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Abstract

The view of tourism's past for Greece is dominated by narratives of early travelers who recorded their experiences punctuated by reference to Greek archaeological treasures, the natural history and the population, and portrayed Greece as a place of difference. Based on these accounts, this study undertakes a typological approach as a crucial element of understanding early Greek travelers' interests. A typological interpretation of early travel accounts has resulted in six groups of travelers, namely the antiquaries, the collectors, the philhellenists, the artists, the environmentalists, and the professional travelers. These types are compared with modern tourism in an attempt to identify similarities and differences that will help to establish continuity between early and modern traveling.

Keywords: early travelers, travel accounts, modern tourists, typology, Greece

Introduction

Despite the long history of traveling through the ages, the study of tourism has become important only after the second half of the 20th century, as a result of the phenomenal growth of tourism supply and demand. The limited links between tourism studies and history have led frequently people to believe that tourism is a new phenomenon. However, people always used to travel to see the world; even from the age of Herodotus, the world's first travel writer, as well as historian. In the spirit of classical Greece, where foreigners were considered sacred and were protected by Zeus (Dritsas 2002:1), Plato highlights that journeying regularly for educational and scientific reasons or motivated from passion for, and, knowledge of arts and shows was a common activity. Athens, itself developed into a tourist attraction from the second half of the fifth century, when the Parthenon and other exciting new buildings crowned its Acropolis (Casson 1974:85). To satisfy the demand of 'ancient travelers', basic facilities were provided. For instance, in Crete, the remains of the earliest hostel have been found, which is dated some time around 1500 B.C. This hostel was a small elegant structure placed alongside the highway from the south coast just at its approach to the palace at Knossos (Casson 1974:38).

The history of Greek tourism is not recent, as many may think. Instead, Greece attracted the attention of travelers quite early, mainly because of its geographical location and its cultural importance for the construction of European identity (Dritsas 2006:29). Despite the high demand for traveling to Greece through time, it was only in the latter years of the 16th century that Europeans were recorded to visit the Ottoman-held Greece, often under adverse conditions (Kardasis undated). This wave of travelers can be attributed to a thirst for knowledge for Greek history, physical geography, customs, adventure and religion, and was seen "as a profound, widely shared human desire to know 'others' (McKean 1978:106-7)". Many of these visits were mediated through a canon of texts written by ancient historians, geographers and philosophers, such as Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, Xenophon's *Hellenica*, and Herodotus' *History*,

which for some early travelers acted as useful aids for notes and diaries (Bittarello 2006). Among the early travelers that refer to ancient literature, Gell (1811) writes:

The fancy or ingenuity of the reader may be employed in tracing others; the mind familiar with the imagery of the Odyssey will recognize with satisfaction the scenes themselves; and this volume is offered to the public, not entirely without hopes of vindicating the poem of Homer from the skepticism of those critics who imagine that the Odyssey is a mere poetical composition, unsupported by history, and unconnected with the localities of any particular situation (p. 670).

This study reviews travel accounts by Westerns traveling to Greece, while the country was part of the political and social order of the Ottoman Empire, known as Tourcocratia (Turkish occupation)¹. These accounts represent the ways in which Greece was read, translated, represented and recreated, all of which created a particular form of text for Greece that became the language for the promotion of modern tourism.² In addition, these self-revealing texts provide reflective accounts of experiences that can serve as means to trace the origins of Greek tourism and as lens into the lived travel experiences to which a researcher can provide practical insights (Andriotis 2009). In other words, through these accounts the dead talks in order to communicate his/her experiences, and to pass them on the living people.

Greece is an appropriate setting for research, mainly because although the extensive number of travelers that used to visit the country during Turkish occupation, there is a scarcity of sources for travelers to Greece during this era (Constantine 1984). As Runciman (1968) points out Turkish governmental records are perfunctory, the Greek chronicles are few, and though fairly reliable. As a result, the only sources of data for this period are the accounts given by those brave western travelers who ventured to take the rather dangerous journey to Turkish-ruled Greece. As Constantine (1984) writes about the hardships associated with traveling to Greece:

The journey to Greece and travel in Greece were strenuous and dangerous. The travelers risked capture and robbery by pirates at sea, by brigands on land; as well as plague, harassment by Turks and a thousand causal accidents. To refer to some examples, Eastcourt and Bouverie felt sick on the road and died; Vernon and Bocher were murdered, and James Stuart two or three times came close to the same fate. All feared for their lives more than once in bad weather at sea (p.6).

Thus, the wealth of primary research material, principally the diaries, journals, books and letters written by the travelers during their journeys to Greece, can offer an infinitely rich material that can be employed as an analytical approach to help reconstruct aspects of the Greek tourism history.

Although much of the best work on tourism history has come from historians, their findings rarely penetrate to tourism (Towner 1988, Towner and Wall 1991). Thus, certain aspects of contemporary tourism which may be related to early traveling to Greece remain unclear. As a result, it is not clear yet whether the refined early Greek

travelers with their predilection for art and letters have, or have not been removed from their contemporary counterparts. When this perspective receives further research interest, it will then be possible to gain a better understanding of the legacy of the early travelers to Greece, and to assess their contribution to the evolution of modern tourism.

Despite the increasing research on early traveling, past research has been operated with an one-dimensional view of early travelers, e.g. Mitsi's (2008) study on Greek landscape, and an oversimplification of their experience. Thus, while the number of useful studies in early traveling is becoming legend, and typology has traditionally been employed by tourism researchers in the attempt to group tourists in segments with similar characteristics, a typological approach has not yet been applied as a means to group early travelers in segments. Bearing this in mind, the current study reopens the topic of early travel writing by discussing the typologies of early travelers in order to allow a precise and historically accurate description of the types of early travelers and to reconstruct the history of early travel experiences. The value of such a description is two-fold. First, it will act as the basis upon which one decides whether or not typology can be used as a viable element for understanding the interests of early travelers. And secondly, it will provide a standard against which instances of differences between early travel experiences can be evaluated and compared with modern tourism.

Typology of Early Travelers

Traveling to Greece was quite common in the Classical world. This tendency continued through the ages and “eventually Greece became part of the 'Grand Tour', particularly during the Napoleonic Wars, when other parts of Europe were inaccessible (Dritsas 2002:1)”. The itinerary followed a more or less standard route. Athens and the greater Attica region was of top priority, and the route included, but was not restricted to, other famous places of ancient history and mythology, such as Delphi, Olympia, Corinth, Sparta, Delos and Thebes (Dritsas 2002; Kardasis undated). Simultaneously, scientific missions started roaming the Greek countryside. As a result, Greece was known to west Europeans, aristocrats, explorers, and scientists for a long time, before actual tourist development began, and for many travelers a journey to Greece was one of life's goals.

Many of these travelers while passing through different locations and crossing personal and cultural boundaries, left their own travel histories (Galani-Moutafi 2000:204), which point out their interests. The emerging themes of these accounts make possible to identify different types of travelers, as the ones described below.

Antiquaries

Fascinated by the quest for the discovery of the ancient Greek world many 'aristocratic travelers' organized journeys to Greece to study the ancient literature in situ rather than in the library. A representative example of such travelers was Spon (1678), who described himself as the lover “of an ancient but still beautiful mistress – the city of Athens”. By reading his book *Voyage d' Italie, Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, somebody realizes that his journey was an overture to the European intellectuals' journey to antiquity. The same is true of Wood when in the preface of his book *An Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer*, first published in 1775, stated as purpose of his travel “to read the Iliad and Odyssey in the countries where

Achilles fought, where Ulysses traveled, and where Homer sung”. Fascination by classical past is also expressed by Wickelmann (1793, cited in Augustinos 1994):

To feel all the merit of this artistic masterpiece, one must be infused with intellectual beauty and must become, if possible, creator of a celestial nature, because there is nothing mortal in it, nothing that is subject to human need At the sight of this marvel of art, I forget the entire universe and my mind reaches a supernatural disposition, which enables it to judge it with dignity. My admiration is transformed into extasis (p.24).

Although many travelers motivated by history and archaeological excavations came to Greece individually, a more organized form of antiquaries was that of the Dilettanti Society, a group of aristocratic young men who after the Grand Tour laid the foundation for a systematic scholarly study of Classical Greek antiquities by financing a series of expeditions which generated a remarkably self-conscious architectural revival.

Collectors

Common practice for many returning travelers was to make gifts of sculptures, busts, and whatever else had archaeological value to the rulers of their homeland, or to keep them for their own collection. As Adler (1989) remarks travelers hoped “to become ‘traveling contributors’ or ‘foreign correspondents’ of important scientific societies and certainly received recognition for any specimens contributed to collections of curiosities upon their return home (p. 16)”. Thus, traveling to Greece was often accompanied by significant collecting activity of archaeological value. Although Elgin was the most representative of this type of travelers, he was not the only who ‘committed the sin’. To name but a few, Choiseul-Gouffier, Cockerell, Fauvel, and Greaves, went so far as to form a ‘society’, characterized by its eager to plunder antiquities, and often destroyed; packed and transferred precious antiquities and artefacts from Greece to their homeland. In the words of Constantine (1984):

Worse still perhaps were the acts of vandalism committed by the collectors and amateurs themselves. Fourmont with an army of labourers in Sparta, going with brutal single-mindedness after inscriptions (like Schliemann at Troy, after Priam’s city), did terrific damage to whatever else of ancient remains got in his way. It is also said of him, although let us hope this is not true, that he smashed the inscriptions once he had copied them, in order to put his own authority beyond dispute. What is left of the colossal statue of Apollo on Delos, a part of the trunk and a part of the thighs, will serve for all time as an indictment of crude European acquisitiveness. Works were chopped and sawn unmercifully to be transported; dealers broke them to sell piecemeal at greater profit; restorers cobbled bits together with a brutal tastelessness – what monsters Winckelmann saw (and admitted) in the gallery of Dresden (p. 9).

Philhellenists

Although many early travelers to Greece came to steal, some others came “to culminate in the deliverance of Greece from the yoke of the Turks and the establishment of a free state (Malakis 1925:86)”. As Eisner (1991) explains:

To the old Hellenism derived solely from ancient texts was now added an archaeological enthusiasm, called Romantic Hellenism by Harry Levin in a brilliant undergraduate essay, the Broken Column. This new Hellenism in England and France led to Philhellenism, the idealization of the ancient Greeks to an enthusiasm for freeing the modern Greeks from the Turkish yoke (p. 71).

Without any objection the principal representative of Philhellenists was Lord Byron, whose participation in the War of Independence and his death at Messologhi, endowed the Greek Struggle for Independence, and changed many foreign governments' stance in favor of the Greek Revolution (Kardassis undated). Referring to one of his letters to the General Government of Greece, in 1783: "Allow me to add, once for all, - I desire the well-being of Greece, and nothing else; I will do all I can to secure it (Moore 1866:602)". However, Lord Byron was not the only philhellene. The German poet Hölderlin remarked the need to liberate the sacred land when in his novel *Hyperion* informed Western intellectuals about the plight of Greeks. Likewise, Thomas Jefferson, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, Pierre Augustin Guys, and Comte de Choisseul-Gouffier, motivated by their admiration for the ancients and their love of Greek liberty, marked a period of Philhellenism. Eisner (1991:120) estimates that about 940 philhellenes are known who fought in Greece, one third of which died of disease or were killed. Their impetus was voiced in their published books, in case they survived, or in their letters back home, as the dispatch below by Jonathan Miller (cited in Karanikas 1993):

I have fared like a Greek, and with the Greeks I am willing to suffer for the cause of religion and freedom. Call me in America a crusader, or what you will, my life is devoted to the overturning of the Turkish Empire. God is on the side of the Greeks.

Artists

Many of the aristocrats who could afford it, hired professional artists to sketch archaeological sites and other natural or man-made ‘curiosities’ encountered during their trip, making known to Westerners the artistic value of ancient monuments and generating a growing fascination with the idea of Greece. To mention some examples, Simone Pormandi, an Italian painter, accompanied Dodwell in 1804 to Greece and made 600 drawings; the French painter Etienne Rey accompanied his compatriot Antoine Marie Chenavard in order to produce architectural drawings of ancient monuments; and Richard Dalton, accompanied Lord Charlemont in 1749 to make several drawings of Athenian antiquities. In the same lines, James Stuart, in his trip to Greece between 1751 and 1753 with Nicholas Revett, was commissioned by Dilettanti Society to draw as much as ancient monuments as they could. Robert Wood (1753) writes about these artists:

When we arrived at Athens, we found Mr Stewart and Mr Revet, two English painters, successfully employed in taking measures of all the architecture there, and making drawings of all the bass reliefs, with a view to publish them.

During the early nineteenth century many artists were visiting Athens. As Comte de Forbin wrote in 1819, in his book *Voyage dans le Levant* about the artists in Athens: “I met there many artists, English or German, drawing, measuring, endlessly and with the minute exactness of the most scrupulous commentator, those monuments, those noble creations of genius (p. 35)”. The eager of artists to record the monuments is backed by John Tweddell (1815) who during his travel to Greece in 1799, stated: “Not only every temple, but every stone and every inscription shall be copied with the most scrupulous fidelity”.

Environmentalists

Although the sites of classical antiquities dominated the travel pattern to Greece, there were travelers interested in depicting the picturesque aspects of natural heritage. In contrast to the Grand Tour, where the interest in nature was of limited importance (Towner 1985), in Greece the thirst of natural history and social customs led travelers roaming the countryside. Among the travelers motivated by the natural phenomena, Pierre Belon (1553), the first of a number of great naturalist travelers to Greece, was an accurate observer of the natural history of places he visited, and collected plants of medical value; Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1717) was stick closely to botanical discoveries preventing him from noting many things that a more naïve traveler would have described; and the Austrian botanist Franz Sieber visited Crete in 1817 to collect rare plants. Their writings reveal an inexhaustible source of poetical themes, as the quote below by Barthelemy (1822) for the valley of Tempe:

The mountains are covered with polar, plane, and ash trees of a surprising beauty. From their feet flow springs of pure, crystalline water; and guests of fresh air, which one can inhale with secret pleasure, blow among their peaks. The river winds its course with tranquility, and in certain places it embraces small islands whose venture it nourishes. Grottoes perched on the mountainsides are the refuge of repose and pleasure.

Some early travelers were also concerned with host societies and disclosed information about the life of the host communities mainly concerned with the differences between ancient and modern Greek culture. Among them Pierre-Augustin Guys, during his stay in the orient, introduced a critical and comparative system of Greeks of the past and compared similarities and differences between the ancient and contemporary Greeks, paying emphasis on their continuity (Koumarianou 2000), and supporting that in order to know the life of the ancient Greeks it is necessary to attire oneself in the costume of the modern Greeks. Likewise, Chandler in his book *Travel in Greece*, published in 1776, presented the customary way of Greek life, and M. de la Guillatiere (1675) in his book *Les Voyageurs Francais*, presented the popular life of Greece as it was lived from day to day, intermixed with numerous anecdotes about the Turks.

Professional travelers

Apart from the admiration of nature and the observation of social customs, narratives of early travelers provide various tributes to the professional acumen. Paul Lucas was among the first who traveled to Greece in the 1680s to buy precious stones for his father's business, although later, he expanded his activities by collecting Greek coins, which he was selling at a handsome price to the court of Louis XIV (Augustinos 1994:84). During this period merchants tended to prefer the rich Turks to the impoverished Greeks, as well as other centers of activity of the Near East. Thus, during the 17th and 18th centuries, places such as Ioannina, where Ali Pasa, the provincial governor of Ioannina was based, attracted a large number of traders, to the extent that Cockerell (1910) estimated the size of the bazaar of Ioannina similar to those of Constantinople (Kondilis undated). Although traders and merchants left only limited accounts, they differed appreciably from those of their romantic predecessors, as the quote below illustrates (Augustinos, 1994):

Their journeys followed the routes of the trade, they sought places of production, amassed information on manufacturing activities and cottage industries, evaluated data concerning the cost of production and transportation, commented on the possibilities of conveying products from the Greek hinterland to the ports, discussed the interventions of the authorities in mercantile transactions. Their interest consequently focused on the Greece of day and the life of the Greeks fills their books, while observations of archaeological interest are relegated to the margins ... It is a fact that these particular travelers contributed decisively, if unwittingly, to promoting the economic geography of Greece (p.84).

Apart from the traders and merchants, the group of professional travelers encompasses also those travelers whose objective was to gather intelligence of political-diplomatic content aiming to strengthen their state's political-economic influence in the Ottoman Empire. These travelers included missionaries who organized and established permanent missions to Greece and diplomats who paid attention to the foreign policy of their countries vis a vis the Ottoman empire and the aspiring Greek nation (Dritsas 2006:29). To name one, Leake (1835), a British colonel, stayed and traveled around Greece between 1799 to 1810, and wrote a book entitled *Travel in Northern Greece*, which for decades provided the most precious source of information on the Greek economy.

Early travelers and their modern counterparts

From the time of early traveling, the routine of travel underwent considerable change. Taking the example of travelers' mode of transport, Dym (2004) reports that "modes of travel changed from sail on sea and mule on land, to steam, air, rail and road (p.341)". As a consequence of comfortable and fast transport as well as cheap travel deals, a considerable number of travelers visit Greece today through a package-tour, attracted mainly by the four S's (sun, sea, sand and sex) offerings (Andriotis 2003;

Andriotis, Agiomirgianakis and Mihiotis 2007; 2008). These travelers “do not combine, in their experiences, tourism and culture, as was the case for travelers in past centuries”, and are not associated with the classical past as the Victorian travelers who represented the ‘romantic’ gaze (Galani-Moutafi, 2000:210).

Greece has long been experienced and described by Western visitors as a museum of different historical monuments (Kalogeras 1998:705). However, today travel to Greece has been far removed from the agenda of early traveling. Despite the changes of foreigners' impressions of Greece during the last decades, and the changes on travel patterns, various similarities and differences can be identified between modern travelers to Greece and their early counterparts. In the words of Galani-Moutafi (2000), “they both share common origins, which can be traced to the explorer, the missionary, the merchant, and the traveler (p.204).” Likewise, Pemble (1987:13) points out that it was emphasis and language that altered over time, rather than the motives, attitudes, and experiences of tourists. However, Eisner (1991) believes that contemporary tourists “differ from the old Classicism in that (they) first learn about what they are seeing from their tour guides, instead of finding in Greece illustration and corroboration of their previous reading (pp.244-5)”.

Reconceptualising the similarities and differences, it is evident that some modern tourists to Greece, as heirs of the Romantics, are dominated by romantic views of wild nature with its sublime and picturesque scenery. These modern rural travelers are not too dissimilar from early ‘environmentalists’ who immersed the Greek countryside. For instance, a recent study by Andriotis (forthcoming) found that tourists visiting the village of Archanes, in Crete, exhibited a high exploratory behaviour, they avoided organized tours and had as main objectives to relax and experience the nature and the culture, by exploring places that are quiet and peaceful. The same study revealed that even mass tourists in Crete, attracted by the 3S’s offerings, mention as their second in importance motivator for visiting the island to experience the culture. Likewise, Wickens (2002) study of 86 British holidaymakers in the coastal village of Kalimeria, in Chalkidiki, identified a Cultural Heritage segment consisting of 20.9% of the sample. Her description of this segment is as follows:

They all placed a strong emphasis on the cultural aspects of Kalimeria ... (they have) some knowledge of (the Greek) culture and ancient history. They identified the natural beauties of Greece, its culture and history as the primary reasons for their visits (p.838).

In practice, despite the mass tourist arrivals, there are travelers, although a small number, who visit Greece to experience nature, local culture and social customs and in many cases demand more archaeological and natural minded features in their trip. Modern tourists often combine cultural features with environmental. For instance, one female respondent in Wicken’s study mentioned about the cultural and environmental elements of her experience:

The classical sites, ... the Greek way of life, the food, the language, the music, ... the plant life, the animal life ... a lot of wild birds, some of them en route, on migration ... the beautiful sunsets, Greece has so many things to offer (p.838).

In line with modern tourists, early travelers had diversified interests. As a result, many of them belonged in more than one types. Just to name one example, Pierre Augustin Guys (1783) during his visits to Greece had as main interest the ethnography of the place, but he was also led to the philhellenic support for the Greek war of Independence.

The interest of modern Greek travelers for culture and nature, as a part of package holidays, make some sites too crowded. This is more evident in the case of the museums and archaeological sites that the large number of visitors makes it often hard to see the exhibitions and the archaeological sites. Thus, some tourists have the impression that the archaeological treasures they see compose objects of insignificant historical value. However, this phenomenon is not new. Even before the introduction of mass tourism that according to (Galani-Moutafi 2000) represents the “collective” tourist gaze, international tourist demand to Greece was tremendous. For instance, Lawrence Durrell’s letter to T.S. Eliot in 1946: “I fear we have done Greece harm by all the propaganda we’ve done for it these years. Everyone wants to go there now (Eisner 1993:222)”. Likewise, Hamilton (1910) during her trip to Tinos in the early 1900s, comments that “the entire absence of foreigners was remarkable and refreshing (and she continues by emphasising that) Tenos, has not yet undergone the American invasion (p.80)”.

Turning to the philhellene type, Wickens (2002) in her study identified also a small philhellene group, although with different connotations due to the context of modern times. This segment, named by Wickens as Lord Byrons, consisted 12.4% of the sample and had as main characteristic the annual ritual return to the same village and the same accommodation. As she puts it:

These tourists often spoke of Kalimeria as if it were their “beloved home” ... as well as (their) ‘beloved landscape’ ... and offered detailed accounts of their intimate relationships with their Greek ‘friends’ ... Lord Byrons enjoy a love affair with Greece, with what they see as a ‘relaxed, laid-back and outdoors way of life’ (p.841).

On the other hand, although the number of professional travelers to Greece has increased and expanded, mainly after Greece joined European Union, the number of collectors has diminished. However, these changes to the types of tourists visiting Greece should be seen through the prism of the age, since trade among countries has enormously increased, although antiquities are not considered anymore as commodities of market value, and thus their theft is an abhorrent and unethical crime for which the penalties are severe.

Conclusion

From this comparative study, it is acknowledged that many of the features of early travelers to Greece can add depth to the understanding of aspects of modern

tourism, and provide evidence that these travelers were characterized by a highly diversified pattern of interests and activities, attributes that are also evident in modern traveling. Thus, this paper, in line with past research, e.g. Towner (1995:339), argues that more attention should be paid to tourism's past and the resemblance between past and present. From the typology of early travelers to Greece identified in this study, it is evident that whether early travelers were amateur archaeologists, artists, philhellenes, naturalists, diplomats, or merchants, their voyage to Greece was an educational and cultural experience.

Despite the value of this study for establishing continuity between early and modern traveling, it is acknowledged that any research method requires the careful consideration of the range of source material available together with its limitations (Towner 1988:53). The case of historical data cannot be an exception. A major handicap of travel accounts used in the writing of this paper was the lack of explanations to the particular methods used. As a consequence, Towner (1990:157) criticizes the study of the historiography of tourism for fragmentation, mainly because individuals, from varying disciplines, explore particular themes with little sign of interdisciplinary links. As the same author supports while the collection and analysis of historical data may be sound, questions concerning the authenticity, purpose, and representations of the material are major problems, and, as a consequence, the final conclusions of each historical study may rest on assumptions about the adequacy of the original material (1988:51). On the other hand, evaluations may be based on an 'objective' sociological analysis, based on values, priorities and attitudes (Cohen 1979:29). The question is whose are those values, priorities, and attitudes? Are those of the author's profession, those of his society, or of the host society? This question is particularly pertinent in the research of early travel writings, substantiated by Gibbon, who criticized the book of Pococke (1745) as of superior learning and dignity, and objected its rigor, due to the profound confusion between what the author saw and what he heard.

The current research was concerned with those early travelers who have committed their exploits, thoughts, feelings and motivations to paper. These travelers have been assigned predominantly to the economically well-off, with a fair amount of education, West European male, who committed a voyage to the birthplace of western civilisation. In contrast to modern mass tourism movement, it looks like that the low class was either illiterate and/or unwilling to record its experiences, or was largely unable to engage in such travel. In addition, the hardships accompanied the trip to Ottoman-held Greece prevented women from entering the country. Thus, accounts of the working class and women are lacking. As Nance (2007), reports for Ottoman Empire tourism "the accounts remaining today – as numerous as they are – tend to over-represent males and those with a professional reputation for writing (p. 1061)". This overrepresentation of accounts from the rich and famous male travelers increases the social bias in the record, since the experiences among the lower class individuals and females have not been represented in this review of the history of Greek tourism. Likewise, although the increased mercantile activity, professional travelers did not leave many accounts, and as a result they are underrepresented in the literature.

To conclude, the main problem faced by the author is reviewing the writings of early travelers was that many of these writings are relatively unknown and have not yet been translated into Greek and English, the two languages known by the author. For

instance, Henry M. Blackmer's library sale catalogue lists 86 travel books published about Greece between 1600 and 1830. Among these books 48.3% were in English, and the remainder in other languages, mainly French (43%). Thus, further research on travel narratives written in languages other than Greek and English can contribute to the better understanding of the typology of early travelers to Greece and effectively reveal the ways that early travelers produced Greece in the shape of the European imaginary. In addition, this study was among the limited attempts to present a typology of early traveling to Greece based on travelers' interests and to compare the types that emerged to the interests of modern tourism. However, due to the exploratory nature of this study it did not become possible to reveal the differences between different nationalities of tourists, and the differences in their perceptions depending on different professions or classes of which travelers may belong. Research that includes the study of class, profession and nationality could help close this gap by ascertaining similarities and differences in visitation between early and modern travelers.

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Endonotes

- ¹ Turkish occupation in Greece lasts from 1453 up to the Greek War of Independence (1821)
- ² For the purpose of this paper modern tourism has been defined as those tourists traveling to Greece after the fall of the dictatorship in 1974.