



Strathprints Institutional Repository

Mahn, Churnjeet (2014) The virtual tourist gaze in Greece, 1897–1905. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 48. pp. 193-206. ISSN 0160-7383 , <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2014.06.001>

This version is available at <http://strathprints.strath.ac.uk/53366/>

Strathprints is designed to allow users to access the research output of the University of Strathclyde. Unless otherwise explicitly stated on the manuscript, Copyright © and Moral Rights for the papers on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. Please check the manuscript for details of any other licences that may have been applied. You may not engage in further distribution of the material for any profitmaking activities or any commercial gain. You may freely distribute both the url (<http://strathprints.strath.ac.uk/>) and the content of this paper for research or private study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge.

Any correspondence concerning this service should be sent to Strathprints administrator: strathprints@strath.ac.uk

THE VIRTUAL TOURIST IN GREECE, 1897-1905

ABSTRACT

While travelling in Greece in 1892, a British tourist wryly commented on a group of tourists arriving in Athens who were travelling with nothing but a Baedeker guidebook and a pair of opera glasses (Armstrong, 1892). By 1892 tourist images were beginning to determine the benchmark for authentic vistas of Greece. This argument analyses an early technology for generating three dimensional images of Greece and the technological, ideological and discursive features that distinguish a particular iteration of the early tourist gaze. The study seeks to bring research from the humanities on tourism in Greece to a broader audience as a means of investigating the potential for more productive cross-flows in research covering tourism and the arts and humanities.

HIGHLIGHTS:

- Research in tourism to Greece in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is predominantly conducted in the arts and humanities.
- Tourist guidebooks to Greece in the nineteenth century shift from a focus on oriental to classical stereotypes.
- Stereoscopic guides through Greece in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reproduced, and contradicted, guidebook stereotypes.

KEYWORDS: Greece, interdisciplinary, stereoscope, visual, guidebook

1. INTRODUCTION

This article offers a consideration of the dominant stereotypes of Grecian life and culture portrayed in an early form of virtual reality offered to armchair tourists: the stereograph. Stereographs offered two juxtaposed pictures of a scene, which if viewed simultaneously through stereoscopic lenses, would produce a three dimensional effect. Major publishers such as Underwood & Underwood would produce stereoscopic journeys for the virtual tourist, a form that belonged to an increasing portfolio of techniques and models for simulating three-dimensional space for tourists. Touring panoramas, dioramas and stereographs offered mobile experiences of other places while individual mobility was prohibitively expensive or difficult. These virtual realities offered an interface between snapshots of other places, knowledge of another place, and leisure. Like corporate guidebooks they worked to transcribe the reality of another place on a frame that could be reproduced, marketed, and experienced by a growing consumer base. This article takes a stereoscopic journey through Greece sold by Underwood & Underwood between 1897-1905 as a starting point for a larger discussion of an early form of virtual tourism in Greece. In developing this discussion, the argument seeks to bridge some of the recent work conducted in early popular visual culture, literary studies, and tourism in connection with the history of tourism in Greece in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The overall aim of this study is to bring work conducted in the arts and humanities on tourism in Greece in the late nineteenth century into explicit contact with the field of tourism. This will involve bringing together work that does not explicitly reference tourism as its concern, and interrogating why these bodies of knowledge do not often work together. Galani-Moutafi's (2005) overview of tourism research on Greece has identified an uneven development of

academic work, with research in marketing and environmental studies being the most prominent field of enquiry. One of the purposes of this study is to address some of the underdeveloped areas within tourism research about Greece through creating a connective tissue with work taking place within areas of the humanities and social sciences, on visual culture and the commodification of place. Despite the potential for interdisciplinary approaches to create new avenues in the humanities (Huggan, 2008; Moran, 2010) as well as tourism (Darbellay & Bosch, 2012; Echtner, 1997; Jamal & Kim, 2005; Tribe, 1997; Tribe, 2006), there is still a surprising myopia when it comes to interdisciplinary approaches to tourism research on Greece. Part of this is attributable to the ways in which tourism studies indexes and catalogues its key terms, as well as the variety in nomenclature (Tribe, 2006).

Tribe's analysis of the interface between the theoretical and phenomenological worlds of tourism identifies a lack of work that reflects on the way the field of study produces knowledge about its own practices, especially in the context of ideological structures that produce research (Tribe, 2006). MacCannell recently argued that, "Tourism research has not succeeded in creating stable conceptual frameworks" (MacCannell, 2011, p. 35), a critique which does not give credit to the field of study's ability to reflect and interrogate its own operations (Ateljevic, Pritchard & Morgan, 2007; Tribe, Xiao & Chambers, 2012) and assumes a tautological insularity in methods and practice which does not speak to the significant impact paradigms such as Urry's "tourist gaze" have made across the arts, humanities, and social sciences, especially in defining the tourist as a kind of emblem for the emergence of modern subjectivity and experience (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

The tourist gaze is differentiated from "seeing" as, "People gaze upon the world through a particular filter of ideas, skills, desires and expectations, framed by social class, gender,

nationality, age and education. Gazing is a performance that orders, shapes and classifies, rather than reflects the world” (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 2). The model for the tourist gaze describes the tense relationship between a relatively unique and individual perspective, which is determined by a range of social factors such as class and gender, and the collective understanding or representation of a place. Urry & Larsen (2011) identify the emergence of photography as a crucial moment that heralds the age of the tourist gaze; however there is a limited discussion of the ways in which specific historical innovations in visual technologies adapt/change/qualify that gaze in their analysis, which instead moves forward to more recent tourist photography. Indeed, the substantial chapter on photography has only been added in the most recent 2011 edition of the text which is aptly titled, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. In the photograph, “Nature was tamed, put into perspective with, and by, the human eye, as a landscape picture, a single vision of order” (Urry & Larsen, 2001, p. 158). The description of this singular vision has been critiqued for reducing the complexity of the gaze in tourist situations.

The “mutual gaze” has gained recent currency as a way of describing the layered interactions of gazes, especially in terms of discussing the way tourists themselves can be an object of gaze or enquiry (Maoz, 2006; Ong & du Cros, 2012). For the purposes of this study, two aspects of Urry & Larsen’s (2011) definition of the tourist gaze are utilised to offer a working framework for discussion that can be developing by recent work on viewing Greek culture in the late nineteenth century. Urry & Larsen (2011) list nine characteristics of the tourist gaze, two of which underlie this study. Firstly, the tourist gaze concentrates on key features of landscape which are “out of the ordinary” and are often “visually objectified” and technologically reproduced through the medium of photography or film (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 4). Secondly, the tourist gaze is understood as signs through which a place can become

recognisable, for example, the Eiffel tower and Paris equate to romance (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 5). In the context of this discussion, the tourist gaze is understood as a system for producing, reproducing and circulating images of tourist sites which have a series of ideological associations encoded into their form and content. By analysing an early type of virtual tourism, this study focuses on the way a relatively limited repository of images was used to represent a tourist journey through Greece between 1897-1905. More specifically, by considering the selection of certain images and the relationship between the viewer and the image, this study contributes to an understanding of how tourist stereotypes about Greece emerged, persisted and developed into the early twentieth century.

A discussion of the stereographs contributes to a more nuanced appreciation of the varieties of tourist gazes that have been in operation, especially in the ways they spatially position the tourist. The following discussion will offer an overview of the discursive cleavage between travel and tourism in the arts and humanities to clarify the definition of those key terms. This is followed by a rationale for the period covered by early tourism in Greece and an overview of current relevant research undertaken primarily, although not exclusively, in the arts and humanities. This will contribute to developing an analytic framework that can utilise Underwood & Underwood's *Greece Through the Stereoscope* (1905) as a case study for a specific iteration of the tourist gaze and how it contributed to generating, as well as challenging, stereotypes of Greek landscape and culture.

1.2 *Travel and Tourism*

While an introductory course to "Research in Travel" in the humanities and "Tourism Research" in the social sciences can share key texts on a reading list, there is a fundamental difference in

terminology which can obfuscate the real points of connection between areas. By reading a set of critics from across the divide alongside, rather than against, each other, this section highlights a common-ground in key debates about the development of tourism, beginning with the date of its emergence. The historical period for the emergence of tourism here works with Urry and Larsen's (2011) use of 1840 as an approximate marker for the emergence of the tourist gaze, Buzard's (1993) identification of the emergence of a coherent discourse differentiating the traveller and the tourist from 1800, along with studies that demonstrate the development of tourism as a byproduct of rapid industrialization in the nineteenth century which created new types of leisure activities (Brendon, 1991).

Tourism and modernity are intertwined conditions (Crary 1990; Wang, 2000). Foucault's philosophical work on the characteristics of modernity, especially in terms of its power to generate new disciplinary categories and forms of subjectivity has been especially important in laying the groundwork for paradigms that are exceptionally relevant to tourism studies, from the medical gaze which Urry and Larsen (2011) adapt in their own discussions of gazes, to Foucault's formulation of the museum as a kind of heterotopia, a space which produces new forms of ahistoricity in spatial experience (Foucault, 2003). Cheong and Miller have offered a useful overview of Foucault's influence in contemporary tourism studies, especially charting the uneven application of discourses connected to power for researchers in tourism (Cheong & Miller, 2000).

In the introduction to his monograph on twentieth century British travel writing about Greece, Wills cites Urry's *Tourist Gaze*, as well as Travlou's (2002) overview of tourist guidebooks to Greece, while at the same time pointing to only two journals of use to scholars of travel writing: *Studies in Travel Writing* and *Journeys* (Wills, 2007, p. 2). The insulation of his

study from the extensive scholarship in Greek tourism in the latter half of the twentieth century (Galani-Moutafi, 2005) is indicative of the ways in which scholars of travel writing selectively stray into the fringes of sociological material without addressing the field of tourism. There are exceptions to this; especially in terms of addressing the ways in which representations (such as literature) are constructed by the tourist experience and are another way in which information about sights and sites is circulated.

As a genre, travel writing can be integral to processes such as “sight sacrilization” (MacCannell, 2011), as evidenced in Greece by the writing of Byron, whose journeys were themselves memorialised. Theoretical innovations in the study of travel writing can also have an impact on tourism, specifically in approaches informed by critical theory that use current research in postcolonial studies to critique the ways in which images and discourses of “Other” or so-called Third World cultures circulate (Carrigan, 2011), and the ways in which artists and writers use “innovation” to challenge the limits of tourist experience (Edwards & Graulund, 2012). The description of asymmetries in representation have been the basis of one of the foundational texts of postcolonial studies, a text which itself was based on a vast array of travel writing about the orient (Said, 1978).

In humanities research, tourism is understood as a contemporary social practice of travel. Buzard (1993), the critic whose seminal study describes this division in the humanities, charts this distinction as a consequence of capitalism: travel is something unique, authentic, and unbounded, tourism is derivative, path-bound and guided. In his position piece on the future of academic approaches to travel writing, Youngs (2004) covers anthropology and sociology as well as being mindful of the economic and political impact of contemporary events which travel writing is slow to address, as it has to wait to have its “data” written or produced. While seminal

texts in the development of theories connected to tourism have drawn from a range of data, often marrying philosophy with disciplinary practice and self-reflexive phenomenology (Clifford, 1997; Geertz, 2000; Levi-Strauss, 2011), the unique intersection between theory, practice and its broader impact has been lost in the study of travel writing, which as a sub-discipline of literary studies adopts its own recalcitrance towards more ambitious inter or multidisciplinary work by rarely incorporating methodology beyond anthropology and postmodern theory.

There have been attempts to bring travel and tourism into a discussion through shared critical paradigms, most notably, narrative (Tivers & Rakić, 2012). However, this sidesteps a rigorous interrogation of the terms travel and tourism by focussing on a third, equally contentious term. For the purposes of this study, tourism refers to the field of research covered by this journal and a set of social practices and structures that developed in the nineteenth century as a consequence of capitalism. Literature from the humanities dealing with “travel” is read as describing an artistic or cultural representation which is a by-product of tourism and so is subject to the theoretical concerns and paradigms that emerge from the study of tourism. The stereographic journey, because it creates a tourist experience, is seen as a form that cannot be discussed in the isolation of art history or visual culture.

1.3 Study Methods

Writing about interdisciplinary work, Barthes proposed that, “Interdisciplinarity is not the calm of an easy security; it begins *effectively* (as opposed to the mere expression of a pious wish) when the solidarity of the old disciplines breaks down” (Barthes, 1977, p. 155). Building an interdisciplinary model for analysis is to a certain degree contradictory, as it remains in danger of creating new disciplinary niches instead of unpicking and unravelling pre-existing borders (Moran, 2010). While multidisciplinary research approaches a research problem through a series

of perspectives, interdisciplinary works to bring disciplines into a, “dynamic interaction in order to describe, analyse, and understand the complexity of a phenomenon” (Darbellay & Stock 2012, p. 453). An interdisciplinary approach is constructed in this study through three stages which will work to elucidate the complexity behind analysing late nineteenth century images of Greece through:

1. Disciplinary context: outlining the key disciplines, and key critical debates, involved in producing academic knowledge about tourism in Greece in the late nineteenth century.
2. Guidebooks: a literature review of the first two corporate European guidebooks to Greece (1840-1914) as an early model of multidisciplinary knowledge about Greece.
3. Case study: a content analysis of a stereoscopic journey through Greece published in 1905 informed by the discussions in points 1 and 2.

A content analysis can identify larger visual trends within a sample that can be used as a basis for conclusions about the predominance of particular visual narratives, as well as anomalies and exceptions (Rose, 2007). By layering these discussions, ideological and disciplinary frameworks will inform and condition the outcome of the content analysis. The case study is made up of a series of 98 stereoscopic cards which were collected into a single “journey” by Underwood & Underwood in 1905. They have been selected as they represent a crossover between a guidebook, a series of photographic representations, and an early simulation of a tourist journey through Greece. The overlapping in these three forms works to emphasise a core portfolio of stereotypes about Greece that provide a form of “ideal” or “idealised” tourist itinerary.

The cards cover images dated from 1897-1905. They were marketed in 1905 as a single virtual tour through Greece. This series was selected for two reasons: Underwood & Underwood were the largest international producers of stereographic cards in the period, and this collected journey offers a clearer indication of the prevalence of key stereotypes about Greece in the period. While many of these series have missing cards, and specific series on Greece can be hard to locate, this run was found by the author in entirety, thereby offering the most complete sample of study. By cross-referencing critical discussions of tourism in the period with a content analysis of the cards, a discrete repertoire of signs can be identified that underpin the expectations for a tourist journey in Greece during the late nineteenth century. Critical discussions have been limited to Anglophone criticism and Western European tourism to Greece as the stereoscopic journey under consideration was published and distributed in London.

2. DISCIPLINING EARLY TOURISM IN GREECE

The period post-World War II has seen a marked growth in tourism to Greece, a trend which has grown exponentially since the 1970s (Galani-Moutafi, 2005). In this discussion, “early” refers to the late nineteenth century when the beginnings of a tourist infrastructure in Greece were developing through the production of guidebooks (published in the Murray and Baedeker series) and the development of organised tours (by Thomas Cook and the Hellenic Traveller’s Club). Galani-Moutafi points out that academic research on tourism in Greece from the past three decades, “reveals that sociology and economics made the earliest contributions, and long had the strongest representation in the field of tourism research. Recently, however, marketing and environmental studies have become more predominant. Studies by anthropologists are least common” (Galani-Moutafi, 2005, p. 160). However, in academic research covering early tourism, the opposite can be argued. A rich seam of information can be mined from a series of

disciplines, especially the classics, Modern Greek Studies, and cultural studies, which can help to identify how early tourist stereotypes of Greece emerged and circulated.

Archaeologists critically reflecting on the emergence of their own discipline have considered how the fashion for studying Ancient Greece in Europe and North America, coupled with a rise in excavations in Greece, used tourism as a pedagogical tool for classicists and archaeologists (Alcock, Cherry & Elsner, 2003; Guthenke, 2008; Hanlan, 2009; Mahn, 2012). Hanlan (2009) chooses the photography of a nineteenth century tourist in Greece as a deliberate strategy to bring a discussion of tourism into *Hesperia*, a journal devoted to the study of the classics. However, by dating the advent of mass tourism to Greece from the eighteenth century, the study misses the opportunity to question the ways in which the rise of Hellenism in the nineteenth century was impacted by the emergence of tourism. Tourism in this context is understood as little more than an indicator of the volume of travellers.

Literary scholars have analysed a vast body of travelogues and descriptions of Greece which chart the way signifiers attached to Greece steadily changed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and have revealed the ways in which changing tastes in the classics inflected the way images of Greece were being transmitted in broader culture (Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, 1990; Augustinos, 1994; Eisner, 1991; Kolocotroni & Mitsi, 2008; Mahn, 2012; Roessel, 2002; Wills, 2007). Specific attention has been paid to the impact of Byron in creating a repertoire of images for consumption, which in itself caused anxiety for tourists keen to experience the real Greece: “Byron’s Tales laid the foundation for an enduring paradox of philhellenism: the desire for Greece to become Western and the simultaneous rejection of Westernization in Greece as inauthentic” (Roessel, 2002: 52).

However, perhaps the most significant contribution in the field has come from the discipline of Modern Greek Studies which has sought to interrogate the ways in which Ancient Greece has been valued beyond the present; as Tziouvas has highlighted, Greek is the only contemporary European language that needs to be qualified by the prefix “Modern” (Gourgouris, 1996; Hamilakis & Brown, 2003; Tziouvas, 2006). A key figure in the development of Modern Greek Studies as an international discipline has been the anthropologist Herzfeld (1987). His early books reflected on how nineteenth century discourses of Hellenism and Philhellenism impacted on the emerging discipline of anthropology and ethnography, especially in their reproduction of a distinction between the European and the “Other”:

In a European tradition that takes its Classical heritage for granted, the neglect of Greek ethnography is both surprising and significant. It emphasizes the besetting ambivalence of a country that falls disconcertingly between the exotic and the familiar. Modern Greece does not fit comfortably into the duality of Europeans and Others, especially as Greeks are themselves ambivalent about the extent to which they are European (Herzfeld, 1987, p. 2).

Accounting for the ways in which Greece can be seen in a liminal position between east and west, European and oriental, ancient and modern, has been an enduring problem in Modern Greek Studies. Hamilakis & Brown (2003) have charted the way that archaeological discovery--primarily led by German, French, American and British groups--impacted the formation of Greek nationalism in the wake of Greek Independence. Leontis has adopted a Foucauldian framework to consider a range of discourses that have mapped imaginative topographies of Greece that rarely move beyond the antique (Leontis, 1995). Some broader cultural studies on this early phase of tourism and its impact on images of Greece has been conducted, especially in

relation to the Parthenon and descriptions in guidebooks, however these studies are becoming increasingly dated and can be revised in light of more recent research (Travlou, 2002; Yalouri, 2001). A recent study analysing the description of the Acropolis in relatively contemporary guidebooks has highlighted the way in which Athens's World Heritage Status has been downplayed in favour of seeing the Acropolis as an important site for Greece, rather than the world. This research highlights a growing interest in the discontinuity and contradictions in discussions of Greece's international significance as a tourist destination (Rakić, 2012) that can be linked to research in Modern Greek Studies.

The current discussion identifies three phases in early tourism to Greece. Phase one (c1800-1840) reflects an early surge in interest about Ottoman Greece amongst the aristocracy and social elite. Under Ottoman rule, and with the growth of the independence movement, Greece was not an established or politically stable tourist location. Phase two (c1840-1880) reflects the beginnings of a project to develop the Acropolis. As Greece became an independent country, its relative political stability facilitated an increasing number of visitors. Phase three (c1880-1914) reflects the advent of larger tourist infrastructures through the development of more hotels, guidebooks, and tours, which was accompanied by an expansion in the country's rail network. This is especially evidence by the tours conducted by Thomas Cook & Son in the period where Greece was a stop-off on an itinerary which covered the Holy Lands.

Guidebooks to Greece in the period offer a valuable insight into the way the real site of Greece was mediated to tourists. While book history has considered early guidebooks in terms of literary artefacts (Francois, 2012), and there is some new archival work on the history of the corporate guidebook in the nineteenth century (Goodwin & Johnston, 2012), these studies tend to treat guidebooks as texts without paying special attention to the ways in which guidebooks

evolved to capture, transcribe and contain real spaces. As objects, the first Murray and Baedeker guidebooks were compendiums of knowledge that drew information from a range of disciplines thereby creating easy to carry multidisciplinary volumes with information ranging from geology and economics to culture and language. There is no sustained theorised body of literature on the history and evolution of guidebooks, “so far the study of guidebooks and content analyses of guidebooks respectively, present areas of research which have not previously received close attention” (Bender, Gidlow & Fisher, 2012).

3. GUIDEBOOKS TO GREECE

The first branded series covering a range of geographies came into popularity through the publishing houses of John Murray and Karl Baedeker from 1836. Studies of this phase of guidebooks have identified the modern corporate guidebook as a distinct formation through the erasure of a single authorial figure and the desire to eliminate subjective opinions created by individual guides, thereby simulating an objective standpoint (Allen, 1996; Buzard, 1993; De Beer, 1952; Foulke, 1992; Mackenzie, 2005; Mendelsohn, 1985; Vaughan, 1974). As Allen has argued, the purpose of the modern guidebook was to produce an “exact transcription of reality” (Allen, 1996, p. 218). The power to transcribe reality, or at least the innovation of rhetorical devices to render textual description as recognisable facsimiles of real places, has been the defining characteristic of modern guidebooks.

In a semiotic analysis of the French *Guides Bleus*, Barthes argues that the “*Guide* becomes, through an operation common to all mystifications, the very opposite of what it advertises, an agent of blindness” (Barthes, 1993, p. 75-6). Koshar follows the development of the guidebook for Germany and comments that, “To publish a single volume guide to Germany [the 1913 edition] in this context was to envision a nation whose political character and cultural

boundaries still remained unclear. To grasp the 446-page volume as one traveled was thus potentially an act of national crystallization, at the least, a gesture of optimism” (Koshar, 2000, p. 20). The growth of the modern guidebook coincided with formation of new European nations, including Italy, German and Greece. Part of the changing descriptions of the guidebooks reflected the ways in which nations were marketing images to themselves, as well as foreign tourists.

Recent work has illustrated the discursive discontinuity in early guidebooks to Greece and describes the changing interests of tourists in Greece through the century (Mahn, 2012). The earlier phase of guidebooks to Greece were compendiums of multidisciplinary knowledge, placing Byron’s poetry next to material from the classics, economic information and practical information about accommodation. The earliest Murray guidebook to Greece, published in 1840, was actually part of a series on the “East”, with Greece only receiving its first standalone guidebook in 1854 (Murray, 1840; Murray 1854). Murray’s guidebooks were designed for wealthy tourists who self-styled themselves as “travellers” (Goodwin & Johnston, 2012). Murray’s 1840 guide to Greece carried extensive quotations from Byron as well as contemporary accounts from notable tourists in the region, who would often be travelling for the purposes of politics or trade (Murray, 1840).

When Baedeker arrived on the market in 1889, the guidebooks outsold Murray’s which were already making a substantial loss (Goodwin & Johnston, 2012). The Baedeker guidebooks were half the length of the Murray guidebooks, and wherever possible used maps, photographs and other images in the place of textual narrative. The period from the 1880s, especially in representations of Greece, becomes a unique turning point. While the Murray guidebooks had contained extensive material on Ottoman influences in Greece, especially in terms of religion,

architecture, and culture, the Baedeker guidebooks concentrated on the Hellenic and neo-Hellenic descriptions of Greece, with the rich variety of Ottoman influence being reduced to the “Oriental” features and habits of the population (Baedeker, 1899; Mahn, 2012). All four Baedeker editions published between 1889-1909 referred to the “Oriental indolence of the Greek” (Baedeker, 1889; Baedeker, 1894; Baedeker, 1905; Baedeker, 1909).

In tourist guidebooks, a journey to Greece was seen as a journey to commune with antiquity while the modern population of Greece were seen as oriental or semi-orientals who were not worthy of their ancient heritage. In her semiotic analysis of guidebooks to Greece, Travlou (2002) oversimplifies the endurance of stereotypes such as the veneration of the past, and the castigation of contemporary scenes as dirty, messy, or oriental, by charting their endurance without reflecting on the nuances involved with changing inflections and contexts. One example of this is the lack of an adequate account for why Baedeker guidebooks on Greece outsold the Murray guidebooks, which had already been covering Greece for over fifty years. The change in guidebook tastes also reflected a change in how the antique/oriental dyad was represented and how it catered to tourists who were not travelling as archaeologists and classicists, but as tourists (Mahn, 2012). Most importantly, the change in style revealed a growing emphasis in using the image instead of text to represent places. Images of Greece in guidebooks worked to erase some of the discursive complexity of textual descriptions, while introducing a new medium to transmit stereotypes of Greece.

4. STEREO/VIEWING/TYPING GREECE

The following analysis reads a stereoscopic collection as a predominantly visual guidebook to Greece. A stereoscopic journey provided the viewer with an itinerary which was organised through the order of the slides, annotations for sites of particular importance, as well as a

present-tense narrative that encouraged the viewer to look at certain points of interest. This use of present-tense narrative was a particular innovation of the nineteenth century guidebook as it encouraged tourists to experience the text as a direct index to the real scene around them, as Allen argues, “The traveller then becomes no more than a witness to a tautology, with nothing to do but confirm that the hand-book is, indeed, an exact transcription of reality” (Allen, 1996, p. 218). Stereoscopes increased in popularity when Oliver Wendall Holmes was able to produce a smaller, portable instrument for viewing stereoscopic cards in 1861 (Pietrobruno, 2011). Tourism was one of the most popular genres for the stereoscope primarily due to the stereograph’s ability to simulate three dimensional space as well as create a sense of movement by encouraging users to view a collection in an ordered sequence that was designed to reproduce movement (Stakelon, 2011).

Recent research on stereoscopes has read its development in terms of a technological evolution towards cinema that instead of representing “Other” places, simulated their reality (Pietrobruno, 2011; Stakelon, 2011; Uricchio, 2011). Critics of modernity, post-modernity and tourism have been amongst a diverse body of thinkers to identify the drive for verisimilitude as a destructive or corrosive agent for authenticity (Baudrillard, 1994; Crary, 2001; Urry & Larsen, 2011). The present discussion considers a moment when the difference between real scenes and their copies blurred as the first commercially viable stereoscopes were able to use optical illusions to create three dimensional images of Greek scenes, bringing a new kind of tourist experience into the homes of the middle-classes across Europe and North America, as well as Russia. In this sense, it was one of the earliest forms of virtual reality (Löfgren, 2002). Writing about an earlier and larger form of the stereoscope, Wendall Holmes wrote about its power to destroy real sites:

There is only one Coliseum or Pantheon; but how many millions of potential negatives have they shed, representatives of billions of pictures, since they were erected! Matter in large masses must always be fixed and dear; form is cheap and transportable. We have got the fruit of creation now, and need not trouble ourselves with the core. Every conceivable object of Nature and Art will soon scale off its surface for us. (Holmes, 1859).

Despite the fear that the simulation would replace the real, stereoscopes offered representations of sites to a growing audience curious to experience new vistas. The following discussion moves to a collection of 98 stereoscopic cards showing a variety of scenes in Greece dating between 1897-1905 which were published by the world's largest producer of stereographs, Underwood & Underwood. Of the 98 slides, 7 have extended descriptions of the image written in the present-tense on the back of the card, and 14 have a short title on the back which is translated into five languages (French, Spanish, Italian, German, Russian). Human subjects appear in 64 of the slides, while slides that predominantly represent a scene from contemporary Greek life are the subject of 13 slides, with scenes from ancient Greece making up the subject matter for the majority. Scenes from contemporary Greece include a wedding, scenes of ports, miners and markets. Of the 64 slides profiling human subjects, 19 are dressed in fustanella or other traditional clothing, with the remaining 45 slides profiling subjects in suits and other garments not immediately identifiable as quintessentially Greek. Although superficially the collection conforms to available research on dominant representations of contemporary Greece in tourist literature in nineteenth century culture across north and west Europe and North America (Augustinos, 1994; Eisner, 1991; Guthenke, 2008; Leontis, 1995; Mahn, 2012; Roessel, 2002), this collection challenges the uniformity of stereotypes of the Greek landscape and people.

4.1 Stereotypes of Greece

The man staring at an amphora represents a visual pun on Keat’s famous poem, “Ode on a Grecian Urn” (1819). In this highly contrived scene, a man is seen to be enacting part of the process of contemplation and questioning, that the tourist is presumably meant to replicate. Allusions to Romantic Hellenism, ruins, and a sampling of local culture were all rendered simultaneously for the virtual tourist in Greece.

FIG 1: “Greek man stares at vase”.



In his discussion of an anecdote from a travelogue describing an illiterate Greek boatman’s intimate knowledge of antiquity, Gourgouris observes that:

This conscious performance, whose data the boatman no doubt gleaned from some previous encounter with an earlier traveler, shows that the gathering of evidence for an organically continuous Hellenic culture is a rather *in-credible* enterprise. Much like

anthropological and ethnographic subjects interrogated since the invasion of these disciplines, the inhabitants of modern Greece were subjected to so much discursive bombardment about the nature of their being as to learn to respond in accordance with the expectations of their questioners (Gourgouris, 1996, p. 149-50).

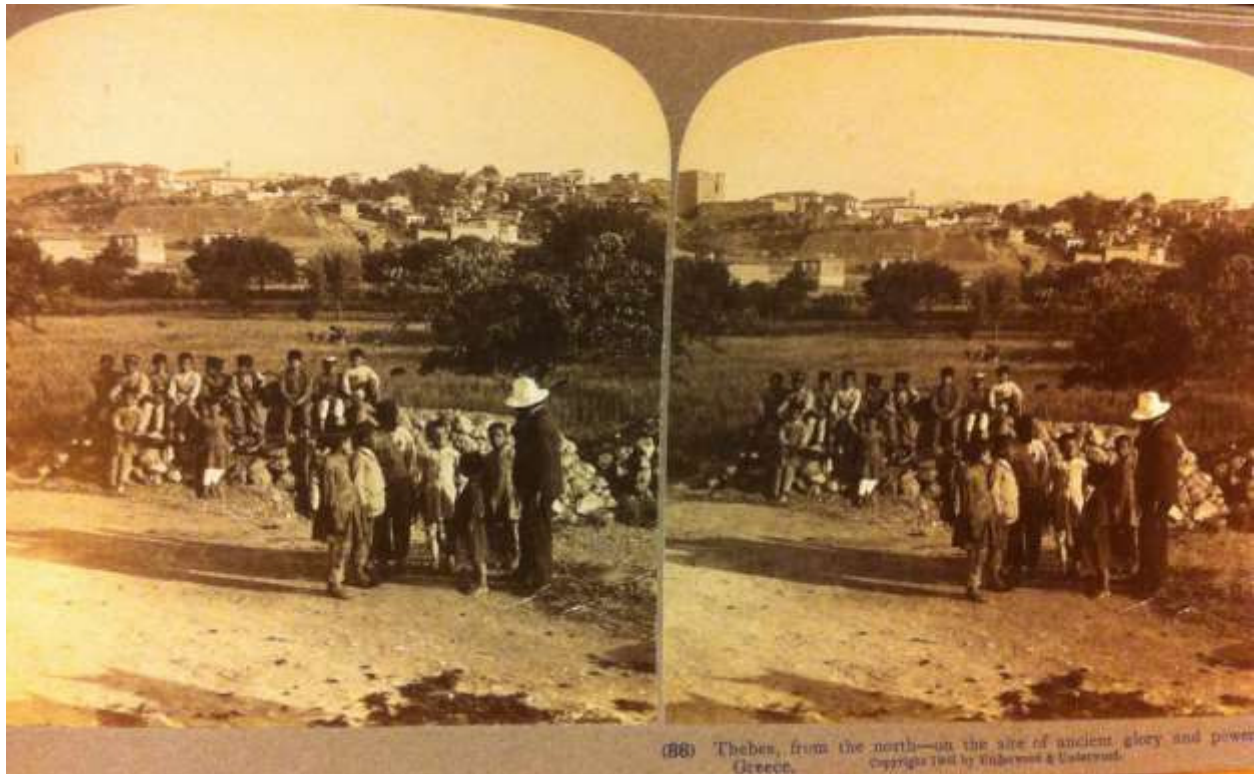
Gourgouris highlights the potential of stereotypes generated by the tourist to have a real and lasting impact on the way Greek nationality is envisioned within and outside its borders. He further adds, “If the conscious playacting for the amusement of travelers seems harmless enough, surely the reproduction of scholarly knowledge that the unwitting ethnographer accepts as testimony of unadulterated ancient tradition is a much more insidious problem” (Gourgouris, 1996, p. 150). Gourgouris’s research points to the fact that stereotypes of Greece during the nineteenth century coincided with the young nation’s search for new symbols and images to describe itself. As Chow argues, “Stereotypes do not only, in concert with social types, map out the boundaries of acceptable and legitimate behaviour, *they also insist on boundaries exactly at those points where in reality there are none*” (Chow, 2002, p. 59); the harmful potential of a stereotype is its productive ability to create distinctions and cultural norms which do not necessarily correspond to the prior “reality” of a given situation. An analogue of this discussion can be seen in Maoz’s description of the mutual gaze (Maoz, 2006) and Nance’s description of facilitated access in the Ottoman Empire (Nance, 2007). Both of these models move away from assumptions that tourists have the power to fix images and experiences; instead they point to the ways in which local populations and structures can fix and manipulate images and experiences of tourists.

FIG 2: “All that remains of Ancient Corinth”.



Despite the description on Slide 75 (Fig 2), “All that remains of Ancient Corinth”, the primary focus of the scene is a conversation between three men. The men in the foreground could be seen as a continuation of ancient Corinth through viewing the men as the inheritors of the ancients, a trope that has been well documented (Baedeker, 1889; Leontis, 1995; Mahn, 2012; Murray, 1840). Alternatively, the scene can be read in terms of a tense contradiction between the ruins and the focus on the men who are not accounted for in the description. Although studies of photography and Greece in this period have pointed to an obsession with the antique over the contemporary (Panayotopoulos, 2009; Tsirgialou, 2005), scenes of contemporary life and architecture are profiled in the collection. While this virtual journey in Greece follows an itinerary that profiled the classics, there are a number of scenes that reference classical sites but which visually profile contemporary life.

FIG 3: “Ancient glory of Thebes”.



The captured encounter between a tourist and group of children enacts the contradiction between the imaginative vistas of ruins that came to dominate tourist literature about Greece, and the vital scene of contemporary Greece. While the inscription on the stereograph for Thebes (Fig 3) describes “ancient glory and power”, the encounter unfolding in the foreground offers a competing focal point. Like Baedeker guidebooks to Greece, the stereographs utilised narrative economy. However, like the earlier Murray guidebooks, Underwood & Underwood’s stereographic tourism offered glimpses of contemporary life, and were even able to reflect on their own staged inauthenticity, as the visual pun in Fig 1 evidences. Although Underwood & Underwood’s journey contributed to the production of stereotypes about Greece, as forms of guidebooks that relied on visual imagery more than textual description, there is a greater flexibility for the parameters of interpretation.

4.2 *Simulating Space/Stimulating Senses*

While Urry & Larsen describe how with the advent of photography there was a, “growing separation of the senses, especially of vision from touch, smell and hearing” (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 162), recent discussions in phenomenology associated with the haptic have sought to locate within this dislocation of sense and image, the emergence of a new kind of sensory experience (Bruno, 2002; Garrington, 2010; Marks, 2000; Trotter, 2004). The haptic “combines touch, the reaching and touching of any part of the human skin – with kinaesthesia, or the body’s appreciation of its own movement. It also involves proprioception, a bodily sense of position within space” (Garrington, 2010, p. 810). Scholars in tourism have used this concept which evolved from nineteenth century art theory, in discussions of embodiment and tourism (Staiff, 2012). Although the stereoscope created a very crude type of three dimensional imaging, it was nonetheless effective in disrupting the static or fixed nature of the photograph. Crary describes the process of looking through a stereoscope: “We perceive individual elements as flat, cutout forms arrayed either nearer to or further from us. But the experience of space between these objects (planes) is not one of gradual and predictable recession; rather, there is a vertiginous uncertainty about the distance separating forms” (Crary, 1990, p. 125).

The virtual effects of the stereoscope involved the manipulation of proximity and depth, and especially the viewer’s ability to manipulate these by focusing on different parts of the stereographic view. Trotter sums up this effect in the following way: “Stereoscopy, then, involves the visualisation of tangibility. That which we might want to touch takes shape in front of our eyes. The shape it takes is that of its own tangibility” (Trotter, 2005, p. 48). This early form of virtual realism can be understood in the context of a longer interest in the way people, technologies and the tourism responded to the derivative realism of the tourist guidebook (Buzard, 1993). In another sense, it challenges the way frames for experiencing photography of

late nineteenth and early twentieth Greece have been discussed in existing literature (Lalioti, 2009; Panayotopoulos 2009).

Urry & Larsen (2011), following the influential work of Schivelbusch and Sternberger have discussed the way mobility, in the form of railways, car windscreens and camera viewfinders have constructed *tourist glances*, which created a new kind of disembodied ahistoricity to the experience of space, a theme touched on in earlier work by Schivelbusch (1986) and Sternberger (1977). The stereoscope may still have a mediating glass, frame or viewfinder in its operation, but unlike the description of the camcorder viewfinder or the railway journey, it privileged three dimensional experience that could be partially ordered by the aspects of the scene which the viewer chose to focus on, rather than the passive experience of two dimensional linear glances that were ordered by the railway (Osborne, 2000). Through its rudimentary three dimensional effects, this stereoscopic journey is able to interpellate the viewer into a scene which invites a very different plane of viewing. Rather than consuming stereotypes of Greece, this stereoscopic journey invites the viewer to come closer to complicate interpretations of the scene by playing on effects of distance and proximity, effects described here through critical discussions of the haptic.

5. CONCLUSION

The study has aimed to bring knowledge about tourism in late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Greece conducted in the arts and humanities into contact with relevant work in the field of tourism research. It has drawn from critics whose work takes place in very different fields. The work of critics such as Herzfeld (1987) and Leontis (1995) have examined the way representations of Greece as a semi-classical/oriental space have impacted the way Greece is positioned in research. Due to the range of research listed in the bibliography, it is impossible to

absolutely categorise all the fields of study represented in this research. However a broad overview with indicative critics includes (listed alphabetically) with key discussions:

1. Art history (Panayotopoulos, 2009; Tsirgialou, 2005): stereoscope, photography
2. Book history (Foulke, 1992; Francois, 2012): guidebooks
3. Classics (Alcock, Cherry & Elsner, 2001; Harlan, 2009): reception of the classics
4. Cultural studies (Chow, 2002; Yalouri, 2001): theories of representation
5. Literary studies (Buzard, 1993; Mahn, 2012): overviews of travel writing in the nineteenth century
6. Modern Greek studies (Hamilakis & Brown, 2003; Tziovas, 2006): critical discussions of the history and production of knowledge about Greece
7. Tourism studies (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Maoz 2005; Tribe, 2006): critical discussions of tourism and interdisciplinarity, and theories of the gaze

In addition to this, critical research into interdisciplinarity has pointed to the productive potential in bringing knowledge from different areas into contact rather than generate a new, fixed methodology (Barthes, 1993; Darballey & Stock, 2012; Huggan, 2008; Moran, 2010). The approach in this study was to draw out some of the relevant discussions on tourism in Greece in the late nineteenth century, and then layer this knowledge to analyse a stereoscopic journey through Greece published in 1905.

After providing an outline of the understanding of the term tourism in the arts and humanities, and clarifying the use of the term in the present study, the first section of this article offered an overview of disciplines which discuss tourism in Greece in the late nineteenth century. Of specific interest was the way in which the classics, anthropology, book history, and cultural studies have analysed forms of early tourism in Greece. The classics have produced

studies covering images of antiquity in Victorian Hellenism. Ethnography and anthropology have struggled to create stable paradigms for the representation of Greek life between the east and west (Herzfeld, 1987; Mahn, 2012). Book history has contributed important discussions of how guidebooks operate, without nuancing the discussion in terms of specific socio-historical conditions.

By concentrating on late nineteenth century representations of Greece, Modern Greek Studies has come the closest to offering an interdisciplinary approach, but there are very few sustained discussions of tourism (Mahn, 2012). The second and third sections of this article moved towards delineating “the complexity of a phenomenon” (Darbellay & Stock, 2012: 453). As guidebooks became increasingly codified through the century, their multidisciplinary approach was reduced, compressed and replaced by photographs and images. There have been earlier arguments that this reduced the level of discursive complexity for the tourist through the preference of images depicting ancient ruins over contemporary scenes (Mahn, 2012). However, the stereoscopic journey through Greece reveals the way some of that discursive complexity migrated from the page to the image.

Like recent work that aims to dig beneath common-sense assumptions about guidebooks to Greece (Rakić, 2012), this article has attempted to offer a more nuanced portrait of the way stereotypes about Greece’s ancient splendour were represented and subtly challenged in stereoscopes. These are precisely the kinds of stereotypes which inform the “particular filter” (Urry & Larsen, 2011, p. 2) of the tourist gaze. Through this filter, tourists in the period could begin to identify the series of signs and symbols which acted as a shorthand for “Greece”. The haptic offers another way in which theorisations of the tourist gaze can be nuanced in the context of specific historical and technological conditions. Despite the depictions of Greece as a

primarily classical space in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this stereoscopic journey reveals an interest in contemporary life through the mediation of a tense contradiction between scenes from a timeless antiquity, and scenes depicting contemporary life in Greece. The stereoscope brought stereotypes to life by creating a unique interaction between the view and the slide that challenged the divisions between the ancient/modern and the classical/oriental, through adding the sense of touch as well as sight.

REFERENCES

- Alcock, S. A., J. F. Cherry & Jas Elsner. (Eds.). (2001). *Pausanias: Travel and memory in Roman Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Allen, E. (1996). "Money and little red books": Romanticism, tourism, and the rise of the guidebook. *LIT*, 7, 213-226.
- Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, Helen. (1990). *The eve of the Greek revival: British travellers' perceptions of early nineteenth century Greece*. London: Routledge.
- Armstrong, I. J. (1893). *Two roving Englishwomen in Greece*. London: Samson Low, Marston.
- Ateljevic, I., Pritchard, A., & Morgan, N. (Eds.). (2007). *The critical turn in tourism studies: Innovative research methodologies*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Augustinos, O. (1994). *French odysseys: Greece in French travel literature from the renaissance to the romantic era*. London: John Hopkins.
- Baedeker, K. (1889). *Greece: Handbook for travellers*. Leipzig: Baedeker.
- Baedeker, K. (1894). *Greece: Handbook for travellers*. Leipzig: Baedeker.
- Baedeker, K. (1905). *Greece: Handbook for travellers*. Leipzig: Baedeker.
- Baedeker, K. (1909). *Greece: Handbook for travellers*. Leipzig: Baedeker.

Barthes, R. (1977). *Image, music, text*. London: Fontana.

Barthes, R. (1993). *Mythologies*. London: Vintage.

Baudrillard, J. (1994). *Simulacra and simulation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Brendon, P. (1991). *Thomas Cook: 150 years of popular tourism*. London: Secker Warberg.

Bender, J., Gidlow, B., & Fisher, D. (2013). 'National stereotypes in tourist guidebooks: An analysis of auto- and hetero-stereotypes in different language guidebooks about Switzerland'. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 40, 331-351.

Bruno, G. (2002). *Atlas of emotion: Journeys in art, architecture and film*. London: Verso.

Burns, J. (1870). *Help-book for travellers to the east*. London: Cook's Tourist Office, 1870.

Buzard, J. (1993). *The beaten track: European tourism, literature, and the ways to culture, 1800-1918*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Carrigan, A. (2011). *Postcolonial tourism: Literature, culture, and environment*. New York: Routledge.

Cheong, S., & Miller, M. (2000). 'Power and tourism: A Foucauldian observation'. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27 (2), 371-390.

Chow, R. (2002). *The protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes: Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Crary, J. (2001). *Suspension of perception: Attention, spectacle and modern culture*. Cambridge, M. A.: M. I. T. Press.

- Crary, J. (1990). *Techniques of the observer: On vision and modernity in the nineteenth century*. Cambridge, London: M. I. T. Press.
- Darbellay, F. & M. Stock. Tourism as complex interdisciplinary research object. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39 (1), 441-458.
- De Beer, E.S. (1952). The development of the guide-book until the early nineteenth century. *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3 (XV), 35-46.
- Edwards J.D., Graulund, R. (Eds.). (2012). *Mobility at large: Globalization, textuality and innovative travel writing*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Eisner, R. (1991). *Travelers to an antique land: The history and literature of travel to Greece*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Foucault, M. (2003). *Archaeology of knowledge*. Routledge: London.
- Foulke, R. (1992). The guidebook industry. In M. Kowalewski (Ed.), *Temperamental journeys* (pp. 93-106). Athens: University of Georgia.
- Francois, P. (2012). If It's 1815, this must be Belgium: The origins of the modern travel guide'. *Book History*, 15, 71-92.
- Galani-Moutafi, V. (2005). Tourism research on Greece: A critical overview. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31 (1), 157-179.
- Garrington, A. (2010). Touching texts: The haptic sense in modernist literature. *Literature Compass*, 7 (9), 810-823.
- Geertz, C. (2000). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Goodwin, G. & Johnston, G. (2012). Guidebook publishing in the nineteenth century: John Murray's handbooks for travellers. *Studies in Travel Writing*,
DOI:10.1080/13645145.2012.747791.

Gourgouris, S. (1996). *Dream nation: Enlightenment, colonization, and the institution of Modern Greece*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Guthenke, C. (2008). *Placing Modern Greece: The dynamics of romantic Hellenism, 1770-1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hamilakis, Y. & K. S. Brown. (Eds.). (2003). *The usable past: Greek metahistories*. Oxford: Lexington Books.

Harlan, D. (2009). Travel, pictures and a Victorian gentleman in Greece. *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 78, 421-453.

Herzfeld, M. (1987). *Anthropology through the looking glass*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holmes, O. W. (1859). The stereoscope and the stereograph. *The Atlantic Monthly*, 3 (June). Retrieved 2 January, 2013, from University of Yale website. Website:
<http://www.yale.edu/amstud/inforev/stereo.html>.

Huggan, G. (2008). *Interdisciplinary measures: Literature and the future of postcolonial studies*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Jamal T. & Kim, H. (2005). Bridging the interdisciplinary divide: Towards an integrated framework for heritage tourism research. *Tourist Studies*, 5, 55-83.

- Kolocotroni, V. & E. Mitsi. (Eds). (2008). *Women writing Greece: Essays on hellenism, orientalism and travel*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Koshar, R. (2000). *German travel cultures*. Oxford: Berg.
- Lalioti, V. (2009). Ancient Greek theatres as visual images of Greekness. In M. Robinson and D. Picard (Eds.), *The framed world: Tourism, tourists, and photography* (pp.63-98). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Leontis, A. (1995). *Topographies of hellenism: mapping the homeland*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Levi-Strauss, C. (2011). *Trites tropiques*. London: Penguin.
- Löfgren, O. (1999). *On holiday: A history of vacationing*. Berkeley & London: University of California Press.
- MacCannell, D. (2011). *The ethics of sightseeing*. Berkeley & L. A.: University of California Press.
- Mackenzie, J. (2005). Empires of travel: British guide books and cultural imperialism in the 19th and 20th centuries. In J. K. Walton (Ed.), *Histories of Tourism* (pp.19-38). Clevedon: Channel View.
- Mahn, C. (2012). *British women's travel to Greece, 1840-1914*. Ashgate: Aldershot.
- Maoz, D. (2006). The mutual gaze. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33 (1), 221-239.
- Marks, L. (2000). *The skin of film: Intercultural cinema, embodiment and the senses*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Mendelson, E. (1985). Baedeker's universe. *Yale Review*, 74, 386-403.

- Moran, J. (2010). *Interdisciplinarity*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Murray, J. (1840). *A handbook for travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople*. London: John Murray.
- Murray, J. (1854). *A handbook for travellers in Greece*. London: John Murray.
- Murray, J. (1872). *A handbook for travellers in Greece*. London: John Murray.
- Murray, J. (1884). *A handbook for travellers in Greece*. London: John Murray.
- Murray, J. (1896). *A handbook for travellers in Greece*. London: John Murray.
- Murray, J. (1900). *A handbook for travellers in Greece*. London: John Murray.
- Nance, S. (2007). A facilitated access model and ottoman empire tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34 (4), 1056-1077.
- Ong, C. & H. du Cros. (2012). The post-Mao gazes: Chinese backpackers in Macau. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39 (2), 735-754.
- Osborne, P. D. (2000). *Travelling light: Photography, travel and visual culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Panayotopoulos, N. (2009). On Greek photography: Eurocentrism, cultural colonialism and the construction of mythic classical Greece. *Third Text*, 23 (2), 181-194.
- Pietrobruno, S. (2011). The stereoscope and the miniature. *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 9 (3), 171-190.
- Roessel, D. (2002). In *Byron's shadow: Modern Greece in the English and American enlightenment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rakić, T. and J. Tivers. (Eds.). (2012). *Narratives of tourism and travel*. Ashgate: Farnham.

- Rakić, T. (2012). Narratives of national versus ‘universal’ belonging of the Athenian acropolis in travel guidebooks. In T. Rakić, & J. Tivers (Eds.), *Narratives of tourism and travel* (pp. 157-165). Ashgate: Farnham.
- Rose, G. (2007). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to the interpretation of visual images*. SAGE: Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington, DC.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. Hammersworth: Penguin.
- Shivelbusch, W. (1986). *The railway journey: The industrialisation of time and space in the nineteenth century*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Staiff, R. (2012). The somatic and the aesthetic. In L. Smith, E. Vaterton & S. Watson (Eds.), *The Cultural Moment in Tourism* (pp.38-58). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Stakelon, P. (2011). Travel through the stereoscope. *Media History*, 16 (4), 407-422.
- Sternberger, D. (1977). *Panorama of the nineteenth century*. Translated by J. Neugroschel. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Travlou, P. (2002). Go Athens: A Journey into the centre of the city. In S. Coleman & M. Crang, *Tourism: Between place and performance* (pp.108-127). New York and Oxford: Bergham Books.
- Tribe, J., Xiao, H., & Chambers, D. (2012). The reflexive journal: Inside the black box. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 39 (1), 7-35.
- Tribe, J. (2006). The truth about tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33 (2), 360-381.
- Tribe, J. (1997). The indiscipline of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24 (3), 638-657.
- Trotter, D. (2004). Stereoscopy: modernism and the “haptic”. *Critical Quarterly*, 46 (4), 38-58.

Tsirgiyalou, A. (2005). The stereotyped vision of Greece: 19th century photographs in the Benaki Museum archives. Athens: Benaki Museum.

Tziouvas, D. (2006). The future of Modern Greek Studies in higher education: Lost in academia? *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 24, (201-208).

Underwood & Underwood. (1905). Greece through the stereoscope. London: Underwood & Underwood.

Uricchio, W. (2011). A “proper point of view”: The panorama and some of its early media iterations. *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 9 (3), 225-238.

Urry, J. & Larsen, J. (2011). *The tourist gaze 3.0*. London: Sage.

Vaughan, J. (1974). *The English guide book c1780-1870*. London: David and Charles.

Wang, N. (2000). *Tourism and modernity*. Oxford: Pergamon.

Wills, D. (2007). *The mirror of antiquity: 20th century British travellers in Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press.

Xin, S., Tribe, J., Chambers, D. (2013). Conceptual Research in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*. April, 66-68, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2012.12.003>.

Yalouri, E. (2001). *The acropolis: Global fame, local Claim*. Oxford: Berg.

Youngs, T., & Hooper, G. (2004). (Eds.). *Perspectives on travel writing*. Aldershot: Ashgate.