

The Lure of Egypt or How to Sound Like a Reliable Source

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The paper will briefly outline the manner in which the authority of the ancient Egyptians is invoked in several surviving astrological works of antiquity, with the focus on the second century works of Vettius Valens and Claudius Ptolemy, representatives of two vastly differing approaches toward the astrological lore. Consequently, the argument shall involve the question of Valens' alleged Egyptian travels and the stance he assumes with respect to Nechepso and Petosiris, to end with the discussion of Ptolemy's way of dealing with the inherited tradition. It will be shown that while sharing in some general tendencies and, moreover, facing the same tension between the contrasting urges of tradition vs. innovativeness, the two astrologers choose separate ways to extricate themselves from the dilemma.

My interest with the topos of Egyptian travel starts with a French commentary and translation of Vettius Valens' *Anthologiae* Book One, completed by Joelle Frederique Bara in 1989: while outlining Valens' life, or rather what can be reconstructed from the text of the nine volumes-long impressive work, the French scholar writes: "c'est au cours d'un sejour en Egypte sans doute que les prêtres l'initierent a la genethialogie".¹ Thus, one is led to believe that Valens has actually been in Egypt, and that it is there that he was introduced to the mysteries of advanced astrology. The issue, however, may be considerably less straightforward: after all, in investigating such claims, one has to consider the character of the society that produced them.

Indeed, it may be symptomatic that the fateful travel to Egypt is mentioned only once in Valens' work, in chapter IV.11.4. Next, there is the mystagogic character of astrology, a notion steadfastly supported by the author throughout his work, to consider. As it has been persuasively argued by Tamsyn Barton, there is much to be said for the rhetoric component of such assertions (at this point we have to note that according to Aristotle, the art of rhetoric would entail portraying oneself as

trustworthy and competent, and, by contrast, portraying the others as untrustworthy and incompetent).² To turn a science into mysteries is to give it a divine sanction, and therefore to protect it against both adversaries and irresponsible and incompetent practitioners. This setting of astrological cognition apart from logic and rational thought can be considered as rhetorical, but it also has far reaching consequences where an astrologer's self-image is concerned. Namely, if one agrees that astrology is initiatory lore, leading to the discovery of the mysteries of the universe (and henceforth to contemplation of the divine order), acquisition of wisdom becomes a divine endowment, a prize to be won by specific, though mostly unnamed, *ponoi* (labours). As a consequence the search for this wisdom must be all too frequently frustrated, even if only to test the practitioner's perseverance and his desire for the truth (*egkrateia* and *epithymia*).

Thus, what we need to consider is whether we can actually trust Valens when he speaks of his travel to Egypt: this will give us plentiful opportunity to look at Egyptian travel as a rhetorical *topos* of astrological and occult writings and, moreover, to consider a number of contemporary writings ranging from philosophy to satire. What we have to realize is that, by asserting the irrational element as present in astrological cognition, Valens implies that his position is in a way better than that of his adversaries (including those who have another view of astrological tenets). Hardly surprisingly, the sort of knowledge that results from revelation would be generally considered as more valuable than the ordinary one.

Travel to Egypt in literary tradition

Traveling to Egypt has a long tradition in Greek literature and even more importantly, in Greek science, with Herodotus and Plato constituting the standard examples of Greeks drawing from the Egyptian tradition (Herodotus in Books II-III, and Plato foremost in his *Timaeus*). Strabo states that Eudoxus and Plato were the very first Greeks who managed to persuade the priests to accept them as students:

... at Heliopolis the houses of priests and schools of Plato and Eudoxus were pointed out to us; for Eudoxus went up to that place with Plato, and they both passed thirteen years [meanwhile Diogenes Laertios gives 16 months only] with the priests, as is stated by some writers; for since these priests excelled in their knowledge of the heavenly bodies, albeit secretive and slow to

impart it, Plato and Eudoxus prevailed upon them in time and by courting their favour to let them learn some of the principles of the doctrine; but the barbarians concealed most things... But at that time the true year was unknown among the Greeks, as also many other things, until the later astrologers learned them from the men who translated into Greek the records of the priests; and even to these days they learn their teachings and likewise those of the Chaldeans.³

On the other hand, the neoplatonic philosopher Proclus maintains that Thales' excellence in mathematics was due to the instruction he received from the Egyptian priests. Characteristically, Thales and Eudoxus belong to the most eminent astronomers of antiquity, and Plato was similarly praised for his cosmological theories. Indeed, in his commentary to Iamblichus, Gregory Shaw notes that by the fifth century the claim to Egyptian experience became a stock argument in any apology of revealed wisdom.⁴

Why would Iamblichus adopt the pseudonym of an Egyptian priest in order to explain his Platonic mystagogy? According to latter Platonists, the answer was clear. Plato himself had acknowledged that his writings were merely a propaidea to deeper mysteries and in several dialogues he spoke of the influence of Oriental, particularly Egyptian, wisdom on his thought. Although he probably never participated in Egyptian or Chaldean mysteries, he was believed to have done so by Platonists and therefore the Oriental element in Iamblichus' Platonism should not be seen as alien but merely as an attempt to reveal more completely the wellspring of Platonic wisdom. Just as Plato turned to his lady of prophecy, Diotima Mantike, to reveal erotic mysteries, so Iamblichus deferred to his persona, the Egyptian priest Abammon, to explain theurgic mysteries, the *hieratike techne*. In the role of Egyptian mystagogue responding to the questions and criticisms of Porphyry the philosopher, Iamblichus played divine revealer to the wayward Hellene, guiding Porphyry back to the primitive initiations that Plato and Pythagoras received from the Egyptians.

The fame of Egypt as a source of wisdom, particularly Hermetic wisdom, is also attested even by sources quite distanced from the

excessive enthusiasm for hermetism: One such testimony comes from the fourth century work of the great historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who when speaking of Alexandria confirms the fame it enjoyed as a centre of astrological studies (*astronomicis studiis calet*). Another interesting passage comes from Roman senator, Firmicus Maternus, who in his *Mathesis* notes the audacity of astrologers, Asclatio and Apollinarios who dared to forge the world horoscope and promptly attributed it to Hermes himself (III.1). In fact, even the short warning issued to Tat in *Corpus Hermeticum* XVI.2 where he is instructed to prevent the teachings of Hermes from any attempt at the translation into Greek, is proof of the deep respect for the wisdom of the Egyptians and of the disdain due to the maze of words and apparent rationality of Greek philosophy. It may also be important to note that Alexandria's position as the centre of astronomical studies would be consciously upheld by the local government, a fact recently discussed by Liba Taub.⁵

The story

Having investigated the contextual aspect, we may turn to the passage covering IV.11.4-10. It is here that mention of Egypt emerges. The sequence of events depicted is as follows: having traveled a lot, Valens arrives in Egypt and there meets a number of false and greedy teachers; what he does not find is the truth. As a consequence of this disappointment he refrains from an extravagant lifestyle and continues studying on his own; again, after some time, the old fascination with life-periods gets hold of him; seeking a solution to his doubts he convenes with the learned, and finally one of them guides him toward instruction by a divine spirit (*daimon*). This brief outline of the whole story still manages to capture its most important elements: travel, disillusionment, independent study, consultation with sages, and, finally, illumination. What point was there in confessing all these to the reader? Let us consider both the general pattern and every element on its own.

First, let us focus on the disillusionment brought about by the author's failure to reach true cognition through ordinary instruction. Obviously, *φιλάργυροι διδάσκαλοι* he mentions are astrologers like those mentioned in the *Anthologiae* V.8: vain, pretentious, given to theatricals and greedy. They also correspond to those mentioned in VIII.5.16 described as *γόηται* and *πλεόνεκται ἄνθρωποι*. All things considered, they are hardly equipped for the advanced study of the lore. We may conclude that at this precise point Valens is misled by the appearance of knowledge, and this causes major strain to his finances.

We would do badly to disregard this element of his tale as merely descriptive: the claim that one giving false prognosis is simply incompetent and his incompetence should not be transferred to the whole lore remains relatively frequent throughout astrological literature.⁶ Moreover, there is much difference between them and the learned appearing later in the story, the true experts in genethliology. These latter are significantly referred to as οἱ περὶ τὸ τοιαῦτα ἐσπουδακότες (7) – thus, we may infer, they have given much time and effort to the study of the matter in question. The word choice and the use of perfectum seem hardly accidental in this context, for they underscore both the experience possessed and effort involved in acquiring it, hinting at the difference separating the learned from charlatans. Thus, there exists some correspondence between the former and persons endowed with all the qualities considered necessary for attaining the true cognition in IX.15.11. Moreover, the learned can be compared with the meticulous person juxtaposed with the false astrologers in V.8.112.

It is important to note, though, that contact with the learned alone is said not to be enough. To achieve true knowledge, claims Valens, a higher, divine, intervention is needed. Yet this contact is far from being irrelevant: our author is quite explicit on its importance, when he says: διάπειραν ἐλαμβάνομεν (*I kept acquiring experience*, 7). Two factors are decisive here: one has to study the matter by himself *and* to consult the learned. And it is owing to both diligence and contact with the right men that one may arrive at illumination. Concerning the πεῖρα aspect, however, we have to consider a particular of the *Anthologiae* hitherto laid aside.

If one had to number three features of Valens' work most frequently professed by the author himself, these would be respectively generosity, clearness and, finally, experience. This last is advocated with utmost zeal throughout the work, for it serves to establish double claim to *Anthologiae*'s originality: first, that Valens has enough practical experience to lecture others on astrological matters; and second, that he managed to prove the inherited material he describes through practical application. These are obviously two aspects of the same activity, still their implications remain somewhat different, the former being related to originality *sensu stricto* while the latter may be regarded as relating to more general contribution to the lore.

Now, let us consider other elements of IV.11. We learn that following the disillusionment resulting from his meeting with so-called astrologers, Valens embarked on a much calmer, moderate lifestyle (ἐγκρατέστερον

καὶ αὐτάρκη ἐλό μενοι βίον, 4).⁷ This is a significant point, for it forms a straightforward allusion to the lifestyle advocated at other points of *Anthologiae*. Even more importantly, with its choice of words it forms an explicit opposition with the ardour with which Valens claim to have pursued astrology earlier (διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐπιθυμίαν, 4). Even if this ἐπιθυμία reappears shortly afterwards, this time it seems to result from author's own studies: it is said in IV.11.5. τὸ πρόβλημα τῶν πλείστων μαθημάτων καὶ ἡ τῶν καθολικῶν χρόνων διαίρεσις ἀνθε ἵλκον ἡμᾶς καὶ μείζω τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν κατεσκεύαζον κτλ. And connected as this particular desire is with ἐπιμόνη, *perseverance*, we may view it as a stable, coherent disposition toward study rather than a feverish thirst for immediate knowledge.

Moreover, there is another hint latent in the passage: Valens claims that disillusioned as he was he occupied his mind with other questions (περὶ ἕτερα ἡσχολήμεθα, 4). What were those ἕτερα? Obviously, we should not think that he refrained from astrological studies in general, for he would be unable to deepen his insight enough to make an ἐπιμόνη over a particular problem. Thus, he would be occupied with other, still astrological, matters – and this leads straight to the problem of the right sequence of learning.⁸

Finally, we come to the divine revelation. Given the characteristics of second century literary milieu, with the widespread belief in daimonic powers and influence of mystery cults, a mention of such an occurrence is hardly surprising. The revelation of Isis in Book Eleven of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, a passage of quite haunting beauty and sophistication in what seems to be adventure novel is generally perceived as a reflection of the author's own devotion to the cult of the Egyptian goddess. Lucian, though in a much different vein, describes himself as being instructed with regard to his life choices by a prophetic dream (*Somnium* 5ff.), when the two goddesses Art and Philosophy stood before him – a picture patently alluding to that of Heracles at his crossroads, but rightly interpreted by C. P. Jones as reflecting something of the mentality of second century society.⁹

The pilgrimage motif

Now that we have noted frequency of other elements that are appear in our passage, let us turn to Valens' travels themselves. In IV.11 he says that he arrived in Egypt having crossed many lands (4). It is interesting that twice within the *Anthologiae*, when discussing Critodemus' *Horasis*, Valens quotes the opening statement of this lost work: *having traveled*

*through sea and wilderness I was finally considered worthy of attaining a safe harbor and most secure shelter.*¹⁰ Thus we have the same travel element being claimed to guarantee Critodemus' reliability and experience, its purpose remaining all the more obvious should the fragment truly represent the opening of the whole *Horasis*.¹¹ The emergence of this fragment in the proem to Book Nine of the *Anthologiae* is particularly interesting because of Valens' employing the very same image (and the very same words) to apply them to himself and his search for knowledge (IX.1.10). Certainly, the mimetic aim remains primary, yet it is striking that the author introduces considerable changes as he seeks to elaborate on the instructive character of the experiences involved: *and I have seen many lands and many people, gaining knowledge through long experience and pain* (καὶ πολλὴν γῆν διοδεύσας, κλιμάτων τε καὶ ἔθνων κατὰ πτῆς γενόμενος, πολυχρονία πείρα καὶ πόνοις συνεμυρεῖς). The vicinity of Critodemus' text and obvious similitudes between the two discourage eventual biographic inferences – the passage seems too manifestly modeled after Critodemus' own and destined to put Valens in position.¹²

Travel in search of knowledge is a motif which appears in other works as well – in Artemidorus' *Onirocritica* we read of the author's vast travels that led him to collect the experiences of other interpreters. Though he never mentions a revelation (his principal aim being to establish oniromancy as what we would nowadays call exact science), he describes his having talked to many wise and experienced diviners. Obviously, this may be considered as corresponding to Valens' assertion that he sought the company of the wise. Certainly there are some notable differences as well, for Artemidorus is quick to indicate that the wise he addresses are ordinary, market-based diviners, mistrusted by the crowd, while Valens speaks of persons of somewhat priestly dignity. Yet the common elements are too evident to be missed.

The story yet again

To put IV.11 in an even wider perspective, we need to have a look at an interesting document surviving in cod. Montepessulanus and published in CCAG VIII.4, pp. 254-262. The text is a Latin translation of a letter allegedly sent by a famous medicine man and astrologer, Thessalus of Thralles, to Nero.¹³ That such a letter actually existed is confirmed by two sources, Galen and Plinius. The point I intend to make here is not that the Montepessulanus text is an authentic letter of Thessalus – it is rather that

the story used by him to support his claims bears a marked similarity to the one appearing in *Anthologiae*.

Before Thessalus begins an account of his travels, he makes some interesting introductory remarks, obviously intended to highlight his achievements. These bear a marked similarity to those made by Vettius in IV.11. Similarly, he refers to the earlier Hermetic tradition established by Nechepso, which bears comparison with Valens' opinion on both Critodemus (IX.1. 4) and Nechepso himself (in VI.1.9): *rex Notopso, vir sapientissimus et ornatus omni virtute, hac voce divina non attigit, sicut tu quaeris* (257.11-13).

Turning to Thessalus' account of his studies, we note immediately that he seeks to portray himself as a man obsessed with learning. He traveled because he thirsted after true cognition (in his case, iatromedicine). Searching for the right teachers, he came to Egypt: *transferendo me in Alexandriam cum pecunia multa perseveravi cum philosophis causa scientiae ac doctrinae* (255.9-11). That is, he retraces the route taken by numerous other students of the occult, aiming at the very center of mathematical and astronomical investigation. Alexandria, a city famous for its doctors and advancement of medicine, is certainly a right choice for an aspiring student.¹⁴ And it is hardly surprising that Thessalus' companions are defined as philosophers, any aspiring Hermetist would consider himself one. Then, Thessalus states that he came to Alexandria equipped with a considerable amount of money – is this not reminiscent of Valens' statement: τὰς μὲν τῶν χρημάτων δόσεις ἐ ποιησάμεθα (IV, 11.4)? The similarity becomes even more evident with Thessalus' next statement; concerning himself he says: *desiderabam desiderio vehementi* (255, 12). Thus he seems to be agitated by the same urgent desire that is mentioned by Valens, the ἐπιθυμία (ibid.). During the course of his studies, Thessalus comes across a book written by the famous king Notopso (obviously identical with the famous Nechepso). Significantly, he is astounded at the ornate language employed in the work, for he notes: *et admirabar de promissionibus illius libri, qui videbatur pluribus verbis incredibilis et vanagloriosis uti* (255.19-20), which echoes the severe criticism Valens directs at Critodemus (III.9.1). One has to note that even if Thessalus' remark has no exact equivalent in *Anthologiae* IV.11, it stresses the aspect of misunderstanding and obscurity so frequently dealt with in Valens' own work. The point is that even this element, albeit seemingly absent from Valens' story itself, may be found explicit in other parts of his work. Now, due to lack of any advancement in his studies, and deeming

deception worse than death itself (this seems to echo Valens' complaint on the charlatanry of Egyptian astrologers), Thessalus is deeply saddened and departs from Alexandria to undertake excessive travels in Egypt: *antiqui Aegypti civitates et multa loca sacra perquisivi* (256.5). Now, however, he no longer converses with philosophers – those whom he meets are priests (*sacerdotes*), and it is from them he strives to obtain the truth.¹⁵ Finally, mediating one of these sages, Thessalus receives a visionary instruction from Asclepius himself. Thus we see him claiming to have obtained his knowledge by supranatural means – exactly what Valens claims for himself in IV.11!

The marked similarities between the two accounts are of crucial import for our discussion. As we see Thessalus practically retracing Valens' footsteps in achieving the ultimate revelation, we are led to wonder whether we are not faced with an element traditional in hermetic literature. The tale, to stress it once more, is built of motifs quite frequently met in astrological literature: suffering, disappointment with the popular astrology, gaining experience, labour, and finally, a revelation by a supranatural being. All these are present in both Thessalus and Valens. Moreover, notions of revelation being achieved only after overcoming considerable difficulties, of wisdom being hard to find and of the moral perfection of those who are graced with instruction by the divine are hardly surprising – these are standard elements of most initiation stories (it would be enough to consider the ordeal of Lucius in the *Metamorphoses*). And this very repetition may lead a careful reader to doubt the biographical value of data contained in the tale.

Ptolemy

Having spent considerable time analyzing Valens (who owing to his Hermetic sympathies is very much the more interesting source) let us turn, albeit briefly, to his Alexandrian contemporary Ptolemy. The attitude he assumes with respect to his illustrious Egyptian predecessors is vastly different from that displayed in the *Anthologiae*. The *Apotelesmatica* rely on the data collected by the Egyptians and indeed Ptolemy invokes the authority of iatromathematicians in I.3 when discussing the utility of astrological foreknowledge. Then, some interesting remarks are found in his treatment of the *horia* terms. First he criticizes the Egyptian traditional division, which we also know from Dorotheus' work. Yet this critical attitude, exemplified by the objection of illogical and unsystematic character, does not stop his admission that the division is working in actual prognostic. Moreover, when introducing

his own attribution system, which, as we know, is absent from other sources, its validity is corroborated with a tale of its being found in the sand of the Egyptian desert: as we know, one of the principal arguments in favour of astrology is its long tradition of practice, and in I.2 Ptolemy took particular care to stress the importance of the data pool. Obviously, for him it is a claim to antiquity rather than Egypt par excellence, it is Egypt as a homeland of Hermetism that counts.

Conclusions

Now, the easy way out of the dilemma is to assume that Thessalus, or whoever wrote the Montepessulanus passage, relied on the tradition derived from Valens and therefore cannot be considered decent comparison material – still, the popularity of references to Egypt in a number of earlier works attests to the fact that we are actually speaking of a tradition much older than the *Anthologiae*. Like numerous other elements of the auto-advertising tendencies of the latter work, such as the ability to converse with the divine powers – which is also attested for the great Neopythagorean Apollonius (who, however, preferred to claim the Indian, rather than Egyptian, authority to give weight to his teachings) – the travel to Egypt or notion of Egyptian provenience of teachings remains commonplace among hermetists, mathematicians and astrologers. To say that it is commonplace does not equal a rejection of any possibility of Valens actually paying a visit to the Nile valley, particularly given that *wanderlust* is a well-attested phenomenon in second century CE, its most famous exemplification being the emperor Hadrian (characteristically, his visit to Egypt is usually connected to advanced magical and divinatory consultations).¹⁶ Certainly, inhabitants of the Empire were not alien to the concept of travel and pilgrimage and it is highly possible that one aspiring to astrological knowledge would endeavour to travel to Alexandria or Hermoupolis.¹⁷ Moreover, to stress the conventional nature of the passage is not to reject the possibility of its author experiencing a divine revelation, it is only to signalize that drawing a definite, biographical conclusion from a passage similar to *Anthologiae* IV.11 is to be possibly misled by the rhetoric of his time – which of course is the very thing any aspiring rhetorician would have desired.

Endnotes

1. *Vettius Valens: Anthologies, Livre I*, établissement, traduction et commentaire par Joelle-Frederique Bara, EPRO 111, Leiden, EJ Brill, 1989, p. 15.
2. T. Barton *Power and Knowledge: Astrology, Physiognomics and Medicine under the Roman Empire*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1994. Some remarks on the persuasive character of medical writings can be also found in M. M. Sassi *The Science of Man in Ancient Greece*, tr. P. Tucker, University of Chicago Press, 2001, pp. 143ff.
3. Strabo XVII, 1. 29 tr. H.L. Jones, vol. VIII, pp. 83-85.
4. *Theurgy and the Soul*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995, pp. 7-8.
5. L. Taub "Instruments of Alexandrian Astronomy: The Uses of Equinoctial Rings", in C. J. Tuplin and T. E. Rihl (eds) *Science and Mathematics in Ancient Greek Culture*, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 133-149.
6. Thus, Ptolemy blames incapacity of the diviner in 1.2.12, while Firmicus Maternus states in his *Mathesis* 1.3.8: "si vero interroganti ei male magister respondit, non matheseos, sed hominis fallax notatur inscientia".
7. Both adjectives are given much import in the Stoic system, *egkrateia* and *autarkeia* forming the qualities of the Sage; considering the philosophical proclivities of Valens and his adherence to strict determinism their emergence in this context can hardly be considered accidental. Moreover, the two virtues would be generally regarded as prerequisite in initiatory rites. Then, perhaps some hint may be provided also by the ἐλόμενοι: the word comes from αἵρεομαι and entails a conscious decision, an act of will. Then, it may be relevant that according to Valens *egkrateia* forms a necessary prerequisite of astrological cognition in IX.9.11
8. Cfr. *Anth.* IX.9.7; according to Valens, astrological science demands very precise sequence of study and cannot be mastered quickly, just through reading number of handbooks; in fact, most passages of *Anthologiae* put much weight on the amount of time one uses to study astrology.
9. C.P. Jones *Culture and Society in Lucian* Harvard University Press 1986, p.10.
10. Respectively *Anth.* III.8.3; IX.1.5. There are two versions of this quotation: 1. πελαγοδρομήσας καὶ πολλὴν ἔρημον ὁδεύσας ἡξιώθην ὑπὸ θεῶν λιμένος ἀκινδύνου τυχεῖν καὶ μονῆς ἄσφαλεστάτης; and 2. ἤδη ποτε πελαγοδρομήσας καὶ πολλὴν ἔρημον διοδεύσας ἡξιώθην ὑπὸ θεῶν λιμένος ἀκινδύνου τυχεῖν καὶ μονῆς ἀσφαλεστάτης.
11. Apologetic and polemical components of scientific prologues formed the main focus of C. Santini, N. Scivoletto & E. Zurli, *Prefazioni, prologhi, proemi di opere tecnico-scientifiche latine* vol. I-III, Roma 1990-1998.

12. Symptomatically, Book Nine is said to deal with problems that were left untouched until Valens' times (IX.1.2: νυνὶ δε ταύτην συντάσσω [τὴν ἀρχὴν] λειπομένην ἐν οὐδενί).

13. Concerning the letter see I. Moyer "The Initiation of the Magician: Transition and Power in Graeco-Egyptian Ritual", in D. B. Dodd & Ch. Faraone *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives*, Routledge, London and New York, 2003, pp. 219-237.

14. Cfr J.-M. André, M.-F. Baslez *Voyager dans l'Antiquité*, Paris: Fayard, 1993 [hence: André- Baslez 1993], pp. 207-246.

15. The close connection between temple and astrology in Roman Egypt has been investigated by A. Jones, " The Place of Astronomy in Roman Egypt" , in *The Sciences in Greco-Roman Society*, ed. T.D. Barnes, Apeiron XXVII/4, 1994, pp. 25-51.

16. Cfr A. Birley *Hadrian: the Restless Emperor*, London: New York, Routledge, 1998, pp. 235-253.

17. Cfr André- Baslez 1993, pp. 247-282 (on pilgrimage), 317-372 (on tourism).