean territory in the mountains of Arcadia.

Sanctuary Sites: Ancient Museums?

For many decades scholars of the ancient world have referred to Greek sanctuary sites as an ancient form of the museum.[120] Although, as noted in chapter one, modern comparisons are always fraught with danger, in this case there are enough similarities to give the notion some credence. It should be remembered though, that despite the fact that ancient sanctuary sites often acted as museums they did remain, even in the Roman period, primarily religious sites, albeit with other notable attractions.[121]

In order to determine whether the ancient sanctuary site can be compared to a museum it is necessary to first understand what a museum is. Casson has defined the museum as "any room, building, or locale, where a collection of objects is put on display".[122] This describes a museum in its simplest form: a place where beautiful, historical, or important objects are put on display for others to admire. As will be shown in this chapter, ancient sanctuaries, with their beautiful temples, cult statues, and dedications, easily meet this simple criterion for a museum. Traditionally, the purpose of the museum has also included the "classification and conservation" of these objects,[123] and again, as will be shown, it seems that the ancient Greeks took special care to conserve and label their many dedications.[124] Recent scholarship in museum studies has also noted that the way in which a collection of objects is organized tends to reinforce the

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[120] Shaya 2005 cites Hill 1944: 355; Wace 1949: 22; Thompson 1956: 291; Jacob 1980: 81; Snodgrass 1980: 63; Roux 1984: 159-62; Howard 1990: 29; Aleshire 1991: 46; Kyrieleis 1993: 148; Bremmer 1994: 33; Scheer 1996; Mayor 2000: 172-75; and Boardman 2003: 8. To that list I would add Casson 1994 and Stumpf 2003.

[121] Although not a direct parallel, the modern example of tourists traveling to see the roof of the Sistine Chapel might be comparable. Although the building itself remains an active and used church, the roof adds an added attraction that inspires even those who do not appreciate religion to visit.

[122] Casson 1994: 239.

[123] Starn 2005: paragraph 20.

[124] Pausanias knew many of the names of the works and the artists he describes because of detailed inscriptions. cf. VI.4.4 and Habicht 1985: 144.

cultural or historical view of those who organized it.[125] Therefore, as Shaya has noted, "if we take it seriously – if we view the Greek temple as a museum – we can understand it not as a storehouse but as a powerful cultural instrument that used collections of objects to substantiate, reinforce, and broadcast a particular view of the world."[126] In order to be considered a "museum" therefore, the ancient Greek sanctuary site must have put objects on display, preferably ones that visitors would wish to see; made a conscious effort to classify and conserve them; and used these objects to create or affirm a particular worldview. Having defined what a museum is, therefore, I will now discuss the evidence for each of these three criteria in turn.

Greek sanctuary sites had many beautiful pieces of art and architecture on display. First and foremost there was the construction and decoration of the temple itself. The ancient Greek temple with the most well-known temple decoration in modern times is of course the Parthenon on the Acropolis in Athens. Visitors marvel at the sheer size of the temple as well as the subtle optical illusions built into the temple design itself, including a slight bowing of the length of the temple in order to make it appear straight and a tapering of the columns in order to make them appear less bottom heavy. Parts of the temple frieze, famously created by the master Phidias in the fifth century BCE, reside today in the British Museum where millions of visitors are awed by it every year.

Amazingly Pausanias, in his long treatise on the buildings and sculptures of the Acropolis, only devotes a few lines to this temple and its famous sculptural program, noting in Book I.24.5, "All the figures in the gable over the entrance to the temple called the Parthenon relate to the birth of Athena. The back gable contains the strife of

[125] Shaya 2005: esp. 422-424.
[126] Shaya 2005: 423.

Poseidon with Athena for the possession of the land" (trans. Frazer). For Pausanias, other constructions on the Acropolis are more beautiful including the Propylaea, or gateway, about which he notes, "The portal (Propylaea) has a roof of white marble, and for the beauty and size of the blocks it has never yet been matched" (I.22.4). As for temples, Pausanias prefers two temples in Arcadia including the fabulous temple of Athena Alea in Tegea about which he notes, "the present temple far surpasses all other temples in Peloponnese both in size and style" (VIII.45.5, trans. Frazer). [127] Clearly, therefore, if Pausanias took the time to mention temples with beautiful architecture and decorations, these attractions were things that visitors to Greek sanctuary sites came to see and therefore these buildings and their sculptural groups can be said to have been "on display" for the general public to admire.[128]

In addition to displaying the beautiful art and architecture of the temples, Greek sanctuary sites also had many stand alone sculptures and paintings on display for the viewing public. Pausanias mentions several beautiful sculptures that are worth seeing including the wonderful cult statue of Hera at Argos (II.17.4), the cult statue of Dionysus by Calamis at Tanagra (IX.20.4), and sculptures of Leto and her children by Praxiteles in a small sanctuary to Apollo on Straight Street near the Agora in Athens (I.44.2). The cult

[127] Other temples which Pausanias seems to approve of include the temple of Nemean Zeus in Nemea, which Pausanias praises despite the fact its roof has fallen in (II.15.2), a temple to Morpho in Laconia which has an upper story (III.15.10), and a double temple to Aesclepius and Leto in Mantinea (VIII.9.1), and a temple to Apollo at Bassae, which he calls the second best to the one at Tegea in "beauty of the stone and the symmetry of its proportions" (VIII.41.7-8, trans. Frazer)

[128] It should be noted that this does not mean that every building with beautiful architecture is therefore a museum. With these sanctuary sites it is a combination of their architecture, artwork and relics that allow them to be compared to the modern museum. It should also be remembered that many of the sculptures that were part of the architecture of ancient Greek temples, such as the sculptural friezes of the Parthenon, are now hanging "on display" in modern museums as if they were any other piece of art. Just because these sculptures could be seen in Roman times still attached in their original locations does not negate the fact that they were "items on display" as much as a painting or a relic would have been.

statue, however, that took Pausanias' breath away was the statue of Zeus at Olympia.[129] The orator Dio Chrysostom, writing in the first century CE, called the statue, "a vision of infinite delight for the benefit of all men, both Greek and barbarians, who have ever come here, as they have come in great throngs, and time after time" (*Or.* 12.50-51, trans. Stumpf). Others like the stoic philosopher Epictetus merely noted that it was a "misfortune to die without seeing it".[130] Pausanias himself, after discussing the measurements of the statue, says merely, "for even the measurements they mention fall far short of the impression made by the image on the spectator. Why, the god himself, they say, bore witness to the art of Phidias"(V.11.9, trans. Frazer). The statue of Olympian Zeus, therefore, was a must see for all Greeks and Romans who could afford to travel to it and, if Dio Chrysostom is any indication, people flocked to it in throngs.

The argument could be made, however, that the beauty of the statue of Zeus at Olympia and the reaction of its viewers do not necessarily mean that it was "on display" for the benefit of the viewing public, as would be the case in a museum, since its primary purpose was as a visual representation of the god and not as an object to be gawked at. The arrangement and location of another famous cult statue, the Aphrodite of Praxiteles at Cnidos, suggests, however, that cult statues renowned for their beauty, such as the statue of Zeus, were in fact "put on display" for the viewing public. A visit to the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Cnidos is recorded in the *Amores* by Pseudo-Lucian. In *Amores* 12, the narrator describes the statue as being in a sort of gazebo surrounded by a fertile grove, with a series of benches allowing visitors to dine in the grove while gazing

[129] Pausanias devotes all of V:11 to it. This statue also impressed the Roman statesman Aemilius Paullus who, according to Livy (45.28.6), declared upon seeing it that he felt like he was beholding Zeus himself. Aemilius Paullus' travels will be discussed in chapter six.
[130] Epiktetos, *Diatribe*, 1.6.2, trans. Stumpf.

upon the statue.[131] Pliny (*HN 36.21)* describes the statue as standing in the open so that it was viewable from all sides. Recent archaeological evidence supports this literary evidence as a round building has indeed been found in excavations at Cnidos that Iris Love has identified as the building that held the Aphrodite statue.[132] According to Love's reconstruction, the building was small and circular with columns on all sides allowing the visitor to see the statue from all angles just as Pliny reports. Although the statue has been dated to the middle of the fourth century, Love attributes the building to the early Hellenistic period and on the basis of this Stumpf has argued that this special building was erected in response to the growing popularity of the statue.[133] If this is true, it shows that at least some sanctuary sites were making a conscious effort to put their cult statues "on display" in order to attract visitors.

In addition to having famous pieces of sculpture "on display", the literary evidence also suggests that several sanctuary sites had specific buildings or porticoes set aside as pseudo-art galleries. Pausanias describes a room to the left of the Propylaea at Athens, and part of the same structure, as a "chamber containing pictures" (I.22.6). He goes on to describe an assortment of paintings in the room depicting mainly mythological scenes, such as Orestes slaying Aegisthus, but also some historical scenes, such as one of Alcibiades. Pausanias also notes in particular a depiction of Odysseus and Nausicaa by the master Polygnotus. This room is clearly an art gallery of sorts, displaying paintings

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[131] cf. Stumpf 2003: 126-127. While it is true that the author here may be creating an idyllic scene that bears little resemblance to the truth, other evidence does suggest the gazebo structure and the benches at least.
[132] Love 1972: 70 -76.
[133] Stumpf 2003: note 61. The popularity of the statue is well documented in antiquity including one story in which a wealthy king from Asia Minor offered to pay the entire debt of the city of Cnidos if he could have the statue and the Cnidians turned him down, presumably because the popularity of the statue brought wealthy visitors to the city and therefore generated revenue, although this is not expressly stated in the story (cf. Casson 1994: 236).

primarily for the purpose of attracting visitors and showing off what the sanctuary had in its possession.

In book V.17-20, Pausanias describes a similar collection of artwork in the temple of Hera at Olympia. Pausanias depicts over twenty-two chryselephantine pieces and countless more that are of lesser materials.[134] The collection includes a bronze Hermes and baby Dionysus by Praxiteles as well as the famous chest of Cypselos, which is one of two items (the other being the *Lesche* of the Cnidians at Delphi) which Pausanias expounds about in great detail, spending all of chapters 18 and 19 describing its artwork. If Pausanias followed his traditional pattern, by describing what he saw in the order that he saw it, a rough sketch of the arrangement of the temple can be pieced together.[135] Understanding the arrangement of a collection allows us to begin to determine whether there was a particular point of view being expressed by the collection or if it was merely a haphazard arrangement. This arrangement, therefore, will be discussed again when I begin to discuss the third criterion in the definition of a museum.[136]

So far I have discussed sanctuary sites as having beautiful temples and noteworthy cult-statues on display and even the possibility that some sanctuary sites collected pieces of art to display in an early form of an art gallery. In addition to artwork, however, many sanctuary sites also had large collections of historical and mythological relics on display for the viewing public. Although the modern reader may separate these two types of relic, it is important to note that the ancient observer did not and therefore the helmet of Miltiades dedicated at Olympia (Paus. VI. 19.6) and Helen's necklace and

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[134] Pausanias V.17.1-4. cf. Stumpf 2003: 123.
[135] For a reconstruction as Stumpf sees it cf. Stumpf 2003: 125.
[136] Other possible sanctuary buildings with artistic collections include the Erechtheion in Athens, the temple of Asclepius at Kos, and the temple of Artemis at Ephesos. Cf. Stumpf 2003: 160-161 n. 75 for more possible art galleries and bibliographic references.

stool dedicated at Delphi (Plut., *Solon* 4) would have both been considered "real" and "authentic".[137] The majority of these relics was dedicated at the temples either by the historical figure or hero they belonged to or, in the case of many of the war relics, by the victor in a battle. Since sites like Olympia and Delphi were Panhellenic in nature and therefore attracted Greeks from all over the Mediterranean even in their early stages of existence, these sanctuaries contained more relics than others.

Pausanias records many different relics that he saw during his journey around Greece. He records relics of the spoils of war, such as the Spartan fetters dedicated at the temple of Athena Alea in Tegea (VI.47.2), the bows of Peloponnesian ships dedicated by the Athenians at Delphi (X.11.6), a Sarmatian corselet dedicated at the Asklepion in Athens (1.21.5),[138] and a special shield dedicated at Olympia by the Spartans for which Pausanias even records the inscription (V.10.2).[139] In addition Pausanias mentions dedications made by famous non-Greeks such as the lance of Alexander at a temple in Arcadia (VIII.28.1)[140], the corselet of Masistios and the sword of Mardonius in the Erechtheion (I.27.1), and the shield of Mummius at Olympia (V.10.1). Pausanias also mentions other strange historical relics such as the chair of the poet Pindar which was supposedly an attraction at Delphi (X.24.5). Mythological relics recorded in Pausanias include the dice created by Palamedes dedicated at the temple of Nemean Zeus in Argos

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[137] Casson 1994: 233 notes, "the ancients did not distinguish between the legendary and the historical past, for them history began in the earliest ages recalled in mythological tales." Stumpf 2003: 113 notes that "doubting Thomases were rare". cf. Higbie 2003: 207.

[138] Stumpf: 2003:109 notes that since Marcus Aurelius fought a war with the Sarmatians, this could have been newly dedicated when Pausanias saw it.

[139] The inscription runs,

> "the temple hath a golden shield: from Tanagra
> The Lacedaemonians and their allies brought it and dedicated it
> As a gift taken from the Argives, Athenians, and Ionians,
> The tithe offered in acknowledgment of victory in the war." (trans. Frazer)

[140] It should be noted that since every city wanted to be associated with Alexander, dedications by him were found in many sanctuaries and therefore their validity is somewhat suspect.

(II.20.3), the stone which Rhea used to trick Cronus into not swallowing Zeus at Delphi (X.24.1), and the armour of Euphorbos who was killed by Menelaus in the Trojan War (*Iliad* 17.25-60) at the temple of Hera in Argos (II.17.3). Interestingly, Diogenes Laertius (8.4-5) reports seeing this same armour of Euphorbos at the temple of Apollo at Didyma, although he said it had all but rotted away.[141] Since relics of this kind could mean an increase in visitors at a sanctuary, it is no wonder that some relics appeared in more than one place.[142] Casson also notes that Helen's stool was attested at both Thebes and Delphi; the image of Artemis that Orestes brought back from Tauris was attested at Athens, Sparta, and Aricia; and the Palladium brought back from Troy was attested at Argos, Rome and at least three other Italian spots.[143] Other relics recorded at sanctuary sites include the bones of heroes and the skeletons of various large animals.[144] Relics of this kind, therefore, were important items on display in sanctuary sites and serve to further the idea that sanctuary sites were an early form of museum.

Sanctuary sites, therefore, in addition to being places of religious worship, also had many items "on display" for the viewing public. Many of these items were collected over hundreds of years and it has been argued that they came to represent the civic identity of that particular city-state. If a city-state could claim that a famous figure, such as Alexander, or a heroic figure, such as Menelaus, had dedicated something at the major sanctuary of the city-state, it gave the city-state not only status and prestige, but it also

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[141] cf. Higbie 2003: 224.

[142] Stumpf 2003: 110 argues that mythological relics may have been more important to the sanctuary than the cult statue. The reason for this will be addressed later in this study.

[143] Casson 1994: 244.

[144] Casson 1994: 244 records that the bones of Tantalos were supposedly at Argos, Pelops' bones were at Olympia, and Geryon's bones were in Thebes. He also notes that there was a whale skeleton at the temple of Asclepius in Sicyon. Pausanias records seeing an elephant skull at a temple of Artemis in Capua (V.12.1). Mayor 2000 argues that the gigantic bones of heroes like Pelops were likely the fossilized remains of prehistoric mammoth or elephant bones many of which have been found throughout the Peloponnese in modern digs. She argues that since elephants were unknown to the Greeks prior to 300 BCE and since some elephant bones, such as the femur, closely resemble their human counterparts, the ancients simply mistook the fossilized bones they found for the remains of gigantic humans.

helped to shape the history and identity of the city-state's community. As Higbie has argued, "over the centuries, temples became repositories of heroic votive offerings and incidentally preserved some of the Greek past, so that sanctuaries developed into a mixture of religious sites and foci for antiquarianism."[145] Since in both the Hellenistic and the Roman period, many city-states had lost the political and military influence they once had, their identity as unique and influential sites became ever more wrapped up in their sanctuary sites.[146] Places like Cnidos, therefore, invested in the display of their famous statue and other smaller places like the town of Lindos on Rhodes became ever more interested in the votive dedications that had been made at their sanctuary. Lindos in particular, commissioned a famous *stele* in 99 BCE to record all the dedications that had been made at the Lindian sanctuary of Athena Polias, both dedications which still existed as well as dedications that had been destroyed in a third-century fire.[147] This *stele* therefore not only shows a conscious effort to preserve the memory of the lost items but also a conscious effort to display the items, both lost and still on site, in a way that enhanced the prestige and history of the city-state.[148]

The Lindian Chronicle is important both because it survives in the best condition of all known temple inventory lists, with 37 of its 45 entries still visible,[149] and because it details the reason for which it was created. The very first section of the *stele,* section A, records that it was created because the passage of time had destroyed many of the objects the city once possessed and a certain citizen named Hagesitimos did not want the original

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[145] Higbie 2003: 254.
[146] cf. Higbie 2003: 242, Alcock 1993: 225 and Anderson 1993: 101.
[147] Higbie 2003: 163-164 notes that whether a votive existed at the time the stele was inscribed in 99 BCE is determined by the tense of the verb ἐπιγράφω ("to inscribe"). If the verb is in the perfect, the relic survives, if it is in the pluperfect it no longer survives.
[148] Higbie 2003 presents the first complete English translation of this *stele* and references to the *stele* will be made using her numbering system. For a complete reading of the contents of the stele I suggest consulting her work.
[149] Shaya 2005: 427.

collection to pass out of memory.[150] The rest of the *stele* is divided into three sections with sections B and C recording the votive dedications in chronological order, and section D recording four separate epiphanies of Athena. Although it would be easy to discount the items on the *stele* that no longer survived as not authentic, the creators of the *stele* frequently cite one or more sources that record the existence of the item at the sanctuary prior to the fire.[151] The dedications include weapons and armor, religious vessels, drinking cups, jewelry, plaques, statues, a carriage, and even cattle skulls.[152] The first item recorded (I) is a *phiale* dedicated by Lindos, the founder of the city, and the last item (XLII) is a set of ten skirmisher shields dedicated by King Philip V of Macedon. Other dedications range from the mythological, including dedications by Heracles (the wicker shields of Eurypylos and Laomedon, V) and Helen of Sparta (a pair of bracelets, XI), to the historical, including a linen corselet of Amasis, King of Egypt (XXIX).[153] The chronicle is engraved in chronological order and, as Shaya notes, each historical age is covered.[154]

It should be already clear from this section that sanctuary sites collected and exhibited objects for display for incoming visitors. They also made a conscious effort to preserve these objects by putting them in protective buildings such as the protective casing placed around the sole remaining pillar of the house of Oenomaus in the Altis at

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[150] The feeling that the great deeds of the past could simply pass out of memory was a common belief in ancient Greece tracing back to Herodotus himself, who wrote his history so that the great deeds of both Greeks and Barbarians would not pass away in time (Herodotus 1.1.1), and is echoed in Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and even Pausanias (cf Higbie 2003: 250). The Lindians likely felt that if the lost items were not recorded on the *stele,* memory of them, and the deeds they were associated with, would pass out of memory.

[151] Higbie 2003: 194 notes that the majority of these sources are unknown in modern times but seem to have consisted of histories, both local and otherwise, annals, and other chronicles.

[152] Cf. Higbie 2003: 171.

[153] This corselet was especially admired by the Roman aristocrat Mucianus as will be discussed in a later chapter.

[154] Shaya 2005: 429.

Olympia (Pausanias V.20.6-7) and also by recording their existence in temple chronicles such as the Lindian Chronicle.[155]

The third criterion for the definition of a museum was that the site arranged or made use of their collection of objects to create or affirm a particular worldview. Modern museums do this by the way that they arrange their exhibits and the way in which they guide a visitor through the exhibits. The exact arrangement of temple dedications and relics at most ancient sanctuaries is unknown but the best example of how a sanctuary site wished its visitors to view its collection of dedications is found in the Lindian Chronicle.

As Shaya has convincingly argued, the Chronicle displays a temple that was more than just a treasure house of the goddess; instead it was "a community's museum – a sacred-historical space that both legitimized and interpreted material traces of the past."[156] The Lindians took time to arrange the dedications in order from the first dedication at the sanctuary to the last and thus traced the history of their city. As Higbie has noted, Lindos was originally one of the three founding cities of Rhodes. But in the fourth century, a mega-city called Rhodes was formed and each of the three original cities helped found it, meaning that Lindos lost some of its identity and prestige.[157] Although Rhodes thrived as a naval power through the Hellenistic period, the power of Rome had crippled Rhodian interests abroad and the Lindians seem to have focused their

[155] Higbie 2003: 260 notes that inventory lists also survive from Athens, Delos, Eleusis, Thespiaee, the Heraion at Chorsiae, and Didyma. cf. Dignas 2002.
[156] Shaya 2005: 425.
[157] Higbie 2003: 242 notes "by the end of the second century BC, Lindians recognized that the world had changed and that they needed to find a new place for themselves in it. Whatever commercial or political power the island was going to hold onto was in the control of the central city, Rhodes, so Lindos had to look to other sources for its status." Cf. Higbie 2003: 8.

attention on the sanctuary of Athena Lindia as a symbol of their past glory.[158] The Chronicle, therefore, with its mythological dedications and more recent historical dedications served as an outward showcase that Lindos was an important city with a long history.[159] It can be presumed that the dedications that survived the fire and were on display within the sanctuary were also in chronological order and were arranged in such a way as to highlight the civic history and therefore identity of the Lindians. The sanctuary's collection of dedications served to promote a particular worldview of the Lindians and therefore the sanctuary meets all of the criteria for being a museum.

Although Lindos presents the most well documented case of a city-state using its sanctuary dedications as a symbol of civic identity and unity, it can be supposed that other city-states also used their sanctuary sites in a similar fashion.[160] Since in the Roman period, all Greek cities lost the political clout they once held, it has been argued that many of them turned to the past in order to reaffirm their identities both as city-states and as Greek peoples.[161] Since Lindos presents a case for a city finding its identity in its sanctuary dedications, and since Pausanias, writing almost three hundred years after the Lindian Chronicle, highlights the ways in which sanctuaries put their dedications and artwork on display, it is likely that in many city-states the sanctuary sites functioned both as religious sites and as museums of the past just as they did at Lindos.

This chapter has looked at the museum-like nature of the sanctuary site as one of the main reasons that sanctuaries became popular destinations for Roman tourists. In the next chapter I hope to explore another main reason why Roman tourists traveled to

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[158] Higbie 2003: 204.
[159] Higbie 2003: 290 notes that since the Rhodians did not figure much in Homer and since the Lindians no longer owned many of their famous dedications, the chronicle was necessary to document their lost past.
[160] The connection between sanctuary sites and Greek identity was first made in Herodotus 8.144.2
[161] cf. Higbie 2003: 242. Alcock 1993: 225 also notes, "'Old Greece' first and foremost drew men through the allure of its glorious past, and, for the most part, it was the past in the present the Romans wished to see."

sanctuary sights, namely that sanctuary sites hosted religious festivals of all sorts, including athletic and dramatic competitions, displays of civic worth, and strange rituals that became popular amongst the Roman tourists. These festivals brought with them an entourage of officials, philosophers, and entertainers that made many sanctuary sites at festival time seem like ancient versions of the modern Brazilian "Carnivale".

CHAPTER FOUR: FESTIVALS

In addition to being "museums" of the Greek past, sanctuary sites also hosted a wide variety of festivals that attracted athletes, artists, officials, and spectators from all over the Roman world. By far the most famous of these festivals were the four "circuit" or Panhellenic Games, which were comprised of the Olympic games, the Nemean games, the Isthmian games, and the Pythian games at Delphi. In addition to *agonistic* or competition based festivals such as these, there was also a wide variety of other festivals, which attracted foreign attention due to their unique programs or rituals. Larger festivals brought with them all sorts of visitors and officials and therefore attracted a wide variety of merchants and sideshow entertainers just as any large festival would today. Whether it was to see the famous Olympic games, or to witness a unique civic festival in Sparta, or to see the plethora of sideshow entertainers that flocked to these festivals, visitors came in droves, thus making the ancient festivals another reason that ancient tourists visited sanctuary sites when traveling through Greece.

The Agonistic Festivals

The oldest, and therefore most prestigious, of the *agonistic* festivals was the Olympics, which is traditionally said to have begun in 776 BCE.[162] Although some have argued that there was a marked decline in these games during the early Roman period,[163] scholars like Scanlon have argued against this notion positing instead that the games evolved in this period from a strictly panhellenic festival to a pan-Mediterranean festival

[162] The Pythia was reorganized as a panhellenic festival in 586 BCE, the Isthmia in 582 BCE and the Nemea in 583 BCE or possibly 573 BCE. For more on the history of these games cf. Valavanis 2004.
[163] Gardiner 1925: 153.

that attracted competitors and spectators from all over the Mediterranean world.[164] The orator Dio Chrysostom, writing in later half of the first century CE, remarks that travelers visiting the orator Diogenes Laertes at the Isthmian festival came from Ionia, Sicily, Italy, Massilia (now Marseilles in Southern France), and Borysthenes (*Or.* 9.5). Clearly, although the nature of these games might have changed in the Roman period, they still remained popular and attracted visitors from all over the Mediterranean world.

By the Roman period, the Olympic program had largely been standardized and consisted of a series of athletic events including "light events", such as the *stadion (*200 meter race) for men and boys, the *diaulos* (400 meter race), the *dolichos* (long race), and the *hoplites* (race in armour), and "heavy events", such as the *pale* (wrestling), the *pyx* (boxing) for men and boys, and the *pankration* (mixed martial arts) for men and boys.[165] The program also consisted of a variety of horse races, including four-horse and two-horse chariot races and races on horseback, and competitions for *salpinktes* (trumpeters) and *kerukes* (heralds). The Romans also continued the tradition of establishing pseudo-Olympic games in other locations, including games at Athens, Ephesus, Smyrna, Tralles, and Kyzikos, which presumably followed a similar program.[166] Since, as they say, imitation is the highest form of praise, it is clear that the Romans liked the athletic program of the Olympic games and wished to replicate it in other cities. [167]

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[164] Cf. Scanlon 2002: 40-63.

[165] Pausanias V.9.3 notes that the program for the Olympics had been standardized by the 77th Olympiad and V.7.6 – V.9.6 relates when each of these events was introduced. For the complete program I have also consulted Stumpf 2003: 139.

[166] For more on these pseudo games cf. Stumpf 2003: 139, 165 n.101.

[167] Stumpf 2003: 139. Although no reason is stated for why these replications existed it can be assumed that cities wished to put on their own form of the Olympic games because they were popular with the local population and likely brought in tourists. More could be said about the other athletic festivals in ancient Greece including the interesting evidence for the girls races at Olympia dedicated to Hera (Pausanias V.16.2-3) and the recently discovered evidence of sisters winning competitions at the Pythian and Isthmian Games (*IAG #63* = Sy. II^3.802) but this falls largely outside the scope of this study.

Not all *agonistic* festivals, however, included athletic competitions like the ones held at Olympia. Instead many agonistic festivals held a series of artistic competitions in both music and the dramatic arts. Although the Pythian games likely began with just artistic competitions, by the sixth century BCE they held athletic events as well.[168] Many other festivals, however, were strictly artistic in nature, including the *Mouseia* on Mt. Helicon sponsored by Thespiae and the *Charitesia* games in honor of the Graces at Orchomenos.[169] These festivals included competitions in epic poetry, flute and lyre playing, solo singing, choral singing, rhapsody, trumpetry, heraldry, tragedy, comedy, acting, and dancing.[170] Other famous artistic festivals included dramatic festivals such as the *Dionysia* at Athens, which continued into the Roman period and staged both revivals of old classics, such as Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Menander, and productions of new works.[171]

There is ample evidence to suggest that many of these festivals attracted foreign competitors who likely would have taken the time to "see the sights" while competing in these festivals.[172] In addition to foreign competitors, however, there is also a good deal of evidence to suggest that the larger festivals were also popular destinations for travelers among the Roman elite. In one of Cicero's works, he remarks that he was stopping in Antium because his daughter wished to see one of the local festivals (*Tusc. Disp.* 2.34). In addition, Plutarch sets two of his dialogues, the *Amatorius* and the *De Defectu*

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[168] Paus. X.7.2-8 suggests that the original contest at the Pythia was the singing of hymns but that Olympic style athletic events were added when the games were reorganized as crown games in 586 BCE.
[169] *Cf.* Stumpf 2003: 139.
[170] This list has been compiled following Stumpf 2003: 140. It follows the program of the *Mouseia* compiled from *CIGGS 1* #s 1586, 1735, 1760, 1774-6, and 1819; *SEG* iii. 334-5. The games were mentioned in Plutarch (*Amores* 1) and Pausanias (IX.31.3).
[171] *Cf.* Stumpf 2003: 145.
[172] Moretti 1957 compiled victor lists for the Olympic Games which suggest that competitors from all over the Mediterranean participated in the Olympics by the Roman period. cf. Scanlon 2002 chapter 2. Although there is no direct evidence that these men participated in tourism while at these festivals it would have been hard not to at least walk through the sanctuary sites and glance at what was there.

Oraculorum, at the Pythian festival at Delphi. These dialogues take place between a group of elite and cultured men who chose to meet at the festival in order to discuss their ideas, which would suggest that the larger festivals served as meeting grounds for the elite. There is of course the passage of Dio Chrysostom discussed above (*Or.* 9.5), which suggests groups of people traveling to the festivals from as far away as Southern France. Members of the imperial family such as Tiberius and Germanicus won victories in the horse races at the Olympics suggesting that the imperial family also took an interest in the games.[173] There is of course the emperor Nero as well, whose travels will be discussed in detail in chapter six of this study, and who competed in all four Circuit games and countless other festivals around Greece. Another piece of evidence hinting at the popularity of these games in the Roman period is the various building projects of Herodes Atticus in the middle of the second century CE. Herodes, a rich philanthropist, installed a new stone stadium at Delphi[174] and a new aqueduct and fountain, called the Nymphaeum of Regilla (his wife), at Olympia.[175] Authors such as Scanlon have suggested that this water system was built to combat the growing needs of the many tourists visiting the sanctuary, both during the games and at other times. Clearly, therefore, the Greek games, particularly those held at the four major panhellenic sanctuaries, were popular destinations for tourists who took in the games either as part of a larger touristic journey or who made a point of stopping at them while traveling on a business, educational, martial or political journey.

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[173] There could have been political reasons for this, of course, as a member of the imperial family supporting a popular festival would have garnered support for the emperor and the empire as a whole. It should also be noted that many new agonistic festivals were established in this period including: the Urania established by Nerva in Sparta, the Panhellenia, the Olympia and the Hadrianea established by Hadrian in Athens; the Euryclea, established by Hadrian in Sparta, which gave out prizes of 4000 denarii; and the Olympia Commodea established by Commodus in Sparta (*cf.* Spawforth 1989). Since these emperors saw fit to establish these games, it can be assumed that they must have been popular.
[174] Philostratus, *V.S.*. 551 and Pausanias X.32.1. cf. Arafat 1996: 197 and Weir 2004: 79.
[175] Scanlon 2002: 54.

Strange Civic Traditions

In addition to the many popular agonistic festivals held throughout Roman Greece there is also some evidence for the popularity of non-*agonistic* festivals as well. The most popular of these "civic" festivals was the *Gymnopaedia* festival held in Sparta. This festival was a sort of coming of age ritual for Spartan boys in the tradition of Lycurgus. It included a vicious battle between two tribes of youth fought on a circular island called Πλατανιστᾶς which every tactic was legal, including eye gouging.[176] The festival also included a very popular ritual in which the youths were whipped to the point of bleeding but were supposed to endure the pain without uttering a sound.[177] The popularity of this festival is attested both by Cicero, who evidently traveled there, and by the philosopher Philostratus who noted with some disdain that all of Greece gathered for the rituals and watched with "keen enjoyment."[178] It has even been suggested that the Spartans erected a theatre during Roman times so visitors could witness these rites, although the evidence only suggests that a theatre was used during the festival and not necessarily that it was erected as part of an effort to "put on a show" for the Roman visitors.[179]

The origins of these strange and bloody rites seem to date back to the days of Lycurgus, when Spartan males went through rigorous military training from an early age

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[176] Cicero notes "I have seen with my own eyes troops of youngsters in Lacedaemon fighting with inconceivable obstinacy, using fists and nails and even teeth to the point of losing their lives rather than admit defeat. (*Tusc.* 5.27) tr. J.E.King. *apud.* Stumpf 2003: 137. Cf. Paus. III.14.8

[177] Cicero notes, "Spartan boys are submitted to such a shower of stripes, 'that from the flesh the blood comes forth in streams', sometimes even, as I heard on the occasion of a visit, resulting in death; not one of them ever uttered a cry nor even so much as a groan." (*Tusc.* 2.14) trans. by J.E. King *apud.* Stumpf 2003: 138.

[178] Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyre,* 6.20.

[179] Stumpf 2003: 137 makes this suggestion citing evidence for other rituals presented in the theatre as well, including dancing (Lucian *De Saltione* 10-12) and ball games (Lucian, *Anacharsis* 38). It should also be noted that it is unclear whether all of these rites took place at one festival or multiple festivals over the course of several weeks with the additional name of the *Orthia* rites being mentioned in Cicero (*Tusc.* 2.14). Stumpf 2003: 164 note 96 argues that since Lucian's *Anacharsis* discusses all of these rites in the same breath and since Cicero evidently saw both of these rites on the same trip to Sparta, it is likely that they were the same or connected festivals. Regardless, they were popular rites that attracted tourists, which is all that really matters for this study.

in order to become the best fighters in Greece. By the Roman period, however, the Spartans were no longer the militaristic people they once had been and therefore did not need to continue these barbaric rituals as part of their coming-of-age ceremonies. The Romans, however, who admired the Spartan people greatly,[180] wished to catch a glimpse of the old Spartan way of life and therefore the rituals continued both to preserve a sense of history and civic identity for the Spartan people and to draw in the masses of Roman tourists who wished to see the traditional Spartan way of life.

The *Gymnopaedia*, however, was not the only strange civic ritual that foreign tourists evidently wished to see.[181] Pausanias records in detail the equally strange sacrifice that accompanied the *Laphria* held annually by the Patreans. He says,

> **"Every year the Patreans hold a festival called the Laphria in honour of Artemis, at which they have a peculiar mode of sacrifice. Round the altar in a circle they set up green logs of wood, each of them sixteen ells long, and inside this fence they pile the driest wood on the altar. When the time of the festival is at hand they construct a smooth ascent to the altar by heaping earth on the altar steps. The festival opens with a most gorgeous procession in honour of Artemis, the rear being brought up by the virgin priestess riding on a car drawn by deer. The sacrifice, however, does not take place till the following day: it is not merely an affair of state, but a highly popular festival. For the people bring the edible kinds of birds and victims of every sort, and throw them alive on the altar; also wild boars, deer, and roe; others bring the cubs of wolves and bears, others the full-grown beasts. They also lay on the altar the fruit of cultivated trees. Next they set fire to the wood. I have seen a bear and other beasts struggling to get out at the first bursts of flames, and some of them actually escaping by sheer strength. But the people who threw them in drag them back again to the burning pile. They do not remember any one who was ever wounded by the beasts." (Pausanias 7.18.11-13, trans. Frazer)**

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[180] Cartledge and Spawforth 1989: 143. Cf. Alcock 1993: 163, 226.

[181] Although these rituals will not be discussed in detail, it should be noted that several agonistic festivals also included "specialty events" that must have attracted foreign visitors. Athenaeus (13.566e) mentions a festival on Chios that included a wrestling match between boys and girls, Pliny (*HN* 35.58) mentions that the Pythian games also included a rare painting contest, and Pausanias (II.35.9) mentions festivals that included regattas and swimming contests.

Although Pausanias only mentions that this festival was popular and not just an affair of state,[182] the fact that he himself visited it and felt the need to include it in his work, suggests that it was not only a popular destination for Greeks from the region, but also that foreign visitors came to see this strange sacrifice. Pausanias also makes note of other strange festivals such as Athenian festival to Zeus (I.24.4, I.28.10), in which the knife used to sacrifice the bull is "detained, arraigned, and tried for murder"[183] and the annual *Thyia* festival of Dionysus at Elis (VI.26.1-2) in which a miraculous occurrence is recreated and wine flows from the sanctuary fountain. Therefore in addition to the *agonistic* festivals, Greek festivals with strange rites were also popular destinations for foreign tourists.

The "Carnivale" Atmosphere of the Festival: Processions, Governors, and Sophists

By the Roman period, the larger Greek festivals, such as the Olympic and Pythian Games, had acquired a type of "Carnivale" atmosphere in addition to having wonderful athletic or artistic competitions. Local citizens and foreign visitors alike were immersed in athletics, religion, philosophy, artistry, and every other type of entertainment that can be imagined. Dio Chrysostom in his *Orations* 8.9 gives the reader a taste of what the Isthmian Games must have been like. He notes:

> **"That was the time, too, when one could hear crowds of wretched sophists around Poseidon's temple shouting and reviling one another, and their disciples, as they were called, fighting with one another, many writers reading aloud their stupid works, many poets reciting their poems while others applauded them, many jugglers (θαυματοποιῶν "wonderworkers") showing their tricks, many fortune tellers (τεπατοσκόπων) interpreting fortunes, lawyers innumerable perverting**

[182] The actual Greek here is "δημοσίᾳ τε ἡ πόλις καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν οἱ ἰδιῶται φιλοτίμως ἔχουσιν".
[183] Cf. Stumpf 2003: 136.

judgment, and peddlers (καπήλων) not a few peddling whatever they happened to have." (tr. J.W. Cohoon)

The Greek festivals, therefore, became much more than just athletic competitions and religious ceremonies. They were places of commerce, education, law, and most of all entertainment. In addition to the competitions and rites themselves foreign tourists would be attracted to the major festivals to partake in these things.

One of the major entertainment features of these festivals would have been the sacred procession that opened many of them. The *Laphria* mentioned above, had a sacred procession that included a priestess on a cart being pulled by a deer. Although not every festival would have had a procession like the one at the *Laphria*, many of them did include elaborate spectacles that would have attracted the notice of foreign visitors and would have added to the local feeling of civic pride.

Processions were basically parades in which the citizens of the city-state, accompanied by important priests, religious officials, and politicians, paraded the cult statue, or the sacrificial animal, or some other piece of religious paraphernalia through the streets. The most famous procession was likely the *Panathenaic* procession at Athens, which was depicted on a marble frieze in the Parthenon, as discussed in the previous chapter, and was a major civic event as early as the fifth century BCE. Other processions included the procession to the sea for the ritual bathing of the cult statue of Hera at the *Heraia* on Samos (Paus. II.38.2-3), the procession to the top of Mt. Cithaeron to light a pyre at the Greater *Daidala* festival in Boeotia (Paus. IX.3.2-8), and the procession from Athens to Eleusis that was part of the Eleusinian mysteries. Although no direct mention is made in any of the sources that foreign visitors watched these processions, Pollux does suggest that bleachers (*ikria*) were erected in the Agora at

Athens, likely during the *Panathenaea,* so that spectators could watch the proceedings.[184] Also, since Pausanias is evidently interested in these processions, mentioning both the ritual bathing of Hera and the hike to the top of Mt. Cithaeron, it can be assumed that other foreign visitors would also have been interested in these processions.

In addition to staging processions, larger festivals also often offered travelers the opportunity to meet a province's local governor. During the Roman period, the evidence suggests that provincial governors on their *assize* tours around their provinces tended to visit major centers in time for their civic festivals. Although the nature of *assize* tours falls outside the scope of this study, a brief explanation of what they were will be helpful. The *assize* tour was an annual visit to each of the major areas of a Roman province in order to adjudicate disputes, oversee local bureaucracy, likely including the collection of local taxes, as well as the planning of imperial projects, such as the building of roads and the dedication of temples.[185] Much of our knowledge of these duties and the way in which they were conducted is known from the letters of Pliny the younger who was governor of Bithynia-Pontus under the emperor Trajan.[186] Pliny lays out in detail his own journeys and the types of disputes he had to settle, often soliciting the emperor for advice.

Although Pliny provides an account of the details of an *assize* tour in Bithynia-Pontus, the route of *assize* tours is best documented from Asia Minor.[187] One of the sources, Aelius Aristides, implies that the governor of Asia visited the cities on his assize

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[184] Pollux wrote a lexicon on Greek words which includes the term *ikria* and a description of the bleachers erected in the agora. Cf. Stumpf 2003: 132.
[185] Cf. Stumpf 2003: 207-208.
[186] *Cf.* Pliny the Younger, *Epistles,* 10.15-120 and Stumpf 2003: 207-208.
[187] Stumpf 2003: 208 notes several sources of information including gubernatorial letters from republican times (Sherk, Roman Documents from the Greek East #51), an Augustan period tour described by Pliny the Elder (*HN* 5.105-126), an inscription recording a list of assize cities from Caligula's reign (Robert 1934), and the recorded journeys of Aelius Aristides in the second century CE (particularly Ael. Aristides, *HL* books 4 and 5). These various sources were compiled in Habicht 1975 and evaluated in Burton 1975.

tour at the same time as their local festivals. Aristides, who followed the governor around for some time, notes that the governor was in Smyrna, possibly during the *Anthesteria* in March (*HL* 4.85), Pergamum, possibly during the *Great Asklepeia* in August (*HL* 4.92), and in Cyzicus during the *Olympia* in September (5.46). [188] If this is true, it would mean not only that these governors visited sanctuary sites on a yearly basis, but also that visitors, both local and non-local, would have had one more reason to take in the festivals at these sites, namely to see the governor, and therefore potentially take part in seeing the sights.[189] It should also be noted that governors, like emperors, would have traveled with extensive retinues and these officials, attendants, and hangers-on would likely have also have taken in the sights at the sanctuaries hosting the festivals and therefore have participated in a form of religious tourism themselves.[190]

Although the majority of our data about *assize* tours comes from Asia Minor, there is some evidence to suggest that governors also made *assize* stops in Greece at festival time. Philostratus (*VS* 559) records the visit of the governor Quintilius, governor under Marcus Aurelius, to Delphi during the *Pythia*. Statue inscriptions from Thebes (IG vii 2510) suggest that the governor L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus, governor at the beginning of the third century CE, visited the city during the *Eleutheria*. Pausanias (V.15.2) also notes that the Leonidaion, a third century BCE hotel,[191] housed the governors of Aichaea during the Olympic games, implying that they regularly attended.

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[188] Of these three locations scholars are most sure that the governor was in Cyzicus during the Olympia. Behr 1968: 83 argues, using Aristides, that the governor definitively followed the festival route whereas Lane Fox 1987: 484-90, while agreeing that the governors' visits often coincided with festivals, argues against Behr's timeline and festival attributions.

[189] Plutarch, *Moralia* 501e-f notes that an *assize* visit always meant a crush of people and one can assume this was even worse during festival time because the festivals themselves, as will be discussed in chapter six, attracted plenty of visitors on their own.

[190] Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 35.15-17 notes that every assize tour brought with it litigants, orators, princes, attendants, slaves, and a good deal else. The lawyers mentioned in his *Or.* 8.9, discussed above, could also have been part of a governor's retinue.

[191] Cf. Stumpf 2003: 366-369.

Although this evidence only suggests that governors visited these festivals of their own volition, it seems likely that if governors regularly visited these festivals they would have combined such visits with official visits to carry out their official duties.[192] Whatever the reason for their journeys it seems likely that the governors did visit festivals like the Olympic games and therefore gave others another reason to visit sanctuary sites at festival time and engage in their own tourism while there.

In addition to governors and their retinues, many festivals also played host to a plethora of sophists and other sideshow entertainers seeking to attract the attention of the festival goers. Many scholars have written about the re-birth of sophistry in the first two centuries CE in a period that has become known as the "Second Sophistic" period.[193] These Second Sophistic philosophers were frequently found at the major festivals in Greece and some scholars have even suggested that attending these festivals became a necessity for them, as it became a way to maintain their status and connect with other sophists and elites from all over the Mediterranean world.[194] Philostratus' life of Apollonius of Tyre suggests that Apollonius timed his visits to cities around Greece to coincide with the major festivals in order to make sure he had access to the largest audience possible.[195] Sophists haranguing the crowd are also mentioned in the Dio

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[192] Stumpf 2003: 211-215 also argues for this likelihood although he wonders if the yearly assize route would change to fit the calendar of panhellenic games, which only ran once every two or once every four years. Stumpf 2003: 215 also notes that one of the problems with the assumption that governors visited these sites is that most of the locations of the major festivals had been granted *immunitas* (exemption from taxation) and *libertas* (freedom from Roman jurisdiction in local affairs) and therefore an assize tour would not have been necessary in these locations (*cf.* Alcock 1993: 23, fig. 5). It seems, however, that regardless of why the governors visited these sites, they did visit and therefore provided opportunity for religious tourism amongst their retinue and likely participated in this practice themselves.

[193] For more on the philosophers of the second sophistic consult Anderson 1993 and Whitmarsh 2005.

[194] Pretzler 2007a: 36 and 2007b: 129 makes this suggestion as do Stumpf 2003: 146 and Anderson 1993. One should also remember that Plutarch's *De Defectu Oracularum*, set at the Pythia, also implies that leading intellectuals gathered at festivals to connect with their peers and discuss ideas.

[195] He certainly seems to have visited Athens in time for the Anthesteria, Delphi in time for the Pythia, and Olympia in time for the Olympics. cf. Stump 2003: 229.

Chrysostom passage quoted above (*Or.* 8.9).[196] The fact that these philosophers attracted people to the festival is clear from the other Dio Chrysostom passage mentioned previously (*Or.* 9.5), in which visitors traveled from all over the Mediterranean world to the Isthmian games, not to see the games themselves but to see the sophist Diogenes Laertius. Another piece of evidence suggesting the popularity of these sophists is the fact that many of them were invited to speak at festivals on special occasions such as the inauguration of a new building or the visit of a Roman official.[197]

In addition to sophists, festivals also attracted a range of sideshow entertainers, such as jugglers, astrologers, fortunetellers, swordsmen, flutists, dancers, poets, singers, and storytellers.[198] The Dio Chrysostom passage quoted previously (*Or.* 8.9) mentions wonderworkers (θαυματοποιῶν) and fortunetellers (τεπατοσκόπων) and another Dio Chrysostom passage (*Or.* 20.10) mentions flutists (αὐλοῦντα), dancers (ὀρχούμενον), jugglers, poetry recitors (ποίημα ἀναγιγνώσκοντα), singers (ᾄδοντα), and storytellers (ἱστορίαν) at a festival in Alexandria. Athenaeus (1.19b) also mentions a famous magician, Kratisthenes of Phlios, as well as a puppeteer (νευρόσπατος), Ptheinos of Athens, and Apuelis (1.4) describes a sword-swallowing exhibition in front of the Painted Porch in Athens. For some, these entertainers may have been the main attraction and for the rest they would have at least provided a "carnivalesque" atmosphere, which would have given tourists yet one more reason to visit sanctuary sites, especially at festival time.

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[196] Lucian also frequently mentions sophists at festivals including one sophist who made a fool of himself at Olympia (Pseudologista 5ff)
[197] Cf. Philostratus, *VS* 533 and Pretzler 2007b: 129.
[198] Cf. Stumpf 2003:146-147.

Sanctuary sites at festival time would have become a sort of "Carnivale" of the ancient world. In addition to parades, sideshow entertainment, sophists, and Roman officials, these festivals also literally became marketplaces where all sorts of merchants peddled their wares.[199] Although this mercantile aspect of festivals was unlikely to attract more tourists, it does compare favourably to modern tourist sites, where one can be sure to always find the locals selling their wares to rich tourists from stalls or shops located immediately outside the gates of the sites.

Sanctuary sites, therefore, not only housed items of cultural and historical significance and works of art, they also were home to festivals, which included games, civic rituals, processions, and even sideshow entertainment. Festivals gave Roman tourists one more reason to visit sanctuary sites in Greece and practice tourism. It should always be remembered though that these festivals, despite their "secular" attractions, were religious festivals first and foremost and always included sacrifices to the gods. Therefore even if a Roman-era traveler visited these sights primarily for touristic reasons, one must consider him or her a religious tourist rather than a pure secular tourist because he or she traveled to the festival to witness religious rights and often to participate in them as well by taking part in the sacrificial feast.

Another question that needs to be addressed however, is who were these religious tourists that visited these sites? In the next chapter I will examine the average Roman-era

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[199] Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 8.9 and 27.5-6. Pausanias too mentions cattle, slaves, silver and gold being sold from σκηναί or booths at a festival at Tithorea (X.32.9). An inscription (SEG 27.545.11.5-11) from the Hellenistic period on Samos suggests that sanctuaries might have taken a cut of the profits from these merchants. Athenaeus 172f-173a notes, "I am not unaware, either, of what Apollodorus [the Athenian] has said concerning the people of Delos, that they used to supply the services of cooks and "table-makers" to all who came to Delos for the sacred rites, and that they had names derived from their functions, such as Barley-Witches and Rounders; because throughout the day during the festivals, as Aristophanes says, they moulded barley-cakes and offered them, as to women, kneaded round. And even to this day some of them are called Porcellians, or Rammers, or Kitchen-folk, or Sesames, or Kitchen-bucks, or Meat-boys, or Fish-slingers, while of the women some are called Cumin-blows." (trans. Gulick 1957) suggesting that there was a marketplace on Delos during festival time. For more on the economic impact such markets would have had on an area *cf.* de Ligt (1993)

religious tourist, discussing where he or she came from, what his or her background was, and how he or she traveled to the sites in Greece.

CHAPTER FIVE:

THE TYPICAL TRAVELER IN THE ROMAN ERA

So far in this study, I have explored the meaning of the term "religious tourist", the travel writer Pausanias, the museum-like quality of Greek sanctuary sites, and the popularity of Greek festivals. In this chapter I will turn away from the sites themselves to focus on the nature of the tourists who visited these sites.

In the Introduction, I discussed the fact that tourism was not a new concept in the Roman era. Herodotus displayed touristic qualities while touring around Egypt for the second book of his *Histories*. The Athenian Solon also seems to have participated in a form of tourism when he was on his self-imposed ten-year exile from Athens in the sixth century BCE.[200] Graffiti left by tourists on the pyramids in Egypt have even been found dating to the period of the New Kingdom from 1600 to 1200 BCE.[201] What made the Romans different from these earlier tourists were both the distance they were able to travel and the sheer volume of people who were able to engage in tourism.

Many have labeled the first two centuries CE a "golden age" of travel.[202] The Romans called the Mediterranean Sea *Mare Nostrum,* or "our sea" a fitting description considering that by the end of the first century CE, Rome controlled every last inch of territory surrounding the sea. In addition, great Romans of the first century BCE, like Pompey, had cleared the sea of pirates, making sea travel safer than it had ever been. With Roman armies patrolling the land, banditry was also limited and therefore land travel was also safer than it ever had been before. In addition to being safer, travel was also logistically much simpler in these early days of the Roman Empire. A traveler could

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[200] Herodotus (I.29.1) says Solon went on his journey "κατὰ θεωρίης πρόφασιν" ("on the pretext of sightseeing").
[201] Casson 1994: 32.
[202] Casson 1994: 56-57, Anderson 1993: 2, Pretzler 2007a: 34, and Hutton 2005: 30 describe this period in this manner.

journey from Morocco to Syria and up to Britain, using one currency[203] and just two languages, Latin and Greek, a luxury not afforded even to the modern traveler.[204] In addition, the dawn of the imperial age under Augustus brought peace to the majority of the Roman world and therefore almost all of travelers in this period could travel from one end of the empire to the other without having to worry about the dangers of war. This new peace also provided many Roman aristocrats with the luxury of more free time to pursue leisure activities such as travel abroad.[205] The sheer size of the empire also created a large network of trade that allowed all sorts of people from all parts of the empire the opportunity to travel abroad and engage in tourism.[206] This chapter aims to study these tourists, taking a closer look at both their background and their nature.

Where was the typical traveler from?

In the next chapter I will closely study five of the most famous ancient tourists, all of whom either hailed from Rome or spent the majority of their lives in the city. Although these men have come to represent the standard of Roman travel in this period, it is important to note that many of the religious tourists in Roman Greece were likely Greek provincials like Pausanias wishing to return to their ancestral homeland. This would have been especially true in the second century CE during the time of Greek cultural renaissance following the reign of the emperor Hadrian who inaugurated a new

[203] Although, as Casson 1994: 122 points out, Roman coins did have some regional variation, a Roman traveler would at least be able to change his coinage everywhere in the Empire, if not use it everywhere.
[204] Casson 1994: 122 notes that Greek would be used from the Baltic States East and Latin everywhere else.
[205] It should also be noted that a vast imperial administration was needed to govern such a large territory which allowed many elites, and even some non-elites, to travel the Empire as part of their official duties.
[206] It should be remembered that a tourist was not necessarily someone who traveled solely for the purpose of sight-seeing, although men like Pausanias seem to suggest this type of tourist did exist in the ancient world, but also includes those who travel for other reasons but engage in sight-seeing while traveling away from home.

Greek league called the *Panhellenion* and encouraged provincial Greeks from provinces like Asia to return to "old Greece".[207]

Although there are no ancient statistics recording the ethnic identity of travelers in Greece, there is a variety of sources that help scholars piece together a picture of the ethnic identity of travelers in the Roman world. One of the best sources for the ethnic identity of tourists comes not from Greece but from Egypt. In chapter one I discussed the fact that thousands of pieces of ancient graffiti still exist on monuments such as the tombs of the Valley of the Kings in Egypt. I noted there that these ancient graffitists not only recorded their names but also often where they were from, what they did for a living and what they came to see and several scholars have used these inscriptions to determine the predominant ethnic identities of the visitors at the sites.[208] Although not every visitor to the sites added to the graffiti and not every piece of graffiti records an ethnicity, the sample is still revealing. Of the 204 inscriptions analyzed by Stumpf, he records that 61 come from Egypt itself, 60 from Greece, 47 from Anatolia, 17 from Cyprus, Syria and the Levant, 16 from nearby Cyrenaica, 1 from Italy and 1 from Massilia in southern France.[209] Although several factors may affect the totals, certain general trends are obvious. The easiest, and likely most significant, trend is that the closer the traveler was to the destination, the more likely he was to visit. Although this may be true of modern tourism as well, this trend likely also reflects the difficulty of long distance travel in the

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[207] For more on the *Panhellenion cf.* Spawforth and Walker 1985.

[208] Although others have done this as well, I have relied predominantly on Stumpf 2003: 172 as the most recent source and Foertmeyer 1989 as the expert on Egyptian tourism.

[209] Stumpf 2003: 172 notes however that many more inscriptions without ethnicities attached bear Egyptian names and therefore it can be assumed that a great deal more than the 30 % of visitors to the cities were local, or relatively local. Although the fact that only one traveler came from Italy may seem surprising low, it should be noted that no one of Senatorial class was allowed to enter Egypt without the emperor's express permission (see my discussion of Germanicus in chapter one), as it was such a vital province to the Empire and thus an easy target for a senator planning an insurrection. In addition the Syringes are over a thousand kilometres down the Nile from Alexandria, where the administration of the province was located and where the majority of Romans who visited the province might have stayed, and even several hundred kilometres further south than the Great pyramids at Giza.

ancient world as will be outlined later in this chapter. Although other observations can be made from this data, such as the willingness of the Greeks to travel and the lack of Italian tourists, these observations likely only serve to outline the situation in Egypt itself rather than in Greece, which is the focus of this study.

Turning to Greece then, two key sources inform our understanding of the ethnic makeup of tourists in Greece. One is the first of Plutarch's Delphic Dialogues, *De Defectu Oraculorum.* In this dialogue, set during the Pythian games, noteworthy men in various fields of study come and meet together at the Great Oracle and discuss various issues.[210] These men are elite and well cultured and seem to have prior knowledge of each other. All but one of them has visited the sanctuary before and yet they all decide to tour the grounds again. Although this obviously qualifies them as tourists and therefore of interest to the greater study, for the purposes of this current discussion their ethnicity is what is most important. Firstly, it is important to note that this is a gathering of Greek men and therefore each man comes from a Greek speaking area rather than from Rome, for instance. The majority of the men are regional from Boeotia, as might be expected. Some have traveled from further afield, like Zeuxippos from Sparta, and at least one, Protogenes from Tarsus, might be considered a long-distance traveler. Just as was demonstrated using the previous example of the Egyptian inscriptions, the majority of the travelers are local with a smattering of travelers from further away.

This of course begs the question of whether or not local travelers can still be considered tourists and therefore valid to this discussion. Modern scholars of pilgrimage and tourism have also struggled with this question, arguing that a regular worshipper at St. Peter's or Notre Dame cannot be considered a pilgrim or a tourist because his or her

[210] In this discussion of the *De Defectu Oraculorum* I have been informed by Stumpf 2003: 170.

actions are part of a daily or weekly routine.[211] That being said, someone from just outside Paris who visits Notre Dame maybe once every few years, is very different from someone who lives in the city and visits it regularly. To put it another way, a person who is born and raised in Kitchener, Ontario and goes into Toronto a couple of times a year on a semi-regular basis, could still be considered a tourist if he or she engages in tourist activities like visiting the CN Tower, especially if this occurs on an irregular basis such as two or three times over a twenty year period. Turning back to our example from Delphi, therefore, the Boeotians, although local to the area and previous visitors to the site, can still be considered tourists because traveling to Delphi is not a regular practice for them but something they do irregularly at intervals of months or even years. In addition, while at Delphi they too, like their companions from further a field, tour the site and marvel at the artistic wonders, and therefore engage in tourist activity. It can be said, therefore, that as long as a person does not live at or regularly visit a particular sanctuary site, like Plutarch himself, who was a priest at Delphi, then they too can be considered in the discussion of religious tourism at sanctuary sites in Greece. That being said, the focus of this study has been and will continue to be those who traveled longer distances such as Pausanias from Asia Minor and Cicero from Rome.

The second source on the ethnicity of travelers in Greece, unlike Plutarch's dialogue, specifically records the presence of these long distance travelers. Dio Chrysostom notes the presence of travelers from Africa, Asia, Italy, and even Gaul at the Isthmian festival.[212] Although the majority of tourists at these sanctuary sites might have

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[211]Morinis 1992: 7 notes, "A resident of Rome who regularly visits the Vatican for Mass is not a pilgrim;"

[212] His record states, "As regards to other persons, it was those from a distance who visited him chiefly, all who came to the festival from Ionia, Sicily, and Italy, and some of those who came from Libya, Massilia, and Borysthenes" (Dio Chrys., *Or.* 9.5, trans. Cohoon) (τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μακρόθεν μάλιστα προσήεσαν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀμο τῆς

been from other parts of Greece itself, Dio's account, along with the evidence from Pausanias and others, suggests that there were long distance tourists at these sanctuary sites and in enough numbers to be noticed and written about.

Obviously all of these ethnic maps only touch on where travelers might have come from, but they still give clues as to the ethnic make-up of most travelers in Greece. From the sources, therefore, it can be said that the majority of visitors at sanctuary sites would have been locals or semi-locals traveling within Greece itself. Some, however, would have traveled from farther away, either from other Greek-speaking areas or cities, like Asia Minor and Massilia, or from non-Greek locations such as Rome itself. Although not listed in any of these sources, as mentioned above, several famous Italian Romans visited sanctuary sites in Greece and their journeys will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.[213] The key fact, however, is that, although long distance travel was time-consuming and dangerous, people were willing to do it and therefore although we only have evidence for a few specific journeys, it can be surmised that, despite the difficulties of travel, more journeys did occur which either went unrecorded or have been lost in the record.[214]

Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας ὅσοι παρῆσαν καὶ τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης τινὲς καὶ τῶν ἐκ Μασσαλίας καὶ ἀπὸ Βορυσθένος)

[213] This might seem a strange statement considering Latin or "Roman" is not an ethnicity mentioned in any of these sources but it should be remembered that these sources were all Greek and therefore more likely to record the presence of fellow Greeks over "Romans".

[214] Stumpf 2003: chapter three argues, using circumstantial data from Hadrian's Panhellenion, that by the second century CE a vast array of men would have traveled around Greece as part of their commitments to cultural groups such as the Panhellenion. Stumpf also argues that the volume of foreign participants at the major games (see 179 specifically) also increases in this period and this likely meant an increase in tourist activity as well.

The status of the typical traveler

Although travel was much easier during the *pax Romana* than during earlier centuries, it was by no means as easy as it is today. Travel by land, as can be imagined, was not an easy endeavor. Horses and carts had to be arranged or travelers had to venture out on foot.[215] Although roads in Italy were some of the finest the world had ever seen, roads within Greece were the responsibility of the local governor, and since Greece was not on the way to any military frontier, responsibility for their upkeep was often delegated to the local communities, and therefore the roads in Greece did not quite meet the standards of elsewhere in the Empire.[216] Even when the conditions were perfect, travel could take weeks or months, especially considering the mountainous terrain of Greece. For these reasons, therefore, the majority of travelers chose to travel to and around Greece by sea as much as possible.

The Mediterranean Sea, although a great resource to all the ancient civilizations that surrounded it, was not the easiest sea to navigate. Changing wind patterns and the probability of storms made ancient sea travel a long and treacherous endeavor.[217] As well, although Roman governors traveling to their provinces might have been able to

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[215] For more on land travel in the ancient world *cf.* Casson 1994: chapter 11 and Stumpf 2003: 185-189.

[216] Casson 1994: 172. It should also be noted that Pausanias only mentions wheeled traffic on roads on a few occasions: the road from Tithorea to Delphi (X.32.8), the road from Argos to Tegea (VIII.54,5), the road from Kleonae to Argos (II.15.2), and the road from Megara to the Isthmus, which he notes Hadrian made wide enough for chariots to pass each other (I.44.6). For more on Roman roads cf. Casson 1994: chapter 10, Chevallier 1976 and van Tilburg 2007. For roads in Greece cf. Pritchett 1980.

[217] Casson 1971: 281-296 calculated that even at top speed with the wind a Roman ship would only travel 6 knots and most averaged below two knots when going into the wind (cf. Casson 1951: 43-51). According to Pliny (*NH 2.120-126)* the winds shifted during the year so that in early spring the winds came out of the West, in June from the south, in late July and August from the northeast, in late August from the south west, and after the autumnal equinox from the northwest. The most common winds faced by sailors were the *Etesians* or "yearlies" of high summer, which blew out of the northeast. Even when the wind was blowing in the direction that a traveler wanted to sail, however, a storm could suddenly blow up and trap a ship in port, blow a ship off course, or cause a shipwreck. This was especially true at the beginning and end of the sailing season, in March and April and October, when winter storms blew in periodically (see Acts 27 for a detailed account of the shipwreck of the Apostle Paul who dared to sail late in the season). As well although Romans could reach Greece on direct merchant routes from Ostia, Puteoli, or Brindisium to Corinth in under a week, travelers from other parts of the empire might have to take several ships to reach their final destination, adding greatly to the length of their journey. For more on sea travel in Roman times cf. Casson 1994: chapter 9 and Casson 1971.

secure passage on military vessels, the vast majority of other travelers were forced to book passage on any one of the thousands of merchant vessels that sailed to and from Italy yearly, as there was no such thing as a vessel only for passengers.[218] These merchant ships provided passengers with water but little else and therefore ancient travelers would have to provide their own food and entertainment while on board.[219] These ships also sailed irregularly, with sailing times dictated by the weather and by the omens, and therefore travelers were often forced to spend long periods of time waiting around in various ports around the Mediterranean.[220] Even when the traveler reached his destination, he would have to find lodging for the night as well as sustenance.[221] Traveling, therefore, whether by land or by sea, was neither an easy nor an inexpensive endeavor.

For this reason it is assumed that the majority of ancient tourists were men of elite status with the time to endure such long journeys, the money to afford their provisions and other expenses, the retinue to carry their baggage and provide entertainment,[222] and the connections to secure both the best ships and the best accommodations.[223] The present evidence is also in alignment with this assumption as every recorded traveler who

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[218] For more on the types of ships available cf. Casson 1994: 151-153.
[219] Cf. Casson 1994: 50-51, 156.
[220] For omens see Casson 1994: 155. Stumpf 2003: 185 calls travelers waiting around in the ports of the Mediterranean "accidental tourists" as they would have had time on their hands to see the local attractions including of course sanctuary sites.
[221] For more on the available lodging cf. Stumpf 2003: chapter five. For those interested in accommodations in the Classical period in Greece cf. Kraynak 1984.
[222] A traveler's retinue could be quite extensive, especially if he was a VIP (cf. Bradley 1979 for the entourage of Nero), and it is unlikely that any traveler would be able to carry the extensive cooking equipment, bedding, and tableware that would be needed en route on his own (cf. Casson 1994: 176).
[223] Casson 1994: 151 notes that a governor would have been able to secure passage on a military ship and Casson 1994: 156 (citing Lucian, *Jup. Trag.* 47) notes that important persons would have been able to secure special privileges while on merchant vessels such as having a chair set up for them on the poop deck.

engages in acts of tourism in Greece is a man of elite status.[224] But, although it is likely that the majority of these Roman tourists were men of elite status, there is some evidence to suggest that both non-elites and women did engage in tourism in this period.

The evidence for non-elite tourism again comes from the graffiti found in Egypt.[225] In addition to their names and ethnicities, many of the signers also recorded their occupations. Among this list of occupations several jobs stand out as tasks that were performed by the lower classes. These include a trumpeter, a gold worker, a porter, a servant, and an attendant.[226] Although it can not be said whether these visitors traveled to these sites as part of an elite man's retinue or on their own, it is clear that they were there and that they too engaged in some sightseeing, even taking the time to chisel their names into the walls. Again, although this evidence is not from Greece itself, it can be surmised that servants and attendants in Greece also participated in a bit of sightseeing if this was the practice in Egypt, and that even some of the lower classes, who were able to travel short distances to visit sanctuary sites, also engaged in sightseeing while there.[227]

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[224] One might think of Pausanias, who was clearly a member of the local elite in Asia Minor, and his audience who were also likely members of the elite. One could also think of famous Romans such as Cicero, Hadrian, and Nero and consider Plutarch's dialogues mentioned above, which record the gatherings of elite males at Delphi.

[225] It should be noted that one other piece of evidence for non-elite travel could be the travels of the apostle Paul as recorded in Luke's *The Acts of the Apostles*. The problems with this source stem not from the source itself, but from the character of Paul. Luke records that Paul was a Roman citizen and once a member of the Jewish ruling council the Sanhedrin. Although he was kicked out of this council upon converting to Christianity, he likely retained some of his status as a local elite, especially considering he was now a prominent member of a new and burgeoning religious sect. In addition to the question of Paul's status, there is also the problem that not once does he seem to visit a tourist site on his journey. This may be an omission on the part of Luke, who was constructing a story about the spread of Christianity and not about the journeys of Paul, or it may have been due to the fact that Paul, as a devout Christian, did not want to be seen at known tourist sites, which, as discussed in previous chapters, were predominantly pagan sanctuaries. Whatever the reason, Paul's status as both a tourist and a non-elite are in question.

[226] Taken from Baillet: #21 trumpeter (*salpistes*), #199 porter (*aulaios*), #288 attendant (*hyperetes),* #1076 goldworker (*chrysouchos*), #1929 servant (*doulos)*; #1295 domestic servant (*domestikos boethos).* Stumpf 2003: 245 note 41 also notes possible jobs such as #16 "fisherman and porkseller" and #1731 barber, also these attributions have been debated. *Cf.* Foertmeyer 1989: chapters 2 and 3.

[227] Consider the fact that the majority of elite men traveled with a large retinue and several members of this retinue, like for instance Cicero's secretary Tiro, likely had at least some leeway to see the sights for themselves. Even the strictest master could not prevent a servant fetching supplies from the market from looking around while abroad and therefore engaging in a bit of tourism.

The evidence for female tourism comes from the journeys of the Emperor Hadrian in Egypt. Hadrian is known to have traveled with his wife Sabina and her compatriot Julia Balbilla. While they were visiting the statue of Memnon, which was said to "sing" to his mother Dawn every morning,[228] the statue failed to sing for the emperor. The very next day Sabina and Julia returned to the statue, which promptly sang for them at first light. Julia, a poetess, wrote a poem commemorating the event, which was engraved on the statue itself.[229] Visiting a famous tourist icon such as the statue of Memnon was clearly an act of tourism, and possibly religious devotion, considering Memnon's mother "Dawn" was a goddess, for these two women. Although no such cases are recorded to have occurred in Greece, since many men presumably traveled with their wives and other female attendants in Greece, including Hadrian himself, it would not be surprising if such events occurred in Greece as well.[230]

Although there is some evidence for non-elites and non-males participating in tourism in the ancient world, the vast majority of the evidence suggests that the majority of religious tourists of the ancient world were elite males with both the resources and the desire to engage in sightseeing. The typical Roman tourist in Greece therefore has to be seen as an elite male, likely but not exclusively a provincial from Asia Minor or other wealthy province, with the resources and the desire to journey to Old Greece. In the next chapter I will move away from the typical tourist to discuss the journeys of five particular Roman tourists. These men differed in background, status, and interest but, as shall be demonstrated, each one of them found something of interest at Greek sanctuary sites.

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[228] cf. Foertmeyer 1989: 24.

[229] This epigraphic poem is published with the other epigraphic inscriptions on the statue of Memnon in Bernard and Mason 1957. *cf.* Birley 1997: 250-251 for a dramatization of this event.

[230] Dillon 1997: chapter 7 records the evidence for female pilgrims in ancient Greece. Although pilgrimage is not the focus of this paper, pilgrims, as noted in chapter one, often engage in touristic activity even while participating in acts of devotion and therefore these female pilgrims could be considered religious tourist as well.

Their journeys, therefore, will serve as a testament to other journeys made by Roman tourists in Greece.

CHAPTER SIX: FIVE FAMOUS ROMAN TRAVEL ITINERARIES

In the last chapter, I examined the typical Roman tourist. Although the majority of tourists to Roman Greece might have been provincial elites, especially after Hadrian's time, there were many hailing from Italy who also toured Greece. The emperor Augustus and his comrade Marcus Agrippa spent their formative years in Athens getting an education.[231] Other Roman elites such as Julius Caesar and Tiberius were also known to have spent time in the Greek world. In this chapter however I will look at the journeys of five different Romans who were known to have spent time in Roman Greece and who, as I will show, engaged in religious tourism.

These men span three centuries of Roman involvement in Greece, from the days before Greece was officially annexed in the second century BCE, well before the *pax Romana*, to the second century CE and the heyday of travel in the Roman world. Despite this span of time, however, these men were chosen because they have several similarities. Firstly, each one was an important person in Roman history and often traveled as part of his official duties. Secondly, each of their travel itineraries, if not well documented, is easy to piece together from the evidence we have. Lastly, and most importantly, each one visited sanctuary sites on more than one occasion and did so both for touristic reasons and for religious ones and therefore is best described as religious tourists. What is interesting, however, is that while each one participated in religious tourism, as will be outlined in this chapter, each man had a different interest driving his desire to visit sanctuary sites.

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[231] The Academy of Plato was still an active philosophical school in this period and Athens was also home to many other teachers of rhetoric, oratory, politics and other subjects. More about Athens nature as an educational centre in this period will be said later in this chapter in the section on Cicero.

L. Aemilius Paullus

Aemilius Paullus was a great Roman statesman and general. A two-time consul and son of the consul of the same name who died at Cannae, he is perhaps best known as the victor at the battle of Pydna in 168 BCE against Perseus and the Macedonians and as the man who annexed Macedonia into Roman control. After the battle, Paullus decided to tour Rome's newly acquired territory, stopping at some of the most famous places in Ancient Greece.[232] His journey is recorded in several ancient sources including Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch and provides the most complete itinerary of a Roman traveler in Greece. Since he was the first Roman to tour Greece in this way, his journey has often been thought of as a template for all other subsequent journeys and certainly several stops on his itinerary became popular destinations for later travelers.

Although the battle of Pydna ended on June 22nd, 168 BCE[233], Livy notes that Paullus did not begin his journey until the *initio Autumni*, which scholars such as J.L. Ferrary date to the end of August using Varro (*De re rustica* 1.28.1) and Pliny (*HN* 18.271, 289).[234] Since his consulship ended at the end of the year and his "tour-of-duty" ended on December 25th when he was replaced by new legates from Rome, his journey must have taken place some time between August and December. This is interesting to note because it is at the very end of the traveling season. Even though Paullus was already near Greece, having defeated Perseus in Epirus northwest of the later province of Achaea, and therefore would have been able to reach Athens and the Peloponnese relatively easily on land, it was much more common for travelers to Greece to sail from

[232] As noted in chapter one, Livy 45.27.5 explicitly states that he travelled in order to see the sights (*ad visenda)*
[233] This date is known precisely from the occurrence of a solar eclipse the day before which can be dated. Stumpf 2003: 232.
[234] Ferrary 1988: 554-60. *Cf.* Stumpf 2003: 232.

destination to destination rather than traveling by road, since Greece is a rather mountainous region and early Greek roads were not exactly of high quality.[235] Paullus, however, perhaps deciding to show himself to the people, chose an overland route and therefore coupled his tour of antiquity with a tour of imperium, showing off not only his generosity to the people but also the power that he wielded.[236]

The most thorough account of his journeys is recorded in Livy (45.27.5-28.6) and Livy may have drawn heavily on the account of Polybius who was writing contemporaneously to Paullus' journey.[237] The Livy passage records stops at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, the oracle at the Temple of Zeus Trophonius, the strait between the mainland and the island of Euboea at Euripus, the harbor of Aulis where Agamemnon gathered the Greek fleet before the Trojan War, the sanctuary of Oropus at Attica, the cities of Athens, Corinth, Sicyon, and Argos, the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus, the city of Sparta, and finally the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. Although the exact purpose and meaning of this journey have long been debated, some of Paullus' motivation can be gleaned from the sites he chose to visit. He visited thirteen named locations in Greece starting at Delphi and ending at Olympia. Stumpf has argued that, given his route, it is likely that he also made stops at eight other spots including Plataea,

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[235] The best evidence for the quality of Greek roads comes from Pausanias, who, as Stumpf 2003: 186 points out, even in the later Roman period still only speaks of wheeled traffic on occasion and generally derides the quality of Greek roads. Stumpf also notes that archaeological evidence has shown that many non-imperially constructed roads would have been rutted for wheeled traffic and that each area had its own wheel gauge, thus making long distance travel nearly impossible. For a complete discussion of roads in Greece cf. Pritchett 1980.

[236] The political purpose of Paullus' journey has been much debated in scholarship. Recent scholars, however, such as Ferrary 1988, Reiter 1988, and Stumpf 2003 (following Ferrary) have noted that part of the reasoning behind Paullus' journey was that it would show himself and the Romans in a favourable light to the Greeks and that therefore they would be more willing to accept the new influence of their former allies now that their nominal rulers, the Macedonians, had been destroyed. The evidence for this in the sources, however, is rather spotty. While it is true that Paullus took the time to set up a victory monument at Delphi, his only acts of generosity, the doling out of grain and the listening to grievances, are only listed in Plutarch (*Aem. Paullus* 28), a far from contemporary source.

[237] It should not be forgotten, however, that Polybius' patron was Scipio Aemilianus, the son of Aemilius Paullus and therefore his account, from which all the other accounts are likely drawn, is rather favourable towards Paullus (Stumpf 2003: 255 n. 189).

Thebes and Tegea, although there is no mention of these in any of the accounts.[238] From his known stops his itinerary can be broken into six different categories. He observed natural wonders at Euripus near the island of Euboea, at the springs of Oropos in Attica, and at the Isthmus of Corinth.[239] He did reconnaissance work, noting the harbors and shipyards at Athens, the Isthmus and Acropolis at Corinth, and, as recorded in Polybius, the strength of the fortifications at Sicyon and Argos.[240] He visited sites related to the Trojan War such as Aulis, where the Greek fleet gathered and Agamemnon sacrificed Iphigenia. He marveled at artwork, taking in the statues at Athens, the dedications at Epidaurus, and particularly the statue of Olympian Zeus at Olympia, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.[241] He traveled to cities of renown such as Athens, Corinth, Sicyon, Argos, and Sparta, where he observed the ancient Spartan customs, likely watching one of their local festivals.[242] Perhaps most interesting for this particular study is that in at least seven of the locations he visited, he spent time at a sanctuary site, and at Delphi, Athens, Lebadaea, and Olympia he is noted to have made a sacrifice.[243]

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[238] Stumpf 2003: 255 n. 199 also posits possible visits to Thespiae, Megara, Mantinaea, Elis, and Patras. Elis and Patras make particular sense as from Olympia Paullus would have had to make his way to the coast in order to leave and the most likely possibility would have been traveling through these two locations.

[239] Casson 1994: 231 argues that the ancients rarely ever went to the trouble of seeing wonders of nature unless there was some practical reason to do so, such as finding the way across a mountain, or unless the sight provided a marvel that could not be seen elsewhere. The Isthmus and Euripus certainly qualify as marvels that could not be seen elsewhere and viewing the Isthmus was also practical, as it provided both a military and trade advantage to Corinth.

[240] Stumpf 2003: 255 n. 196. Although reconnaissance was possible at these sites, belief that Paullus engaged in this practice stems largely from a belief that his tour had political overtones, as discussed in note 234 above, and, as will be discussed below, I would argue that Paullus was not travelling primarily for political reasons.

[241] It should be noted that in the standard list, as created by Philo of Byzantium in the third century BCE, the statue of Zeus was not the only religious wonder. Also on the list were the Colossus of Rhodes, which was a statue of the god Helios, and the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus.

[242] Although the ancient accounts make no mention of this and the season was rather late, as mentioned above, the Romans admired the Spartans greatly and often took in their festivals. The Livy account does mention that Sparta was known for its customs and institutions rather than its buildings (Livy 45.28.4: "*Inde Lacedemonem adit, non operum magnificentia, sed disciplina instutisque memorabilem*;).

[243] The other destinations are Aulis, Oropos, and Epidaurus. He may well have visited the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Corinth since it was located on the Acropolis, which he is said to have visited. Considering, however, the type of worship that went on in that sanctuary, it is perhaps not surprising that a trip such as this would go unmentioned.

As previously mentioned, the purpose of Paullus' journey has long been debated. In Plutarch (*Aem. Paullus* 28), but in no other earlier source, Paullus is said to have made donations of grain as he went. This act, as well as the reconnaissance he apparently did at Sicyon, Argos, Athens, and Corinth, could suggest that he traveled in an official manner, showing off the power and the possibilities that Rome brought to Greece as well as making note of what defences the Greek cities had in place if ever they were to attempt any kind of resistance. His sacrifice at Delphi has also often been seen as an act of setting up a victory monument in the heartland of Greek religion where all Greeks would see it and know that Rome had defeated the Macedonians and nominally freed them from external control.[244] Of course, for the purpose of this study, the original purpose for Paullus' travels, whether he traveled for political reasons or purely for pleasure, is not as important as whether or not he engaged in tourism and specifically religious tourism while en route. The evidence suggests not only that he did engage in religious tourism, but that he did so out of an interest in observing relics of the Greek past.

At Sparta he is said to have observed the ancient customs, at Athens the ancient statues, at Aulis, the place where Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter, and, at the sanctuaries, the dedications made throughout the centuries. As to any Roman, the "past" to Paullus included both the historical past, including the life and times of the great men of Athens and Sparta, as well as the mythological past of the Trojan War and even earlier, for in the Greco-Roman mind, myth and history were linked.[245] It is probable, therefore, that although he made sacrifices at several sanctuaries, his desire to see sanctuary sites was based more on their historical significance than on their religiosity. The sites that he

[244] The political motivation of Paullus, as outlined in Ferrary 1988 and Reiter 1988, has been discussed further in note 234 above.
[245] Casson 1994: 233.

chose, although religiously significant, were also sites of particular fame, including Olympia, Delphi, Epidaurus, and the Acropolis at Athens. These sites not only attracted lavish dedications, as discussed in chapter three, including the dedications of mythical heroes such as King Midas, who made lavish dedications at Delphi (Herodotus 1.14), but also featured most prominently in the tales of earlier Greek history that Paullus would have probably read as a boy.[246]

Although the original intent of Paullus' tour cannot be determined precisely, it can be said that he did engage in sightseeing on his journey: marveling at the statue of Zeus, admiring the art in the Athenian Agora, and visiting the sanctuary at Aulis, where Agamemnon was said to have prayed for favorable winds. Whether or not he traveled purely for pleasure therefore, he can be called a tourist because he engaged in acts of tourism while traveling abroad.[247] In fact, since Paullus' journey might have been undertaken out of curiosity rather than any political motivation one can even compare it with the journeys of the original "Grand Tourists" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who toured the major sites of France and Italy.[248] Most interestingly for the purposes of this study however, is the fact that Paullus not only engaged in acts of tourism but he did so at sanctuary sites and that while at those sanctuary sites he also made dedications and sacrifices. Although some might call the sacrifices he made at these sanctuary sites proof that he was a pilgrim and not a tourist, I would suggest that his

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[246] By the first century BCE, no young Roman's education was complete without a trip to "university" in Greece and Stumpf 2003: 93 suggests that part of the reason for this phenomenon was that Roman fathers liked the idea of their sons learning about history in the place that it happened. Although this practice likely post dates Paullus it is entirely likely that a man who was a known to be philhellene, as Paullus was (Reiter 1988: 114), would have taken the time to read the Greek classics including the works of Homer, Herodotus, and Thucydides, and therefore wish to visit the places that they describe in their works. Herodotus and Thucydides in particular often mention such sites as the Acropolis at Athens and the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, which Paullus of course visited.

[247] It should be noted that in describing the journey Plutarch actually uses the term *diagoge* or "recreation". *Cf.* Stumpf 2003: 234.

[248] One could argue Pausanias fits into this mould as well.

actions show him to be both a pilgrim and a tourist as he engages in acts of tourism as well as religious acts. Whether his religious acts are similar to the actions of modern tourists who visit Notre Dame and light dedicatory candles or pray, but otherwise act entirely as tourists or whether his acts more closely resemble a true pilgrim remains unclear. The longest passage in Livy's account deals with Paullus' "religious experience" at seeing the statue of Zeus at Olympia, suggesting that he was indeed more of a "pilgrim" than a tourist, although other non-religious men have had similar experiences at religious sites.[249] What is clear then is that Paullus, like the other four men discussed in this chapter, bridges the gap between what is a pilgrim and what is a tourist and therefore is best understood as a religious tourist.

Paullus' journey presents a unique case in the history of ancient travel. Unlike the other men in this chapter who traveled around Greece as part of some other mission or journey, Aemillius Paullus' entire trip may have been focused on tourism and specifically religious tourism. Although modern scholars have tried to put a political spin on his journey, Paullus' actions themselves suggest otherwise, for not once does he make a proclamation or serve as a judge in a dispute.[250] Instead, Paullus seems to have traveled predominantly to satisfy his own curiosity in the Greek past and to see sites with his own eyes that he had likely either read or heard about. Many of these sites were religious in

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[249] One example is the modern travel writer Bill Bryson who, in *Neither Here Nor There*, describes the "religious experience" he had at seeing St. Peter's Basilica in Vatican City. Bryson, who clearly states his own lack of religiosity, seems to experience the same awe and wonder Paullus did when he encountered the magnificent statue of Olympian Zeus and therefore religious things can wow even non-religious people once in a while. One should also remember that this statue was of particular renown in antiquity and seemingly had the same effect on everyone who saw it. (cf. Pausanias V.11.9, Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 12.50-51, Epictetus, *Diatribe*, 1.6.2). Stumpf 2003: 234 also notes that although he made dedications, never once did he consult an oracle or visit a festival (although since he started late, the major panhellenic festivals would have already occurred). As well, he, unlike Cicero and Hadrian, was never initiated into any mystery cults and therefore his "religious devotion" could not have been all that strong.

[250] Stumpf 2003: 234. Again it should be noted that, although Plutarch notes that he did hear grievances, Plutarch is the only source that mentions it. Since he wrote several hundred years after Paullus' journey it can be surmised that this information was based more on tradition and myth than on the actual events of the time.

nature and while at them, viewing the dedications made by the heroes of old, he could not help but make dedications and sacrifices of his own. His tour therefore was an act of religious tourism because, like the other men discussed in this chapter, Paullus engaged in acts of tourism and religious devotion while traveling to the most famous sanctuary sites of ancient Greece.

Marcus Tullius Cicero

Cicero is one of the most familiar names in late Roman Republican history. A famous orator, consul during the conspiracy of L. Sergius Catilina, and a vocal opponent of Caesar, Cicero was also an avid traveler and took at least two trips to Greece. The first, from 79 to 77 BCE, was a journey undertaken primarily for educational reasons and Cicero spent most of his time at the two major centers of learning: Athens and Rhodes. The second journey was undertaken en route to and from Cilicia, the province he was appointed to govern in 51 BCE. Cicero's trips, therefore, reflect not one but two of the different types of tourist itineraries in Greece: the educational tour and the tour en route, and can be used as exemplars for others who traveled in this vein. Just as was the case with Paullus' tour of antiquity, sanctuary sites played a major role in Cicero's journeys as well.

a. Cicero's Educational Tour:

In 79 BCE Cicero set out for Greece ostensibly to improve his skills in oratory and rhetoric but also to improve his overall education and knowledge. By this time he was already a famous advocate in Rome winning the controversial *pro Roscio* case in

which the dictator Sulla was implicated, and some have seen the timing of Cicero's journey as a reflection of the need to leave Rome after angering Sulla (Plutarch, *Cic.* 3.4). Cicero himself, however, claims that the journey was a result of frayed nerves and a desire to improve his skills as an orator (*Brut.* 312). Whatever the true reason for his departure, in traveling to Greece, Cicero participated in a rite of passage that was to become common amongst the Roman elites in the late Republic and early imperial periods. For in Athens and Rhodes he found not only the world's predominant teachers in rhetoric and oratory, but also the makings of the world's first predecessors to the university.

During the Hellenistic period, Greek city-states that had once been powerful political players on the Mediterranean scene found themselves under the control of an external power and without much political clout. Although some of these city-states either ignored this problem, such as Sparta, or devoted themselves to trade, such as Delos and Rhodes, many city-states evolved from powerful political players into influential centers of learning, attracting not only the world's best scholars but also some of the world's most important men as pupils.[251] No *polis* did this more than Athens, which built on its tradition as a center of learning and the home of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, to become, by the Roman period, an educational centre. In the early Roman period, during the time Cicero visited, Athens was known as a place to study both philosophy and rhetoric[252] (*Brut.* 315) and the island of Rhodes was known as a center for the study of oratory under the tutelage of the master orator Molo. Cicero not only studied at both of these cities, but

[251] Note that Rhodes not only became a trade center, and a museum of the past (see the Lindian Chronicle discussed in chapter three), but also became a prominent educational center as well (Higbie 2003: 4), thus ensuring its continued relevance in the new Roman world.

[252] Cicero notes in *Brut.* 315 that it was to study these two disciplines that he visited Athens.

he also traveled to other cities in Asia Minor that had their own highly reputed masters and traditions of education.[253] It can be said, therefore, that Cicero traveled predominantly to obtain a form of higher education.

In addition to stopping at Athens and Rhodes, Cicero, from his own works and the biographies of men such as Plutarch, is known to have made several other stops as well. Plutarch notes that he consulted the oracle of Apollo at Delphi about his own future (Plut. *Cic.* 5.1) and since the Pythian Games were put on in 78 BCE, the year of Cicero's visit, it is possible that Cicero made this consultation while visiting Delphi to see the games (although there is no mention of this in the record).[254] Cicero himself also notes that he saw the festivals of the *Gymnopaedia* and the *Orthia* rites while in Sparta (*Tusc.* 2.14; 5.27) and since these festivals were possibly several weeks apart, one can surmise a prolonged stay in the city.[255] Cicero also admired artwork, viewing the *Ialysos* of Protogenes on Rhodes and the *Aphrodite Anadyomene* of Apelles of Kos (*Orationes 5*). He and his good friend Atticus were also initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries (*De Legibus* 2.36).

Although no complete itinerary for this journey is found in any of the sources, Joseph Stumpf has attempted to piece together a possible itinerary from the sites we know Cicero visited.[256] Stumpf posits that Cicero arrived in Athens in 79 BCE, possibly via Corcyra and the Isthmus, although it should be noted that at this point Corinth was not

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[253] Cicero's itinerary in Asia Minor is unknown as he only notes that he traveled there. Stumpf 2003: 190 suggests, however, that since Cicero lists a number of masters under whom he studied and their home cites, it can be surmised that he visited at least some of these cities in order to study under the masters, although it is possible that some of them came with him on his journeys. The places listed include Stratonikaea, Magnesia, Cnidos, Adramyttos, and Alabanda, with all but the last implying a trip through Caria. It is also known that he traveled to Smyrna (*Brut.* 85) and therefore Stumpf surmises a possible stop at Ephesus, where he spent some time in his second trip.

[254] Stumpf 2003: 190 makes this assertion. As discussed in chapter four, festivals were popular amongst Roman elites and it is likely that if Cicero could have been there for the festival, he would have been.

[255] See chapter four on festivals. Cicero elsewhere states his profound admiration for Spartan institutions making a prolonged stay a distinct possibility

[256] Stumpf 2003: 191.

operational, as it had been destroyed in 146 BCE. He likely celebrated the mysteries in this year and stayed through the *Dionysia* in March, both studying in Athens and waiting for the next sailing season to begin. In the spring and summer of 78 BCE, Stumpf guesses that Cicero made his excursions to Delphi and Sparta before sailing to Rhodes in the fall. Remaining in Rhodes through the winter, Cicero would then have traveled into Asia Minor, traveling through Karia and up the coast as far as Ephesus or Smyrna before returning to Rome at the end of the summer in 79 BCE possibly via Athens. Although this itinerary is nothing more than a rough sketch, it does give a good idea of where Cicero might have traveled and how long the process of travel could have been.

Looking at Cicero's travels from a religious tourism perspective there are several interesting points to note. Firstly, although Cicero's main goal in his travels was to receive an education in philosophy, rhetoric, and oratory, he did take time on his journey to view other sites, possibly in order to enhance his knowledge of history and the Arts by viewing culturally important festivals and renowned pieces of art. Particularly noteworthy are his journeys to Sparta and Delphi as they reflect an interest in the cultural and religious history of Greece, as he witnessed religious festivals of a civic nature at Sparta, and the religious power of the Oracle of Apollo. These journeys, in addition to his interest in viewing famous artwork in the islands, reflect a traveler interested in broadening his horizons, and therefore his wisdom, by engaging in sightseeing. Again, as was seen with Aemilius Paullus, who wished to visit sites of hallowed antiquity, the places that stored the famous pieces of art Cicero wished to see and which held the culturally important religious festivals Cicero wished to observe were sanctuary sites. It

can therefore be said that travel to sanctuary sites was an important part of the educational tour.

In addition to acting as a tourist at these religious sites, Cicero also engaged in several explicit acts that could be considered acts of religious devotion on his tour. Firstly, he consulted the Oracle of Apollo, which was an act of devotion to the Greek gods and demonstrated a belief that what the oracle said reflected the truth as sanctioned by the god Apollo. Secondly, Cicero and his friend Atticus were initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries and although not much is known about these sacred rites, it is known that those who were initiated were promised some sort of advantage in the afterlife.[257] Although both these acts are outwardly religious in nature, since Cicero is known as a curious but not altogether religiously minded man, he may have performed them to satisfy his own curiosity, wishing to know what the mysteries were all about and what the oracle would say about his future, rather than for any religious reason. Since it is impossible to know Cicero's motivation however and since these acts are religious in nature, Cicero like Paullus should be considered a religious tourist.

b. Cicero's "tour en route":

Cicero's second trip to Greece occurred in 51 BCE as he made his way to and from Cilicia, the province he was assigned to govern. Stopping in Greece while en route to an Eastern province was common, as many Roman governors in the East found it faster and more appealing to board a ship in Ostia or Brindisium and sail to the East via the Corinthian gulf, instead of traveling the arduous land route through northern Italy and

[257] For more on initiation into the mysteries as an act of ancient pilgrimage *cf.* Dillon 1997: 60-73.

Macedonia along the Via Egnatia to Byzantium.[258] Since governors would often have had to board a second ship sailing out of Greece, many of them took time to visit the sites of Greece while en route and Cicero was no exception. Although a detailed itinerary is again not given for Cicero's journey, more is known about the times and dates of his travels on this trip than on his earlier educational tour of Greece.

Cicero left Rome and made his way to Brundisium arriving on May 24th, 51 BCE. Twelve days later on June 5th he left Brundisium and sailed to Corcyra (*Fam.* 3.3, 4; 8.5; *Att.* 5.8). On June 14th he reached Actium (*Att.* 5.9) where he disembarked and traveled overland to Athens arriving on June 25th.[259] On July 6th he left Peiraeus, but being delayed by bad winds (*Att.* 5.12) did not arrive in Ceos until the next day. On July 8th his ship left Ceos stopping at Gyaros, Syros, and Delos where he apparently stayed until July 12th (*Att.* 5.12). He reached Samos on July 20 *(Att. 5.13)* where he met with some *publicani* and then made the crossing to Ephesus to meet his fellow Asian governors (*Fam.* 3.5; 12.55, 65; *Att.* 5.13). From there he likely took the Roman road to his province of Cilicia arriving some time in late August (*Att. 5.14-20; Fam. 3.5,8; 15.4).*[260]

After spending a year as governor in Cilicia he left the province in August 50 BCE. Taking a ship from Tarsus he sailed to Rhodes where he spent a few days, saying that he did so for the sake of his son and nephew (*Att.* 6.7). Leaving Rhodes on the tenth of August he sailed to Ephesus (*Att.* 6.6; *Fam.* 3.13; Plutarch, *Cic.* 36.5) where he remained until October 1st (*Att.* 6.8). Although Cicero notes that he was delayed in Ephesus for twenty days by contrary winds (*Att.* 6.8) this alone does not explain his prolonged stay

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[258] *Cf.* Stumpf 2003: 219.
[259] One may wonder why Cicero chose to take the strenuous overland route rather than sail down the Corinthian gulf but as Stumpf 2003: 220 notes, Corinth was not operational at this time and therefore the overland route may have been more appealing.
[260] *Cf.* Stumpf 2003: 220-221.

there. Although it is possible that he had business to attend to in this important Asian city, it is also possible that he took the time to show his son and nephew the sites and add to their education.[261] Considering Ephesus was home to one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the Temple of Artemis, it is entirely probable, even if this was not the intended reason for his prolonged stay, that he and his family visited these sites. Leaving Ephesus he arrived in Peiraeus on October 14th (*Att.* 6.8) and then stayed in Athens for perhaps a week, seeing old friends and again likely touring the sites with his family.[262] Although it is unclear when he left Athens, he eventually traveled down the Corinthian gulf making several stops along the way, including one especially to see the river Thyamis (*Fam. 16.6, Att.* 5.2), and finally reached Brundisium on the 26th of November (*Fam.* 16.9) from whence he made his way back to Rome.

Although not every provincial governor traveled by land through Greece as Cicero did,[263] many of them must have done so in order to avoid unfavorable winds and to take in the sights en route. Since Cicero had been to Greece before, he felt no need to return to places like Sparta and Delphi[264], but did engage in some nostalgia, visiting both Athens and Rhodes. Although this second journey has less overt examples of religious tourism, it is entirely probably that in several of the destinations where Cicero stopped, he took in the sights, which often included prominent sanctuaries, and that while at these sanctuaries he engaged in religious acts as well. It is clear from the detailed dates of his journey that Cicero, and likely other governors en route to their provinces, had plenty of time on their hands while en route, being delayed at several locations for multiple days. The

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[261] Stumpf 2003: 222 suggests just this possibility.
[262] Plutarch *Cic.* 36.6 notes that Cicero engaged in a bit of nostalgia in Athens visiting the places that reminded him of his earlier visits to the city.
[263] Stumpf 2003: 223 notes that Pliny the Younger traveled around Cape Malea to Ephesos.
[264] Although Delphi was possibly on his overland route from Actium to Athens on his journey out.

possibility of visiting the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus has already been discussed but other famous sanctuaries Cicero might have visited include the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos on Rhodes, made famous by the Lindian chronicle as discussed in chapter three; the Acropolis at Athens, which was likely part of Cicero's nostalgic tour of the city towards the end of his time in the East, and the famous birthplace of Apollo on Delos, where Cicero seems to have spent four days on his outward journey. Although none of these trips is documented in the same way that his trips to sanctuaries on his earlier journey to Greece were documented, it seems unlikely that he would have missed the opportunity to visit these sites, especially considering his desire to educate his son and nephew (*Att.* 6.7) and his desire to see sights of much less renown elsewhere.[265] It is also likely that other governors, traveling in much the same way that Cicero did, also took time to see these famous sites and therefore engaged in their own tourism.

Cicero is one of the few examples of a Roman elite who traveled to Greece more than once and saw multiple sites during his visits. Cicero traveled both as a young man seeking an education and as a middle-aged man serving the state and traveling through Greece in order to reach his post. Cicero, therefore, represents two of the most common types of Roman travelers in Greece, and in some ways epitomizes the types of journeys such travelers might have taken. What is most interesting of course, is that Cicero not only engaged in acts of tourism, he did so at religious sites and, as discussed above, often engaged in religious acts as well. Cicero, therefore, like Paullus, engaged in religious tourism while en route. In the next section another traveler en route will be examined

[265] *Fam.* 16.6 and *Att.* 5.2 note that Cicero could not be stopped from seeing the River Thyamis which seems to be undocumented elsewhere.

and his journeys, over a hundred years later, will also be shown to have elements of religious tourism.

Mucianus

Unlike Paullus, whose journeys are recorded in Livy, Polybius and Plutarch, and Cicero, who stated in his own writings the places to which he traveled, no extant source records the travels of the Roman statesmen Mucianus. Instead, his journeys must be pieced together from fragments of his own writing found in Pliny's natural history. Mucianus is one of the most famous non-emperors in Roman imperial history. Although he had a falling out with Claudius that led to his self-imposed exile to Asia Minor, he was made consul by Nero in 64 CE and was emperor maker to Vespasian when, as governor of Syria, he and his four legions sided with the man in the civil wars of 69 CE and for this loyalty he was given two further consulships in 70 CE and 72 CE. As a legate in Lycia and Pamphylia in 57 CE, later during his self-imposed exile, and finally while he was governor of Syria from 66 CE to 70 CE, Mucianus spent much of his life in the Greek East and he traveled extensively visiting many sanctuary sites. Since many of these visits likely occurred "en route" to his various postings in the East, Mucianus can be categorized with Cicero as an example of this type of journey. Mucianus' journeys however, were quite different to those of Cicero and if any of the men outlined in this chapter can be considered a more of a pilgrim rather than a tourist that man is Mucianus.

One of the difficulties inherent in piecing together Mucianus' journeys is that there is no direct record of any of the places he visited. Instead, Mucianus' destinations are

hypothesized from fragments of one of his literary texts,[266] usually called the *Mirabilis*, which are recorded in Pliny's *Natural History*. Pliny is most interested in Mucianus' observations on naturally occurring marvels, such as his observation that Delos had twice suffered an earthquake (*NH* 4.66), and often shows skepticism at Mucianus' belief in religious miracles.[267] Although scholars have often argued that Mucianus' work was a work on geographical miracles and was of the genre paradoxography,[268] George Williamson has recently argued that Mucianus' original text was actually a travelogue of sorts, recording his movements throughout the Roman East. Although a definitive identification of this text cannot be made since it only exists in fragments from this one source, Williamson's argument is nonetheless convincing, as all of the fragments describe things that Mucianus' must have observed on one journey or another.[269] Although Mucianus clearly journeyed to many places on his travels, this study will only focus on the sanctuary sites he visited and the reactions he had towards them as recorded in Pliny.

As Williamson has argued, Mucianus seemed particularly interested in sanctuary sites quite possibly because they were places where "religious miracles" were more likely to occur.[270] From the spotty itinerary that can be constructed from Pliny's work, it is clear that Mucianus did visit several sanctuaries both in the Cyclades and on the coast of

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[266] Williamson 2005: 224 notes that Mucianus was also known to have written volumes called *Acts* and *Letters* about great figures of Roman Republican history (Tacitus *Dialogus* 37)

[267] See Williamson 2005: 229. In Pliny *NH* 13.88, Pliny attacks Mucianus' belief that while in Lycia he saw a letter written by Sarpedon, hero of the Trojan War. This letter was likely found at a sanctuary site, which collected such memorabilia as was discussed in chapter three.

[268] *Cf.* Williamson 2005: 225.

[269] Williamson 2005: 247-252 lists and translates each of the fragments of Mucianus found in Pliny. It should be noted that describing sights seen on his journey does not necessarily mean that Mucianus was writing a travelogue as Williamson suggests. Regardless of what his work was about, however, Mucianus clearly visited many of the places he described and therefore engaged in some form of tourism.

[270] Williamson 2005: 227-228. It should be noted that Williamson, who is writing about the religious nature of Mucianus' journeys in the collection on pilgrimage edited by Elsner and Rutherford, has reason to praise Mucianus' interest in religious sites. Stumpf 2003: 239 derides Mucianus as gullible and too willing to believe the tall tales the priests at sanctuaries told him.

Asia Minor. Several of these sanctuaries are noteworthy as they are some of the more famous sanctuaries in the ancient world. From Pliny's fragments it is clear that Mucianus visited the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, and scrutinized the structure so carefully that Pliny was able to make architectural judgments about it using Mucianus as a source (*NH* 16.213). Pliny notes that Mucianus gave a name to the artist of the cult statue and it can therefore be surmised that Mucianus was interested in the artwork of the site just as Paullus was noted to have marveled at the statue of Zeus at Olympia.[271] In another fragment, Pliny records an observation of Mucianus that the shellfish that produce purple dye were worshipped at the sanctuary of Venus at Cnidos (*NH* 9.79). If this is a first hand observation, Mucianus visited the sanctuary and most likely took in the sanctuary's prize possession, the naked statue of Aphrodite sculpted by Praxiteles.[272] These two sites, the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus and the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Cnidos, were two of the most famous destinations for ancient travel and it would not be surprising if Mucianus chose to visit them over the course of his travels.

In addition to these two sites, the evidence suggests that Mucianus visited the sanctuary of Dionysus on Andros, likely in time for the January 5th feast of *Theodosia* (*NH* 2.231).[273] There he saw and recorded the miraculous occurrence that the spring at the sanctuary flowed not with water, but with wine, and if the wine from the spring was brought outside of the sanctuary, it changed back to water (*NH* 31.19).[274] He also visited

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[271] It should be noted that Pliny again derides Mucianus for believing in the hallowed antiquity of the statue declaring that by Mucianus' account it would be "older than not only Father Liber but Minerva also". (trans. Williamson)
[272] *Cf.* Williamson 2005: 232.
[273] *Cf.* Stumpf 2003: 237.
[274] Compare this detail to Pausanias' observations on the *Thyia* festival dedicated to Dionysus in Elis (VI.26.1-2) where wine flowed from the sacred fountain. This comparison supports Williamson's argument that Mucianus was writing a travelogue along the lines of Pausanias.

the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos on Rhodes (*NH* 19.12), home to the famous Lindian Chronicle recording the famous items the sanctuary possessed or claimed to have once possessed.[275] While there, he took a special interest in the corselet of Amasis, a historical Pharaoh of Egypt, investigating the nature of the 365 separate threads that held the piece together.[276] This interest suggests that Mucianus was particularly interested in the museum-like quality of sanctuary sites as discussed in chapter three. The last sanctuary of note that Mucianus likely visited was the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos. Although the passage in Pliny only records Mucianus' observations about earthquakes on the island (*NH* 4.66), if these observations were made on the island, it is likely that Mucianus visited the famous sanctuary of Apollo and possibly even wrote about it in his text.[277]

Mucianus' journeys and observations show that he was both a curious man, interested in seeing items of hallowed antiquity, as well as a religious man willing to believe the stories that the priests told him. Williamson has argued that this lack of skepticism highlights Mucianus' religious beliefs and puts him on par with religious pilgrims.[278] Other indications, such as his observations about the cult statue at Ephesus and his interest in the corselet of Amasis, suggest that Mucianus was acting as a sightseer at these sanctuaries as well and therefore was engaging in tourism. It seems likely, therefore, that Mucianus, like Paullus, Cicero and even Pausanias, was a type of religious tourist engaging in sightseeing at the famous sanctuaries of the Greek East but also participating in some form of religious activity.

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[275] See chapter three.
[276] *Cf.* Williamson 2005: 242.
[277] Although there is no way of knowing this for sure, if Mucianus did write about the sanctuary it is not surprising that it is absent from Pliny, who is much more concerned with natural wonders than with religious sites and only records Mucianus' observations that pertain directly to wonders or to Mucianus' credibility as a source.
[278] Williamson 2005: 239.

Imperial Tours

In every case listed so far the travelers in question, although important members of society and often possessing some amount of political power, traveled primarily outside the confines of their official positions.[279] The last two men who will be discussed in this chapter, however, by the very nature of their position as Emperors traveled within the confines of their official positions. This meant that these men showed off their power and position while on tour by either adjudicating disputes, making dedications, planning grand imperial projects or traveling with a large retinue, and sometimes all four at once. Their trips, therefore, were not in the least spontaneous and, as Joseph Stumpf has pointed out, their movements would have been "tightly choreographed". Stumpf also argues that because of their choreographed nature, these trips "would seem to say more about Roman notions of provincial government than Roman private interests." I disagree, however, as the sites they chose to travel to were sites of particular interest to them and they planned projects, made speeches and dedications, and participated in local customs in places suited to their taste. Their trips, although choreographed and timed to perfection, were nevertheless tailored to suit their own particular tastes and therefore fit nicely into this discussion of religious tourism.

Although there are many differences between the emperors Nero and Hadrian, they both paid particular attention to sanctuary sites while in Greece. Nero, whose trip was closer to that of a tourist than an emperor exercising *imperium*, chose to visit

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[279] The possible exception being Aemilius Paullus who toured Greece after conquering the Macedonians at Pydna. As discussed above, however, Paullus did so primarily out of his own curiosity rather than as a governor or ruler and it should be remembered that although he might have given out free grain (only testified in Plutarch) he never heard petitions or presided as a judge in a dispute and therefore is not on par with the men discussed in this section. Cicero too traveled on official business as his second tour of Greece was undertaken on his way to and on his way back from the province of which he was governor. Since, however, he had no official jurisdiction in Greece he too traveled outside the confines of his official position.

sanctuary sites because he wished to participate in the all of the famous dramatic and athletic festivals in Greece, which happened to be all situated at sanctuary sites. Hadrian, on the contrary, although occasionally finding time to pursue his own interests such as hunting, was far more concerned with the interests of Rome and its people than his own. Nevertheless Hadrian's own interests drew him to particular projects in Greece, such as the dedication of a league of all Greek cities, the Panhellenion, and the foundation of new temples and festivals in Athens and other parts of the province. Although their interests differed both took a particular interest in sanctuary sites and often visited them along with their large retinues.

a. Nero

Nero's journey around Greece in 66 and 67 CE, unlike the assize tours discussed in chapter four, was not made in order to greet his people or listen to complaints;[280] it was made in order to participate in the great agonistic festivals of Greece. On the surface, Nero's desire to visit the important festivals is not surprising, as many Romans of the imperial period traveled to Greece at festival time, as was discussed in chapter four, and festivals such as the Olympic Games were popular events for Greeks and Romans alike.[281] It is not surprising, therefore, that Nero, one of the first truly philhellenic emperors, wished to attend these festivals. As a lover of the arts and of chariot racing, as documented in Suetonius (*Ner.* 22), it is also no surprise that Nero wished to see these

[280] It should be noted, however, that Nero did make at least one very important proclamation, granting freedom to all of Greece while competing at the Isthmian games (SIG[3] 814, Suetonius, *Nero* 24.2, Pausanias 7.17.3). Nero also planned imperial projects such as digging a canal at Isthmia (Paus. 2.1.5, Suetonius 24) and therefore, although Nero's tour was not a typical journey of imperium, it will be classed in that category as he made important proclamations, planned imperial projects, and of course traveled with a large imperial retinue.

[281] Alcock 1994: 100 has gone so far as to say, "Nero's activity could thus be viewed simply as an extension-admittedly a major extension – of Roman interest and participation in these festivities."

festivals for himself. What is surprising, however, is that Nero did not merely wish to attend these festivals; he also wished to participate in them.

The direct participation of a Roman Emperor in dramatic and athletic competitions was unprecedented but, according to Suetonius, this is exactly what Nero did.[282] Suetonius (*Ner.* 22) notes that Nero arrived in Greece at Cassiope and immediately gave his first song recital before the altar of Jupiter Cassius. After this, he toured the famous festivals of Greece and even ordained that all the festivals be rescheduled so that they would all occur in the year of his visit and not follow their normal cycles (*Ner.* 23). In addition to dramatic and musical competitions, Nero also famously competed in chariot races at Olympia. Suetonius notes, "On several occasions he took part in the chariot racing, and at Olympia drove a ten-horse team, a novelty for which he had censured King Mithridates in one of his own poems. He lost his balance, fell from the chariot and had to be helped in again; but, though he failed to stay the course and retired before the finish, the judges nevertheless awarded him the prize."[283] Nero, of course, never failed to win first prize, despite his own reported nervousness over the outcome, and according to Dio Cassius returned to Greece with some 1808 victory crowns, having won victory at all of the major festivals in Greece.[284] Although exact details of every festival he attended are unknown, it can be surmised that he attended the four panhellenic games, as well as countless other smaller festivals.[285]

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[282] Previously both Germanicus and Tiberius, following the example of the Hellenistic kings, had sponsored chariot teams at the Olympics but had not themselves competed as Nero did.
[283] Suet. *Ner.* 24.2. trans. Robert Graves.
[284] Dio Cassius 62.20.5. Suetonius, *Nero* 23.2, notes that Nero acted with great nervousness and always worried about carrying off the prize (quam autem trepide anxieque certauerit, quanta aduersariorum aemulatione, quo metu iudicum, uix credi potest)
[285] Bradley 1978 has recreated his itinerary as Aktia, Pythia, Isthmia, Nemea, Olympia, Aktia, Pythia, Isthmia. Considering the sheer quantity of his victory crowns, it can also be surmised that he must have attended other smaller festivals as well. *Cf.* Alcock 1994: 107 note 5.

The question remains: in light of religious tourism, what are we to make of Nero's journey? Unlike the other travelers mentioned in this chapter, the sources suggest, "the emperor was not especially curious and had no mind to cultivate his history or inspect antiquities."[286] The only recorded instance of curiosity on the part of the emperor is a reference in Pausanias (II.37.5) to an experiment to test whether Lake Alkyonios in the Argolid was in fact bottomless and Alcock has suggested that this interest in natural history was just part of Nero's desire to emulate Alexander the Great.[287] Nero's interest in sanctuary sites, therefore, was likely not because of any intellectual curiosity. Although there is no record of Nero being struck by the beauty of a piece of art like there is for Aemilius Paullus, Pausanias (IX.27.1-4) records that he stole several statues of gods from different sanctuary sites including, most famously, a statue of Eros from Thespiae in Boeotia that had been carved by Praxiteles, and therefore it is likely that he did take some time to admire the art at sanctuary sites.[288]

The main reason it seems that Nero visited sanctuary sites, however, was that they were the hosts of the major agonistic festivals. Although Nero competed in many of the competitions at these festivals he must also have watched some of the competitions, especially in events that he did not compete in, and therefore engaged in a type of sporting tourism.[289] In addition one could argue that Nero's desire to compete in chariot races at Olympia, rather than just at the Circus Maximus in Rome, puts him on par with the millions of modern tourists who travel in order to participate in a sport in a location

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[286] Stumpf 2003: 194.
[287] Alcock 1994: 104. Nero's famous attempt to cut a canal through the Isthmus at Corinth (Paus. 2.1.5) may also have been an attempt to emulate Alexander. Suetonius, *Nero* 19.2 also records Nero's plan to launch an eastern expedition in emulation of Alexander and how he even raised a new legion to be called "The Phalanx of Alexander the Great" to do so. (*cf.* Alcock 1994: 108 note 24).
[288] Pausanias also records thefts at Delphi (X.7.1) and Olympia (V.25.8-9 and V.26.3).
[289] Suetonius, *Nero* 52 notes that he watched, "gymnastic competitions like the judges" always attempting to take the spotlight off the competitors and putting it on himself.

they deem to be authentic to that sport. These tourists would include those who travel to Pamplona to run with the bulls and those that travel to New Zealand to bungee jump in the nation that invented bungee jumping. Nero can be seen, therefore, as a proto-type for the modern adventure tourist and once again it was at sanctuary sites that he found an outlet for his desires.

The religious aspects of Nero's journeys may be even harder to discern, as most of his biographers made him out to be anything but devoted to religion.[290] As was noted in chapter four however, unlike the modern Olympic games, ancient agonistic festivals were primarily religious in their nature rather than secular, for the central aspects of the festivals were the burnt offerings made to the gods and communal feasts that followed them.[291] As such, even though the nature of the Greek festivals had evolved by the Roman period,[292] they were still primarily religious festivals and Nero's desire to compete in them, born both out of an early love of the arts and a love of all things Greek,[293] is something like an act of religious devotion. Therefore, since Nero visited all of the major sanctuary sites in order to participate in religious games and engaged in at least some form of sightseeing he can be considered to be a religious tourist.

Nero like the other three men previously mentioned in this chapter, traveled to sanctuary sites because he found at them exactly what he was interested in: in this case

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[290] Suetonius, *Nero* 56 notes that he "despised all religious cults except that of the Syrian goddess" (Religionum usque quaqu contemptor, praeter unius Dea Syriae) and he eventually gave up on even her.
[291] Burkert 1985: 107 notes, "the natural and straightforward aim of a festival is feasting – eating and drinking."
[292] Alcock 1994: 104 notes that the festivals, "acted as increasingly necessary arenas for communication, competition and self-representation under the empire. The need for such arenas had been greatly accentuated with the loss of Greek political independence, and the subsequent denial of other avenues for individual and communal display." Alcock (1994: 105) in fact goes on to argue that Nero's victories at these festivals served to make him as an elite member of Greek society as well as Roman and to bring "the empire as a whole, within the Greek religious sphere, while – conversely – integrating his influential audience within the empire at large."
[293] Suetonius, *Nero* 20 notes that Nero developed a taste for music at an early age. Suetonius, *Nero* 22 notes that since the Romans did not appreciate his cultural tastes he said, "The Greeks alone are worthy of my efforts, they really listen to music."

artistic and athletic festivals. He brought with him a large entourage of people, all of whom also were given an opportunity to see the sights and make dedications and therefore engage in religious tourism.[294] Although Nero's journey is not typical of a tour of *imperium*, he can still be considered a political religious tourist and, since he had a large retinue and since much of Greece must have flocked to see him, a contributor to the popularity of religious tourism in Greece during the period of his visit.

b. Hadrian

Unlike Nero, who only made one journey outside of Rome while Emperor, Hadrian spent the majority of his time as Emperor outside of the city. In fact, as one scholar has put it, instead of listing which provinces he did visit, "it would be simpler to list those where he cannot be proved to have set foot: Aquitania, Lusitania, Crete, Cyprus, Cyrenaica, Sardinia-Corsica – and in all but the last his presence is quite likely". For Hadrian, however, Greece, or technically Achaea, held a special place and he visited the province at least three times as Emperor, and at least once before he became emperor, despite its lack of economic or strategic importance.[295]

To understand why visiting Greece was so special to Hadrian, it is necessary to understand a little bit about the man himself. There is no definitive biography of Hadrian's life as there is with Nero. The closest thing to a biography is a late fourth century work written under the pseudonym Aelius Spartianus in the *Historia Augusta*, which supposedly draws on the memoirs of the emperor himself and a Severan biography by Marius Maximus, sadly both lost to us. Being a later source and not particularly

[294] For more on the entourage of Nero *cf.* Bradley 1979.
[295] Stumpf 2003: 195.

interested in Hadrian's travels, Spartianus' biography along with the works of the epitomator Dio Cassius, who also wrote about Hadrian's life, do not exactly help to piece together Hadrian's journeys. What these sources do give us, however, is insight into the man himself.

Hadrian was a great lover of all things Greek, even growing a beard in the typical Greek style and taking a young male lover.[296] As part of his love of Greece, Hadrian wished to restore Greece to its former prominence. Although he could not bestow true freedom upon the province, as Nero tried to do in a speech at the Isthmian games (Suet, *Ner.* 24.2),[297] Hadrian did have a grand plan to unite all Greek cities in a sort of cultural league called the Panhellenion, which would meet at regular intervals to celebrate a religious festival, the *Panhellenia,* in Athens at the newly completed sanctuary of Zeus Olympios and to unite the Greek cities under the banner of Greek culture. Although it is unclear from the sources when the idea for this league first came to Hadrian, it can be surmised that it was on one of his many trips to Greece, possibly even his first, before he became emperor, in 111/112 CE when he was made eponymous archon at Athens.[298] Regardless of when he thought up the idea, Hadrian's Panhellenion likely became the reason and the focus of his many visits to Greece and he probably spent the majority of his time in the province overseeing work projects related to the Panhellenion and drumming up support for it in cities around the province.

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[296] This was Antinous, a youth from Bithynia, who later drowned in the Nile on Hadrian's trip to Egypt in 130 CE under mysterious circumstances. Although his involvement in Hadrian's life is certainly interesting and the possibilities surrounding his death fascinating, he bears little on Hadrian's journeys in Greece and he will only be briefly mentioned here.

[297] Also Pausanias VII.17.3. This freedom was later revoked by Vespasian who argued that the Greeks had forgotten how to be free (Paus. VII.17.4). *cf.* Elsner 1992: 18.

[298] Known from a statue inscription (IG II/III^2 4099) from the theatre of Dionysus erected in Hadrian's honour (*cf.* Birley 1997: 64).

Although both the Panhellenion and Hadrian's journeys also included the Greek cities of Asia Minor and the Near East,[299] for the sake of time Hadrian's journeys in Achaea itself will be the focus of this discussion. Although Hadrian was definitely in Athens before he became emperor as part of the Emperor Trajan's entourage,[300] the ancient sources primarily discuss his later journeys as emperor. The first of Hadrian's visits to Achaea as Emperor came in the years 124 and 125 CE. Sailing from Asia Minor where he had spent an extensive amount of time touring the prominent Greek cities, Hadrian arrived in Athens by at least the beginning of October 124 CE, when he was initiated into the first grade of initiates, the *mystes*, at the *Eleusinia*.[301] He wintered in the city and some scholars suspect that it was at this time that he began some of his more famous building projects there, including his library, the pantheon, and the completion of the temple of Zeus Olympios that was originally started by the tyrant Peisistratus some 600 years earlier.[302] He also might have spent some time admiring the art and architecture of the city and meeting with sophists as described in Philostratus,[303] although these activities could have taken place on one of his later journeys. Spartianus' account in the *Historia Augusta* also notes that Hadrian sat as *agonothete* at one of the festivals, possibly the *Dionysia* in March 125 CE.[304] From inscriptions and testimony in Pausanias it is known that Hadrian also visited several other cities in Achaea other than Athens before traveling to Illyria and then back to Rome, although it is unclear whether these journeys occurred

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[299] It should be noted that Hadrian also visited the prominent Greek cities of Asia Minor several times, often just before his trips to Athens and Achaea.
[300] *Cf.* Birley 1997: chapter 6.
[301] Recorded in the *Historia Augusta*, Hadrian 13.1 and in Dio Cassius 69.11.1. For more on the exact details of his initiation *cf.* Birley 1997: 175-177.
[302] Stumpf 2003: 199.
[303] The episode with Favorinus is found in Philostratus, *VS* 490; *cf.* Stumpf 2003: 199-200.
[304] *Historia Augusta*, Hadrian 13.1. The Dionysia reference is taken from Stumpf 2003: 200.

on this initial trip or on one of his subsequent journeys.[305] The sources show additional trips to Megara, Corinth, Epidaurus, Troezen, Argos, Mantinea, Sparta, Plataea, Thespiae, Hyampolis, Abae, Delphi, and possibly Olympia.[306]

Although not every one of these trips involved a stop at a sanctuary site, several of them did, including trips to the sanctuaries at Olympia, Delphi and Epidaurus, the dedication of a peacock at the Heraeon (Paus. II.17.6), the revival of a boys' horse race at the winter Nemean Games (Paus. VI.16.4); a possible visit to the sanctuary of the Muses at Thespiae; possible participation in the hunting festival the *Elaphebolia* at Hyampolis; [307] the dedication of a new sanctuary to Poseidon at Mantinea (Paus. VIII.10.2); and the restoration of temples to Apollo at Megara (Paus. I.42.5) and Abae (Paus. X.35.4). Although these actions were done primarily as a sign of goodwill to the Greek people and as part of Hadrian's imperial tour, these visits and dedications display a recognition of the importance of sanctuary sites to the Greek people and an understanding that part of Greek identity as a whole was wrapped up in both panhellenic and local sanctuary sites.[308]

Hadrian's other stops in Greece in 128 and 131/132 CE followed much the same pattern as his first. In 128 CE he traveled to Athens from Rome possibly via Corinth

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[305] Stumpf 2003: 200, following Halfmann 1986 suggests that they occurred in the fall and winter of 124/125.

[306] Olympia is possible as there are statues at Olympia of Hadrian (Paus. 5.12.6). Stumpf 2003: 196 suggests, "Not every mention of the emperor, of course, implies a visit, as some have supposed, and festivals in his honour (*Hadrianeia, Olympia)* or statues dedicated to him, or milestones mentioning him need not have been inaugurated or commissioned in his presence." The evidence for the other journeys is from the following sources: Megara (Paus. 1.42.5; I.44.10); Corinth (Paus. 2.3.5; 8.22.3); Epidaurus (SIG^3 842, IGiv^2 606); Troezen (IG iv 759, *cf.* Stumpf 2003: 202 and Weber 1973: 183.); Argos (Paus. II.17.6; and Nemea VI.16.4); Mantinaea (Paus. VIII.8.12, VIII.10.2, and VIII.11.8); Sparta (IG v1 486 mentions two trips); Plataea (ILS 1067=Smallwood 1966 #228),; Thespiae (an epigraphic poem by Hadrian IG vii 1828); Hyampolis (Paus. 10.35.6); Abae (Paus. 10.35.4); and Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes III* 4: 302-304, SIG^3 835B). *Cf.* Stumpf 2003: 200-202.

[307] *Cf.* Stumpf 2003: 202. Participation in a hunting festival would come as no surprise as both of his ancient biographers cite Hadrian as an avid hunter.

[308] In Herodotus 8.144.2 the Athenians, arguing that they could never betray the rest of Greece, describe being Greek as being kin in blood and speech and holding shrines and sacrifices in common, "αὖτις δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικον ἐὸν ὅμαιμὸν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα". It therefore follows that Greek sanctuary sites were acknowledged as an important part of Greek identity.

(*Historia Augusta, Ha.* 13.6; IG ii/iii^2 2040) and again wintered in the city before traveling on to Asia Minor.[309] Although he may have spent his entire winter in Athens taking in the sights and overseeing his building projects, it is also possible that he visited some of the cities mentioned above at this time or returned for a second visit, as he was known to have done, at Sparta (*IG* v 1, 32 A and v 1, 486). He returned again to Athens in the autumn of 131 CE and again wintered in the city dedicating the Pantheon, the Library, and the Temple of Zeus Olympios as well as officially inaugurating the Panhellenion, which included the new festival called the *Panhellenia* (Dio Cassius 69.16.1-2). In addition to the *Panhellenia*, Hadrian also inaugurated a new Olympic games to be held at Athens every four years and a new set of Panathenaic Games. After his death, a fourth set of games, the *Hadriania*, was also inaugurated at Athens and thus a major panhellenic festival was held in the city every year.[310]

Although records of Hadrian's own acts of religious tourism are scant, the Panhellenion, which he created, refocused Achaea as the cultural centre of the Roman Empire and led to a new wave of tourism in the province. Since the focus of the Panhellenion was the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios and the annual panhellenic festivals conducted in Athens, these new tourists were encouraged to visit sanctuary sites both for their religious and their cultural importance.[311] As such it can be said that, in addition to being a religious tourist himself, having made dedications and participated in sightseeing while at sanctuary sites, Hadrian increased the prominence of Achaea, and particularly

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[309] Stumpf 2003: 203. These four festivals were declared iselastic meaning that the winners received a triumphal entry into their home cities and other benefits such as exemption from taxation; cf. Spawforth 1989.
[310] Birley 1997: 266.
[311] It is possible that Pausanias and his intended audience were part of a wave of post-Hadrianic tourism in Achaea, although this is just speculation.

Athens, as a popular travel destination for religious tourists, particularly those from the Greek speaking parts of the empire.

For Hadrian, the role of the sanctuary was not as the holy place, nor as a museum of historical and mythological curiosities, nor even as the host of *agonistic* festivals; for Hadrian the role of the sanctuary was as a place of cultural unification where all of Greece could be united and pan-Greek culture, as opposed to specifically Theban culture or Ephesian culture or Spartan culture, could be celebrated. Hadrian, therefore, ushered in a new era of religious tourism in Roman Greece that was focused on visiting sanctuary sites as places of cultural unity and participating in panhellenic religious festivals.

Analysis

In this chapter I have examined the itineraries of five different Roman men who traveled to Greece over the span of several hundred years. Although each itinerary is different, each man traveled to sanctuary sites in Greece and each man participated both in some form of religious activity as well as participating in some form of tourism. Paullus made dedications, admired religious artwork and visited sanctuary sites of mythical and historical significance. Cicero consulted the oracle of Apollo, was initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries, witnessed religious festivals of cultural significance in Sparta, and likely took his family to the famous temple of Artemis in Ephesus. Mucianus studied religious miracles at the sanctuary of Dionysus on Andros, admired artwork at the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus, studied religious ritual at the sanctuary of Aphrodite on Cnidos and marvelled at the corselet of Amasis at the sanctuary of Athena on Lindos. Nero participated in religious festivals throughout Greece often competing in athletic and

artistic competitions. Hadrian was initiated into both grades of the Eleusinian Mysteries, made dedications at the winter Nemean Games and at the sanctuary of the Muses at Thespiae, and so admired the cultural significance of Greek sanctuary sites that he made the newly completed sanctuary of Zeus Olympios the focus of his pan-Greek league. Although Nero might have been closer to a tourist than a pilgrim and Mucianus closer to a pilgrim than a tourist, each of these five men participated in religious activities at sanctuary sites in Greece and each of these five men participated in some form of tourism as well, whether it was taking in artwork, learning about local culture, or witnessing athletic competitions. Not one, therefore, can be classed solely as a pilgrim or a tourist but each one must be considered a religious tourist, interested in sightseeing at religious sites but also interested, if only partially, in the religious nature and rituals of these sites as well.

So far, this study has been primarily focused on examining the evidence for religious tourism in the ancient world. In chapter two I examined the work of Pausanias and the ways in which he practised religious tourism. In chapters three and four I examined sanctuary sites themselves to understand the attractions they held and the way in which they promoted their religious and non-religious elements in order to attract foreign visitation. In chapters five and six I have looked specifically at the nature of religious tourists in the Roman period and the direct evidence that they existed through the itineraries of the five men discussed in this chapter. I have not yet fully addressed however, the issue of why religious tourism was so prevalent in Greece in the early Roman period.

By analyzing these five men discussed in this chapter and their journeys one can begin to understand not only that religious tourism existed in the early Roman period, but also why it existed, especially on what is evidently quite a large scale. Firstly, as discussed briefly in chapter five, travel conditions in the early Roman empire were such that travel around the Mediterranean was easier than it every had been before and each of these men took advantage of that fact by traveling extensively throughout Greece. Secondly, as discussed in chapter two, there were very few attractions in Greece outside of sanctuary sites and so these men focused their tours of the province of Achaea on sanctuary sites.[312] Thirdly, as discussed in chapters three and four, many religious sites were attractive to foreign tourists because they held beautiful pieces of artwork, historical relics, and athletic festivals, and because they were cultural centres in the Greek world. In this chapter I have demonstrated that Paullus and Cicero were interested in artwork, Mucianus in relics, Nero in festivals, and that Paullus, Cicero and especially Hadrian in were interested in these sanctuary sites as cultural centres. Lastly, even during the Roman period, religion was still a very important part of Greco-Roman culture meaning that even when travelers like Paullus and Cicero visited sanctuary sites predominantly for sightseeing reasons, they still took time to participate in religious activities as well, such as making dedications, consulting oracles, joining in sacrificial feasts and becoming initiated into religious mysteries. Whether these men participated in these activities out of a desire to appease the gods, the locals or their own curiosity is unknown but the fact that they did participate in them makes them more than merely tourists and connects them

[312] As discussed in chapter two, unlike today, when many countries attract tourists with famous museums, large towers, ancient castles, or large theme parks, the buildings of the ancient world consisted of houses, government buildings, marketplaces, and religious buildings. Religious buildings, out of a desire to appease the gods and to show of a city-state's wealth, were often the largest buildings in a city and often placed at prominent locations around the city such as on an acropolis like at Athens and Corinth.

instead with pilgrims. As discussed throughout this study, religious tourism exists when there is an overlap between pilgrimage and tourism. Since the first three factors combined to increase tourism in this period, and specifically tourism at religious sites, and since the fourth factor meant that most tourists at these religious sites also practised some form of religious act, all four of these factors combined to increase religious tourism at sanctuary sites in Greece during the Roman period.

Following in the footsteps of these great men, it is entirely likely that other travelers, both from Rome and from the provinces, stopped in at sanctuary sites while traveling to Greece. Some would have found the historical artefacts they desired to see, others would have marvelled at the wonderful pieces of art, others would have enjoyed taking in the competitions in both athletics and drama, and still others would have enjoyed the feeling of Greek unity and cultural supremacy that was apparent at them. In later years sanctuaries and particularly festivals began to attract famous sophists who were making the rounds and attracting new clients and therefore even those traveling to Greece seeking a Greek education would have been encouraged to visit Greek sanctuary sites. Like the five men listed in this chapter, these future travelers would also likely have participated in religious activity while at these sanctuary sites, even if it was as small an activity as eating a sacrificial feast or gazing at the living image of a god, such as the statue of Zeus at Olympia. These men therefore would be religious tourists practicing elements of both tourism and pilgrimage and predominantly doing so at Greek sanctuary sites.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this study was to examine the evidence for religious tourism in the ancient world and to discuss the reasons why it might have existed. In chapter one I defined the terms tourism, pilgrimage, and religious tourism and argued that all three are applicable in the ancient world. In chapter two I examined the travel writer Pausanias who was both a religious tourist himself and who encouraged others to participate in religious tourism through describing many of the sights and wonders that could be seen at sanctuary sights throughout "old Greece". In chapter three I studied these wonders and attractions more closely and argued that many Greek sanctuary sites were very much like modern museums, displaying both beautiful and rare pieces of artwork and historical and mythological relics. In chapter four, I examined the attraction of Greek festivals in Roman times and argued that the athletic and cultural spectacle of these festivals, in addition to the "carnivalesque" atmosphere created by sideshow entertainers, made visiting the major festivals at least once in a lifetime a necessity among Roman elites. In chapter five, I examined the nature of the typical Roman religious tourist based on the limited evidence that we possess and argued that the majority of religious tourists were likely educated, wealthy, and philhellenic men who traveled to Greece out of a certain nostalgia for the Greek past. In chapter six I took a closer look at the journeys of five Roman men who traveled in and around Greece over a three hundred year period and argued that each visited sanctuary sites because they held attractions that interested them and that while they were at sanctuary sites they participated in religious acts, therefore making them religious tourists.

As defined in the opening chapter, religious tourism is a form of tourism that is conducted at religious sites and often includes aspects of religious worship. Throughout this study I have shown that men like Pausanias, Aemilius Paullus, Cicero, Mucianus, Nero, and Hadrian chose to visit sanctuary sites in Roman Greece because they wished to admire their beautiful architecture, see the relics and artwork these sites possessed in their collections, witness or participate in the festivals they hosted, and experience Greek culture at the sites that best represented the ideals of "Greekness". These desires mimic the desires of many modern tourists who hope to admire beautiful architecture, visit museums to behold artwork and artifacts, participate in or witness local festivals, and immerse themselves local cultural traditions while abroad. Unlike other scholars of ancient tourism, such as Stumpf, although I have focused on the secular nature of these journeys, outlining all the non-religious reasons these men chose to visit religious sites, I have not neglected to mention the religious aspects of their journeys. Many journeys to sanctuary sights were undertaken both for religious and non-religious reasons. These men wished to sightsee, but on many occasions they also wished to sacrifice and make other dedications. These men, therefore, cannot be classified solely as tourists, but are best classed as religious tourists since their journeys included elements of both tourism and pilgrimage.

In the future, I hope that this study opens the door to a new understanding of travel and tourism in the ancient world that examines the ancient traveler not as one motivated only by religious reasons or motivated only by secular reasons, but by both. As this study has demonstrated, although the conditions of travel differed in the ancient world, the motivation for travel was very similar to the motivation that drives travelers

today and hopefully scholars can examine this connection in greater detail in order to better understand what drives our desire to travel. Ultimately, I hope that this study is the first of many to study religious tourism in the ancient world.

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