

TRAVEL, PICTURES, AND A VICTORIAN GENTLEMAN IN GREECE

ABSTRACT

The rise of mass tourism in the late 19th century coincided with advances in photographic technology that made it easier for travelers to document their journeys. In the 1890s, the clergyman and scientist T. R. R. Stebbing made a photographic record of his travels in the eastern Mediterranean. Stebbing's images reproduce a way of looking at antiquity prescribed by 19th-century guidebooks, thereby encoding a conventional Western view of antiquity. Incorporated into an academic network of slide collections, Stebbing's images contributed to an authoritative scholarly construction of the classical world in Britain during the early 20th century.

INTRODUCTION

Travel, and particularly that by-product of travel, travel writing, have been the focus of much scholarly attention.¹ Studies trace the rise of modern travel from its beginnings in the Grand Tour to the Continent by fashionable, privileged young British men and their entourages through the hiatus caused by the Napoleonic Wars to the growing popularity of the picturesque pleasure tour for the wealthy upper and middle classes.² Most histories of travel leave off before the advent of mass tourism in the mid-19th century and its corollary, anti-tourism conducted by the individual traveler. They show the links between philosophy, literature, politics, and technological advances that shaped how and what travelers saw. Much emphasis has been placed on the traveler rather than the tourist: the unique experience of the individual rather than group sightseeing scripted by tour books

1. I would like to thank John Bennet, who commented on several drafts of this article and offered continuous encouragement. Jack Davis and Yiannis Hamilakis sent me insightful comments on an earlier draft, and the two anonymous *Hesperia* reviewers provided help-

ful suggestions and further references. Any remaining errors are, of course, my own. Paul Smith, the archivist at Thomas Cook and Company, kindly sent me copies of documents on Cook's earliest excursions to Greece. Many thanks go to the Faculty of Classics,

Oxford University, who provided access to the lantern slide teaching collection at Oxford and freely granted permission for use of a number of their images.

2. See, e.g., Hulme and Youngs 2002.

(e.g., Murray's handbooks and Baedeker's guides) and packaged by tour agents (e.g., Thomas Cook and Son). It is, after all, the individual traveler who tells his or her story so well in the genre of travel writing.

Yet tourists also have a tale to tell.³ The stories of these sightseers are preserved in the form of itineraries, boat and train timetables, collections of souvenirs and photographs, and accounts in journals and letters, many of which have not survived or remain in private family collections. One such tale is recorded in a collection of images taken on a tour of the eastern Mediterranean during the last decade of the 19th century by a Victorian gentleman, Thomas Roscoe Reed Stebbing. The collection is housed in the archives of the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University. In order to set Stebbing's images in context, I review the phenomenon of 19th-century mass tourism and present a short biography of the photographer. Then I turn to the images themselves, interpreting them as Stebbing's particular construction of classical antiquity, which in turn is indebted to the 19th-century tradition of travel guidebooks. Finally, I trace the career of the Stebbing Collection itself. Stebbing's images served as a source for lantern slides that were used in educational contexts, thereby contributing to the general perception of the classical world in early-20th-century Britain.

EARLY MASS TOURISM IN THE AEGEAN

During the 18th century, Mediterranean travel on the Grand Tour invariably meant visiting Italy.⁴ Romanticized Hellenic ideals were primarily viewed through ancient remains in Roman contexts. This was due in part to the large number of Greek classical works or their Roman imitations found in collections in Italy, as well as to the highly influential work of the German art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who wrote on the Hellenic ideal but never himself traveled to Greece.⁵ Also, in the minds of many young British men, there was a close association between the concept of Augustan Rome and the nascent British Empire.⁶ Classical education at that time tended to highlight the importance of classical texts primarily for their grammatical structure, isolating their content from the cultures that had created them.⁷ Furthermore, piracy at sea and banditry on land made travel further east into the Ottoman Empire undesirable to many. Leisure travel to Greece was unusual; only the very adventurous or those with a specific purpose—diplomatic, scientific, or topographic—chose that destination. Even then, these earlier travelers described the Greeks as living in degradation. Their condition was often explained as the effect of Ottoman oppression,⁸ a diagnosis rooted in the Western notion of the dichotomy between East and West.⁹

Greek independence in 1832 did not immediately open the country to widespread travel. The first book in English marketed specifically as a guide to the region was published by John Murray in 1840: *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople: Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta, with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East*.¹⁰ This guidebook was based on a travelogue by Godfrey Levinge, an Anglo-Irish

3. Buzard 1993; Withey 1997.

4. Eisner 1991, pp. 75–76; Withey 1997, pp. 30–31; Buzard 2002.

5. Constantine 1984, pp. 104–127.

6. Turner 1981, pp. 1–2; Hingley 2000; Murray 2000, p. 346.

7. Murray 1997, p. 520.

8. E.g., Saïd 2005, pp. 277–279.

9. Scopetea 2003, pp. 171–172.

10. Levinge 1840.

gentleman who traveled in the East between 1831 and 1833.¹¹ While Levinge's account established the format for future English-language guides, the substance of his guide was typical of many other travelogues published in the early 19th century.

Although French, British, and Russian soldiers fought in the Greek War of Independence and eventually helped to overthrow the Ottoman "yoke," Western travelers to the newly independent state nevertheless continued to be disappointed with the degradation of the "real" Greece as compared to its classical ideal.¹² Leontis describes the conceptual or cognitive map of Hellas (the *topos*, or place) as a construct of neo-Hellenic Western thought.¹³ In other words, the Hellas of these early travelers was an extension of their own perceptions; thus, it is not surprising that the modern Greeks they encountered did not live up to their expectations as "paragons of order" descended from the ancestors of European civilization.¹⁴ Gallant and Tzanelli have both pointed out that the "Orientalizing" of modern Greece, by the British in particular, coexisted with the contradictory concept of an ideal Hellas.¹⁵ This view served to rationalize control of a marginal territory in Europe, and its essential dichotomy was preserved in the way travelers perceived the Greeks they encountered.

Practical travel difficulties, such as highway robbery caused by bands of roving brigands, did not abate during the violent years of the revolution but continued well into and beyond the turbulent mid-19th-century reign of King Otho.¹⁶ However, an escalation in violence, namely the seizure of hostages for ransom, peaked in the 1860s and 1870s. Lord Granville, foreign secretary under Gladstone, investigated cases of British hostages abroad from 1860 to 1881, finding 11 cases in southern Europe—Spain, Italy, Greece, and the Ottoman Balkans.¹⁷ This was considered to be an unusually high number of such incidents, which proved costly to the British government. The increase in the number of kidnappings was explained, in part, by political instability and by the increased presence of British travelers and entrepreneurs in these areas of southern Europe.

One hostage incident was often singled out as responsible for stunting a nascent tourist trade in Greece. Known as the Dilessi or Marathon Murders in the British press, the incident was to become a cause célèbre throughout Europe.¹⁸ On the afternoon of April 21, 1870, while returning from a visit to the ancient site of Marathon, a party of eminent ladies and gentlemen, including the secretaries to the British and Italian legations, was captured by a band of brigands. The ladies were freed, and the captors requested ransom for the men and amnesty for themselves. Greek officials, however, refused their request. Three of the British gentlemen, including the secretary to the legation, as well as the secretary to the Italian legation were killed near the village of Dilessi in Boiotia. The Western press sensationalized the murders, implying that the Greeks handled the situation ineptly. Shock and outrage from foreign governments led to the resignation of the Greek cabinet and the adoption of radically revised policies to deal with acts of brigandage.

Thomas Cook and Son began conducting tours to Athens and Constantinople in 1868, and one of their parties was present in Greece in April 1870 at the time of the Dilessi Murders; further development of the firm's

11. Gretton 1993, p. viii.

12. Herzfeld 1986, p. vii.

13. Leontis 1995, pp. 17–22.

14. Tzanelli 2003, p. 22.

15. Gallant 2002, pp. 24–25;

Tzanelli 2003, p. 23.

16. Koliopoulos 1987; Gallant 2001, pp. 29–53.

17. Blinkhorn 2000.

18. *The London Times* reported the incident on April 23, 1870, pp. 9–10; its repercussions held the public's attention well into the next year and beyond, featuring regularly in parliamentary discussions. For a detailed study of the incident, see Jenkins [1961] 1998.

tourist trade in the area was duly suspended.¹⁹ Murray's fourth edition of his *Handbook* (1872) includes a proviso mentioning the incident and indicating that since 1870 the Greek and Ottoman authorities have tried to provide a "state of comparative safety."²⁰ In his travel account *Five Weeks in Greece* (1876), J. F. Young went so far as to include in his preface the entire text of a recent letter from Mr. Malet, the secretary of the British legation in Athens, to His Majesty the King stating that "brigandage has now been completely suppressed in the entire kingdom."²¹ The damage had been done, however, and many tourists sought pleasure trips elsewhere.

During the 1880s, travel in Greece became easier. Outbreaks of violence in the countryside were now concentrated in the border areas and in lands still under Ottoman rule, rather than in the heartland of Greece.²² On a practical level, travel was facilitated by the development of a better transport infrastructure: the construction of well-surfaced roads, though primarily restricted to the area around Athens; the growth of the railroad system; and the development of numerous passenger steamship routes in conjunction with the opening of the modern canal at Corinth. Given the mountainous topography of mainland Greece, the sea had always provided the easiest way of traveling around the country; at least three Hellenic passenger steamship companies, along with competing foreign firms, were serving destinations around the Aegean and Adriatic seas. The railroad lines now made travel faster and easier to places previously accessible only by horseback or lengthy sea journeys.

Greece, however, was still considered to be "off the beaten track,"²³ and travelers there were apt to encounter difficulties. Richard Farrer, an Oxford fellow traveling in 1880, reported that Greece had few tourists and that those who came to the country generally stayed for a short time, as they were usually on their way to or from India.²⁴ He also mentioned that fear of brigandage still kept many travelers from seeing much of the country outside of Athens, and that the practical conditions for traveling in the interior were not well known. Six years later, in 1886, John Sandys indicated that he and his wife were "hampered not a little by want of definite and recent information."²⁵ He published an account of his Easter holiday in Greece as a practical guide, so that it would be possible to visit large parts of the country by walking or driving without having to resort "to the intervention of a dragoman with his cavalcade of beasts of burden." Nevertheless, he admitted that these inconveniences were still required to see "many portions of the interior."²⁶ Sandys's account is in the form of a site-by-site diary with appendixes detailing routes and timetables of steamship liners and railroads, along with a map showing these routes. In many ways, his account is similar to early-19th-century itineraries like those of William Gell²⁷ and to later 19th-century official guidebooks, which

19. Rae 1891, pp. 112–124, 270–286.

20. Watson 1872, p. 3.

21. Young 1876, p. x. The letter is dated January 4, 1875.

22. Koliopoulos 1987, p. 214.

23. Pemble 1987, p. 48.

24. Farrer 1882, pp. v–vi.

25. Sandys 1887, p. vi.

26. Sandys 1887, p. vi.

27. See, e.g., Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000.

offered up-to-date practical information. Sandys stated that his publication was a direct consequence of his disappointment with the inaccuracies printed in J. P. Mahaffy's *Rambles and Studies in Greece*,²⁸ a more romantic anti-tourist representation of travel in Greece in the late 19th century.

Despite the setbacks caused by banditry and political instability, the 1880s saw real progress in organized tourism. The popular press, including the *Illustrated London News*, had been reporting on sensational archaeological discoveries in Greece for some time, and the concept of an ancient Hellenic past may well have become part of the general British public consciousness. Thomas Cook and Son set up branch offices in both Athens and Constantinople in 1883 and began advertising excursions to Greece and Turkey in the firm's magazine, the *Excursionist*, the very next year.²⁹ The *Excursionist* also expressly states that Cook and Son had waited to open these offices until they could ensure their clients' safety from political and military troubles and from the "brigandage formerly existing in certain districts."³⁰

The first Baedeker for Greece, *Griechenland: Handbuch für Reisende*, appeared in 1883;³¹ an English edition followed in 1889.³² By this time, Murray's *Handbook for Greece* was in its fifth edition (1884).³³ The two-volume fifth edition was the most detailed and accurate to date, asserting in its preface that it had been "thoroughly revised and brought up to date to include recent archaeological discoveries."³⁴ The section detailing the museum collections in Athens had also been radically revised in light of new catalogues of the antiquities. Archaeological activity peaked in the 1880s with excavations on the Acropolis and at Epidauros, Eleusis, Olympia, Mycenae, and Tiryns, to name just the sites visited by Stebbing. The plethora of new material and revised theories sparked a greater interest among the reading public, who were already aware of these discoveries through the popular press. In 1893, responding to this need for more information, the headmistress of the Girl's Grammar School at Thetford, Emma R. Perkins, translated Charles Diehl's *Excursions in Greece to Recently Explored Sites of Classical Interest* to provide a coherent, popular account in English of the recent archaeological research in Greece.³⁵

During the 19th century, travelers linked Turkey and Greece in their imagination, associating them on the basis of their shared history. The first edition of Murray's *Handbook* likewise grouped Turkey and Greece together, but the onset of the Crimean War and an increase in hostilities between the two countries triggered a revision. Beginning with the third edition³⁶ in 1854, descriptions of Turkey were put into a separate guidebook.³⁷ Nevertheless, throughout the six 19th-century editions of Murray's handbooks to Greece, hints and travel tips always pertain to both Greece and European Turkey. An unattributed quotation from the *Quarterly Review* that appears in the third edition, and is repeated in subsequent editions, demonstrates a cautious sympathy with the "Great Idea,"³⁸ even though the concept was generally not in favor with the Western powers:

We do not aspire to prophesy of the future fate of Constantinople, but when we think of all those Turkish subjects who speak the Greek language and profess the Greek religion . . . we cannot but

28. Mahaffy 1876.

29. *Excursionist*, December 12, 1883; *Excursionist*, February 1, 1884; *Excursionist*, April 19, 1884; *Cook's Tours*, p. 3.

30. *Excursionist*, April 19, 1884, p. 3.

31. Baedeker 1883.

32. Baedeker 1889.

33. Yule 1884.

34. Yule 1884, p. 1.

35. Diehl 1893 (the original French edition was published in 1890).

36. Bowen 1854.

37. Gretton 1993, p. viii.

38. The "Great Idea" (Μεγάλη Ιδέα) was an irredentist concept that first appeared in the middle of the 19th century. It expressed the goal to unite all ethnic Greeks in the lands of the former Byzantine Empire, particularly those still under Ottoman rule (Gallant 2001, pp. 54–60).

look upon the recovery of the Christian nationality of Greece as one of the most important of modern events, or watch the development of this young kingdom without feeling of the most anxious expectation. We cannot believe that the Mahammedan tide, which was arrested at Lepanto, will ebb back no further than Navarino.³⁹

In 1883, Thomas Cook and Son simultaneously opened offices in Constantinople and Athens, a choice that reflects an awareness of the shared heritage of Turkey and Greece. Indeed, the firm geared their itineraries to an educated clientele, described in the *Excursionist* as “classical and historical students.”⁴⁰

The growth of mass tourism in the late 19th century coincided with developments in photographic technology. Photography had an immediate appeal for the tour industry as a way of capturing time and place and providing mementos of journeys. At first, the technology was complex and difficult enough to keep the practice of photography in the hands of professionals. Many studios selling souvenir photographs and albums sprang up in popular travel destinations; indeed, some of the images in the Stebbing Collection are actually photographs of such commercially produced prints. Individual photographers sold mail-order collections through publishers for the traveler and nontraveler alike. Travel photographs, though gathered by those who did travel, were, for the most part, collected in the Victorian middle-class home by nontravelers who used them to view distant locations through a Western lens, imagining the place represented in the visual image.⁴¹ Views were predominantly stereotyped iconographic scenes⁴²—examples of what Lyons calls “camera vision”⁴³—that necessitated only minimal captions as a prompt.⁴⁴ In the late 1880s and 1890s, however, handheld cameras with instantaneous shutters, new negative formats using dry plates and film, and cheaper mass production methods made it possible for anyone to be their own photographer, marking the birth of the “holiday snap.”

It was in this new age of touristic and photographic convenience that Stebbing traveled to Greece. Excursion itineraries and standardized, formulaic guides—particularly Murray’s handbooks—indicated what ought to be seen, not what might be seen, directing the traveler’s attention to specific places to be viewed in specific ways.⁴⁵ Popular magazines such as *Punch* satirized this mode of travel; tourists were characterized as unable to function without their “Murrays” to tell them how to appreciate Culture.⁴⁶ Cook’s tours had become ubiquitous throughout Europe, the Near East, and Egypt, and the derogatory label “Cookites” was attached to its clients. Travel was faster, more regimented, and left little time for the traveler to linger on or ponder the sights and scenes. By the 1890s, when Stebbing visited, Greece was finally “on the beaten track.”

39. Bowen 1854 (“new [3rd] edition”), p. 1; Watson 1872 (4th ed.), p. 1; Yule 1884 (5th ed.), p. 8; Pullen 1896 (6th ed.), p. 1; Edgar 1900 (7th ed.), p. xxviii. In addition to publishing the

series of handbooks, John Murray also published the *Quarterly Review*.
40. *Excursionist*, April 19, 1884, p. 4.
41. Osborne 2000, p. 56.
42. Tsigirialou 2003, p. 110.

43. Lyons 2005, p. 25.

44. Hamilakis 2001, p. 10.

45. Palmowski 2002, p. 108.

46. Buzard 1993, p. 77.

THE PHOTOGRAPHER: T. R. R. STEBBING

Thomas Roscoe Reed Stebbing (1835–1926) was not an archaeologist or even a scholar of the Hellenic world, although like many of his era he had received a classical education. He was awarded a B.A. at King's College London and matriculated to Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1853. Stebbing was ordained in the Church of England in 1859 and a year later became a fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. At Worcester he served as tutor, vice-provost, and eventually dean, leaving the college in 1868 in order to marry Mary Ann Saunders.⁴⁷ His most notable achievements, however, were in the field of natural history. He systematically classified amphipod Crustacea, contributed to the reports of the HMS *Challenger* expedition,⁴⁸ and continuously advocated Darwinism in print and in public lectures.

Probably because of his endorsement of the theory of natural selection, Stebbing never received a parish living in the church and spent much of his early working life as a teacher and private tutor while living in Torquay. Later in life, having relocated to Tunbridge Wells, he gave up teaching and concentrated on his scientific endeavors. In recognition of his work he was made a fellow of the Linnean Society and of the Royal Society. Stebbing continued to be active in these scientific societies and was honored by them for his many achievements. He published articles on natural history, Darwinism, and theology well into his 80s and died at the age of 91 at home in Tunbridge Wells in 1926. In the fields of oceanography and zoology, Stebbing's publications are still considered to be a significant and relevant body of work.⁴⁹

The conclusion of Stebbing's brief autobiography indicates his reticence in detailing his private life:

My record leaves untouched the comedy of life; cat stories, modest feats of swimming and boating, cricket and fives, even dancing which I disliked, and pedestrianism of which I was fond, play-acting, excursions for pleasure or work or both combined.⁵⁰

The key phrase here is “excursions for pleasure,” of which, he tells us, we cannot expect a personal record. Indeed, the Stebbing Collection housed in the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University, appears to be the sole surviving documentation of one such pleasure excursion. Based on the scenes recorded, it seems that Stebbing photographed these images

47. Fellows of Oxford colleges were not permitted to marry until the university reforms of 1871 (Engel 1983, p. 107; Dunbabin 1997, p. 413). Mary Ann was the youngest daughter of the distinguished naturalist William Wilson Saunders. She was a botanist and became one of the first lady fellows of the Linnean Society (Stebbing 1923, p. 4).

48. The *Challenger* expedition

(1872–1876), funded by the Admiralty and the Royal Society, was the first systematic scientific investigation of the physical and biological conditions of the earth's oceans, and marked the beginnings of the modern study of oceanography (Bossard 2004). It was so named because it challenged the Victorian theory that the depths of the oceans were pitch-black and lifeless. The expedition built on the tradition

of earlier scientific explorations, such as Darwin's voyage on the *Beagle* in the 1830s. The resulting publications from the *Challenger* expedition were numerous and included Stebbing's report on amphipods, published in *Zoology* (Stebbing 1888).

49. Mills 1972, 1976a, 1976b, 2004; Alder 2006.

50. Stebbing 1923, p. 5.



Figure 1. Athens, Arch of Hadrian. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Mary Ann Stebbing at the right of the arch. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University



Figure 2. Epidauros Theater. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Mary Ann Stebbing at lower right. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

during the course of a single holiday, probably around 1893–1894.⁵¹ Nevertheless, despite the absence of a written record, Stebbing's images themselves are often marked by personal touches. For example, his wife, Mary Ann, appears in a number of the photographs of Argos, Athens, Corfu, Epidauros, Mycenae, and Olympia, often wearing the same traveling costume (Figs. 1, 2; see also Figs. 15, 19, and 21, below). The number of harbors photographed, such as those at Smyrna (Fig. 3) and Patras (Fig. 4), as well as fishing boats and sailing vessels, testify to Stebbing's interest in nautical scenes. This interest may be due to the fact that Stebbing himself lived near the sea; that is, Stebbing was not simply recording his mode of travel.

The complete Stebbing Collection contains 277 unique negatives, either film or glass, and a small number of duplicate images as contact

51. Internal evidence from the images provides us with clues to their date, particularly those from Athens. For example, a photograph of the restored Choregic Monument of Lysikrates gives a terminus post quem of 1892 and, in another photograph, the absence of construction for the Panhellenic stadium near the Temple of Olympian Zeus and the Arch of Hadrian for the 1896 Olympic Games gives a terminus ante quem.



Figure 3. Smyrna, camels along the coast. T. R. R. Stebbing negative.

Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University



Figure 4. Patras harbor. T. R. R.

Stebbing negative. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

prints. There are 194 film negatives, 83 glass negatives, and 18 contact prints, all a British standard quarter-plate size ($3\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, or ca. 82.5×108 mm). Both glass and film negatives could be used in the same camera, although the film negatives required an adapter. Stebbing was not a professional photographer, and a number of the images are either overexposed, underexposed, superimposed, or out of focus. Furthermore, many of the negatives are beginning to degrade: the emulsion on the glass or film is showing signs of whitening or clouding, and some of the glass negatives have developed chips and cracks. They represent 15 different locations in the Mediterranean, primarily the sites of ancient monuments in Greece, but a significant number were taken in Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Rome.



Figure 5. Istanbul, interior of the Mosque of Ayia Sophia; tomb of Selim II and family. Labeled “272. Tombeaux du Sultan Selim II et Famille à S. Sofie.” Photograph from a Sébah and Joaillier original. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

The negatives are contained in their own wooden box, ordered by site, and separated by index markers containing the names of the sites. The order of the sites is neither strictly geographical nor alphabetical, but appears haphazard: Constantinople, Olympia, Patras, Corinth, Tiryns, Epidauros, Argos, Corfu, Ephesos, Smyrna, Nauplia, Mycenae, Athens Museum, Eleusis, Athens, and Rome. The index papers were created from pages torn from an accounting ledger in Stebbing’s copperplate handwriting. When dates appear on these papers, they range from November 1897 to January 1898. Thus, Stebbing created these index papers sometime after his journey, when he organized the negatives.

It is possible, though speculative, that some of the negatives were used to produce prints for a photographic album, as some original contact prints—all of which depict scenes in Rome—are contained in the collection. However, no such album has come to light. On the other hand, at least five of the negatives were produced from print originals that were not found with the collection. These five show the interior of two mosques in Constantinople (e.g., Fig. 5) and were taken by the professional photographic firm of Sébah and Joaillier.⁵² Stebbing probably purchased copies of these latter images, either in the form of photographic prints or postcards,⁵³ as souvenirs during the holiday and photographed them himself.

“WAYS OF SEEING”

It is unknown whether Thomas and Mary Ann Stebbing traveled independently, as did John Sandys and his wife, or as part of an organized tour. In addition, clients who chartered an excursion from Cook and Son could opt to travel with or without a guide. With the aid of the itineraries mentioned in Cook’s 1891 excursion brochure⁵⁴ and the description of places in John Sandys’s journal, combined with sites represented in Stebbing’s images, it is possible to reconstruct a plausible itinerary for Stebbing and his wife. The precise order in which Stebbing saw the sites, however, is less relevant to the present study than what he chose to record in photographs.

52. Özendes 1999.

53. Özendes 1999, pp. 235–240.

54. *Cook’s Tours*, pp. 7–14.



Figure 6. Ephesos, the pillars of the Basilica of Saint John constructed by the emperor Justinian. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

TOURISM AS PILGRIMAGE

The religious strand that threads its way throughout Stebbing's images is quite pronounced. In nearly every major town Stebbing visited, he photographed places of worship: Constantinople (Ayia Sophia and the mosques of Ahmet I and Süleyman the Magnificent), Smyrna (the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Saint John the Evangelist), Athens (Kapnikarea, and the so-called Little Metropolis), Patras (Ayios Andreas), Corfu (Ayios Spyridon, Ayioi Iason kai Sosipatros, and the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Saint James), and Rome. This cannot be considered unusual for a Victorian clergyman, even an unconventional one like Stebbing. It was a time when evangelical reverence for the Bible was paramount in upper- and middle-class society, not only as a source of spiritual solace, but also as a historical document—a virtual guidebook to the Holy Land.⁵⁵ A pilgrimage to Greece, Asia Minor, and Rome would have given historical credibility to the scriptures of the New Testament by associating them with real places.

Many of the monuments and sites Stebbing photographed would have resonated with his own spiritual background, because of their place in early Christian history. Both the sites of Ephesos and Corinth, as well as the Church of Saints Iason and Sosipatros on Corfu, had connections with Saint Paul. Ephesos has special significance for students of the early church, not only because it hosted the Third Ecumenical Council in A.D. 431, but also because of its intimate connection with the Apostle John and the Virgin Mary (Fig. 6). A slim pocket-sized book on Classical and Christian Ephesos by the excavator, J. T. Wood, published in 1890 by the Religious Tract Society as volume 14 in their series "By-Ways of Bible Knowledge," was aimed at the biblical student, but was popularized by the rising Victorian interest in religious tourism.⁵⁶ Ayios Andreas in Patras had legendary connections with Scotland and the Apostle Andrew, and was photographed even though the church was a modern 19th-century reconstruction (Fig. 7). The Mosque of Ayia Sophia (Fig. 5), originally built by the emperor Justinian (526–565 A.D.), was once a center of the early Orthodox Church. The Mosque

55. Pemble 1987, pp. 55–60.

56. Wood 1890; Challis 2008a, pp. 137–139.



Figure 7. Patras, 19th-century church of Ayios Andreas. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University



Figure 8. Constantinople, Turkish cemetery. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

of Ahmet I in Constantinople, converted from an earlier Byzantine church, was built on the site of the Byzantine Imperial Palace and the Late Roman Hippodrome. The Mosque of Süleyman the Magnificent was designed and built as a direct rival to Aya Sophia. Even the Rumeli Hisar of Mehmet II marked a key point in Christian history: the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, which reverberated in the nations of the West.

This religious theme is also echoed in the photographs of funerary markers. These photographs include one of the Turkish cemetery (Fig. 8) and the Sébah and Joaillier image of the tomb of Selim II and his family in Constantinople (Fig. 5). In Athens, views of the Street of Tombs in the Kerameikos and numerous photographs of grave stelai in the National Museum show a similar interest. These markers, as symbols of grief, sorrow, and human mortality from different cultures and religions, expressed sentiments akin to those conveyed by the elaborate and familiar British tombstones of



Figure 9. Attica, Monastery of Daphne on the Sacred Way. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

the Victorian period. Many Victorian visitors to the Kerameikos remarked on how these tomb markers memorialize personal grief. Mahaffy found parallels between the sentiments expressed on the Athenian tombstones and in Tennyson's poem *In Memoriam*.⁵⁷ Sandys referred to the tombstones as "representing, in a style of quiet and chastened reserve, the tender scenes of parting."⁵⁸ Murray's 1884 *Handbook* described them as follows:

These sepulchral reliefs have a peculiar interest for us, because in the scenes which they represent, and in the sorrow which they so tenderly commemorate, we have a genuine expression of the feelings of the individual.⁵⁹

Stebbing also took the trip along the Sacred Way from Athens through the Pass of Daphne to Eleusis and its Temple of the Mysteries. Though the ruins were described as in a chaotic state and not worth the visit, many came to view the celebrated Greek sanctuary. Often they came on foot, as recommended by the guidebooks, perhaps to experience a part of the ancient rite. The 1889 Baedeker indicated that the chaos of marble debris made the plan of the site difficult to see,⁶⁰ and Cook's 1891 excursions list simply stated that the ruins were "not in a fine state of preservation."⁶¹ Diehl attributed the unintelligibility of the "confused heaps of ruins" to the fact that there was no guidebook for the site available as there was at Olympia.⁶² Stebbing's images show the ruins of the temple precinct, views from above, and the massive fortified wall of the Telesterion. Also worth visiting along the Sacred Way was the Monastery of Daphne (Fig. 9) on the outskirts of Athens, where Stebbing photographed the remains of the fine mosaic of Christos Pantokrator in the apex of the church dome with a circular frieze of saints and prophets below.

Stebbing's interest in religious subjects suggests that he was making a pilgrimage of sorts, and indeed the entire process of travel has been associated with ritual: the guidebook "provid[es] the order of worship at the shrines of the beautiful, the historic, and the foreign, telling the potential

57. Mahaffy 1876, pp. 67–77.

58. Sandys 1887, p. 28.

59. Yule 1884, p. 276.

60. Baedeker 1889, p. 112.

61. *Cook's Tours*, p. 8.

62. Diehl 1893, p. 306.

tourist what kind of behavior is appropriate to each site and indicating what kind of fulfillment to expect from it.”⁶³ Thus, culture becomes the “new religion,” and the cultural pilgrimage is centered on the shrines of art, history, and the exotic. Indeed, Hamilakis and Yalouri have argued that, in modern Greece, the ideological construction of antiquity is imbued with religious overtones, so that antiquities become “artifacts of a secular religion”⁶⁴ and visiting archaeological sites and museums is akin to a pilgrimage.⁶⁵ This leads us to the concept of cultural tourism in the 19th century.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY CULTURAL TOURISM

Cultural tourism has been described as “a genre of special interest tourism based on the search for and participation in new and deep cultural experiences, whether aesthetic, intellectual, emotional, or psychological.”⁶⁶ In practice, this type of tourism today focuses heavily on traditional communities and their environment, lifestyles, heritage, crafts, and performing arts. In 19th-century cultural tourism in Greece, “deep cultural experiences” were often framed in terms of the classical past. The Greek classics were deemed to embody values similar to Victorian values and so were a way for the Victorians to think about themselves.⁶⁷ Mahaffy explained in 1874 that the Greek classics

are writings of men of like culture with ourselves, who argue with the same logic, who reflect with kindred feelings. They have worked out social and moral problems like ourselves, they have expressed them in such language as we should desire to use. In a word, they are thoroughly modern, more modern than the epochs quite proximate to our own.⁶⁸

Traditional British classical education,⁶⁹ allusions in literature, and motifs in contemporary art, architecture, and decorative ornaments embedded Hellenic concepts and forms in Victorian society.⁷⁰

Albums of travel photographs of the classical world and stereoscope collections in the private sphere, as well as lantern slide shows of foreign travel⁷¹ and large-scale panorama displays⁷² in the public arena, provided a direct visual link with classical lands. In addition, 19th-century British classical archaeologists provided information—and, importantly, artifacts—from sites to supplement well-known literary works⁷³ and to augment a British national identity as inheritors of the classical past.⁷⁴ The popular press

63. Stowe 1994, p. 29.

64. Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999, p. 116.

65. Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999, p. 118.

66. Stebbins 1996, p. 948.

67. Turner 1981, p. 8.

68. Mahaffy 1874, p. 1, cited in Turner 1981, p. 10.

69. The topic of 19th-century classical education in Britain has been widely

studied; see Stray 1998 for an overview.

70. Jenkyns 1980; Vaughan 1998.

71. Lantern slide sets were available from commercial firms usually accompanied by printed slide readings. For example: *Cities and Places of Interest in the Mediterranean*, ca. 1887, produced by York and Son (London) and marketed by Riley Brothers (Bradford); and the two series *From London to Greece* and *Athens and the Piraeus*, both ca. 1894,

also listed in the Riley Brothers catalogue, Magic Lantern Society 2008.

72. Comment 1999, p. 8. Large panorama displays—continuous circular representations hung on the walls of a rotunda—often reproduced cityscapes from the Grand Tour, including Athens and Constantinople.

73. Cook 1998, p. 153.

74. Challis 2008a, pp. 18–19.

reported on excavations; fashionable exhibition halls such as the Crystal Palace⁷⁵ and the more rarefied museums displayed ancient Greek material culture that served to familiarize middle-class tourists with things Greek even before they left their own shores. In essence, traveling to Greece—the land from which the classical world sprang—was a *cultural* pilgrimage.

The positive reception of the classical world in Victorian Britain was nurtured by the universities. The authors of the three late-19th-century travel accounts mentioned earlier, Mahaffy, Farrer, and Sandys,⁷⁶ were all academics—at Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, respectively. Mahaffy and Sandys were also prominent members of the Hellenic Society. The purpose of the society, as outlined in the 1879 inaugural address by Charles Newton, was the promotion of Hellenic studies, including the language and literature, art and architecture, and manners and customs of three general periods: ancient, Byzantine, and what he termed “Neo-Classical” or present-day.⁷⁷ We are also told by Newton that travelers played a significant role, namely, to “collect matters of interest to this society.”⁷⁸ Constantine remarks on the difference between the earlier “fanciful” or “romantic” accounts and the more “factual” or “scholarly” accounts of the 19th century that came with the rise of professionalism.⁷⁹

Thus, travel accounts in the late 19th century are framed less as records of a Grand Tour and more as compendia of pedagogical observations, coinciding with the phenomenon of the institutionalization of knowledge in Britain and Western Europe.⁸⁰ To this pattern of travel belong American scholarly study tours to Greece in the late 19th century. Murray and Runnels found that there was an increasing number of such study tours after the foundation of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1881, indicating that the tours were integral to the training of young archaeologists.⁸¹ Commercial travel companies followed suit, directing their advertisements toward the educated middle classes.

The subject of archaeology and nationalism in the construction of the past is not a new one, and several studies have looked at the relationship linking archaeology, early photography, and the emerging state of modern Greece.⁸² The following is a brief review relevant to early British tourist activity in that country. The renovation and excavation of classical monuments made manifest a “foundation myth” that provided a deep history for the modern state.⁸³ Reconstructions began in earnest during the reign of King Otho in the mid-19th century and later continued under the direction of the State Archaeological Service. This project went hand in hand with town planning, particularly in those towns that had been devastated by the War of Independence. The aim was to efface all evidence of Ottoman rule and to link the new Greece to the West through its continuity with the “cherished” periods of its past.⁸⁴

More than any other city in Greece, Athens as the new capital was subjected to a building program that used the monuments to project a link between the classical past and the present.⁸⁵ The new capital’s city-planning scheme, laid out in 1832, restored some of the glory of the ancient town by freeing antiquities from the rubble and the poor decrepit huts that hid them. The monuments were meant to be displayed in a picturesque setting where they might inspire all who saw them. In keeping with this ideal,

75. Challis 2008b, pp. 181–190.

76. Mahaffy 1876; Farrer 1882; Sandys 1887.

77. Newton 1880, pp. 1–2.

78. Newton 1880, p. 5.

79. Constantine 1984, pp. 211–212.

80. Tzanelli 2003, p. 22; Daunton 2005.

81. Murray and Runnels 2007.

82. E.g., Hamilakis 2001; Papadopoulos 2005.

83. Hamilakis 2001, pp. 6–9.

84. Yerolympos 1993.

85. Bastea 2000; Athanassopoulou 2002.



Figure 10. Athens, distant view of the Acropolis from the west. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

the new Academy building, the only modern public building Stebbing photographed in the city, was constructed in a neoclassical style.

The ideological connection between the classical past and its physical expression, enhanced by excavation programs and the renovation of monuments, was fostered by the far-reaching influence of Pausanias.⁸⁶ The *Periegesis*, or *Description of Greece*, would have been well known to any student of classical literature like Stebbing. Scholarly travelers to Greece not only took along their Murrays or Baedekers, but also their copies of Pausanias.⁸⁷ Various editions of the *Description of Greece*, in the original Greek or in translation, were readily available at the time Stebbing traveled to Greece.⁸⁸

One key to understanding the influence of Pausanias is recognizing how his narrative determined what was significant to see and how to see it. Pausanias was selective in what he recorded: sacred sites, generally, described as if set in timeless isolation.⁸⁹ Later travelers, following Pausanias's lead, viewed (and described) these landscapes without reference to the local people, as if they were disconnected from their native communities, or they described an empty landscape.⁹⁰ The settings of monuments were romanticized, seen as pristine places of beauty that epitomized the glories of Western civilization. Tour operators and tour books continued this practice, and it can be argued that the disconnection of sites from their settings still continues today.⁹¹ For example, the *Blue Guides*⁹² are organized by itineraries (nowadays followed by car) that indicate what is significant to see along the way. Stebbing's images are predominantly of Classical sites in unpeopled landscapes; they isolate the monuments from their immediate setting, following—though perhaps unwittingly—an established canon.

Stebbing's photographs of Athens include seven distant views of the Acropolis, circling the hill (e.g., Fig. 10). Ten additional photographs of monuments on the Acropolis show the Propylaea, the Temple of Athena Nike, the Erechtheion, and the Parthenon (Fig. 11) from different angles.

86. Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001.

87. Sutton 2001, p. 181.

88. Sandys (1887, pp. 113–114) lists translations of Pausanias and of other ancient authors as well as modern books on Greek travel and topography in his Appendix I.

89. Sutton 2001, p. 176; Pretzler 2004, p. 208.

90. Sutton 1996; Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000, p. 370.

91. Sutton 1996; 2001, pp. 185–188.

92. Gretton (1993, p. xxii) notes that the *Blue Guides*, first published just after World War I in 1918, not only inherited this tradition from Murray's handbooks, which had ceased to be published, but were also issued in direct competition with Baedeker's guides.



Figure 11. Athens, Parthenon. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

An 1870 publication by William Stillman, which may have been available to Stebbing, reproduces Stillman's photographs of the Athenian Acropolis, beginning with distant views of the Acropolis before concentrating on its individual monuments shown from different angles.⁹³ Pausanias's route around the city was plotted with reference to this central landmark: the Agora and the area to the west and north, the "City of Hadrian" or the area to the east, the area to the south, the Acropolis itself, and the area of the Pnyx immediately to the west. Murray's *Handbook* and Baedeker's *Guide* diverge from Pausanias's route around the city only at the starting point, the new parliament building.

Stebbing photographed the Doric Temple of Hephaistos in the Agora, the so-called Theseion (Figs. 12, 13), a well-preserved monument that was repeatedly represented in early photographs.⁹⁴ Papadopoulos, in his cultural biography of this building, shows that representations of it held symbolic value in terms of national identity.⁹⁵ This may account, in part, for the fascination it held for 19th-century commercial photographers. One photograph by Petros Moraites, taken around 1870, shows the Theseion with the Acropolis in the background.⁹⁶ It is taken from the same viewpoint as the one produced by Stebbing (Fig. 12), although Stebbing's is a bit more distant. Other photographs, at closer quarters and taken from

93. Stillman 1870; Szegedy-Maszak 2005. Stebbing may also have had access to Stillman's photographs through commercial photographic printers or through the Hellenic Society (Harlan, forthcoming).

94. Papadopoulos 2005, p. 140. In 1834 the Theseion, which had previously served as a church dedicated to St. George, became the Central Public Museum of Antiquities. By the time of

Stebbing's journey, however, many of its archaeological collections would have been transferred to the new neoclassical building of the National Archaeological Museum, completed in the 1860s, which offered more extensive exhibition space.

95. Papadopoulos 2005, pp. 135–144.

96. Papadopoulos 2005, p. 138, fig. 21.



Figure 12. Athens, Theseion from a distance with the Acropolis in the background. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University



Figure 13. Athens, Theseion. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

the north, depict the Theseion: one by James Robertson (ca. 1853–1854) and another by Dimitrios Constantin (ca. 1860).⁹⁷ These two examples are similar to Stebbing's close-up (Fig. 13), although they are not from quite the same angle.

Monuments photographed by Stebbing in the Roman Market include the surviving facade of the Library or so-called Stoa of Hadrian, the Gate of Athena Archegetis, and the Tower of the Winds. The images of the Library of Hadrian invariably show the structure constructed on its southeast corner, the Mosque of Tzitsouakis.⁹⁸ The Olympieion, or Temple of Olympian Zeus, and the Arch of Hadrian to the southeast of the Acropolis were both photographed from different angles and distances. Between this southeast area and the Acropolis lies the Choregic Monument of Lysikrates, restored in 1892. To the south of the Acropolis, at the base of the hill, two monuments were photographed: the Theater of Dionysos and the Odeion

97. Papadopoulos 2005, p. 141, fig. 23 (Robertson); p. 143, fig. 24 (Constantin).

98. The mosque was once the main mosque of Ottoman Athens, later turned into a barracks and, at the time the photographs were taken, a weapons storehouse. It is now the Museum of Greek Popular Art.

of Herodes Atticus. The carved seats of the theater with their claw-footed central seat for the priest of Dionysos are represented in three images, all of which show Mary Ann Stebbing seated. The so-called Bema of Phaidios (5th century A.D.), a relief sculpture that adorned the Roman stage, was also photographed. Two images of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus show several stories of its arched facade, and a statue located in one of the arches at the base of the structure. Stebbing's photographs of Athens reproduce scenes similar to those created by commercial photographers, including those taken years earlier by Felix Bonfils, and often followed recommended views set down in Murray's handbooks.⁹⁹

Images of sites in the Peloponnese include views of Corinth, Nauplia, Argos, Epidauros, Mycenae, and Tiryns, and Olympia and Patras further to the west. Patras would have been a natural jumping-off point for Corfu, also visited by Stebbing. Ancient remains are mixed with a few images marking Stebbing's detached observation of local people, perhaps his way of seeing the "Other," and a number of nonarchaeological noteworthy places. At Corinth Stebbing photographed the modern train station, men at a table outside a taverna, and a donkey caravan along the Corinthian Gulf. In the main square in Nauplia he made images of Greek soldiers, well-dressed townspeople, and a humble muleteer watering his animal at a trough. A group of local Greeks (possibly guides) are lined up outside rough mudbrick houses at the entrance to the sanctuary of Epidauros. The Venetian fortresses at Nauplia, Patras, and Corfu are represented in photographs. On Corfu, one image was taken from a terrace of the newly constructed Achilleion, the summer residence of Empress Elizabeth of Austria, designed and constructed in 1890–1891 by the Italian architect Cardilo.¹⁰⁰ It shows the Italianate garden dotted with neoclassical sculpture. The only scene Stebbing photographed on Corfu that would qualify as an ancient monument is the somewhat unimpressive 7th-century B.C. circular Tomb of Menekrates, located near the British Cemetery on the southeast edge of town.

Usually, however, antiquities were Stebbing's main focus. At least four photographs show remains in ancient Corinth, including views of the Temple of Apollo and the Spring of Peirene. From the port of Nauplia, the sites of Argos, Epidauros, Mycenae, and Tiryns could be visited. There are only four photographs of Argos; all are of Greek and Roman remains, including two images of the theater. The setting for all four is an arid, rocky hillside covered in low-growing maquis, with an occasional century plant for relief, giving the impression that the site was isolated and little visited (Fig. 14). This impression echoes a sentiment recorded 10 years earlier by Sandys, who describes the loneliness of the same scene.¹⁰¹ Significantly, Argos was the only ancient site Stebbing visited that had not been excavated by the time of the tour and *prepared* for the viewer. The images of the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros, on the other hand, strike a different note. French excavations had begun here by 1881. Stebbing photographed the impressive theater along with the Gymnasium. Two out-of-focus images, possibly of the Temple of Asklepios, were also taken at the site.

From Mycenae there are two landscape shots, one showing the position of the site and the other taken from the citadel. Outside the walled

99. Szegedy-Maszak 2001, p. 18.

100. Barber [1988] 1990, p. 530.

101. Sandys 1887, p. 51.



Figure 14. Argos, theater from a distance. T. R. R. Stebbing negative.
Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

enclosure, the Tomb of Atreus was photographed showing the dromos, entrance, and corbelled vault. One of Stebbing's out-of-focus compositions, taken of the interior from the entrance of the tomb and showing the corbelled vault, resembles an engraving that had appeared in the *Illustrated London News* in 1877.¹⁰² The obligatory photographs of the Lion Gate—front and back—are accompanied by images of the excavated Grave Circle A (see Fig. 23, below) and the area located above. There are fewer images of Tiryns. These show the citadel from a distance, the megalithic blocks used in its construction, and the covered passage to the well.

By the time Stebbing conducted his journey, Mycenae had been excavated by Heinrich Schliemann in 1874–1876 and was currently under investigation by the Greek Archaeological Society. Schliemann had explored Tiryns at the same time as Mycenae, and he later systematically excavated the site with Dörpfeld in 1884–1886. Schliemann's spectacular discoveries were regularly reported in the *Illustrated London News*,¹⁰³ providing the educated British citizen with descriptions—both verbal and visual—of sites and artifacts from the age of Homer. In addition, Schliemann's excavation reports were published in English in 1878 (*Mycenae*) and 1886 (*Tiryns*), while regular updates on current archaeological investigations appeared in the *London Times*.¹⁰⁴

Olympia had been the site of German excavations from 1875 until 1881. According to its excavator, Ernst Curtius, Olympia was a holy place symbolizing inspiration, patriotism, and devotion to art.¹⁰⁵ The site would, no doubt, have been a highlight of Stebbing's journey. Among his photographs are the ruins of the Temple of Zeus, the entrance to the Stadium (Fig. 15), the circular Philippeion, and the Temple of Hera. Four out of the 14 images are of sculpture in the museum: the Nike of Paionios, the east and west pedimental sculpture groups of the Temple of Zeus, and what appears to be a Roman emperor. It is interesting that the famous Late Classical statue of Hermes attributed to Praxiteles found in 1877 was not among Stebbing's subjects. Also included in this group was a photograph of Dörpfeld's plan of the site,¹⁰⁶ probably taken from a guidebook.

102. *ILN*, March 31, 1877, p. 305, lower fig.

103. *ILN*, December 9, 1876; *ILN*, February 3, 1877; *ILN*, February 24, 1877; *ILN*, March 24, 1877; *ILN*, March 31, 1877; and two follow-up articles of the area around Mycenae inspired by Schliemann's recent discoveries: *ILN*, April 14, 1877, on Tiryns, Argos, and Nauplia; and *ILN*, April 21, 1877, on Corinth and the Isthmus. The latter article also lists two recently published books of interest on travel to Greece: Mahaffy 1876 and Young 1876.

104. Media coverage in the *London Times* of the archaeology at Mycenae began with Schliemann's discoveries in 1874 and continued through the remainder of the 19th century, including the Greek excavations of Christos Tsountas in the 1880s. Excavations and discoveries at Tiryns were reported in the *London Times* from 1886 onward.

105. Marchand 1996, p. 81.

106. Plan of Olympia by Dörpfeld and Kaupert, originally published in Berlin in 1882. The plan is reproduced in Sandys 1887; this plan or variations of it regularly appeared in Murray's and Baedeker's guidebooks.



Figure 15. Olympia, entrance to the Stadium. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Mary Ann Stebbing to the left by the entrance. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

The inclusion of Rome in the itinerary would not have been unusual, as it was a convenient place to begin or conclude a trip further east via the Italian ports. The images from Rome follow the same format as the rest of the collection. Most are of ancient monuments, the majority taken in unpeopled settings: the Forum Romanum, the Colosseum (interior and exterior), Trajan's Column, the round temple in the Forum Boarium, the Baths of Diocletian, the Pantheon (interior and exterior), numerous triumphal arches and bridges, and various other Roman remains. Other images show interiors and exteriors of churches as well as a few scenes of the modern city.

CONTEXTUALIZING THE COLLECTION

Historical photographs such as those taken by Stebbing cannot be treated simply as representations of historical facts. They are subjective views, taken with specific intentions by individuals under particular circumstances that are set within a wider cultural framework.¹⁰⁷ Stebbing may have thought that through photography he was producing an accurate and factual record of places he saw, an empirical point of view that was commonplace in the 19th century and demonstrated in his scientific work. These images are not, as they appear at first glance, simply a group of outdated and blurry pictures of Greek monuments for which there are better copies available elsewhere. Rather, Stebbing's views were selective, and reflect a Victorian worldview filtered through the lens of a late-19th-century British educator, scientist, and theologian.

This singular, creator-oriented view of the role of the photographer in selecting what the camera records can be demonstrated by comparing the Stebbing Collection with a collection of photographs recently exhibited at the Benaki Museum in Athens.¹⁰⁸ These photographs were taken at a slightly later date than Stebbing's, and their subject matter is a complete contrast. Hubert Pernot, a French scholar of modern Greek language, literature, and folk music, photographically recorded his visits to Greece

107. Edwards 1992, pp. 6–7.

108. Pernot 2007.

between 1898 and 1913. He later compiled his collection in a number of photographic albums. They are, therefore, a composite of his various trips, geographically more extensive than Stebbing's. Unlike Stebbing, however, and possibly because of his academic interest in modern Greece, Pernot photographed ordinary people and activities in both rural and urban settings. Occasionally he records ancient monuments, though he rarely excludes from view vestiges of modern life. The photographs are unique to Pernot and reflect what he saw as significant.

It is likely that Stebbing foresaw a wider use for his images, and that they were not intended solely to be a private record of his journey. I classified the images (excluding the duplicate prints of scenes in Rome) according to the subject seen in the most prominent or centrally placed view, arriving at the following totals: antiquities, 148; places of worship, 53; town scenes, 28; seascapes and harbors, 28; landscapes, 11; and people, 9. Antiquities, in the form of monuments and sculpture in museums at Athens and Olympia, far outnumber other subjects. Stebbing must have recognized their potential educational use. Photographs of Dörpfeld's plan of Olympia and of an engraving of a gold diadem, taken from Schliemann's publication *Mycenae*,¹⁰⁹ were also useful for instruction and may have been added to the collection at a later date.

No doubt Stebbing's selection of scenes was due, in part, to the tour industry's established ways of regulating travelers' progress through a landscape. The less leisurely travel style of the excursion meant shorter periods spent at any one particular site. Stebbing's holiday in Greece must have been relatively short, given the absence from the collection of representations of commonly visited places: Marathon, Lavrion, Salamis, Aigina, and Sounion, all in the vicinity of Athens, and further afield, Delphi. Transport restricted the older and the less adventurous to locations that were served by train, steamship, or carriage; when Stebbing conducted his tour, he would have been in his sixties.

Studies of tourism have only recently begun to use the concept of heritage to examine the complex, active construction of the past and how it is understood in different contexts by a variety of audiences.¹¹⁰ These studies focus mainly on contemporary society, but the concept can equally be applied to earlier periods of tourist activity. The past is constantly being redefined depending on the time, place, and the individual subject. Stebbing, and British tourists to Greece like him, saw what they expected to see. Archaeology and urban planning laid out the monuments for them and the guidebooks told them how to view them. Historians of tourism refer to this phenomenon as "the tourist gaze": the expected scene is made concrete, precluding an actual—and authentic—engagement with the landscape.¹¹¹ Photography played a key role in framing the expected scene, capturing the constructed picture, and providing a versatile medium for the dissemination of this visual message.

The images in Stebbing's collection, though unique to their creator, were more in keeping with conventional tourist photographs than the images of Hubert Pernot. Stebbing's photographs loosely followed an established tradition of iconographic views. Tourist photographs preserved this "frozen view of ancient monuments" at a time when modern views of

109. Schliemann 1878, pl. 281. This photograph was perhaps added to the collection at a later date, but prior to 1900.

110. Baram and Rowan 2004, pp. 3–5.

111. Crang 1997.

the city were becoming more common, particularly among Greek photographers and foreign photographers based in Athens.¹¹²

The visual message of these images comprises all the stages of their life: not only their production, but also their dissemination, consumption, and presentation.¹¹³ The analysis presented here, unlike other studies of antiquities and 19th-century photography, is not centered on a particular monument or site or the oeuvre of a particular well-known photographer,¹¹⁴ but is a cultural biography of a photographic collection.

By the 20th century, Stebbing's images had found their way into the academic sphere. According to a handwritten document preserved at the Institute of Archaeology at Oxford, Stebbing gave the images to John Linton Myres sometime around the year 1900.¹¹⁵ At that time Myres, later to become the first Wykeham Professor in Ancient History, was just beginning his academic career at Christ Church, Oxford. Unfortunately, nothing further is known of the relationship between the two men.¹¹⁶ By 1900, Myres had gained a reputation for his work in helping to set up and organize several collections of images and slide-lending libraries, particularly those of the Hellenic Association (a subgroup of the Teacher's Guild of Great Britain and Ireland)¹¹⁷ and the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (hereafter the Hellenic Society).¹¹⁸ Myres's own photographic collection at Oxford, recorded in his negative register, comprised a carefully chosen mixture of images: some personal photographs, some exchanged with fellow academics, some from donations of images like Stebbing's; others were taken from publications, and still others from commercial sets.¹¹⁹

Sometime after Myres received Stebbing's collection, a number of images were removed from the set. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the Stebbing images by site and format. Numbers in brackets represent the original tally of images from the note in Myres's archive at the Institute of Archaeology if they differ from the present count. The far right column represents the number of negatives missing, the difference between the original count and the current count. The original account of this collection indicates that it contained 316 negatives (227 film and 89 glass) and 19 prints, bringing the total number of images to 335. As Table 1 indicates, from the time they were originally accessioned into Myres's collection, many images, mainly from the major sites of Athens and Rome and to a

112. Xanthakis 2004, p. 223.

113. Schwartz and Ryan 2003, pp. 1–18.

114. As mentioned above, subjects of other studies of 19th-century photography include the cultural biography of the Theseion (Papadopoulos 2005) and the works of the photographers Bonfils and Stillman (Szegegy-Maszak 2001, 2005).

115. The document, which is in neither Stebbing's nor Myres's handwriting, describes the contents of Stebbing's wooden box. It resides in the

Institute of Archaeology J. L. Myres Archive (uncatalogued).

116. No correspondence between Myres and Stebbing could be found in the Myres Archive in the Bodleian Library, nor could any of Stebbing's private papers be located. It is likely that Stebbing and Myres were affiliated through the Teacher's Guild of Great Britain and Ireland, rather than through Oxford or the Hellenic Society, of which Stebbing was not listed as a member.

117. Myres 1911–1913.

118. Myres is cited as the Hellenic Society's keeper of the photographic collections from ca. 1897 to 1904 (Hellenic Society 1904, p. lxxxi). Also, in his annual address as president of the society, Myres (1937b) reviewed the Hellenic Society's role in illustrating classical texts, ancient monuments, and works of art from its beginnings in the 1890s. A fuller text of his address can be found in his archive in the Bodleian Library (Myres 1937a).

119. Harlan 2005, 2007.

TABLE 1. PAST AND PRESENT INVENTORIES OF THE T. R. R. STEBBING COLLECTION BY SITE AND MEDIUM

<i>Site</i>	<i>Film Negatives</i>	<i>Glass Negatives</i>	<i>Contact Prints</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Missing</i>
Argos	—	4	—	4	0
Athens	39 [47]	12 [17]	—	51 [64]	13
Athens Museum	—	9	—	9	0
Constantinople	40	11 [12]	—	51 [52]	1
Corfu	17	—	—	17	0
Corinth	1	10	—	11	0
Eleusis	11 [12]	—	—	11 [12]	1
Ephesus	14 [15]	—	—	14 [15]	1
Epidauros	—	6	—	6	0
Mycenae	1	12	—	13	0
Nauplia	11 [1]	1	—	12 [13]	1
Olympia	1	13	—	14	0
Patras	6	—	—	6	0
Rome	48 [64]	—	18 [19]	66 [83]	17
Smyrna	5 [11]	—	—	5 [11]	6
Tiryns	—	5	—	5	0
Total	194 [227]	83 [89]	18 [19]	295 [335]	40

Spellings of site names are given as they appear in the collection. Numbers in brackets represent the original negative count ca. 1900, from a handwritten document in the J. L. Myres Archive of the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University.

lesser degree from Smyrna, were removed from Stebbing's wooden box of negatives. Though there is some question as to where Stebbing's missing images went, or whether any of the remaining images were reproduced, it is reasonable to assume that some became part of a teaching collection, no doubt in lantern slide format. They became part of the visual economy of the time, enmeshed in an academic network that compiled and exchanged images, which, in turn, gave authority to the images.¹²⁰

In Myres's own register of negatives, some of the first entries pertain to Athens, including scenes of churches such as the "Old Metropolitan" (the so-called Little Metropolis), the "New Metropolitan" (the Metropolitan Cathedral), and the Kapnikarea. Numerous entries in the register also list the monuments on the Acropolis and in the Agora. It is possible, though not verifiable, that some of these images may have been culled from Stebbing's collection. By 1939, Myres's photographic collection had been deposited in the Ashmolean Museum, where it was combined with other scholars' collections to form the basis of the early teaching slide collection for archaeology at Oxford University.¹²¹ A typed catalogue of the entire collection was produced at this time.

Most of the entries for images of Athens in Myres's register have tick marks in the column that indicates whether a lantern slide copy was made for the Oxford slide teaching collection. Also, a few of the entries in Myres's register contain cross-references to Hellenic Association catalogue numbers. Examples of similarities between Stebbing's images and views on lantern slides in the Oxford teaching collection are the Karyatid porch (Figs. 16, 17), the Temple of Athena Nike (Figs. 18, 19), and the Theater of Dionysos (Figs. 20, 21) in Athens, and Grave Circle A (Figs. 22, 23) at Mycenae.

120. Edwards 2001, p. 27.

121. Harlan 2005, 2007.

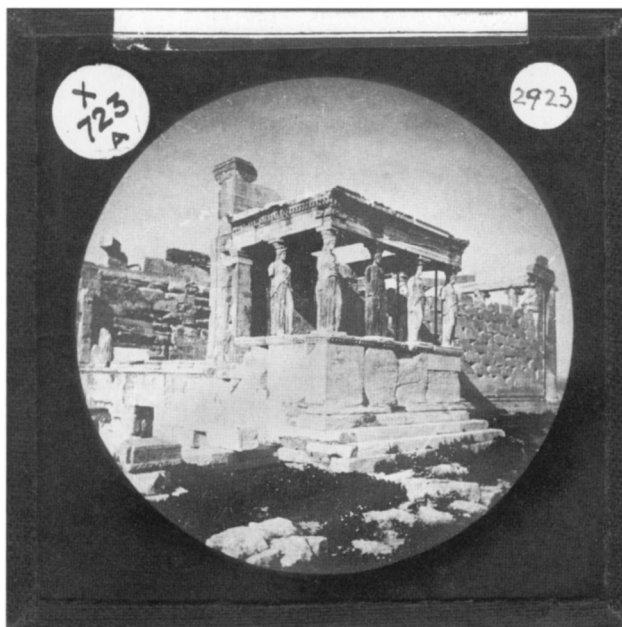


Figure 16. Lantern slide of Athens, Karyatid porch of the Erechtheion. J. L. Myres negative 2923. Oxford slide catalogue XB 209 (recatalogued as X 723A). Hellenic Association xxiii.25. Photo courtesy Faculty of Classics, Oxford University



Figure 17. Athens, Karyatid porch of the Erechtheion. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

The lantern slides often contain multiple labels, some with Myres's negative numbers, some with Hellenic Association catalogue numbers, and all with Oxford collection catalogue numbers.

The Hellenic Association's lending library of slides comprised images donated by interested teachers and academics and deposited with a commercial publisher. The association's "Slides Illustrating Greek History" were often used in combination with the standard texts for schools.¹²² They were made available for hire or purchase to teachers through lantern slide firms in London. After 1911, the large commercial firm of Newton and Company had the concession for marketing the Hellenic Association slides. A notice in their two-volume catalogue for 1912 explained the need for an expanded catalogue, coinciding with the firm's move to larger premises to

122. Field 1894; Oman 1901, 1905; Gardner 1902.



Figure 18. Lantern slide of Athens, Temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis. Labeled “Temple of Wingless Victory.” Oxford slide X 504. Photo courtesy Faculty of Classics, Oxford University



Figure 19. Athens, Temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Mary Ann Stebbing seated on steps. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

accommodate the huge demand for slides.¹²³ The catalogue offered slide sets of artworks as well as sets illustrating moral tales, tales with sacred or religious themes, and other literature. The firm also produced educational and scientific series, including slides featuring countries of the world as well as the Hellenic Association slide set. It is unknown whether the association’s negatives were returned to Myres in the 1940s when the firm went out of business, as Myres’s contract had stipulated.¹²⁴ It is equally possible that if the negatives were returned, they were subsequently interfiled with either Myres’s own negative collection or the Oxford collection, without documentation.

Cross-references in the first typed catalogue of the Oxford slide teaching collection indicate that copies of many of these images, including the

123. Newton and Company *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. vi–vii.

124. Myres 1911–1913, fols. 151–152.

Figure 20. Lantern slide of Athens, priest's chair in the Theater of Dionysos. Labeled "Chair of the Priest of Dionysius, [Clawed lion's feet?]." Oxford slide X 791. Hellenic Association xxxiii.13 (Newton and Co. label in upper left corner). Photo courtesy Faculty of Classics, Oxford University



Figure 21. Athens, Theater of Dionysos. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Mary Ann Stebbing seated behind the priest's chair. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University



Karyatid porch (Fig. 16) and Grave Circle A at Mycenae (Fig. 22), were also sent to the Hellenic Society. The Hellenic Society is said to have formed the first lending collection of slides operated by a learned society in Great Britain, as early as 1891.¹²⁵ The first catalogue and borrowing regulations, compiled by Myres, did not appear until 1897, published in the proceedings of the Hellenic Society in the *Journal for Hellenic Studies*.¹²⁶ The Hellenic Society maintained and expanded this loan collection of lantern slides with donations by their members, many of whom—though not all—were prominent academics and educators. At the end of the first Hellenic Society slide catalogue in 1897 and of the first supplement in 1900, catalogues for the Hellenic Association slide collection are also listed.¹²⁷ It is highly likely that some members of the Hellenic Association were also

125. Myres 1937a.

126. Hellenic Society 1897.

127. Hellenic Society 1897, p. lxxviii; Hellenic Society 1900, pp. lxxiii–lxiv.



Figure 22. Lantern slide of Mycenae, Grave Circle A. Labeled “Graves in the Circle.” J. L. Myres negative 2068. Oxford slide XK 30 (recatalogued as XKh). Hellenic Association xxi.26 (Newton and Co. label in upper left corner of slide). Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University



Figure 23. Mycenae, Grave Circle A. T. R. R. Stebbing negative. Photo courtesy the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University

members of the Hellenic Society, and it can be demonstrated that many images were shared between the two collections. Although Stebbing’s name did not appear in the published lists of members of the Hellenic Society, it is possible that, through Myres, a selection of his images may have been included in their collection.

The Hellenic Society tended to market their slide collection to their own membership or that of allied institutions, such as the Classical Association, which was formed in 1903 to encourage the study of the classics in schools.¹²⁸ In conjunction with the activities of the Classical Association, the Hellenic Society collection was employed as a propaganda tool to combat what many saw as the beginnings of the erosion of the belief in the “supremacy” of the classics in schools and universities.¹²⁹ The Hellenic Society’s lantern slide

128. Turner 2005, p. 164.

129. MacMillan 1929, p. xxv.

loan collection flourished from the last decade of the 19th century until the 1970s, when many of the images were reproduced for the new 35 mm slide collection. Similarly, the Oxford University slide collection migrated to the new, smaller 35 mm format at around the same time.

Many of the images in the old archaeology lantern slide teaching collection at Oxford University are traditional views not unlike the ones created by Stebbing. The Hellenic Society and Hellenic Association collections are even more conventional, possibly because their intended audiences were more generalized.¹³⁰ These images reinforced the established tradition of representation framed by Western notions of classical antiquity. The academics who selected the images for the collections were restrictive “gatekeepers” who decided what scenes or monuments or artifacts were of value, and therefore what images were to be included, or excluded. The chosen images, with their encoded message of antiquity, attained credibility and authority as representations of the past, and thus had the power to influence viewers both inside and outside the academy.

CONCLUSION

Stebbing took his photographs in an ideological environment of shared political, religious, class, and educational values. Like so many of his class, Stebbing had a traditional education embedded in the classics. Though he had been ordained in the church, he was a liberal thinker, a scientist with an empirical view of the world. Victorian popular culture of his time also reflected specific attitudes toward the ancient world. On an excursion for pleasure to the eastern Mediterranean, Stebbing recorded, with an illusion of objectivity, observations of the world he saw. Those observations, however, were subjective constructions of the past seen through a Victorian gentleman’s eyes.

The snapshots from Stebbing’s travels continued their “social life” as artifacts when they were assimilated into larger image collections. It can be assumed that some of his images were duplicated in lantern slide format, and in this format they were exposed to a wider audience. These images and others like them became pedagogical “tools of the trade,” actively disseminated, consumed, and presented, some for 50 years or more after their creation. With their embedded meanings, they served to influence the perceptions of new generations of classicists, historians, and archaeologists.

130. Harlan 2008.

REFERENCES

- Alcock, S., J. F. Cherry, and J. Elsner, eds. 2001. *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*, Oxford.
- Alder, J. 2006. "The Stebbing Collection," King's College London Information Services and Systems, <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/depsta/iss/library/speccoll/stebbing.html> (accessed October 10, 2007).
- Athanassopoulou, E. 2002. "An 'Ancient' Landscape: European Ideals, Archaeology, and Nation Building in Early Modern Greece," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 20, pp. 273–305.
- Baedeker, K. 1883. *Griechenland: Handbuch für Reisende*, Leipzig.
- . 1889. *Greece: Handbook for Travellers*, London.
- Baram, U., and Y. Rowan. 2004. "Archaeology after Nationalism: Globalization and the Consumption of the Past," in *Marketing Heritage: Archaeology and the Consumption of the Past*, ed. Y. Rowan and U. Baram, Walnut Creek, Calif., pp. 3–23.
- Barber, R. [1988] 1990. *Blue Guide Greece*, 5th ed., London.
- Bastea, E. 2000. *The Creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth*, New York.
- Bennet, J., J. L. Davis, and F. Zarinebaf-Shahr. 2000. "Pylos Regional Archaeological Project, Part III: Sir William Gell's Itinerary in the Pylos and Regional Landscapes in the Morea in the Second Ottoman Period," *Hesperia* 69, pp. 343–380.
- Blinkhorn, M. 2000. "Liability, Responsibility, and Blame: British Ransom Victims in the Mediterranean Periphery, 1860–81," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 46, pp. 336–356.
- Bossard, D., ed. 2004. "H.M.S. Challenger Library," electronic edition, Dartmouth College Library, <http://www.19thcenturyscience.org/HMSC/HMSC-INDEX/index-linked.htm> (accessed December 4, 2008).
- Bowen, G. 1854. *Handbook for Travellers in Greece: Describing the Ionian Islands, the Kingdom of Greece, the Islands of the Aegean Sea, with Albania, Thessaly, and Macedonia. New Edition, for the Most Part Rewritten. With a New Travelling Map of Greece, and Plans*, London.
- Buzard, J. 1993. *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918*, Oxford.
- . 2002. "The Grand Tour and After (1660–1840)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. P. Hulme and T. Youngs, Cambridge, pp. 37–52.
- Challis, D. 2008a. *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus: British Archaeologists in the Ottoman Empire, 1840–1880*, London.
- . 2008b. "Modern to Ancient: Greece at the Great Exhibition and the Crystal Palace," in *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*, ed. J. A. Auerbach and P. H. Hoffenberg, Aldershot, pp. 173–190.
- Comment, B. 1999. *The Panorama*, trans. A.-M. Glasheen, London.
- Constantine, D. 1984. *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal*, Cambridge.
- Cook, B. F. 1998. "British Archaeologists in the Aegean," in *The Study of the Past in the Victorian Age*, ed. V. Brand, Oxford, pp. 139–154.
- Cook's Tours = Cook's Tours in Greece*, London 1891.
- Crang, M. 1997. "Picturing Practices: Research through the Tourist Gaze," *Progress in Human Geography* 21, pp. 359–367.
- Daunton, M., ed. 2005. *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain*, Oxford.
- Diehl, C. 1893. *Excursions in Greece to Recently Explored Sites of Classical Interest: Mycenae, Tiryns, Dodona, Delos, Athens, Olympia, Eleusis, Epidaurus, Tanagra*, trans. E. R. Perkins, London.
- Dunbabin, J. P. D. 1997. "Finance and Property," in *The History of the University of Oxford 6: Nineteenth-Century Oxford*, Pt. 1, ed. M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys, Oxford, pp. 375–436.
- Edgar, C. C. 1900. *Handbook for Travellers in Greece Including the Ionian Islands, Continental Greece, the*

- Peloponnesus, the Islands of the Aegean, Thessaly, Albania, and Macedonia; and a Detailed Description of Athens, Ancient and Modern, Classical and Mediaeval. Seventh Edition Thoroughly Revised and Corrected on the Spot. With Maps and Plans*, London.
- Edwards, E., ed. 1992. *Anthropology and Photography, 1860–1920*, London.
- . 2001. *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology, and Museums*, Oxford.
- Eisner, R. 1991. *Travelers to an Antique Land: The History and Literature of Travel to Greece*, Ann Arbor.
- Engel, A. J. 1983. *From Clergyman to Don: The Rise of the Academic Profession in Nineteenth-Century Oxford*, Oxford.
- Excursionist = The Excursionist*, London
- December 12, 1883. “New Offices at Constantinople and Athens,” p. 3.
- February 1, 1884. “New Offices at Constantinople and Athens,” p. 4.
- April 19, 1884. “Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece, &c.,” pp. 3–4.
- Farrer, R. R. 1882. *A Tour in Greece, 1880*, Edinburgh.
- Field, T. 1894. *Catalogue of Lantern Slides to Illustrate Fyffe’s History of Greece*, London.
- Gallant, T. W. 2001. *Modern Greece*, London.
- . 2002. *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity, and Power in the British Mediterranean*, Notre Dame.
- Gardner, P. 1902. *Classical Archaeology in Schools*, Oxford.
- Gretton, J. R. 1993. “Introduction,” in B. C. Lister, *A Bibliography of Murray’s Handbooks for Travellers and Biographies of Authors, Editors, Revisers, and Principal Contributors*, Dereham, pp. i–xxv.
- Hamilakis, Y. 2001. “Monumental Visions: Bonfils, Classical Antiquity, and Nineteenth-Century Athenian Society,” *History of Photography* 25, pp. 5–12.
- Hamilakis, Y., and E. Yalouri. 1999. “Sacralising the Past: The Cults of Archaeology in Modern Greece,” *Archaeological Dialogues* 6, pp. 115–135, 154–160.
- Harlan, D. 2005. “The Archaeology of Lantern Slides: The Teaching Slide Collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,” in *Realms of Light: Uses and Perceptions of the Magic Lantern from the 17th to the 21st Century*, ed. R. Crangle, M. Heard, and I. van Dooren, London, pp. 203–210.
- . 2007. “Projecting Archaeology: The Lantern Slide Teaching Collection in 19th and Early 20th Century Oxford” (paper, Oxford 2007).
- . 2008. “Institutionalizing Images,” VIA Workshop: Visualisation and Knowledge Formation in Archaeology, Southampton University, http://issuu.com/steven_c/docs/2008_programme/17?zoomed=true&zoomPercent=125&zoomXPos=0.07670850767085069&zoomYPos=0.2677165354330709 (abstract) (accessed December 10, 2008).
- . Forthcoming. “William Stillman: Images from the Archives of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies,” *AR*.
- Hellenic Society. 1897. “The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies: Loan Collection of Lantern Slides,” *JHS* 17, pp. liii–lxxviii.
- . 1900. “The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies: Extension and Re-Arrangement of the Collection of Negatives, Photographs, and Lantern Slides,” *JHS* 20, pp. li–lxiv.
- . 1904. “The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies: Collection of Negatives, Photographs, and Lantern Slides,” *JHS* 24, pp. lxxxi–lxxxiv.
- Herzfeld, M. 1986. *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*, New York.
- Hingley, R. 2000. *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: The Imperial Origins of Roman Archaeology*, London.
- Hulme, P., and T. Youngs, eds. 2002. *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Cambridge.
- ILLN = Illustrated London News*, London
- December 9, 1876. “Treasure Trove at Mycenae,” p. 563.
- February 3, 1877. “The Ruins of Mycenae,” pp. 109–110.
- February 24, 1877. “The Discoveries at Mycenae,” pp. 185–186.
- March 24, 1877. “Schliemann’s Researches in Greece,” pp. 281–285.
- March 31, 1877. “Dr Schliemann’s Researches at Mycenae,” pp. 305–307.
- April 14, 1877. “A Pilgrimage to Mycenae,” pp. 357–358.
- April 21, 1877. “Illustrations of Greece,” pp. 363–365.
- Jenkins, R. [1961] 1998. *The Dilless Murders: Greek Brigands and English Hostages*, repr. London.
- Jenkyns, R. 1980. *The Victorians and Ancient Greece*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Koliopoulos, J. S. 1987. *Brigands with a Cause: Brigandage and Irredentism in Modern Greece, 1821–1912*, Oxford.
- Leontis, A. 1995. *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland*, Ithaca.
- Levinge, G. 1840. *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople: Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta, with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East*, London.
- Lyons, C. L. 2005. “The Art and Science of Antiquity in Nineteenth-Century Photography,” in Lyons et al. 2005, pp. 22–65.
- Lyons, C. L., J. K. Papadopoulos, L. S. Stewart, and A. Szegedy-Maszak, eds. 2005. *Antiquity and Photography: Early Views of Ancient Mediterranean Sites*, London.
- MacMillan, G. A. 1929. “An Outline of the History of the Hellenic Society,” *JHS* 49, pp. i–li.
- Magic Lantern Society. 2008. “Slide Readings,” <http://www.magic-lantern.org.uk/srlhome.html> (accessed December 10, 2008).
- Mahaffy, J. P. 1874. *Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander*, London.
- . 1876. *Rambles and Studies in Greece*, London.
- Marchand, S. 1996. *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970*, Princeton.
- Mills, E. L. 1972. “Amphipods and Equipoise: A Study of T. R. R. Stebbing,” *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 44, pp. 239–256.
- . 1976a. “The Rev. T. R. R. Stebbing,” *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 12, pp. 8–9.
- . 1976b. “T. R. R. Stebbing: A Bibliography with Biography

- Notes," *Journal of the Linnean Society: Biology* 8, pp. 57–74.
- . 2004. "Stebbing, Thomas Roscoe Rede (1835–1926)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, Oxford, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38300> (accessed October 10, 2007).
- Murray, O. 1997. "Ancient History," in *The History of the University of Oxford 6: Nineteenth-Century Oxford*, Pt. 1, ed. M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys, Oxford, pp. 520–542.
- . 2000. "Ancient History," in *The History of the University of Oxford 7: Nineteenth-Century Oxford*, Pt. 2, ed. M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys, Oxford, pp. 333–360.
- Murray, P. M., and C. N. Runnels. 2007. "Harold North Fowler and Study Tours in Greece," *Hesperia* 76, pp. 597–626.
- Myres, J. L. 1911–1913. "Hellenic Association Slides," Bodleian Library (Oxford), Special Collections MS Myres 91, ff. 5–177.
- . 1937a. "Visual Aids in Classical Studies," Bodleian Library (Oxford), Special Collections MS Myres 125, ff. 296–313.
- . 1937b. "Visual Aids in Classical Teaching," *JHS* 57, p. xix.
- Newton, C. T. 1880. "Hellenic Studies: An Introductory Address," *JHS* 1, pp. 1–6.
- Newton and Company *Catalogue = Catalogue of Lantern Slides*, 2 vols., London 1912.
- Oman, C. W. 1901. *A History of Greece from the Earliest Times to the Death of Alexander the Great*, 7th ed., London.
- . 1905. *A History of Greece from the Earliest Times to the Death of Alexander the Great*, 8th ed., London.
- Osborne, D. 2000. "Worlds in a House: The Consumption of Travel Photography in the Victorian Middle-Class Home," in D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel, and Visual Culture*, Manchester, pp. 52–68.
- Özendes, E. 1999. *From Sébah and Joaillier to Foto Sabah: Orientalism in Photography*, trans. P. M. İşin, Istanbul.
- Palmowski, J. 2002. "Travels with Baedeker: The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian Britain," in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. R. Koshar, Oxford, pp. 105–130.
- Papadopoulos, J. K. 2005. "Antiquity Depicted," in Lyons et al. 2005, pp. 104–147.
- Pemble, J. 1987. *Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South*, Oxford.
- Pernot, H. 2007. *Εξερευνώντας την Ελλάδα. Φωτογραφίες 1898–1913: Συλλογή Hubert Pernot από το Νεοελληνικό Ινστιτούτο της Σορβόνης*, Athens.
- Pretzler, M. 2004. "Turning Travel into Text: Pausanias at Work," *GaR* 51, pp. 199–216.
- Pullen, H. W. 1896. *Handbook for Travellers in Greece including the Ionian Islands, Continental Greece, the Peloponnesus, the Islands of the Aegean, Thessaly, Albania, and Macedonia; and a Detailed Description of Athens, Ancient and Modern, Classical and Mediaeval. Sixth Edition Thoroughly Revised and Corrected on the Spot. With Maps and Plans*, London.
- Rae, W. F. 1891. *The Business of Travel: A Fifty Years' Record of Progress*, London.
- Säid, S. 2005. "The Mirage of Greek Continuity: On the Uses and Abuses of Analogy in Some Travel Narratives from the Seventeenth to the Eighteenth Century," in *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, ed. W. V. Harris, Oxford, pp. 268–293.
- Sandys, J. E. 1887. *An Easter Vacation in Greece*, London.
- Schliemann, H. 1878. *Mycenae: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*, London.
- . 1886. *Tiryns, the Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns: The Results of the Latest Excavations*, London.
- Schwartz, J. M., and J. R. Ryan, eds. 2003. *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, London.
- Scopetea, E. 2003. "The Balkans and the Notion of the 'Crossroads between East and West,'" in *Greece and the Balkans: Identities, Perceptions,*

- and *Cultural Encounters since the Enlightenment*, ed. D. Tziouvas, Aldershot, pp. 171–176.
- Stebbing, T. R. R. 1888. *Report on the Amphipoda Collected by H.M.S. Challenger during the Years 1873–1876* (Zoology 67), London, <http://www.19thcenturyscience.org/HMSC/HMSC-Reports/Zool-67/hm/doc.html> (accessed July 16, 2009).
- . 1923. “An Autobiographical Sketch,” *Proceedings and Transactions of the Torquay Natural History Society* 4, pp. 1–5.
- Stebbins, R. 1996. “Cultural Tourism as Serious Leisure,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, pp. 948–950.
- Stillman, W. J. 1870. *The Acropolis of Athens, Illustrated Picturesquely and Architecturally in Photography*, London.
- Stowe, W. W. 1994. *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*, Princeton.
- Stray, C. 1998. *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities, and Society in England, 1830–1960*, Oxford.
- Sutton, S. B. 1996. “Disconnected Landscapes: Ancient Sites, Travel Guides, and Local Identity in Modern Greece,” *The Anthropology of East Europe Review* 15, pp. 27–34.
- . 2001. “A Temple Worth Seeing,” in Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner 2001, pp. 175–189.
- Szegedy-Maszak, A. 2001. “Félix Bonfils and the Traveller’s Trail through Athens,” *History of Photography* 25, pp. 13–42.
- . 2005. “An American on the Acropolis: William James Stillman,” in Lyons et al. 2005, pp. 148–193.
- Tsirgiolou, A. 2003. “The Stereotyped Vision of Greece: Nineteenth-Century Photographs in the Benaki Museum Archives,” *Μουσείο Μπενάκη* 3, pp. 108–123.
- Turner, F. M. 1981. *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain*, New Haven.
- . 2005. “Victorian Classics: Sustaining the Study of the Ancient World,” in Daunt 2005, pp. 159–172.
- Tzanelli, R. 2003. “‘Disciplining’ the Neohellenic Character: Records of Anglo-Greek Encounters and the Development of Ethnological-Historical Discourse,” *History of the Human Sciences* 16, pp. 21–50.
- Vaughan, W. 1998. “Art and Archaeology in Victorian England,” in *The Study of the Past in the Victorian Age*, ed. V. Brand, Oxford, pp. 61–75.
- Watson, R. G. 1872. *A Handbook for Travellers in Greece: Describing the Ionian Islands; Continental Greece, Athens, and the Peloponnesus; the Islands of the Aegean Sea; Albania; Thessaly; and Macedonia. Fourth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. With a Map of Greece, Plans, and Views*, London.
- Withey, L. 1997. *Grand Tours and Cook’s Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750–1915*, London.
- Wood, J. T. 1890. *Modern Discoveries on the Site of Ancient Ephesus*, London.
- Xanthakis, A. X. 2004. “1881–1900: The Social Physiognomy of Photography,” in *Athens, 1839–1900: A Photographic Record*, ed. F. Constantinou and A. Tsirgiolou, Athens, pp. 223–225.
- Yerolympos, A. 1993. “A New City for a New State: City Planning and the Formation of National Identity in the Balkans (1820s–1920s),” *Planning Perspectives* 8, pp. 233–257.
- Young, J. F. 1876. *Five Weeks in Greece*, London.
- Yule, A. F. 1884. *Handbook for Travellers in Greece Including the Ionian Islands, Continental Greece, the Peloponnesus, the Islands of the Aegean, Crete, Albania, Thessaly, and Macedonia; and a Detailed Description of Athens, Ancient and Modern, Classical and Mediaeval. Fifth Edition Thoroughly Revised and Corrected. In Two Parts*, London.

Deborah Harlan

UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
NORTHGATE HOUSE
WEST STREET
SHEFFIELD S1 4ET
UNITED KINGDOM

d.harlan@sheffield.ac.uk