

Journeys in the Palimpsest: British Women's Travel to Greece, 1840-1914

Churnjeet Kaur Mahn

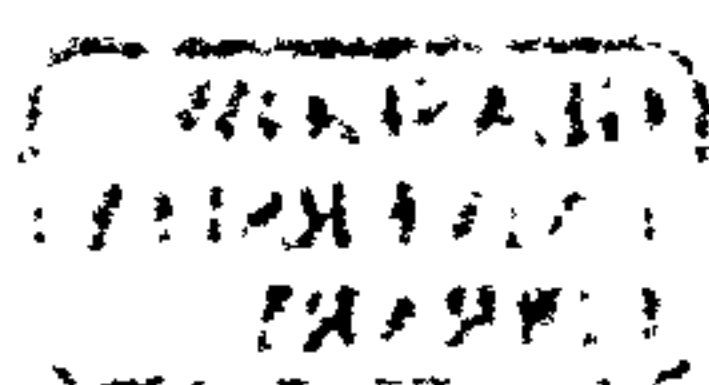
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Department of English Literature

Faculty of Arts

University of Glasgow

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Abstract

Discussions of British travel to Greece in the nineteenth century have been dominated by the work of Lord Byron, with the casting of Greece as a landscape haunted by antiquity. Byron's contemporary Greeks were Orientalised, while antique Greece was personified as a captive Greek woman on the brink of compromise by the Ottomans, or a cadaver. Throughout the nineteenth century this antique vista was employed by the tourist industry to erase the contemporary in favour of the classic. This thesis offers a consideration of the visions and vistas of Greece encountered by British women who travelled to Greece in the subsequent years, especially in the light of how commercial tourism limited or constructed their access to Greece. Contemporary studies of women's travel literature have largely neglected the literary output of women travellers in Greece, and Greece itself have been sidelined in the critical canon. Part of the problem lies in Greece's liminal position between East/West, antique/modern.

Commercial tourist structures were in place in Athens and other major sites of antiquity, but the majority of the women considered here travelled through a terrain that went beyond a narrow and museum staged experience of Greece. Three paradigms have been established for women travelling in Greece: the professional archaeologist, the ethnographer, and the tourist. The woman archaeologist combated the patriarchal domination of the classics, not only to posit a female intellectual who could master Greece, but also reveal how antique Greece was used to underwrite patriarchal British ideologies. The ethnographers in Greece are a mixed collection of semi-professional and

professional ethnographers, considered alongside more conventional travel narratives, all of which offer discussions of the modern Greek psyche trapped at a series of liminal fissures (East/West, antique/modern). Concentrating on women and geography, they subtly conflate the two to read nation in gender. However, without the sexualised aspect of their male counterparts, they read Greek women through a series of diverse practices that they identify through a close contact that could only be established between women. The modern tourist in Greece offers the most enduring and lasting type of traveller in Greece. Travelling with and against guidebooks, the discussion considers the visual technologies that helped to codify the way Greece is still seen as a tourist destination. In conjunction with this, the popular discourses denigrating women's travel are also discussed, which offers a key reason for the dismissal of their literary output. Far from being derivative, each narrative works through a network of anxieties surrounding travel in Modern Greece.

Contents

Abstract	ii
List of Illustrations	v
Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter One Greek Panoramas: Murray and Baedeker's Guidebooks to Greece, 1840-1909	19
Chapter Two 'Hellas at Cambridge': Agnes Smith Lewis and Jane Ellen Harrison	48
Chapter Three Ethnography and British Women's Travel Writing about Greece, 1847-1914	113
Chapter Four Image Conscious: The New Lady Traveller at the <i>Fin de Siècle</i>	161
Conclusion	219
Appendix British Women Writers Travelling in Greece, 1717-1914	223
Territorial Map of Greece, 1832-1920	225
Postcards and Tourist Photography of Greece, c.1880-1920s	226
Bibliography	233

List of Illustrations

- Figure 1. 'A Greek Slave'. Photographic Print c.1880, author's collection. 17
- Figure 2. Untitled Postcard of Greek Girl, dated 1908, author's collection. 18
- Figure 3. Karl Baedeker, *Greece: Handbook for Travellers* (1909, 80-81). 22
- Figure 4. 'Panorama D'Athènes'. Karl Baedeker, *Greece: Handbook for Travellers* (1909). 40
- Figure 5. Jane Ellen Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* (1890): 462-3. 66
- Figure 6. 'Typical Heads of Women Unsuitable for Domestic Life.' Stackpool O'Dell, *Head and How to Read Them: A Popular Guide to Phrenology* (1901): 82. 121
- Figure 7. 'The Panorama of Man'. *Annual of Phrenology and Physiognomy* (1876). 123
- Figure 8. 'The Heads and Skulls of Apollo, a Negro and a Chimpanzee Compared.' G.S. Morton, ed. J.C. Nott and G.R. Gliddon, *Types of Mankind* (1854). 126
- Figure 9. 'A Greek Lady in National Dress.' Lucy Garnett, *Greece of the Hellenes* (1914): facing 206. 160
- Figure 10. Isabel J. Armstrong. Isabel J. Armstrong, *Two Roving Englishwomen in Greece* (1893): viii. 172
- Figure 11. Territorial Map of Greece 1832-1920. Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (2002): 42 225

Figure 12. Ruins of Salonica, postcard c.1917, author's collection.	226
Figure 13. Panoramic Postcard of Athens, c.1920, author's collection.	226
Figure 14. Tourists in Greece, photograph c.1890, author's collection.	227
Figure 15. Early postcard of Athens, c.1900, author's collection.	227
Figure 16. Female national types, postcard c.1965, author's collection.	228
Figure 17. Women washing clothes in stream, tourist photograph c.1890, author's collection.	229
Figure 18. Greek men sitting outside café, tourist photograph c.1890, author's collection.	229
Figure 19. Early example of postcard featuring a donkey, c.1905, author's collection.	230
Figure 20. Man in Greek national costume, postcard c.1910, author's collection.	231
Figure 21. Man in Greek national costume, greeting postcard, c.1920, author's collection.	232

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Introduction

This thesis offers a genealogy of British women's travel literature in the period 1840-1914. Despite the range of texts produced on Greek travel by women, remarkably little is written on them; Robert Eisner, in the only study of Anglophone travel to Greece, states that there is 'a lack of good work by and about women's Greek travel' (Eisner 1991, 228). Relegating British women's literature on Greek travel as especially derivative in comparison to their male counterparts, he identifies the 1950s as a redeeming period since, '[t]he women writers on Greece get down to the smells of a place and they write about the people from the inside, the hearth and bedroom, instead of, like the men, from the outside, the café and taverna' (Eisner 1991, 229). Explaining the strength of women's writing as the ability to observe the minutiae of domestic life, he reads careful detail of the private sphere as a privileged form of visual and descriptive penetration. However, the present study charts a group of women who began to travel in the wake of Greek independence, whose questions and observations of what the new Greek nation meant, extended far beyond the home. The thesis considers archaeologists, anthropologists, scholars, authors, journalists, and tourists, using their Greek travel as a constituting factor for a genealogy of a diverse group of British women who engaged with the real site of Modern Greece as a means of exploring women's role in the public sphere.

Although critical attention has been paid to the presence of Greece in British women's writing, the vast majority of work has been on 'armchair travellers'. Reworking Lord Byron's images of Greece as a white female cadaver at the point of expiry in the face of the Orient,¹ women writers in the Romantic period, such as Sydney Owenson and Mary Shelley, offered a vision of Greece that was precariously caught somewhere between the genius of antiquity that properly belonged to the West, and its present state as an extension of the Ottoman Empire.² Greece's independence coincided with a gradual turn away from an interest in classical Rome to a stronger interest in Periclean Athens. The popularity of seeing Greece as a slave, tied up, waiting to be rescued, persisted as a literary and visual trope well after Greek independence, as seen in the spectacular transatlantic success of Hiram Powers's sculpture *The Greek Slave* (1844), shown in the Great Exhibition of 1851. Despite the fact that the statue's naked state, bar the chains

¹ Throughout the thesis, the 'Orient' and 'Orientalism' are understood in terms of Edward Said's definition: '[t]he idea of representation is a theatrical one: the Orient is the stage on which the whole East is confined. On this stage will appear figures whose role it is to represent the larger whole from which they emanate. The Orient then seems to be, not an unlimited extension beyond the familiar European world, but rather a closed field, a theatrical stage affixed to Europe' (Said 1978, 63). Said's definition of the Orient is of a fixed and static field that was a discursive construction. The concept will be challenged in Chapter 1, as his study makes no account for discourses on Modern Greece that may have contributed to the canon of Orientalist literature, or if Modern Greece was part of the Orient at all.

² Although David Roessel's *In Byron's Shadow: Modern Greece in the English and American Imagination* (2002) acknowledges Mary Shelley's 'Euphrasia: A Tale of Modern Greece' (1839), Sydney Owenson's *Woman, or Ida of Athens* (1809) and Felicia Heman's *Modern Greece* (1817), he considers them in isolation. Other writing engaging with Modern Greece include Joanna Baillie's play, *Constantine Paleologus* (1804) and Agnes Strickland's account of a Greek slave, *Demetrius* (1833). Throughout, harem narratives are extremely popular, with a female symbol for Greece being saved from an Oriental master by the intervention of a Greek, a popular trope in Romantic writing about Greece that is most clearly seen in Lord Byron's poem *The Giaour*, based on Lord Byron's apparent rescue of a young woman who was about to be drowned in a sack. Other well known examples of the motif in British culture in the period include Eugène Delacroix's painting, *Greece Expiring on the Ruins and Missolonghi* (1826) and the frontispiece to M.G.A.F Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* (1782). A comprehensive study of the figure of Modern Greece in the writing of British women in the Romantic period is lacking, especially in relation to how women rewrote narratives of female rape and murder by Oriental figures. In addition to this, there is a range of texts that deal with the vampiric infection of Europe through Ottoman Greece, see especially Mary Shelley's *The Last Man* (1826) and John Polidori's, *The Vampyre* (1819).

that maintained her modesty, caused somewhat of a sensation, the overriding impression was summarised by Elizabeth Barrett Browning as ‘passionless perfection.’³ The Greek slave had stood for the consuming threat of the Orient politically, in terms of Ottoman Expansion into Europe, and figuratively, in the racial and sexual compromise of the descendents of Ancient Greece. With Greek independence came the removal of an Oriental veil that had prevented access to the sight of classical remains, leading to the erasure of evidence whose provenance was Ottoman and Muslim.⁴ A figure of visual pleasure, the overriding interest of Greece in Victorian culture was in a state of petrified antiquity, not in the young kingdom of Greece, the domain of British politics.⁵ While the Modern Greeks were free, they had become degraded by their Oriental thrall, an image of slavery that would persist in the British imagination as a means of undermining their claims to be the rightful heirs of the ancients.

John Pentland Mahaffy, the Irish scholar and tutor of Oscar Wilde, summarised why Ancient Greece served as a perfect analogue to Victorian Britain:

Every thinking man who becomes acquainted with the master-pieces of Greek writing, must see plainly that they stand to us in a far closer relation than the other remains of antiquity. They are not mere objects of curiosity to the archaeologist, not mere treasure-houses of roots and forms to be sought out by the comparative grammarians. They are writing of men of like culture with ourselves, who argue with the same logic, who reflect with kindred feeling. They have worked out social and moral problems like ourselves, they have expressed therein such a

³ Hiram Powers’s sculpture will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

⁴ One of the first actions of Otto of Bavaria, who had been appointed King of Greece by the Great Powers, was to clear the mosque that had been at the centre of the Parthenon since the fifteenth century.

⁵ The political allegiance of Greece was essential for ensuring British trade routes in India, as well as maintaining a strong foothold in the Balkans. The successive British ministers in Greece were more than ambassadors, they ensured that Greece kept up with the payment of loans from the British government. See Thomas Wyse’s *Impressions of Greece* (1871) for an early account of the British political presence in post-independence Athens. See Chapter 3 for an account of the British women travellers’ impression of the Balkans versus Greece, and the importance of the ‘Eastern Question’.

language as we should desire to use. In a word, they are thoroughly modern, more modern than the epochs quite proximate to our own.

(Mahaffy 1874, 1)

The turn to Greece was not only an attempt to reach back into an antiquity that pre-dated Rome, but one that more accurately reflected the morals and social issues of a modern democracy.⁶ The varieties of Victorian Hellenism and their very different uses of Greek antiquity are beyond the scope of the present study; rather, the focus here is on the ways in which standards of beauty and civilisations were underwritten with casual, and increasingly commonplace references and comparisons to an Ancient Greece.⁷ As a shorthand to culture, and cultural capital, the second group of women writers who engaged with Greece emerged from the 1860s, when figures such as Elizabeth Barrett Browning, George Eliot, Michael Field, and Virginia Woolf began to explore in their work what it meant to know Greek, and how democratic a figure it really was.⁸ With Oxford and Cambridge not awarding degrees to women until 1928 and 1948 respectively, the formal study of the Classics consistently posited women as second-class citizens.

⁶ For useful accounts of the declining interest in Roman antiquity, and the rise of classical Greek studies, see Chris Stray, *The Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities and Society in England 1830-1960* (1998) and Mary Beard, *The Invention of Jane Ellen Harrison* (2000). Their discussions chart the rise of Ancient Greek studies in Britain and how it was Athens, rather than Rome, that provided an ideal democratic model for the state. See Beard for a discussion of the rise of Greece and decline of Rome as personified through the critical survival of Jane Ellen Harrison, and the obscurity of Eugene Sellers, figures that are dealt with in Chapter 2.

⁷ The two most useful surveys of British Victorian Hellenism are still Frank Turner's *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (1981), which offers a comprehensive account of the varieties of Victorian Humanism, especially in the case of Matthew Arnold, and Richard Jenkyns's, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (1980). For an account of German Philhellenism, see Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany 1750-1970* (1996). For studies of Romantic Hellenism, especially in the context of Johann Winkelmann, see David S. Ferris, *Silent Urns: Romanticism, Hellenism, Modernity* (2000) and also Timothy Webb, *English Romantic Hellenism 1700-1824* (1982).

⁸ Yopie Prins's *Victorian Sappho* offers a valuable account of how women poets in the Victorian period used the fragments of Sappho's poetry to posit a more fluid, and contradictory identity that eluded clear definition. As such, it worked on a very linguistic level. Prins suggests that: '[t]he projected fantasy of female body and a feminine voice through linguistic scattering, grammatical dismemberment, rhetorical contradiction – as well as other forms of disjunction, hiatus, and ellipsis – suggests why Sappho became exemplary of lyric in its irreducibly textual embodiment, and exemplary of lyric reading as well, in its desire to hypothesize a living whole from dead letters' (Prins 1999, 4).

Elizabeth Barrett Browning's allusion to 'lady's Greek' in her poem *Aurora Leigh* (1864) - 'lady's Greek' being Ancient Greek without the diacritical marks - pointed not only to the poor education of women in men's subjects, but suggested that women were only capable of learning Greek without the accents.⁹ George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871) explored Dorothea's desire for knowledge through her sterile relationship to her husband, who when confronted with her uncle's offering of the latest book of Greek travels, politely withdrew from company. There was no doubt that a knowledge of Greece came from classical scholarship, not the derivative output of travelogues about Modern Greece. Exploring another relationship to Greek characters in her essay, 'On Not Knowing Greek' (1925), Virginia Woolf approached Ancient Greek as an alienating symbol of patriarchal power. The question of what women's knowledge of Greek could symbolise politically, steadily eroded in the decade after the First World War, when women were granted the vote, and when the compulsory Greek requirement for Oxford and Cambridge was abolished.¹⁰ Its cultural capital was waning.

The historical boundaries for this study are determined by an age and phase of travel to Greece rather than by the beginning of popular interest in travel to Greece, which began in the Romantic period with Lord Byron. While Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had skimmed past Greece in 1717, imagining an antique prospect if only she were to land, by 1789, little had changed in the garb and aspect of the women traveller/writer in Greece: Lady Elizabeth Craven managed a quick stop off in Athens on her way to Constantinople and the travel accounts that followed in the subsequent decades came from a few

⁹ See Yopie Prins, "'Lady's Greek' (with the Accents): A Metrical Translation of Euripides by A. Mary F. Robinson' (2006).

¹⁰ The compulsory Latin requirement remained until 1960.

exceptional women who found themselves in the Near East as part of a tour to Palestine, Turkey or Egypt. Part of the novelty of the accounts was that they were offered by a woman at all: tagged onto a journey to the 'East' more readily than an extension of the Grand Tour, these early women travellers sailed in yachts, rode horses, took in the Parthenon, and left via Piraeus to offer an aesthetic exit. The earliest women travellers came to attain celebrity status in their own right such as Montagu, Craven and Hester Stanhope. The travellers that came in their wake offered accounts based primarily on their own physical experiences recounted in the form of a journal, diary or set of vignettes recorded chronologically in a conventional style for the travel narrative of which Mary Georgina Emma Dawson-Damer (1841), Elizabeth Alicia Maria Grosvenor (1842) and Frances Anne-Vane Tempest-Stewart (1844), are indicative. However, beyond this narrow set of aristocratic women, there was a wide variety of women from different backgrounds who used the tourist industry and the relative safety of independent Greece to see for themselves a sight that had been rendered so familiar by the writing of Byron. Travelling using commercial liners and for pleasure, these women belonged to an entirely new breed of woman tourist.

The present study concentrates on the women who use their visual confirmation of the sites and survivals of antiquity as a way of inscribing authority in their writing, not only exploring what it means to be tackling a man's subject, but, equally importantly, where they see Modern Greece in relation to its antiquity, and by association, to Britain. Largely neglected by recent studies in travel writing, discussions of travel in Greece are often annexed by Classical Studies (and the cultural context of Victorian Hellenism),

with some minor notice by histories of Oriental travel writing through the proximity to Turkey and its Ottoman history.¹¹ Indeed, one of the most illuminating volumes on British travel to Greece in the nineteenth-century is Susan E. Alcock, John F. Cherry and Jas Elsner (ed), *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (2001). With discussions of William Martin Leake and Jane Ellen Harrison, who travelled in Pausanias's footsteps, the volume is mixed with studies of artefacts from antiquity, and literary analyses of Pausanias's text.¹² This comes as no surprise, however, when the role of Modern Greek studies is considered, especially in the British academy. In a recent article on the role of Modern Greek studies in British higher education, Dimitris Tziouvas points to the fact that the proper home of the discipline is still in departments of Classical Studies.¹³ As he points out elsewhere, 'Modern Greek is the only European language to be qualified by the adjective "modern"' (Tziouvas 1991, 192). As a minority discipline in Classical Studies, the interest in Hellenism and Neohellenism still eclipses studies of

¹¹ There have been three recent surveys of travel literature's history in terms of genre and geography, none of which have covered Greece. They are: Tim Youngs and Peter Hulme (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (2002), Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs (ed), *Perspectives on Travel Writing* (2004) and Tim Youngs (ed), *Travel in the Nineteenth-Century: Filling in the Blank Spaces* (2006). See Mary Roussou-Sinclair, *Victorian Travellers in Cyprus: A Garden of Their Own* (2002) for a useful resource on Cyprus which shares some historical and cultural traits with travel to Greece. One of the seminal books on women's travel literature, Sara Mills's *Discourse of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (1991), does not consider the literature of travel to Greece, most probably because Greece's contemporary location is in the Occident, and it had no period of official colonial rule by Britain. Tamara L. Hunt and Micheline R. Lessard (ed), *Women and the Colonial Gaze* (2002), does contain a chapter by Katherine E. Fleming entitled 'Greece in Chains: Philhellenism to the Rescue of a Damsel in Distress', and though it looks at how Western travellers saw Greece during its Ottoman phase, it is included in the section 'Colonialism in Europe'. Additionally, some of the writers under consideration in the thesis are briefly mentioned in Reina Lewis's *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (2004). In one of the most recent surveys of women's travel writing, Kristi Siegel (ed), *Gender, Genre, & Identity in Women's Travel Writing* (2004), there is no mention of women's travel to Greece.

¹² Jane Ellen Harrison is discussed in Chapter 2.

¹³ Tziouvas discusses how the study of Ancient, Byzantine and Modern Greece in a single department is not necessarily the most conducive link: '[t]his co-habitation might have worked in the past when the language component in Classics and Byzantine studies was strong and language provided the Hellenic link. Since fewer and fewer classicists and Byzantinists are well-versed in Greek (Ancient, Medieval, or Modern), and since the majority of them tend to be either historians and archaeologists with very minimal Greek language skills, or work in areas of the classical or Byzantine world that are not related to Greece in modern times, it would be prudent to re-assess this link' (Tziouvas 2006, 205).

Modern Greek history, especially in a context divorced from its classical past. The literary examples used in this thesis are drawn from a variety of disciplinary contexts (archaeology, anthropology and tourism), each with their own staging of Modern Greece somewhere along the continuums of ancient and modern, Eastern and Western.¹⁴ Arriving in Greece in 1810 during Ottoman rule, Hester Stanhope met a landscape redolent with Oriental and Hellenic signifiers:

Here and there I observed a mosque. Melancholy indeed was the change from the [...] streets of La Valetta to the mud habitations of Patras! Still I felt I was in Greece, and the language and appearance of the inhabitants had something magical in it. My bosom beat with emotion as I now trod, for the first time, the soil of a people, in studying whose language and habits for the chief part of fifteen years of my early life has been – I still think wisely – expended.
(Stanhope 1846, 27)

Greece was an anachrony: while Ancient Greece was ‘timeless’, being an analogue to contemporary Britain, Modern Greece was a stagnant and degraded element that was struggling to move forward. Said suggests that temporalisation is a strategy of Orientalism, one of the symptoms of the Orient being the inability to progress, move forward (Said 1978, 76).¹⁵ Hellenism was vital, while Orientalism symbolised decay. The mosques may have disappeared from view after independence, but the Oriental signifiers and the cultural measure of the Modern Greeks as temporally behind Western Europe did not. This temporal discrepancy was one utilised extensively by women travellers to Greece in the period: while they deferred to the sights of antiquity, staging

¹⁴ Throughout, Modern Greece is used to draw particular attention to the contemporary social situation of the travellers, while Ancient Greece is a specific allusion to the associations of classical Greece (predominantly fifth-century B.C. Athens).

¹⁵ See Chapter 3 for a discussion of Johannes Fabian’s work on allachrony, a process by which anthropology places its objects of study temporally ‘behind’ them, in order to master them.

imaginative and literary séances with the remnants of Classical Greece, they either ignored the native Greek population as an irrelevant element to their experience of travel, or as children in terms of civilisation whose progression was hampered by an inherently Oriental nature. In his study of travel to ‘antique’ lands in the Romantic period, Nigel Leask comments that ‘Romantic Hellenism embodied a norm for gauging the space dividing “antique/antick lands” from the standard of ideal beauty and of progressive civilization’ (Leask 2002, 51). The tantalising suggestion for this study, then, is what happens when these standards are brought to bear on the independent nation of Greece. Travellers used Hellenism as a benchmark for ideals of beauty and culture, offering not only an immediate comparative scale against which to describe the country they were travelling in, but also as a strategy for underwriting and inscribing their own authority. A central concern of the thesis is how temporal disjuncture is used by women to inscribe an authority in Greek studies that they could not achieve at home. Using time to denote distance, the thesis will chart the various ways in which British women sought to position themselves closer to antiquity by temporally distancing Modern Greece from a contemporary frame of reference.

In many respects, these women travelled in Byron’s wake, allowing his poetry to determine their expectations. However, the version of Byron’s Greece they received was sanitised and romanticised, leaving little sense of the complex and often contradictory way in which Byron and his contemporaries engaged with the reality of Modern Greece. Dealing with a fallen civilisation in thrall to the Ottomans, Byron was roused by calls for Greek independence but his vision did not correspond to the objectives of native militia

leaders on the ground. Fuelled with ambition for the future and frustration at some of the shortfalls of the locals, Byron's descriptions and explorations of Modern Greece presented a picture that was steadily reduced in complexity and originality by the tourist industry. Instead of Greek independence being at the vanguard of a new wave of revolutionary action and sentiment in Europe, Greece was constructed as a series of ruins ready for viewing.¹⁶ Divorced of revolutionary potential, the sentiment that survived from Byron's poetry about Greece is neatly summarised by David Roessel: '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). In the accounts of women travellers, it is this aspect of Byron that is the most reproduced, along with casual references to lines from *Childe Harold* and tales such as *The Giaour*. Stripped of his revolutionary polemics, the tourist industry used 'Byron' as a shorthand for an appreciation of the Classics and a vague melancholy prompted by the present state of Greece.

Rather than seeing women travellers to Greece as derivatives of Byron, the study deploys three disciplinary lenses: archaeology, anthropology and tourism, disciplines that matured in the later half of the nineteenth century and which had a profound impact on the language and strategies used by travellers to describe Greece. Tourism is understood as a discipline to the extent that it carries with it a series of rules and conventions that entirely facilitated the way a place was viewed, namely through guidebooks, touring companies,

¹⁶ David Roessel's *In Byron's Shadow: Modern Greece in the English and American Imagination* (2002) is the most wide-ranging and detailed study of how Byron, and to a lesser extent Percy Bysshe Shelley, influenced the reception of Greece and also includes a summary of perceptions of Greece immediately prior to Byron.

and other extensions of the tourist infrastructure.¹⁷ With its own rules of conduct in the field, identifiable literary discourse, group of practitioners, the interest of the thesis is in tourism as a practice which created a visual approach to Greece, rather than being a blanket categorisation for individuals who travelled, guidebook in hand. To this end, Chapter 1 begins with a consideration of the guidebooks to Greece published from 1840 by the publishing houses of Murray and Baedeker. This will act as an index of how tourist practices and images of Greece were steadily changing through the nineteenth century. The chapter will consider both Murray and Baedeker as new types of guidebook, one whose practices were underwritten by the overarching authority of an institution, rather than an individual, and the consequences this had for travellers to Greece. With a new definition of the 'modern guidebook', the discussion will also address the ways in which various fictional and non-fictional texts were used to describe what it meant to travel in Modern Greece, and how the resulting images of Greece were normalised. The context of the guidebook is particularly useful in light of the fact that almost every woman traveller mentions the use of Murray and Baedeker in their literary work, whether as an authoritative guide, or through a departure from them. Offering an analysis of the dominant discursive strategies of the guidebook, the chapter will trace how images of Greece were steadily Hellenised through the nineteenth century, ranging from the Oriental descriptions of Greece in the 1840s to the sterile ruins of the 1900s. Through a discussion of the panorama, a visual technology that paradoxically suggested a total view while being an abstracted perspective, the chapter traces how an antique

¹⁷ Tourist studies became a discipline in the late twentieth century, primarily through sociological studies of leisure time, though also in terms of heritage business. The two canonical texts for the sociological study of tourism are still Dean MacCannell's *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976) and John Urry's, *The Tourist Gaze* (2002).

panorama of Greece was developed in the nineteenth century guidebook, one that necessarily erased any Oriental signifiers, as well as omitting a view of the natives of Greece. As a strategy of distance, the panorama was a measure of power; each subsequent chapter will return to three main questions. The first question has already been sketched above, namely, did the Greece that women travellers saw belong to the East or West? Embedded in this are questions of tourist practices, namely, were they following a guidebook, or did they have an agenda that reached beyond seeing the sites of antiquity? Related to this is an exploration of the discursive frameworks the travellers used to authorise their observations, which in the thesis has been divided into archaeology, anthropology and tourism. Finally, there is an exploration of how women used their travel in Greece as a vehicle for exploring women's relationship to knowledge and their role in society outwith the home. Although not all the texts are strictly travelogues, their authority is entirely determined by what it means to travel in Greece as a woman.

Chapter 2 opens with the only two women in the period who translated guidebooks to Greece by Greeks. Agnes Smith Lewis, the independent biblical scholar, learnt Modern Greek from John Stuart Blackie before travelling extensively in Greece, being an attraction to other British lady travellers, whose Greek attainments were weaker. While there, she met Sophia Schliemann's brother, Panagiotis G. Kastromenos, whose *Monument of Athens* (1884) she translated into English. Offering an imperative to the Modern Greeks to travel, see, and describe their ancient monuments rather than leaving it to foreign archaeologists, the text reflected Lewis's own interest in seeing the Modern

Greeks as the rightful descendants of the ancients, as well as the earliest Christians. Despite this, however, she continued to view the Modern Greeks as degraded copies of the ancients and consistently tried to excavate past the modern and into the ancient. The Cambridge Classicist, Jane Ellen Harrison, offered a translation and commentary of sections from Pausanias in Margaret G. Verrall and Jane Ellen Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* (1890), which began to explore her own interest in pushing past the tyranny of the Classics, to the study of archaic Greece, a period she saw as more vital compared to the sterility of the Olympian gods. Using her travel in Greece as a tool for authorising her studies, the chapter considers two interviews she gave to the British popular press on what it meant for a woman to know Greece. Using Britain's relationship to India as an analogue, the chapter also considers Lewis and Harrison's relationship to imperial discourses. As a medal winner of the Royal Asiatic Society, Lewis worked in a network of scholars whose interest in India's antiquity was implicitly fuelled by the desire to produce better colonial administrators. With Classical studies being a compulsory component of an Oxbridge education in the period, the colonial rule of India was undertaken by generations of administrators whose right to rule was justified by their knowledge of Greece. Taking this context into account, the chapter considers the extent to which Harrison and Lewis could use Greece as a symbol of women's emancipation, without being infected by imperialist discourse.

Chapter 3 turns to a group of British women who produced the first anthropological accounts of Modern Greece. Beginning with the novelist and philanthropist Felicia Skene, the chapter considers a vignette in her travelogue *Wayfaring Sketches among the*

Greeks and the Turks (1847) in the light of Victorian discourses of ethnography, especially phrenology. Like the guidebook, this group of travellers rigorously sought to categorise what they saw, with varying success. Using the changing face of a Greek woman as an index of her progress, Skene charts her movement from sculpture to whore almost entirely through the description of her facial features, which move from being white and beautiful, to being painted and degraded (the reference being to the application of makeup). Chastising Greek women who dress in Western dress, Skene offers a view of Greek womanhood which is cast in an impossible bind between East and West, a movement that is schematised in the chapter as one between the museum and the harem. The chapter then moves to a consideration of the full-scale ethnographical works produced by women in the period, namely A.P. Irby and G. M. Mackenzie's *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe* (1877), Fanny Blunt's *The People of Turkey* (1878) and Lucy Garnett's *Women of Turkey* (1890) and *Greece of the Hellenes* (1914). Using the context of the Balkans, the thesis considers how British women produced a racial hierarchy that consistently placed Greek women above their Bulgarian and Turkish counterparts. Although Greek women were 'better' than their Balkan counterparts, they were still temporally behind the British women who were describing them. The space of the harem in the context of Skene and the Balkans for the ethnographers, are considered as limit-points for empirical knowledge: as barriers to understanding they position Greek women in liminal spaces between the East and West, unable properly to adhere to any side of the binary. Through this, the chapter will demonstrate the dominant strand in British women's writing in identifying Modern Greece as partially Oriental, a prospect at once uncomfortable in the sense that their Greek sisters were being compromised by the

Orient, but also liberating to the degree that it offered them a space to be the more legitimate heirs of the ancients, in other words, British women could be the authentic Greeks.

Chapter 4 represents a phase of women's travel that can be dated from the late 1880s to the outbreak of the First World War, when the tourist infrastructure in Greece was rapidly beginning to improve. With companies such as Thomas Cook and Henry Gaze offering tours to Greece, and travel agents on location to help with preparation, a new wave of middle-class lone women travellers were able to afford the journey to Greece. However, rather than seeing this category of women as a derivative group led by agents in Greece who came home to write a brief itinerary of their journey to an antique land, the chapter proposes the category of the New Lady Traveller. Using two largely media constructions of independent womanhood at the *fin de siècle*, the 'lady traveller' and the 'New Woman', the chapter offers a working definition for a type of traveller whose practices were inscribed with transgression and danger. Looking at the sensation caused by the 'Railway Mysteries' in 1897, when there was an apparent spate of women being attacked in railway carriages, the discussion turns to how even the most popular and apparently the safest forms of travel were reinscribed with danger. As a travelling subject, the lady traveller was described as an independent woman, the question constantly behind her being, where is her father, her husband? Using the guidebook to facilitate their emancipation, the lady traveller in Greece asserted her right to see, and claim, antiquity, in person. By using the transgressive politics associated with the New Woman, the chapter considers Emily Pfeiffer's *Flying Leaves from East and West* (1885), Isabel J.

Armstrong's *Two Roving Englishwomen in Greece* (1893), and Catherine Janeway's *Glimpses at Greece, To-day and Before Yesterday* (1897) as pseudo-feminist polemics on what it means to visually conquer Ancient Greece.

While the impact of Greek travel on British women's writing is the framing concern of this thesis, the critical strategy throughout can be seen as akin to reading a palimpsest, especially in its comparison of texts belonging to very different genres, each with their own specific interest and angle on the real site of Modern Greece. In his formulation of the palimpsest as an organ of memory, which retains indefinite impressions without erasure, Thomas De Quincey exclaims: '[w]hat else than a natural and mighty palimpsest is the human brain? Such a palimpsest is my brain; such a palimpsest, O reader! is yours. Everlasting layers of ideas, images and feeling, have fallen upon your brain softly as light. Each succession has seemed to bury all that went before. And yet in reality not one has been extinguished' (De Quincey [1845] 1998, 144). The palimpsest has gained currency in recent criticism as a strategy for uncovering and recovering voices that have been hitherto neglected, erased, or disguised.¹⁸ The temporal layering of Greece is exemplified in the ruins that punctuate the modern landscape, offering nodes for an imaginative engagement with antiquity. The palimpsest will be a recurring motif in the thesis as it offers a discursive frame for the discussion, not only of temporal disjuncture, but also of how work from different genres can be considered together. In grouping the

¹⁸ For an overview of the way in which the palimpsest has been used in postcolonial theory, feminist theory and psychoanalysis, as well as a new formulation for the 'queer' potential of the palimpsest, see Sara Dillon, 'Reinscribing De Quincey's Palimpsest: The Significance of the Palimpsest in Contemporary Literary and Cultural Studies' (2005). See also, Sigmund Freud, 'A Note Upon the "Mystic Writing Pad"' [1925], Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (1998) and Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree* (1997).

texts thematically, rather than by genre, the thesis offers a clearer picture of the variety of British women's writing that was complicit in producing an image of Modern Greece that disenfranchised the modern inhabitants while effectively enfranchising British women.



FROM A PAINTING BY M. HONENBRUCH.

A GREEK SLAVE.

Figure 1. 'A Greek Slave', photographic print c.1880.



Figure 2. Untitled postcard of Greek girl, dated 1908.

Chapter 1

Greek Panoramas: Murray and Baedeker's Guidebooks 1840-1909

This chapter acts as a chronological and historical framework for the subsequent chapters by offering an index to the images of Greece propagated in the nineteenth-century guidebooks of Murray and Baedeker, especially by focussing on how their descriptions became increasingly influenced by Hellenism.¹⁹ By examining the contexts of the original contributors, the discussion reveals the colonial interests that were present in the composition of the earliest guides to independent Greece. Laying a foundation for the popular images of Greece that women travellers encountered, and analysing the main sources for them, the discussion offers a working framework for what the tourist topography²⁰ of Greece looked like in the nineteenth century, and how it steadily shifted from being an extension of an exotic Orient, to the site of an open-air museum.

The boundaries of Greece had not been clear since its independence and various ideologies competed to determine what Greece, as a geographical entity, should correspond to. From the middle of the nineteenth century, proponents of the irredentist *Megali Idea*, 'Great Idea', envisioned a Greece whose borders expanded into the Near

¹⁹ Murray produced seven guidebooks covering Greece (1840, 1845, 1854, 1872, 1888, 1894 and 1900), with the first two editions covering Greece in the handbooks to the 'East', while Baedeker arrived slightly later with four editions (1889, 1894, 1905 and 1909).

²⁰ In the context of 'tourist topography', tourist is used as a reference to the infrastructure and series of texts that facilitated travel to Greece, not the derivative designation of a type of traveller, which will be considered later in the chapter.

East and would have Constantinople as its capital. Independence for Greece was not independence for the territory recognised as Greece today, and the recovery, or claiming, of territory was a fraught issue well into the twentieth century.²¹ As Richard Clogg puts it: '[a]ll countries are burdened by their history, but the past weighs particularly heavily on Greece. It is still, regrettably, a commonplace to talk of 'modern Greece' and of 'modern Greek' as though 'Greece' and 'Greek' must necessarily refer to the ancient world' (Clogg 1992, 1). In terms of the present study although notions such as 'Hellas', which is discussed below, do not have an accurate geographical specificity, the thesis concentrates on travellers in the independent nation of Greece, as per its boundaries at the time of journey.²² Although there are accounts of territories on the brink of becoming part of independent Greece at the time of writing, such as Thessaloniki, this is to offer an account of how the Oriental signifiers of the regions were recoded after independence from the Ottoman Empire.²³

In her discussion of what it means to produce a topography in the case of Modern Greece, Artemis Leontis argues that, '[t]opography is a process: it requires the persistent return to history, the systematic unearthing of ruins, the conscientious recovery of tradition, and,

²¹ The Ionian Islands were British Protectorates from 1815-1864, Thessaly was ceded by Turkey in 1881 and Crete not until 1913. Much of the ceding of territory was under the watchful eye of the 'Great Powers': Britain, France and Russia. In other words, the limits of the modern Greek state were under constant scrutiny and evoking 'Greece' was evoking an ideologically and geographically unstable nation. For surveys of Greek history in the period, see especially, Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (2000) and Thomas W. Gallant, *Modern Greece* (2001).

²² See Figure 11 in the Appendix for a map depicting the shifting borders of Greece from the 1830s to 1914.

²³ The latter half of Chapter three deals with the issue of Thessaloniki and its inhabitants in more detail.

generally, the reactivation of an inherited past' (Leontis 1995, 3).²⁴ In terms of what this means for travel literature about Greece, she explains that:

It has been suggested that Hellas, like the Orient, is not a mere geographical fact but a place actualized by and simultaneously acting upon the imagination of its visitors from the north. Few contemporary studies of travel to Greece, however, go on to discuss how the site of Hellas exerts its power on travelers' topographies. We have entered a critical mode where representation itself presents a problem worthy of analysis.

(Leontis 1995, 33)

Considering the guidebook as a kind of ethnographical account for Greece, the chapter offers a working context for later discussions by outlining what a tourist topography may look like, and by mapping some of the strategies used to create certain stereotypes and commonplaces about travel in Greece. The chapter is divided into three sections, the first of which will briefly define the major modes of operation belonging to the guidebook, and how its ideology was demonstrated in the choice of editors. The second section considers how the Orient was used to bring travellers in close communion with Modern Greece, while the third looks at how the paradigm of distance from Modern Greece, and proximity to Ancient Greece, became the norm by the 1890s. With every edition of the guidebook claiming a total authority in reproducing the reality of Greece in their pages, the concern here is not how authentic each account is, but what it transcribes, and maps, as the real site of Greece.

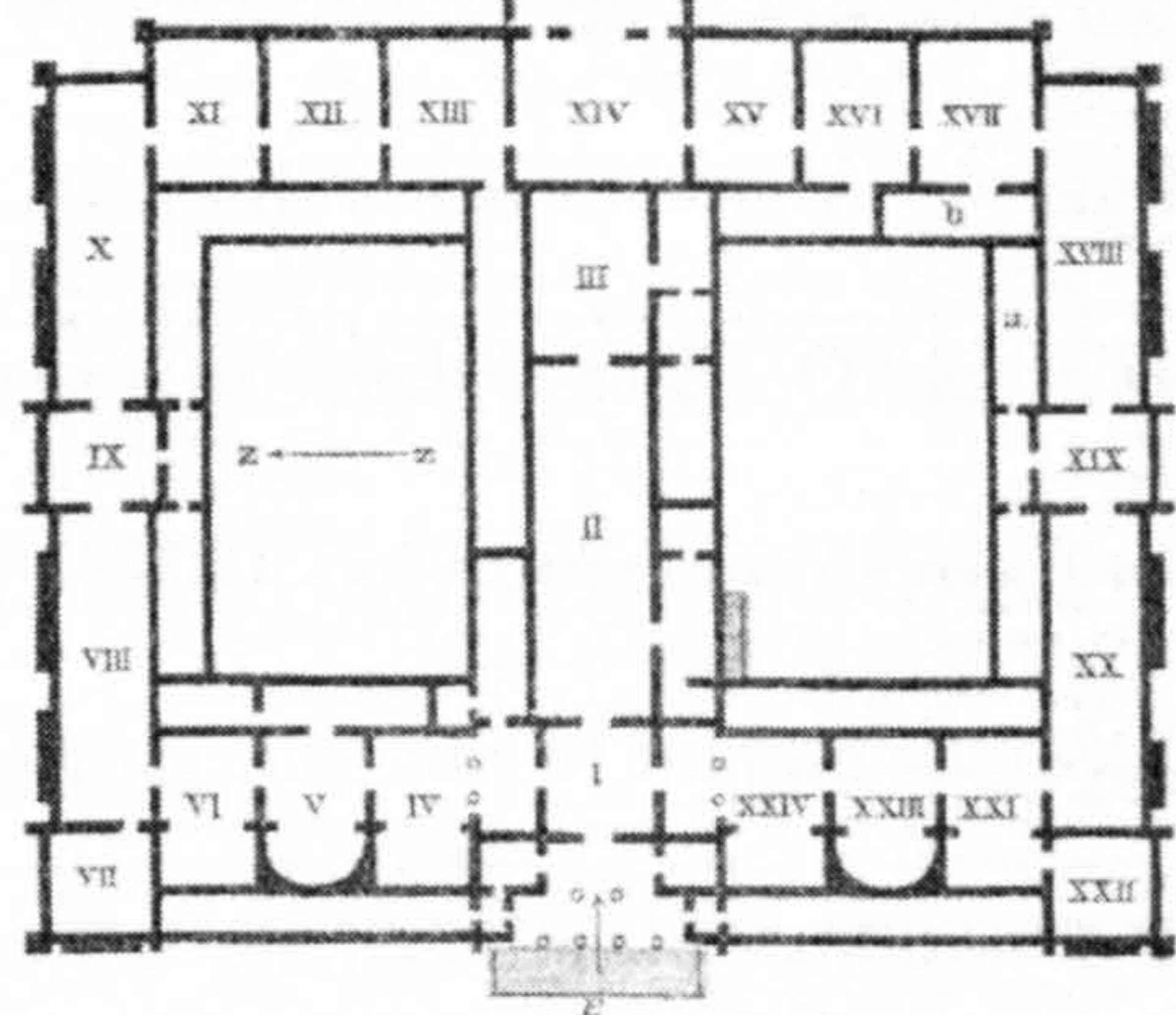
²⁴ The trope has also been used to discuss Byron's understanding of Greece: 'For the space-time of the contemporary Orient that [*Childe Harold*] canto II produces is neither modern nor ancient; it is as distinct from the ruins that mark its terrain as it is from Europe, as though these ruins have been left there by a society whose lost heirs have not yet come to claim their heritage. The history of this space, in other words, is alien to the people currently inhabiting it; or, rather: the space-time of Hellenic antiquity is somehow buried beneath the space-time of Byron's contemporary Orient, figuratively existing in a planar dimension whose ruins protrude through the latter, marking and scarring it in places, marks and scars that Byron can emplot on his imaginary map of this contemporary Oriental space, whether or not they are seen, felt, and recognized by the natives' (Makdisi 1998, 125-6). For a discussion of the mapping of Modern Greece by travellers between the Orient and Occident, see Margaret Alexiou, 'Modern Greek Studies in the West: Between the Classics and the Orient' (1986).

breast-plates, goblets, ornaments, bronze weapons and utensils, some with ornaments. Of special interest, in Case 41, are the square plates of gold with prowling lions; an ostrich-egg with reliefs in ivory; and objects in wood. — In the following Cases (42-49) are a variety of objects found outside the tombs, at Mycenae, the most interesting being the small gold figures of a bull (2947), a woman (2946), and a lion (2949), and a sword-hilt (4908) in porcelain with gold ornamentation, all in Case 45.

At the back of the room, on columns to the right and left, are two single-handed golden goblets (71a and 72b), from Vaphio (comp. Cases 71, 72 p. 81), adorned with sintered designs of grazing cattle and a bull-hunt. In the detached glass case in



the middle (No. 4) are chased and inlaid daggers, No. 747 representing a lion-hunt, 748 a lion pursuing gazelles, 744 three running lions, 761 a panther chasing two ducks. In Cabinets 56-65, on the left of the exit-door, and the unnumbered cabinets beyond the middle of the left wall, are objects found in the citadel of Mycenae and in the lower town. To these belong also the large vase (1426) to the left of the exit-door and the painted stele (2026)



on the opposite wall, both depicting warlike scenes, and the almost life-size limestone head (of a sphinx?) above the stele. In Case 59 the ivory carvings should be noticed; in Case 61 the rectangular plates of rock-crystal (2708), one of which has a covering of silver-foil (mirror). In addition to these are numerous gold ornaments and rings, many of the latter engraved with religious subjects. The other cases by the walls contain objects of the Mycenaean period from other places in Greece. Compared with those of Mycenae the graves

were but simply equipped; they belong to a later period. The numbers begin on the right of the exit-door. — Cases 67-70. Objects found at Tiryns (p. 339): No. 1695 (Case 68), Portion of a frequently copied fresco, representing a juggler upon a bull; in Case 70, Well-carved piece of a dado in alabaster (p. 341), the sunken portions of which were filled with blue vitreous paste (the 'kyanos' of Homer). — Cases 71-72. Objects found at Vaphio (p. 376), including engraved gems, bronze weapons, and a necklace of blue glass beads; the golden goblets (71a and 72b) mentioned on p. 81 also belong here. — Cases 73-76. Objects found in the beehive tomb of Menelaos (p. 171), with ivory carvings and ornaments in gold and in light and dark vitreous paste. — Cases 77-80. Objects from Sparta (p. 124), mostly ivory carvings (2045-46, Lion tearing a bull) and ornaments in glass paste. — Cases 81-82. Objects found at Thebes: terracotta vessels, weaving-loom weights and other articles in stone. — Cases 83-84. Objects from Thessaly (p. 122). — Cases 85-86, from Salamis (p. 104). — On the other side of the entrance-door: Cases 87-89, from Nauplia (p. 337). — Case 90, from Dimisi (p. 203) and Kapakly (p. 205); among the many gold objects is a plate with a representation of the facade of a Mycenaean house. — Of the two central cases on the left wall that on the left contains terracotta vessels from Markopoulo (p. 121), that on the right marble vases, including an Egyptian specimen.

In two side-rooms to the right of this saloon are vessels from Paros (Melos; p. 261); some of the vases painted in dull colours are older than, some contemporary with the Mycenaean vases found in the same place, which are coloured with glazed paint. The wonderfully life-like designs of plants and animals should be noticed. Here are also prehistoric objects from Syra and Thessaly.

III. SALOON OF THE EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES. This collection consists chiefly of bronzes representing Egyptian deities and animals and of other small objects, such as scarabaei, amulets, etc.

In the centre are a bronze statuette covered with inlaid hieroglyphics and ornamentation in silver, and a mummy in brightly coloured wrappings. By the left (N.) wall, Wooden figure of a kneeling woman kneading bread. — Case opposite the entrance-door, Ornaments of the Hellenistic period; small works of art in porcelain and precious stones. Case behind the mummy, Scarabaei, objects in wood and bone, glass vases. — In the recess in the E. wall, Statue of one of the Ptolemies in Egyptian costume. — Cases by the S. wall, Terracottas of the Hellenistic period, including some caricatures; embroidered stuffs of the Hellenistic and Christian periods. Above the cases, Hellenistic portraits from the Fayum. Marble busts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

In the three adjoining rooms to the S. is displayed the collection presented to the museum in 1904 by M. A. Kostovitz, a Greek of Cairo; it includes sarcophagi with mummies, wooden chests from tombs, a large ship, several small wooden statuettes, etc.

We return to the vestibule (p. 79) and enter the N. wing.

IV. ROOM OF ARCHAIC ART (ἀρχαία ἀγγεῖα ἐργασίᾳ). In the anteroom: to the left, 6. Female figure enthroned, from Arcadia; above, 4 (from Boeotia) and 5 (from Eleusis), Statuettes in the form of the early wooden images (xoana); 41. Base with Reliefs from Lamvrika (p. 127), probably originally supporting a figure in the style of the sphinxes (77, 78) exhibited close by, with a representation of the deceased on horseback on the front, and on the sides a man (his father; right) and two mourning women (left); above, 36. Tasteful relief with two seated women, from Attica; 57. Female seated statue from Arcadia (resembling that found at Crete; p. 1xxvii); 41. Primitive Image of Artemis, from Delos, dedicated to the goddess by Nikandrō of Naxos, according to the inscription

BAEDEKER'S Greece. 4th Edit.

Figure 3. Baedeker's Greece (1909)

The corporate guidebook to Greece was the first project to use the same branded framework to cover multiple geo-political areas. Simply named Murray and Baedeker, the authority of the corporation replaced the authority of the expert or individual traveller. Appealing to users of the guidebook who had spotted errors, each edition sought to

update its collection of knowledge, bringing the text to an increasingly closer approximation of the real object: Modern Greece. Its discursive purpose, in other words, was to produce the most accurate topography. The entire guidebook project relied on the nearest and most direct correspondence between text and reality; as Ether Allen suggests, '[t]he 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, 218). Guidebooks favoured practical information on sights, the encyclopaedic listing of hotels, train times and museum opening hours, with star ratings to determine the quality and interest of each locale. Of the sixty-nine pages describing Athens in Baedeker's *Greece* (1909), only three are devoted to the describing the 'modern' aspects of the city and the only mention of human subjects are the notable occupants of a burial ground.²⁵ Despite the predilection for antiquity, the early Murray guides were also preoccupied with seeing Greek landscape in a bracket with Turkey. Using Oriental imagery to translate Greece's distance from Britain as its romantic appeal, the first phase of Greece's tourist reality, was as a site whose independence had little impact on the Eastern imagery associated with it. In addition, the editors that Murray selected for the early Greek

²⁵ Throughout the guidebook, the museums and monuments of Greece offer the defining feature of the landscape, a feature of the guidebook which Roland Barthes attacks in his commentary on another popular series, the French *Guides Bleus*: '[g]enerally speaking, the *Blue Guide* testifies to the futility of all analytical descriptions, those which reject both explanations and phenomenology: it answers in fact none of the questions which a modern traveller can ask himself while crossing a countryside which is real *and which exists in time*. To select only monuments suppresses at one stroke the reality of the land and that of its people, it accounts for nothing of the present, that is, nothing historical, and as a consequence, the monuments themselves become undecipherable, therefore senseless. What is seen is thus constantly in the process of vanishing, and the *Guide* becomes, through an operation common to all mystifications, the very opposite of what it advertises, an agent of blindness' (Barthes 1993, 75-6). For Barthes, the selection of monuments and the erasure of their historical, social and political context, petrifies real sites into apparently unchanging monoliths for the traveller to inspect at a distance, rather than engage with. However, as Robert Foulke has commented, 'without a core of information, there is no seeing' (Foulke, 1992, 96). Foulke's argument carries on from Dean MacCannell's influential *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* which discusses 'sight sacralization' as the naming process which constitutes sites as worthy to be seen (MacCannell 1976, 43-48).

editions were consistently drawn not from scholars of antiquity, who travelled to Greece to see the sites associated with the Classics, but by individuals who were invariably connected with Britain's imperial enterprise. The editorial interest was in the mastery of the present, not the description of an antiquity which lay largely buried and lost.

Sir George Bowen was the editor of the first standalone Murray's *Handbook to Greece* (the former editions grouped Greece with large sections of the Ottoman Empire), which was published in 1854. By this time Bowen had served as President of the Ionian University until his appointment as Chief Secretary of Government in the Ionian Islands in 1854. In later years he would hold various governorships in Queensland, New Zealand and Hong Kong. In other words, Bowen's role as a named editor far exceeds that of a compiler of information, his role in British colonialism was another integral support for the authority of the guidebook. Although not strictly under colonial rule, British administration was a strong presence in the Ionian Islands and the power of British interests was felt in Greece, especially when Britain contributed to enforcing Greek neutrality during the Crimean War (1854-6).²⁶ Bowen's contribution to the guidebooks for Greece was not a new or distinctive approach to writing or collating a guidebook; rather, it was his role as respected colonialist whose knowledge as a representative of the British government had lent an authority to the guidebook that was underwritten by his administrative role for the British Empire. Not all of the editors of the *Greece* series were men; the 1884 edition of Murray's handbook, the largest edition which had to be

²⁶ See Thomas W. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity and Power in the British Mediterranean* (2002) for a study of British rule and influence, especially in the Ionian Islands, and R.F. Holland, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean* (2006) for a recent study of British political influence in Greece during the period.

split into two volumes, was edited by Amy Frances Yule, daughter of Sir Henry Yule, who served in both Sikh Wars (1845-6, 1848-9), which led to Punjab becoming a British protectorate, and eventually led to its annexation. The images of Greece they offered extended beyond the narrow scope of antique vistas; rather, they were interested in finding a vital component to life in Greece, one they did not find in the very alive Greeks, but in the spiritual and imaginative engagement with a semi-Oriental space without any of the dangers of being in the 'Orient.'²⁷

Romance in Ruins

Beyond Byron, the most ubiquitous and pervasive source of quotations from the earliest Murray guides to Greece was David Urquhart's travelogue, *Spirit of the East* (1838):

It is not a recreation suited to all men, and it is trying even to those who are vigorous and indifferent to luxuries and comforts; yet there is none of that languor and feverishness that so generally result from travelling on wheels, but in their stead invigorated health, braced nerves, and elevated spirits. You are in immediate contact with nature. Every circumstance of scenery and climate becomes of interest and value, and the minutest incident of country, or of local habits cannot escape observation. A burning sun may sometimes exhaust, or a summer-storm may drench you, but what can be more exhilarating than the sight of the lengthened troop of variegated and gay costumes dashing at full speed along to the crack of the Tartar whip and the wild whoop of the *surugee*? What more picturesque than to watch their reckless career over upland or dale, or along the waving line of the landscape, - bursting away on a dewy morn, or racing 'home' on a rosy eve?

(Urquhart quoted in Murray 1840, i-ii)

Murray's quotation appears as a lengthy extract that spans over three pages.²⁸ Urquhart had served in the British navy during the Greek War of Independence and later worked as

²⁷ The definition for Orient here is being borrowed from Said, see Introduction.

²⁸ Ali Behdad in his discussion of this extract argues that 'the Orient is again represented as a "natural" theatre where the tourist can observe exotically untouched scenery, the local habits and costumes, and the exhilarating show of colorful Tartar troops. The description of the Oriental landscape, ironically, functions

a diplomat, helping to determine the Greek-Turkish frontier. Most notably though, Urquhart was known for his virulent attacks against the nationalism and expansionism of Lord Palmerston, which won him an unlikely ally in Karl Marx (unlikely, since they disagreed on most other points in politics).²⁹ Urquhart's contribution to the Murray series on Greece certainly exists as an Orientalist intervention, a reproduction of Oriental stereotypes to sell the 'East's' interest as a travel destination which becomes included in a practical section on travel in the introduction of a guidebook.³⁰ However, Urquhart also represents a deep-seated anxiety of how to achieve sympathetic and meaningful cross-cultural communication, as the following passage suggests:

Thus at home in the wild woods should the Mussulman be seen, picturesque in his attire, sculpturesque in his attitude, with dignity on his forehead, welcome on his lips, and poetry all around. With such a picture before him, the ever-busy Westerner may guess at the frame of mind of those to whom such existence is habitual, and who, thence, carry into the business of life the calm we can only find in solitude, when, escaping from our self-created world of circumstance we can visit and dwell for a moment with the universe and converse with it in a language without words.

(Urquhart quoted in Murray 1840, iii)

Features familiar from Orientalist discourse are present: the erasure of the Other's subjectivity and the relatively indiscriminate labelling of space as 'picturesque', reducing

as a set of stage directions for the imaginative enactment by the reader of the scene it describes' (Behdad 1994, 42). Behdad follows Said in using theatrical metaphors to describe the Orient as a staged space with the traveller positioned as the audience of a drama directed by Orientalists (Said 1978, 63).

²⁹ Urquhart was far from being considered a universal authority on the Orient. In a letter to Marx dated March 1853, Friedrich Engels offered a portrait of Urquhart as a decidedly eccentric figure: 'I am reading Urquhart's book at the moment. He contends that Palmerston is in the pay of Russia. The explanation is very simple, the fellow is a Celtic Scot with a Saxon-Scottish training, by tendency a romanticist, by education a Free Trader. He went to Greece as a Philo-Hellenist and, after skirmishing around with the Turks for three years, he went to Turkey and was immediately seized with enthusiasm for the Turks. He is gushingly Islamitic and declares that if he were not a Calvinist he could be only a Mohammedan' (Engels quoted in Mehring 2004).

³⁰ The definition of stereotypes here is borrowed from Rey Chow who argues, '[s]tereotypes 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, 59). Dismantling stereotypes, or at least revealing some of their origins, is another explicit act of topography.

it to a benign series of images for the traveller's viewing pleasure. While the Muslim is turned into inanimate sculpture, poised to welcome the traveller, poetry becomes imbued in the arrangement of objects around him. Urquhart can only experience this scene in 'solitude', the Muslim cannot enter into an exchange with him. Paradoxically, Urquhart attributes this highly contrived scene to a 'language without words'. Additionally, it presents a view of travel which is profoundly antithetical to the mass appeal of the guidebook:

The man who sees the East for a day can sketch external objects by the words which exist in European language; but, to be able to convey thoughts, he must feel as they do, and describe those feelings in a language which is *not* theirs; and this is an overwhelming task. Language is the conventional representation of impressions: but when impressions are not identical, that cannot be conveyed by common sounds; and, therefore, where there is difference of impressions, there is no common language.

(Urquhart 1838, xii-iii)

Urquhart, by engaging in this language of surface, depth and imaginative unity (a function or mode that exists outwith language in its transformative potential), uses the rhetoric of Romanticism to offer an original model for travel, as opposed to the collection, or simple rearrangement, of surfaces.³¹ While the traveller worked to

³¹ S.T. Coleridge's three-fold definition for the imagination offers a model for the type of interaction described here. For Coleridge, 'Fancy' involves the empirical experience of objects, though the senses, which can be rearranged but cannot transform each individual object. It 'has no other counters to play with, but fixities and definites. The fancy is indeed no other than a mode of memory emancipated from the order of time and space' (Coleridge 2000, 313). The secondary imagination, however, has the ability to radically transform the object: '[i]t dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to re-create; or where this process is rendered impossible, yet still at all events it struggles to idealize and to unify. It is essentially vital, even as all objects (*as* objects) are essentially fixed and dead' (Coleridge 2000, 313). The secondary imagination has the potential to take disparate objects and vitalise them, synthesise them, into an organic whole, and even if it ultimately fails to synthesise those elements, it still struggles. Urquhart uses this model to imagine a cross-cultural connection between himself and Other signifiers, namely, Oriental ones. For a discussion of the treatment of the Orient in British Romantic literature, see Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers in the East* (1992), Saree Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity* (1998) and Mohammed Sharruffudin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism: Literary Encounters with the Orient* (1994). Set before the rise of the tourist industry, these discussions offer a survey of the romantic appeal of the Orient that was predicated on distance, and the Orient's depth, as a site

reconcile opposites, to bridge the space between cultures and create a meaningful communion with Other spaces, the tourist could only view and rearrange those objects without any imaginative reconciliation. The trope of travel versus tourism is well explored by James Buzard's *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (1993), which traces the correspondence of the distinction between surface/depth to tourism/travel. The tourist 'became the figure incapable of making meaningful contact with, or of grasping signs of, an authentic, integrated "whole way of life" – which came to be represented as a fugitive essence, hounded into hiding by an encroaching modernity, driven 'off the beaten track' or, in a related metaphor, 'beneath the surface' which superficial tourists merely skimmed' (Buzard 1993, 10). The traveller, in contrast, worked towards being the whole, as Buzard suggests in relation to Coleridge: '[i]n the process, they [travellers] borrowed and extended the concept of the *picturesque*: for them, moments of greatest value were to be found, as Coleridge said of picturesqueness, "where parts only are seen and distinguished, but the whole is felt"' (Buzard 1993, 10). The individual who can claim the powerful subjectivity and agency to feel the 'whole' became the benchmark by which the traveller was judged. In other words, in the early phase of Murray, one of the main qualifiers for an authentic experience of Greece was not the textual rendering of antiquity, but a communion with the Orient. Extracts from Urquhart continued after the 1854 division of the handbook into *Greece* and *Turkey*, a fact that is slightly remarkable since his discussion is primarily of Romania and not of Greece at all. Nonetheless, the standalone volume continued to

with no concrete material reality but limitless imaginative depth. For discussions of how Romantic enactments of the Orient survived beyond the 1830s and 1840s, see, Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (1994), and Pallavi Pandit Laisram, *Viewing the Islamic Orient: British Travel Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (2006).

use Urquhart's descriptions of travel, journeys predominantly undertaken in the Ottoman Empire. Urquhart's presence in the post-1854 volumes is exemplary of the ways in which Oriental discourse infected Greece, even after it had gained independence from the Ottoman Empire.

Even by 1884 the journey to Greece was still laced with romance as the following extract from Bible scholar Dean Stanley illustrates, “[w]ith the single exception of Palestine [the subject of his own travelogue published by Murray], there is no travelling equal to that of Greece. There is no country which so combines the compactness, the variety, the romance, the beauty of nature – and a beauty and romance which is absolutely heaving with the life of ancient creeds and ideas’ (Stanley quoted in Murray 1884, 11). The vast majority of comments on Oriental Greece in the Murray guidebooks were via the frequent extracts from the literary vignettes that punctuated the guidebook. The fabric of the guidebook was intrinsically intertextual and co-existed with more favourable remarks on the contemporary population and landscape of Greece. The first standalone edition of Murray's *Greece*, for instance, quoted an anonymous article from the *Morning Chronicle* to identify the three main groups of travellers to Greece: those with a scholarly or classical interest (they dominate); those ‘who concern themselves little with what has happened since the days of Pericles, or at least Maricus Agrippa’; and those whose occupations led them to Greece. The final category consists of those travelling back and forth from India and military or naval personnel, who are not very highly regarded: ‘I have heard one of these gentlemen, who, by the way, commanded a ship at Navarino, loudly declaim against the Greeks, as knowing them well; and upon my asking him if he

had been to Athens, he replied, ‘Oh, yes; we sailed round *the whole island*’ (Murray 1852, 43). The author concludes his observations with the point that, ‘fewer travellers can give a decent account of Greece than of any other country, and scarcely any have attempted to speak of the Greeks from personal knowledge, for the simple reason – they have never been able to speak to them for want of a common language’ (Murray 1854, 43). The 1854 handbook also sees the editor, Bowen, quoting one of his own books in defence of the Greeks: ‘[t]hey have been much misrepresented, partly through ignorance, partly through prejudice. Classical travellers have been too ready to look down with cold disdain on the forlorn estate of a people for whose ancestors they profess even an extravagant veneration’ (Murray 1854, 45). Despite Bowen later suggesting that the manners of Greek peasants have not changed since the time of Homer (Murray 1854, 46), like the author of the *Morning Chronicle* article, he does try to qualify, modify and counter stereotypes of contemporary Greece and Greeks. This is not to suggest, however, that the versions of Greek character were unproblematic; the conflation of modern Greeks with a Hellenic vision was equally reductive. Murray’s 1872 handbook suggested that, ‘[i]n the language and manners of every Greek sailor and peasant [the traveller] will constantly recognize phrases and customs familiar to him in the literature of ancient Hellas; and he will revel in the contemplation of the noble relics of Hellenic architecture’ (*Quarterly Review* quoted in Murray 1872, 2).

As the various guidebook brands grew in popularity, the need to attribute sources and borrow authority from other sources, diminished. In the Baedeker, the prose of the guidebook was hardly continuous, it was more likely to be punctuated by page references

for other sites in the guidebook, a measurement of distance, or a star rating. The intertextuality of the guidebook ceased to exist on multiple levels of text (the frequent incorporation of quotes), with a variety of registers and contexts, but moved to being a series of hyperlinks within the single text. This was one of the features that distinguished the Baedeker from the Murray: when Baedeker evoked a stereotype, it was underwritten by the faceless authority of a corporation and did not have the space to introduce qualifications, or alternative perspectives. The Greek character was essentialised by Baedeker, as an untrustworthy element in the journey to Greece. The following extract offers practical advice on the employment of guides:

If the tour is prolonged through the fault of the tourist, he must, of course, pay for the extra time spent on it. Half of the sum agreed upon is generally paid to the dragoman in advance, to enable him to purchase the necessary stores. The other half should be retained to the end of the journey, its retention sometimes acting as a spur to the inborn Oriental indolence of the Greek.

(Baedeker 1889, xiv)

Part of the ‘Oriental’ connotations described here was through the association with Slavic tribes resident to the north of Greece (Kostova 1997, 13). The ‘Oriental indolence of the Greek’, was a phrase to appear in all four editions of the series, the last edition in this phase being published in 1909. Other observations on Greeks included the following from Baedeker’s 1905 edition: ‘[the] character of the Greek is cheerful and lively. He is fond of society and dancing’; his dietary requirements do not seem to exceed a ‘handful of olives, a piece of poor bread, and a glass of resined wine’ (Baedeker 1905, 1). The Greek’s apparent total disregard for the efficient and timely adherence of Baedeker itineraries was a particular point of annoyance: ‘[t]he acceptance of HOSPITALITY (*philoxenia*) has this drawback, that consideration for the feelings of his host limits the travellers in various ways, and this is increased by the fact that the modern Greek has

generally very little idea of the value of time' (Baedeker 1909, xiii). The Baedeker's experience of the native, semi-Oriental population is a decided impediment for the journey to antiquity, as Rudy Koshar has observed, 'constitutive of the guidebook genre as Baedeker formed it, [is] to ignore or caricature human interactions' (Koshar 2000, 50). Oriental Greece was no longer a feature of interest in itself; rather, it became a nuisance to the practical exploration of a newly excavated tomb or collection of artefacts.

Although the overriding interest in the journey to Greece had always been its classical associations, the 1870s represented a threshold for travel which saw antiquity becoming the only reason to visit Greece. The romance of the journey no longer lay in viewing a Muslim at twilight, it was a romance in ruins. The introduction of the Bank Holidays Act of 1871, the phenomenal rise in the number of Thomas Cook's domestic and Continental tours for the middle classes, and the commercial overtaking of Murray by Baedeker in the British guidebook market, were just a few of the features that represented a shift in the dominant experience of guidebook travel. John Vaughan's history of the modern English guidebook spans the period 1780-1870, what he calls its 'formative period' (Vaughan 1974, 138), a period when the guidebook was still relatively uncodified in comparison to contemporary guidebooks. The textual structure of the Baedeker was always less complex and intricate than Murray, which allowed it to rapidly codify before Murray and part of the survival of the Baedeker brand today is partially attributable to this phenomenon. Not only did the internal structure of the guidebook become increasingly codified, so did the descriptive subjects. The material consequence of this was the erasure of references to, or the interest in, a semi-Oriental Greece:

We lost sight of the Venetians and the Turks, of Dandolo and Mahomed II, and behold only the ruins of Sparta and Athens, only the country of Leonidas and Pericles. For Greece has no modern history of such a character as to obscure the vividness of her classical features. A modern history she does indeed possess, various and eventful, but it has been (as was truly observed) of a *destructive*, not of a *constructive* character.

(*Quarterly Review* quoted in Murray 1872, 2)

The independence of Greece from the Ottoman Empire is curiously overlooked as a 'constructive' chapter in Greece's history. This was a Greece constructed out of ruins: a series of images that were not only readily consumable and marketable, but also projected a Greece which no longer had to negotiate the contradictory (at once Oriental and Occidental) reality of contemporary Greece; as Stathis Gourgouris argues, 'in dislocating itself from the Orient, Philhellenism reveals its discomfort with modern Greece, at least with modern Greece as a cultural reality' (Gourgouris 1996, 139). All the guidebooks considered here concentrate on antiquity: Murray's 1854 handbook contained seven pages on modern Athens and seventy pages on ancient Athens. The suggestion is not that the Oriental sections of the guidebooks ever eclipsed, or even rivalled the sections on antiquity, but their gradual disappearance from the guidebooks did modify the image of Greece through the elision of a vital context. The reader's gaze was directed away from the Oriental stage to a Hellenic one fuelled by a simulated nostalgia,

he feels that he is reading over again all the old stories of his school and college days – all the old stories, but with new and most brilliant illuminations. He feels in the atmosphere, and sees in the coasts and in the plains, and the mountains, the character of the ancient Greeks, and the national contrasts of their various tribes. Attica is still what it ever was – a country where the rock is ever labouring to protrude itself from under the thin and scanty soil, like the bones under the skin of an old and emaciated man.

(*Quarterly Review* quoted in Murray 1872, 2)

The paraphernalia the traveller carried included a pocket telescope, drawing material and measuring tape (though it is unclear exactly what one would measure as the guidebook

helpfully offers measurements for all the sites to be visited). Amongst the more select pool of authors who were cited by Murray in the later handbooks, was William Martin Leake whose travelogues were an account of his archaeological research. His Baedeker was the work of Pausanias, his Greece was one in the rocks 'labouring to protrude'. Murray's 1884 handbook contained new sections on natural history and geology, but most importantly: '[o]ther new features are the enlarged form and new matter of the general and special Introductions, the entirely new description of ATHENS, the catalogues of the Greek Museums, the detailed accounts of the latest discoveries at OLYMPIA, MYCENÆ, EPIDAUROS, TEGEA, DELPHI, DELOS, DODONA, etc.' (Murray 1884, iii). The excavations were aggressively geared towards one specific moment in Athenian history, that of Pericles, and all other monuments were sacrificed: '[t]he mediaeval and Turkish relics have been entirely cleared away, including even the bastion built by the insurgent leader Odysseus Androutsos at the interesting date of 1822, in order that the rock may preserve no remains except those of classical times' (Murray, 1896, vi). As excavations cleared classical sites of the debris from other ages, so the guidebooks erased the Oriental layers of Greece, embedding those Oriental qualities in the local population.

Antique Panoramas

The word 'panorama' was coined late in the eighteenth century to describe a new art form which represented a wide view, or even a 360 degree view, of a landscape on a flat canvas. It derived its name from two Greek roots, *pan* (all) and *horama* (vision). A patent was issued for this innovation to Robert Barker in 1787, and as Stephan

Oettermann comments, '[i]t is noteworthy that, although the panorama was an art form, Barker's contemporaries thought it worthy of a patent, thereby placing it in a category shared by James Watt's steam engine' (Oettermann 1997, 5a). From the outset the panorama was a technological innovation for reducing large, open spaces into a framed and sequential portrait that could be viewed at a glance, and this was the innovation that became so useful to the guidebooks, which were forced to negotiate the description of large spaces with a narrative economy that framed those spaces into neat places that could be visited.

The panorama is paradoxical in its connotations: it at once suggests a strategic position that offers a complete vista, and a view only of those sights which are significant enough (whether in terms of size or curiosity) to emerge. In fact, the panorama is analogous to the project of the guidebook itself: its 'complete' view is the product of an engineered and selective angle. This paradox emerged as the panorama's connotations developed beyond that of a specific technological innovation: from being a vista of a landscape that did, or had, existed, it moved to meaning any overview and did not depend on Barker's painted panorama. Panoramas were especially popular during the Napoleonic Wars, when access to the continent was limited for travellers. At this point the flat panorama was transferred to circular rooms to surround the spectator with the vista. Significant innovations included the work of Jacques Daguerre, the creator of the 'Diorama', a room which used the panoramic paintings, with the aid of light effects, to create a heightened sense of experiencing a real scene. In a panorama of Swiss scenery Daguerre introduced real 'rustic implements' to enhance the reality effect of the panorama (Sternberger 1977,

9-10). Essential to the panorama then, is the simulation of real scenery, a rendering of the need for the real destinations redundant by offering their simulations cheaply and conveniently. It was another staged space, but one quite distinct in its operations from the stage of the Orient. The panorama had the potential to work in the same way as the guidebook to produce an, 'exact transcription of reality' (Allen 1996, 218), a representation whose artistry was masked by technological innovation. The panorama did not just technologically reproduce the 'surveying gaze' of the traveller, rather, it produced that very gaze.³²

The increasing need for textual economy in the guidebook, along with printing innovations allowed for, and necessitated, the inclusion of a larger number of prints in the texts. The last two Murray editions carried photographs of the Acropolis as their frontispiece, while the Baedekers had an elaborate centre-fold-out panorama of Athens in all of their editions of *Greece*. The later guidebooks also had accompanying images of the Parthenon or the Acropolis next to the textual description in the main body of the guidebook. Where possible, and commercially viable, text was supplanted or supplemented by a map, lithograph or photograph, as guidebooks increasingly encouraged readers to engage with sites through their images, with text providing practical information to facilitate the traveller's arrival at the image. It is curious in itself that the traveller would need any image of the site to verify their visual experience until

³² As Gourgouris suggests in relation to the popular panoramas of Athens, in circulation in Paris during the early nineteenth century, '[t]he impulse in the construction of panoramas is to reproduce technologically the experience of the surveying gaze as it is cast over the scene of nature or of culture, which, in the process, becomes landscape', and in the case of Athens, 'the image of Athens was speculated upon as a commodity even as it elicited, within the boundaries of *theatre*, a projected experience of travel' (Gourgouris 1996, 136).

these images are understood as ideal angles: they elide the details of the scene to construct a stereotyped vista of the site, one which, as Gourgouris suggests, transforms unframed space into framed 'landscape', or in the case of Athens, 'cityscape' that is easy to produce *en masse*. The link between the panorama and the guidebook then, far exceeds the literal inclusion of panoramas in the text, or even the use of images to present 'reality': the guidebook itself was becoming a textualised panorama. The techniques and technologies of the panorama influenced the way in which scenes would be described; the following description of Athens from Murray's 1840 handbook is a panorama textualised through narrative technique:

Looking northward from it [the Parthenon] the city, and beyond it the plain of Athens, formed into a great peninsula by mountains, lay before the view of the ancient Athenians. The eye having been sated with the splendour of the objects in the city below it, might raise itself gradually, and passing northward over corn-fields and vineyards, farms and villages, such as Colonus or Acharnæ, might at last repose upon some sequestered object on the distant hills upon the deep pass of Phyle, or the solitary towers of Deceleia.

(Murray 1840, 47a)

The view zooms in to a 'solitary Albanian peasant' (Murray 1840, 47b): this is a panorama where the narrative shifts between the different temporal layers of Greece. The narrative moves from a speculation of the vista for the ancient Athenians, over agricultural land and finally to the Albanian peasant in the present. The view pans not only horizontally across the scene then, but penetrates into imaginatively constructed vistas of views long disappeared: this is a Greece out of step with modern time, an anachrony. Dolf Sternberger illustrates how a narrative scene from a painted panorama, frozen in a moment, had the potential to work across historical boundaries:

Everyone coming to view the panorama could – and had to – be expected to visualize the situation and supplement or complement it backwards or forwards in time. Actually, of course, there was nothing to see but a field and a village,

fighting soldiers, powder smoke, and glittering musical instruments. The view of the frozen moment was composed of all those things, but as a whole it was itself merely a slice of time and of the historic process; the artistry had consisted in picking out the piecework in such a way that the viewer would be able to eke it out in any direction.

(Sternberger 1977, 53-4)

The realities of multiple, incongruous, temporal frames came to rest in a single space. The panorama's link to the technologies of cinema becomes particularly pertinent if the panorama is considered as a 'heterotopia'. Michel Foucault defined the term in his essay, 'Of Other Spaces' (1986), as a real counter-site, a site linked to the space around it, but set apart from it through its inherent contradictions. Heterotopias include museums, where meta-narratives of history can be assembled in one space as an archive and vacation villages that simulate 'real' villages. Foucault suggests that: 'the theatre brings onto the rectangle of the stage, one after the other, a whole series of places that are foreign to one another; thus it is that the cinema is a very odd rectangular room, at the end of which, on a two-dimensional screen, one sees the projection of a three-dimensional space' (Foucault 1986, 25). The usefulness of this model for Modern Greek studies is made most apparent in Artemis Leontis's *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland* (1995) as Leontis suggests that the collective meanings of Greece produce a kind of heterotopia through the active visualisation and understanding of Greece as an incongruous collection of temporal fields that have an uneasy coexistence. For Leontis 'Hellas' is an imaginary repository with effects on a very real geography: signifying at once the collective fantasies, projections and national imaginings of travellers to Greece and of the Greeks themselves, Leontis uses Foucault's model for the heterotopia to discuss how imaginary projections have worked to colonise a geography. Although Leontis's discussion is to some extent an analogue of Said's description of the

temporalisation of the Orient, its significant difference is the very real and material *topos* of Greece. Although Hellas and Greece do not map directly onto one another, sometimes providing differing cultural coordinates, the discrepancy between the two offers a opening for the critique of commonsense ideas that were the foundations for the expectation of what a journey to Greece entailed. Reading temporal disjuncture as a key strategy for exerting over displaced subjects and object, Leontis reads Hellas as a ‘circuit’ of knowledge:

What of the site that lies outside of powerful Western states but that nonetheless appears as a place of origin within Western societies’ collective imagination? Here I refer to the numerous sites of ruins from classical antiquity forming a circuit known to the West as “Hellas.” Certainly these occupy a special place in the collective imaginings both of the West an entity that seeks to unify itself and of separate national traditions, including the Greek, that view themselves as exemplars of the West. Hellas itself is a heterotopia, a space set apart precisely because it contains classical ruins.

(Leontis 1995, 44-5)

The most useful aspect of her study for the present discussion is her examination of traveller’s accounts of Greece and they ways in which they used antiquity to understand Modern Greece as a space that was out of time: ‘[t]ravel annotations, letters, journals newspaper articles, and scholarly texts representing nearly two centuries of travel to Greece and acquisitions from Greece claim the Acropolis as a home away from home. These texts made the Acropolis European, the traveler Hellenic’ (Leontis 1995, 41). Both the traveller and the native have an experience of the Acropolis and life in Modern Greece but the way the perceive their ‘homeland’ reveals two very different kinds of subject positions. In terms of her own mapping, Leontis asks: ‘[w]hat modes of expression and procedures of knowledge about the Acropolis disassociate, metaphorically and literally, the idyllic site of ruins from its contemporary surroundings in Greece? How

do the discipline the seemingly unseemly uncivil population currently inhabiting the *topos* of Hellas' (Leontis 1995, 42). The panorama was exactly one such procedure, that used knowledge of antiquity to disassociate and distance the reality of Modern Greece from the gaze of the traveller.

The panorama itself is a heterotopia as it operates like a cinema which sees three-dimensional space projected in two dimensions. The panorama may be a 'slice of time' but it can simultaneously be 'all time'; the extract from Murray's 1840 handbook, quoted above, is such an example, with its panorama moving through a variety of temporalities in the same space. In effect, this was a virtual Greece, dehistoricised and distanced by the panorama.

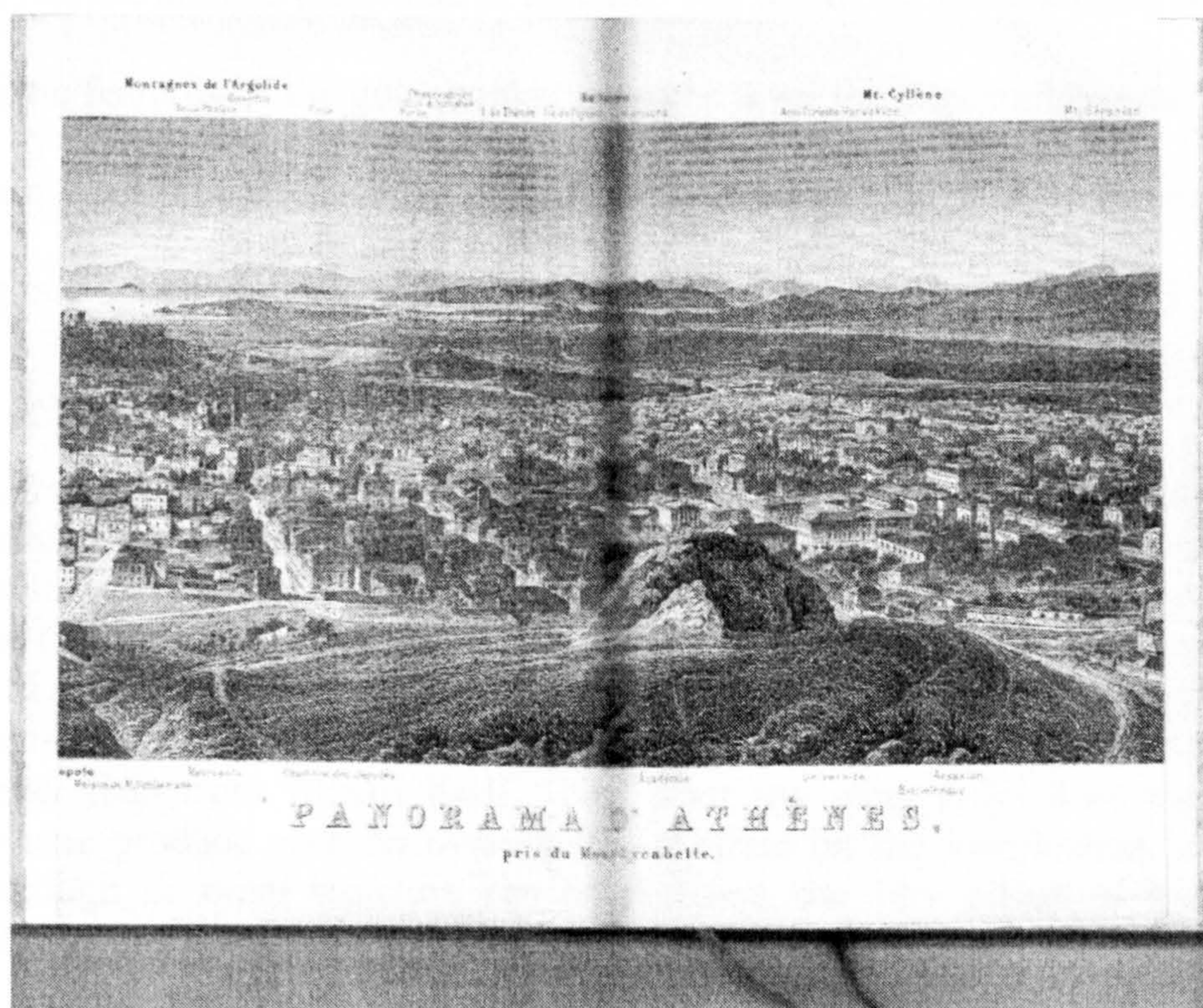


Figure 4. 'Panorama D'Athènes' from Baedeker (1889)

A further example of the form this gaze took can be seen in the following textual panorama offered in Jabez Burns's *Help-book for Travellers to the East*:

The Acropolis lies before you, backed by the lofty hill of Lycabetus, the modern city to your left, the Temple of Theseus beneath; while, as your eye follows the surrounding scenery, and rests on the rich blue sea, with the islands studding it here and there, you insensibly change your position, when your attention is caught by the remains of the Temple of Jupiter Olympus beneath, and by the noble background composed of ranges of hills, all abounding in ancient and poetic interest.

(Anon. quoted in Burns 1870, 141)

The visual quality of the panorama evoked is crucial: 'your eye' determines the parameters of the scene and implicates the reader in a panorama more tightly dictated than any printed image. The textual panorama directs the gaze 'left' or 'beneath' the spectator, allows it to 'rest' and raises it to view the range of hills. Poetry is reified in the immediacy of the antique panorama of Athens. The use of the present tense is one of the characteristic features of the guidebooks: on some level the expectation must have been that the traveller would enact the literary and literal panorama simultaneously. The following is a textual panorama from *Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel* (1885):

Before reaching Salamis or Egina we command a prospect of the west coast of Attica in its entire length, as far as the dazzling white cliffs of Sunium, Athens itself appearing as if encircled in a chain of hills – the heights of the Acropolis in the foreground, Mount Lycabettus in the mid distance, and in the background the loftier summits of Hymettus on the right, Parnes to the left, and Pentilicus in the centre. The relative altitude of these chains can be estimated at this distance far better than from Athens itself. Nor from any other point does the temple of Athene produce such an overwhelming effect on the imagination as here; for, although no other structure can be detected, the very pillars of this imposing edifice may be counted as they shimmer in the sun.

(Rudler 1885, 532)

Panoramas (especially the earliest examples produced by Robert Barker) suggested a viewing that ran from left to right. One could survey the panorama at a glance, but the

glance still required some movement, some structure of narrative linearity. The same rule applied to the larger, theatre-engulfing panoramas: their size necessitated viewing the panorama in stages and then retrospectively rendering the constituting parts as a whole. In the guidebook the narrative had to carefully direct and accompany the reader-spectator through the rendering of a textualised panorama, achieved primarily through the use of the present tense.³³ Even while guidebooks became increasingly codified and simplified throughout the nineteenth century, they still employed quite complex and innovative narrative styles. The following description of Athens is from a travelogue by Matilda Plumley's *Days and Nights in the East* (1845) and is illustrative of one of the most basic types of narrative in the literature of travel:

Athens reached its highest degree of splendour during the administration of Pericles, in the early part of the fifth century before Christ; and in the year 1667, all the ruins visible at the present day in the Acropolis were in a good state of preservation. In 1687 it suffered by the hands of the Venetians; and subsequently from the Turks, who bombarded it from the Lycabettus. Still how much beauty have time, war, and Lord Elgin left!

(Plumley 1845, 270)

Plumley's paratactic narrative is characterised by an indiscriminate supplement of impressions, with the real driving force of the narrative being the use of conjunctives to link a series of observations. The extract from *Stanford's Companion*, however, can be viewed as a hypotactic montage of clauses which depends on the interlayering of scenes to achieve its effect. What a textualised panorama could suggest then, was the connection between panorama and palimpsest. The palimpsest is intertextual by virtue of containing multiple layers of text within the same space. Although the uppermost text is

³³ Foulke describes the basic structure of guidebook prose in comparison with the travelogue, '[m]uch of what is valuable in the latter – a marked personal voice, melding of past and present, originality of perception, vividness in character sketches, economy in anecdote and dialogue, and an unobtrusive but compelling narrative flow – is either unobtainable or irrelevant in guidebooks' (Foulke 1992, 95).

the most visible, other layers can be partially revealed or, through inspection, can emerge. Using the palimpsest as a metaphor in conjunction with the panorama allows the addition of depth to the views the guidebooks describe. The narrative, by evoking sights from antiquity and contemporary life, allows incongruous temporal layers to be rendered simultaneous, but it is the 'original text', or antiquity, that determines the value of the scene and forms the most visible layer.

The relation between the panorama and the palimpsest is not an easy one, as on some level they must contradict one another: while the panorama is predicated on the flatness of a scene, the palimpsest positively insists on the measure of depth to achieve its imaginative potential. However, the panorama was developing new facets throughout the nineteenth century, as Ovar Löfgren in *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*, points out: '[t]he technology of panoramas became more and more sophisticated in producing what we nowadays would call "the virtual reality effect," and by the end of the century it fittingly became a mixed medium, using the novel techniques of the cinema. And the interest in panoramas reorganized tourist topography' (Löfgren 1999, 44). The reorganisation of 'tourist topography' was not simply through the panoramic tactics described thus far, as one of the most important changes of tourist space was the railway. Not only could Athens be reduced to a cityscape, neatly folded in the centre of a Baedeker, or intricately described through the centuries of history by Murray and others, but the journey to Greece from Britain had been condensed in terms of time and money. Baedeker's panoramas were created by the speed with which the tourist could slide

across, and elide, space. From the preface to Baedeker's *Greece: Handbook for Travellers* (1889):

A journey to Greece no longer ranks with those exceptional favours of fortune which fall to the lot of but few individuals. Athens, thanks to modern railways and steamers, has been brought within four days of London. From Brindisi, which is reached from London in 60 hrs., the traveller proceeds by steamer to Corfu in 14hrs., and thence in 16 hrs. more to Patras, whence the new railway takes him to Corinth in 4½, to Athens in 9 hrs.

(Baedeker 1889, xi)

Rail, steam and the standardisation of time alter the idea of the journey to Greece: it is no longer a semi-Oriental and distant land, as the space between Britain and Greece shrinks. By 1894 the rail section between Patras and Athens took seven and a half hours (formerly it took nine hours), as links improved and the Greek railway infrastructure became more efficient. Each passing edition of the Baedeker marked the increasing speed with which one could reach Greece. The 1889 edition suggests that the consequence of the railways will be, '[t]he number of travellers who, after exploring Italy and Sicily, turn their steps toward the classic shores of Hellas, the earliest home of the beautiful, will therefore doubtless constantly increase' (Baedeker, 1889, xi), no doubt aided by the suggested excursions to Athens from Southern Italy. By 1905 this tourist influx had been realised: '[t]he number of travellers who, after exploring Italy and Sicily, turn their steps toward the classic shores of Hellas, the earliest home of the beautiful, *is constantly increasing*' (Baedeker 1905, xi, emphasis added).

An efficient rail network was integral to Baedeker's project for cheap, independent travel: the first edition of Baedeker's *Greece* only appeared after a rail network had

slowly begun to spread through Greece. The railway did not simply provide a means of transport however, it offered a new way of experiencing landscape:

The railroad elaborated the new world of experience, the countries and oceans, into a panorama. It not only connected previously remote places with one another freeing the vanquished route of all resistance, disparity, and adventure; but, more importantly, since traveling became so comfortable and universal, it turned the eyes of the travelers outward, offering them a rich diet of changing tableaux, the only possible experience during a trip.

(Sternberger 1977, 39)

For Sternberger the railway panorama reduced the three-dimensional space outwith the carriage to a series of surfaces which flashed by; landscape was to be glimpsed at, not studied. However, it is possible to overestimate the direct effect this model for viewing landscape in Greece during the nineteenth century. In *Bradshaw's Continental Railway Guide* of 1894, while there are twenty two pages of railway timetable listings for Italy, there is only one page for Greece. The main sites covered by the railways at the time were Athens, Corinth, Eleusis, Kalamaki and Patras. Railway expansion during the latter half of the century was rapid: Baedeker's *Greece* listed 389 miles of railway in 1889 which had increased to 565 miles by 1894, but this was still only about 3% of the track lain in Britain.³⁴ For British travellers used to having their notions of time, distance and speed revolutionised by rail travel, Greece presented an altogether different experience. Dragomans were essential for travel in the interior of Greece throughout the century and although the centres had developed a hotel system similar to other western metropolises, *khans* were still in use. The list of useful phrases in Baedeker's *Greece* (1909) still mentioned a host of phrases for travelling by horse including, 'Give me a switch! δωσε

³⁴ A more extensive discussion can be found in Maxine Feifer's, *Going Places* (1985). For Feifer, '[t]he railway burst upon the nineteenth century much as space travel hit the twentieth: it revolutionized ideas about where and how humanity could travel. It opened up great vistas on one hand, and assaulted cherished ways on the other' (Feifer 1985, 166).

μου μια βέργα' and 'Wait, I am going to dismount, *στάσου νά καταβω [sic]*' (Baedeker 1909, xxxvi). A very western European standard for the progression of modernity was employed to place Greece temporally behind countries such as Britain, France or Germany. The technological and narrative development of the panorama helped to produce a staged space for Greece which had closer affinities to viewing sculpture in the British Museum than the experience of the 'reality' of contemporary Greece.³⁵

The descriptions of Greece in terms of the Orient, and its later reduction to an antique panorama were both strategies for dehistoricising and geographically displacing the reality of Modern Greece. While in the first model, one which generally expired by the 1860s, the Greeks inhabited a romantic and ghostly landscape on the fringes of the Orient, by the 1890s, they had internalised some very different characteristics of the Orient - to name but one, the indolence that every edition of the Baedeker was keen to warn against. The panorama, as a visual technology, worked to flatten and abstract space, using the eye to determine the proper tourist horizon, one that was progressively excavating past the modern. As an analysis of the tourist topography of Greece for British travellers in the period, it offers a working index for the images of Greece that were in currency, as well as highlighting some of the vital contexts. The women discussed in each chapter have very different relationships to the kind of authority that the guidebook imbued. Chapter 2 addresses scholars in Greece, women who, themselves, were authorised to produce guides (which they did). Chapter 3 considers ethnographers in Greece and how they used racial panoramas culturally to locate the Modern Greeks.

³⁵ This type of viewing space will be the subject of discussion in Chapter 3 with reference to Felicia Skene's description of Katinko, a young Greek woman in her service.

Lastly, Chapter 4 deals with tourists who arrived in Greece, Baedeker in hand, waiting to experience the real Greece.

Chapter 2

'Hellas at Cambridge': Agnes Smith Lewis and Jane Ellen Harrison

On the mind of the Turk, we are told, archaeology has, as a science, no hold. His religion teaches him to consider but the present; the future lies in the hand of Allah, the past is unprofitable. As regards one branch of classical antiquities, the art of Greece as distinguished from its literature, the mind of the English scholar has until recent days been touched with certain Turkish misgivings. This word "unprofitable" was lurking in his mind. He could not deny that a knowledge of Greek art added some grace to literary proficiency; but such knowledge was more a matter for the elegant leisure of the amateur than for the daily toil of the student, a pastime for holidays in Greece, not a life-work for England.

(Harrison 1884, 510)

Both born in the decade following the publication of the first modern guidebook to Greece, Agnes Smith Lewis (1843-1926) and Jane Ellen Harrison (1850-1928) were Cambridge based scholars whose interest in Greece went beyond a holiday pastime. In 'Hellas at Cambridge', an article for the *Magazine of Art*, from which the above extract is taken, Harrison points to the subservience of Greek art to the more highly regarded forms of classical study, namely, textual. Reclaiming the visual from the derivative, she extended the interest in visual material beyond the holiday occupation for the tourist in Greece, to a very different stage, one that could contribute to modern Britain. The distinction between 'holiday' and 'life-work' is telling, especially in relation to visual versus textual media; the type of labour associated with both was determined by class as well as gender. In, "On Not Knowing Greek:" The Classics and the Woman of Letters', R. Fowler maps a network of allusions to the Classics in the writings of a variety of

British women writers, from George Eliot and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, to Charlotte Brontë and Virginia Woolf, tracing in each the anxiety of women's purchase on Ancient Greek. For Fowler, '[n]o woman could take the classics for granted. Starting Latin or Greek was a journey into alien territory and for some women the sense of strangeness never entirely wore off' (Fowler 1983, 337). This sense of 'strangeness' and distance from Greece was compounded by the lack of resources available for learning Greek. Taking her cue from Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Aurora*, who begins to write 'Lady's Greek without the accents' (Browning II: 74-77), Yopie Prins identifies a community of women working on Greece through a feminist lens that used the dissonance of 'Lady's Greek' as a critical imperative.³⁶ Yet, the level of this discussion is mostly typographical, rather than topological: the actual presence and figure of Greek letters and learning represented access to an arena that admitted discussion of *eros* and democracy for the middle and upper-class British woman.³⁷ For these women, Modern Greece remained a *terra incognita*, a site radically divorced from their own national and sexual refiguring. Lewis and Harrison were amongst the relatively few Victorian women actively engaging

³⁶ Despite the barriers in training, especially from an early age, women were translating major Classical works in the nineteenth century. Anna Swanwick translated Aeschylus's *Oresteia* in 1865 and by 1875 had produced a complete translation of the works while Webster began her translations in 1866. For an account of their translations and connection to the women's movement see Lorna Hardwick, 'Women, Translation and Empowerment' (2000). For a discussion of 'Michael Field', the aunt (Katherine Bradley) and niece (Edith Cooper) and the discussion of homoerotic desire through Greece see Yopie Prins, *Victorian Sappho* (1999). For a discussion of the poet A. Mary F. Robinson and the question of Lady's Greek in a *fin-de-siècle* and aesthetic context see Yopie Prins, "'Lady's Greek' (With the Accents): A Metrical Translation of Euripides by A. Mary F. Robinson' (2006). For the American context, more especially the use of Antigone in women's suffrage see Winterer, 'Victorian Antigone: Classicism and Women's Education in America, 1840-1900' (2001). A discussion of the first generations at Newnham and Girton can be found in Annabel Robinson, *The Life and Work of Jane Ellen Harrison* (2002), including Margaret de Verrall and Janet Case (later Virginia Woolf's Greek tutor).

³⁷ The emblem of Greek characters stalking Virginia Woolf's character, Clarissa Dalloway, is emblematic of this, Greek letters simultaneously being a symbol of power and powerlessness. For a survey of Classical learning in Victorian women's literature, see Isobel Hurst, *Victorian Women Writers and the Classics: The Feminine of Homer* (2006).

with the study of Greece in their writing, who actually travelled to witness the scene of their argument.

Although there is no evidence that either woman knew each other, they both lived and wrote in Cambridge, establishing themselves as minor celebrities for various reasons, not all of them appropriate for a lady.³⁸ While Harrison was telling her students at Newnham College what was meant by 'Sapphism', Lewis's prolonged periods of study in the company of Greek priests led to accusations of welcoming embraces that were too warm for comfort.³⁹ Living less than a mile from one another in Cambridge, their interest in Greece, however, was entirely divergent; while the majority of Harrison's scholarship dealt with archaic Greek art and religion, Lewis's interest was firmly grounded in an appreciation of Greece as a Christian country, partially belonging to the East, but ultimately one that could be restored to the West. Again, despite both living in Cambridge, they both belonged to very different kinds of academic communities. While Harrison was a lecturer at Newnham College, Lewis's connections to the life and resources of Cambridge were through her husband, Samuel Savage Lewis, librarian and fellow of Corpus Christi. Embedded in their practices, then, is an inherent narrative of professional distance: without Harrison's academic framework, and her interest in the religion of the contemporary, not ancient, Greeks, Lewis is in some ways closer to the

³⁸ The literary archives and literary output of both make no reference to the other, however, the one print connection they do have is in a letter to *The Times* in 1917 entitled, 'Women's Suffrage: A Cambridge Manifesto', to which they were both signatories. Additionally, they certainly had friends in common: Mary Kingsley was a long-standing friend of both, and Dorothea Beale, Harrison's mentor at Cheltenham Ladies, later invited Lewis and her sister to deliver a lecture to her young charges.

³⁹ Jane Ellen Harrison's most recent biographer, Annabel Robinson, offers an account of how Harrison made Newnham a dangerous place to send one's daughters, see Robinson (2002). For an account of the very public sexual controversy surrounding Lewis's work with Greek priests, see A. Whigham Price, *The Ladies of Castlebrae* (1985).

‘elegant leisure’ of Greek study than Harrison, whose academic credentials allowed her to have a more professional relationship with Greece, albeit based primarily on visual, rather than textual, media.⁴⁰

Both Lewis and Harrison’s journeys to Greece came in the wake of major excavations: with the material evidence of antiquity being uncovered, archaeology became the vehicle for challenging and confirming the vision of antiquity that had been produced through the Classics.⁴¹ For Harrison, the material that was being unearthed was revealing a narrative which had hitherto been suppressed, and whose eruption provided a network of metaphors which run throughout her work; discussing the ritual dances of Pan in her brief memoir, she admits that:

I mention these ritual dances, this ritual drama, this bridge between art and life, because it is things like these that I was all my life blindly seeking. A thing has little charm for me unless it has on it the patina of age. Great things in literature, Greek plays for example, I most enjoy when behind their bright splendours I see moving darker and older shapes. That must be my *apologia pro vita mea*.
(Harrison 1925, 86-7)

⁴⁰ For a discussion of how ‘amateurs’ became professionalised, in specific relation to archaeology, see Philipa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional* (1986).

⁴¹ The colonisation of antiquity worked materially as it unearthed artefacts and began to historicise and classify them, a process that Chris Stray describes as ‘declassicization’ (Stray 1998). Following in a similar vein to Stray, James I. Porter points to why excavations could be so detrimental for the Classics: ‘[i]n trying to locate the historical Homer, in stooping to the level of material reality [...] and in turning up dazzling but strange and unidentifiable objects – let alone in opening up to view the world of money and material possessions and dispossessions – Schliemann was something like a classicist’s worst nightmare’ (Porter 2003, 71). The nightmare, of course, is the threat that a former businessman turned excavator, Pausanias in hand, could literally unearth a dream landscape in shattered fragments and could also unearth some more unpleasant challenges, such as evidence that contradicted received Classical opinion. Class is an issue here, as well as discipline. In his survey of the relationship between the Classics and archaeology, Ian Morris argues that, ‘all archaeologies of Greece were absorbed administratively and intellectually into the classics, and their connections with the emerging broader discipline of archaeology were systematically severed. The archaeology of classical Greece was effectively neutralised, and slowly diverged in theory and method from other archaeologies, including Greek prehistory’ (Morris 1994, 11).

Archaic, understood through archetypes, and suppressed in aspect: a 'darker' strata underpinned Harrison's later work, darker, as relatively little information was available on the archaic period of Greek history when compared to studies of the Classics.⁴² Digging literally and figuratively into the history of pre-classical Greece, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (1903), and later *Themis: A Study of the Sociological Origins of Greek Religion* (1912), became heavily influenced by the work of Émile Durkheim and Henri Bergson, especially the latter's theory of *durée*.⁴³ Like Harrison, Lewis's imaginative and critical imperative was the uncovering of origins, though in her case, origins were evidence for a truer account of the words and deeds of Jesus Christ. Though both had an interest in Greek religion, there was next to no connection in their understanding of what it meant. Rather, what they define as Greek religion, whether it be grounded in the social practices of archaic Greece, or the Greek Orthodox faith of the modern nation, reveals their own inflected interest in what it means to know Greek. Both approached the reality of Modern Greece at an oblique angle in their scholarship: for Harrison the material evidence for her study was very literally beneath Modern Greece, while for Lewis the Roman and Byzantine Christianisation of Greece was evident, even if in a corrupted state, in the Greeks themselves.

The following discussion traces the trajectories of Lewis and Harrison's travel experiences in Greece, and more specifically, the visions of Greece they engaged with,

⁴² See Robinson (2002) and Sandra J. Peacock, *Jane Ellen Harrison: The Mask and the Self* (1988) for a survey of Harrison's intellectual influences, which also included the Hellenist Walter Pater, with whom she had a long-standing correspondence.

⁴³ For a testimony of this influence, and her specific reading of how Bergson's theories influence her work on her motif of survivals, see Harrison's *Themis* (Harrison 1912, xii-xiii) and *Reminiscences of a Student's Life* (Harrison 1925, 81-2).

archaic, classical, and modern. The framing concern is how Lewis and Harrison used ‘knowing’ Greek and Greece as a critical strategy and metaphor for staging debates on women’s role in society (whether Greek, or British) and the limits of what it means to ‘know’ Greece. Although they both share an anxious relationship to what it means to know Greek, their lives in Cambridge position them in very different relationships to the language. It comes as no surprise that when it came to producing, intentionally and unintentionally, guidebooks to Greece, they chose two very different Greek sources.

Two Guidebooks to Greece

I picture Athens crowded with eminent Oxford dons turned Pausaniacs, each with a copy of Harrison and Verrall under one arm, and Schuchardt (is it?) under the other.

D.S. MacColl to E. Sellers (18 January 1891)

The misremembered reference to ‘Schuchardt’ is, no doubt, a nod to Eugénie Sellers’s translation of Carl Schuchhardt’s account of Schliemann’s excavations, which Sellers was completing at the British School at Athens when she received D.S. MacColl’s letter.⁴⁴ Schuchhardt’s objective was to produce a collated record of Schliemann’s achievements as, ‘every scholar who wishes to investigate the origins and actual contents of the Homeric poems, or the origins of the Greek people and their civilisation, must nowadays base his researches in the first place in the material afforded by Schliemann’s

⁴⁴ Eugénie Strong [née Selllers] was a Cambridge Classicist who eventually become the assistant director of the British School in Rome. The eclipse of her reputation, and her connection to Harrison, is the subject of Mary Beard’s, *The Invention of Jane Ellen Harrison* (2000). Although she briefly worked and travelled in Greece before the publication of *Schliemann’s Excavations* (1891), her interest was predominantly in Roman antiquity. D.S. MacColl was a painter and keeper of the Tate Gallery from 1906. He had a long connection with Harrison, travelling with her to Greece in 1888, and being a member of the ‘Cambridge Ritualists’. For an account of his relationship with Harrison, see Ackerman (1991), Robinson (2002), and Peacock (1988).

excavations' (Schuchhardt 1891, xvii). Part of Schliemann's success in discovery was attributable to his devotion to a topography whose imaginative coordinates were determined by Homer and Pausanias. Schliemann proved that with a sufficient depth of field, the routes listed in Pausanias, to a degree, could be rehabilitated and provide a rich stock of material that could be read against Pausanias's *Itinerary*. Beyond being a useful index to scholars, what MacColl directly refers to is how these topographies also circulated as tourist handbooks. What these texts represented for the 'Pausaniac' was a guidebook on how accurately to locate the antique in Modern Greece.

When Harrison and Margaret de Verall published *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* in 1890, an account of Wilhelm Dörpfeld's excavations and their relation to Pausanias, the text was quickly dubbed 'Blue Jane', which either undermines their scholastic achievement, or delineates the rather academic profile of travellers to Greece through the implication that their work was a stock guidebook. Here 'Blue' becomes a problematic prefix, at once complimentary (it is indispensable to academic travellers) and belittling (it is indispensable to academic tourists). The conflation of the title with the celebrity of 'Jane', rather than Margaret de Verall, is understandable as a marketing tool, but the exact market for the text is more ambiguous. The lifespan of 'Blue Jane' was relatively short; in 1898 James Frazer published his translation of Pausanias and rendered *Mythology and Monuments* redundant by his extensive revisions.⁴⁵ Six years earlier, another topographical account of excavation in Greece had been published, but to little notice: Agnes Smith Lewis's *The Monuments of Athens* (1884). Although another translation of an account of Schliemann's discoveries, the two texts discuss the same

⁴⁵ See James Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (1898).

monuments in light of Schliemann and Pausanias, but within completely different economies. Part of the clue, of course, is in the title itself: the words ‘mythology’ and ‘ancient’ are added modifiers in Harrison, even though the series of sites that each text seeks to represent belongs properly to antiquity. The importance of the omissions, however, is not immediately apparent: both texts are derived from translation and describe a series of discrete sites that are to be found in Pausanias, and in the ruins of Modern Greece. The most obvious difference between the texts is range and ambition: while Lewis’s text runs to a hundred-and-one pages, Harrison’s is a bulky six-hundred-and-thirty-five page volume, mainly due to her long excursions into the mythological associations of the sites described by Pausanias. Key to both is how the latest archaeological discovery validates Pausanias’s Greece, and more importantly, how this can help the tourist realise Ancient Greece *in situ*; and if the texts were used as guidebooks, then the most obvious way to read their modes of operation is to treat them as such, not only to understand varieties of tourist practice, but also to account for the popularity of one over the other.

Greece, Ancient and Modern

Taking each preface and introduction as a manifesto quickly identifies the relationship between text and guidebook. Lewis’s only direct address from the text comes in her preface where she sends the ‘little work’ into the world:

I am induced to bring this little work of Mr. Kastromenos within reach of my countrymen by the consideration, that English and American travellers, many of whom have only a week to spend in Athens, may be glad to have in their hands, within so small a compass, the chief facts relating to the antiquities of that wonderful city; and these expressed with a method, a clearness, and an accuracy which makes them easy of comprehension. There is no way in which we can

better enrich and ennoble our conceptions of modern life than by the diligent study of past civilisations; and of these, few men can form a vivid mental picture without inspecting their remains.

(Kastromenos 1884, vii)

Instruction through travel is hardly new, but the type of traveller is: with only a week in Athens, the traveller needs a guide that will prove an effective and efficient compass for a journey through antiquity. The 'clearness' and 'accuracy' are a barely veiled acknowledgment that the work is intended for an audience not grounded in academic language or scholarly references; discussing thirty-five monuments in Athens, from the Parthenon to the Theseum and Lyceum, each monument is assigned an autonomous section that could easily be read on site. More interesting, however, are the intentions of the original author; rather than translating Pausanias, Lewis offers a different Greek describing Greece:

The neglect and indifference which are unhappily observed among us, with regard to the study of Archaeology, and to the consideration of the beautiful monuments which our noble ancestors have bequeathed to us, and the total lack in our language of a suitable book for explaining and distinguishing betwixt the now existing ruins, have moved me to compose the present work. I have been incited to it, moreover, by the archaeological studies which I feel in searching out the immortal treasures of our forefathers. The chief cause of our indifference to these monuments is, without doubt, our darkness and ignorance. We Greeks find in ourselves for the most part, admiring more the European travellers who admire these extraordinary works of Architecture and Sculpture, than the works themselves for their own sakes.

(Kastromenos 1884, ix)

Kastromenos's ambitions extend further than simply providing the latest commentary on the ancient monuments of Athens; rather, his is a project, that like Pausanias, used a travelling subject to understand and imagine what it meant to be Greek.

Pausanias himself is somewhere between a historical subject and a shorthand for a text containing routes, and the descriptions of travel sometime in the second century A.D. Though little is known of him, he must have been reasonably affluent to have been able to embark on his journeys into Greece. Travelling in Roman Greece, the sites he chose to describe belonged to classical and archaic periods of Greek history, with signs of the Roman Empire being erased or ignored in the landscape.⁴⁶ Pausanias's identification as a Greek through this process of selection, offers a more fundamental link with the modern guidebook: both are actively engaged in identity building through the selective idealisation of landscape. Ignoring the Roman temple on the site of the Parthenon, Pausanias is the first example in a long line of literary accounts that erase the Parthenon's living and historical contexts for the purposes of producing an identifiably Greek space purged from the less desirable associations of foreign empires (Roman and later Ottoman).⁴⁷ Despite the selective geography, Pausanias's account not only remained the most authoritative topography of ancient Greece in Victorian Britain, but grew dramatically in popularity in conjunction with the rise in travel to Greece and the confirmation that his text did, indeed, offer an index to discovery.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ For a further description of this and the interaction between the mapping of Roman and Hellenistic space, see Ada Cohen, 'Art, Myth, and Travel in the Hellenistic World' (2001).

⁴⁷ For cultural histories of the Parthenon see particularly, Mary Beard, *The Parthenon* (2002) and Eleana Yalouri, *The Acropolis: Global Fame, Local Claim* (2001).

⁴⁸ For Pausanias's popularity in scholarly travel to Greece see Mary Beard, "'Pausanias in Petticoats,'" or *The Blue Jane*' (2001). Romantic topographers in Greece employed Pausanias uncritically to aid the production of maps, the most famous example being William Martin Leake (1777-1860) who was initially part of military campaigns in Greece and Asia Minor, but was later to return to Greece to undertake his major topographical works. A member of the Society of the Dilettanti, the Royal Geographical Society, as well as being a founding member of Athenaeum, he undertook his work at a time when, 'Greece was still as unknown as much of interior Africa' (Wagstaff 2001). See William Martin Leake's *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (1824), *Travels in Northern Greece* (1835) and *The Topography of Athens* (1841). For a discussion of how nineteenth-century travellers's views of specific sites were determined by Pausanias, see Sutton's account of Nemea where despite the development of a series of villages and growing populations since the eighteenth-century, descriptions adapted from Pausanias still served as the norm: Susan Buck Sutton, 'A Temple Worth Seeing: Pausanias, Travelers, and the Narrative Landscape at Nemea' (2001).

In his discussion of the sixteenth-century cartographer Nicolaos Sophianos, who produced *Totius Graeciae Descriptio*, George Tolia identifies the first map of Greece, produced by a Greek (Tolia 2001). Writing in the wake of the fall of Constantinople, Sophianos's map corresponded to an area covered by Orthodox Christianity rather than relying on ethnic or linguistic groupings, and, by extension, justified the envisioning of a Greek world whose compass extended far beyond the recognised boundaries of any historical period of Greece. Tolia identifies the next phase in Greek cartography as Rhigas Pheraios-Velestinlis's *Carta of Greece* (1797). Crucial for understanding Greece through the *Megali Idea*, his map proposed the broadest idea of Greece; understood as a comparative topography between Ancient and Modern Greece, the map contained Ottoman, Slavic and Greek names, again, covering large expanses that superimposed various layers of Greece's national existence onto one another, along with some more tenuous connections in the Balkans. Functioning like a palimpsest, the maps obscured the specificity of each period in history to create a singular and reductive model of Greece that had no real historical basis.

Reading Kastromenos out of the context of an aid to travellers, and in the context of nation building, reveals the impetus in his approach. Chiding his fellow Greeks for simply 'admiring' the archaeological travellers in Greece, Kastromenos's move out of 'darkness' and 'ignorance' is also a move into reclamation and cultural restoration, a restoration proper to expansive boundaries for Greece that reached back into its past, and claimed antiquity as part of an uninterrupted lineage of Hellenism. Dedicated to his

sister, Sophia Schliemann, and directed to an audience of Greeks, his collection of monuments is a project proper to the Modern Greek nation-state rather than a study of antiquity. The absence of 'ancient' from his title is an important indicator of this: the monuments he describes have their greatest transformative power in Greece's present rather than its past. Lewis's close knowledge of Modern Greek, her familiarity with the Schliemanns while touring Greece, passed a text into English which reversed the usual flow of academic traffic on the Classics.⁴⁹ The text did not circulate widely in Britain, as is reflected in its absence in critical material, as well as the extremely poor holdings of the text in academic libraries.⁵⁰ There was a gap in the travel market for an updated account of the monuments, but neither Kastromenos or Lewis had the right purchase on a British travelling public; it was not in the interests or taste of British travellers to surrender their hegemony over antiquity to a native population.

A text not intended for travellers, but which enjoyed greater success with them, was Harrison's commentary on Pausanias. Costing sixteen shillings, corresponding, no doubt, to its size, this was from the outset a project with an intellectual backing more familiar to travellers whose desire for more up-to-date information on archaeological discoveries could not be satisfied by Murray and Baedeker. Published by the staunch supporter of all things ancient and Greek, George Macmillan, and personally supported by Schliemann's student and successor, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, her preface opens with a clear statement of intent, 'I have tried by the title chosen to express the exact purport of my book. Its object

⁴⁹ Unable to find an instructor in Modern Greek at King's College, Lewis and her sister travelled to Edinburgh, where they were taught by Professor John Stuart Blackie, who supported the modern pronunciation of Ancient Greek.

⁵⁰ Only the British Library, the V&A Library, Cambridge and Edinburgh are listed as holding a copy, with the copy at Edinburgh being a bequest from Blackie.

is, first and foremost, to elucidate the Mythology of Athens, and with intent I have examined its Monuments, taking Pausanias as a guide' (Harrison 1890, i). Pausanias for Harrison is not only a guide to antiquity, but a founding anthropological text for her study of Greek artefacts, and the historical origins of their use. For Harrison, '[c]ommentary is addressed, not to the professional archaeologist, but to the student, whose needs I have constantly borne in mind' (Harrison 1890, i). The type of student it eventually reached was not the original audience that Harrison envisioned, as what her text really offered was a chance to read the text at the monuments described, and through the supplementary anthropological data included in the text, help to habilitate the ruins. However, there was a limit to the extent to which Harrison offered a study of ritual life and religion: '[m]y rule throughout has been to examine the stranger gods as they occur in the text of Pausanias' (Harrison 1890, iv). The 'stranger' gods were a series of pre-Olympian deities that were superseded by the religion of the Olympians.⁵¹ 'Stranger', of course, is a pun: their strangeness is a reference to their difference in practice, structure and belief, and their role as relatively unknown in the canon of monuments and literature devoted to the familiar Olympians. Although Pausanias's information on the survival of early Greek cults was valuable, his political agenda and its ramifications on how he described places and practices, were muted. Harrison did complain briefly about Pausanias's politics, which she describes as being 'distinctly *imperial* in tone' (Harrison 1890, ix), but it was only to reject them outright as irrelevant, noting that, '[i]f Pyrrhus, if Attalis, if Antigonus are mentioned ever so casually, Pausanias is off at a tangent into eulogistic narration' (Harrison 1890, ix). For Harrison, this information obscures the purpose of her commentary:

⁵¹ This forms the basis of Harrison's later volumes, *Prolegomena* (1903) and *Themis* (1912).

My object in bringing this book of Pausanias before the general reader is not in the least to make him known as a writer, it is rather that he may help to make Athens and the Athenian people known to us; hence, when he digresses to tell the fortunes of foreigners and barbarians, because his story is no longer serviceable to my purpose, I omit or curtail it.

(Harrison 1890, ix)

Who are the Athenians that Harrison wants to bring her readership closer to? Allowing religious life to eclipse larger political forces, the Greeks that Harrison presents are, to a degree, made 'strange' by the very erasure of 'imperial' contexts from Pausanias. Harrison's Pausanias is not a Greek performing an autoethnographical study of the nation through myth and monument, but a scholar and traveller of sorts:

I feel bound [...] to record my own conviction that the narrative of Pausanias is no instance of "Reise Romantik," [Romantic journey] but the careful, conscientious, and in some parts amusing and quite original narrative of a *bona-fide* traveller. If Pausanias did read his Polemon before he started, and when he got back to his study in Asian Minor posted up his notes by the help of the last mythological handbook, what educated man would do less? [...] Even to-day, which of us, in writing our reminiscences of Athens, not for the specialist but for the general and educated public, might not permissibly refresh our memories by a glance at our Murray or our Baedeker?

(Harrison 1890, vii)

Almost borrowing Murray's rhetoric verbatim, Harrison authenticates Pausanias through a familiar trope: it is true because it has been seen. Offering a nod to the fact that Murray and Baedeker are not strictly academic sources, they are, nonetheless, acceptable aids in transcribing real and authentic encounters and descriptions. This is precisely where Harrison's text becomes so useful for travellers and tourists: as an appendix to a guidebook, it mapped a classical landscape that could be experienced, possessed and recorded by travellers, its newness being attributable to the recent excavations which,

after generations of Oriental rule, had been revealed again to its rightful Occidental descendants.

The question of Greece's distance from Victorian Britain recurs in Harrison's work; her *Ancient Art and Ritual* (1913) opened with a justification for the study of Greece as an exemplar for demonstrating the connecting bridge between art and ritual:

I have taken Greek drama as a typical instance, because in it we have the clear historical case of a great art, which arose out of a very primitive and almost world-wide ritual. The rise of Indian drama, of the mediaeval and from it the modern stage, would have told us the same tale and served the like purpose. But Greece is nearer to us to-day than either India or the Middle Ages.

(Harrison 1913, v-vi)

The truly international scope and potential of Ancient Greek culture places it historically, and geographically, next to Britain. India is too strange in its elements, and the medieval world is too alien from a Victorian Britain that had appropriated and integrated Hellenism. Harrison's Greece belonged firmly to a West that excluded Asia Minor, as her much later comments in the introductory text *Mythology* (1924) demonstrate: '[o]ur religion is not rooted in Greece; it comes to us from the East, though upon it, too, the spirit of the West and of Greece itself has breathed. What Greece touches she transforms. Our religion, Oriental as it is in origin, owes to Greece a deep and lasting debt' (Harrison 1924, ix). Greece at the very threshold between the East and West: whatever transformative influences Greece has effected on Christianity have been part of a greater process of de-Orientalisation. As Harrison argues, the Orient represents stagnation and decay, while the Occident promises life: 'the gods and myths of the Greeks remain perennially potent in literature, while the mythical monstrosities of Egypt, Assyria, and India are doomed to a sterile death' (Harrison 1924, 103). The Greeks' mark of

civilisation was their humanity and temperance as, '[t]he religious influence of the Olympian gods, mild, serene, beautiful, has been incalculable. The calm and perfection of the Greeks is a transformative touch rather than an historical subject for observation; as Harrison summarises, '[w]e still need to think Greek thoughts and feed our souls upon Greek imagery' (Harrison 1924, 105). Greek lessons are civilising to the extent that they differentiate between the fear, superstition and decay of the East, and guarantee the health of the nation. From her earliest work, the object of Harrison's interest in Oriental influences was to identify, by elimination, the genius of Greek art: 'it is only when we know something of what Assyria, Egypt, and Phoenicia effaced in art, what problems they solved, what they could, what they could not do, by what limitations they were bound, and in part the why of all this, that we are able to realize wherein what was peculiar to Greek art' (Harrison 1885, 2). The erasure of these Oriental contexts also explains why Modern Greece is so conspicuously absent: belonging to the East, a distance is imposed between the life of Britain and Modern Greece that creates a space for a rhetoric that can draw Ancient Greece and Britain in the same breath.

These influences act as a series of abstracts that offer only a snapshot of Harrison's more complex relationship to her own Greek lessons, but what they do identify is the radically different vector of approach when it came to describing the same, apparently inert, monuments of Athens. Kastromenos and Harrison lay out a project of communion and communication with a Greek past, but the texts that are derived from their studies relate to one another only in the aspect of the monuments; Greece's antiquity, its relation to the modern, and the past's transformative political, as well as aesthetic, power remain

specific to the ideological context of each. In the case of Harrison, her interest in the earliest historical strata, though not corresponding to the classical period, still confirms that Greece's past, rather than its present, is the most original and interesting phase of its history. Lewis's role and influence is a complex issue: on the one hand she seems to be siding with the Modern Greek imperative to claim antiquity, but on the other, the power of her position is somewhat undermined by her offering to travellers and tourists in Athens who are short of time; the role of the British tourist in Greek nation building is unexplored by Lewis. Lewis does not comment on Kastromenos's introduction, and as a woman not known to hold back when in possession of an opinion, her silence can be read as an approbation of his opening sentiments. Whether Lewis would have travelled with a 'Blue Jane' in tow seven years later is difficult to guess, but her choice to translate Kastromenos whole, without criticism or comment, marks a distinct bias towards situating the monuments of Athens in the context of Modern Greece. It would be erroneous to assume that because Lewis (through Kastromenos) views Greece from a modern vantage-point, and Harrison from an antique one, that Lewis is more inclusive and representative in her historical appreciation of Greece: both Lewis and Harrison had ideological agendas that selectively erased vital aspects of the landscape and monuments they sought to represent.

The Parthenon

The importance of monuments in posing two types of modernity (Greek and British), can be demonstrated in the different approaches to the prototypical monument: the Parthenon. The Parthenon section in Kastromenos is nine pages long, while it runs to forty in

Harrison. They both open with a determining framework for perceiving the Parthenon; for Kastromenos the temple is, 'the most perfect and the most magnificent ruin in the world, although a whole museum was carried away to England by Lord Elgin from the spoils of this one temple' (Kastromenos 1884, 10). Harrison's tone is distinctly more pragmatic: 'The "Parthenon marbles", save in so far as they are mentioned by Pausanias, will not be dealt with [...] It will perhaps be not amiss for once to look at the building through the eye of an ancient traveller and correct the somewhat strained and falsified perspective induced by the accident of preservation and national possession' (Harrison 1890, 431). The question of its distance from the observer poses quite a different problem: Kastromenos chooses to see it as magnificence in ruin, while Harrison awkwardly tries to find a perspective that can sidestep the historical life of the monument. Harrison quickly moves across a range of assumptions about where the Parthenon really resides; the 'accident' of 'national possession' is presumably a reference to non-Greek empires (Roman and Ottoman) that adapted the architecture and primary use of the Parthenon. Indeed, Harrison is quick to point out (as a matter of regret) that the Parthenon had been converted into a Christian church, and subsequently into a mosque. Kastromenos, on the other hand, records the Christian life of the Parthenon and the resulting alterations to the decorative and architectural features of the building, but is absolutely silent on its phase as a mosque, a period stretching from 1458 until Greek Independence. His description of the preservation of the Parthenon focuses on two incidents: the removal of friezes by Elgin, and the 1687 gunpowder explosion that caused much of the destruction visible today. For Kastromenos, the religious history of the temple is undoubtedly Greek. Harrison's section on 'Certain Points relating to the Plan

and Structure of the Parthenon', offers three figures of the Parthenon: a print of the Parthenon that offers a glimpse of the domed mosque in the ruins, and two contemporary photographs that show the site entirely evacuated of habitation.

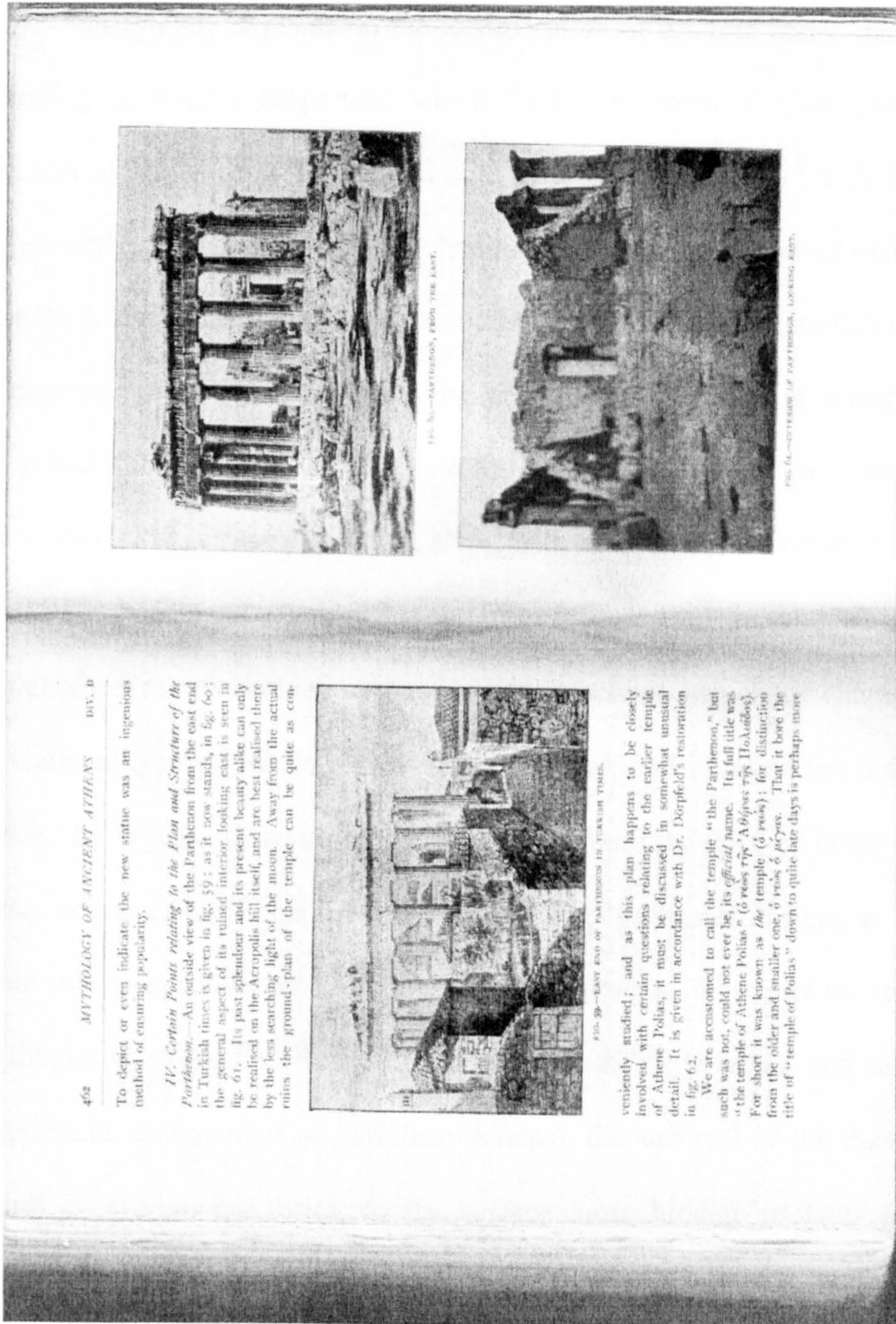


Figure 5. From, *Mythology and Monuments* (1890)

Both works are interested in highlighting the discoveries from the latest archaeological digs in Athens, but more fundamentally, they explore another aspect of archaeological practice in their own treatment of the Parthenon, namely, through the sub-discipline of stratigraphy. Stratigraphy depends on the identification of discrete layers that share the same overriding geological properties, which feeds into archaeological practice as it allows a historical sequence to be mapped onto geological matter: layers that are not of historical interest can be excavated past. Stratigraphy offers a powerful metaphor and practice for the treatment of monuments with a hidden history: as a metaphor of depth, it promises discovery only when the radiating and diffuse surrounding material can be removed. Julian Thomas's *Archaeology and Modernity* (2004) addresses the potency of metaphors surrounding surface and depth, along with a series of contingent metaphors of excavation and archaeology.⁵² Taking his cue from Jacques Derrida, Thomas reads depth in terms of absence, as archaeology 'tries to reduce structures (which are characterised by play and relationality) by ordering them about a centre, and bringing the hidden into a full presence. In the case of stratigraphy, the centre that is established is the origin, the start of the sequence' (Thomas 2004, 161). The Parthenon offers a centre for stratigraphic study, especially as an antique site that surveys and orders the modern city of Athens that grows around it. Being a focal point for the city visually and culturally (as a tourist spectacle, and symbol of Periclean Athens), the survival of the Parthenon is a promise that excavation can bring to the surface more hidden artefacts from strata contemporary to its construction. However, Thomas's metaphor fails fully to account for

⁵² Reading the importance of stratigraphy in constructing a metaphor for archaeology Thomas observes that, '[a]rchaeology is widely understood as being concerned with the recovery of knowledge about the past, by uncovering and revealing structures and artefacts that have been hidden for centuries. As such, it evokes notions of the repressed, the lost and the forgotten, and of the drama of discovery, which are often spatialised in terms of the relationship between depth and surface' (Thomas 2004, 149).

the location, or logic of origins: the Parthenon is far from being the oldest artefact available for categorisation and its original status is a cultural construct through a variety of discourses, from Western Hellenism, to Greek nationalist propaganda.⁵³

Both Kastromenos and Harrison use the Parthenon as an anchor for their own discussions that selectively highlight and elide strata in the monument's historical life. The resulting sequencing of each stratum is out of synchrony between the texts: while Harrison offers a fuller documentation of the use of the Parthenon's space, Kastromenos omits layers that demonstrate non-Greek or non-Christian possession of the Parthenon. Thomas's model therefore needs to be adapted: stratigraphy as a metaphorical desire for the original and organising signifier is disrupted when the same point of origin is used for two very different sequencings, the linchpin being the inclusion or exclusion of a description of the Parthenon mosque. The inclusion of the Parthenon's various cultural and historical lives is, paradoxically, a way of de-historicising it; taken out of all previous contexts and evacuated of extraneous markers of its more recent history, Harrison's Parthenon is a museum space for Victorian Hellenism.⁵⁴

Lewis's relationship to Kastromenos's text is a problem, especially in light of the fact that no correspondence or archival material remains from the period of her translation. However, her translation is unique in being a translation of a Modern Greek expressing his relationship to antiquity, through topography and archaeology. For Harrison, the

⁵³ For examples of how antiquity has been mobilised in Modern Greek nationalism, see Keith S. Brown and Yannis Hamilakis (ed), *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories* (2003) and Yalouri (2001).

⁵⁴ This is also the effect achieved by Mary Beard in her book on the Parthenon (Beard 2002). By historicising each layer, the overall achievement is to dislocate it from its status as a real site.

direction of her scholarship underwent radical change in the subsequent decades; when it came to providing another analysis of antique topographies in *Primitive Athens as Described by Thucydides* (1906), she rehearsed the classical traveller's perspective:

The traveller who visits Athens for the first time will naturally, if he be a classical scholar, devote himself at the outset to the realization of the city of Perikles. His task will here be beset by no difficulties. The Acropolis, as Perikles left it, is, both from literary and monumental evidence, adequately known to us. Archaeological investigation has now but little to add to the familiar picture.

(Harrison 1906, 1)

The restoration of fifth-century B.C. Athens is a familiar trope in travel literature about Greece, and extends far beyond the desire of the scholar. What makes it distinctive, is Harrison's own increasing rejection of classical Greece. Existing on the most apparent level, classical Greece becomes a surface in Harrison's work which operates against another metaphor of depth, something less visible and more primitive: 'returning, as he inevitably will, again and again to the Acropolis, the scholar will, gradually become conscious, if dimly, of another and an earlier Athens' (Harrison 1906, 2). Going into the Acropolis Museum, Harrison speculates on how the classical scholar's tautological experience of classical Greece can be disrupted or haunted by another presence:

Skilfully sunk out of sight – to avoid interfering with his realization of Periklean Athens – is the small Acropolis Museum. Entering it, he finds himself in a moment actually within that other and earlier Athens dimly discerned, and instantly he knows it, not as a world of ground-plans and fragmentary Pelasgic fortifications, but as a kingdom of art and of humanity vivid with colour and beauty.

(Harrison 1906, 2)

Moving away from the museum space of classical Greece, Harrison's Greek lessons were now being derived from a more vital and hitherto concealed landscape. Harrison's journeys in Greece were not paradigmatic of the modern/antique binary, rather the space

she described sidestepped entirely the problem of Modern Greece to deal with a classical Greece, which was becoming increasingly apparent through archaeological activity.

Lewis's later work left the site of Greece entirely, but her subsequent journeys and success in gaining an extended entry to St. Catherine's monastery is to a large degree attributable to her knowledge of Modern Greek; being able to communicate with the monks provided a connection that Lewis was to trade on. More than simply being fluent in Modern Greek, Lewis was an advocate for a Greek nationalism and patriotism that could actively engage in knowing Greece as well as she did. Infuriated by the apparent lack of native tourism, Lewis asks in *Glimpses of Greek Life*: '[w]hy is it, too, that foreigners alone travel in the interior? "You will soon know our country better than we do ourselves," was frequently said to us before we set out on our tour. "We mean to go when there are railways," say some, "railways bring civilisation"' (Lewis 1884, 338). Like any good modern tourist, Lewis's Greeks are unwilling to travel until all of the necessary amenities and conveniences have been supplied. Lewis's Greek 'interior' is partially a construction meant to validate her own status as a traveller rather than a tourist, her success in seeing the depth of the Modern Greeks as heirs to antiquity. Lewis and Harrison's guides to the monuments of Athens, whether or not intended as guidebooks, certainly spent their short life-spans as such. The success of Harrison's text, and the comparative failure of Lewis's, is no surprise when the trajectory of each is considered; the Victorian British tourist was increasingly travelling in an antique, not modern, Greece.

Questions of Distance: Greece & India

The importance of the Classics to empire is neatly encapsulated in William Ridgeway's presidential address to the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1909. Although Ridgeway and Harrison were loath to agree on many topics, both were key figures in bringing anthropology to bear on Classics, a point which Ridgeway reads as crucial for the healthy operation of empire:

It is of especial importance in the education of those who are in many cases to be brought into close contact with men of other race [*sic*], as Indian civilians[,] Colonial administrators, or as traders and missionaries, to learn to place themselves at the standpoint of peoples related in climates and countries very different from ours, and whose way of looking at life, society, and the problems of religion, are totally alien from ours. Only men who have this power, either by nature or by training, can become sympathetic and wise rulers and officials, whilst the same quality is no less essential for the success of the missionary and the merchant.

(Ridgeway 1909, 20)

Like Harrison's earlier allusion, being Greek is a lesson for humanity; the Greeks are not alien to Britain, though the Classics still need to be acquired to train the individual to 'think Greek thoughts'. A shorthand for a civilisation carefully benchmarked by British colonial administration, the Classics offered a way of civilising and disciplining through a veil of 'wise rule'.⁵⁵ The lack of a comparative anthropological study between Ancient and Modern Greece is conspicuous through its absence: implicit in British imperialism is the understanding that the acquisition of Greek is the acquisition of a Hellenism that finds its centres in Germany, France and Britain.

⁵⁵ For a valuable study of the Classics's impact in nineteenth and twentieth-century Britain, and especially its connections to Empire, see Chris Stray, *The Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities and Society in England, 1830-1960* (1998).

In 1915, Lewis and her twin sister were presented with a rare honour: the Triennial Gold Medal for Oriental scholarship by the Royal Asiatic Society. The sisters were honoured for an outstanding contribution to scholarship in the near or far East, their award being made for the discoveries at Sinai and their ongoing translation and cataloguing work in *Studia Sinaitica*.⁵⁶ The back-catalogue of winners and officials were heavily drawn from the India Office, or individuals whose study was primarily in Indian language and culture. The publication of the dialogue at the presentation of the medal demonstrates the importance of Oriental study to Britain. According to Lord Reay, who addressed Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State for India at the ceremony:

I have only to add that the Royal Asiatic Society has always maintained with this Office the most cordial relations, and I am sure that while you, sir, preside over the destinies of the India office those relations will be even more cordial. It is of the utmost importance that India should be better known to our people at home. The Journal of the Society is not intended for the man in the street, but it certainly does uphold the honour of English Orientalism.

(Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1915, 620)

The desire to know India is brought up once again, especially in relation to the study of India's linguistic and cultural antiquity.⁵⁷ Although the deciding factor for Lewis's qualification for a medal in Oriental research is primarily due to her work on the Koran, the scope of the Society's interest ranged across an uncritical understanding of the East, in order to accumulate data and scholarship that could help to domesticate India through

⁵⁶ The Burton Memorial Award seems to be easier to win for women: three winners are listed between 1925 and 1978, the first of which is Freya Stark in 1934.

⁵⁷ William Jones was one of the earliest Indian administrators to draw an explicit link between how Greek lessons could be brought to bear on Modern India. He suggests: '[s]uppose Greek literature to be known Modern Greece only, and there to be in the hand of priests and philosophers; and suppose them still to be worshipers of Jupiter and Apollo; suppose Greece to have been conquered successively by Goths, Huns, Vandals, Tartars, and lastly by the English; then suppose a court of judicature to be established by the British parliament at Athens, and an inquisitive Englishman to be one the judges; suppose him to learn Greek there, which none of his countrymen knew, and to read Homer, Pindar, Plato... Such am I in this country; substituting Sanscrit for Greek, the *Brahmans*, for the priests of *Jupiter*, and *Valmic*, *Vyasa*, *Calidasa*, for Homer, Plato, Pindar' (Jones 1970, 755-6).

its systematic categorisation as part of the Orient. Examining the context of Oxford, ‘from 1892 to 1914 almost half the entrants to the ICS [Indian Civil Service] were Oxford graduates’ (Murray 2000, 346), and of these the majority had read the Classics.⁵⁸ The mastery was ultimately to the detriment of contemporary populations: while the rights to inheritance for Modern Greece remained a moot or disregarded point, Indians were effectively being ruled by an administration imbued with lessons from classical Greece.

Harrison makes a more direct entrance in this debate through a footnote in an Indian intellectual’s attack on attempts to read the influence of Ancient Greece as an enduring and universal force in art:

It must be admitted also that a certain prejudice has led European investigators to think of Classic Greece naturally as the source of all art, and to suppose that the influence of Classic Art must have been as permanently important in the East as in the West. At the same time, it is to be remembered that it is not generally realised by Western scholars, who are not often artists, that Eastern Art, whether Indian, or Chinese, has a value and significance not less than that of the Western Art of any time. The main difficulty so far seems to have been that Indian Art has been studied only by archaeologists. It is not archaeologists, but artists, or at any rate students of art rather than of archaeology, who are best qualified to judge of the significance of works of art considered as art, and to unravel the influences apparent in them.

(Coomaraswamy 1908, 1)

Ananda Coomaraswamy (1877-1947) was a Tamil Hindu whose father had served on the British Bar, and had been subsequently knighted. Growing up in Kent after the death of his father, Coomaraswamy studied geology and became interested in Sri Lankan folklore

⁵⁸ For a reading of the training in Classics and its relationship to the India office see Phiroze Vasunia, ‘Hellenism and Empire: Rereading Edward Said’ (2003), and Stray (1998).

and culture.⁵⁹ Returning to Sri Lanka, he was at the forefront of movements to erase Western influence from South Indian culture, particularly in dress and education. Attending an Oriental Congress in 1908, he presented a paper entitled, 'The Influence of Greek on Indian Art' in an attempt to dislocate Indian art from a heritage and lineage that began in classical Greece. His move is analogous to Kastromenos's in type if not degree: criticising foreign studies that disenfranchise contemporary populations from having a determining claim on their own antiquity. The material gathered in India is used in a grander programme of study to justify the genius of Greek art by predating Indian material, and apparently being a foundational influence on its formation. Coomaraswamy's main challenge lies in reading Indian art as mythic, and Greek art as sterile. Attributing the findings on archaic Greece to Harrison's *Prolegomena* in a footnote, he argues that, '[p]utting aside a few rare and beautiful fragments of archaic art [,] the Greek representation of gods belong entirely to Olympian aspects of Greek religion; Greek art, as has been said, has in it no touch of mysticism' (Coomaraswamy 1908, 2). Alluding to the 'darker' primitive history that Harrison's work was moving into, Coomaraswamy misreads Harrison's project as one which sees the unanimous and overwhelming erasure of features in classical Greek art that can be traced to the archaic period. His emphatic denial fails to read narratives of survival in Harrison, along with a large body of work offering an archaeological and anthropological analysis of pre-classical Greece.

⁵⁹ For an account of Coomaraswamy's aggressive approach to the presence of British culture in India, see Kumari Jayawardena, *The White Woman's Other Burden: Western Women and South Asia During British Rule* (1995), which refracts his antagonism through his British wife.

His argument, however, is one that remained potent; in 1946, on the eve of India's independence from Britain, Jawaharlal Nehru published *The Discovery of India*, a wide-ranging text on India's past and present role on the world stage. Echoing Coomaraswamy's irritation at India being home to a second-rate antiquity, he writes, 'India is far nearer in spirit and outlook to the old Greece than the nations of Europe are to-day, although they call themselves children of the Hellenic spirit' (Nehru [1946] 1989, 152). Nehru's nationalism, as much as Rhigas's, tries to draw a relationship between Greek and Indian antiquity that can authenticate a connection to Greece by predating Britain's.⁶⁰ Although the tide was moving, especially in the movements that would force Indian independence, Nehru finds a place for the views of a nineteenth century Cambridge and Oxford trained Classicist, turned colonial administrator:

Ancient Greece is supposed to be the fountain-head of European civilization and much has been written about the fundamental difference between the Orient and Occident. I do not understand this; a great deal of it seems to me to be vague and unscientific, without much basis in fact. Till recently many European thinkers imagined that everything that was worthwhile had its origins in Greece or Rome. Sir Henry Maine has said somewhere that except the blind forces of nature, nothing moves in this world which is not originally Greek.

(Nehru [1946] 1989, 150)

Nehru is referring to Sir Henry Maine's *Village Communities in the East and West: Six Lectures Delivered at Oxford*, which was first published in 1871. Although Nehru's rejection of the Classics is a point worth exploring in its own right, the primary interest for the present discussion is the evocation of the nineteenth-century scholar and jurist,

⁶⁰ Nehru has a section on India and Greece where he tries to establish a series of anecdotal connections between the histories of the two: 'Ancient India and Greece, so different in many ways, have so much in common that I am led to believe that their background of life was very similar. The Peloponnesian war, ending in the breakdown of Athenian democracy might in some way be compared to the Mahabharata war, [...] the great war of ancient India. The failure of Hellenism and the free state led to a feeling of doubt and despair, to a pursuit of mysteries and revelations, a lowering of the earlier ideals of the race. [...] It is dangerous and misleading to make historical comparisons on slender, and sometimes contradictory, data. Yet one is tempted to do so' (Nehru [1946] 1989, 99).

Henry Maine.⁶¹ An expert in jurisprudence, his *Ancient Law* (1861) offered one of the first comparative discussions of the formation of patriarchal society. Part of a wave of anthropological texts that deployed models underpinned by assumptions of unilateral social evolution and progress, Maine examined Roman law and the rule of patriarchy as a system that creates women as the property of the patriarch.⁶² Johann Jakob Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht* [Mother Right], published in the same year, also looked at early social structures, but in order to examine matriarchal structures and their replacement by patriarchies. Both texts proved to be a strong influence on Harrison: Bachofen is one of the clearest intertexts in her work, being the first major European work to deal with matriarchal origins. Maine's introduction to *Ancient Law* offered a discussion of Themis as the Greek Goddess of Justice, and Themistes as the divinely inspired judgments that preceded a legal apparatus controlled via institutions and the written word.⁶³ Taking

⁶¹ According to Henry Summer Maine: 'Except the blind forces of Nature, nothing moves in this world which is not Greek in its origin. A ferment spreading from that source has vitalised all the great progressive races of mankind, penetrating from one to another, and producing results accordant with its hidden and latent genius, and results of course often far greater than any exhibited in Greece itself. It is this principle of progress which we Englishmen are communicating to India. We did not create it. We deserve no special credit for it. It came to us filtered through many different media. But we have received it, so we pass it on. There is no reason why, if it has time to work, it should not develop in India effects as wonderful as in any other of the societies of mankind' (Maine 1885, 238).

⁶² See Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (1969) for a further discussion on this point, especially in relation to Henry Maine. Maine and Bachofen were read and commented on by Marx and Engels, see particularly Engel's preface to *The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1891).

⁶³ Harrison had set Maine's *Ancient Law* as preparatory reading for Jessie Stewart's travel to Greece in 1901 (Robinson 2002, 133). Maine's summary for his use of Themis and Themistes is set up in the first chapter of *Ancient Law*: '[t]he earliest notions connected with the conception, now so fully developed, of a law or rule of life, are those contained in the Homeric words "Themis" and "Themistes." "Themis," it is well known, appears in the later Greek pantheon as the Goddess of Justice, but this is a modern and much developed idea, and it is in a very different sense that Themis is described in the Iliad as the assessor of Zeus. It is now clearly seen by all trustworthy observers of the primitive condition of mankind that, in the infancy of the race, men could only account for sustained or periodically recurring action by supposing a personal agent. Thus, the wind blowing was a person and of course a divine person; the sun rising, culminating, and setting was a person and a divine person; the earth yielding her increase was a person and divine. As, then, in the physical world, so in the moral. When a king decided a dispute by a sentence, the judgment was assumed to be the result of direct inspiration. The divine agent, suggesting judicial awards to kings or to gods, the greatest of kings, was Themis. The peculiarity of the conception is brought out by the use of the plural. Themistes, Themises, the plural of Themis, are the awards themselves, divinely

inspiration from both, Harrison's project became her own study of early family and social structures in Greece, the model providing an analogy for a more universal explanation for the subordinate role of women. Taking law from Maine, and the rule of the mother from Bachofen, in *Themis* (1912) Harrison explored the 'good' law of the mother in archaic Greece; examining a figure depicting a mother, child, and the clashing of two initiated youths (*kouretes*), Harrison reflects on the absence of the father:

The conclusion is very clear. The myth is a presentation, a projection of the days when, at first, the facts of fatherhood were unknown, and later, but little emphasized; when the Themis of the group was the mother, as the mother of the initiative youth to be. Themis as abstract Right, or as statutory Law, sanctioned by force, would surely never have taken shape as a woman; but Themis as the Mother, the supreme social fact and focus, *she* is intelligible.

It may seem strange that woman, always the weaker, should be thus dominant and central. But it must always be observed that this primitive force is *matrilinear* not *matriarchal*. Woman is the social centre not the dominant force. So long as force is supreme, physical force of the individual, society is impossible, because society is by cooperation, by mutual concession, not by antagonism.

(Harrison 1912, 494)

The law of the mother is not the rule, or law of women: as an organisational force, matrilineal societies, by Harrison's definition, are not simply democratic or inclusive, they are the collective functions that constitute and regulate social life at the most basic level.⁶⁴ By contrast, patriarchy is defined through 'antagonism', the forcible rule by a minority of the majority; unrepresentative of the whole, the law of the father is one which must displace or disguise the maternal centre. The link between Nehru and Harrison is an unlikely one, but what they both relay is a narrative of cultures that have been

dictated to the judge. Kings are spoken of as if they had a store of "Themistes" ready to hand for use; but it must be distinctly understood that they are not laws, but judgments' (Maine [1861] 2004, 3).

⁶⁴ Harrison did give an account of matriarchy in archaic Greece through an analysis of the mother and maiden as objects of worship that were eventually superseded and corrupted by patriarchal forms: '[w]ith the coming of patriarchal conditions this high companionship ends. The women goddesses are sequestered to a servile domesticity, they become abject and amorous' (Harrison 1903, 273). For an account of how Pandora moves from Earth-Mother to temptress see *Prolegomena* (Harrison 1908, 283-285).

suppressed, or been the victim of continuing hegemonic rule. For both, the reverence of patriarchal classical Greece is used to underwrite the morality of cultural systems that are alien, in very different ways, to both.

A similar, though far less noticeable, move may be gleaned in Lewis's later work on the lives of female Christian saints. During the course of her studies at St. Catherine's, Lewis came across a manuscript apparently transcribed by the second-century saint, Thecla. A disciple of Paul, who forsook any relationship with a man in order to spread the gospel, Thecla was an Egyptian woman whose relationship to the codex had been erased by Church authorities until Lewis re-introduced her as the scribe of the text.⁶⁵ The role of the scribe was far more than the simple copying of a text: her transcription was an active literary engagement with early biblical histories in the Eastern Mediterranean. By introducing Thecla into the activity of producing written, authoritative material, Lewis was exposing the insidious erasure of women's authorship from the canon of biblical studies. Although not explicitly interested in creating a project that catalogued lost women in Christian history, a feminist agenda was clearly at work when she did encounter material of interest about women.

Using material from Greek antiquity to reinforce the British colonial apparatus, although India was annexed into a British Empire, it by no means had access to the discourses that contributed to its authority to rule over subject races and nations. Modern Greece, the home of antiquity, found itself equally disenfranchised: unable to live up to classical

⁶⁵ For a discussion of Thecla's status as author in a feminist context, see Kim Haines-Eitzen, "Girls Trained in Beautiful Writing": Female Scribes in Roman Antiquity and Early Christianity' (1998).

standards, it was represented in a network of discourses that consistently read the Modern Greeks racially, and culturally, behind Western Europe. They found themselves as subjects to another kind of British colonial enterprise, one that colonised antiquity and the rights to claim it. However, Lewis and Harrison had an oblique relationship to classical Greece: Harrison reached past the classical period to the archaic, while Lewis moved forward through a panorama ranging from classical to Byzantine and modern. These temporal relationships were expressed in their politics: looking beyond the canon of the Classics, Lewis and Harrison began to stage relationships that reflected their own dilemmas as women travellers. With some of the contexts of Lewis and Harrison's engagement with Greek meant outwith a narrow discussion of their studies and literary excavations, the discussion turns to the type of authority they used in mastering Greece, *Ancient and Modern*.

Knowing Greek: Travel and the Women's Question in Britain

In his biography of Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Ray Strachey quotes her description of Athens in 1897:

“Our delight,” she wrote on reaching this latter place, “has only been tempered by our ignorance, and we have felt dreadfully sorry not to be able to understand a syllable of Greek and not know more about the great time of Athens. It is very delightful all the same, ignorance and all, walking about on the Acropolis and looking across the blue sea to Aegina and Salamis.”

(Strachey 1931, 172)

Not knowing Greek was hardly a barrier to travel, as Strachey puts it, “[t]he ignorance, of course, stimulated Mrs. Fawcett to exertion, and she read whatever her classically instructed friends recommended to her, and did her best to submerge herself in it all. But

authenticating drive as the guidebook's 'on the spot' descriptions, Harrison's Greek travel offered a literal and figurative model of how women's study could carry the highest authority.

Lewis was also interested in using education as a means of staging a debate on women's independence, but she approached the issue in Britain obliquely, through Greece: attempting to restore Greek women to a genius proper to antiquity, inflected by the Christian teachings of St. Paul, Lewis reads the education of the Greek peasantry, especially women, as the redemptive future of the Greek nation, and its patron, Britain. Common to both are questions of class and access. In Harrison's appeal to middle-class women, with just enough time to embark on some lessons in Greek, and Lewis's interest in Greek peasantry, both distanced themselves from the subjects they sought to empower. Integral to both, then, is the desire to use Greece's past as a democratising and empowering influence in women's lives, from the housewife in Victorian Britain, to the average Greek woman, with limited education and funds. However, the question for the present discussion is not only the relationship between travel and 'Greek lessons', but the functional limits of the models both Lewis and Harrison employed. Put simply, what kind of benefit could really be derived from the study of Greece, and how did this bridge the distance between the British woman traveller and Modern Greece?

Breathing Antiquity: Harrison's Greece

Although Harrison never produced a conventional travelogue of her time in Greece, the figure of Greek travel recurs in her work. The majority of the references are

metaphorical, with travel to archaic Greece being a recurring theme and strategy, but in her correspondence, memoirs, and the interviews she gave to the popular press, there is a glimpse of her relationship to Greece as a tourist, irked by the ranks of fellow Britons arriving in Greece, Baedeker in hand. Her assumptions about tourists, and the vain desires that motivate them, reveal the limits of who could, and who could not, benefit from Greek travel.

Before turning to her reflections on superficial tourism in Modern Greece, it is worth outlining the kind of depth that Harrison valued. Shany Fiske, in her discussion of Harrison's interest in archaic Greece, summarises many of the reasons for the recent critical interest in her work: 'for Harrison, archaic religion is valuable precisely because its unknownness allows for a variability of truths that escape linguistic capture [...] Through the irrecoverability of its vocabulary, archaic religion presents Harrison with an academic field wherein the consciousness of her inadequate linguistic training can be transformed into an epistemology of loss' (Fiske 2005, 136). Seizing on metaphors of loss and unknowability, the critical interest in Harrison is partially attributable to her extensive use of metaphors of depth and distance to question the rational limits of society. As a critical strategy, and creative style, it distinguished itself by imagining relationships to suppressed narratives that hinted at, and highlighted, how the founding practices of patriarchy were far from being the natural order of things. Criticising the perfect sterility of the patriarchal Olympian family, Harrison draws on the gods that, for her, brought the Greek to life:

Just when Apollo, Artemis, Athene, nay even Zeus himself, were losing touch with life and reality, fading and dying of their own luminous perfection, there

came into Greece a new religious impulse, an impulse really religious, the mysticism that is embodied for us in the two names of Dionysos and Orpheus. [...]

Dionysos is a difficult god to understand. In the end it is only the mystic who penetrates the secrets of mysticism. It is therefore to poets and philosophers that we must finally look for help and even with this help each man is in the matter of mysticism peculiarly the measure of his own understanding. But this ultimate inevitable vagueness makes it the more imperative that the few uncertain truths that can be made out about the religion of Dionysos should be firmly established and plainly put forth.

(Harrison 1903, 363-4)

Harrison offers a characteristic mixture: despite the unknowability of the mystical elements of Greek religion, she, nonetheless, will disseminate, catalogue, and categorise what is known, weaving the evidence together with narratives of survival, eruption, and disruption, to the general ire of her critics, who saw it as a feminine and unsubstantiated style too impressionistic to count as serious study.⁶⁷ What Harrison did do was compare contemporary Britain with past periods of Greece, using the analogy for political comment. In addition to which, despite her interest in survival, the Modern Greeks are not her primary compass of anthropological comparison: reading her archaic Greeks as primitives, she read through the newly developing disciplines of anthropology and ethnography for her points of comparison, using the ‘primitives’ of her own time as a better comparative analogue; so it comes as no surprise that when she travels in Modern Greece, it is far from her priority to offer a serious reading of the culture and practices of the moderns. Rather than the distance between the moderns and the ancients, the real distance she becomes interested in is her own, not only from archaic Greece, but more specifically, from the tourists that surround her and her fellow academics.

⁶⁷ For an overview of the reception of the volume, see Robinson (2002, 169-70).

A Scholar and a Tourist

In the brief section on her Greek travels in *Reminiscences of a Student's Life*, Harrison recalls her time at the British School in Athens, in which she had been involved, not only as a scholar, but as part of a movement to allow the admittance of women as residents. Recalling this period of her life in her memoirs, she remembers the students who were allowed full admittance to the school:

The British Legation, at Athens, kept open house, and in those days the cheery young men who dwelt there made it a pleasant place. It was the proud boast of some of them that they had never been up to the Acropolis, and that they only knew one word of modern Greek and that was *sitheróthromos*, the Greek for railway station, by means of which they hoped shortly to make their escape. They pretended, of course, that they were frightened to death of me because of my Greek, and that they dare not ask me to dance.

(Harrison 1925, 69-70)

The lethargy and arrogance of the young scholars, who boast about not knowing Greek, underline the inherent injustice and fallacy in not admitting women; after all, the evidence appeared to suggest that the influence of women, primarily through Harrison, would add a little more sobriety and propriety to the behaviour of the young scholars. The fright that they express has two effects: portraying herself as an outsider to the dance, an intimidating woman whose femininity is somewhat compromised, Harrison uses this to paint herself as an exclusive and eccentric scholar; as a maverick, Harrison could distance herself from being a woman dependent on her male colleagues for assistance and direction, as well as underling her unique status in the field.

However, Harrison had an unfailing capacity to turn women's disadvantages in the field into a strength that simply served to reinforce her impact on Greece. Describing an

incident that occurred during her travels with D.S. MacColl in 1888, where he offended a Greek priest by exposing and washing himself in a monastery, Harrison explains how she attempted to pacify the monk at their departure by providing a photograph of herself: '[a]t parting I gave him my photograph. He placed it below the Eikon of the Virgin and solemnly commended me to her protection against the spiritual dangers to which I was so obviously exposed' (Harrison 1925, 68-9). MacColl relates the incident in a less reverent fashion: '[s]he gave him a languishing Mendelssohn photograph of herself in a ball dress which he stuck up in a room and said he would look at every day. He also asked the cost of the dress' (MS MacColl).⁶⁸ The distance between the accounts acts as an index to Harrison's view of herself as a tourist in Greece; she carefully avoids the question of why she was travelling fully equipped with a kind of 'glamour' shot of herself, ready for unsolicited distribution. Somewhat relishing the prospect of being in 'spiritual danger', she is amused and, no doubt, pleased at her position as a Greek icon. MacColl's account is rather more sobering, pointing to the absurd incongruity of the apparent reverence of Harrison's photograph, and an inquiry as to the cost of the dress. An admirer of fashion as well as being price-conscious, MacColl's Greek monk makes no promise of Harrison's proper role in the monastery. Just as she relished the prospect of making Newnham a dangerous place through her frank explanations of Sappho, the prospect of penetrating a Greek monastery offered another subversive challenge.⁶⁹ What this also disguised, however, was her more frank dependence on MacColl and Turnbull. Keen to represent herself in exceptional circumstances, even her debarment from a monastery because of her gender could be transformed to make her a kind of icon.

⁶⁸ H.S. Mendelssohn (1848-1908) was a London based photographer who did an extensive series of portraits of Cambridge scholars.

⁶⁹ See Robinson (2002) for images of Harrison as a 'dangerous' scholar.

Visiting Mount Athos in 1912, Harrison has another exchange with a Greek monk:

My friends started off late in the early morning to visit the monasteries. Mr. Logan Persall Smith, I remember, proudly led the way. We mere women were left behind on the yacht disconsolate. They came back in the evening after the usual Pauline adventures in baskets, and with them came some Mount Athos monks to see the ship and the women, and sell rosaries, etc. One of the monks – a Russian, I think, for I could not understand his Greek, gave me a sheet of letter-paper with, for heading, a brightly coloured picture of the Mountain Mother issuing from Mount Athos. He pointed to the picture and then to me, and then to the mountains, as though he would say: Well, we've smuggled in one woman anyhow.

(Harrison 1925, 69)

Escaping the tedium of travelling with a party of tourists that fail to appreciate Greece as deeply as she does, Harrison turns disadvantage into privilege: while her male counterparts may be travelling up to the monastery, leaving her behind on the yacht, a message is delivered to her, a letter with no words, but with a symbol revealing a glimpse into a mystic Greece whose figure persists in the present. Though the messenger is unable to articulate the importance of the symbol, he offers it to Harrison. Rather than bringing back gifts, the men of the party have brought back the equivalent of an entire gift shop, which instead of underling Harrison's role as dependent tourist, is transformed into a contact with Greece's mythical past. Again, casting herself as an exceptional woman, Harrison omits to mention the other women on the yacht, loath as she is to be associated with an ordinary breed.

This strategy is most apparent in her letters to Gilbert Murray from her 1912 trip; travelling to Greece on the Union-Castle Line's RMS Dunottar Castle, Harrison wrote, '[t]he deck of this absurd ship is simply strewn with copies of the Rise of the Greek Epic.

I pick my way warily through them and I am “very jealous for” the Lady Themis’ (MS Harrison 1/1/25). Distinguishing herself from the ‘Deans and Headmasters’ on the ship, Harrison is quick to criticise an Oxford Classicist who provides lectures to illuminate the tourists’ understanding: ‘Oxford is a low place – no self-respecting Cambridge Don wld lecture on the Dunottar Castle’ (MS Harrison 1/1/25). Despite the fact that Harrison had worked extensively for the Oxford University Extension scheme, providing lectures for a demographic that fitted exactly the profile of deans and headmasters on the ship, Harrison’s snobbery is a strategic necessity; her journey to Greece in 1912, taking one of the most economical and commercial liners to Greece with a large party of tourists, who were making last-minute preparations for antique Greece on the deck in their leisure time, hardly corresponded to any image that Harrison wanted to be associated with.⁷⁰ Unwilling to consider herself as a tourist, Harrison turns to her fellow passengers as a source of fun:

My party is ridiculous – my nominal chaperone is L Pearsall Smith who I like better and better, chiefly because he is teaching me Anglo-Saxon – we make up four for dinner and dining with two Farquharsons père et fils – alas not Agnes. Mr Farquharson is beautiful with his father – he simply worships him and I don’t wonder – he is the old type of Christian Colonel, militant Evangelical, he nearly went off his head with excitement the first night because he saw a greyed haired shameless female (not this one) smoking a cigarette – he fortunately decided that we do not go to church because we are Quakers.

(Harrison MS 1/1/25)

Frustrated at being unable to smoke without evoking the censure of the senior members of the party, the micro-patriarchy of the ship is a retrogressive step for Harrison,

⁷⁰ This was not the first time Harrison had encountered a large party of teachers in her Greek travels: in 1901, while travelling in Greece with Jessie Stewart, a Perowne tour of a hundred and ninety-two schoolmasters arrived in Greece in the S.Y. Argonaut. Conducted personally by Connop F.S. Perowne, the tour was for education and entertainment, with photographs of antique sites being collected on the way. Stewart joined the party on the way home to Britain after missing her connection with a Cook ship (Harrison MS 5/1/3).

representing a move away from the independence she had achieved through her scholarship, and the environments that accompanied it. Being forced into the role of a grey-haired spinster in need of protection, Harrison submits to the paternalism of a variety of characters, venting her ire in correspondence. The pastiche of a Scottish family abroad cuts across conventional class barriers: her point of attack is not a uniform class of middle-class tourists, but the class of the tourist in Greece, an individual whose interest in the Classics and Greek travel were one and the same: cultured leisure time.⁷¹ Deriding the tourist of Ancient Greece, Harrison appears oblivious to the irony that she, herself, is a tourist in antiquity, as she consistently disguises, refutes, or criticises any structure or experience that could be considered touristic. During the course of five lengthy trips to Athens, each lasting a month or more, Harrison makes no significant record of the contemporary population, nor any sustained attempt to produce a comparative study between the Ancient and Modern Greeks. Depending on Murray and Baedeker to navigate the day-to-day practicalities of travelling in Modern Athens, Harrison's related experience of Athens to her is predominantly in relation to her work, with brief and cursory mentions of Modern Greece as little more than a tourist site. Even when she does encounter tourist situations, such as the monk selling writing-paper, it mutates into a connection with the archaic, not the modern.

⁷¹ Harrison offers a description of the kind of cultured lady that attended her lectures: 'In those days I met many specimens of a class of Victorian who, if not exactly distinguished, were at least distinctive and are, I think, all but extinct – British Lions and Lionesses. The Lionesses first – that was the name we gave them at Newnham. They were all spinsters, well-born, well-bred, well-educated and well off. They attended my lectures on Greek Art. Greek Art was at that time booming and eminently respectable. [...] They were a fine upstanding breed, and I miss them. They had no unsatisfied longings, had never heard of "suppressed complexes", and lived happily their vigorous, if somewhat angular, lives' (Harrison 1925, 51-2).

For Harrison, travel in Greece was a way of positing a disruptive and powerful feminine agency in the field, whether in scholarship, or through more literal practices of travel and tourism. As a spectacular open-air museum, Greece afforded limitless access to the sites of antiquity with the imaginative value provided by actually being there, standing on a surface that held undiscovered treasures. This unknowability and the imaginative potential of the most remote eras of Greek history, offered an ideal space for Harrison to locate her alternative and ulterior narratives. In her essay, 'Scientiae Sacra Fames' (1915), Harrison illustrated the importance in locating physical and imaginative spaces where women could transgress their traditional social roles:

[A]t the back of the house, there is a hole or den, called a "study" – a place inviolate, guarded by immemorial taboos. There man thinks, and learns, and knows. I am aware that sometimes the study contains more pipes, fishing-rods, foxes' brushes, and golf-clubs, than books or scientific apparatus. Still it is called the "study" or the "library" and the wife does not sit there. There are rarely two chairs – there is always one – possible for a human being to sit on. Well, that study stands for man's insularity; he wants to be by himself. The house where you don't and mustn't sit in the study is to me no home. But, then, I have long known that I am no "true woman." One of the most ominous signs of the times is that woman is beginning to demand a study.

(Harrison 1915, 128)

Pursuits, academic and leisurely, are represented in the accumulated wealth that the study represents: the acquisition of knowledge, and the money required to purchase and fund leisure time. An organising centre for domestic life, its inhabitant is a solitary patriarch who keeps the study inviolate from women. Full of prohibition, Harrison's field of study, by definition, is egalitarian and inclusive in its motives, though what a woman's study may look like, or how it may function, remains unexplored.⁷²

⁷² This was a motif to be picked up on and explored by Virginia Woolf in *A Room of One's Own*: '[b]ut you may say, we asked you to speak about women and fiction – what has that got to do with a room of one's own?' (Woolf [1928] 1993, 3). Although writing with female authors of fiction in mind, Woolf alludes to

In Harrison's pro-Suffrage essay addressed to Millicent Garrett Fawcett, "Homo Sum": Being a Letter to an Anti-Suffragist from an Anthropologist', Harrison's short-hand definition for the Women's Movement is 'the demand for higher education, the demand for political freedom' (Harrison 1915, 112). The study offers a potent symbol for this liberating drive, but it is still accompanied by the problems of elitism and segregation: if Greece offered Harrison a marvellous open-air study, then it was also a backdrop to emphasise her own genius, rather than engaging with Greek travel as a polemic for women's independence and education. Harrison's work critiqued the discipline of the Classics from within, but had a vested agenda in propagating and maintaining the sanctity and importance of scholarship; marking herself apart from tourists, she offered herself as a type of adventurous traveller, if not in the wilds of Modern Greece, then certainly in scholarship and temperament. Harrison's definition of adventure in Greece was far from roughing it, mostly writing from the comfort of the well established and mid-priced *Hotel D'Athènes*.⁷³ Instead, Harrison's Greek travel would serve as an imperative in the homes of a class of lady that was the object of Harrison's annoyance abroad, namely, individuals with a casual interest in Greece as a passport, or accessory, to culture.

Harrison as an example of a women who pushed towards creating a new type of women's space. See the conclusion of this chapter for a brief discussion of Woolf and Harrison.

⁷³ Baedeker's 1889 edition rates the *Hotel D'Athènes* as, 'fitted up in the style of the better Italian hotels of the second class' (Baedeker 1889, 8). At ten francs a night it was not inexpensive, but significantly cheaper than more prestigious hotels such as the Grande Bretagne, patronised, according to Baedeker, by ambassadors and emissaries, which was fifteen francs a night.

Interviewing the Lady Traveller

Back in Britain, Harrison transformed her domestic space into a site of activity on Greek religion and culture, a portrait that proved popular and irresistible to her interviewers. In 1889, the *Women's Penny Paper* introduced an admiring suffragist into Harrison's home, who had a keen eye on her achievements, as well as her décor:

“What led you to Archaeological and Hellenic studies” I asked as I sat in Miss Harrison's pleasant boudoir of her flat in Colville Gardens. The room itself is from its colouring and the style and disposition of the furniture one of the most restful and harmonious, its serried ranks of scientific books and large writing table telling at the same time of research and labour.

(Women's Penny Paper 1889, 1)

Painting a setting of graceful activity, the interviewer is careful to avoid any masculine associations with Harrison, who, the reader is informed, only missed the Yates Professorship because ‘she was a woman’ (*Women's Penny Paper 1889, 1*). Moving onto her academic record, the interviewer skims through the major museums where Harrison studied Greek art, and the importance of travel to her work:

The Museums of Berlin, Munich, Florence, Rome, Naples, Palermo and Athens were all visited with care, and afterwards Copenhagen, St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Constantinople.

“You did not find being a woman in your way?” I inquired.

“Not at all. A woman was a novelty in this field, and my being one was in my favour with regard to professional popularity. Indeed the kindness of foreign archaeologists knew no bounds. Although I had no access to lectures it was made up for by the personal kindness of the professors. In Greece I always meet with a cordial reception, and the papers chronicle my movements. I travel in the remoter parts riding on mules.” In fact Miss Harrison is an immense traveller, for she makes it a rule never to mention anything she has not seen, and that is a difficult standard, but one to which she rigidly adheres, as she is so impressed with the importance of giving local life and colour in her lectures.

(Women's Penny Paper 1889, 1)

Harrison uses the minority status of women archaeologists to paint herself in a light more exclusive than accurate. Equating travelling by mule with travelling adventurously,

Harrison attempts to present herself as a pioneer academic lady, penetrating the depths of Greece by donkey and through scholarship. The image is as comical as it is untrue: travelling predominantly with male chaperones, and with a dragoman in tow, Harrison travelled along Baedeker's routes. Disguising her tourism, and the fact that from the 1880s an increasing number of women with financial means were making the journey to Greece, Harrison's desire for celebrity elided a more realistic portrait of her journey, namely, one which was made possible and determined by the structures of mass tourism. The interviewer's reaction to Harrison's quotation illustrates why Harrison is so careful to envisage herself as a traveller: Harrison's 'on the spot' information, the fact of her presence and witness to antiquity *in situ*, is an authenticating marker for her scholarship. The *Women's Penny Paper* had an agenda that Harrison was most willing to respond to: with the by-line, 'The Only Paper in the World Conducted, Written, Printed and Published by Women', the *Women's Penny* was part of what Matthew Arnold had termed 'New Journalism' in 1887.⁷⁴ Catering to an emerging class of readers, Arnold's definition of New Journalism was a low-brow, diluted, and derivative version of current affairs, mixing serious news with frivolous detail. Credited with inventing the interview, Margaret Beetham explains how it could bring high culture into the home: 'it personalised both parties involved, the public figure being interviewed and the journalist/interviewer' (Beetham 1996, 124). Harrison's interview in her comfortable boudoir brought Greece into the homes of middle and lower-middle class women, from a woman whose travels and adventures in Greece were, themselves, testament to her

⁷⁴ For a further definition of New Journalism and a survey of its impact on women's literature and readership, see Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of her Own?: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (1996). See also, Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman (ed), *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology* (2001), for examples of women's New Journalism.

authority and achievement. However, this served a desire to see a woman competing in a masculine field of scholarship: the women publishing the *Women's Penny* explored their political angle through Harrison's mastery of antiquity, not the limited mileage offered by her tourism in Modern Greece.

Two years later, in another interview with Harrison, entitled 'A Woman's View of the Greek Question', appeared on the cover of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, another example of the 'New Journalism'. Addressing the issue of compulsory Greek at university, the article opens with the intrusion of the interviewer, whose gender remains unknown, on a Greek scene:

The very air (writes one of our representatives) breathed antiquity. There was a fine photograph of the Parthenon on the wall; over an etching of one of Burne-Jones's pictures a piece of mummy cloth was hung; there were strange vases and pots; and books and pamphlets innumerable stood on the shelves and in the quaint eighteenth-century book-case. It was an occasion "when Greek meets Greek." Two ladies bent together over a book of daintily coloured plates, lost in admiration of something which I was presently called upon to admire.

(*Pall Mall Gazette* 1891, 1)

Without explicitly calling it a woman's study, or a study at all, the interviewer's eye ranges across the artefacts, from Greece and beyond, that adorn the walls. Antique furniture, vases, and cloth, the scholars are busy at work on their latest find. The Greek ladies, in the middle of their study, are interrupted for their opinions on the importance of studying and speaking Greek; asked for the reasons of the popularity of Ancient Greece, Harrison replies: 'what people want who attend lectures on Greek subjects is not a deep insight into these subjects. They want to know something, not very much, of the life and manners of a highly-cultured and intellectual race of olden times. It is curiosity rather than a desire for thorough knowledge that prompts them. Not an idle curiosity, by any

means' (*Pall Mall Gazette* 1891, 2). The 'curiosity' of Greek subjects extended into curiosity about Harrison herself: as a 'Greek', she offered an educated exemplar to women with aspirations outwith the home. Commenting that her audience was mainly made up of women, Harrison profiled them from the mother whose Greek was quickly outstripped by her young sons, to the upper-class lady who had enough leisure time to indulge in antique pursuits. She stopped short of outright criticism of what she perceived to be a superficial interest in Ancient Greece, keenly aware that without this her celebrity would be greatly reduced; instead, she concluded that even a little Greek was good for women:

The hunger for generalization in half-educated women is a fact that I have observed without quite understanding. [...] And then I believe the great good is that lectures on Greek art create for these ladies an interest that is *non-personal*. You want to be a woman to know what the rest of that is. People talk of the good that lectures do by bringing people and classes together. I should like to talk of the good they do – for women, at least – by sending them away from each other into a desert place, to thinking where you only can think – alone; and the more remote the subject, the more averse from modern association – as Greek art is – the better.

(*Pall Mall Gazette* 1891, 2)

Inverting the logic of domesticating, bringing home, Greek culture for the average British woman, Harrison points to the pleasurable instruction that can be derived from the distancing and alienating effects of Greek travel. Pointing to a life outside the family, Harrison directs women's interest not only to a discipline which belongs to a masculine academy, but one which also challenges the traditional role of how femininity is understood. Thinking Greekly in this instance, was a method of critiquing women's domestic and maternal role in society. As for bringing classes together, working-class women did not have the financial means to attend Harrison's lectures or purchase her

expensive texts⁷⁵, but for ordinary middle-class women they offered a leisure pursuit that, by taking them away from women's issues, paradoxically, empowered them. Attempting to capture a glimpse into a society, distanced by geography and thousands of years, Greece could be made to feel exotic, as well as familiar. The familiar role of Greece, in the museum, the exhibition, school, could be accessed by women in their own homes, through their own Greek pursuits, whether it be homework for Harrison's next lecture, or a copy of one of her general textbooks such as *Introductory Studies, Ancient Art and Ritual*, or *Mythology*. The dimensions of the women's study, the space that Harrison predicted would soon be necessary for women, was study itself. By reading about the myths and rituals that underpinned pre-classical Greek society, Harrison's audience were exposed to alien and exotic figures of women, especially as mothers; Pandora and the Mountain Mother allowed a narrative that was subversive in its content, and liberating in the practice of study.

Lewis in Greece

Agnes Smith Lewis's approach to Greece was markedly different: without an academic background, and despite her connections at Cambridge, she travelled without the support of the institutions to which Harrison belonged. Her travel narrative makes no mention of the British School, and is decidedly interested in the contemporary inhabitants, albeit with some reservations as to their moral fibre. With an interest in Greece that was

⁷⁵ Harrison's archive at Newnham College has an assorted collection of pamphlets and advertising paraphernalia for the lectures. A Pamphlet entitled, 'A Course of Ten Lectures (*Illustrated with Lantern Photographs*), on "Athens, its Mythology & Art"' (MS Hope Mirless 4/2) cost one pound in 1890, placing it far outwith the reach of the lower-middle classes. With their cost, the university extension courses appear to be designed for a wealthy section of the population whose means to education have been restricted, or who wished to sample academic life.

determined by the desire to travel, rather than being disciplined by the study of antiquity, her encounter with Modern Greece provides access to a more vital and cosmopolitan space that struggles with its heritage and emergence onto a European stage. Almost every part of her journey is inflected and determined by her encounter with very alive Greeks: on the way to Athens, the first Greeks she meets are from the diaspora, who commend her pronunciation and grammar; Lewis is not the only Greek returning home. Like Harrison, she had a strong interest in how Greek lessons could be used to mobilise the women's movement, but her primary subjects of concern were Greek, not British, women. Mixing allusions to the Classics with an overt Christian message, Lewis sees in Greek women the potential to balance the genius of the ancients with the message of Christ. After all, 'the Spirit who spoke to Paul, spoke also, though less clearly, to Socrates' (Lewis 1884, 16). Reading layers of Greek history in a narrative of Christian progress, Lewis imagines a democratic Greek empire, though not one necessarily run by the Modern Greeks.

The Compulsory Greek Question

Using British standards for civilisation to inflect her understanding of what Modern Greeks should aspire to be, Lewis sees Britain as a mirror in which the natives of Greece could see themselves more perfectly: '[w]e are, in some respects, the modern representatives of the Athenians. We have the same passionate love of freedom, and we have inherited the same maritime empire' (Lewis 1884, 15). Missing the irony in a love for freedom which involved using British interests to control the very borders and boundaries of the Modern Greek state, Lewis weaves a narrative of complicity between

the fate of Modern Greece and Britain, where the triumphs of antiquity can be reflected back on Greece, through a thoroughly British education. Intervening with her own version of the compulsory Greek debate, Lewis stresses how it is Modern, not Ancient Greek, that can produce Britons who can responsibly administrate the empire, through a sympathetic understanding of the natives:

We have great influence in the East, and have undertaken responsibilities in Cyprus. Were those of our boys who learn Greek encouraged to speak it, a wall of separation would at once be broken down betwixt our race and some of those feebler ones in whose future we are so greatly interested. They would look upon modern Greek as only a dialect of the old language, differing much less from the tongue spoken by St. Paul than the latter does from the *Iliad*.

(Lewis 1884, 331)

However, the form of Modern Greek that Lewis is promoting is in itself a partly archaic and petrified construct. Without ever stating it, Lewis's views correspond closely to a different kind of compulsory Greek debate, namely, the move in nineteenth-century Greece, by political and academic institutions, to introduce *katharevousa*, a version of the Greek language that excluded numerous loan words, from languages such as Italian and Turkish, to erase the tangible evidence of Greece's long occupation, and help in re-Hellenising the nation.⁷⁶ Commenting on the peculiarity of the extent to which written Modern Greek was, and was not, known, Lewis unwittingly offers a polemic on *katharevousa*:

⁷⁶ Richard Clogg illustrates how this version of Greek could integrate Modern Greece in studies of Hellenism, '[t]he fixation on the classical past was reflected in the great emphasis that was laid in the schools and in the University of Athens on the study of the culture of ancient Greece and *katharevousa*, or 'purifying' form of the language, a stilted construct that blighted the schooling of generations of children. The university, founded in 1837, was seen as the power house of the attempt to "re-Hellenise" the unredeemed Greek population from the Ottoman Empire' (Clogg 2000, 49). See also, Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature* (1991), Robert Shannan Peckham, *National Histories, Natural States: Nationalism and the Politics of Place in Greece* (2001) and Dimitris Tziouvas, *The Other Self: Selfhood and Society in Modern Greek Fiction* (2003).

We ourselves know instances of foreign ladies who can speak peasants' Greek, yet who find themselves totally unable to read the *Αἰών*, or even an article by Mrs. Schliemann. And this because they never looked at the language from its classical side. [...]

The measure of progress in language may indeed mark the progress of the people. To purify and enrich the former, they go back to the models of Plato's time. If they are again destined to gain any appreciable influence over humanity at large – if Greece, in short, is to take the place which seems her due amongst nations, they must drink more largely of Plato's spirit.

(Lewis 1884, 335)

Discriminating between written Greek, and more common spoken forms, Lewis picks up on the tension in an issue that would last well into the twentieth-century, namely, the debate about the use of *katharevousa* versus *dhimotiki* in daily and official use. By associating *dhimotiki*, the version of Greek that had adapted and survived from the Byzantine era, with an uneducated population, Lewis's denigration of the demotic Greek was informed by a larger cultural enterprise at work by the Greek elite to de-Orientalise Greece, from its architecture to its language.⁷⁷ Metaphors, dead and alive, are mixed in Lewis's description of how Greece could progress into ranking in the European pantheon: by excavating their language, isolating prior strata which can form the organising centre of the present, Modern Greece could be revitalised by a linguistic practice that would naturally predicate the restoration of the values and achievements of antiquity. Calling for Greek progress, Lewis was, however, a little more suspicious of Greek industrialisation: '[w]e do not want to see factory chimneys pouring smoke over Parnassus and Helicon' (Lewis 1884, 336). How Greece was to energise its economy and compete in a global economy without industry remains unclear, nor does Lewis offer any

⁷⁷ For an account of how the 1901 translation of the New Testament into *dhimotiki* brought riots to Athens, see Jusdanis (1991, 45). Part of Lewis's reference to New Testament Greek resonates with the language debate in Greece: by supporting an older version of Greek, she was explicitly aligning herself with *katharevousa*.

viable alternative for how Greece could generate an economy to match Western Europe's. The answer in the twentieth-century would be mass tourism.

Reading an education in the Classics as a sign of progress, Lewis is keen to defend the potential of Modern Greece to become reacquainted with, and fluent in, antiquity:

Opinions must of course differ according as we judge them by a European or an Asiatic standard. Those who adopt the former forget that Greece has only had fifty years to climb a ladder on which our own ancestors expended centuries. [...] The Greeks may have great faults, but they almost alone of Eastern nations are perfectly accessible to the influence of Western ideas, and are indeed painfully sensitive to adverse criticism.

(Lewis 1884, 341)

Lewis's radical move was not simply the recognition that Modern and Ancient Greece existed on a geographical and linguistic continuum, but more importantly, the contemporary population had rights of access to the material around them. Travelling with a seemingly limitless supply of the gospel in Greek, Lewis and her sister distributed them during the course of their extensive travels, offering them especially to children. Producing a mixture of religion tempered with direction in the Classics, Lewis hoped her travel would offer some kind of imperative to the people she had contact with, and most especially, her Greek sisters. Her own 'Greek gospel' was a narrative of survival and restoration.

Greek Sisters

Travelling in Sparta, Lewis met an example of Greek womanhood that embodied the promise of Modern Greece:

She at once began to read aloud the beginning of St. Matthew, from the eighteenth verse of the first chapter. This she did with such simple reverence that one could not help reflecting how near she was to Mary's age when the divine message came to her. We asked where she had learnt her letters.

'In the school here,' she replied.

'Do you know where London is?' we asked.

'I never heard of it.'

'Did you never hear of England?'

She reflected a minute; then a smile broke over her face.

Oh! that is the country of Queen Victoria,' she said, 'and of Mr. Gladstone. He protects Greece.'

Looking at her sparkling black eyes, we felt great hopes of a race which can produce a peasant woman like Madame Georgi. And we felt thankful for that unspeakable gift which links people from all ends of the world in a common sympathy.

(Lewis 1884, 136-7)

Without further commentary, Lewis immediately moves away from a scene that deploys a complex series of contradictory assessments of the redemptive potential of Greek peasantry. Beginning with the allusion to Mary, Lewis reads in her situation and aspect an ideal specimen of uncultured beauty through which she can see an ideal mother for a future, progressive generation of Greeks. With 'simple reverence' to the gospels, the Greeks will be blessed in the future; however, where that places Lewis is more problematic. Going on to ask Georgi about her education, her lack of geographical knowledge is initially a rhetorical device used by Lewis to demonstrate the uncultured state of the average Greek peasant, leading to the conjoining assumption and implication of their comparative innocence. As well as being taught how to read the gospels at school, she learns the real name of her protector: England. The warmth evoked by England, and the proper names of Victoria and Gladstone, authorises Lewis's maternal instincts towards her landlady. Following Lewis's logic it is difficult to identify which position she values more: her own, as a representative of the protection that England is thought to offer, or the state of the Greek woman, whose situation, as a Greek, places her

in one of the cradles of Christianity. If she followed her own argument about the unilateral descent of Greek language and culture, then who was closer to the Greek of the New Testament: Lewis in her extensive study of theology, or the young Madame Georgi? The discipline of stratigraphy helps to illustrate the problem: was it knowing the Greek of the New Testament, and seeing Georgi pronounce its words in a language directly descended from it, that brought Lewis closer to earlier versions of Christianity, or was it her own study in its own right?⁷⁸ Ultimately it is a question of rhetoric: Lewis identified a strategy that could see in the Modern Greeks a repository of the past, but one which the Modern Greeks were unable to activate. Taking the familiar trope of ‘realising’ the past, what Lewis attempts to achieve is to bridge the distance between herself and a more original, and presumably truer, Christian vision, by interpellating Madame Georgi into a role that allows Lewis to imagine a narrative of survival, and potential revival. Her ‘great hopes’ for the Greek race, and the common sympathy, also play with proximity and distance: although Lewis and Georgi share a faith, she, predominantly through class distinction, is placed behind Lewis in a line of progress.⁷⁹ Although Georgi, as a modern representative of Greece, may belong to a longer uninterrupted line of Christian civilisation, Lewis bypasses this authority by introducing Britain, through the words of Georgi, as the saviour of Greece’s progress. While Lewis is keen to trace a line of descent, and to see in the moderns the potential of various glories from its Ancient and Christian eras to be revived, it is only to the extent of coming closer to Britain, rather than being on a par with it.

⁷⁸ For a working definition of stratigraphy in this study see pp66-67.

⁷⁹ This strategy will be discussed in Chapter 3 with reference to Johannes Fabian’s definition of allachrony, where time is used to measure distance, and power.

Although proving a strong advocate for the rights of Modern Greece, especially over the material artefacts being uncovered there, Lewis's encounters with the Greeks continue to reveal a more ambiguous response to the future of Greece. Roaming the sites of Athens, she meets an elderly Greek woman, creating a scene where they express the mutual debt of their nations to one another:

We next visited the theatre of Herod Atticus, and admired the headless statue of a magistrate, whose arm, holding back most graceful drapery, was a marvel of art. The old woman in charge declined to explain anything, saying,

'You can read books and know about it much better than we do.'

I suppose she was busy. Three months later I happened to step one day up to step one day up to the closed gate, wishing to gaze quietly through its barb at the graceful statue. The woman at once came to my side. Feeling bound to say something, I remarked,

'What a pity it has no head.'

'The head,' she replied, 'is in England, in the British Museum.'

'Oh!' I exclaimed, 'I shall look for it there; but we ought to give you it back.'

"*Oχι, οχι*" she cried, 'we will rather give you the statue, for you lent us the two millions!'

(Lewis 1884, 37)

As with Lewis's encounter with Georgi, the debt to Britain is articulated by a native. From the slightly brusque first encounter, Lewis attempts to make reparations through her comments in the second. But Lewis's move for the repatriation of Greek antiquity is quickly counteracted by the Greek woman, who recognising the debt, refuses to accept. Again, Lewis leaves the scene without further commentary, but from the few comments made between them, in the proximity of a barred object, whose severed head lives in London, a scene is set in miniature for the staging of a complex issue. By allowing the Greek woman to conflate paying the financial debt to Britain with the selective removal of Greek artefacts, Lewis distances herself from an explicit intervention in the debate. Nominally aligning herself with a popular, if ineffectual, movement to repatriate items

such as the 'Elgin Marbles', Lewis does not offer a riposte, leaving a liberal sentiment intact while avoiding any outright condemnation of the British Museum's holdings.⁸⁰ The very equation of the loan, and the removal of artefacts, is an interesting misnomer in itself: from the importance and popularity of the Eastern Question in British media and policy, Lewis would have been keenly aware of the rivalry between the Great Powers in dominating the Eastern Mediterranean. With Britain's interests in Cyprus, Palestine, Egypt, and its trade with the East, Greece marked an important threshold not only culturally, but politically too.⁸¹ As its antiquity was deployed to train administrators in the healthy running of empire, its present status as a sovereign nation that could be influenced by Britain, was just as important. However, by masking this relation through a narrative of aid and exchange, Lewis depoliticises Britain's relationship with Greece; helping Greece to move to a platform on par with Western Europe overwrites a discussion of Britain's influence in creating a stable foothold in the Balkans.⁸²

No doubt the discussion would have followed a different trajectory if staged between Lewis and Kastromenos, but despite evidence that Lewis met with, and had access to, Greek scholars and intellectuals, through her association with the Parnassus Club, Lewis concentrates her descriptions of Greece on the peasantry. Through this position, Lewis could continue to advocate Modern Greece as a valid site of interest, which in itself,

⁸⁰ For more contemporary debates on the possession of the marbles, see Beard (2002), William St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles* (1998), and Christopher Hitchens, Robert Browning and Graham Binns, *The Elgin Marbles: Should they be Returned?* (1998).

⁸¹ For a recent study of Britain's influence in Greek politics, see Robert Holland and Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850-1960* (2006). See also, George B. Leon, *Greece and the Great Powers, 1914-1917* (1974), Richard Clogg, *Britain and Greece* (1995), Thomas Gallant, *Modern Greece* (2001) and Thomas W. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity, and Power in the British Mediterranean* (2002).

⁸² See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the Balkans.

demonstrated immense promise in being ready and able to reclaim, and live up to the achievements of its past, without having to concede all British interest, or admit Modern Greece fully into the pantheon of properly civilised nations. Despite her positive reaction to the ‘cleansing’ of the Greek language of loan words that mark eras of occupation, only a minority have access to this language, as the everyday form of communication continues to be *dhemotiki*. Irritated at the inaccuracies that flood the modern landscape, Lewis ensures that the right words, the proper names, were used by the ordinary Greeks that she met.

The Proper Name, the Accurate Reference

Travelling through Modern Greece, Lewis is bemused by the natives’ tendency to give their children ‘heathen’ names. Travelling to Mount Hymettus, she corrects the corruption of its proper name:

The modern name of Hymettus is Trello-boundò. This is a strange instance of linguistic corruption. When Athens were under the rule of Venice, her conquerors, unable to pronounce *Ἱμεττός*, called it Monte Imetto, which soon became Monte Matto. So forgetful of their ancestral memories were the Greek of that day that they actually translated Monte Matto into Trello-boundò – the Mad Mountain. Foreign travellers have, however, persuaded them to restore the ancient name.

(Lewis 1884, 75)

Lewis’s correction is an exemplary illustration of the tension in her engagement with Modern Greece: while recognising the contemporary population as the proper descendents of the ancients, ‘their ancestral memories’ have been corrupted; including Hymettus in its ‘proper form’, in Greek text, Lewis demonstrates her superseding

authority in excavating the proper name from the inaccuracies that have disguised it.⁸³ Typographically, and topographically, the 'foreign travellers' attempt to lift away, erase, the more modern memories it represents. Another exercise in stratigraphy, for Lewis the only way of recovering, and restoring, Greece is through the methodical naming of identification of antiquity, creating, in effect, another kind of open-air museum. Commenting on the progress in excavating Olympus, Lewis imagines what the site will eventually look like:

The time is not distant when the whole area will be uncovered. We could wish that something were at the same time done for the benefit of the unlearned visitor. Every foot of the ground has been minutely described, and it might be made very interesting were each building labelled, and its outline marked off, where not sufficiently apparent, by coloured stakes. The sites of famous altars, statues, etc., might also be indicated. One would like to get it in a bird's-eye view, without either consulting a map or getting perhaps erroneous information from the custodian. A popular account of it all, in the shape of a handbook, might also be sold on the spot.

(Lewis 1884, 287)

The sanctity of Olympus is expressed in language proper to the tourist industry, as well as archaeology. The process of cataloguing and identifying the constituent parts of the sites is the first stage in creating a dual space: a site for the uncovering of archaeological material, and a locus for sight-seeing. The increasing accuracy and accumulation of knowledge on the part of the archaeologist is in direct proportion to its existence as a listing in a guidebook; with a few additional notices and markers that demonstrate the boundaries of an important space, the accompanying handbook would be ideal for illustrating the exact importance of the find. Complicit forces, tourism and archaeology worked together to provide an effective platform through which to promote a visit to Greece, as a visit to antiquity.

⁸³ It is not clear if the inaccuracies in the Greek of her text are her own, or belong to the typesetters.

While Harrison uses her image as academic maverick and scholar to mobilise women's popular study of antiquity, Lewis reads the increasing knowledge and restoration of antiquity in Modern Greece as a process which, she hopes, will be reflected in the educational and cultural horizons of the native population, especially its women. However, the imperatives of both are shadowed by views and assumptions that reveal the limits to their arguments. Despite Harrison's desire to disseminate knowledge of Ancient Greece in Britain, especially amongst women, her distinction between the everyday and derivative tourist and the original traveller, is mapped onto the distinction between the scholar and the dilettante. Unable, or unwilling, to engage with her own practices as a tourist, Harrison actively disengages from a Modern Greece that would force her to reflect on her dependent position as a lady traveller. In addition to this, she bypasses the question of the transformative potential of antiquity for Greek women, a question that is addressed by Lewis. Lewis reads antique lessons as imperative for a very different population, the Modern Greeks themselves. However, as with Harrison, class distinctions intervene to undermine the potential of women's education. Depicting a population that require cultural and financial aid and direction, Lewis ensures that the authority of the British traveller and tourist in Greece to assign values to the landscape remain supreme.

The tourist industry, fuelled by an interest in Greek antiquity, facilitated Lewis and Harrison's journeys in Greece. While both were diametrically opposed in many of their practices and conclusion on the importance of Greek lessons, one object remained

common to both: how to make the past more apparent in the present, and by doing so, change it. Harrison's current reputation in criticism is attributable to a variety of factors, from her recovery by feminist-orientated criticism, to an interest in the history of the Classics, especially in women's early participation in its study. Flanked by academic institutions, and survived by a community of scholars that would ensure her a legacy, Harrison's work fits into a continuous narrative of British academic interest in Ancient Greece. With no comparative and established critical lineage for women travellers to Modern Greece, Lewis's narrative has been lost. At the fringes of academia, and working in a field whose relevance steadily declined, Lewis's work fell between genres and disciplines leaving her disregarded by theologians, historians, and women's travel studies. However, Lewis also wrote a narrative that did not explicitly serve British interests in the way Harrison's did; while Harrison's studies in matrilinear societies offered a radical critique of patriarchy, Lewis's avowal of Greek rights acts as another disruptive strategy to a hegemonic system of control, in this case, the rights to Greek antiquity.

'On Not Knowing Greek': Woolf and the End of an Era

Offering an end point to the discussion of Lewis and Harrison, Virginia Woolf's 1906 journey marks the end of an era in women's travel to Greece. Combining the mystical distance that Harrison puts between the Ancient Greeks and the modern subject, and the literal proximity of antiquity, Woolf's journey is an epistemological one, questioning the very terms of how a traveller, or tourist, may know Greece at all. Virginia Woolf started learning Greek in October 1897; taught initially by Clara Pater, in 1902 her lessons were

taken over by Girton-trained Janet Case, who sent her back to the basics of grammar.⁸⁴ Introducing Woolf to the Adult Suffrage Movement in 1910, she embodied many of the issues Woolf was to deal with in her travel to Greece, namely, access to women's education, the value of learning Greek (with and without accents), and the political issues to do with women's independence and education that accompanied it. In *A Room of One's Own* (1929), Woolf addressed the question of woman's space and financial means to study, a topic already explored by Harrison. Immortalising her as the ghostly figure of J- H-, she briefly flashes in the gardens of Fernham College, appearing later as a slightly fuller presence with reference to her work on Greek archaeology.⁸⁵ Being an exemplar of how Greek lessons for women could expand their horizons, to the point of calling for a woman's study, Woolf was not the mother or Lioness that drew Harrison's scepticism, but a woman who studied deeply. But venturing away from home, into what Harrison called the 'desert', was as alienating for Woolf, as it was illuminating:

For it is vain and foolish to talk of knowing Greek, since in our ignorance we should be at the bottom of any class of schoolboys, since we do not know how the words sounded, or where precisely we ought to laugh, or how the actors acted, and between this foreign people and ourselves there is not only difference of race and tongue but a tremendous breach of tradition. All the more strange, then, is it that we should wish to know Greek, try to know Greek, feel for ever drawn back to Greek, and be for ever making up some notion of the meaning of Greek, though

⁸⁴ For a fuller account of the relationship between Janet Case and Virginia Woolf, see Henry Alley, "A Rediscovered Eulogy: Virginia Woolf's 'Miss Janet Case: Classical Scholar and Teacher'" (1982).

⁸⁵ The relationship between the work of Harrison and Woolf is a full and complex one: from working with her ideas on matrilinear society, Woolf also borrowed some of Harrison's critical metaphors (most significantly the bridge, which Harrison saw as the link between art and ritual), and well as being deeply influenced by her politics and learning. For fuller assessments of the presence of Harrison in Woolf, especially in connection to specific works, see: Alley (1982), Hermione Lee, *Virginia Woolf* (1996), R. Fowler, "On Not Knowing Greek: The Classics and the Woman of Letters" (1983), Annabel Robinson, "Something Odd at Work: The Influence of Jane Ellen Harrison on *A Room of One's Own*" (1994), Sandra D. Shattuck, "The Stage of Scholarship: Crossing the Bridge from Harrison to Woolf" (1987), Vassiliki Kolocotroni, "This Curious Silent Unrepresented Life": Greek Lessons in Virginia Woolf's Early Fiction" (2005), and Patricia Cramer, "Virginia Woolf's Matriarchal Family of Origins in *Between the Acts*" (1993).

from what incongruous odds and ends, with what slight resemblance to the real meaning of Greek, who shall say?
(Woolf [1925] 1966, 1)

As Vassiliki Kolocotroni suggests, ‘Greek words, Greek names are signposts and gates, both suggesting and barring access into a world of strangeness, and, for a young Woolf, they hold the added challenge of the *terra incognita* – they are there always for the discovery, “ancient grass” to be trodden upon and turned into “common ground”’ (Kolocotroni 2005, 315). Like Harrison, Woolf used Greece as a highly allusive and malleable metaphor for a variety of conditions of knowledge, especially women’s. The real power of the metaphor came from the tense relationship between proximity and distance that at times brought Greece into sharp relief, as a potent symbol of liberation, only to obscure it by accentuating the fallacy and impotence in pretending to know, and master, Ancient Greek.

Being presented with the modern reality of Greece, however, did little to contribute to understanding, let alone ‘knowing’, Greek. Travelling with her family, they made some practical investigations: ‘while they poured over maps and itineraries, she tried to work out the relation between “present Greeks and the classical Greece”’ (Lee 1996, 227). Arriving at Eleusis, her travel diary describes the distinct non-presence of Modern Greece, not in its reality, but in its integrity:

Once again, the Ancient Greek had the best of it: we were very belated wayfarers: the shrines are fallen, & the oracles are dumb. You have the feeling very often in Greece –that the pageant has passed long ago & you are come too late, it matters very little what you think and feel. The modern Greece is so flimsy & fragile, that it goes to pieces entirely when it is confronted with the roughest fragment of the old.

(Woolf [1906] 1990, 324)

Woolf arrives in Greece too late in two senses: not only is she too late for the ‘pageant’ of Ancient Greece, but arriving well after the key excavations of the 1880s, and at a time when the tourist infrastructure was catering for unprecedented numbers of tourists, she was too late to be part of any vanguard of women travellers in the region. While Lewis contributed to the first edition of Baedeker’s guide to Greece, Woolf’s contact with her surroundings was organised by it; introducing the anxiety of the tourist in her diary, she supplements her descriptions with phrases such as, ‘but we wont write guide book’, ‘once more we might quote the Guidebook’ (Woolf [1906] 1990, 319). When Woolf does look at, and try to engage with, antiquity, the images she describes are snapshots, detachable pictures out of the context of real scene; considering the best view from which to see the Parthenon, Woolf imagines it in terms of a perfect photograph: ‘perhaps the most lovely picture in it – at least the most detachable – is that which you receive when you stand where the great statue used to stand’ (Woolf [1906] 1990, 323). Describing the ‘ferment’ and ‘effervescence’ of Greece, she relates the journey from Corinth to Athens in similar terms: ‘like all Greek things – poems & temples & statues – there is a certain form & finish even in the landscape that makes separate views of it detach themselves like pictures. I think particularly of the bay of Salamis as we saw it this evening from the train windows’ (Woolf [1906] 1990, 333).⁸⁶ Keenly aware of the paradoxical function of the guidebook, a function that is meant to deepen the tourist’s appreciation of landscape, but through its processes, distances and replaces the real object, Woolf understands the landscape through a series of fleeting pictures whose speed and ephemeral nature defy

⁸⁶ For a discussion of the panorama as a visual technology that collapses tourist space into a series of surfaces, see the discussion of guidebooks in Chapter 1. For a discussion of the cliché of tourist space being the experience of surfaces, depth belonging more properly to travellers, see Chapter 4, especially in the descriptions of the Parthenon.

any attempt authoritatively to describe, or capture Greece. Viewing Greek landscape as a panorama without depth, Woolf struggles to escape the commonplaces and rhetoric of the guidebook, while protesting that she avoids it. In attempting to visualise Greece as a palimpsest, where ancient and modern can be realised together, what Woolf experiences is a scenery that expresses depth in breadth. When it comes to metaphors of depth, Woolf imagines a glimpse as fleeting as the pictures that fix the landscape, but beyond description:

These things were dug up in the year 1885? by Dr Schliemann; that statement will content a mind safely housed in London; with compasses & maps hung upon the walls. We don[']t realise these things except just for seconds, on the spot; & then it is hopeless to say what you see. There is a force of gravity in the mind which keeps it always safely tied to the earth; or, with Mycenae to waft it, it might circle in vague air for ever.

But I did see, for a second, as though a chink, down, down, for miles beneath my feet.

(Woolf [1906] 1990, 333)

Woolf, who was primed in Harrison and the Greek language, willing and ready to think ‘Greek thoughts’ finds herself paralysed when confronted by the reality of Modern Greece. Enacting a familiar trope, namely, the inability to rehabilitate antiquity, Woolf is faced with failure and with the prospect that there may not be anything to learn from Greek apart from its indecipherability. Rather than being a field of learning that could contribute to a humanistic understanding, Greek became a limit-point, a threshold that represented access to a world that had been entirely lost to view, but whose distance could be alienating in a productive sense; to put it simply, distance and difference opened up a space in which to ask questions about why the Greeks should be important at all.

Although both Lewis and Harrison make frequent reference to guidebooks, neither of them encounters the same kind of dilemma in knowing Greece: with a determined confidence, and considerable charisma, they use their role as scholars to invent encounters with Greece that positioned them as authoritative subjects. Like Lewis, barred from an official life at Cambridge, Woolf nonetheless covers an academic terrain in her writing, describing the natives of Greece and how their relationship to being Greek repositions hers. To whom the proper name of Greece belongs remains a question of distance in the accounts of Harrison and Lewis, a distance that each woman uses as a method of discussing women's role in society. However, the imperative to learn Greek was fast losing its imaginative potential: the Compulsory Greek Question, which necessitated a knowledge of Ancient Greek for university entry, became redundant and anachronistic after the First World War. As the Classics waned in importance, so its potency as a metaphor for women's debarment from education became increasingly redundant. The decline of Empire and the Classics, along with the rise of corporate tourism, left no room for the travel narratives in the work of Lewis and Harrison; anachronistic, they themselves disappeared from view.

Chapter 3

Ethnography and British Women's Travel Writing about Greece 1847-1914

Doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of “construct a reading of”) a manuscript – foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in the conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behaviour.

(Geertz 2000, 10)

It is by diagnosing anthropology's temporal discourse that one rediscovers the obvious, namely, that there is no knowledge of the Other which is not also a temporal, historical, a political act.

(Fabian 1983, 1)

The relevance of this contemporary debate on the future of anthropological theory, and ethnographical practice, becomes apparent when one of the major discursive points of origin for the discipline is considered: namely, travel writing.⁸⁷ Offering a ready supply of ethnographical data through observations ‘on the spot’, the colonial expansion of countries such as Britain offered unprecedented access not only to the means of travel, but the objects of study themselves.⁸⁸ Self-appointed objective travellers provided an

⁸⁷ The connection between anthropology and travel writing is well documented. For a commentary on the general issues surrounding the field see, for instance, Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Finn Sivert Nielsen, *A History of Anthropology* (2001), who point to how the British Empire facilitated the sudden acquisition of large amounts of anthropological data; see George W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (1987) for how colonial ruler and educated travellers used anthropological data to justify their progress beyond native communities, and Peter J. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past* (1989) for how anthropological data was used to justify the superiority of Western European races. For more theorised relations between travel writers and ethnographers, especially in determining the epistemological limits of their textual authority, see James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (1997) and *The Predicament of Culture* (1998).

⁸⁸ Using the image of a palimpsest, though not explicitly identifying it as such, Clifford Geertz marks the real scene of ethnographical study as the scene of writing itself, in the struggle to make collected data intelligible. Inscribing the subjectivity of the academic in the field, Geertz undermines the authority of the ethnographer as a passive observer: ‘[a] hundred and fifteen years (if we date our profession, as conventionally, from Tylor) of asseverational prose and literary innocence is long enough’ (Geertz 1988,

early and valuable source of ethnographical information. Offering their writing as authentic reportage from the field, travellers used authorising drives similar to those of the modern guidebook, namely, the erasure of the subject-position belonging to the individual author, the use of 'on the spot' information, whose veracity was entirely derived from the fact it had been seen, and, of course, the authority of the published volume itself. Women had a special monopoly when it came to ethnographical work in the nineteenth century through their access to the lives, rituals and practices of native women; for once, women's apparent disadvantages when it came to far or exotic travel, became a distinct bonus. The five women under consideration in the present discussion can be traced in a lineage of British women's interest in offering a sustained literary analysis of Greek life, and especially Greek women, through the course of their journeys. Rather than gauging the relative authenticity or truth-value of the accounts, the discussion maps the varieties of ways women approached categorising the Modern Greeks.

There are five diverse texts under consideration in the present discussion: Felicia Skene's *Wayfaring Sketches among the Greeks and the Turks, and on the Shores of the Danube* (1847); G. Muir MacKenzie and A.P. Irby's *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in Europe* (1867); Fanny Blunt's *The People of Turkey: Twenty Years' Residence Among the Bulgarians, Greeks, Albanians, Turks and Armenians, Volume II* (1878); Lucy M.J. Garnett's *The Women of Turkey, Volume I* (1890), and her *Greece of the Hellenes* (1914) which formed part of the 'Countries and Peoples' series published by Isaac Pitman &

24). Referring to Edward Tylor (1832-1917), the first professor of anthropology in Britain, Geertz identifies in Victorian anthropology a period of unreflective and assured authority in the belief that conventional means of describing, and documenting, the lives of other cultures could be done in an entirely objective manner through observation in the field, and meticulous description.

Sons. Covering a geographical, historical and discursive spectrum, the texts represent the variety of engagements women had with ethnographical authority. Felicia Skene, the most exceptional member of the group, does not offer her account as an attempt to catalogue a discrete group of people; rather, her descriptions of Greek women inform the discursive basis of some of the archetypal Greek women who emerge in the later ethnographical studies. Only two of the listed volumes explicitly mention Greece in their title, bringing to the fore the contingent problem of Greece's construction as an object of study: who are the Greeks and who has the authority to name, classify and categorise them? Authority, in the field and in the text, was the primary anxiety for the woman traveller; professional institutions and forum for the presentation of new anthropological and scientific material were largely barred for women throughout the nineteenth century: the Royal Geographic Society, Royal Asiatic Society and Anthropological Institute, as well as the society of the Dilettanti, with its special interest in sponsoring travel to Greece, collectively listed just a handful of exceptional women amongst their membership.⁸⁹ Not only was women's scholarship deemed unsuitable for serious study and denied status as a valuable contribution to knowledge, the economical means to finance any possibility of study abroad was denied to any aspiring women scholars, especially for the lengthy time necessary for ethnographical fieldwork. Though a burgeoning and developing field throughout the nineteenth century (the

⁸⁹ Isabella Bird Bishop is one such exception: she was the first woman to address The Royal Geographical Society in 1892; her celebrity was considerable due to her extensive travel through North America, parts of the Middle East and the far East, see Dorothy Middleton, 'Some Victorian Lady Travellers' (1973) for an account of the first women to be admitted to the society. For useful histories of nineteenth-century academic societies, and the movement to admit women, see Helen Woodhouse, *The British School at Athens: The First Hundred Years* (1986), where Jane Ellen Harrison was instrumental in furthering women's access to the school, S. Simmonds and S. Digby, *The Royal Asiatic Society: Its History and Treasures* (1979), for an account of women's elections from the 1890s, and Morag Bell and Cheryl McEwan, *The Admission of Women Fellows to the Royal Geographical Society, 1892-1914; The Controversy and the Outcome* (1996).

Anthropological Institute being founded in 1871), the success of texts such as James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (1890), which by 1900 had expanded to some twelve volumes, marked the development of anthropological study as an authoritative method for charting origins. Granted a professorship in Social Anthropology in 1907, Frazer represents the type of character afforded legitimacy in the British anthropological scene: a classics scholar and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Frazer represented the authoritative face of anthropological study in Britain.

Ethnography, the fieldwork of anthropology, was more readily accessible to the amateur; while a woman could not formally teach anthropology, she could still chart the field. To suggest however, that these women gained no recognition of their work at all would be erroneous: Georgina Muir Mackenzie received the honour of presenting a paper at the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1864, being the only woman speaker there, while Lucy M.J. Garnett published extensively during her career and enjoyed success in multiple reprints and a civil-list pension for her services to literature. Though neither were formally categorised as an ethnographer or anthropologist, their area studies were motivated by the same desire: the comprehensive mapping of cultures. As a consequence of their relegation from mainstream anthropological studies, the definition of ethnography has to be nuanced to accommodate the way it is deployed through a variety of discursive practices in the texts under discussion. In the context of the present argument therefore, ethnography is considered as a way of seeing, a type of gaze for engaging with the environment of the traveller and as 'one of the main technologies [...] to generate classifications and knowledge about 'others'' (Skeggs 2001, 427). Jonathan

Crary in his study of early nineteenth century technologies employed in viewing objects and spectacles, such as the camera obscura and the diorama, offers an account of the interaction being the body and technology in the construction of new types of viewing spaces in the period.⁹⁰ Related to this in type, the travellers who utilised anthropological information created a gaze that claimed an increasing mastery of its environment through the reduction of the Greek nation into a discrete series of categories, in short, the disciplining of Greece.⁹¹ Discussing imperial exploration, Mary Louise Pratt summarises how the surveying gaze became a paradigm in Victorian travel writing:

No-one was better at the monarch-of-all-I-survey scene than the string of British explorers who spent the 1860s looking for the source of the Nile. As the Linnaeans had their labeling system, and the Humboldtians their poetics of science, the Victorians opted for a brand of verbal painting whose highest calling was to produce for the home audience the peak moments at which geographical “discoveries” were “won” for England.

(Pratt 1992, 201)

Describing one of the functions of the ‘imperial eye’, Pratt illustrates how the eye could act a powerful metaphor in narrative description. An analogous operation can be found at work in ethnographical accounts: as a technology of the Enlightenment it was instrumental in underwriting the authority of a grand narrative documenting the onward march of modernity. The eye, as well as surveying landscapes, can now take in historical surveys and increasingly see a map whose horizon is constantly on the move as more knowledge is collected in aiding a global, humanistic understanding. James Frazer in describing the texture of this global connection, picked out three archetypal threads:

⁹⁰ See Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (1990).

⁹¹ For another account of ethnographical ‘disciplining’, especially in the context of British travel to Greece, see Rodanthi Tzanelli, “‘Disciplining’ the Neohellenic Character: Records of Anglo-Greek Encounters and the Development of Ethnological-Historical Discourse’ (2003).

Without dipping so far deep into the future we may illustrate the course which thought has hitherto run by likening it to a web woven of three different threads – the black thread of magic, the red thread of religion, and the white thread of science [...] Could we then survey the web of thought from the beginning, we should probably perceive it to be at first a chequer of black and white, a patchwork of true and false notions, hardly tinged as yet by the red thread of religion. But carry your eye farther along the fabric and you will remark that, while the black and white chequer still runs through it, there rests on the middle portion of the web [...] a dark crimson stain, which shades off insensibly into a lighter tint as the white thread of science is woven more and more into the tissue.

(Frazer [1890] 1966, 713)

The woven threads comprise an index of progress: measured against this benchmark any culture can be placed at a different point along the evolutionary chain which the eye can survey and absorb at a glance. The survey, easily digestible through a single, unifying glance, became a paradigm for the understanding of history as a network of connections which could be viewed in totality, something Anne McClintock has called ‘panoptical time’ by which is meant, ‘the image of global history consumed – at a glance – in a single spectacle from the point of privileged invisibility’ (McClintock 1995, 37).⁹² As a technology, in this sense, ethnography deploys this casting glance, connecting the eye on literal (visual observation as part of the practice of fieldwork) and metaphorical levels to situate Greece and Greeks within a series of discourses (mainly of progress). Related to this is Fabian’s description of *visualism*, where the ability to visualise, is equated to understanding (Fabian 1983, 106). Making the layers of the palimpsest apparent was not simply an act of discovery, but the means for the subject who had visualised, realised, the palimpsest to cast themselves in a position of unrivalled authority in determining access to its representation and dissemination. Put more simply, by inscribing a linear ascent of

⁹² These examples worked as an ongoing extension of Edmund Burke’s belief that: ‘now the Great Map of Mankind is unrolled at once; and there is no state or Gradation of barbarism, and no mode of refinement which we have not at the same time instant under our View’ (Burke 1961, 351).

progress, the practice of ethnographers could imagine itself at the pinnacle of progress, by imagining themselves, rather than the Moderns, as being closer to the benchmark of civilisation: Ancient Greece.

The Faces of Greece

A popular if not entirely critically acclaimed sub-discipline of anthropology that offered a model for how progress could be marked on the ethnographical object of study (in this case, the Greeks, and more specifically, Greek women), was phrenology, a study entirely predicated on using empirical data from the shape and surface of the head, to extrapolate the essential moral and mental capabilities of the subject. An exemplar for how the invisible properties of an individual could be made apparent on the body, ready for the phrenologist to see and read, it offered a way to discuss Greeks in terms of a racial category that shared inherent social, cultural and behavioural dispositions that could be differentiated from other racial 'types'. For Annie Speck, a resident of the American School at Athens in 1890s, the 'face of Greece' offered an accurate index to its cultural orientation between the East and West:

Hitherto Greece has lain beyond the route of ordinary travel. Of the thousands who yearly seek Italian skies, hardly one in a hundred crosses over to the land of Plato and Pericles. In comparison with Italy, Greece is, therefore, almost a terra incognita. Though situated in Europe and not far from Italy, it somehow appears more remote than its distance from the Italian peninsula would seem to warrant. This is not, however, without reason, for Greece, as it were, faces the East, most of its cities and harbors lying on that side; while Italy, on the contrary, faces the West. The two peninsulas lie back to back, and while Italy is a part of Western Europe, Greece belongs to the Orient. Its people evidently recognize this fact; as, in Athens, when one speaks of going to France or England, he says, as we do, that he is going to Europe, as if he lived in Asia or in Africa.

(Speck 1893, 3)

Using Greece's geography to mark its cultural orientation, Speck abstracts Greece's geographical properties into a phrenological narrative: marked on the aspect of Greece is apparent and irrefutable evidence of its Eastern orientation. Conflating the verb and the noun, Speck plays on a popular Victorian trope that read facial characteristics as a window into the inner workings of character.⁹³ Although narrowly, and most strictly, phrenology was an examination of the skull as an indicator of a subject's mental predispositions, it was the face, and shape of the head, that made phrenology a popular pseudo-science. With its modern origins in the eighteenth-century with practitioners such as Franz Joseph Gall, it was volumes such as George Coombe's *The Constitution of Man* (1828) that won popular appeal. A bestseller, it sold thousands of copies upon publication as a popular and easily accessible entry into the developing science of man.⁹⁴ Indeed, '[a]s pointed out by one visitor to London in the mid-1830s, it was difficult to walk across the streets and "not be struck with the number of situations in which *phrenological busts and casts* are exposed for sale"' (Cooter 1984, 135 [original emphasis]). With a handbook and the aid of measuring apparatus, a subject could place her/himself in a phrenological category that could provide her/him with a seemingly accurate reflection of their cultural status.

⁹³ Examples of phrenological readings in literary texts of the nineteenth century are numerous. See, for example, Joanna Baillie's *Plays on the Passions*, which explore the workings of single emotions such as hate, envy, etc., through a single character, with facial expression being the main canvas of representation. For later literary examples see Charlotte Brönte's *Jane Eyre*, where Mr. Rochester reads Jane's future in her facial expression. For a more comprehensive analysis of the influence of phrenology on the European novel, see Graeme Tytler, *Physiognomy in the European Novel* (1982), who explores the impact of popular phrenology on literary method. For a comprehensive account of how 'types' were represented in Victorian art, and the specific influence of phrenology on painting, see Mary Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist: The Representation of Type and Character in Victorian Art* (1989).

⁹⁴ For an account of the popularity of Victorian phrenology see especially, Roger Cooter, *The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science: Phrenology and the Organization of Consent in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (1984), who offers an account of the imaginative penetration of phrenology in Victorian Britain, as well as the popularity in text and practice. For phrenology's impact on the natural sciences and its influence in Victorian 'self-help' books, see John van Whyte, *Phrenology and the Origins of Victorian Scientific Naturalism* (2004).

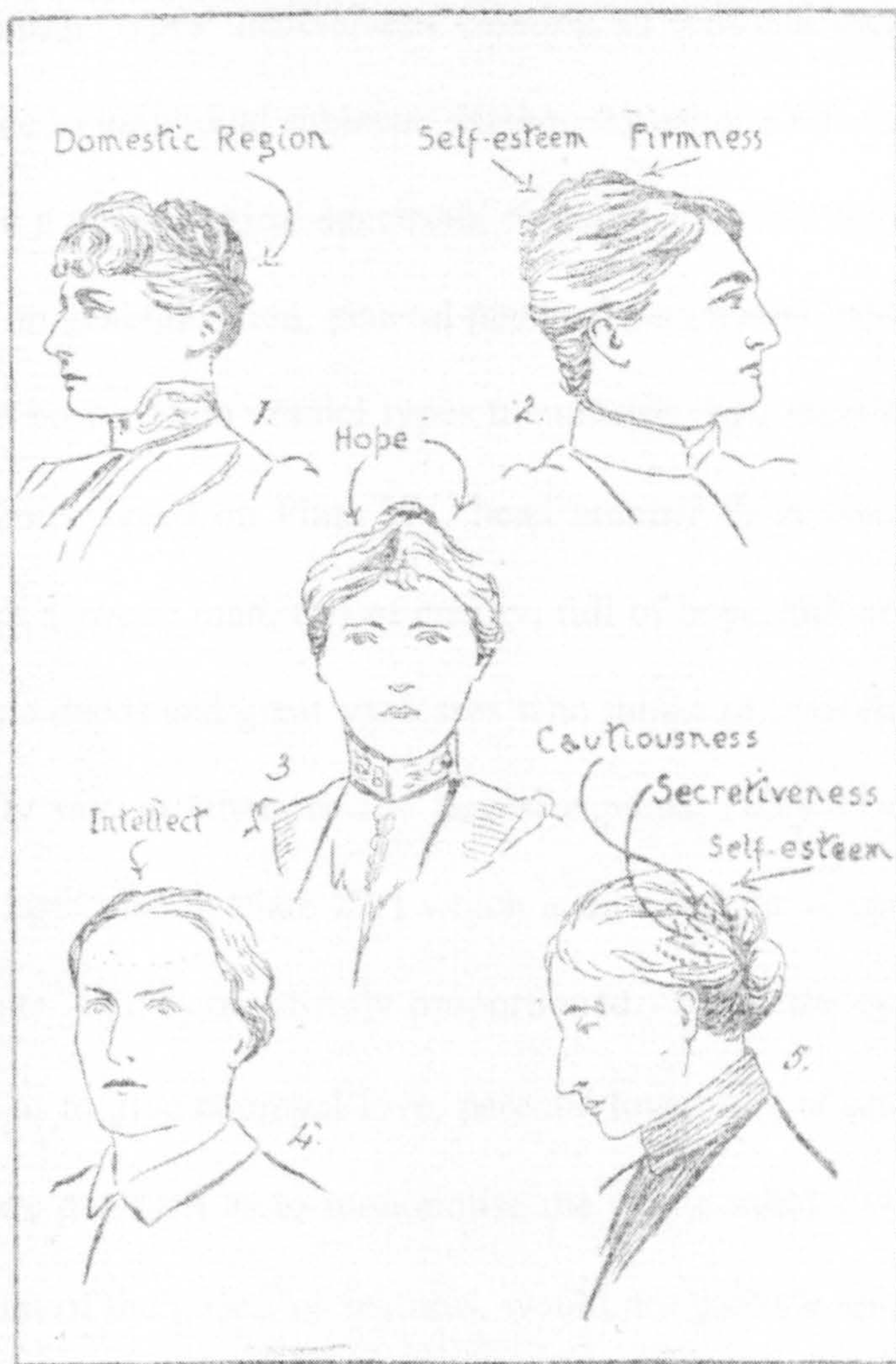


PLATE XV.
TYPICAL HEADS OF WOMEN UNSUITED FOR DOMESTIC LIFE.

Figure 6. 'Typical Heads Unsuitable for Domestic Life' from Stackool O'Dell (1901)

Even by 1901, such popular handbooks were still widely available: Stackpool E. O'Dell's *Heads and How to Read Them: A Popular Guide to Phrenology* (1901) offered practical advice on how to identify the proper characteristics of a prospective husband, or wife. The plates, with accompanying notes on the characteristics each human sketch provides, offers an insight into the inherent prejudices and assumptions that were required to amass and authenticate phrenological data. As the plates attest, photography was not a useful

technology: abstracting 'types' necessitates creating an artificial median value that had little correspondence to individual subjects. Rather, by using a series of 'types', subjects could be located on a phrenological spectrum, displaying a collection of tendencies. As well as depending on generalisation, general physical parameters were added to expound on and to illustrate how certain cranial types manifested their dispositions on the body. Looking at the women listed on Plate XV, head number three comes under particular criticism: '[i]s there a young man, full of energy, full of hope, full of enthusiasm, full of aspirations for noble deeds and great successes who thinks of marrying this woman? To him I would briefly say, in letters of the largest capitals, DON'T' (O'Dell 1901, 83). Opposed to her is head one on Plate XVI which is an emphatic example of a good wife: 'No. 1 head on Plate XVI. Is beautifully proportioned. While the domestic faculties are so well developed as to give conjugal love, parental love, love of home and friends, yet, as in some, they are not such as to monopolise the whole mind' (O'Dell 1901, 86). A comparative account of the poses, or features, would not provide an adequate account of the difference between women suitable and unsuitable for domestic life, nor is the facial expression accurate enough to discern any identifiable markers. Indeed, the only discernible difference is the hairstyle: with arrows pointing to the cranial markers that could conclusively mark the suitable from the unsuitable, the tightness and style of the bun is a more accurate visual anchor for the type of woman under consideration, rather than any cranial bumps or ridges that may be apparent. The role of beauty is also revealed as a purely ideological characteristic: offering ideal features to women suited to domestic life, beauty becomes a synonym for ideal domestic behaviour. Put simply, a beautiful aspect was the by-product of a beautiful character, which, in turn, was the

consequence of an ideal cranial proportions. As an example of the popular dissemination of phrenological practice, it demonstrates how general observational commentaries could be authorised as some kind of true indicator of character by a vast body of professional and popular phrenological discourse.



Figure 7. 'The Panorama of Man' (1876)

To suggest that phrenology was uncritically accepted as a viable and authoritative science would be misleading: throughout the nineteenth-century there were a number of prominent critics accusing it of being a popular pseudo-science that had no real scientific basis.⁹⁵ However, this did little to detract from its popularity and imaginative impetus: the head, and face, could be an index to the soul. Even by 1923, when the study of phrenology had largely been discredited, it was possible for Professor G. Elliot Smith to deliver his lecture, *The Old and the New Phrenology* (1924) at the University of Edinburgh. A more insidious and enduring legacy for phrenology is its influence in early conceptualisations of racial difference. As Mary Cowling points out, '[p]hrenology played an important part in focussing the attention of anthropologists on the cranium, which, important throughout the century, was to remain the prime index of mental capacity and racial identity' (Cowling 1989, 40).⁹⁶ Through phrenology mankind could be organised in a panorama of progress, with even liberal empiricist and progressionists beginning to maintain that each race had a capped capacity in their ability to develop; the suggestion was not only that non-white races were behind those of Western Europe, but their ability to develop was constrained by their physiology.⁹⁷ The caricatures and types that emerged in racial profiling were examples of visualism *par excellence*: for the ethnographer in the field, visual evidence could be made to correspond to a racial type, who in turn, had a particular set of dispositions that were manifest not only in their individual behaviour, but correspond to a rigid racial profiling of types.

⁹⁵ One of the most sustained and famous critics of phrenology was Francis Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review*. For an account of scepticism and criticism of phrenology see van Whyte (2004).

⁹⁶ See Stocking (1987) for an analysis of how phrenology became the dominant discipline in marking racial difference in French anthropological theory.

⁹⁷ For a further discussion of phrenology in relation to Victorian theories of race see particularly, Bowler (1989) and Stocking, *Race, Culture and Evolution in Victorian Anthropology*.

The discussion so far has been an attempt to construct a framework within which to read travel accounts by British women who attempt to offer a sustained ethnographical account of the Greeks, defining them as racial types who have a conjoining series of characteristics and tendencies that place them at the crossroads of East and West. The use of the eye as the primary authenticating and authorising drive has been discussed in relation to travel writing in an earlier chapter, and to this is added its use as a recording, discerning, and scientific organ whose ideological project is to read a racial panorama that tells an undisturbed story of progress manifest in the physiognomies of various races. However, categorising the Modern Greeks offered a more difficult problem: they were certainly not 'brown', but there was something about them was not quite 'white' either. Separated from their Italian neighbours by their occupation by the Ottoman Empire, the Greeks offered a type of racial limit-point between the Oriental odalisques that comprise the Greek women in Byron's poetry, and the descendants of the Greek statues embodying idealised, and very white, bodies in the British Museum.

Both Fanny Blunt and Lucy Garnett explicitly used phrenology in their approach to the relationship of Modern Greeks to the West:

In feature and build the modern Greek still possesses the characteristic traits of his ancestors. Scientific researches and anatomical observations made upon the skulls of ancient Greeks are said to prove that if art glorified to a slight extent the splendid models of statues, it could not have strayed very far from the originals. Such pure and perfect types are constantly met with at the present day in the modern Greeks who, as a rule, possess fine open foreheads, straight noses, and fine eyes full of fire and intelligence, furnished with black lashes and well-defined eyebrows; the mouths are small or of medium size, with a short upper lip; the chin rather prominent, but rounded. The entire physiognomy differs so essentially from the other native types, that it is impossible to mistake it. In stature the Greek

is rather tall than otherwise, well-made and well-proportioned; the hands and feet are small in both sexes. The walk is graceful, but has a kind of swagger and ease in it, which, although it looks natural in natural costume, seems affected in European dress.

(Blunt 1878, 50-1)

Art, did, it appears, copy or derive its examples from nature: the skulls of the ancients compare favourably with the ancient statues that contain perfect proportions.⁹⁸

Measuring the alignment of the forehead, nose and chin, the statues of the Ancient Greeks offered dimensions that corresponded to a highly intellectual, creative and artistic race, and diametrically opposed to the negro skull, was the absolutely antithesis of baser, more animalistic natures, in other words, it was the most human, and humane.

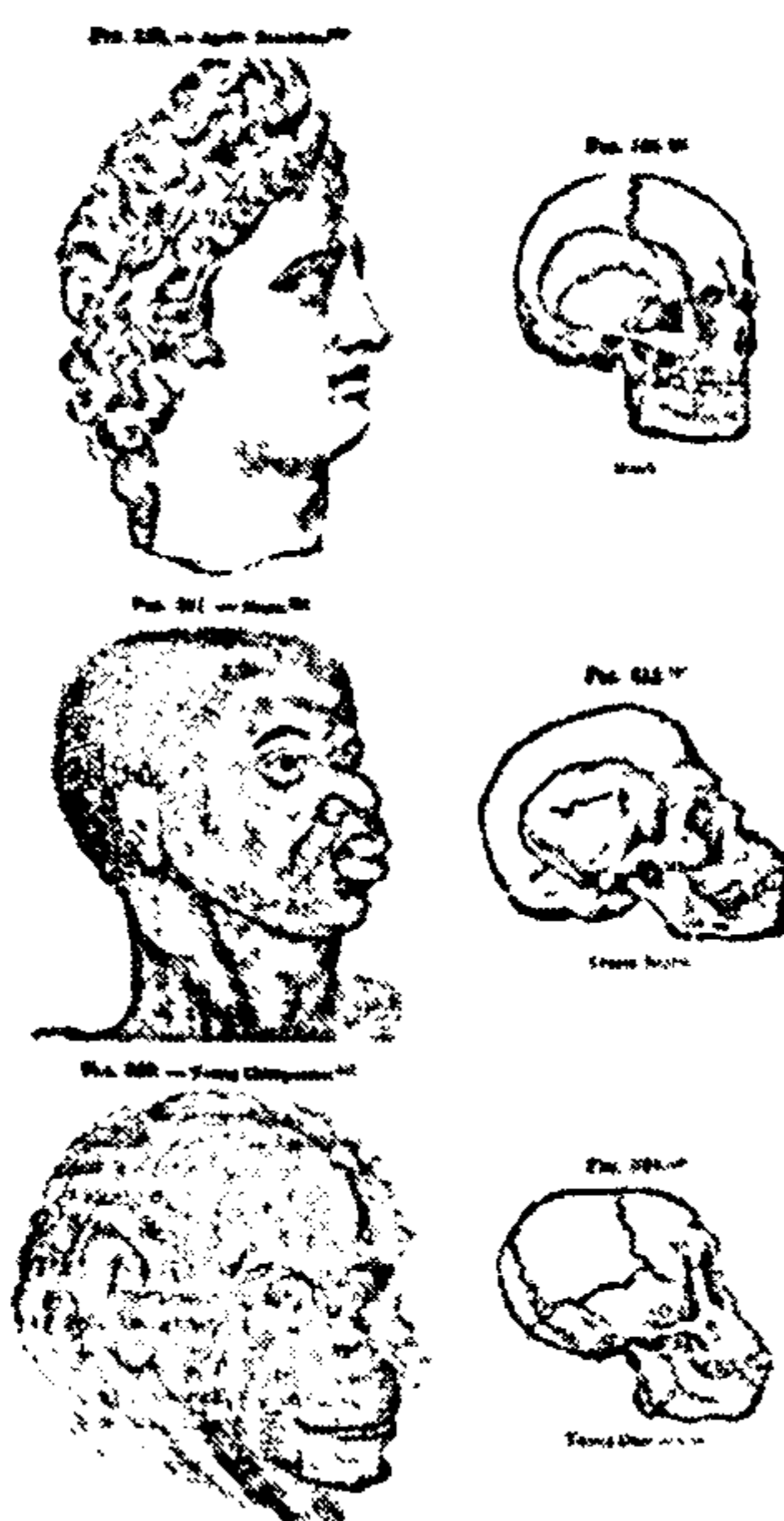


Figure 8. 'The Heads and Skulls of Apollo, A Negro and a Chimpanzee Compared' (1854)

⁹⁸ The debate around how 'Greek' the Modern Greeks were raged throughout the century. J.P. Fallmerayer the Austrian historian claimed that most of the Modern Greeks were actually of Slav descent, an argument that was not very successful with the Philhellenes or the majority of accounts by British travellers. Interestingly enough, while Murray and Baedeker's support Fallmerayer to the extent that they question the racial purity of the Greeks, the women dealt with in the thesis overwhelmingly see the modern population as rightful descendants of the ancients. As David Roessel states: 'Fallmerayer's book caused uproar in Greece, but neither his work nor the evidence presented by pro-Turkish travelers had much effect on English or American nineteenth-century literature' (Roessel 2002, 116-7).

It was not necessary for Blunt to justify why these cranial measurements corresponded to 'pure and perfect types', the popular discourse of phrenology and its contribution to racial categorisation, worked with discourses of Hellenism to ensure the validity of her statement. Its 'essential' difference from the racial types that surround it (namely, the more 'Oriental' races of the Turks, Bulgarians and Albanians) is crucial for maintaining an uncontaminated survival of ancient types. However, despite their ideal aspect, there seems to be a deficient gap between the signifying potential of their bodies (as representatives of the ancients), and their ability: their confident 'swagger' only works when they wear 'native costume', in European dress, they become incongruous and 'affected'. Not quite able to carry off European drag, the Modern Greeks may have the bodies of the ancients, but did not belong to the same representational plane as Blunt: she was the observer, and they were an object of study. Garnett's description of the Modern Greeks, with specific reference to Greek women, takes the issue further:

We come next to the Greek women of Turkey. Physically, as well as mentally, the Greek women of to-day often exhibit the more characteristic traits of ancient Hellenic types, and forms of almost classical purity are to be met with, not only in free Hellas, but also in all parts of the Ottoman Empire. There still may be seen the broad, low forehead, the straight line of the profile, the dark lustrous eye and crimson lip (the lower one slightly full), the firm chin, and rounded throat. The figure is usually above the middle height, if not "divinely tall;" the carriage erect and graceful; the hands are small, and the feet often exhibit the peculiarity noticeable in the ancient statues of the second toe being the same length as the first. In certain localities, and more particularly in Macedonia, the Greek type has much deteriorated from the admixture of Slav and other elements.

(Garnett 1890, 30)

Following in the vein of Blunt, Garnett praises the Modern Greeks for physically demonstrating antiquity, especially in their ability to live up to the dimensions of statues, but Garnett also alludes to the degenerative force that has been at work through the

centuries, contaminating the purity of the Greeks, in other words, the other racial types of the Balkans. The situation of the Balkans and its importance will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter, but what Garnett identifies is one of the major strategies in being able to at once identify the Greeks as descendants of a perfect physiological form, that, at the same time, had somehow degenerated. Both were still interested in constructing a homogeneous racial type for the Greeks that, rather than being based on nationality or language, was based on the comparison with an altogether different kind of ethnographical data, namely, statues of Ancient Greeks.

The discussion now turns to the five travellers in question to examine their particular ethnographical study during their travels in Greece, and more specifically, exactly where they posited their Modern Greek subjects in the continuum of racial, cultural, and moral progress (and related to this, exactly who counted as 'Greek'). Connected to this discussion are questions of anthropological time and discursive practice: what were the ideological assumptions that underpinned these women's studies, and in what way was evolutionary time used to place Greece 'behind' Britain?

Felicia Skene

The publication of Felicia Skene's *Wayfaring Sketches Among the Greeks and the Turks, and on the Shores of the Danube, by a Seven Years' Resident in Greece* (1847), was rather inauspicious. Despite the relative novelty of a travel account to Greece and Turkish provinces, it was reviewed as a derivative and objectionable example of contemporary travel writing by *The Athenaeum*, apparently offering another example of

the type of paratactic and embossed travel narrative that was steadily and irresistibly rising in popularity. For an irked Henry Chorley, *The Athenaeum* reviewer:

This volume is principally devoted to the records of a voyage; - and is written, throughout, in an objectionably florid style. It is time to reckon with our picturesque writers; whose present fancy for trope and transubstantiation in language bids fair to give Posterity serious trouble and matter for wrangling. Let none of them pretend that it is an old fashion revived. Accuracy and neatness were once thought indispensable to metaphor – precision to poetical diction.

(Chorley 1847, 881)

A few contentions begin to unravel: a ‘florid’ style is not appropriate for ‘records’ of travel and the accompanying technical skill for negotiating any literary embellishment of the record through metaphor is unsophisticated and technically deficient, in other words, the metaphor by lacking ‘accuracy’ and ‘precision’ manages to miss its target in a collection of loosely connected recollections punctuated by hyperbole. Chorley proceeds to see these qualities as especially characteristic of women writers of the period: ‘[w]e are less precise in our forms of language and figures of speech now-a-days; - and were the above example solitary, we had not remonstrated. But let the ladies, in particular, look to it – or the schoolmaster will be among them!’ (Chorley 1847, 881). Short of admonishing only women with the crime of rhetorical inaccuracy, Chorley issues a caveat infused with a patriarchal authority ready to correct the wrongs of women’s writing.

Lamenting Skene’s contradictions and poor literary constructions,⁹⁹ what Chorley misses is the first attempt by a British woman to offer a published travel account that includes a series of vignettes accounting for the customs and manners of an independent modern

⁹⁹ A particular point of lamentation is her sightseeing on a Sunday while claiming to be culturally sensitive to the sanctity of a Sunday in Greece.

Greece. To some extent, Skene offers the first ethnographical report of Greece from a woman in the field, and in this respect, Skene's text marks a threshold in the history of British women's travel literature about Greece. While generally conforming to this relatively didactic and prescriptive style of travel writing, Skene's volume included a forty one page introduction to include reflections on her seven year residence near Athens from 1838-1845.¹⁰⁰ Ordered relatively chronologically after this point, with the prevalent narrative structure being the organisation of chapters around travel destinations, what sets Skene's text apart from women's travel accounts that preceded her is was a desire to engage with the local populations of Greece and offer an analysis of the state of the nation through illustrative and contemporary social examples derived from personal experience and observation. Her travels being framed by the context of her lengthy residence there rather than a cursory tour, her investment in her locale fostered a different type of gaze and marked an emerging concern within British women's travel writing about Greece: the ethnographical study of its contemporary inhabitants.

What marked Skene apart so distinctly from the travel writers that came before was her distinct lack of celebrity and the literary quality of her work; Skene's family were well-connected but as a young writer and resident of Greece, the scenes of her narrative drew from her observations and experiences of daily life in Greece for a British resident. Although lacking an itinerary, her narrative is organised relatively conventionally around the places she visited at various times of her residence; despite this, Skene includes some dedicated sections to the customs and practices of the contemporary Greek life. Skene's desire to engage with the local populations of Greece and offer an analysis of the state of

¹⁰⁰ They lived in a purpose build villa on the outskirts of Athens.

the nation through illustrative and contemporary social examples derived from personal experience and observation, set her apart from the writers that came before her. Skene was not a lady of leisure; her return from Greece marked the beginning of long career in philanthropy. Writing religious tracts during the 1850s and 1860s, she was a central figure in the Oxford Movement which promoted religious obedience and missionary zeal, along with publishing a series of novels based loosely around her observations of social issues such as crime and prostitution. Her disposition towards an embossed and rhetorically complex style of writing in her travel narrative therefore, precisely the quality Chorley found so objectionable, can be read in the context of her career as a professional writer. Along with this, however, is a contingent problem at the centre of discussions of travel writing: can this 'embossed', literary style be considered as any more or less accurate account of travel than a more 'factual', paratactic account? Not the adventures of an aristocrat, nor the catalogue of sites and sights from the lady on tour, Skene marked a new concern in Modern Greece within British women's travel literature.

E.C. Rickards's memoir of Skene remembers a woman whose interest consistently lay in analysis rather than description: 'her interest went beyond their [the Greeks] outward appearance. She soon learnt to talk modern Greek – an accomplishment she put to good use on occasion years after at Oxford. The work, the pleasures, the superstitions, the quarrels, the love-affairs of the peasants, were all interesting to her, through her gift of imagination and sympathy' (Rickards 1902, 37). Skene's narrative is more than the memoirs of a residency: her interest in Modern Greece was ethnographical. While lacking the scope, pretension and ambition to offer an exhaustive ethnographical study of

Modern Greece, Skene's literary ambitions were to capture Greece through her observations of singular incidents and customs that she encountered in everyday life and abstract them to make general comments about the state of the nation.

Skene weaves vignettes from her travel encounters with a cultural commentary that engages in the then familiar image of Greece as a woman in chains,¹⁰¹ awaiting rescue from the Ottomans. Her early volume of poetry *The Isles of Greece and Other Poems* contained a poem entitled 'The Greek Slave', a rehearsal of the familiar allegory of Greece as a woman in chains subject to the mercy of an Oriental despot. Drawing from Byron's poetry, so fond of envisioning Greece in terms of female sculpture, womanhood at the point of expiry, or beautiful cadaver, Skene on one level uncritically engaged in the network of established images of Greece in British philhellenism. The purpose of this allegory has been explored by Katherine E. Fleming who has argued that allegories of Greece as a woman, chained and on the way to a harem, were used to justify a British pseudo-colonial hegemony over representations of Greece, primarily through positing the West as the agent of deliverance (Fleming 2002). The critical reassessment of women's travel writing has explored women's problematic relationship to Orientalism, a relationship usually explored through an analysis of women's access to the space of the harem, most notably in the works of Billie Melman and Reina Lewis.¹⁰² However, in a

¹⁰¹ Byron's vision of Greece on the point of expiration was often visually translated into a Greek woman held in chains, or depicted more generally, as a slave. See figure 1 in the Introduction for a photographic example from the late nineteenth century. For a fuller account of earlier portraits of Greek women as slaves, see Katherine E. Fleming, 'Greece in Chains: Philhellenism to the Rescue of a Damsel in Distress' (2002), and the forthcoming discussion of Hiram Powers's sculpture for the most popular example of the trope in Victorian Britain.

¹⁰² See Billie Melman, *Women's Orient: English Women and the Middle East* (1992), Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism* (1996) and Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (2004). A useful survey of the harem in Western art can be found in: Ruth Bernard Yeazell,

post-independence Greece the persistence of this allegory ceased to have any basis in a material reality: although key territories such as Crete were still under Ottoman rule until the twentieth century, an independent 'Greece' did exist. If Greece was a woman in chains on the way to the harem, it had to move from being a literal site, to being a figurative construct that somehow existed in the consciousness of Greek women. For Skene, the metaphor proved irresistible: a potent symbol of threat and degeneracy, she used enslavement as her primary strategy for discussing Greek women.

Skene's rewriting and exploration of this motif focuses on taking a real, breathing, historically situated Greek woman and allegorising her into Modern Greece; in other words, taking a real subject of ethnographical study and conflating her with an allegory which robs her of specificity. The story of Katinko, a young Greek woman in Skene's service, appears in the introductory panorama of Skene's time in Greece. Taking a few pages of the total narrative, it offers a paradigm for considering Skene's precise approach. An attempt to offer an ethnography of Greek womanhood through Katinko, to account for the types of discourses, times and spaces which go towards her literary construction, offers an illustration of Skene's departure from the British women writers on Greece that came before her as well as her own approach to constructing a surveying gaze to assess Greece and the Greeks.

The first introduction to Katinko is as an inert subject, waiting to be brought to life through Skene's own narrative description of her:

Harems of the Mind (2000), who interestingly points out that even the ubiquitous Baedeker could not map the harem.

Katinko was more like the most exquisite statue than a human being - the repose of her matchless features, and the marble paleness of her complexion, were quite unequalled. We soon found, however that she shared in a deficiency common to all inanimate pieces of sculpture, and more general among the living beings than we are disposed to admit. The mind, the intellect, that should have illuminated that perfect countenance, existed not, and she was a very child in capacity and in tastes. Still we took a great interest in her; and our distress was extreme when we discovered, after she had been with us two years, that she had consented to enter on a new line of life very different from that we could have desired for her.

(Skene 1840, 21-2)

Under the surveillance of Skene's eye this description begins to outline how the ethnographical gaze specifically operates in her account: her subject is cast as an object, a static symbol belonging more properly to another temporal and cultural field. The prevailing stylistic mode can still be read in the vein of Germaine de Staël's *Corrine* (1807) and Sydney Owenson's own Greek version, *Woman, Or: Ida of Athens* (1809) which relied on female characters that were a loose collection of tableaux vivant performing a national identity aligned with its antique past. In the words of Chloe Chard: 'by drawing on the elision between the feminine and the personal, travel writings invest both living female antiquities and feminized ruins with a power to mediate between a public, historical domain and a more intimate, personal private world. As a result, these varieties of attraction supply an especially useful means of converting historical time into personal time' (Chard 2000, 103). As a rhetorical strategy, Chard follows the conversion of timelessness into time: a disparity central to the operation of the national tale, but the primary difference here is Skene's projection of this rhetorical strategy onto a living woman with her own personal history.¹⁰³ Skene's privileged sight is deployed to cast

¹⁰³ The negation of Katinko's personal time can be read through the strategies of anthropological practice. As Fabian suggests: 'Anthropology contributed above all to the intellectual justification of the colonial enterprise. It gave to politics and to economics – both concerned with human Time – a firm belief in "natural." i.e., evolutionary Time. It promoted a scheme in terms of which not only past cultures, but all

Katinko as a walking, talking antique.¹⁰⁴ As an antique, Katinko belongs more properly to the staging of archaeological artefacts in the space of the British Museum than the landscape of contemporary Greece. In this sense Skene's depiction is akin in its operation to Hiram Powers's controversial and sensationally popular sculpture, *The Greek Slave* which was completed in 1844. The sculpture depicted the naked body of a Greek woman, her eyes averted in shame from her implied Turkish master; her weight rests on her left foot to allow the right to slightly turn her body, protectively, away from the gaze of the Turk as her chained hands cover her genitals. The drapery on the stand next to her betrays a locket and a cross, symbols at once of her Christianity, and her tie to a possible Christian husband or lover. The American tour of the sculpture raised twenty-three thousand dollars in receipts¹⁰⁵ while thousands came to see it in London's Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851.¹⁰⁶

The space created by Skene for viewing Katinko relies on the recognition, and participation, of some of the viewing conditions of the museum; Katinko is to be gazed

living societies were irrevocably placed on a temporal slop, a stream of Time – some upstream, other downstream' (Fabian 1983, 17). Implicit in anthropology is a political and imperial impulse to at once distance and discipline: the distance was temporal but allowed for the observer to produce authoritative accounts of cultural practices. Deeply ahistorical, anthropological uses of time depend on stasis and generalisation; the temporally disjunctured subject is cast as 'other' to be subjected to observation and pushed out of a coeval time frame while the object of study becomes a living anachronism waiting for the delivery of the anthropologist, a practice termed allochry by Fabian.

¹⁰⁴ Fabian's arguments have been discussed in the context of travel writing by several critics, see for example: Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (1991); Meyda Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (1998); Lewis (2004) and Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840: From an Antique Land* (1995).

¹⁰⁵ See Joy Kasson, *Marble Queen and Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture* (1990) for an account of how *The Greek Slave* tacitly commented on narratives of slavery in America, and the representation of Native and African-Americans.

¹⁰⁶ For fuller details of the sculpture's history and popularity, see Richard P. Wunder, *Hiram Powers* (1991).

upon rather than engaged with.¹⁰⁷ There is a distinct lack of character development or an examination of her life, which is de-allegorised enough to be divorced from a narrative of Modern Greece. Stockpiled amongst antiques and items from a diverse range of cultures, the museum manufactured another type of ethnographical gaze which invited its audience to measure progress through the classification and disciplining of cultures into discrete categories. The description of Katinko does not end there, however; Skene encounters a very different type of woman a year later:

I was accosted in the street by a young woman in European dress, whose appearance was decidedly remarkable, from the outrageous violation of all good taste which characterized her attire. Not only was she loaded with feathers and ribbons, but her face was positively masked in paint, applied seemingly without any attempt at concealment! It was actually not until she turned towards me the exquisite profile which nothing could change that I recognised our once beautiful Katinko!

(Skene 1847, 22-3)

¹⁰⁷ Although not a direct analogue, a useful inroad to this discussion can be found in criticism relating to documentary photographs of sculpture. Photographs of sculpture depend on an image of an artefact, even though it cannot be captured overall from one standpoint; the sculpture's particular relationship with space around it is as important as the object itself, which becomes a positive presence. The photograph of sculpture becomes a fundamentally flawed image of a referent, inaccurate from being a single angle with collapsed dimensions. In Mary Bergstein's discussion of photographs of sculpture, she demonstrates the depth to which photography has conditioned the academic appreciation of sculpture: 'the typical student of art history, especially when learning about art from other continents, apprehends sculpture as a pictorial and serial experience – an experience that usually consists of looking at illustrations cropped and printed on the pages of a book, or watching color slides projected on a screen in a darkened room' (Bergstein 479b-480a). When viewing these images sequentially, to build up a fuller portrait of the sculpture, Bergstein describes the process as, 'quasi-cinematic viewing' (Bergstein 480a). Unable to habilitate the whole out of the sequence, although every defining angle could be present, its entirety cannot be present without physically experiencing the referent. The inanimate nature of the sculpture itself has an important transformative role in how the photograph is understood: Barthes calls the photograph a 'tableau vivant' (Barthes 1984, 32), a type of death mask for the living, but here the object has no discernable life beyond the gradual erosion of the elements comprising its surface. Although this is a liberty with the discussion Barthes pursues, it does help to effectively illustrate how a different kind of primacy is placed on the sight of the photographer. For Susan Sontag, '[a]ll photographs are *memento mori*. To take a photograph is to participate in another person's (or thing's) mortality, vulnerability, mutability. Precisely by slicing out this moment and freezing it, all photographs testify to time's relentless melt' (Sontag 1977, 15). Two photographs of a sculpture from the same angle, but different time frames, share an essential core, not simply in terms of the limited mutability of the referent in any given time, but in the relative integrity that two different photographs are essentially looking at the same artefact, thought at different times.

A new axis for measuring Katinko, and by association the state of modern Greece is introduced. Ribbons, feathers, makeup and artifice characterise her description, and as Indepal Grewal argues in her discussion of Indian women in the harem: '[a]rtifice and makeup became the trademarks of the prostitute, who must hide the depravity written on her face. Makeup symbolized an opacity that was to be found only in the prostitutes and, in some nineteenth-century travel narratives, on oriental women' (Grewal 1996, 27). In a critique of Burkean aesthetics, Grewal couples the use of makeup with a literal darkness of skin tone that came to be associated with moral deviancy and degeneracy; Katinko's skin becomes the battle ground where the dark inscription threatens to eclipse the white. A radically different historical context emerges for the study of Katinko; still an object of study rather than a subject of action, her transformation is at once an extension of Skene's earlier description of Katinko's 'shallow' nature, but also a defiance of her description of an archetypally beautiful Greek woman. An imprisoned consciousness, Katinko offers an updated allegory for the Greek slave: rather than being literally imprisoned in a harem, subject to Oriental terror, the surface of her body becomes the site of this imprisonment, a surface which Skene to varying degrees refuses to map as part of Greece's modernity. Like *The Greek Slave*, Katinko is threatened by a delivery into the invisible, but suggested space beyond the sculpture, namely, that of the harem.

The harem became an increasingly potent site for eighteenth and nineteenth century travellers, armchair and literal, to the East; it at once represented a sequestered site of forbidden sexual excess and a real material locus for women's activity with which Western women travellers could interact. The former contention is perhaps best

illustrated by the British artist Thomas Rowlandson (1757-1827), who produced an engraving entitled *The Harem* (1812), illustrating two apparently endless rows of nude women, in a variety of suggestive poses, with exaggerated buttocks, breasts and enlarged labia; in the foreground a Turk sits cross-legged, revealing the end of a conspicuously large and erect penis. The success of this pornographic satire depended on a familiarity with stereotypes of the harem and circulation of these images outside the regular legal printing circulation; in other words, the harem's popularity has always depended on its psycho-sexual potential and its existence as a material site denied to male travellers. Billie Melman has offered one of the most comprehensive investigations into women's travel and the harem in the period that allowed women's location in domestic life a new insight.¹⁰⁸

However, the evocation of the harem in the present discussion borrows from both visions: the harem as space with no material reality and as a distinctive feature in the travel accounts of women. As Ruth Bernard Yeazell has noted, even as late as 1910, the Baedeker guidebook, so famous for its exact maps, was forced to leave a blank for the site of an imperial harem; conventional representational strategies predicated on visibility were inadequate for the description of the harem and its potency as an idea depended on this.¹⁰⁹ Skene's inability to recognise Katinko is the point at which the additional context of the harem can be given significance in the text: rather than being a real space, it serves as a metaphor for a vision of Greece that Skene refuses to document as part of its progress. If the metaphor here corresponds to a non-referential space, then it must be

¹⁰⁸ See Billie Melman, *Women's Orient: English Women and the Middle East* (1992).

¹⁰⁹ See Yeazell (2000).

understood as a series of strategies, breaks and disruptions to Greece's access to modernity (through its Orientalism) rather than an intertextual source or site in its own right. Wearing makeup disguised the pure surface of Katinko's body, marking it apart from the sculptured beauty she once inhabited.

In Mallek Alloula's analysis of postcards depicting Algerian women from the early twentieth century, veils are posited as the limit point between public and private spheres and beyond this opposition there is, 'an imaginary harem whose inviolability haunts the photographer-viewer.' (Alloula 1986, 13). The analogy between ethnography and photography is particularly suggestive: although Skene's text is too early to discuss the comparative strategies, from the late nineteenth century photography would become a key tool for the ethnographer in underwriting authority and authenticity.¹¹⁰ The harem's presence in *Wayfaring Sketches*, manifests itself as a disruption to Katinko's European identity. Somewhere between the descriptions of Katinko's beauty and its corruption, Skene manages, paradoxically, entirely to lose sight of her. Instead, Katinko exists in a series of glimpses that fail to map onto one another in a narrative trajectory that Skene can admit to view, and sanction. As a subject position in the text, Katinko is little more than a series of vignettes, each of which stage a different kind of *tableau vivant*, with Katinko assuming another static pose that Skene chooses to read as a gesture to her cultural orientation (Western with the 'white' aspect of sculpture, Eastern as a 'coloured', painted woman).

¹¹⁰ For another discussion of veils as limit points see Yeğenoğlu (1998), 39-67.

Skene uses an elaborate allegory to chart her encounter more specifically with another allegorised body: that of 'Greece' herself:

We saw her first faint efforts – we marked her progress day by day, even as though we were watching the gradual restoration of life and health, to some fair being raised up from mortal sickness, which each hour brightens the returning glow upon the cheek and the sparkle in the eye. Gradually we became identified with all her varying hopes and fears; rejoicing with her rejoicing people, when some country more highly-favoured now reflected back on Greece the lights it had derived from her; and sorrowing with them, when the Great Powers to which she is allied threatening in their clashing interest to rob her again of her dearly-bought repose.

(Skene 1847, 8)

There are two temporal operations in this passage: there is the narrative time which both Skene and Greece occupy together and an allochronic function which casts Greece as an ethnographic object. Although temporally 'behind' Skene, the extensive use of metaphors of health ('fair', 'sickness', 'glow') and light ('brightens', 'sparkle', 'lights'), are deployed to see Greece emerging into a time frame coeval with Skene. The intention of the passage is an ideological alignment between Britain and modern Greece; Britain watches the progress of Greece to an ideal which conforms to its Philhellenic desire and its attainment of full health, glow, and sparkle moves Greece from the anachronistic, backward and stagnant Orient to an Enlightened West. Despite the attempts to draw parallels, to produce a community of European nations, Skene's repetitive use of pronouns emphatically emphasise difference: 'we saw', 'we marked', 'we were watching', 'we became' versus, 'her first', 'her progress', 'her varying', 'her rejoicing', 'from her', 'she is', 'her dearly-bought'. For an extract claiming a sisterhood between Britain and Greece, at no point are the concerns 'ours'; the 'we' of the text is a Western audience to Greece's decline. Skene's attempt to distance her own position from that of

British political involvement in Greece is 'a further attempt to create an all seeing and impartial eye on the present condition of the nation.

Veering away from the explicitly political, Skene discusses less charged fields such as Greek art and music to find Greece literally out of tune with Britain: 'with regard to music, I really think there is an organic deficiency in the case of each individual Greek. It is impossible for them rightly to intonate the most simple strain, their ideas of an air are frightfully vague; singing in tune is a mystery they have never dreamt of solving' (Skene 1847, 67). Complaining of the nasal quality of folk music, Skene makes an unwritten association between Greek folk and the folk music of Turkey, which carries the same nasal quality. Stuck in the dark, Greece needs to be educated into the West, with an aesthetic taste and standards appropriate to, and recommended by, Western Europe. For healthy progress, the childlike nature of Katinko must be tutored and supervised by Skene, her removal from Skene being the beginning of her apparent downfall and physical and mental corruption. The surveying gaze becomes not only a sanitising gaze but a promise of progress with obedience. However, not all the Greeks were party to this blanket view: Skene's respect and admiration for the privileged circles of Athenian society exempted them from her criticism. In the 1890s she received a series of papers containing information on prison reform in Greece, mainly instituted by Queen Olga. Keen to extol the virtues of prison reform and ingratiate herself with the Queen, she wrote a short piece for *Blackwoods Magazine* offering a brief sketch of Queen Olga's program of reform. Although she suggests that England might only feel surprise at the idea that, 'we in England could receive instruction or enlightenment from the Greece of modern

days, in any department of our national system' (Skene 1892, 152), the virtue of Queen Olga is counterbalanced with the peasantry of Greece which offer the subject of reform. As E.C. Rickards observes, 'her characters if a low rank socially are generally far better drawn than those of a higher. They were often borrowed from life, and therefore he is more or less bound down to facts, around which her imagination plays with its vivid force of realisation' (Rickards 1902, 303-4). Using her 'imagination', Skene's writing is predisposed to cast and characterise Greece in terms of its peasantry, at once to create a 'child' that can be mothered, and an object requiring reform. Katinko becomes woven out a variety of influences, some of them allegorical, ethnographical, literary and anecdotal, to offer a travel narrative that strays from 'factual' discourses but constructs a vision of Greece that exists uneasily in Europe.

However, at the period that Skene was writing large sections of *Modern Greece* had not been ceded: the Ionian Islands, Crete and Thessaly were occupied. If Katinko still carried a cultural memory and imprint of the harem, then the Greeks who lived in the Ottoman Empire, were taken an extra degree away from the redeeming potential of European surveillance. The discussion now turns to the Balkans and more recognisable ethnographical works: arranged culturally rather than geographically, while these texts are not strictly travel narratives (the personal journey being subordinated to description and categorisation), their ethnographical authority is entirely predicated on their status as travellers rather than tourists in the region.

Mackenzie & Irby in the Balkans

Writing on the architecture of Thessaloniki, Mackenzie and Irby lamented that, ‘all that is of the Pagan period has been Byzantinized, and all that was Byzantine has been Mahometanized; for that while much may be traced to interest the antiquary, there is scarce beauty enough left to delight the unprofessional traveller’ (Mackenzie and Irby 1867, 9). Although not strictly a journey in Greece, as Thessaloniki did not join Greece until after the first Balkan War in 1912, the Greeks are consistently privileged over the other races present in Thessaloniki, namely, the mixture of Albanians, Bulgarians and Turks that made up the population of ‘Turkey-in-Europe’. Reading the move through periods of Byzantine and Ottoman history, Thessaloniki is read in a line of steady Oriental degeneracy, becoming increasingly alienated from the city’s noble namesake, Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great. Thessaloniki was not simply on the brink of being compromised by the East, it had been entirely subsumed in it. Part of the Balkans, it became associated with a network of narratives that read the Balkans as a site of mongrel, dangerous, and degenerate elements, constantly at war with one another. From the British context, it is no coincidence that when Bram Stoker’s protagonist enters Budapest he claims that, ‘[t]he impression I had was that we were leaving the West and entering the East’ (Stoker 1897, 1). The site of an European infection of the West, it is reminiscent of Mary Shelley’s *The Last Man* (1826), and John Polidori’s *Vampyre* (1819), except in those instances, Greece itself was still under Ottoman thrall.

Continuing into the twentieth century, critics have identified a series of negative connotations for the Balkans that reflect on the unstable and volatile borders. Maria

Todorova describes how, ““Balkanization” not only had come to denote the parcelization of large and viable political unity but also had become a synonym for a reversion to the tribal, the backward, the primitive, the barbarian’ (Todorova 1994, 453); for Dimitris Tziouvas the Balkans have been read as synonymous with, ‘dehumanization, de-aestheticization and the destruction of civilization’ (Tziouvas 2003, 2), while Andrew Hammond, in relation to later nineteenth-century travel, reads the period as a formative moment when, ‘South-East Europe fully emerged in the British geographical imagination as a peripheral zone of barbarism and conflict’ (Hammond 1994, 602).¹¹¹ Hardly the territory for Miss Mackenzie and Miss Irby, two unaccompanied women whose initial intention on leaving Britain, was to only to venture as far East as Greece. However, on their way through Prague and Vienna, they encountered some Czechs who pointed them in the direction of their ‘brethren’, though who they may be, was initially a mystery to them:

we had to confess to the Czechs that we scarcely knew who their southern brethren were. This profession of ignorance was received with displeasure. “You are not,” said our friends, “the first English people who have told us as much; yet those of the South Slavonic countries which form part of the Ottoman empire stand politically under British guarantee, your nation helps to keep them in their present condition, and their future in great measure depends on her policy. Have you never heard of the Christians in Turkey, nor of the Serbians and Montenegrines?”

“Indeed,” said we; “we have heard and read of them, but we know very little about them for all that; and among other things we do not know why you call them South Slavonic peoples.”

(Mackenzie and Irby 1867, xiv)

¹¹¹ For a comprehensive analysis of the image of the Balkans in the Western imagination, and especially ‘Balikanisation’, see Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (1997), see also Vesna Goldworthy’s *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (1998). For an analysis of Greece’s relation to the Balkans, see Dimitris Tziouvas’s collection of essays, *Greece and the Balkans: Identities, Perceptions and Cultural Encounters* (2003). For overviews of British travel in the Balkans, see Andrew Hammond, ‘The Uses of Balkanism: Representation and Power in British Travel Writing, 1850-1914’ (1994), and Mark Mazower, ‘Travellers and the Oriental City, c.1840-1920’ (2002).

Referring explicitly to the Eastern Question (the enduring British concern surrounding the increasing disintegration of the Ottoman Empire) and the political power-balance in the East, the almost mystical - and certainly mysterious - peoples of the Balkans are introduced to Mackenzie and Irby through Britain's influence as a Great Power, and the influence of British policy in determining the very boundaries of Balkan states. Deciding that this imperative is one that should be acted on, they proceed to spend months making series of journeys across the various regions of the Balkans, collecting ethnographical data to map how the cultures that live there co-exist, and how cultures have intermingled. In 1912 an article in the *Graphic* had posed the question: 'Why the Balkans Attract Women', a question that Vesna Goldworthy begins to answer by highlighting how Western women enjoyed access to public life and officials in the Balkans, that rivalled men's.¹¹² Irby and Mackenzie became involved in opening a school for Orthodox Slav girls in Sarajevo, which Irby ran after Mackenzie's death in 1874, until her own in 1911. Associated with them was the Vicountess Strangford,¹¹³ who became involved in the Bulgarian Peasant Relief after the mid 1870s, when British public attention was increasingly being drawn to the massacres of Bulgarians by the

¹¹² Goldworthy suggests that, 'In all the apparent backwardness and poverty, the Balkan world offered British women a chance of real equality with men. British women enjoyed a sort of 'honorary male status' in the Balkans. Many of them took little interest in Balkan women, except in a thoroughly patronising way [...] As they travelled through the Balkans, many British women were respected, allowed to participate in public life, and credited with political influence in a way which made their position very different from the one they occupied at home' (Goldworthy 200). However, the same could be argued about British women travellers in Greece, both Jane Ellen Harrison and Agnes Smith Lewis met influential figures in Greece, with Felicia Skene maintaining a long correspondence with Queen Olga during her studies in Greek prison reform. Again, like studies of Balkan women, the studies of Greek women are generally equally patronising, though this is more indicative of a larger network of discursive strategies via which women created descriptive authority, rather than being a technique specific to the Balkans. The main differentiating factor is the unique racial mix and the political turmoil of the region, which influenced the approach of women to the region.

¹¹³ The Viscountess Strangford (Emily Anne Beaufort) firmly believed that the laziness of the Bulgarians would be redeemed with independence and they could come closer to the standards of Western Europe, see her *The Eastern Shores of the Adriatic in 1863* (1864).

Ottoman Empire. Part of the real interest in Balkan travel for women, could be located in its status as a politically volatile geography, at the point of transition, that could actually be reached. British women were not travelling independently to Greece in the 1820s, when a series of popular pamphlets and debates were sparking an interest in the fate of Greece, but from the 1860s and 1870s, the move by the Balkan states to free themselves from the Ottoman Empire, sparked an interest in the British imagination. In the first month after the publication of William Gladstone's pamphlet, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (1876), some 200,000 copies had been sold. The 1877 reprint of Mackenzie and Irby's volume, even included a prefatory essay by Gladstone emphasising the importance of British sympathy with the subject races of the Balkans.¹¹⁴

As Mackenzie and Irby attempt to offer a systematic study of predominantly Slavic races in the Balkans through a volume which stretches to nearly seven hundred pages, they are at pains to distinguish themselves from the ordinary troop of travellers and from other Europeans who reside in the East:

¹¹⁴ In his preface to the volume, Gladstone emphasised the political importance in related the real material conditions of the Balkans: '[u]ntil our own day, it has never been possible for the people of one country to obtain trustworthy information respecting the contemporary condition of the people of another. The press, the telegraph, the railway, the large and costly development of diplomatic and consular establishments, and the usages of popular governments, have, in their several manner and degrees, contributed to place within our reach this description of knowledge, in other times substantially inaccessible. In the general absence of it is to be found the best excuse for the seemingly heartless manner in which the statesmen of a bygone generation have argued for the maintenance of the Ottoman Government with a view to the general convenience of Europe, while they have seemingly omitted from the case all consideration of the question, how far the Porte fulfilled or defeated the main purposes for which every government exists – namely, the welfare of those beneath its rule. With the possession, even the partial possession of such knowledge, we have obtained a great advantage. But we have also come under a new and very grave responsibility. We cannot now escape from the consciousness that we are dealing with questions which greatly involve the happiness or misery of many millions of human beings, whose condition we have formerly omitted from our calculations. In the case of Greece, the recollected glories of the past and the scandal of the servitude of a race once illustrious, were associated with the arguments drawn from the disturbance of the Levant, and probably told more in the production of the result than any keen sense of the specific character of Turkish oppression' (Gladstone 1877, vii-viii).

We mention these facts merely to show that, so far as in us lay, we avoided the error of judging the Christians in Turkey from what we might happen to see in a single tour, or to pick up from diplomatic gossip in some capital great or small – in Constantinople or Belgrade. We soon became convinced of the impossibility of forming an idea of the interior of a half civilised country by hasty visits to one or other corner of it, or even by a long residence in a town at one of its extremities. Such partial information misleads credulous persons because they take what is accidental to be the rule; it equally misleads persons who pique themselves on incredulity, and who predetermine what is or is not “likely,” because they see only what lies on the surface, and have relations mostly with persons who have acquired a coating of European varnish, or who know what an Englishman expects them to say. Nor did it seem to us that much knowledge of the people is gained even by travellers who get over a great deal of ground, but lodge with official personages, whether governors or prelates. The interest felt by such voyagers in Turkey is indeed chiefly political; they wish to judge how far the intrigues of some foreign power are undermining the hold of the Turk, and to this end observation is directed to the moves and counter-moves of ambassadors and viziers or, in a humbler sphere, of consuls and pashas.

(MacKenzie and Irby 1867, 20-1)

Veneers, varnish, partial truths and political intrigue are dismissed by the combined persona of MacKenzie and Irby, who offer a rational and comprehensive account that is dependent entirely on the reader’s faith that their panorama corresponds to an objective reality which is more ‘real’ than other types of information and knowledge found in the travel account. The success of ethnography as a technology depends on its authority above all other ways of gathering information: its eye must be sovereign. Writing about Lady Anne Blunt’s ethnographical writing, Ali Behdad argues that ‘[i]n the gendered field of orientalist power relations where women were either excluded or made to become men’s traveling appendages, a women’s representation of the exotic Other had to be authorized by a male orientalist’ (Behdad 1994, 95). MacKenzie and Irby, however, manage to place themselves as rigorous and confident subjects: at pains to distinguish themselves from the type of female ethnographer to whom Behdad alludes, they question the authority of travellers with privileged access to influential sources of power. What

MacKenzie and Irby describe is an empirical journey into knowledge about the Balkans.¹¹⁵

Using this authority, Mackenzie and Irby offer a vision of Greek womanhood that is distinctly less sympathetic than the narrative of classical survivals present in the other travel narratives under consideration:

The Hebrews settled in Salonica are handsome, many of them auburn-haired, and their women are often delicate, and even fair. In beauty the latter exceed the Hellene, which now-a-days is not saying so much, for, at least in Europe, the modern Greek woman falls short alike of the softness and fire of the Oriental and the refinement and loftiness of the Western lady.

(Mackenzie and Irby 1867, 10)

In a racial panorama, what is defined as Greek womanhood seems to fall conspicuously short of belonging to any definable, or stable category: still incongruous in Western costume, she falls short of Eastern standards of beauty as well. In short, the qualities attributed to Greek women is an inherent paradox between East/West and antique/modern. Yet there is something ominous in the fact that after the 1917 fire in Thessaloniki, that destroyed a significant proportion of the city, a large number of Jews were never resettled, obstructed by the Greek government. Evacuated of non-Hellenes, Thessaloniki could be re-Hellenised, restored to its proper racial mix.¹¹⁶ But at the

¹¹⁵ In her definition of Balkan and Balkanism, Maria Todorova is at pains to distinguish it from being a sub-discipline of Orientalism. She especially identifies the fact that the Balkans had a specific geographical existence, and were not a locus of Western projections of exotic sexuality, as examples for why the study of Balkanisation does not belong to Orientalism (Todorova 1997, 11-18). Acknowledging this difference, the discussion does not use Orientalism as a synonym with Balkanism, rather, in the context of British women's writing, they are seen as separate discursive strategies that both had a similar output, namely, the temporal and cultural distancing of Modern Greece from Britain.

¹¹⁶ Completing his history of travel to Thessaloniki (1840-1920), with its status at the end of the period, Mazower comments that, '[t]he Eastern Question – the dominant issue for European diplomacy of the past century – was over, and hundreds of thousands of new refugees had come into the city to testify to the cruel terms on which it had been solved. Few travel writers now visited the town, unless it was to appeal to the war memories of the veterans of the Salonica Front. A few books were published between the two world wars; perhaps the last appeared in 1964. But then, as its veteran author sadly found, 'only one minaret

moment that Mackenzie and Irby arrived in Thessaloniki, it offered a heady mixture of races and cultures, which continued to exist in a series of comfortable and uncomfortable continuums of classification. The Greek women of Thessaloniki are an ideal example: as mongrels, belonging to neither end of the binary so crucial to defining what was, and was not, properly civilised, they cease to be able to measure up to antique standards. It would take fifty years and a series of insurrections before Thessaloniki could be cleansed of some its more prominent Oriental associations, and instead of belonging to the Balkans, it could fully become an imaginary extension of Athens for the British traveller. Not only could Turkey-in-Europe obscure the vision or envisioning of Hellenic womanhood, it could contaminate the view of independent Greece itself:

In Athens, it seems almost profane to couple under one name the nation which has just perpetrated the new cathedral, and the nation which raised the Theseum and the Parthenon; but go to Syra and Hydra, and other island towns, and you recognise the spirit of the old "ploughers of the sea." It makes, too, a vast difference in your judgement of Modern Greece, whether you come to her from Europe, or from the interior of Turkey – whether your first glance contrasts her with countries grown slowly ripe in the culture of Christianity – or with that portion of her own soil still trampled by Islam. In the one case, you compare infancy with manhood, in the other you feel the distinction between growth and decay.

(MacKenzie and Irby 1867, 4)

MacKenzie and Irby subscribe to a selective vision of survivalist anthropological theories: historical continuity is seen, to a degree, via the 'spirit of the old' but this is specifically through peasant cultures. As in Skene's text, metaphors of growth and progress are employed and soil is used to evoke the remains of antiquity that very

remains and the Turks are all gone.' Blocks of flats were now springing up across the city, indistinguishable from those to be found in 'Lisbon, Stockholm and London' (Mazower 110). By the mid-twentieth century, Thessaloniki had become thoroughly and overwhelmingly, Greek. Women travellers approaching from Greece and with the Greek context in mind largely ignored the Jews or placed them in an entirely separate category from the Greeks. In any event, they were not the rightful or desirable residents of Thessaloniki.

literally lie beneath the surface. More interestingly, however, MacKenzie and Irby suggest how the angle of the approach alters the relative position and colouring of Greece: Greece is cast as an ethnographic object ('behind' civilised Europe), whilst employing rhetorical devices (decay, growth) in a personalised narrative time (a narrative voice which negotiates the visions). Not quite the same method for creating the 'personal' narrative time suggested earlier by Chard, and to an extent the case with Skene, but a method for achieving the same objective: the negotiation of multiple discourses by a single narrative in the attempt to describe an experience of travel. What remains elusive however, is the relation of Greece to the East and West; returning to Speck's earlier phrenological analysis of the direction which Greece faces, what can be made of the simultaneous mapping of its Eastern and Western features? The degree of approach being the only marker of difference, what becomes clear is that by approaching Greece via the Balkans, which, at this point, were predominantly still under Ottoman rule, only serves to highlight Greece as an Oriental country. However to simply read these ethnographers accounts as another variation on an Orientalist theme would be misleading: the Balkans, and 'balkanisation', were an equally, and distinct, influence in placing Greece behind Europe.

A more illustrative example of how the Balkans weave a disruptive Oriental narrative in the description of a 'pure' or pseudo-Western Greece can be seen in Mackenzie and Irby's commentary on a funeral practice:

Among the Greeks of Salonica, as elsewhere in Turkey, prevails the heinous custom of taking up dead bodies, after a year spent in the grave, to look whether they be consumed or no. The scene on these occasions was described to us by a native who had often attended, - the horrid curiosity, the superstitious terror, the

fearful sight, and still more fearful smell, of which many women sicken on the spot. Should the body be preserved, it is taken as a bad sign, and prayers must be said, for which of course the priest is paid. Then the corpse is re-interred for another year, and, unless decay ensue, the ceremonial may be repeated three times. So tyrannical is conventionality in this particular, that wealthy educated mothers – living in intercourse with Europeans – feel obliged to have one of their children disinterred. We heard of one instance where there was the additional agony of finding the little baby in a state which relations and neighbours considered as indicating that the soul was in hell.

(MacKenzie and Irby 1867, 15-16)

In MacKenzie and Irby's description of funereal rites, on the spot experience and observation is absent and an anecdote whose source is not validated is employed to describe a 'heinous custom' without context; a gothic image is laced together through a rapid sequence of modifiers: 'horrid', 'superstitious', 'fearful', 'tyrannical'. Despite the continual reinforcement that the customs and manners that they describe have been derived from personal observation, in this instance they defer to hearsay to describe a cultural practice, using the distance between them and the action, to differentiate between the rational and the observable and the irrational; its status as an irrational act inscribes it beyond the limits of what the ethnographer can see and assimilate as valid cultural knowledge. After all, one of the functions of disinterring a body was to see if there had been new growth of nails and hair, as these could be signs that indicated that the body had become a vampire, a practice bordering on the supernatural rather than the natural. Horrified by the practice, Mackenzie and Irby's omission of empirical evidence acts as a kind of fissure in their ethnographical authority. Unable to categorise the funeral practice beyond a series of denigrating adjectives, they refuse to transcribe the disinterring on the same discursive plane as their other ethnographical observations.¹¹⁷ Notably, even the

¹¹⁷ For some recent discussions of vampires and their relationship to the Balkans, see Katarina Gephardt, "The Enchanted Garden" or "The Red Flag": Eastern Europe in Late Nineteenth-Century British Travel

most enlightened Greek mothers, who have been afforded communication with 'Western' customs, are compelled to take part in the ritual disinterring, made all the more horrifying for Mackenzie and Irby, because their children are the subjects of the ritual. Writing after Shelley and Polidori, and before Sheridan Le Fanu and Bram Stoker, Mackenzie and Irby are inserted into a lineage of Western fascination with the Eastern European vampire, most specifically, in its potential to infect and contaminate through blood, the body of Western Europe. Approaching Greece via the Balkans, the image of Greece as an independent nation which belonged to Europe was contaminated by its influence not only from the East, but from the north. In his assessment of the Balkans in contemporary criticism, Vassilis Lambropoulos suggests that:

People refer to them, travel to them, investigate them, chronicle them but do not claim that they are learning something positive about the human condition from them, something that can be generalized, applied or appropriated elsewhere. The only Balkan idea in circulation, the only view of the Balkans that has acquired discursive currency, is "balkanization", which refers only to the centrifugal dissolution of a region and the division among its antagonistic entities.

(Lambropoulos 2003, 266)

Caught in the process of Balkanisation, the integrity of the Greeks Irby and Mackenzie encounter are compromised by practices and associations that place them on the fringes of what they can rationalise as being 'Greek'. Explicit phrenological readings of Greek women are absent in Mackenzie and Irby, but there was no face to represent: unable to maintain a ubiquitous ethnographical authority in the field, what Mackenzie and Irby fail to do is offer a way of discussing the heady admixture of cultural influences in Thessaloniki in a way that can positively further their ethnographical study of Greeks. Part of the reason for this failure is, of course, due to the method: the eye that records and

Writing' (2005) and Piya Pal-Lapinski's *The Exotic Woman in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction and Culture* (2004).

the face on which is plainly written a narrative of cultural and racial type, are both compromised in the field. When it comes to understanding Greece, their description of the degree of approach is telling: their trajectory through the Ottoman Balkans detracts from an understanding of Greece as a Western nation. However, in the decades that followed more women with explicitly ethnographical projects would come to the fore, whose ideological agenda was to offer a more rigid barrier between being Greek and being Balkan.

Blunt & Garnett

The daughter of an East India Company representative in Constantinople, Fanny Blunt spent over twenty years of her life in various regions of the Ottoman Empire. With extensive family connections in Greece and various regions of the Empire, Blunt opened her 1878 study with a recognition of how this qualified her to produce the two-volume work, *The People of Turkey*. Lucy Garnett had assisted Blunt in the writing and researching of her volume, and when it came to producing her own two-volume study, *The Women of Turkey* (1890), she dedicated her work to Mr. and Mrs Blunt. Spending eight years in the 'great capitals of the Levant', Garnett seeks to redress a specific imbalance in the type of ethnographical material available about the space between Thessaloniki and Constantinople, namely, an ethnographical study of the varieties of women who live there. In contrast to Blunt's residence and connections that underwrites her authority in describing the natives, Garnett opens *The Women of Turkey* with a recognition of the obstacles to her authority: 'I regret to say I have not received from the Greeks the assistance which a former work might have led me to expect. At the best,

those to whom I applied for information referred me to some one else, who again referred me to a third person' (Garnett 1890, lxxvi). Despite this, Garnett's pretension, ambition and rhetoric are of penetration and depth of understanding. What remains common to both is the attempt to create hierarchy of progress in the racial types they identify, which in the case of the present discussion, concentrates on Thessaloniki. Taking far more rigid and rigorous categories than Mackenzie and Irby, Garnett documents the unusual funeral ritual in practice in Thessaloniki, but instead of attributing the ritual to the Slavic races, Garnett reads its survivals in Cretan and Cypriot folklore. Instead of suggesting a vampiric infection of Greek culture by Oriental practices, Garnett's account of the ritual depends on a historical continuity within Greek culture from an earlier epoch. The desire embedded in these survivalist theories is described by Herzfeld: 'European peasants appeared to validate the survivalist thesis in two complementary ways: first, by demonstrating the persistence of traits from the childhood of the human race even in the most civilized countries; and second, by showing that only the intellectual independence of the educated classes could achieve final escape from the burden of superstition and ignorance' (Herzfeld 1987, 10). Garnett refigures the funeral practice as, rather than an exotic infection, another folk practice that can be documented, catalogued and consigned to the childhood of human development.¹¹⁸ Garnett reads the funeral practices as anachronies: they are rituals that have lost their time and relevance in other cultures and places, and once the peasant Greeks have sufficiently developed, they will abandon them too.

¹¹⁸ For a discussion of nineteenth century British Folk-Lore studies and their relationship to the Greek national imaginary, see Gourgouris (1996), 148-51.

For both Blunt and Garnett, it is the Greeks who display the greatest progressive potential in the Balkans. The Greeks are almost exclusively defined by their superiority to the Turks and Bulgarians, Blunt states: '[t]he Greek peasant differs greatly from the Bulgarian. Agriculture is not all the world to him' (Blunt 1878, 36); '[t]he intellectual position of the Greeks is far superior to that of the Bulgarians' (Blunt 1878. 38); '[t]he Greek peasant displays none of the embarrassment and tonguetiedness of the Bulgarian' (Blunt 1878, 39), and '[t]he wants of the Greek are more numerous than those of the Bulgarians' (Blunt 1878. 40), these are just a few of the prompts for further discussion of cultural difference. Of the four ethnographers under consideration, Blunt is the most complicit in the imperial project: as a daughter of a British consul in Turkey and the wife of the British consul at Thessaloniki, Blunt's material was collected from a lifetime's experience of the Orient refracted through governmental structures. Without specific case studies and with virtually no personal narrative, her style is much closer to Garnett in attempting a systematic ethnography without the intervention of personal narrative time. However, Blunt's narrative does not contain the extensive footnotes and frequent intertexts used by MacKenzie and Irby, nor the scholarly references to contemporary criticism used by Garnett; instead her lifetime's experience and imperial authority form the basis of her ethnographic authority. Her eye, rather than training for a specific study, exports the class consciousness of England to classify Greece:

The Greek women of the towns, according to their station and the amount of refinement and modern ideas they have been imbued with, display in their manners and mode of living the virtues and faults inherent in the Greek character. I must in justice state that the former exceed the latter; their virtues consist principally in their quality of good honest wives, and in the simple lives they are usually content to lead in their homes. The enlightenment and conversational talents of some of the better class do not fall short of those of European ladies. Those less endowed by education and nature, have a quiet and modest bearing and

evinced a great desire to improve. The most striking fault in the Greek woman's character are fondness of dress and display, vanity, and jealousy of the better circumstances of her neighbours.

(Blunt 1878, 43-4)

Display and vanity are reminiscent of Skene's portrayal of Katinko, except Greek women's desire to 'improve' and imbibe 'modern' ideas presents them as obedient and domesticated visions of womanhood for the approval and inspection of the European lady. The Greek woman is caught in a double-bind: she may become 'Hellenised', but this does not necessarily correspond to becoming European.¹¹⁹ Her inherent fault, a childlike vanity and pettiness, holds her back from allowing her character to match exactly to her aspect.¹²⁰

The Greek women that Blunt preferred were peasants. It was the rural, rather than the urban, population that demonstrated the most promise in her ethnographic model:

The Greek peasant women are as a rule clean and industrious, fond mothers and virtuous wives. The best proof of their morality is in the long absences many husbands are obliged to make from their homes, which are attended by no unfaithful results. In some instances for a period of even twenty years the wife becomes the sole director of property, which she manages with care and wisdom, and the only guardian of the children left in her charge.

The peasants who still cling to the soil plod away at their daily toil in very much the same way as the Bulgarians, but show a greater aptitude for rearing the silkworm and growing olives and grapes. The Greek peasants are not models of perfection; but as a body, they are better than any other race in Turkey, and under

¹¹⁹ For a definition of 'Hellenised' in this context see pp38-40. The reference is to the selective erasure of Oriental signifiers associated with the subject and the valorisation of antique elements.

¹²⁰ Garnett had a similar objection to middle-class Greek women, seeing them as a bastard mix of influences that fell short of all standards of culture: 'The women the middle classes present a curious medley of homeliness and pretension. They are good wives and devoted mothers, and often, though their education is but slight, are not without great good sense and intelligence. [...] many a Greek matron stints her household and sacrificed the real comforts of life in order to furnish her *salóne* with gaudy French bonnet and trashy over-trimmed dress to her admiring and, it may be, envious neighbours' (Garnett 1890, 59).

a good government they are certain to improve and develope [sic] much faster than either the Bulgarians or the Turks.

(Blunt 1878, 42-3)

The developmental scale has been encountered before, but added to this is an embedded narrative of the nurturing Greek mother as the true symbol and promise of good progress. However, what remains conspicuously absent is a comparison with her independent sisters: has Modern Greece flourished through the inherently superior moral faculties that Blunt's racially Greek women represent? In many respects, Blunt's description of Greek women was simply another updating of the Greek slave narrative. This becomes clearer when contrasted with Garnett's discussion: 'Greek domestics are, on the whole, honest and respectable; and, considering that cases of petty theft are punished only by dismissal and loss of character – for few employers would have the heart to subject a woman to the horrors of a Turkish prison' (Garnett 1890, 53). Though Greek servants may not be criminals, they were far from the domestic ideal that Blunt had proposed for the lower classes: 'Greek servants are, generally speaking, hopelessly untidy and slatternly. Indeed, it is only in the houses of foreigners that a tidy maid is every seen, and even there they often present themselves with stockingless feet, shoes down at heel, and unkempt hair' (Garnett 1890, 53). However, Garnett did offer an account of free Greek womanhood, in an account that simply lifted descriptions of Greek women in the Balkans as a framework for her later text.

Garnett's discussion of Greek women in *Greece of the Hellenes* draws heavily, in fact reproduces extensive sections from, *The Women of Turkey* (1890); although her discussion of Turkey is divided into Christian, Semitic and Muslim women, a key context

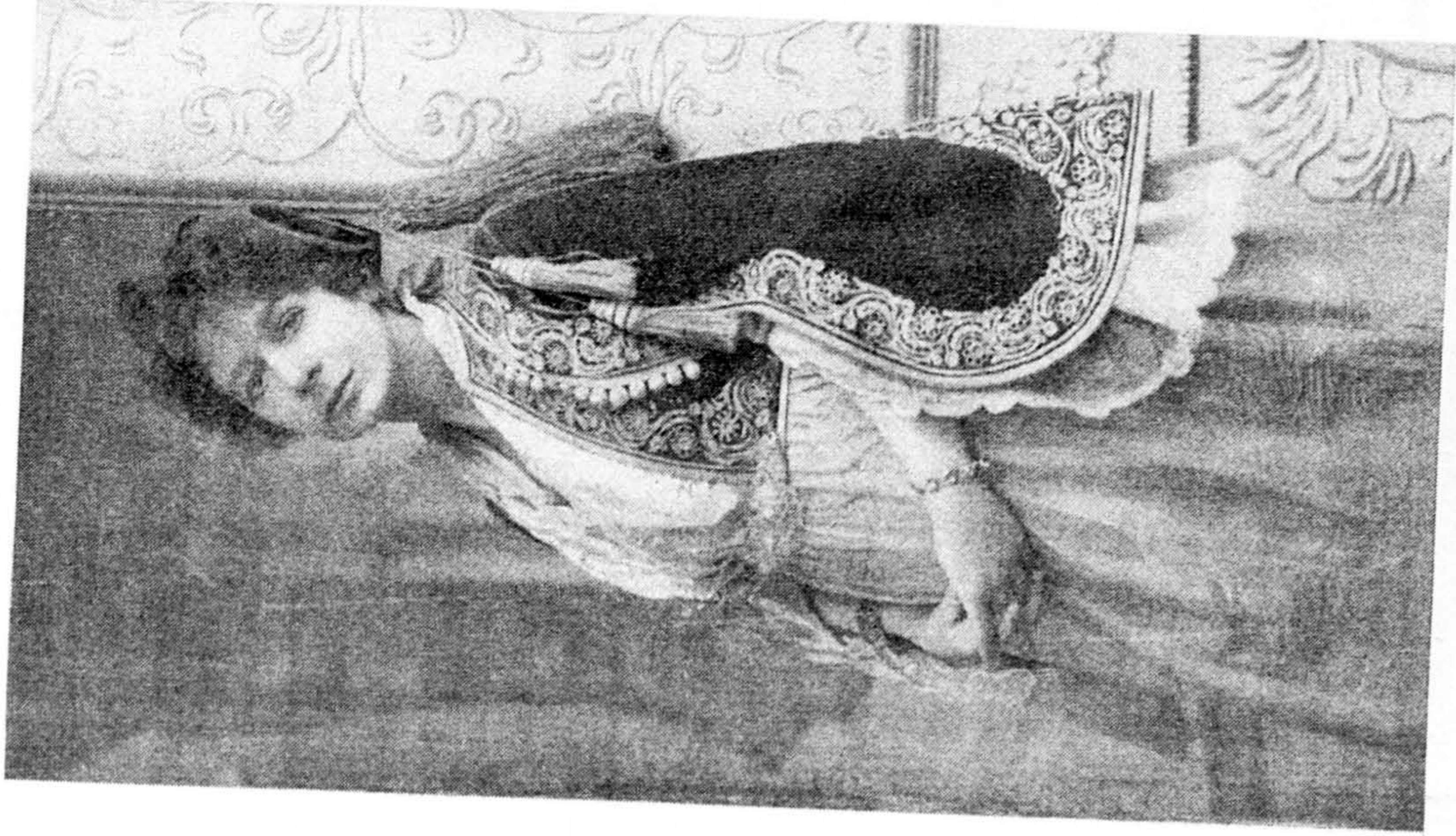
for describing the living conditions and social customs of Greek women at the beginning of the twentieth century still depended on an Oriental context. While rehearsing the familiar arguments regarding Greek women's domesticity, Garnett also offers some accounts of women who fought or participated in various insurrections against Turkish occupation, as the following description of 'The Siege of Mesolonghi' illustrates:

During the long siege of Mesolonghi, too, the women and girls aided the defender by bringing materials of every description to stop the breaches made by the Turkish artillery, directed – shameful to say – by European officers. In the course of the siege the leading women of the beleaguered town drew up and signed a petition which they addressed to the philhellenic ladies of Europe, praying them to use their influence with their respective governments to prevent this partisanship of the strong against the weak and describing in touching terms the suffering of the brave defenders. “Most of us,” they wrote, “have seen mothers dying in the arms of their daughters, daughters expiring in the sight of their wounded fathers, children seeking nourishment from the breasts of their dead mothers; nakedness, famine, cold and death are the least of the evils witnessed by our tear-dimmed eyes. Few are there among us who have not lost loved relatives; many are left destitute orphans. But, friends of Hellas, less profoundly have these evils touched our hearts than the inhumanity manifested towards a nation struggling for freedom by those who boast of being born in the bosom of civilised Europe.” This touching appeal was, however, disregarded by “civilised Europe.”

(Garnett 1914, 204-5)

Under the section for 'Home Life and Women's Work', the extract from this anonymous letter, providing its authenticity, is the closest to any type of direct influence from a native. Published belatedly, the appeal to the 'philhellenic ladies of Europe' appears as a document in an anthropological study, its original context apparently ignored, it becomes a de-radicalised text for the consumption of the very audience that overlooked it in its first incarnation. The historical veracity of the source and its origin are not of paramount importance here; this example serves as a paradigm for cross-cultural contact. Erased of context, out of history and placed in the museum of Garnett's text, the Greek woman's appeal becomes another ethnographical display for the distanced and passive

consumption of an audience at home that does not have to be radicalised by contemporary Greek politics. By the time Garnett's text was published, a portrait of a typical Greek woman in her national costume offered in the text another type of technology in the text, one which required a new way of reading that worked towards discipline an image of Modern Greece, namely, the photograph (see figure 9 on the following page). The contexts of the harem, the Balkans, and the Ottoman Empire, offered limit-points to how 'Greek' the women of free Hellas were. Garnett's text marks another threshold in women's travel writing about Greece: in the age of the postcard, the ability to fix and sell images of Greece would lead to an unprecedented number of images capturing Greek life being summarised in a single frame. This chapter has considered the ways in which British women constructed a racial panorama that read the Modern Greeks in an unstable relationship with a variety of categories. The next chapter considers a group of women for whom Greece had already been defined, packaged and captured. Travelling in the age of the postcard and the photograph marked the steady decline of the type of ethnographers discussed here: the photograph had replaced the word and the glimpse had replaced the panorama.



A GREEK LADY IN NATIONAL DRESS

Figure 9. 'A Greek Lady in National Dress' from Garnett, *Greece of the Hellenes* (1914)

Chapter 4

Image Conscious: The New Lady Traveller at the *Fin de Siècle*

Perhaps the first delightful experience on seizing the natural and acquired features of the scene, is that of finding yourself so at home in them. Pictures, painted and verbal, have for once done their work with due effect, since nothing seems strange or wholly unexpected. Your coming seems rather a return; in any case, you have arrived, you are not *parvenu*.

(Pfeiffer 1885, 40)

[T]hrough the little window on the shore side, you obtain a moving panorama of exquisite vignettes.

(Walker 1897, 333)

Image conscious, Emily Pfeiffer and Mary Adelaide Walker experienced travel as a series of splendid surfaces. For Pfeiffer the sense of *déjà vu* renders Athens entirely familiar, a home that has been experienced in the texts and images that have, in some way, represented the space of Greece. For Mary Adelaide Walker, sailing into a port in Crete could be reduced to a moving sequence of vignettes that were best enjoyed from a vantage point that afforded the broadest view. This chapter turns to a group of women who were consistently self-conscious of their role as tourists as they travelled in a picture postcard Greece that was framed by their religious reading of Murray and Baedeker. The anxiety of the woman traveller of the period is explored in E.M. Forster's *A Room with a View* (1908), where the young Lucy Honeychurch is chastised by Miss Lavish, the travel writer and hopeful ethnographer of modern Italian life: '[t]ut, tut! Miss Lucy! I hope we

shall soon emancipate you from Baedeker. He does but touch the surface of things. As to the true Italy – he does not even dream of it. The true Italy is only to be found in patient observation’ (Forster [1908] 1978, 36-7). As James Buzard suggests, ‘[f]or Forster, the ‘Baedeker Italy’ regulates contact between touristic and Italian life’ (Buzard 1993, 310), ‘touristic’ life being regulated by the rhythms of the guidebook rather than the real site of Italy. Unable to penetrate beyond the surface, Lucy laments the inevitability and monotony of her tourist itinerary. However, her journey is interrupted and subsequently becomes haunted by her sight of a brief and brutal murder. Fainting, she drops her postcards of Italy, the act itself symbolising how those pictures no longer represented her time in Florence. Put another way, her panoramic view of Italy as a series of moving surfaces was disrupted by the intervention of real life, in real time. Rather than skimming across the surfaces of Italy projected by her guidebook, Lucy herself, becomes implicated in that scene as the witness to a murder. This chapter considers a series of women whose journeys to Greece were facilitated by tourism. Aware of themselves as tourists, they nonetheless sought out ways to overcome the *ennui* of enacting the guidebook’s topography. Travelling outwith a profession, and without any professional intent, women tourists have been neglected as examples of an original or interesting contact between Britain and Greece.¹²¹ The present discussion traces not only

¹²¹ Although there is an increasing interest in women’s travel literature, critics have tended to concentrate on women with exceptional biographies, or travellers to exotic geographies. See, for instance, Sara Mills (1991); although Mills analyses how tourism effected women travellers, especially in her analysis of guidebooks for women, her case studies are of Isabella Bird Bishop (the first woman to be elected to the Royal Geographical Society), Mary Kingsley (an independent traveller who spent time living in Africa), and Nina Mazuchelli (who travelled to the Indian alps). The introduction to Shirley Foster and Sara Mills’s, *An Anthology of Women’s Travel Writing* (2002), proposes that the volume has, ‘included a selection of writing by women travellers from a range of different contexts, because we would like to present a more varied view of women as travellers. Previous anthologies have focussed on the exception among women travellers, foregrounding only the more unusual, “eccentric”, or adventurous accounts and omitting those text which may seem more problematic [...] We offer instead in this anthology a more

how Greece was experienced as a tourist site, but how women, themselves, became spectacles.¹²² Being a constant source of curiosity for the Greeks as single and single-minded woman; the women under consideration here had a series of cultural pretensions that were consistently being undermined by their identification as ‘lady travellers’ who needed to be protected from danger, or in terms of Lucy’s experience, the real Greece.

The three writers under consideration here are: Emily Pfeiffer, who spent five weeks in Athens in 1883, Isabel Julien Armstrong who spent five weeks travelling in Greece in 1892, and Catherine Janeway who spent three weeks predominantly touring sites of archaeological interest in 1896. Emily Pfeiffer was primarily known in her lifetime as a poet, although she was extremely active in the women’s rights cause, producing *Women and Work* in 1888 which offered a systematic account refuting popular evidence that deemed women mentally and physically unfit for higher education. Her volume of travel writings, *Flying Leaves from East and West* (1885) is an account of her extensive travels in Europe and North America, mostly with her husband (though he is rarely mentioned and is ill for their time in Athens). Influenced by her lifelong interest in women’s social conditions, her volume offers frequent observations on the rights of women in a variety of cultures, as well as using foreign cultures in order to reflect on the rights of women in

comprehensive picture of the genre, certainly including the writing of notable “eccentric” and proto-feminist figures, but also placing alongside them examples of more orthodox, albeit no less interesting, travellers’ (Foster and Mills 2002, 1). Dividing their sections into categories such as ‘Women Writing about Women’ and ‘Adventure and Gender’, the present discussion is an extension of this broader categorisation of women’s travel literature through a consideration of how the tourist practices of women could be considered to be proto-feminist. For a recent study of women’s travel literature in the period that continues only to consider well known travellers, see Monica Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870-1914* (2006).

¹²² For a useful discussion of how women became ‘spectacles’ during their travels, see Chloe Chard, ‘Women Who Transmute into Tourist Attractions: Spectator and Spectacle on the Grand Tour’ (2000). This figure will be explored later in the chapter through a discussion of the ‘lady traveller’, a popular media construction in the late nineteenth-century for lone women travellers. A constant victim of satire, she was characterised as a tourist whose femininity was somewhat compromised by her independent streak.

Britain. Isabel Julien Armstrong's *Two Roving Englishwomen in Greece* (1893) provides a far more adventurous account of travel, being an attempt to wander off the beaten track with her female travelling companion, Edith Payne. Her only other publication was a contribution to the *Little Novels* series entitled *Passports* (1897); typically less than a hundred pages long, the novels in the series were cheap and light entertainment. Catherine Janeway is the only writer considered here who produced more than one volume on her travels: *Glimpses at Greece, To-day and before Yesterday* (1897) was a short volume published three years after *Ten Weeks in Egypt and Palestine* (1894), neither of which have distinguishing enough features to be commented on in the canon of Victorian travel writing. The discussion is divided into two phases: the first will offer a working framework for women's tourism in the period, charting some its anxieties, while the second phase will read women's tourism in Greece in light of that discussion.

Buried in Images

The tourist from the latter part of the nineteenth century was surrounded by images, especially the cheap reproductions of photographs, *carte-de-visite* and postcards.¹²³ In 1903 according to the *Glasgow Evening News*, images were not too far away from completely obscuring the real: "In ten years Europe will be buried beneath picture postcards" (quoted in Carline 1971, 9). The mechanical reproduction of the material world through a series of projections became the foundational means of understanding

¹²³ Kate Flint has offered an extensive account of the Victorian reaction to images in *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination* (2000) while Patricia Anderson's *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture 1780-1860* (1991) offers another extensive account of the rise of the image in the period. For a discussion of the literary response to photography in the Victorian period see Helen Groth, *Victorian Photography and Literary Nostalgia* (2003), especially her discussion of the illustration of Walter Scott's poetry with photographs offering commodified and petrified views of Scotland. A similar argument can be found in Gillen D'Arcy Wood's *The Shock of the Real: Romanticism and Visual Culture, 1760-1860* (2001).

other places.¹²⁴ Jonathan Crary's work on the field of vision in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provides a succinct account of how the seeing eye was conditioned by mechanical innovation:

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries th[e] relationship had been essentially metaphoric: the eye and the camera obscura or the eye and the telescope or microscope were allied by a conceptual similarity, in which the authority of an ideal eye remained unchallenged. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the relationship between eye and optical apparatus becomes one of metonymy: both are now contiguous instruments on the same plane of operation, with varying capabilities and features.

(Crary 1990, 129)

While earlier methods of mediating the relationship between the eye and the world depended upon the 'ideal eye', the advent of later technologies such as the photograph offered an extension of the natural eye, working through it to transcribe an image. Although the photograph differed from the panorama in that it was a single, framed, perspective as opposed to an 'all-view', the photograph was an extension of the same type of visual technology. Using the postcard, and more particularly the photographic postcard, to offer images that summated the nation, the postcard of Greece worked to frame and fix what a journey to Greece looked like.¹²⁵ Discussing the power of photography in relation to realism, Nancy Armstrong suggests how the popularity of

¹²⁴ Magic lanterns, dioramas, panoramas, the camera obscura and panoramic wallpapers for interiors are other examples of technological mediation of travel spaces.

¹²⁵ Critical discussions of the postcard remain largely untheorised, especially in their relation to national stereotypes (Crouch and Lubben 2003, 13). For a discussion of postcards and representations of women, see Annelies Moors, 'From "Women's Lib." to "Palestine Women": The Politics of Picture Postcards in Palestine/Israel' (2003) and Deborah Cherry, 'Algeria In and Out of the Frame: Visuality and Cultural Tourism in the Nineteenth Century' (2003), which contains a discussion of how the 'framing' of the postcard can be read as a discursive strategy. The most theorised discussion of postcards is Naomi Schor's, "'Cartes Postales": Representing Paris 1900' (1992), which explores the intersection of discussion on photography and the postcard. Using the context of Michel Foucault's model for disciplinary society, and the updating of the discussion by Gilles Deleuze, who argues at the turn of the twentieth century technology facilitated more diffuse models of control. For Schor the postcard belongs more properly to the diffuse model, being: 'modern print and communications media, something like CNN, *People*, *Sports Illustrated*, and *National Geographic* all rolled into one' (Schor 1992, 193). See John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation* (1988) for an account of how the photograph was used as documentary and an 'evidential force' by state institutions. Tagg's discussion reads photography at the heart of the disciplinary society.

exhibitions in the nineteenth century literally expanded the visual horizon of the Victorian visitor: '[e]xhibitions doubled the visible world, offering a copy of a reality presumed to be somewhere else, where most Europeans could not see it. By appearing to put viewers directly in touch with its subject matter, the exhibition collapsed seeing into knowing' (Armstrong 1999, 82).¹²⁶ Opening her volume with the journey to Greece, Janeway experiences travel as a moving visual panorama of familiar sites divorced from any other sensory appreciation, '[i]n the first view of everything in a country entirely new to the traveller, how much of interest there always is to be observed! He may be familiar with views and pictures of the scenes now passing before his eyes, but their real appearance will nevertheless strike him as exceedingly curious and unusual' (Janeway 1897, 4). The image repertoire that Janeway draws from, is quite different from earlier types of vicarious travel to Greece: her repository derives from a far more visually accessible version of the classics that could be found in the British Museum. It is no coincidence that Emily Pfeiffer identifies as the 'common' people of Athens, 'the guides and the sellers of photographs' (Pfeiffer 1885, 55); the common denominator of the Greek population becomes a seller of national images. Commodified, ideal pictures of Greece had been increasing in circulation and type throughout the century. From literary images to printed ones, mythological ruins of Greece could be disseminated in British culture to an ever-increasing degree. The 'views', 'pictures' and 'scenes' that Janeway describes are another variation of Pfeiffer's arrival in postcard Greece: '[p]ictures, painted and verbal, have for once done their work with due effect, since nothing seems

¹²⁶ Armstrong offers an interesting account of how the photograph helped to develop an understanding of the world as a series of images through an analysis of the early phase of photography through to how it helped to shape and transform spaces, such as in the case of the cityscape/panorama, see Armstrong (1999, 75-123).

strange or wholly unexpected. Your coming seems rather a return; in any case, you have arrived, you are not *parvenu*' (Pfeiffer 1885, 40). In her volume of essays on what it means to be a traveller, and more increasingly, a tourist, in the late nineteenth century, Vernon Lee comments on how tourism homogenises space, rather than reflecting difference, a necessary precondition for her definition of travel:¹²⁷

do I really envy those who see the wonderful places of the earth before they have dreamed of them, the dreamland of other men revealed to them for the first time in the solid reality of Cook and Gaze?

I would not be misunderstood; I have not the faintest prejudice against Gaze or Cook. I feverently desire that these gentlemen may ever quicken trains and cheapen hotels; I am ready to be jostled in Alpine valleys and Venetian canals by any number of vociferous tourists, for the sake of the one, schoolmistress, or clerk, or artisan, or curate, who may by this means have reached at last the land east of the sun and west of the moon, the St. Brandan's Isle of his or her longings. What I object to are the well-mannered, well-dressed, often well-informed persons who, having turned Scotland into a sort of Hurling-ham, are apparently making Egypt, the Holy Land, Japan, into *succursales* and *dépendances* (I like the Swiss names evoking couriers and waiters) of their own particularly dull portion of London and Paris and New York.

(Lee 1908a, 90)

Visually annexing the rest of the world, the sight-seeking¹²⁸ tourist colonises through rail, obliterating the 'wonderful places' of dreams in a series of scenes, views and pictures, that hurtle past them without the investiture of fantasy. Certainly tending towards the elitist, and participating in a long line of travellers who denigrate tourist practices,¹²⁹ Lee can be more properly seen to address the itinerant traveller who catalogues a series of

¹²⁷ Vernon Lee (1856-1935) the writer and art historian, had travelled extensively as a child with her family, and the metaphor of travel and travel experiences would be the subject of much of her writing. When she commented on how her friends imagined her well travelled because her itinerant life, she observed: 'I believe that living in gipsy-carts (or *trains de luxe*, motors, and Cook's hotels) is of all modes of life the most sacrilegious to the Genius Loci; and as regards to myself, that I have grown into a Sentimental Traveller because I have travelled not more, but less, than most folk – at all events travelled a great deal less than I have wanted' (Lee 1908b, 3-4).

¹²⁸ For a theorised discussion of sight-seeing, see Judith Adler, 'The Origins of Sight-Seeing' (1989).

¹²⁹ See Buzard (1993) for a survey of how the traveller/tourist distinction in the period. Also see the discussion of the guidebook in Chapter 1, especially in the difference between metaphors of surface and depth in differentiating between the traveller and the tourist.

images to work as a benchmark for the relative success of their trip. Distance does not always equal increasing distinctiveness, as Lee's testimony on the tourist abroad suggests. For Janeway, the encounter with Athens is as ordinary as the experience of any other metropolis, with one key identifying marker: '[w]hen sitting in the garden, or when walking on three sides of the square, you might think you were in almost any Continental city, as far as immediate surroundings are concerned; but if you walk up to the front of the Palace you can get an excellent view of the Acropolis, and then you realise the fact that you are in Athens and nowhere else' (Janeway 1897, 18). Without any more extra empirical data to delineate the specificity of Athens any further, the Acropolis becomes the recognised tourist 'tag' for Greece.

Pfeiffer's approach to Athens uses the Acropolis to focus her sight and experience, but with a more synchronous movement between dream and reality:

None of those in whose live Greek "music" has already been an influence are likely to forget their first landing upon Grecian shores, the first deep inspiration of the bright air of Attica, or, above all, the first vision of the Acropolis as it swims into sight above the olive groves which bound the carriage road from the port of Peræus.

To the wanderer by sea and land there seems something of welcome in this early greeting; and so long as he abides in Athens his acquaintance has daily opportunity of becoming closer; there is no denial of this first kindly advance. The Acropolis on its hill is everywhere a visible presence; it haunts the city and the region round about, [...] and attracts the eye in whatever position, with a spell like the compelling impulse which forces us to gaze upon the setting sun.

(Pfeiffer 1885, 39)

Approaching Athens by the sea, the Acropolis becomes a visual anchor, not only for the final approach to Greece, but as the determining feature of Athens. Every position exists in some kind of relationship to a new view and angle via which to see the static image of Greece. Unable to visualise beyond or without the anchoring point, Lee's 'dreamland' is

overwhelmed by the material fact of the Acropolis. Textually translating the familiar sight is entirely sidestepped by Armstrong: 'I do not propose to give any account of Athens, as the Athens of to-day can be found in Baepker [*sic*], whilst for the Athens of old I would refer the student to the Attica of Pausanias, or the excellent translation of a part of it by Mrs. Verrall and Miss Jane Harrison' (Armstrong 1893, 100). Replacing an individual encounter with the uniform description of the guidebook, Armstrong's visual extra-textual reference neatly demonstrates how the presence of the Acropolis in text functioned as a kind of hyperlink to a vast network of visual and verbal images. With nothing new to say, like so many tourists she simply acknowledges its existence, its material fact, before turning away to try to find something else to describe.

While Armstrong and Janeway both discuss the organised tours to mount the Acropolis by moonlight, idiosyncratically, Janeway refuses to go for the decidedly practical reason of cold weather, though she claims the moon hardly made an appearance at all which of course would have rendered the journey null. The more adventurous Armstrong does decide to go, and with Payne they become two members of a party of six organised by a Gaze travel agent:

Of course, the lover of art and archaeology should flee such miscellaneous alliances, and if he cannot fall in with those *who know*, let him take a guide and worry it out by himself; otherwise he will receive shocks such as greeted the ears of a party of enthusiasts, who, steeped in classic lore, ascended to the Parthenon one moonlight night when column and architrave, rock and ruin, alike seemed wrapped in silvery silence. Here, burning with religious ecstasy, pulse beating to throbbing thought, the deep stillness of the hour was cut by the shriek of Athene's owl; but the words it said were strange: "I guess, there is a smell up here that puts me in mind of a bucket full of huckleberries!"

(Armstrong 1893, 98)

Both Janeway and Armstrong attempt to enact a Byronic appreciation of Greece first hand to equally comical effect: the cold air chills any possible romance for Janeway, while Armstrong's faux religious ecstasy is merely a foil to accentuate the humour of Athena's owl transmogrifying into a tourist. The failure of their communion is another example of the earnest farce that conditions so much of Armstrong's approach to travel and tourism: unwilling to be another 'Cookie' at the Parthenon, Armstrong at the same time seems unable to escape seeing the Parthenon outwith any rigid staged conditions. Turning to a commentary of her fellow tourists, the staged, spectral vision of Greece laid on by Gaze is a series of lacks and disappointments.

For Lee, the practices of the guidebook and sightseeing erase the *genius loci* at the heart of her understanding of travel; charting her preambles with her family, she describes how they would take a guidebook of Paris with them, not so that they could see the sites mentioned, rather so that they could render them unnecessary: 'there was Notre Dame, the Pantheon, the Louvre whence Charles IX. fired on the Protestants, the Place de la Concorde (formerly Place Louis XV.) where people had been guillotined; well; what need was there for *us* to go and see those things? To do so was necessary, doubtless, for some persons without feeling or imagination' (Lee 1908b, 9). Armstrong, on the other hand, had been failed by her imagination. Stuck atop the Acropolis with a group of guided tourists, Armstrong's only resort is an awkward humour that deals with the Acropolis by not describing it.

What links the three accounts is an awkward and oblique relationship to the experience of Greece: aware that they are there, in a live and living scene, they cannot help but ensure that the sites they see match those in their guidebooks. Nor are they oblivious to the redundancy in textually re-enacting the highly clichéd tropes of ascending the Acropolis in moonlight, or describing their inability to realise antiquity in the face of Modern Athens. Instead, they stage ironic relationships to Greece's antiquity, not simply capturing a picture of the genius and achievement of the Parthenon in their text, but what it means to be a British woman, parasol in hand, at the Parthenon.

A Dangerous Subject: Women Abroad at the Turn of the Century

The photograph of Armstrong that prefaces her volume offers a portrait of the lady traveller in Greece: binoculars in one hand, resting on a plinth, her eyes look into the distance beyond the photo to symbolise the desire for travel.¹³⁰ Though offered with a signature to enact authenticity, her eyes and mouth have been touched up prior to printing, as the differential in the grain quality suggests. Adding an accent to the picture, enhancing its appearance, Armstrong fashions herself at the beginning of her volume as far more than a tourist. Aware of herself as a figure of scrutiny by her reading public, she assumes a pose that projects a confident figure, ready for the challenging gaze of any critics who label her as just another tourist in Greece. Attacking the naïve tourist in Greece, Armstrong offers an account of some German professors arriving in Athens: '[t]he professors said they were travelling light, and as far as we saw their kit consisted of

¹³⁰ See Lewis (2004, 212) for another discussion of how the author's photograph in the travelogue worked to underwrite their authority.

a Baedeker and a pair of opera-glasses. They seemed like a lot of boys let loose from school, and they went perfectly wild when Athens came into view' (Armstrong 1893, 98).



Isabel J. Armstrong

[Page viii.]

Figure 10. Isabel J. Armstrong from, *Two Roving Englishwomen in Greece* (1893)

Offering a satire of how Greece had turned into a large open-air performance of antiquity, Armstrong distinguished herself with the choice of binoculars rather than opera-glasses. Though sidestepping the issue of how the binoculars were simply another way of framing a view of Greece, Armstrong primarily uses them as a tool to fashion herself as a kind of ‘adventurous tourist.’¹³¹

A new frontier for women’s vision was emerging in the nineteenth century: while women were undoubtedly venturing from the home in increasing numbers to become an object of debate and satire, new boundaries were being erected to prevent them from fully accessing the space they found themselves in. Traversing societal boundaries between the private and the public, the woman who ventured into a domain dominated and regulated by masculine social practices was in some sense a traveller, exposing herself to a series of social norms where a woman on her own could be accosted as a prostitute.¹³²

¹³¹ In Giuliana Bruno’s discussion of a nineteenth century American travel lecturer Esther Lyons, offers another example of a woman travel writer self-consciously fashioning herself: ‘[o]ur sexy female voyager represents herself looking into the mirror, gazing into space, in the act of conquering no other territory but her own (image). She is traveling a seductive and complex terrain: the map of her own face and body’ (Bruno 2002, 121). Bruno figures the travelling woman as someone who is constantly image conscious: her description is dependent on a highly commercial sense of women’s ‘fashion’ as well as being a play on make-up and other practices which embellish the surface of the body such as jewellery and other accessories. This figuring is one peculiar and particular to the processes of modernity as Bruno sets her discussion in the context of commodity cultures, in this case, fashion. The process Bruno describes is at once a performance and an aspiration: taking the present context, the lady traveller becomes an amalgam of postures, real and aspirations, towards a specific goal. The financial means and geographical destination of the subject effected the specificity of the lady traveller’s drag, but her outline existence as a mobile and potentially radical subject.

¹³² The discussion of the public/private sphere for women in Victorian Britain is extensive and far from conclusive regarding how these spheres can be defined, or the degree to which women were present and visible in everyday public spaces (such as parks, streets, museums, etc.). A useful and opposing discussion of the visibility of women and the structures of modernity can be found in Janet Wolff’s *Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women & Culture* and Sally Ledger’s *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the fin de siècle*. Wolff’s argument follows the invisible woman, the *flâneuse*: ‘insofar as the experience of ‘the modern’ occurred mainly in the public sphere, it was primarily men’s experience’ (Wolff 1990, 35). Wolff’s argument follows the logic that women were excluded from becoming assuming the role of the key modern figure, the *flâneur*, though women did play important parts in the public sphere, especially with the advent of department store which were dedicated spaces for commodity culture. Ledger agrees that the

When a woman's presence was acknowledged out of the home, measures were taken to hide sights that would be undesirable for a lady. Lecherous men were not the only potential danger for the woman abroad in the street, Mary Ryan's discussion of women's existence in nineteenth century American public life, demonstrates how measures were taken to ensure that women's promenades were not disturbed: beggars were moved, and in the case of a slave auction in 1851 New Orleans, ladies were protected as, 'to promenade near slaves sales would expose them to scantily clad chattels, and the leers of black men' (Ryan 1992, 69). Although the specific context of Ryan's discussion does not apply to the contemporary situation in Britain, what it does demonstrate is how the social codes that regulated the private sphere could be reproduced to reorganise the public space that women walked and travelled in. This becomes crucial to how the travelling woman was envisioned: the discourses surrounding her, the images deployed to represent her, plotted her in a visual field that prevented her from venturing off the 'beaten track'; in essence, the discursive denigration of the travelling woman so common in nineteenth century newspapers and journals was part of the ongoing attempt to define the parameters of her travel, as will be discussed later in connection with the New Woman. Public access to travel for women then, became a particularly contested site for how these spheres would sit together, and more importantly, the type of travelling practices and norms that women would be subject to.¹³³

department store was a key arena for women's public presence but takes this degree of penetration further: '[f]ar from being imprisoned by the private sphere in suburban domesticity, women of all classes at the *fin de siècle* were pouring into the public spaces of the modern city in ever-increasing numbers [...] [f]emale music hall performers, shopping ladies, shop-girls, glamorised 'girls in business', female charity workers, Salvation Army lasses, platform women, match girls, women journalists, clerks and typists; all transformed the modern city at the *fin de siècle* into a contested socio-cultural terrain (Ledger 1997, 155).

¹³³ See Judith Adler, 'Travel as Performed Art' for a sociological discussion of how the norms and practices employed by tourists can be viewed in itself as an art form as travel writers especially, 'perfected an art of travel, *not* simply an art of travel writing' (Adler 1989, 1367). Discussing tourist practices (by which Adler

The railway has been offered as a paradigm for the way vision and the experience of distance was transformed in the nineteenth century.¹³⁴ The flatness of the scenery created by the speed of the railway obliterated minor and static detail to offer a vast and moving series of images; in short, the rail journey was panoramic. Women's relation to the railway journey, however, was decidedly less scenic. A constant site of debate, women's independent access to this space was a constant cause of concern. Separate carriages were provided for women to travel in, but this was not a solution to the problem of women's travel. Unaccompanied, should a woman be allowed to travel at all? Should she be placed in a segregated carriage? A series of debates around the propriety of women's rail travel turned the rail carriage into another conflict between the regulations of the public and domestic sphere: by entering into a segregated rail carriage for unaccompanied travelling woman, was she simply moving from the highly regulated space of the home to another space regulated by an equally restrictive set of social practices? The presence of women on rail carriages became a particularly fraught issue in 1897 when significant press attention was paid to a spate of 'railway mysteries'

means an individual who uses the tourist industry to travel), she argues: '[t]he search for a homeland of the soul, accompanied by play with the ambiguity between literal, geographical space and psychic or metaphorical space, can be traced from narratives of early pilgrimage through the 18th-century neoclassical Italian tours to its abbreviated statement in current tourist brochures. Typically, the aim of the play is the internalization and retention, through symbolic representation, of [a] relationship to a real place that, having once been glimpses and identified with cherished values, must be relinquished. In a double movement of projection and reinternalization, values are emblematically fixed in landscape and reappropriated through encounter with literal geography' (Adler 1989, 1376). The journey to Greece was a journey home, to the extent that its antiquity embodied core cultural standards in Britain, but it was also alienating. Arriving with help from Cook and Gaze, there were few new pronouncements to be made on the genius of the ancients. Instead of using the geography of Greece to emplot their own relationship to antiquity or the Modern Greeks, they used their travel in Greece to explore what it meant to be a 'lady traveller'.

¹³⁴ This has been discussed in Chapter 1, for specific references see Dolf Sternberger, *Panorama of the Nineteenth Century* (1977) and Wolfgang Shivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (1986).

involving the murder or attack of women. Women's access to travel spaces was becoming increasingly life-threatening.

The edition of *The Scotsman* published on the 1st of March 1897 contained a 'railway mystery', and an 'alleged outrage', involving women on the move. The first case dealt with a barmaid called Miss Clamp, who was murdered somewhere between Barnes and Waterloo on February 11th. Directly below this article is the case of Elsie Morgan, who upon her arrival at London Bridge on February 24th had complained about a fellow passenger. *The Scotsman* reported the appearance of the case at Southwark Police Court:

Fredrick Bloss, a railway inspector, stated that on the arrival of the train at London Bridge Mrs Morgan complained to him that she has been grossly insulted by the prisoner, who threatened to throw her out of the carriage, and said, "I will not serve you the same as Miss Clamp the barmaid, but I will throw you on the metals." She added that she was in fear of her life.

(*'The Alleged Outrage' 1897, 8*)

In the court it transpired that the defendant was known to Morgan, who had spent the day drinking with the man and then entered a separate compartment in the rail carriage where they were alone. What had begun as an apparent domestic argument (Morgan and the defendant are listed at the same address) fuelled by alcohol, took a dramatic turn on the railway. While at the court Morgan is described as, 'a smartly-dressed young woman of apparent superior education', she attests that she was, 'greatly excited at the time' of the incident and, 'not responsible for what she said' (*'The Alleged Outrage' 1897, 8*). While the incident in itself is quite unremarkable, and even a little farcical, a few points of interest emerge. The article's physical juxtaposition to the piece on Clamp, and the direct allusion to Clamp in 'The Alleged Outrage' reveals two things: that railway murder was a source of fascination for the public imagination and that the particular case of Clamp had

signalled a particular kind of threat that the woman travelling on her own was subject to. The template of Clamp's murder offered the foundations of a brief hysteria that played its way out in the press. September 1897 brought a new case to the fore: that of Matilda Bryan. The wife of a doctor in Northampton, she was returning from Eastbourne, where she had been residing at a Temperance hotel. Near Tring, Bryan had either flung herself from a moving carriage, or been pushed. The circumstances around her life, and death, received considerable public attention. According to the testimony of Thomas MacGregor who was the chief guard: '[t]he carriage was first class, and was labelled "For ladies only." Gascarth [a brakesman] neither saw nor heard anything amiss on the way from Willesden to Northampton, and Mrs Bryan's compartment was within a few feet of him. Gascarth and I, on entering the compartment at Northampton, found Mrs Byan's things lying about in disorder – a purse, money, and some of her clothing' ('The Railway Mystery' 1897b, 7). The suggestive power of discarded clothes in an empty carriage worked as a powerful motif that at once evoked rape and mental disorder (was she attacked or did she commit suicide?). The apparent safety of the segregated apartment also became its weakness: cut off from the normal circulation of passengers and witnesses, the travelling woman became the site of crime on the railway. The class context simply underlines the degree to which the fear of women's travel had penetrated: it was not simply that certain types of women, like prostitutes, could be the victims of crime in the public sphere, but even women of the highest class.

Six days after the publication of this article, a letter entitled 'A Lady's Railway Experiences' appeared in the letters to the editor. Contrary to the suggestions of the title,

it came from the husband of the lady in question, and was signed 'Vigilant'. Relating a recent experience of his wife's rail travel, he explicitly pointed out that he had, 'no wish to connect the story in any way with the recent "railway mysteries"' ('A Lady's Railway Experiences' 1897, 9), which of course was a fallacy through its clear allusion to the series of articles in the press. He recounts two incidents regarding his wife, both involving the threat of placing ladies in empty carriages. In the first instance the station master places her in an unoccupied carriage for her comfort, which she quickly left after 'a man of decidedly uninviting appearance issued from the lavatory' ('A Lady's Railway Experiences' 1897, 9). This fuelled further paranoia:

Some time after this she was on her way up to London by the night express, this time being accompanied by a maid. They were put into an empty carriage, and before the train started the maid suggested that she should inspect the lavatory; she did so, with the result that a low type of man was found in it, who, being discovered, sneaked out. Now, probably the object of both of these men was to avoid showing their tickets, but it is also possible that they had other designs in view.

('A Lady's Railway Experiences' 1897, 9)

As in the case of Morgan, the details of a specific account are abstracted into a template to allow the hystericisation of the railway journey for women, a hysteria and titillation which played itself out in the popular imagination. Four days after the publication of this letter, it was confirmed that no-one had been present in the lavatory of Bryan's carriage prior to beginning of her journey ('The Tring Railway Mystery: Inquest on Mrs Bryan' 1897, 7). According to the press, travel was inherently dangerous for a woman, regardless of her class, if she was alone or solely in the company of other women. *The Scotsman's* book reviews on Monday 10th September 1897 contained a piece on Richard Marsh's *The Crime and the Criminal*, which articulated the fear of the Victorian public,

namely, that there was an organised and systematic attack of women on the railways.

The reviewer is not blind to the association:

What is one to think [...] of a murder club, with regular formal meetings, which cast lots to settle who is to commit a murder before the next monthly meeting? A railway mystery takes place in a Brighton train, and by a marvellous coincidence a woman is murdered by the side of the line. [...] Tom Tennant meets in the train an old "entanglement." They quarrel, and he tries to leave the train. The woman hinders him, and herself falls out.

(‘The Crime and the Criminal’ 1897, 2)

Although the reviewer is quick to draw attention to the exploitations of real incidents in the fictional account, it simply works further towards underlining the fundamental paranoia that was being associated with women’s travel outwith the protective circle of male company. The overriding message emerging for women on the move via rail appeared to be the importance of monitoring lavatories and company. The women who did succumb to some form of attack were described in the context of some prior disorder: Morgan had been drunk and Bryan was later revealed to be depressed.

The fascination with the lives of the women affected by the ‘railway mysteries’ was typical of the approach to femininity and travel: travel was dangerous and the women who did so on their own were on the border of physical and mental collapse. The danger of women’s travel seemed to be located in the bodies of women themselves, rather than the terrain they were traversing: negotiating the inherent danger of being a woman on the road in the age of corporate tourism, women fashioned a new type of travelling

subjectivity, one which by travelling, was making a defiant move in claiming the right to public space.¹³⁵ The danger was no longer in the destination, but in the travelling subject.

A Genealogy of the New Lady Traveller

The terms of this discussion, and especially its location in the travel of women in the 1880s and 1890s places it within the larger context of the 'Woman Question' in the nineteenth century, and more particularly, the emergence of the 'New Woman'.¹³⁶ As Sally Ledger suggests, her identities and roles are various: '[s]he was, variously, a feminist activist, a social reformer, a popular novelist, a suffragette playwright, a woman poet; she was also often a fictional construct, a discursive response to the activities of the late nineteenth-century women's movement' (Ledger 1997, 1). New Women have been characterised a group who actively and critically engaged with the role of women in society either in popular fiction, or through polemical work.¹³⁷ Victims of patriarchy, many of the protagonists were physically and psychologically debilitated by the institutions that conditioned them. The New Woman offered a discursive site for women's radical engagement with their role in society through the popular novel. A similar site was opened up by the lady traveller, whose emergence is not exactly a contemporary of the New Woman, but the discourses surrounding her are parallel with

¹³⁵ For an overview of women's travel and its relationship to this kind of stance, namely the 'right' to see, and how this inflected the gaze of travelling women, see Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose's, *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies* (1994).

¹³⁶ For a discussion of the Woman Question in the work of canonical Victorian writers before the *fin de siècle*, see Christina Crosby, *Victorians and "The Woman Question"* (1991).

¹³⁷ There is a large body of work in this field, although women's travel writing is not analysed in terms of its own specific contribution to the discursive figure of the New Woman. The fiction of Sarah Grand, Ouida and Olive Schreiner form the centre of the New Woman canon, none of whom engage with the empowering potential of travel as a literal practice or metaphor. The New Women novels were seen as 'popular culture' with a message: '[o]ne of the defining characteristics of New Woman fiction was its challenge to and subversion of the conventional dichotomies between literature and political writing, art and popular culture' (Heilmann 2004, 1).

those of the New Woman, with identical criticisms heaped on both. Additionally, by the 1880s the popular discussion of the lady traveller, especially in the context of working or newly financially emancipated women, was contingent on a familiarity with the discursive practices of the New Woman.

Women who travelled on their own before the age of the corporate guidebook however, were a slightly more exceptional breed, especially those who did not belong to privileged classes. Mabel S. Crawford's account of her travels to Algeria, not the most conventional destination for a woman abroad at the time, offers a proto-feminist appeal for the rights of women that sees travel as a fundamental facet of women's education and rights. Prefacing her 1863 volume with, 'A Plea for the Lady Tourist', she discusses how the prevailing images of the unaccompanied travelling woman work actively to eclipse and curtail the achievements of women in moving beyond the domestic sphere. 'Tourist' as opposed to traveller is a democratising drive; overriding the derivative connotations of the tourist, Crawford figures the promise of mass travel as mass emancipation. Rather than being exclusive travellers, women can use tourism to guarantee their point of access to enacting the tourist gaze. Using changes in fashion, she discusses how certain types of women moved from being characterised as an anomaly, to justify the mainstream:

Our great-grandmothers did not exchange their pillion for a side-saddle without being exposed to a fire as brisk as that which now awaits the 'unprotected' lady tourist. The bold, audacious Amazon, dressed in hat and coat, denounced with vehemence in the pages of the 'Spectator,' is now the applauded lady equestrian. The ridiculed bluestocking of the last century is the respected authoress in this. It is no long time ago since the wisest heads imagined that the interests of society required that old women with hooked noses should be burned. Still later, it was an unquestioned doctrine that queues eminently enhanced the dignity of the masculine aspect. Opinions become, in the course of years, quite ridiculous as clothes whose fashion is obsolete. Every standard of right and wrong undergoes a

change, save that which is based on the immutable principles of morality. Doubtless, in the twentieth century, enterprising lady tourists will not feel it needful to preface the published record of their travels with a plea in vindication of the act; for ladies continuing to do what daily experience proves they can safely do, with high enjoyment, will soon be safe from ridicule or reproach, since the unfamiliar, passing into the familiar, invariably becomes a recognised social law.

(Crawford 1863, xiii-xiv)

Crawford fashions the 'lady tourist' as the latest offensive in the vanguard of women's rights.¹³⁸ Her 'fashioning' may be a subject of ridicule, but Crawford's hope is that when enough women assume that *mode féminine*, she will pass from being the latest fad to becoming a familiar and unremarkable sight. The lady traveller herself is an assemblage of associations and postures: 'the satirist's staple theme, the "unprotected" lady looms before the popular gaze as a synonym for that ideal Gorgon, the "strong-minded woman," from whose wooden face, hard features, harsh voice, blunt manners, and fiercely-independent bearing, society shrinks in horror. To be confronted with such a fancy portrait of myself, is in truth, no pleasant thought; but as every innovation must have victims, I accept my menaced fate' (Crawford 1863, xiii). The lady traveller is figured in two distinct ways: she is the mirror image (portrait) that the travelling woman is faced with, and a drag that she assumes, through which she travels. Society's image of the lady traveller, however, actively worked to see her as a hysterical figure on the brink of compromise by herself or a man (as seen in the case of ladies travelling by rail), or a woman who was compromised by her masculinity. The woman who assumes the drag of the lady traveller must engage with those images in the mirror, recognise and claim them as her own in order to resignify them. The lady traveller is not a unidirectional force of

¹³⁸ 'Lady traveller' and 'Lady Tourist' were used interchangeably in the British media as a label for the same kind of travelling woman, though the former was a more popular identification.

feminist propaganda: her existence is not simply a statement, but necessarily complicit with its media constructions.

A consequence for this in the travel literature of the period is a desire for women to distinguish themselves from other travellers, and to be conscious of how they are viewed by fellow travellers and local populations.¹³⁹ Crawford takes this distinction further in defining the woman tourist as a woman without marital ties or serious commitments at home:

In bygone days, the rule that no lady should travel without a gentleman by her side, was doubtless rational; but in a period of easy locomotion, and with abundant evidence to prove that ladies can travel by themselves in foreign countries with perfect safety, the maintenance of that rule certainly savours of injustice. For unquestionable as it is that women's sphere, as wife and mother, lies at home, it is surely unreasonable to doom many hundred English ladies, of independent means and without domestic ties, to crush every natural aspiration to see nature in its grandest forms, art in its finest works, and human life in its most interesting phases; - such being the practical result of a social law which refuses them the right of travel, save on conditions often wholly unattainable.

(Crawford 1863, xi)

The foundational structures of the modern tourist industry facilitated women's travel, but the denigration of mass tourism was used to brand the lady traveller as second-rate. And it was only a matter of time before women would lay claim to other parts of public life, namely access to an open labour market. Deploying a key stereotype for unconventional womanhood, an article on the phenomenon of 'Wild Women' in the *Saturday Review* in 1870 saw a frenzy of uncontrollable figures who betrayed their families in an anxious and

¹³⁹ See Ruth Y. Jenkins, 'The Gaze of the Victorian Traveler' for an account of how the Victorian travelling woman was herself seen a type of spectacle and especially as sites of pity, paternalism and horror (Jenkins 2002, 17). While Jenkins does not rigorously differentiate between the types of travelling woman on the road (and their different styles of travel), she does suggest how the unaccompanied woman could produce an unsettling reaction that undermined her proper femininity. For a discussion of how women's bodies were deemed physically unsuitable for travel, see Kristi Siegel, 'Women's Travel and the Rhetoric of Peril' (2002).

greedy bid to lay claim to a sphere that they could not even physically contain themselves in:

Women are swarming out of doors, running hither and thither among the men, clamouring for arms that they may enter into the fray with them, anxious to lay aside their tenderness, their modesty, their womanliness, that they may become hard and fierce and self-asserting like them, thinking it a far higher thing to do to leave home and the family to take care of themselves, or under the care of some incompetent hireling, while they take up the manly professionals and make themselves rivals in the trade of their husbands and brothers.

(quoted in Nunn 1987, 27)

Leisure travel did not equal women's work, but if a growing number of women were to travel independently, then their access to work would be a prerequisite to travel. Unable to control themselves in public, how could they conduct themselves abroad? A review of Crawford's book objected to her portrayal of women in public, commenting that, '[t]here is no feeling against Lady travellers, if they conduct themselves with proper decorum, and no critical spleen will be vented against them by breeched critics which is not justified by the silly nature of the books themselves' ('Review, *Through Algeria*' 1863, 7). Although the reviewer is surprised by the overall quality of Crawford's work, his amusement at her protests on behalf of women travellers is another example of how the political symbolism of women's travel could be undermined. Also demonstrated is an easy conflation of lady tourist and traveller, another means by which the distinguishing practices of separate groups of women were being increasingly collapsed to present a more unified portrait of the 'lady traveller', a single and easy source of ridicule. In other words, the best a travelling woman could hope for, was to be a tourist in the guise of a traveller. Determined by her gender rather than her class, the lady traveller was often portrayed as having limited intellectual and financial means in order to characterise all women as deficient travel subjects. Thirty years after the publication of Crawford's

volume, the question of the travelling woman and drag was still charged, though a few new ‘fashions’ had developed her repertoire, namely, that of the New Woman.

In 1893, Mérie Muriel Dowie bemoaned the loss of the golden age of women’s travel in her edited collection, *Woman Adventurers*, published in the ‘Adventure Series’ produced by Macmillan & Co. Number fifteen in the series, other examples of the series included, *The Buccaneers and Marooners of America*, *Kolokotronis: Klepht and Warrior*, and *Hard Life in the Colonies*. All illustrated, they were as much for sensational enjoyment as tales of extraordinary adventure. The ‘woman adventurer’ corresponded to accounts by and about women in the late eighteenth century who, assuming drag, made their life in the military, or assumed another physically challenging role that was the preserve of men. Though the purpose of the volume is largely entertainment, Dowie’s introduction offers a consideration of modern women’s travel, especially in the context of the Woman Question. The woman adventurer did not offer the most obvious ancestor for liberated womanhood; while greatly admiring them, she sees them as pseudo-farcical flashes in the pan:

It is difficult to take them quite seriously, these ladies of the sabre; they are to me something of a classic jest: their day is done, their histories forgotten, their devotion dead, and they have left us no genuine descendants. The socialist woman, the lecturing woman, the political woman, the journalising woman – none of these must call them ancestress. All these are too serious, too severe. Their high, stern code leaves no room for the qualities of “the female soldier”.

(Dowie 1890, x)

Dowie draws a direct connection between the woman adventurer and the various archetypes of the New Woman. However, she offers a tantalising link between all of these ‘types’ of women: in each of their periods, these women have sallied forth into

unconventional behaviour. Genealogy is not critical, the fact that they are both seen to assume some kind of drag to act in a masculine public sphere however, is. The lady traveller through her very existence enacted some of the debates of the New Woman, and the sheer popularity of travel in popular literature demonstrated the extent of the discussion. Reading as a modern woman, she discusses the attributes of the woman adventurer and gives away some of the defining attributes of the modern travelling woman:

I am struck [...] in reading of them [women adventurers], by the insistence on their motives: with the exception of one, who is modern, and to whom none of the foregoing remarks apply, there was ever a man at the root of their ardour. That is as it should be; the real note is struck; that fact links them with the gaudy, dazzling poetry of an earlier age. It separates them finely from ourselves – it makes them classic.

For to-day, women make war for themselves; as a rule for themselves and other women, less often for themselves alone. Those in our books follow husbands and lovers – for love, so they say.

(Dowie 1890, xi-ii)

The subversive potential of the woman adventurer is undermined by her impetus, her assumption of drag or disguise to bring her closer to her object of desire which, when achieved, can restore her femininity. What marks the classic in opposition to the modern is the self-perception of women as lady travellers, and the motivations that underpin their travel beyond the narrow conventions of their lives. As the modern woman declares war for her sex, she appears as far more disruptive force to prevailing gender norms than the woman in military drag on the battlefield. Dowie is certainly drawing on very broad generalisations to sketch the characteristics of the classic and modern woman, but the figuring of drag and women's politics offers a nuanced debate on women's role in a realm beyond the home. Commenting further on the modern woman, Dowie considers how skirts inhibit adventure:

the women who step out of the ranks to-day and go forth adventuring, do it in all the cold seriousness of skirts, do it as women – as very earnest women – with no dash and little brag, and some rather fine purpose at the back which somehow stills the note of Adventure. So if the old spirit be gone out of it, the movement of women is freer than ever before. Allowed now to understand the world in which they love, and the conditions of its and their own being, there is no longer any need for them to put on the garb of men in order to live, to work, to achieve, to breathe the outer air.

Woman was never freer. She may do what she will. It is the professions that are closed to her that we count, no longer those that are open. She may be a lawyer, or a doctor – and it has no element of “adventure” in it – a writer or painter. Hard work, rather than glittering and decorative opportunities, lies before her.

(Dowie 1890, xx-i)

In the terms of Dowie’s argument, feminine attire is integral to the modern women’s engagement with her own social conditions. Skirts are not retrogressive: they represent a conscious self-fashioning of women in terms of femininity, a symbolic alternative to masculine norms. Dowie’s generalisations do obscure the material conditions of women at the time: without widespread access to school and higher education for women, the lawyers and doctors she refers to were an exceptional minority. Dowie was herself a model for the modern woman: beginning a six month tour in the Carpathians when she was twenty three, she stayed with local peasants along the way and chose the innovative solution of wearing a detachable skirt over leggings to negotiate more difficult terrain. Upon returning home a volume on her travels made her a celebrity; using this role she actively worked for labour politics though she was always best known as a traveller and writer, publishing *Gallia* in 1895, and frequently contributing to the *Yellow Book*. Dowie’s ambitions for women are certainly mixed: while extolling the apparent success of the modern woman, she cannot help but tint her reflections with an ironic portrayal of the modern woman in serious skirts poised in an earnest stance.

The sense of the ridiculous followed the garb and posture of the lady on the road to the first standalone travel guidebook for women, published six years after Crawford's collection. Lillian Davidson's *Hints to Lady Travellers*, published in 1889, attempted to offer a practical, if slightly pedantic, guide to women's travel in the age of tourism which offered itself as especially useful to women who had no prior experience of travel, or who were to venture forth alone or in small parties. Although listing some rather dubious scenarios that a travelling woman might find herself in, such as being aboard a run away train carriage, she does offer some more useful advice on appropriate dress for the lady traveller:

The days are, happily, now long past when the cherished tradition of Englishwomen, that one's oldest and worst garments possessed the most suitable characteristics for wear in travelling, excited the derision of foreign nations, and made the British female abroad an object of terror and avoidance to all beholders.

Now-a-days we have come to recognise the fact that antique waterproofs, side-elastic boots, and mushroom hats tied up with huge veils of crude colours calculated to set one's teeth on edge, are not exactly necessities of travel, and that there is no reason, human or divine, why a woman should not be tastefully and becomingly dressed while on her journeys as at her own fireside.

(Davidson 1889, 43-4).

Davidson endeavours to introduce a new degree of fashion consciousness and dignity. The growing market for women's travel clothing and accessories allowed a readily available and commodity driven image of the travelling woman. According to Davidson, '[c]ontinental travel has been so thrown open to women, that it is the most ordinary of experiences now to find abroad ladies travelling alone, or in parties of twos and threes, and the sight is too common even to excite remark' (Davidson 1889, 255). Although her claims are certainly exaggerated considering that the vast majority of women did not have the social or financial means to travel, Davidson's lady traveller can certainly purchase that identity through paraphernalia: clothes, guidebooks, bags and tours were all

designed for this commercially viable and lucrative breed.¹⁴⁰ This impression can be found in a *Times* article on the theme of ‘unprotected females’ which largely discussed Davidson’s guidebook and its uses. Davidson’s use of ‘lady traveller’ ensures a broad range of users for her guidebook; profiling Davidson’s readership the article opens with the type of travelling woman that has rendered herself beyond Davidson’s advice:

No travellers seem more capable of taking care of themselves than certain single ladies. They are strong-minded and able-bodied. [...] They can dispatch half-a-dozen of churches before an early breakfast, and are full of interest in everything and generous of general information in the omnibus which is hurrying to catch some preternaturally early express. They eke out any deficiency in foreign tongues with significant volubility of gesture; they never sin in excessive attention to their rough and ready toilettes; and, like Mrs. Mathew Bagnet in “Bleak House,” we fancy they might find their way home from anywhere with an old gray coat and an umbrella.

(‘Unprotected Females’ 1890, 4)

Decidedly eccentric, what these lady travellers also are, is unfashionable. Ladies are in a frenzy to ‘dispatch’ their sites, which while being efficient, cannot help but lend itself to some rather more drab associations. Tedious, unattractive, and vaguely ridiculous, the caricature is drawn in contradistinction to an ‘ordinary’ woman who may wish to travel, and this is where:

there is an undercurrent of suggestion in the little book, and it is rather melancholy reading. Touring is ordinarily associated with pleasure. Of course, there are occasions when a lady must travel alone; but the effort, though it may be disagreeable is soon over. But Miss Davidson evidently writes mainly with an eye to a class whom we are always inclined to be compassionate. It is hard, no doubt, for a lady to have to work for a living; to go out as a governess, to seek an uncongenial companionship, or to stoop her pride to advertise her services as “lady-housekeeper”.

(‘Unprotected Females’ 1890, 4)

¹⁴⁰ Ladies travelling baskets were advertised as early as 1888 (Untitled Advertisement 1888, 8), while Louis Vuitton produced an entire range of travelling bags, writing desks, beds and clothes from the latter part of the nineteenth century (Bruno 2002, 375-6).

According to the unnamed author, the guidebook is intended for the lower middle-class working women, and no doubt a Jane Eyre with some time on her hands, would find it eminently useful. Unable openly to socialise with the opposite sex without seeming forward, and with poor financial and emotional resources to draw from, the working woman is an object of pity that lacks the necessary social introductions to allow her to flourish while she is imprisoned in relative poverty. However there is little in Davidson's volume to entirely justify this view: with her comments on yacht travel and travel on the continent, her intended readership would be diverse. A more real intention of the article is to generate pity around the woman who has limited means to fashion herself as a lady traveller: without the means to distinguish herself in aspect or achievement, the author relegates her to a hotel library where she may wait the attentions of another male traveller. Davidson's vision of travel tends towards more democratic and libertarian impulses:

Emancipated womanhood is a term too often of ridicule and reproach, and – alas! that it should be said – is not always undeservedly so. Women may abuse the privileges too long withheld from them, in the first bewilderment of feeling in a new power in their hands. But none, perhaps, is less open to abuse, and surely none is more excellent in itself and its results, than the power which has become the right of every woman who has the means to achieve it – of becoming in her own unescorted and independent person, a lady traveller.

(Davidson 1889, 255)

Becoming a lady traveller requires conforming to certain behaviours and breaking others: as a discursive surface it shifts and changes, but in each case it suggests a subject that is trying to distend as well as transgress the social boundaries that condition it. The site for contesting the lady traveller is textual: her existence is a network of debates and postures that are then used to brand the practices of women on the move. To assume her role as a lady traveller she had to use some type of acumen, whether it be clothes, the rhetoric of

emancipation, the visual conquering of sights, or another avenue through which to draw attention to some aspect of her material presence in the field of travel. A mirror image and a drag, the woman travelling in the age of tourism was more than a derivative tourist, a 'Cookie' who blindly followed the sites of a guidebook; rather, she was a symbol for women's emancipation from traditional roles, using the products of capitalist society to transgress her role in the protected space of the home.

In another popular series recounting the tales of extraordinary travelling woman, the section on the Countess Dora D'Istria recounts an anecdote on her views of women's sight in travel:

"It has always seemed to me," she one day observed, "that women, in travelling, might complete the task of the most scientific travellers; for, as a fact, woman carries certain special aptitudes into literature. She perceives more quickly than man everything connected with national life and the manners of the people. A wide field, much too neglected, lies open, therefore, to her observation. But, in order she may fitly explore it, she needs, what she too often fails to possess, a knowledge of languages and of history, as well as the capability of conforming herself to the different habitudes of nations, and in the faculty of enduring great fatigues".

(Adams 1903, 22-3)

Dora D'Istria (1828-1888) was the pen-name of Princess Helena Koltzoff-Massalsky, a Romanian by birth, who combined extensive travel through Eastern and Northern Europe with a diverse range of scholarly achievements; she translated the *Iliad* from Ancient Greek into German, was made an honorary citizen of Greece and, in her capacity as an artist, was a member of the Italian Academy. A travel writer and advocate of women's rights, her ambition for women was a total conquest of the disciplines associated with travel. D'Istria's inclusion in this volume of women travellers, which went through eight editions between 1882 and 1903, is a testament to the popular

fascination with women who distinguished themselves in their travels. However D'Istria also demonstrates a problem: what type of original gesture can the woman tourist make in a landscape that has been described and catalogued before her? If the British woman tourist in Greece could be understood as a New Lady Traveller, a travelling subject whose 'new' modifier related to women's changing role in Victorian society, in what ways did she contribute to women's knowledge/understanding of Greece? The following discussion is divided into four categories through which to interrogate their relationship, as tourists, to Greece.

Prefaces

The prefaces and introduction to the volumes explore the relationship to tourism, and by association, reflect on the type of audience the three women writers were trying to address. Pfeiffer comments on hotels, Armstrong declares that Greece is not a dangerous terrain for ladies to travel in, and Janeway desires to benefit other travellers with a short annotated itinerary. Put another way, while Pfeiffer offers an implicit critique of the tourist industry, Armstrong to some extent denies that she is a derivative one - and that one cannot have adventure on a tour arranged by one's Baedeker - while Janeway very dutifully provides information to augment Baedeker. Opening her first 'leaf', Pfeiffer examines the necessary evil of the tourist industry:

It has usually been my lot, as it is that of most others of the less able and adventurous, to have, in roaming about the world, to make my observations of its novel aspects from the standpoint of one of those great caravansaries, the cosmopolitan hotel. Far be it from me to asperse with unmitigated contempt an institution but for which all the less trodden parts of the world would effectually have been removed beyond my reach; but I think it undeniable that a set of conditions more unfavourable to the apprehension of the facts and appreciation of the lessons to be gathered from a new outlook upon life, it would be hard to conceive of than that afforded by these bewildering halting-places.

Only once has it been my good fortune, in visiting a region of surpassing interest, to find a home beneath a roof not plumped down all alien to its surroundings like the houses in a child's toy-box, but one which was the harmonious outcome of its environment. Better even than this: not on all the lovely village of --, within a few miles of Homer's Smyrna, could hired accommodation have been procured if wanted – better, that is, for those who were independent of such accommodation. From this resulted a true tinct of local colour, with a sense of restfulness and poetic charm.

(Pfeiffer 1885, 3-4)

It comes as no coincidence that 'cosmopolitan' made its earliest appearances in English in the 1840s, coinciding with the rise of tourism. Not only did 'cosmopolitan' denote having characteristics of different cultures, it also meant belonging to different countries/cultures; effectively the cosmopolitan hotel had no special autonomy in being representative of where it was geographically grounded, instead it offered an array of influences characterised by its non-specificity. Dependent on the hotel, Pfeiffer is keenly aware of how it conditions the context of her observations and restricts her from seeing 'local colour', which can here be read as a synonym to authenticity; for Pfeiffer there was a keen awareness of a field of vision that was just beyond her sight.

Armstrong writes to deny the existence of any extensive and safe network for travelling in Greece in order to surround her experience in an air of defiant female travel and adventure:

To the majority of English people, Greece is still a *terra incognita*, and to that fact alone can be attributed the wide-spread belief in the dangers encountered by the traveller in that kingdom. On my friend (Edith Payne) and I announcing our intention of starting off by ourselves to Greece, the general opinion seemed to be that we were going out to be murdered; or, if it did not come to murder, that we should get into some hobble out of which it would take at least a modern Perseus to deliver us. Our experience taught us that Greece was a charming country in which to travel, and if we did encounter danger, that was purely of our own courting.

(Armstrong 1893, vii)

Despite the apparent danger of their journey, the majority of it was organised through the agents and facilities of Cook and Gaze, with even the expedition to Thessaly being made viable by information on local guides provided by them. Laced with humour, Armstrong's experience of Greece is conditioned by a series of miscontacts and attempts to adopt a miscellanea of postures, none of which are achieved successfully.¹⁴¹ At once adventurous, ridiculous and contradictory, her approach is summarised in her belief that, 'with a good temper and a sense of the ridiculous [a traveller] could get through the Peloponnesus on three words- *krassí* (κρασί), wine, *psomí* (ψωμί), bread, *kalá* (καλά), good, beautiful, &c.' (Armstrong 1893, 1).

On the surface, Janeway offers the most conventional travel narrative, being a chronologically ordered summary of the sights she saw, with practical information and the omission of unnecessary embellishment, most particularly ambitions for her own achievements in the field of travel. Her narrative is one which retreats from claiming so many territories, it is unclear where to position the text between being an instrument of entertainment or instruction. She outlines her reason for writing her 'little book' at the opening of her volume:

When I lately arrived in Athens I met with a few fellow-travellers whose knowledge of the places they were about to visit in Greece was rather limited. I therefore thought that if I were to put together a little information about these now much visited spots, I might make a useful book. I have now done so. I am indebted to Dr. Shliemann for most of the facts I have here stated in regard to the ruins at Mycenæ and at Tiryns. He has published two huge books on the subject of his excavation at these places, and these I have read. I have abstracted information from these big books which I should like to impart to others in this little one. I have not entered into learned details, but have merely placed on record

¹⁴¹ Buzard makes a similar argument about tourists through using Forster's motif of 'connection'. For an argument of how tourists fail to connect, see Buzard (1993, 321).

a few facts such as will, I hope, render a visit to Greece one of greater enjoyment to many who have neither the time nor the inclination for much reading.

Travellers also, seated in their own easy chairs, who prefer to roam about the world only in imagination, may like to accompany me in my very pleasant trip. This I now invite them to do. The thoughts of many are now turned in the direction of this little kingdom of Greece. My sympathies are much with this country, where so lately I spent many happy days.

(Janeway 1897, v-vi)

Janeway consciously casts her work in a diminutive scale to attract her target audience, namely, one which does not wish to delve into archaeological minutiae but wishes to be provided with a few precursory descriptions to illustrate the interest of Greece, more particularly, its antique sites. The volume claims it can at once be up to date advice for the tourist, a supplemental guidebook of sorts, while providing enough imaginative fodder for a recreational reader. The result is a slightly embellished paratactic account which attempts to negotiate a narrative voice somewhere between the faceless narrative of the guidebook, and a woman travelling mostly on her own in Greece. Despite their narrative pretensions, these women all arrived in Greece with an expectation that had already been determined by Baedeker; what counts the most, is the way their narrative types adapted to, incorporated, and represented, a Greece that they had already seen, in text and image.

Beyond the Postcard: Being in the Field

This section deals with how the three women under consideration positioned themselves in relation to Greece and how they themselves were realised as objects of scrutiny in the field by Greek women. For example, in Smyrna (modern-day Izmir) Pfeiffer encounters some Greek-speaking women, who rather than being noticed as worthy of comment, instead accost her as an object of interest. Offering a speculative account of the scenes

that tourists may experience in a pedestrian wander through Smyrna, Pfeiffer initiates visual contact with the women:

you will probably encounter, picking their way with the heedful daintiness of cats, ostentatiously under cover of their parasols, a little party of Turkish dames possibly of a lower rank. They are also muffled in the feringhee, and have on their faces the regulation yashmak, but not of white muslin. It is a veil thrown over the head, and worn under the head-dress, of which veil the ground colour is a beet-root red, variegated with a pattern in black and white. A hideous suggestion of tattooing is the result of this face gear, doubly hideous by reason of the sanguinary hue imparted to the countenance, and the lines of the pattern traversing those of the features. The women thus disguised have all the appearance of monsters. Three of them under the convoy of a eunuch, caught sight of and spotted me a fresh importation from some outlandish people, and called a halt.

(Pfeiffer 1885, 14-15)

Enacting the type of ethnographical gaze discussed in the previous chapter, Pfeiffer confidently negotiates a description of the Turkish women she sees, casting their bodies as an interesting spectacle that can be observed, described, and captured. What Pfeiffer does not account for however, is how she herself turns into an object of curiosity:

“You are a stranger, cocona?” (lady).

“Yes, I am a stranger.”

“You come to us from a far country?”

“Yes, a long way, by land and sea.”

“Are you content with what you have found among us?”

“More than content. I find your country very beautiful above all, I delight in your sunshine.”

“Does not the sun shine with you?”

“Sometimes; but often we cannot see it for the smoke.”

General consternation, and looks of admiring pity, chiefly directed to my new velvet dolman, which they suppose might at home be invisible.

“What is the name of this dark country?”

“It is called England.”

“We have heard of England. You are welcome here, cocona; we are proud that you admire our country, for your own is a fine country, too, when it can be seen.”

All this in Greek, which C—translates, pronounced with much grace and natural

charm. It was a pleasant little incident, one calculated to whet the appetite for further communication with these poor custom-bound sisters, survivals of a not yet forgone tyranny.

(Pfeiffer 1885, 15-16)

Pfeiffer ends her commentary on the exchange by expressing empathy with the Oriental women under Ottoman thrall. Although travelling in 'Turkey-in-Europe', it is not clear how Greek her Greek-speaking women are. Treating them in an unqualified manner, the most interesting feature of their contact is their preoccupation with one another's dress. Touching dolmans, and admiring their texture, both the Greek-speaking women, and Pfeiffer, are visually arrested in the field. There are, after all, two interesting spectacles in the field: the veiled women, and the lady traveller encounter each other as objects of curiosity that have been victims of projected fantasies, sexual and violent.¹⁴² What the encounter produces is one of the few instances in the travel writing considered so far, that relates a conversation between a British woman and native woman, that allows her to meaningfully speak back. Instead of approaching Greece as a scholar, or ethnographer, the lady traveller offered a more fluid account of her journeys in Greece, journeys in which she was often to be found making a spectacle of herself, instead of making one of Greece.

Analogous examples can be found in Armstrong and Janeway, both of whom experience different types of encounters with natives. Armstrong offers a running commentary of the types of costumes Greeks wear as she travels: she sees men in the fustanella but, 'excepting when dressed up for Easter, we never saw a Greek woman in the typical costume of her country' (Armstrong 1893, 4). Adopting that most popular tourist stance

¹⁴² The argument that there is a distinctive type of travel gaze for women is a foundational contention for critics of women's travel writing. See Mills (1991), Foster (2004), and Grewal (1996), amongst others.

for the British traveller, the despondent philhellene, she speculates on the type of beauty found in the Modern Greek woman, '[w]hether the women retain any of the famous classic grace I cannot venture to say; certainly they displayed none in the home life as we saw it, neither did we see one really pretty girl among the people. In the higher grades it is different; there are ladies famous for their beauty, and the few Greek ladies we came across were all good-looking' (Armstrong 1893, 6). Despite making qualifications for the higher echelons of society, she characterises Greeks within a narrow series of stereotypes:

The Greek of to-day carries in his face an epitome of the modern history of his nation; the slightest scratch below the surface shows a man who, under oppressive servitude, found safety alone in silence, that stealthy tread is the outcome of those years of hunted life, that dark suspicious glance was bred by repeated treachery, whilst the women are only to be glanced at to see that every good-looking one has been swept out of the land.

(Armstrong 1893, 9-10)

Able to 'scratch' the surface, Armstrong draws on popular mythology surrounding brigands, antique aspects and anthropology to underwrite the authority of her sweeping generalisations about Greek culture.¹⁴³ This, of course, is crucial for maintaining her integrity as a 'roaming' agent: Armstrong's rhetorical mastery of a collection of discourses works to bolster her image as an independent traveller, and work away from the image of the tourist. However, throughout her narrative there are a series of encounters which place her in a more visibly vulnerable context.

¹⁴³ Greek brigands received particular notoriety in 1870 when a group of tourists were kidnapped and subsequently murdered in what came to be known as the 'Dilessi/Marathon Murders'. Although the incident may be part of the reason for fewer records of travel from women in the 1870s, there is no appreciable evidence in published accounts by women that they were ever in danger that could not be avoided by taking the simple safety measures undertaken during any journey. For a detailed account of the incident and its contribution to British prejudice and racism towards the Greeks, see Rodanthi Tzanelli, 'Unclaimed Colonies: Anglo-Greek Identities Through the Prism of the Dilessi/Marathon Murders (1870)' (2002).

the women of the village had come down to wash clothes, whilst the babies whimpered and rolled in the sand, watched by babies a few years older. These women were clothed in garments that it would be an insult to compare to a bed-gown, and they tucked them up according to fancy; one ancient dame, with an utter disregard of everything but utility, having turned herself into a very respectable-looking old Turk. It was quite depressing to see such a company of women and girls, seemingly so gloomy, and working so hard in silence and sadness; so I thought I would see if a laugh could not be raised out of them. Suddenly a girl, who has been watching me very closely, caught my eye, and began to laugh, then another and another, until the whole company took it up, with the exception of that ancient dame. I was in despair; how could she be reached from the box-seat of the carriage? When, all at once, she looked up, gave me a nod and a smile, and returned to her clothes, rubbing them with greater vigour than before. And so, amid ripples of laughter, shouts of good evening, and waving of hands we departed; all surely going to prove that the Greek woman only wants a little encouragement and sympathy to be as bright and merry as her Italian sister.

(Armstrong 1893, 133-134)

The carriage riding past some static local villagers at domestic work is of course an ideal conceit for the traveller abroad: they move through the scenery experiencing picturesque vignettes as they go by. A palpable sense of distance however, is shot across with the laughter of the Greek women as Armstrong passes by. It is not clear how Armstrong caused herself to be a sight of such cross cultural hilarity, but needless to say the sight of a British woman making a spectacle of herself was certainly enough to elicit a reaction. Like Pfeiffer, Armstrong concludes her observations with a maternal hope for the progress of Greek women, though like in Pfeiffer, the relationship between who is the subject or object of the gaze is unclear. Armstrong, physically higher and removed from the immediacy of the Greek women at work, reads herself as a roaming gaze that can chance upon, and elicit a response from, the objectified landscape that surrounds her. However in the process she exposes herself and must herself become a subject for the gaze of the native population who laugh at the novelty, a lady traveller. Visually identified, she is compromised.

Travelling to see the ruins at Olympia, Armstrong is keen to adopt a romantic approach to the experience, casting the landscape as a series of ruins haunted by the ghosts of Ancient Greece while trying to rehabilitate them in her imagination and reconcile the ancient with the modern:

Our guide was packing the animals; we had taken a last look at the wild confusion of rocks outside, and were sitting silently in the temple, in imagination building it up as it once has been, when suddenly from behind the broken column on which Edith sat, a white ghost rose. Fixing its piercing black eyes on us, it stretched out its hands for a moment, muttered a few unintelligible words, and then majestically stilled away with all the grace and dignity of the sad, silent Greek of the Peloponnesus. These shepherds, when clothed in white shaggy sheepskins, with their pointed hoods drawn over their heads, have a most uncanny appearance, which is greatly increased by the extraordinary way they have of apparently appearing out of or disappearing into the earth.

(Armstrong 1893, 65-6)

The farcical element of their encounter with the white ghost pertains to the sequence of its appearance: rather than contemplating a Modern Greek and using his apparent degradation as a stepping stone to discussing his noble antique ancestors, the ghost materialises as a modern subject. Dramatic tension is followed by deflation; the materialisation of the ghost that reaches out to them is little more than a local shepherd at work. Working as an ethnographical study of a ghost, her lack of anchoring referents for its identity undermines the impact of her analysis. The origins of the ghost and its relation to the past and the present are too vague for its realisation into shepherd form to have the rhetorical impact of Mary Montagu, Sydney Owenson, Felicia Skene and other women writers who interacted with a haunted or ghostly image of Greece.¹⁴⁴ A variation

¹⁴⁴ Mary Wortley Montagu offers an example of this kind of stance as she skimmed past Greece in 1717: 'I am so angry with myself that I will pass by all the other islands with this general reflection that 'tis impossible to imagine anything more agreeable than this journey would have been between two or three thousand years since, when, after drinking a dish of tea with Sappho, I

or derivative, her pretence mixes elements of danger (women travellers facing a threatening ghost) with a reinterpretation of a classic philhellenic trope outwith a more substantial discursive framework. While the writers mentioned had an extensive network and system of allusions within which to work with Modern Greeks, their ghosts and ruins, Armstrong's meditation is dropped in amongst the more conventional features of a tourist narrative. Belated and not fully realised, her ghost struggles to have an impact beyond providing a threatening aspect through which she can project herself as another traveller in a long lineage of trailblazers across antique landscapes. Although the point of Armstrong's comparison is clear as she engages with one of the central conceits for describing Modern Greeks, her posture is self-conscious and tends towards an awkward absurdity that is not entirely intentional. After her description of the shepherd, and the mysterious soldiers who see them but will not acknowledge them, Armstrong moves to perhaps the most terrifying ghost to accost her in Olympia:

My attention being aroused, I soon caught a vision of a white thing flapping behind a thrown-down capital, and a few set moves showed me that I was being shadowed. There was not a soul to be seen on the neighbouring heights, I might have shouted until I was black in the face and no one would have heard, so I sat down on that elevated spot in the hope that the thing would come out and show itself, but all that I gained was a swift glance of a most unprepossessing face, as for a moment it rested its chin on the top of a broken pillar. There was no good trying to escape from the ruins as the thing was between me and the narrow way that led to the bridge over the Kládeos, and if mischief was meant I should only be running my head into it by making a bolt. It was an uncomfortable moment, but I came to the conclusion that if it was written in the book of Fate that I was to be murdered I should be, and that I might just as well pick out an appropriate spot for the sacrifice and leave a sketch of it behind me as a memento for my sorrowing family. Accordingly I settled down among the huge fragments before the Temple of Zeus, and drew for some time in peace; then I felt that the thing had

might have gone, the same evening, to visit the temple of Homer in Chios, and passed this voyage in taking plans of magnificent temples, delineating the miracles of statuaries, and conversing with the most polite and most gay of mankind. Alas! Art is extinct here, the wonders of nature alone remain' (Montagu 1994, 148).

moved round me and was now actually looking over my shoulder. I did not relish that face being so close to my own, and a nearer view added to its hideousness. I opened my mouth; and the moment I spoke to it it seemed satisfied, and it sat down and stared at me. I then perceived that it wore a large white apron tied to its neck, and which, flapping in the wind, had puzzled me so much, and I thought I recognised the thing as a half-witted looking being I had seen vanishing in the direction of the kitchen of the Xenodochion [hotel]. Presently it arose and disappeared apparently satisfied, but having never uttered a single word.

(Armstrong 1893, 66-8)

Exploring some ruins on her own, Armstrong meets another ghost that addresses its attention to her. Caught in a variety of scenes, from the ghost's head resting on a broken pillar (conveniently offering a plinth for his ghostly bust) to peering over Armstrong's shoulder to examine her sketch of the scene, its ghostly movement weaves in and out of her description, imparting a general air of mischief. Sketching in the face of adversity, her tone shifts throughout her description: her cut-off path suggests real danger, which is undercut somewhat by the black humour surrounding her desire to continue sketching the possible scene of her death. The source of its hideousness is unclear (apart from its spectrality) as it moves close enough for Armstrong to question it. Without gender specificity, the use of the neuter pronoun further works to de-humanise her Greek subject. Within the space of a few clauses the dramatic tension is entirely collapsed as her potential assailant is none other than a employee of the hotel kitchen, his hideous ghostly appearance being attributed to a white apron. While in other circumstances this entire episode could be deemed highly ironic, it is Armstrong's earnest desire to be seen in unconventional situations for a lady, that undermines the potential humour. Rather than being a satire on the tendency of British travellers through the ages to envision the Greek population in relation to the ghosts of antiquity, Armstrong engages with the practice from an oblique approach. Deploying multiple strategies, her experience becomes a

contradictory assembly of associations and tones. She poses as a woman artist, a travel writer, a woman vulnerable to attack, an observer on the character of the Modern Greek and a wry commentator, to relate an anecdote which has an unclear message and purpose. This medley of tones makes Armstrong's journey through Greece distinctive; it achieves its unique quality however by approaching the experience of Greece through a series of anxieties. In an age when material images of Greece were becoming commodified through the postcard, and the physical practice of tourism was commercialised (as Armstrong's use of Cook and Gaze testify), Armstrong's efforts to engage with the discernible descriptive tropes of travellers to Greece, while being an oxymoronic adventurous tourist, create half-realised and anxious responses to the mundane and much seen landscapes they encounter.

However, Armstrong, like Pfeiffer, glimpses past postcard Greece, and as in Pfeiffer's case, this contact is located in the lady traveller's clothing. Travelling to Thessaly by boat, she is touched by tragedy in an encounter with an elderly Greek woman:

This woman was very anxious to tell us her family history, which apparently had been one full of tragedy. All the ills and woes of her life she laid at the doors of the Turks, whom she hated with the hatred of past servitude; her daughter was dead, she was alone in the world, and it was all owing to the Turks! Here no doubt was an interesting episode of a past rule laid out before us, and I could only anathematize my own stupidity for not understanding it. As I could not comfort her in words, I gave her some chocolate, which she said was very good, and led her thoughts in other directions. She became desperately interested in all that we possessed, criticized our garments by touch not by sight, and picked out the one that was made entirely of wool; likewise she was very much taken by the gold shot silk lining of my cloak, and offered to exchange her old blue jacket for it, much to the amusement of the men who clustered around.

(Armstrong 1893, 281)

No doubt the target of an attempted swindle, Armstrong is caught somewhere between being an ethnographer in contact with a peasant subject, and the vulnerable tourist who offers a ripe opportunity for exploitation. Initiating her discussion with the usual line on Greek servitude under the Ottoman Empire, she is unable to extract the story from her living witness beyond a few abstract details, which, in the context that follows, have a more questionable veracity. The woman being unable to satisfy the purposes of Armstrong, is offered chocolate as compensation, an offering which barely corresponds to the gravity of the story that the Greek woman offers. However, soon Armstrong finds herself at the centre of a spectacle as her clothes are picked apart by the Greek woman; coming into contact by touch rather than sights, Armstrong's clothes bring her closer to Greece than she may have expected. Being a spectacle for the on-looking Greek men, and touched by the Greek woman, she is a foreign element incorporated into a native scene, though not necessarily through her own volition.

Janeway's encounter with Greek women is remarkably similar to Armstrong's; following a guide through the ruins at Salamis, she encounters some picturesque peasantry: '[n]ear the ruins we met with some girls richly dressed in the native costume. This dress is pretty and picturesque. We could only converse with these girls by signs, but they were very agreeable and pleased that we admired their dresses and ornaments. This was the only occasion on which I saw the female national dress worn' (Janeway 1897, 46-7).¹⁴⁵ As in Armstrong, the exact nature of their communication is undefined, although the fact that some sort of contact has taken place cannot be denied. Quaint ornaments in ruins, they

¹⁴⁵ For a discussion of women's interaction with the Romantic picturesque, see Elizabeth Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics 1716-1818* (1995).

are ethnic delights for the tourist to chance upon. However in their translation into text, they become a type of hieroglyph, an unknowable and foreign transcription that can only be engaged with pictorially. The sum total of Greek women is reduced to clothing, to a vivid pictorial surface which Janeway then describes. Without stopping to engage with them or consider them any further, they become another feature of the landscape. Janeway's encounter with the women barely works beyond a testament to the existence of the women. The proximity of the ruins becomes a far more important function of the Greek women: their juxtaposition is another rehearsal of a hackneyed trope.

In Olympia, she encounters a slightly more threatening image of Greece during an Easter service. Being informed of local customs over breakfast by her waiter at a hotel, she decides the danger of attending a service would be too great:

The waiter told me that one service had already taken place at six o'clock that morning, but that another service would be held in the afternoon. This was the Easter Loving Service. He went on to inform me that at this service every one would kiss every one else just at the conclusion of the service. I elected not to attend. I thought that in a quiet out-of-the-way village like this I should not escape from the loving embrace, that enthusiastic Greek brothers might be too demonstrative in their religious zeal.

(Janeway 1897, 135)

Digressing from her usual approach of sequentially describing what she sees, Janeway here offers a second hand account of what she refuses to witness and experience. While providing an outline of Greek cultural practices through her interaction with a waiter, she elects the safety of the hotel above a potentially compromising scenario. Working in an early phase of a long tradition of women tourists complaining of the lascivious attentions of Greek men, she views herself as an object of desire, ripe for the dangerous advances of the natives, who given the cover of a local custom would certainly violate her. A far

more literal and enduring part of the 'danger' of women's travel, her attitude is an internalisation of popular views in the British media around the apparent danger inherent to women who travelled. As a woman on her own, Janeway curbed and curtailed her own experience according to appropriate decorum. Her paranoia works on the same terms as women's rail travel in Britain: measures must be taken to maintain safe barriers between the lady traveller and the man bent on sexual and other physical assault.

Beyond Tourism

If women were constantly realised in their work through the eyes of others, they also worked with and against being seen specifically as tourists. If she was being realised in the field of travel by the natives, then the lady traveller was also constantly encountering herself as an object of curiosity. Dependent upon the structures of tourism, women worked within and outwith its dominant practices depending on the specificity of their pretensions. The attention to detail about the tourist industry is not prevalent in Pfeiffer as her narrative tends towards a discussion of women's rights and impressionistic accounts of the sites around her rather than the minutiae of travel arrangements; however, both Armstrong and Janeway are self-conscious about their status as British women tourists. Janeway's approach is a model one, offering a template for the tourist who follows her, while Armstrong consistently struggles with the attempts to construct her journey as a touristic one. For Janeway the tourist industry was equated with access: sites of interest were sites that had been rendered 'easy' through technological innovations,

We passed through Megara, which is not far from Athens. I was told that national dances take place here on every Easter Tuesday, all the dancers being dressed in the national costume. These dances are considered to be a grand sight. Frequent trains run from Athens to Megara on these occasions. The dancers come from all

parts of Greece. The sexes dance apart. The men jump and fling about their limbs, but the girls dance very quietly, mostly only swaying backwards and forwards to time, not unlike the style of dancing in Eastern countries.

(Janeway 1897, 58-9).

Although Janeway passes through Megara, she does not herself engage with the sight of the dancers. Like her information from the hotel waiter, her description is second-hand, a catalogue of what must be seen rather than an index to what *was* seen. The more frequent train services during the period demonstrate how a local practice changed into a sight for tourists from home and abroad. Offering a promise of a sight she never sees, Janeway presents her text as a template for the plebeian tourist to Greece. Coupled with this is an insecurity, which while never explicitly stated in the text, is apparent in her actions; although she travels alone she constantly seeks the company of other tourists, especially if they can facilitate her enjoyment of Ancient Greece, a topic in which she is a novice. Discussing her journeys beyond Athens she portrays her contact with other tourists on an equal and complementary ground:

I took these farther trips in Greece entirely alone, only now and then meeting with agreeable fellow-travellers for a few hours at one time. One of the carriages this morning contained two young gentlemen. Our carriages kept mostly near to each other on the road during the day, so we were able to visit the ruins together, and we could be of mutual assistance to each other. They had no guide-book. I let them look at mine. Their classical attainments were superior to mine, hence they could impart knowledge to me.

(Janeway 1897, 61-2)

All on their way to see the Acropolis of Mycenae, Janeway identifies the fellow countrymen and makes herself their dependent. Janeway trades a guidebook for classical knowledge: an exemplary tourist, she submits to any form of guide or mediation in favour of engaging with sights on their own terms, or the terms of her own ability to appreciate them. Janeway's journey acts as a series of appended notes, pinned to the

postcard images of the places she visits and linked by the vignettes about her material travel from place to place. Her role as a tourist is unassuming so far as it defers to any tourist around her who may be better informed. Preferring the museum to the ruin, she recounts seeing some Mycenaean cups in a museum in Athens:

The cups were evidently intended for pairs. The artistic designs are very good. Each of these beautiful works of ancient art has a glass case to itself which a visitor can walk round, so that none of the beauties of these objects may be lost to an admiring beholder. I saw here also a pretty little embossed gold jug, like a milk jug. I should like to have it to use for afternoon tea. Many of the golden jewels might be worn at the present day without appearing much out of date.

(Janeway 1897, 75)

Her engagement with the objects is within the context of everyday home life: the timelessness of an object is not predicated on its aesthetic value but on its utility and fashion in domestic life. This is not simply a derivative of the traveller who seeks to experience their objects in romantic ruins; Janeway's engagement is a rewriting of the dominant tropes and postures of the traveller to Greece, a distinct feminisation of the personal encounter with the object. Imagining afternoon tea, bedecked in the jewels of Mycenaean Greece removes a degree of separation that the guidebook and museum erects. A more unique note pinned to a picture from the past, Janeway employed whatever symbolic resources she had to hand to interpret what she saw with small and modest gestures. Janeway's achievement is the carving of a niche in which she can somehow approach an object that modifies the visual framework of the guidebook, and the associated tourist practices that enacted sight for the tourist.

Armstrong took an overtly antagonistic approach towards tourist practices, though frequently acknowledging her indebtedness to them. After a brief excursion to Olympia, she finds herself besieged by travel agents working to protect her:

Having spent the whole morning in a last look at the museum, and a despairing scramble all over the ruins of Olympia, we were quite fagged out by the time we reached Patras, and had but one desire, bed; when, of course, the inevitable knock came to the door. It was Gaze's agent to know if there was anything he could do for us.

We returned thanks, intimated that we had Cook's tickets to Athens, and that we considered ourselves mentally and physically capable of continuing our journey without the kind assistance of anyone. We had hardly begun to plume ourselves on this victory than another rap came, and we saw before us Cook's agent who had landed us from the steamer. He congratulated us on our safe return, regretted he has not been at the train to meet us, and announced he should come to-morrow morning and take us to the station and see us off for Athens. We had no tickets of Gaze to play off upon him, so meekly we assented; it was in this guise we fell from our high estate, and it is here that the story-book moral comes in. Although we had been defeated in our object of coming to this hotel, we found it most comfortable and inexpensive, and so sought for consolation in our pockets.

(Armstrong 1893, 89-90)

Going to a hotel not recommended by the agents, Armstrong hopes to at once evade them, and sample something a little more authentic after her regimented tour of the ruins. Although constantly declaring their independent and subversive routes through Greece, Armstrong and her travelling companion are unable to assert themselves in the face of the travel agents. Far from being the *terra incognita* of her preface, a site of danger and threat, the commercial potential of guided tours in Greece was becoming increasingly realised to the benefit and detriment of tourists such as Armstrong. Accepting their fate with her usual good humour, it is the manner of her surrender that is so incongruous with her self fashioning. Unable to offer the dissertation on the ample abilities of the lady traveller with which she frequently addresses the reader, Armstrong 'meekly' submits to Cook's agent. Armstrong could leave these allusions out of her account, but their

inclusion are an indication of how travel without tourism is an imaginative and literal impossibility for women's travel. As long as she remained in the most popular sites, Armstrong is keenly aware that she has no foil for her adventurous subject. What Armstrong needed was a guidebook destination that for whatever reason, was less visited by tourists and bore some kind of resemblance to being off the beaten track. She found her perfect destination: Armstrong declared her intention of travelling to Thessaly, to the apparent horror of those around her;

Now Thessaly is quite an unknown region; the tourist does not visit it. Gentlemen who went there appeared to be combining pleasure with business, and nobody had ever heard of ladies going there alone! "It was impossible." But since coming to Greece we had heard that remark so often that its application failed now to impress. In fact, as soon as we gave out our intention, it was met by a storm of remonstrance; and certainly in this case there was some foundation for fear.

(Armstrong 1893, 151-2)

From exactly whom this storm originates is unclear, needless to say, however, it stands in stark contrast to her inability to independently secure her own travel arrangements between Olympia and Athens, both recently linked by rail. Although there had been a case concerning a group of tourists being kidnapped on the plains of Marathon in 1870, there had been no real danger posed to tourists outwith the norm since.¹⁴⁶ British women ethnographers had travelled extensively though Thessaly decades earlier, unaccompanied and with far less practical tourist information than Armstrong. The remonstrations that Armstrong mentions find their origin in the burgeoning fear around women who travel alone, a fear than Janeway had internalised. As in the case of women travelling by rail, where a chorus of male voices discussed the relative merits of how women should behave in the public sphere, Armstrong and Edith Payne find themselves subject to

¹⁴⁶ For further reading on the Marathon incident, see David Roessel (2002), and Romilly Jenkins's *The Dilessi Murders* (1998), itself containing a strongly disparaging view of the Modern Greeks.

another chorus of paternalistic concern through a group of English gentlemen who learn of their plans:

“I wish you would let me dissuade you from attempting it. It was all very well for us, but you cannot rough it in that way; or, if you *will* go, take a dragoman who will have things arranged and look after your food. You do not know what it is.”

Then another:

“Why should you leave peaceful England to court danger in Thessaly. Of course, if you were going to write a book or it was for any object, I could understand; but simply to encounter all this discomfort for what? – pleasure!”

“We are going because we want to go,” returned Edith, which men have affirmed to be an excellent feminine reason.

(Armstrong 1893, 156)

Again, as in the discussions of women’s rail travel, binaries between safe and unsafe spaces are erected to begin fencing off ‘dangerous’ spaces, locations which have nothing inherently dangerous in themselves, apart from that which is invested in them. For rail travel it was the carriage itself which could harbour the dangerous criminal, in Armstrong’s case it is Greece, and most particularly Thessaly, where they could travel for days on end without the protection of an English gentleman. Armstrong of course is at pains to heighten the possible threat which allows Edith’s cavalier and dismissive response to frustrate the gentlemen even further. Armstrong is not a victim of popular discussions on the dangers of itinerant women; she deliberately exploits them to write herself in the terms of adventure. Meeting a Gaze travel agent to obtain more information on their trip, she adds an advertisement for the benefit of readers and future travellers: ‘[i]t seems a pity that visitors should fight so shy of so interesting a tour; of course, going by ourselves we had to rough it, but anyone who wanted to do it in comparative comfort could do so by placing themselves in the hands of Messrs. Gaze’ (Armstrong 1893, 159). Armstrong works with a contradictory premise: Thessaly is at once impenetrable and subject to grave danger, and is also a site that can be toured in

comparative comfort. Unable to break out of the knot that ties her, the threat that she may be a victim of is so vague and insubstantial that the threat in the text outweighs any they would have experienced on the road taking the usual precautions.

The majority of their journey takes place in entire safety, with their encounters and misencounters with the locals providing the greatest source of humour and colour, indeed, the closest they come to danger is an incident while travelling with an armed escort and involving a telegraph pole falling in their vicinity (it is unclear if it posed any real safety issue). Falling poles apart, the keenest sense of danger is imparted from their own defiant approach to tourism. The reception to her decision to visit the monasteries of Hagios Stephanos and Hagia Trias, strictly male only sanctuaries, is met with the usual chorus of disapprobation:

Many heads had been shaken over us, and it had been prophesied that we should never be allowed to sleep in the monasteries, but be turned out on the cold rocks outside. We even had read in print how that one author said, "These monasteries are secure from the female sex." But we understood that ladies had been admitted to Hagios Stephanos. Yes, but only allowed on sufferance for the sake of their noble owners or the dragoman who accompanied them! and we were going without a dragoman and without so much as one husband between us. Such a proceeding was most uncommon in Greece. "Ladies going alone to the monasteries had never been heard of before; were we not afraid?" Another opinion was, "Oh yes, they will give you a bed at Hagios Stephanos, and I daresay, as it is Easter, something to eat. The abbot dined with us, but then of course we were men!"

(Armstrong 1893, 205-6)

Desiring to see one of the primary sites of interest mentioned in their guidebook, the parameters of their journey are entirely conditioned by it as it becomes their grounding cultural and geographical compass. Despite the apparent danger of being turned away, as the chorus are keen to mention, there have been special circumstances for the admittance

of women; trading on the novelty of two British women appearing at their gates after a steep climb, and with no protection from any male companion, Armstrong and Payne are making an educated guess that they will be received, if only for the briefest time. Their vulnerability becomes a valuable asset to trade. Exploiting the popular fear that the lady traveller's body is constantly on the brink of compromise, Armstrong rewrites this anxiety as a foil for her adventure; she does not need to trailblaze, be the first woman to visit Hagios Stephanos, as *any* deviation from the beaten track of ruins and museums becomes risqué. Though belated as a 'woman adventurer', what Armstrong does demonstrate is the relative controversy that was still felt later in the century when a lady deigned to lift her skirts in the name of sightseeing. Climbing up the ladders to visit Hagia Trias certainly dented a lady's decorum: '[i]t seemed as if those ladders never would come to an end, and there were some fearful long gaps between the rungs where the ladders joined. The quickest method of proceeding was to seize your dress between your teeth, throw yourself well back, and go up hand over hand like a monkey, taking care, however, not to knock your teeth out with your knees' (Armstrong 1893, 231). Their success in obtaining entrance, something prohibited to local women, caused them to become minor celebrities in the district:

On arriving at Volo the station appeared to be more than ordinarily crammed, and to our horror we found that we were the special attraction, people coming forward and shaking hands in the most embarrassing way. There was nothing for it but to make a bolt, and seeing our rolls being carried off by unknown individuals, we followed them, and were run into a carriage and driven off without a question.
(Armstrong 1893, 274-5)

A novelty for the locals, the lady traveller has access to spaces withheld from the ordinary female population. The lady abroad who claims her right to see, to be a tourist, is enfranchised; the practices of tourism opened up sites of interest to those with the

means, will, and the guidebook. However, the corporate guidebooks, were not exactly encouraging to women: Murray's 1884 handbook was careful to provide a special mention to the British woman travelling in Greece, '[l]adies – unless they are experienced travellers, and prepared to rough it with cheerfulness and good temper – cannot be advised to attempt the longer excursions detailed' (Murray 1884, 25). Nevertheless it was acknowledged that women were using the guidebook to facilitate their journeys beyond a handful of museums and increasingly crowded antique attractions.¹⁴⁷ What Armstrong represents is a vanguard of women tourists who formed a core group of guidebook-dependent travellers, while the guidebook to Greece ignored their existence.¹⁴⁸ Working to claim their right to see the sights in the guidebook was the beginning of a process which necessitated women re-writing those codes and approaches. The guidebook was not always a promise of access for the tourist, especially if that tourist was a woman.

¹⁴⁷ The only corporate advocate of women's travel was Thomas Cook. The fact that many of Cook's tours were patronised mainly by women travellers is not an indication of Cook's ambitions for women however, as much as they are for the ability to herd groups of tourists while they are abroad. Discussing a tour to Palestine, the lady appears to be the ideal model for the tourist: '[t]he results of this tour, so far as the ladies of the party were concerned, tended to confirm all my previous impressions of their valour and vigour, and also tended to the strengthening of my determination never to undertake or to propose arrangement from which ladies must of necessity be excluded. In a report of a lecture on Palestine, which I read a few days since, the lecturer said that in the party he travelled with each was for "number one" all the way through; but as far as I could learn, there were no ladies in that party to break the selfishness of masculine nature. Certainly, in our party no such spirit was manifested by the generality of the travellers, although in all parties isolated cases of individualism show themselves' (Burns 1870, 178-9). Cook's preference for women lay in his ability to shepherd them in the correct direction without any hint of danger or discomfort which might put off prospective customers in search of a holiday.

¹⁴⁸ It is difficult to put an accurate number on the British tourists in Greece in any given year due to incomplete records and the lack of comprehensive crew manifests. However, the scale was likely to be in the tens of thousands every year. For example, in 1910 the highly selective Hellenic Travellers' Club registered over 2500 members who were actively engaged in travelling to Greece with the club's tours and chartered vessels.

Although Armstrong was entirely dependent on the guidebook to facilitate any seeing, she arrested that information and used it to project herself as close as possible to the woman adventurer (though with her guidebook in hand and limited expense). Without a specialised scholarly or artistic framework for the experience of Greece, these women mobilised the tourist network in a variety of ways according to their horizons and finances to see the sites, and perhaps something else of Greece along the way. Along her journey Armstrong comments on Turkish practices in Larissa and the Greek's cool reception of them which offers a glimpse at a population that would mostly disappear after the Greco-Turkish war of 1897, although a minor observation in the text, as a snapshot of a lost multicultural space it stands as a *memento mori* to a Greece that was discursively, culturally, and literarily being swept back.¹⁴⁹ At once claimed and reclaiming, the woman tourist becomes a novelty on the road, a special object of curiosity for Greek women, and a moving symbol for women's rights to travel and see.

Conclusion

For Pfeiffer the landscape of Greece offers a chance to punctuate her own arguments and political interests; turning away from describing often seen sites, she mobilises her popular understanding of Hellenism to push beyond it, rather than defer to the past. Her particular version of the failure to see is her rejection of Plato's views on women's education, and her corresponding rejection of the antiquities of Greece:

When I read and mark these things, I turn from the wisdom of Greece; it has become to me foolishness. I turn from the Acropolis, where stands the golden Parthenon, trembling as its own beauty upon the palpitating ether; I look away from it, and the system which, within it and around has reached its fullest expansion. I seek a wisdom higher and more fruitful than the unmated Reason:

¹⁴⁹ Armstrong actually believed that minarets left by the Turks should be kept in good condition as tourist sites that could generate revenue for the local population.

the wisdom that is justified of her children. I aspire to equal justice, I look for unbounded liberty.

(Pfeiffer 1885, 66)

Criticising a prevailing 'dilletante Hellenism' (Pfeiffer 1885, 69), Pfeiffer personalises the landscape by veiling it in her own terms and reaching across the temporal divide, not to rehabilitate the past, but to use it as a comparative model for the rights of women. Rejecting the antiquity of Greece, reading it negatively in terms of what remained undone, rather than what was lost, Pfeiffer radically departs from a long line of women travellers before her who struggled to worship at the altar of Ancient Greece.

Reviews were produced on all three books upon their publication: *The Scotsman's* verdict on Janeway was 'pleasant'; *The Times* called Armstrong's volume, 'full of high spirits and good humour, perhaps even a little flippant at times, but readable enough' ('*Two Roving Englishwomen in Greece*' in *The Times*, 12), while *The Academy* seemed keen on the 'large fund of good humour' though issued a warning for the future: 'Miss Armstrong's style is pleasant throughout; but, if she publishes anything in the future, we would suggest a little more restraint in the use of language. More than one of her picturesque descriptions is marred by the terrible word "splodge"' ('*Two Roving Englishwomen in Greece*' in *The Academy*, 99). *The Academy's* review of Pfeiffer elicits a slightly more thorough treatment and sets her apart from the ordinary troop of lady travellers: 'Mrs. Pfeiffer writes with good sense, and an absence of triviality, which contrasts very favourably with her sex who have insisted on taking the world into their confidence. She is not so encyclopaedic as Miss Cumming, nor so optimist as Mrs. Bishop, nor does she imitate Lady Brassey by constituting her pages a chronicle of her

domestic circle' (*Flying Leaves from East and West* in *The Academy*, 406). Lady Brassey may have made it to Greece, but Miss Cumming and Mrs. Bishop certainly did not: missing in the review's critique is geographical specificity, in other words, women's travel was always conditioned by their environment. In addition to his dubious praise, the reviewer advocates a certain practice of reading:

Her English also is vastly superior to that of most bookish tourists; and her observations if necessarily superficial, are shrewd and admirably expressed. The whole book, with the exception of certain dissertations on Greek Art, Plato's *Republic*, women's rights, and the way Carlyle used his wife – all of which the judicious reader will skip – is written with a vigour, and sometimes with an almost poetical beauty, which stamps the latest of the lady travellers as a woman of so much culture that we can forget her tendency to condescension.

(*Flying Leaves from East and West* in *The Academy*, 406)

Missing the crux of Pfeiffer's travel narrative, to use landscape as punctuation in her ongoing meditation on the rights of woman, the reviewer is not keen to acknowledge Pfeiffer's achievement. While Armstrong's adventurous streak is given due credit, her humour works to undermine any tangible sense of achievement or interest beyond gaining entry to a monastery and being a source of light entertainment. Janeway's narrative, beyond its pleasant aspect, fails to make any impression. All labelled as writing produced by the lady traveller, the texts themselves became victims of the same series of discursive practices used to contain the body of the lady traveller. Curtailed, cordoned, and entirely dismissed when deemed pretentious, the label 'tourist' was used as a short hand for the uncritical and tautological account that was testament to little more than a new publication by a woman traveller to Greece. The British women who arrived as tourists in the late nineteenth century may have arrived in a Greece that had been rendered familiar through photographs and postcards, but this did not mean that they simply skimmed the surface, being unable to engage with Modern Greece beyond

Baedeker. The reason for their travels testifies to the popular interest in the Classics in Victorian Britain, and the three writers illustrate how tourists dealt with the clichés and commonplaces that constantly threatened to make their work an extension of a guidebook itinerary. The two previous chapters have focussed on issues of proximity and distance: Agnes Smith Lewis and Jane Ellen Harrison used 'knowing' Greek as a strategy to bring them closer to visually claiming Greece, while the ethnographers used their description of Modern Greece to place themselves closer to the spirit of antiquity. Lewis's Greek women were vestiges of antiquity, or subjects grateful to the paternalism of Greece, while the Greek women described by the ethnographers were mapped in a racial panorama that placed them below Britain, but above Turkey. The discursive category of the lady traveller, especially with its inflection of the New Woman, has been used to suggest another type of engagement with the real site of Greece, one that was not authorised by any scholarly tradition. When the lady traveller met Greek women, she was made to feel aware that she, too, was an object of popular curiosity. With her anonymous and panoramic gaze compromised, the women tourists were constantly forced to reflect on the usefulness in exclaiming commonplaces about Greek antiquity. They arrived in a Greece too late to describe anew, but still waiting to be seen.

Conclusion

In a reply to Robert Eisner's statement that there is 'a lack of good work by and about women's Greek travel' (Eisner 1991, 228), the thesis has discussed a range of women writers who used their travels in Greece as a means of exploring their role in public life. As a genealogy, it has not intended to be a comprehensive portrait of British women's travel to Greece, but it does work to highlight the different types of travellers who went there, and their motivations for doing so. The women discussed in the thesis used their journeys in Modern Greece to explore their own relationship to knowledge, especially testing the limits of women's independence through travel. By witnessing Greece, they laid a claim to use the benchmark for standards of beauty and art in their own terms. The discussion of Agnes Smith Lewis and Jane Ellen Harrison revealed the feminist, as well as imperial, connotations of knowing Ancient Greek, and how women's access to the Classics inflected their experience of Modern Greece with archaeological metaphors of depth. The women ethnographers in Chapter 3 explored how women created a racial panorama of Greece, that mapped Modern Greek women somewhere between Occidental, Oriental and Balkan co-ordinates. The lack of fixity became an index of degradation: as a mongrel element, British women saw the Modern Greeks in desperate need of Hellenisation. However, both these groups of women were exceptional breeds: with long residencies, or the intellectual and financial means to access academic intuitions or high-ranking officials, these women were not representative of most female travellers to Greece. The final chapter considered how women outwith a professional

frame, and in the age of corporate tourism, experienced Greece as a series of pictures, waiting to be seen and captured. Using the guidebook to facilitate their travels in Greece, they were aware of themselves as tourists, and the fallacy of describing antique scenes that had already been photographed and described by travellers before them. Their original contribution, however, is in the way they viewed tourism as a practical means for women's emancipation from the home. The Baedeker was no longer an agent of blindness, but liberation.

When Thomas De Quincey opened his own discussion of the meaning of the palimpsest, he added his own qualification in terms of women and travel:

You know perhaps, masculine reader, better than I can tell you, what is a *Palimpsest*. Possibly you have one in your own library. But yet, for the sake of others who may *not* know, or may have forgotten, suffer me to explain it here: lest any female reader, who honours these papers with her notice, should tax me with explaining it once too seldom; which would be worse to bear than a simultaneous complaint from twelve proud men, that I had explained it three times too often. You therefore, fair reader, understand that for *your* accommodation exclusively, I explain the meaning of this word. It is Greek; and our sex enjoys the office and privilege of standing counsel to yours, in all questions of Greek. We are, under favour, perpetual and hereditary dragomans to you. So that if, by accident, you know the meaning of a Greek word, yet by courtesy to us, your counsel and learned in that matter, you will always seem *not* to know it.

(De Quincey [1845] 1998, 139)

Apparent strangers to antique language and terminology, De Quincey acknowledges the strategic playfulness involved in 'knowing' and 'not knowing' Ancient Greek. If competence in Ancient Greek was an index to cultural capital, then there was no doubt that women were consistently subservient. However, the women examined in the thesis have used 'knowing' and 'not knowing' Greek to interrogate women's position in society, especially in relation to women's academic authority. Although the palimpsest

has been suggested as an exemplary metaphor for the geography of Greece, a mixture of old and new, it also refers to the hidden frames of knowledge about Greece that have fallen from view. Far from being tourists who slavishly followed the panorama and postcard in seeing Greece as a neatly captioned and static tourist image, the thesis suggested how women's travel existed in tension with these technologies. As a reading strategy, the palimpsest model reveals why certain types of discourse are valued above others and the ideological implications. What the palimpsest, panorama and picture postcard have in common is the tension between surface and depth. The surface of a palimpsest promises something more underneath, the panorama through foreshortening places a real scene at a distance and the postcard always has another life just beyond the limits of the frame. Using the limits of these structures, the thesis has sought to reveal the importance of women's travel writing about Greece through the use of contexts that relate to broader issues surrounding the Classics in Britain and women's emancipation. The resulting impact on the structure of the thesis is to produce a genealogy of partial glimpses, glimpses that have dealt with a chapter of travel history and women's literature that has remained largely unexplored. The motifs of the palimpsest, panorama and picture postcard have offered a discursive frame for categorising the women travellers: while Lewis and Harrison were preoccupied with uncovering older strata of Greek life, the ethnographers used racial panoramas that facilitated a mastering gaze that could pan horizontally across cultures, as well as temporally, into a culture's past. When the tourists in Greece tried to use archaeological metaphors, or attempt to offer a mastering view of landscape, they inevitably failed. Negotiating clichés and commonplaces, they instead turned to describing themselves as tourists, reflecting on their practice in order to

distinguish themselves from the ordinary breed. While all the women were complicit in reading the Modern Greeks as temporally 'behind' Britain, they were by no means unified in where they did see the Greeks, or what the use or value of antiquity was. Harrison and Pfeiffer turned their back on the Classics, as an irredeemably patriarchal structure of oppression for women, while for Armstrong and Janeway, the Classics were little more than a hyperlink to a series of values that were uncritically internalised as being valuable. Although a chronological study could have offered a more representative portrait of women's relationship to the Classics by charting its popular associations in Victorian Britain during the different decades of the nineteenth century, the thesis emphasised women's relationship to the site of Modern Greece, over their relationship to the Classics, in order to offer a more representative portrait of the presence of Modern Greece in British women's writing.

Although the thesis has not offered a comparative account with male travellers, or British women who used Greece as a figure in their writing without ever visiting it, it has provided a vital context for future discussions of both. A natural extension of this study would offer a companion discussion on how Greece was used to critique and explore women's role in British society, particularly through more extensive discussions of the presence of Greek figures in writers such as George Eliot and Virginia Woolf. However, what the thesis does provide is a discussion of women whose travel to Greece has been hitherto neglected, and offers a representative overview of how Greece, ancient and modern, Eastern and Western, was negotiated in the travel writing of British women in the Victorian period.

Appendix

1. British Women Writers in Greece 1717-1914

As biographical details are unavailable for many of the women listed, the date of their first publication dealing with travel to Greece is provided. Apart from the case of Lady Montagu and Hester Stanhope, the accounts are published shortly after the original journey.

Montagu, Mary Wortley (1763 [1717])

Craven, Elizabeth (1789)

Stanhope, Lady Hester (1846 [1811])

Dawson-Damer, Mary Georgina Emma (1841)

Grosvenor, Elizabeth Mary (1842)

Tempest-Stewart, Frances Anne-Vane, Marchioness of Londonderry (1844)

Plumley, Mathilda (1845)

Skene, Felicia Mary (1847)

Tobin, Catherine (1855)

Beaufort, Emily, A., Viscountess Strangford (1864)

Walker, Mary A. (1864)

Mackenzie, Georgina Mary & Adelina Paulina Irby (1867)

Grey, Catherina, Theresa Hon Mrs (1869)

Smith, Agnes Lewis (1870)

Bentham, Matilda Barbara Edwards (1872)

Scott-Stevenson Mrs (Mary) Esmé (Gwendoline) (1879)

Blunt, Fanny Janet (1878)

Edwards, Elizabeth Mayhew (1881)

Pfeiffer, Emily (1885)

Harrison, Jane Ellen (1888)

Garnet, Lucy (1890)

Armstrong, Isabel (1893)

Lewis, Elizabeth Alicia Maria (1894)

Janeway, Catehrine (1897)

Palmer, Lucia A (1896)

Fountaine, Margaret (1900)

Woolf, Virginia (1906)

Browne, Edith A. (1906)

Moore, Mabel (1909)

Mayo, Isabelle (1910)

Barrington, Ethel (1912)

2. Territorial Map of Greece 1832-1920

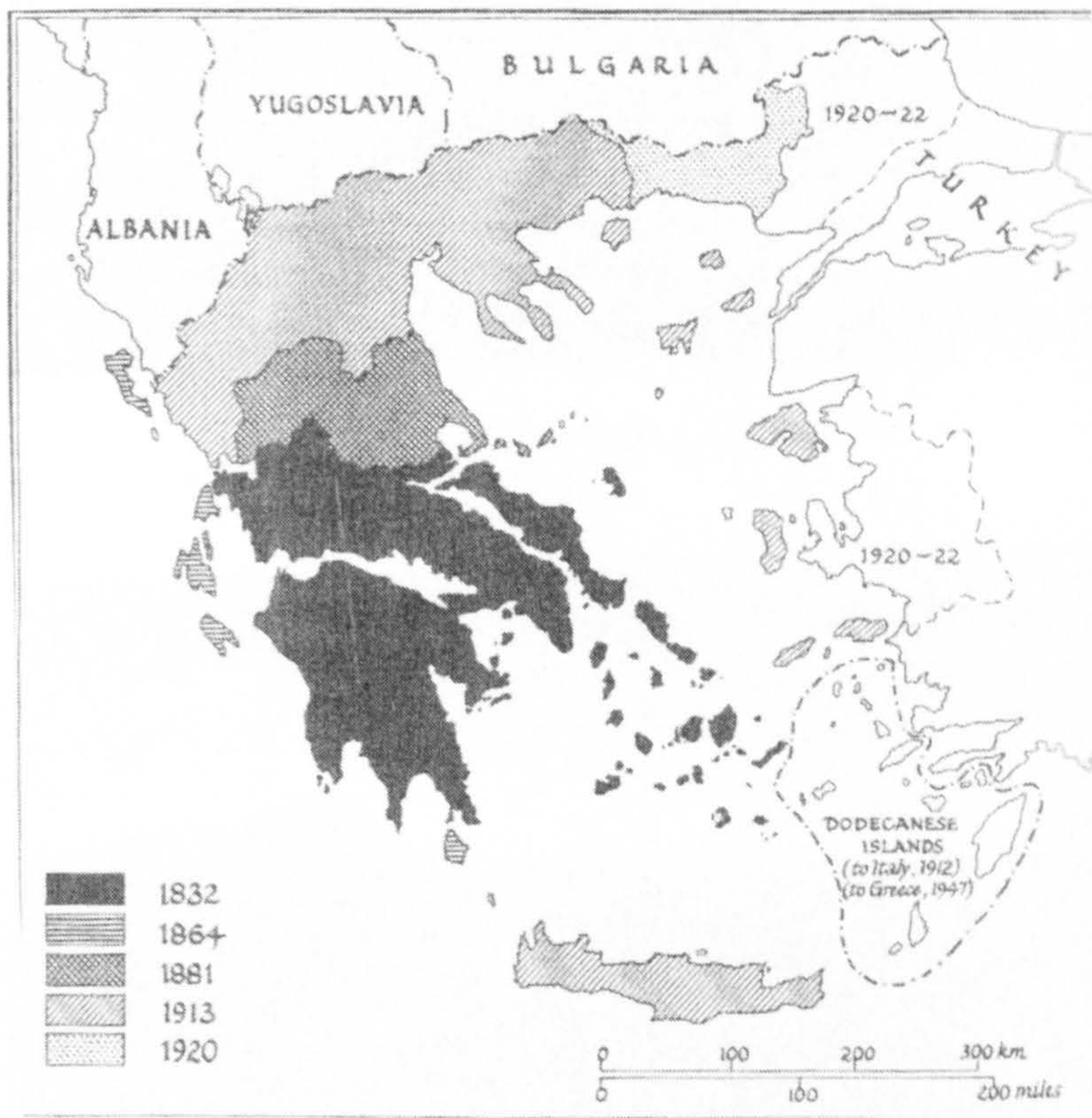
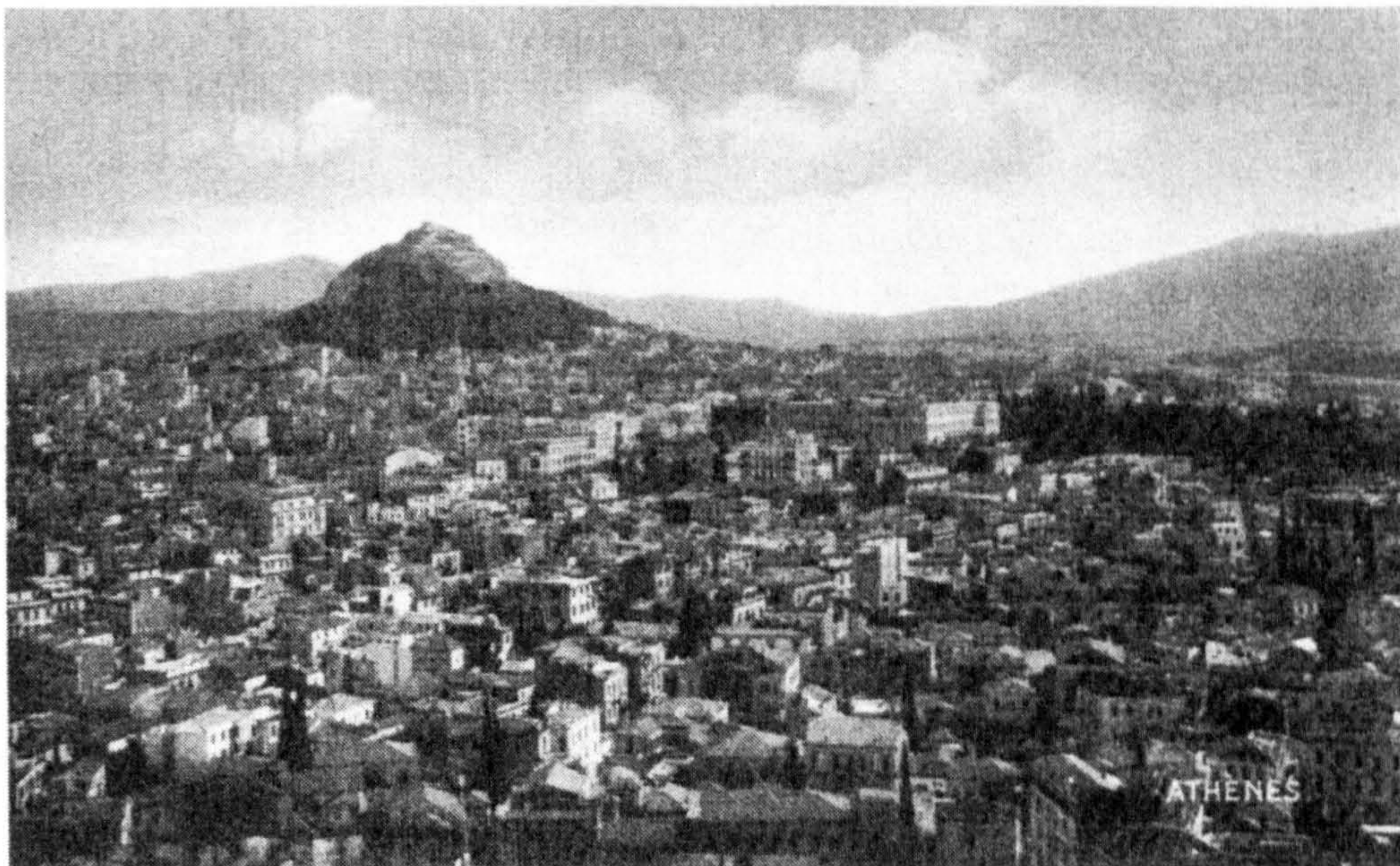


Figure 11

3. Postcards and Tourist Photography c.1880-1920s



Figure 12. Ruins of Salonica, c.1917



Πανόραμα Αθηνών. Panorama d'Athènes I. Panorama von Athen I (Lydskötius). Panorama of Athen I.

Figure 13. Panoramic Postcard of Athens c.1910

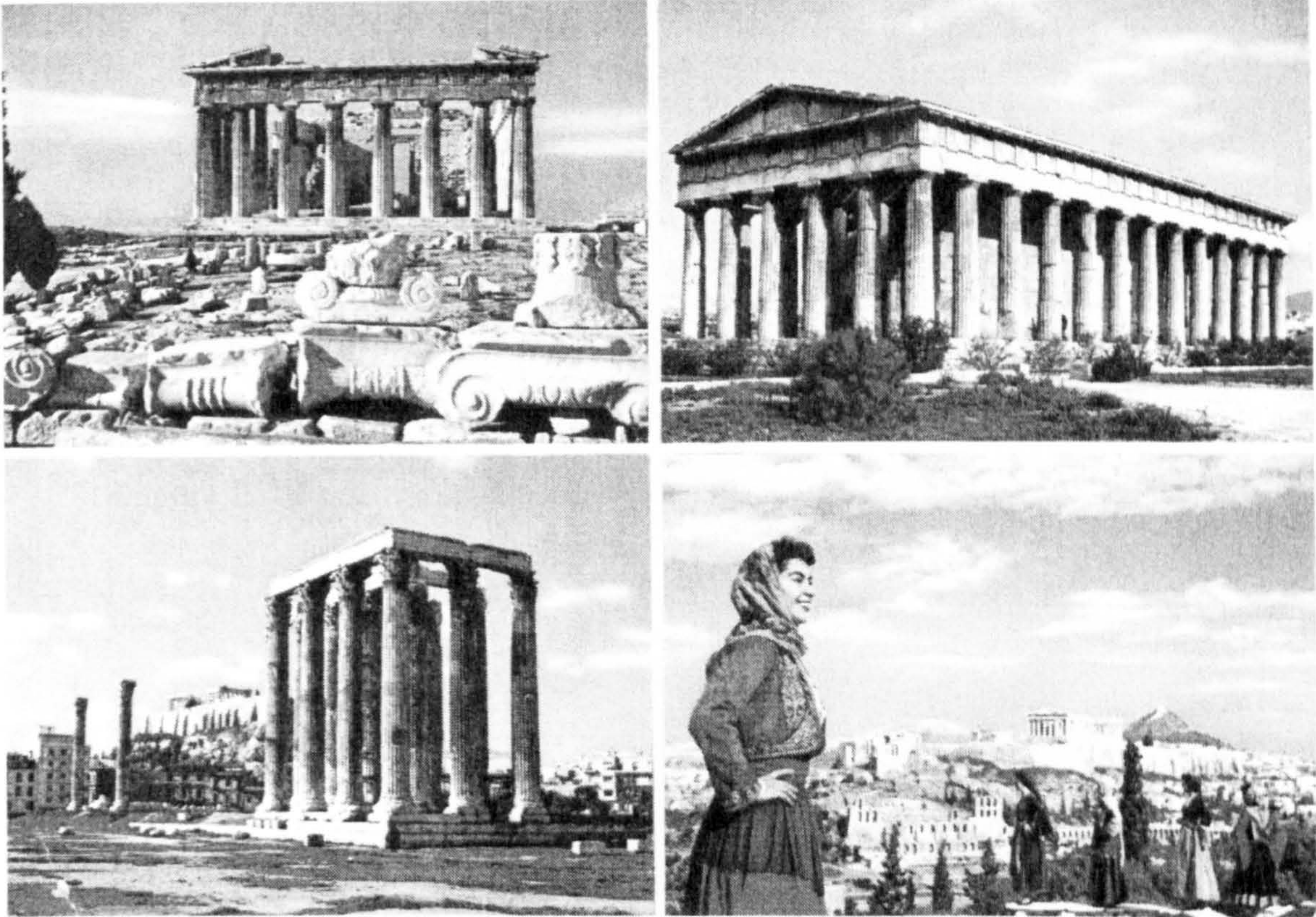


Figure 16. Female national stereotypes, c1965



Figure 17. Women washing clothes in stream, tourist photograph c1890.



Figure 18. Greek men sitting outside café, tourist photograph c1890.

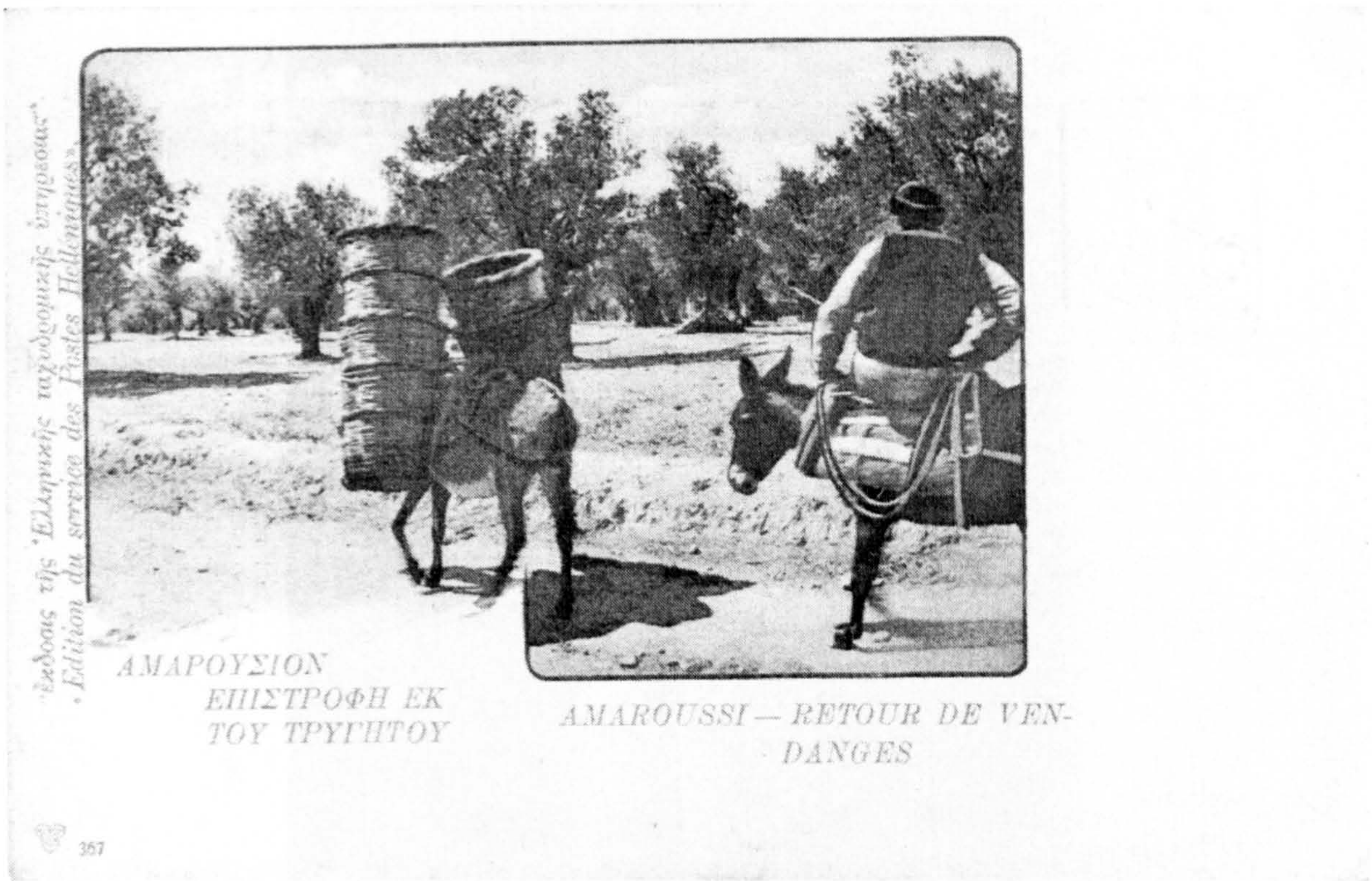


Figure 19. Early example of postcard featuring donkey, c1905.



Figure 20. Man in Greek national costume, c1905.



Χρόνια Πολλά

Figure 21. Man in Greek National Costume, greeting card, c1920

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