Culture, Religion, and Politics in the Greco-Roman World

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Journeys in the Roman East: Imagined and Real

Edited by
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Mohr Siebeck

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Maren R. Niehoff

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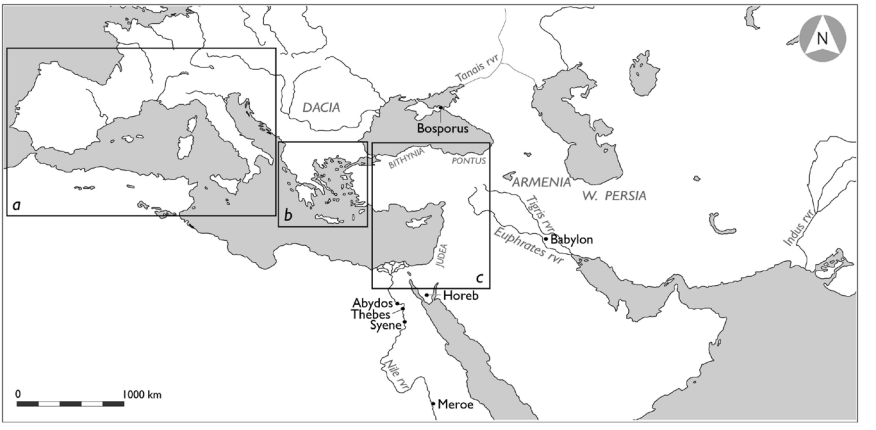
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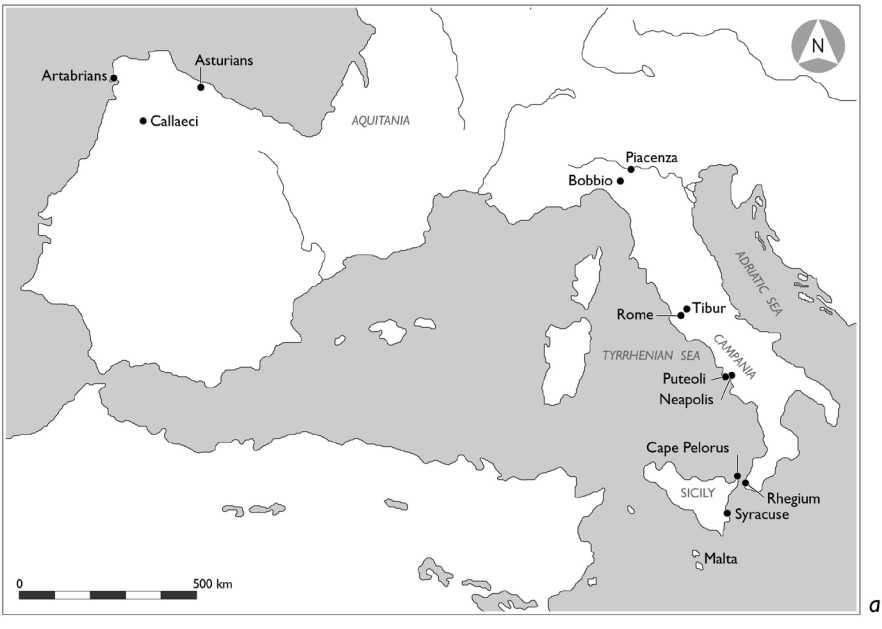
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Journeys on the Way to This Volume

Maren R. Niehoff

Traveling has become so pervasive today that virtually all aspects of life are involved. The academy, too, is based to a considerable extent on traveling. As the *Humboldt Kosmos* 2016 summarizes: "researchers nowadays come from all over the world and go all over the world. … Internationalisation, globalization and flexibility – these are all terms that encapsulate the new academic landscape." Given the atmosphere of our times, it is of special interest to study journeys in the Roman Empire, which provided for the first time an encompassing infrastructure covering the whole Mediterranean and much beyond. The *Pax Romana* moreover facilitated conditions and made journeys accessible on a new scale. Distant places were connected and traveling became affordable for private persons, traders seeking new markets, scholars and philosophers departing for famous centers of learning, pilgrims setting out for shrines, tourists exploring historical sites, and ethnographers inspecting exotic places.

The present volume gathers the fruits of a conference in Jerusalem, a city which has since antiquity been flooded by pilgrims, especially during the Feast of Tabernacles, Easter, and Ramadan.[1] Experts in different disciplines and religious traditions convened in order to discuss the intersection between physical travel and subjective experience in antiquity. We ask how various authors were affected by traveling and how they remembered or imagined their journeys. Emphasis is given to the interpretation of journeys as intellectual, emotional, rhetorical, and religious constructs. Archeological and epigraphic evidence is used to illuminate the literary products and their cultural significance. We pay special attention to a particular time and space, namely the Eastern Mediterranean under the Roman Empire, and hope to make a meaningful contribution by studying variety within a broadly shared cultural context. Our approach is interdisciplinary and gives equal weight to pagan, Jewish, and Christian authors as well as their interactions with each other. The rabbis, who are usually excluded from discussions of Hellenistic matters, are part of our project and throw further light on the complex relationship between center and periphery. We furthermore take into account that journeys, whether imagined or real, often bridge seemingly disconnected realms, such as the bodily and the spiritual, the political and the religious, the daily and the extraordinary. Journeys always involve re-

[1] For details, see Witztum and Kalian 2013.

moval from a familiar environment and exposure to new situations, customs and people, which inevitably prompt comparison and re-evaluation of the familiar.

The increase of traveling in the Roman Empire created an intellectual momentum which is reflected in numerous discussions and images in the literature of the time. Philo of Alexandria, Seneca, Plutarch, early Christians, the rabbis of the Land of Israel, and Lucian of Samosata – to name but a few – take traveling as a matter of fact and refer to concrete Roman infrastructures, while at the same time addressing the intellectual dimension of journeys. Traveling became a prominent topic of philosophy, literature, historiography, and religion. The Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria, for example, describes the different routes of crossing the Mediterranean and mentions how one goes to the harbor to locate a boat headed towards the desired destination (*Legat*. 250–51, *Flacc.* 26, 110). He also distinguishes different purposes of traveling, stressing that "some men go on voyages for trading purposes in their desire for making money or on embassies or in their love of paideia to see the sights of a foreign land" (*Abr.* 65). Journeys of Biblical heroes, such as Abraham's migration from Chaldea to the Land of Israel, are interpreted allegorically as journeys of the soul (*Migr.* 217–18). Philo likes to speak about the "journey of life" and compares human beings to captains who face unforeseen dangers (*Agr.* 169–73).

The Roman philosopher Seneca describes the excitement of people waiting in the harbor of Puteoli near Rome for the arrival of the Alexandrian grain ships, which also delivered letters (*Ep.* 28.1–10). Familiar with the habit of the Roman aristocracy to change dwellings and move between villas in different spots, he devotes special epistles to *The Trial of Traveling* and *Travel as a Cure for Discontent*. Seneca encourages his readers to transcend the physical dimension of journeys and realize that a change of heart rather than of climate is called for.[2] The Greek biographer and philosopher Plutarch humorously draws attention to the fact that his home-town Chaeronea is a backwater and explains that he continues to live there so "that it may not become smaller still" (*Dem*. 2.2). Despite the relatively isolated location of his residence, Plutarch radiates an atmosphere of easy traveling, mentioning in passing that he and his companions go back and forth from Greece to Italy, often prompted by letters from friends. He himself travels extensively to Athens and Rome, using his time there to gather materials for his biographies, to deliver lectures, and to engage in intellectual conversations. Plutarch also compares life to a sea voyage, the strong waves representing the emotions which need to be mastered (*Tranq*. 465e, 466b). Paul, a pivotal figure in the emergence of Christianity, is a quintessential traveler, famous for his letters to different communities. The author of Acts portrays his character by imagining his behavior during a sea storm on the way to Rome, when he

[2] Sen., *Ep.* 55.1–11, 57.1–9, 77.1–5, 104.7–8; *Tranquil.* 1.17, 2.13–5; see also Marcus Aurelius, *Med*. 2.17, who speaks about life as a "pilgrim's sojourn."

faced all the stereotypical dangers involved in crossing the Mediterranean. Of the belief in Jesus, the author of Acts simply speaks as "the way" (Acts 27–28, 24.14). The rabbis, who contributed to the Midrash *Genesis Rabbah*, were so familiar with traveling that they explain the notion of sin, mentioned in the Biblical story of Cain and Abel, by analogy to a "brigand who sat at the crossroads and ordered every passer-by to surrender his possessions." The significance of Jewish festivals is moreover explained by stories from abroad: Rabbi Hiyya b. Abba recalls how he was once invited to Laodicea by a rich man, who honored the Shabbat, while R. Tanhuma speaks of a moving encounter in Rome between a servant of the governor and a Jewish tailor, who bought exceptionally expensive food in preparation for Yom Kippur. Rabbinic mobility is moreover reflected in the fact that some discussions in *Genesis Rabbah* are presented as taking place in cities outside the Land of Israel, "when the sages visited Rome" or were asked questions by the emperor "Hadrian – may his bones rot!"[3]

Lucian, the second-century satirist, indulges in mocking the atmosphere of trafficking characteristic of his time. In numerous treatises he exposes the negative effects of traveling and warns that, rather than significantly influencing the mind or the different professions involved, travel mainly inflates the ego. In *A True Story*, Lucian ridicules the tradition of travel accounts, ranging from the *Odyssey* to historiography in his own days, and provocatively states that he will write something completely imaginary, with no claim to truth and autopsy (*Ver. hist.* 1). The absence of travel in his writing has thus become an exceptional factor, which requires explanation. Lucian's dialogue *The Ship* moreover criticizes the heroic ethos of sea-voyages and tourism as well as the cultural and philosophical expectations conventionally attached to them. Readers are challenged by sarcastic remarks such as: "well, please remember to bring us back some of those exquisite smoked fish from the Nile, or some myrrh from Canopus, or an ibis from Memphis – I suppose you would scarcely have room for a pyramid?!" (*Nav.* 15).

The diversity of travel accounts in the Eastern Mediterranean is the subject of the present volume. The contributions are divided thematically into five sections, each of them devoted to a different aspect of the intersection between physical travel and subjective experience. Within each section the articles are arranged chronologically. The first section focuses on real and imagined geography, dealing with texts that refer to the concrete contours of places. The contributors ask how physical features are negotiated in the literature. Ewen Bowie opens the section by offering a comprehensive study of real and imagined journeys undertaken by the inhabitants of two backwater cities in Asia Minor, namely Aphrodisias and Hadrianoutherae. Recovering unexpected details from epigraphic and archeological sources, he provides a geographical profile of the

[3] *Gen. Rab.* 22.6, 20.4, 10.3, 11.4, 28.3.

two cities and then addresses the tension between their relative isolation and the exceptionally broad aspirations of their inhabitants. Bowie argues that the location of the cities near, but not on main high-ways may well have prompted the inhabitants to aim higher and orient themselves towards important cultural centers stretching as far as Rome. He discusses a poet, a pipe-player, and a pancreatist from Aphrodisias, who competed far and wide, receiving prestigious honors. These are compared to four novelists, whose origins in the city Bowie has previously asserted. These authors developed extraordinarily rich stories, which involve traveling far beyond their own experience and engage Roman discourses sometimes mediated through art. The second city, Hadrianouthera, is studied through the example of Aelius Aristides, who describes his journey to Rome with remarkable detail and dramatic imagination.

Janet Downie follows with a fresh analysis of Aelius Aristides's *Smyrna Orations*, especially *Oration* 17 and 19, which strikingly focus on the physical landscape of the city rather than its history and citizens. Downie argues that this unusual focus on urban contours reflects Aristides's conviction that evoking the physical and especially the feminine features of the city will foster a meaningful relationship between the implied readers, namely the governor and the Roman Emperor, and the city, which is in need of support after a serious earthquake. Aristides is shown to pay special attention to direct contact made possible by travel, reviving in his readers the memory of their previous visit to the city. Aristides speaks in erotic terms of imperial care, thus distinguishing himself from conventional rhetoricians, who regularly boast of their city's past. Downie shows how Aristides invites his readers to renew their romance with the city and extend material help.

Nicola Zwingmann offers an analysis of (Pseudo-?) Lucian's *Erôtes,* which she reads in light of tourism in the imperial period. Focusing on the frame-story of the dialogue, Zwingmann provides rich textual and archeological evidence to illuminate the references in the text to Rhodes and Cnidos, where the company stops for a while. She reconstructs the context of numerous scenes, namely that of 'Lycinos' having his accommodation and meals prepared by his accompanying slaves, of the story of a visitor's intercourse with the statue of Aphrodite, of the obscene ceramics in the salerooms of the temple and, finally, of the prostitution connected to tourism. Throughout the article Zwingmann discusses the relationship between the *realia* of tourism and the text of the *Erôtes*. A complex approach is offered, which takes into account multiple possibilities, including the one that oral and written traditions shaped the expectation of visitors and prompted the creation of specific architectural settings. Zwingmann integrates the archeological findings into her overall appreciation of the *Erôtes* as a literary text and stresses its importance as the most comprehensive and unique ancient text known to us, which gives serious attention to the concrete details of tourism.

Benjamin Isaac discusses the tradition of geographical texts and travel accounts, comparing Greco-Roman examples of the genre to later Christian texts. His test case is Palestine, well suited not only to the location of our conference, but also to the religious interests of the Christian authors. Retrieving a wealth of information from lesser-known sources, Isaac points to a significant development in the relationship between factual information and subjective description. Pagan writers in the Roman Empire such as Strabo and Pliny, as well as anonymous authors, focused on facts useful for the traveler (e.g. measurements of distance between places). Christian authors, by contrast, tended to stress the ideological dimension, and depicted a Biblical landscape based on the Scriptures. This tendency is shown to reach a peak in the Middle Ages, when highly emotional and religious elements were added to travel accounts, pushing the description of actual places into the margins. Other features of travel literature so familiar to us today, namely pictorial illustrations and maps, also emerged in this context.

Amit Gvaryahu provides a fresh analysis of a rabbinic story, which has perplexed numerous scholars. Keeping the overall harmony of the composition in mind, Gvaryahu peels off the work's different layers and shows how the city of Ashkelon, a border land outside of rabbinic jurisdiction with a famous statue of Tyche, inspired the imagination of the storyteller. "Miriam of the Onion Leaves" is interpreted as an echo of Semiramis, standing at the entrance of hell, which is implicitly identified with the entrance to pagan territory. The rabbinic hero, Shimon ben Shetach, on the other hand, is shown to have been modeled on the Biblical figures of Moses and Gideon, both known for their crusades against pagan worship. The story thus emerges as being situated on a number of physical and literary crossroads.

The second section of the volume explores the theme of reconstructing encounters in distant places and asks about the role of traveling in the formation of identity. Do real or imagined journeys offer genuine encounters with others, or do they instead mirror the author's self and confirm the familiar? Froma Zeitlin opens this section with an analysis of the five extant prose romances, which share the background of the post-classical Hellenistic world. The main parts of these novels are taken up by travel adventures, which divide the loving partners until they reunite in the happy end. Zeitlin argues that while these novels are set in a polyglot and hybridized world, they echo a number of stereotypes and use traveling as a testing ground for resilience rather than as an opportunity to widen horizons and discover hitherto unknown aspects of the world. The new environments are experienced as threatening and dangerous, requiring the heroes' courage and loyalty to their original cultural identity. Zeitlin examines the creative resources of prose fiction by pointing to Homeric paradigms, reminiscences of real geography, and the eroticization of landscapes. The novelist Achilles Tatius, who highlights erotic imagery, emerges as an au-

thor with similar literary tendencies as Aelius Aristides discussed here by Downie.

Kendra Eshleman compares two third-century accounts of journeys to India, the *Life of Apollonius* by the Greek essayist Philostratus and the Christian *Acts of Thomas*. She argues that India is presented as lying beyond the frontiers of the known world and serves to locate the heroes and the cultures they represent within the world they inhabit. India becomes a locus of negotiating Greek identity. Eshleman arranges her discussion around three main themes, namely the symposium, the notion of paideia, and historical awareness, showing that in each case the Greek and the Christian author assume opposite positions. Philostratus creates a perfectly Greek hero, who prompts his Indian acquaintances to strengthen their Greek qualities, while acknowledging that the Brahmins are the cradle of Greek wisdom. Thomas, on the other hand, emerges as a counter-hero, who obstructs the symposium, appropriates Greek wisdom, and rejects the idea of influence on Christianity. In both cases "India" is a projection of the author, serving as a canvas on which to outline his own identity in the Hellenistic world.

Maren Niehoff investigates three authors of different religious backgrounds who show awareness of the farcical nature of educational journeys. The Jewish historian Josephus Flavius, the Christian theologian Justin Martyr, and the pagan satirist Lucian of Samosata are studied with special attention to autobiographical passages, which feature journeys to philosophical teachers. Josephus is shown to offer a strikingly opaque description of his journey to the different Jewish sects, which does not provide any information about their intellectual influence on him. The real school of life turns out to be Josephus's diplomatic trip to Rome, where he encounters theatrical circumstances and learns to side with the pro-Roman party back in Jerusalem. The story of traveling to Rome enables Josephus to construct himself as an author writing in Greek for a Roman audience. Justin Martyr emerges as an author well versed in discourses of parody, which he skillfully applies to his overall argument that Christianity is the only real philosophy congenial to Roman values. While his journeys to the different schools of philosophy turn out to be futile and even grotesque, the casual encounter with an old man prompts him to make the transition from Platonism to Christianity, from the Greek, effeminate East to the vigorous, Roman West. Lucian offers the most self-reflective discussion, which parodies the complete subordination of Greek paideia to Rome. He situates himself and other Greek intellectuals "on the way" to the capital of the Empire and highlights the lack of Greek authenticity. Traveling has become an end in itself, which barely hides the painful lack of 'indigenous' Greek identity. Niehoff concludes that Josephus, Justin, and Lucian construct themselves in the language of the Other by engaging Roman motifs to reflect on intellectual mobility in the Greek East.

Jonathan Price follows with an original analysis of Lucian's *True History*, and reads this treatise against the grain of current scholarship, which tends to highlight the satirical tendencies of this author. Price points to tensions between Lucian's introduction of himself as a liar and his claims to tell the truth later in the narrative. In addition, sophisticated verbal reminiscences of Thucydides's language are uncovered to show Lucian's intended diligence and authenticity as a historian recounting his journeys. Price argues that Lucian's narrator does most things a good historian would do, namely giving precise eyewitness descriptions, quoting important documents, and measuring the distances between places. Price concludes that the fantastic episodes reveal the deeper structures of recorded and verifiable history, teaching the reader a true lesson about human nature. Despite appearances and protestations to the contrary, Lucian emerges as a serious writer with an identifiable ethical message about his travels in a world which is recognizable in estranged mirror images.

Catherine Hezser concludes this section by investigating rabbinic tales about encounters on the road. Initially, concrete images are provided: how does a rabbi travel and how does he introduce himself to a stranger on the road? Would the interaction be different if the Other were a gentile or a Jew? Hezser argues for a significant difference between encounters with Gentiles and encounters with other Jews. The rabbis in their travel accounts envision Roman strangers as a potential threat and often hide their Jewish identity in their presence. Representatives of Greco-Roman culture are not used as a source of information, but rather as a canvas on which to project one's own superior learning. In this respect, the rabbis share the approach which Zeitlin and Eshleman have identified in the novels and in the *Acts of Thomas*. Hezser moreover discusses rabbinic encounters with other Jews, which show a remarkable tendency to reverse hierarchies and challenge the rabbis' intellectual and moral superiority. Using travel accounts as a key to the construction of identity, Hezser suggests that the rabbis developed a dual identity, one with regard to Gentiles, the other with regard to non-rabbinic members of the Jewish community.

The following section of the volume deals with the relationship between the bodily and the holy, asking how journeys negotiate these two realms. Ian Rutherford opens the section with an analysis of Philo of Alexandria, who illuminates the largest phenomenon of pilgrimage known in the ancient world, namely Jewish pilgrimage to the Jerusalem Temple. Rutherford distinguishes Philo's discussion as exceptionally sophisticated in terms of theoretical insights. His notion of pilgrimage as a "process with the power of creating social cohesiveness" in fact anticipates modern anthropological approaches, such as Victor Turner's. Rutherford moreover compares Philo's language to that of pagan writers, noting that he often shares their terms, while adding a new emphasis on community as a reason for undertaking pilgrimage. Rutherford concludes by providing an overall historical setting for Philo's discussion of pilgrimage,

namely the policy of the Jerusalem establishment to encourage the ritual. Philo may have relied on some official publicity material, providing an intellectual framework for the political and economic promotion of the city as a holy place for Diaspora Jews.

Laura Nasrallah offers a fresh interpretation of Paul's Letter to the Galatians. Getting beyond the aura of Paul as an admired apostle, who would naturally prompt people in his environment to serve him, Nasrallah asks to what extent his reliance on local hosts was experienced within a larger culture of travelers who presented an unwelcome imposition. This question is studied in light of a Roman inscription from Sagalassos in Galatia, dating to 14–19 CE, as well as the *Didache,* a short early Christian manual on morals and Church practices. Both texts address the issue of abuse and regulate the extent to which locals can be asked to provide for travelers coming through their city. The Roman edict protects locals from abuse by limiting the services that may be demanded by representatives of Rome. The *Didache* discusses the terms of imposition in a distinctly Christian context. Certain services are identified as positive gifts rather than as cases of exploitation. Nasrallah reads Paul's letter in this broader context and asks how those to whom Paul wrote might have negotiated such concerns.

Sarit Kattan Gribetz analyzes rabbinic prayers for wayfaring in their Roman context. She traces the development of the prayer from its Palestinian beginnings to the full ritual in Babylonia, which survived into the Middle Ages and beyond. While early Palestinian rabbis were concerned with ritual markers of entering and exiting cities, especially Gentile ones, later rabbis, especially those in Babylonia, focused more broadly on the experiences of travel and the dangers on the roads for observant Jews. Kattan Gribetz adduces precise parallels from Roman practices, showing votive images of feet entering and exiting a place. Non-Jewish Roman material evidence is thus taken to illuminate rabbinic literature. The rabbis emerge as sharing Roman discourses even as they partly intended to protect their communities from the dangers associated with Roman cults. Kattan Gribetz moreover introduces the notion of imagined landscapes and shows how the rabbis envisioned a partly Biblical and partly Roman geography – thus complementing the Christian authors discussed by Isaac in this volume. Upon this imaginary landscape, the rabbis imposed their own prayers, thus seeking to exert spiritual control over their physical environment.

Georgia Frank concludes this section by discussing the experience of Christian pilgrimage in the sixth century CE, when touching relics became a widespread practice with important implications for religious identity. Objects brought home from the Land of Israel not only evoked the memory of the sacred places, but assumed a remarkably active and spiritual role. Offering a detailed analysis of the Piacenza pilgrim's report, Frank suggests that the material objects enabled the pilgrim to feel his way into the sacred past. Moreover, the reader of the report undergoes a similar process. The motif of picking up a

stone, for example, which is believed to have been held by Jesus, enables the pilgrim and by implication also the reader to get a quasi firsthand experience of Jesus's action and hear the sounds he would have heard. The imagined and the real, the literary and the physical are thus intertwined in an especially complex manner. The text presents a physical artifact, which arouses the imagination and creates a new bodily as well as emotional experience.

The following section focuses on two competing perspectives on Jesus's travels, one from within the Christian, the other from within the Jewish tradition. Reinhard Feldmeier discusses the known phenomenon of Jesus's travel narratives in the *Gospel of Luke* and shows how it highlights his exemplary moral standing. Jesus is shown to be homeless on human roads, while preparing himself for his ultimate homecoming to God. Luke moreover applies a double-codification, appealing to both prophetic and philosophical motifs, in an attempt to make Jesus attractive to diverse audiences. In the Babylonian Talmud, on the other hand, Jesus's travels play the opposite role.

Investigating traveling traditions that link the Mesopotamian and Mediterranean worlds, Richard Kalmin offers a close reading of a story in Babylonian Talmud *Gittin* 56b–57a, arguing that it subverts early Christian traditions ranging from 1 Peter to Origen. While Christian authors presented Jesus as descending to the underworld and overcoming the powers of death by converting its prisoners to Christianity and taking them to heaven, the rabbinic narrator makes Jesus suffer horrible punishments in hell and advocate conversion to Judaism. The Talmud thus parodies Jesus's journey and turns it into a tool of inter-religious polemic, which helps the rabbis to construct their own identity in a world turned Christian. Kalmin's analysis supplies further support for his overall contention that Mesopotamia experienced a thorough Romanization following Shaper I's incursions deep into Roman territory in the third century and his resettlement of thousands of pagan, Jewish, and Christians from that territory into Mesopotamia.[4]

The last section of the volume focuses on Rome as a destination of real and imagined journeys, asking to what extent ancient authors wrote themselves into imperial narratives and identified with Rome as the center of the Empire. Daniel Schwartz opens the section with a close analysis of the expression "going up to Rome" in Josephus Flavius's writings, identifying the expression as a reflection of a Roman perspective comparable to the phrase "going up to Jerusalem" common among Jews. Schwartz examines Josephus's use of the former expression and discovers curious differences between the different books of the *Antiquities*. Book 20 frequently speaks about Jews going up to Rome even though parallel material in Josephus's other works lacks this vocabulary. This finding leads Schwartz to suggest a Roman source for book 20, arguing that Josephus himself

[4] For details, see Kalmin 2014.

remained loyal throughout his career to the Jewish ethos of going up to Jerusalem rather than to Rome.

Two subsequent Christian writers are shown to take the opposite approach and inscribe themselves into the texture of Rome. Luke, discussed by Knut Backhaus, imagines Paul's shipwreck in dramatic details, which conform to Greco-Roman conventions and aim at placing the founder of Christianity in a distinctly Roman milieu. Adducing comparative material from Greco-Roman literature, Backhaus offers a literary analysis of the text and argues that Paul is constructed as a nautical hero, who fits the world stage of Empire. The journey with its adventures emerges as a key element in the author's strategy to place Christianity in a Roman context. Similarly, Yonatan Moss shows that Ignatius, the second-century bishop from Antioch, portrays his trip to Rome as a journey which follows in Paul's footsteps, while offering a radically different model of authority. Whereas Paul is an example of a decentralized, itinerant authority, Ignatius aims at a centralized, sedentary authority anchored in Rome. Moss suggests that Ignatius colonizes the image of Paul and anchors his own position in Roman discourses. His journey to Rome thus fulfills a complex literary, theological, and political role. These interpretations of Luke and Ignatius complement the picture drawn by Niehoff concerning Josephus, Justin, and Lucian.

This volume engages a thriving discussion of traveling in the ancient world. Scholars have increasingly recognized mobility in the Roman Empire as a key to understanding political, cultural, philosophical, and religious developments. Fundamental to such inquiries remains Ludwig Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte Roms* (1934), which contains two dense chapters on infrastructure and tourism in the empire. Friedländer has assembled a wealth of information on technology, geography, traveling habits, and touristic facilities. He illuminates pagan Roman culture by providing insights into the concrete life of the upper and lower classes. Friedländer's broad study is complemented by numerous investigations into the *realia* of particular places or particular forms of travel. Samuel Krauss (1910–1912), Raphael Patai (1938), and Daniel Sperber (1986) offered pioneering studies of the infrastructures of traveling in rabbinic literature, while Lionel Casson has thrown new light on trading routes and accommodations on the road as well as on the technologies of sea-faring in both Classical Antiquity and the Roman Empire (1960; 1974). Pierre Fustier (1968), Colin O'Connor (1993), and Geoffrey Hindley (1971) moreover paid special attention to Roman conditions when investigating ancient roads and bridges. More recently, Roman roads in Palestine, Italy, and Egypt have been interpreted in larger cultural and economic contexts. Benjamin Isaac and Israel Roll have documented the Roman road system in Palestine and analyzed its significance in political, military, and cultural terms (1982). The facilitation of communication, mechanisms of governmental control, and the boom of urban development have become evident (Isaac 1978; 2010). Ray Laurence (1999) and Colin Adams

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