tourism

From Pausanias to Baedeker and Trip Advisor: Textual proto-tourism and the engendering of tourism distribution channels

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ABSTRACT

The key aim of this article is to provide an interdisciplinary look at tourism and its diachronic textual threads bequeathed by the 'proto-tourist' texts of the Greek travel author Pausanias. Using the periegetic, travel texts from his voluminous Description of Greece (2nd century CE) as a springboard for our presentation, we intend to show how the textual strategies employed by Pausanias have been received and still remain at the core of contemporary series of travel guides first authored by Karl Baedeker (in the 19th century). After Baedeker, Pausanias' textual travel tropes, as we will show, still inform the epistemology of modern-day tourism; the interaction of travel texts with travel information and distribution channels produces generic hybrids, and the ancient Greek travel authors have paved the way for the construction of networks, digital storytelling and global tourist platforms.

KEYWORDS

digital storytelling, Pausanias, proto-tourism, travel narrative, travel guides

1. Introduction

"I hate travelling and explorers. Yet here I am proposing to tell the story of my expeditions", wrote L. Strauss, the eminent young anthropologist and scholar, arguably the 'most famous academic' of his time in his melancholic 1936 travelogue *Tristes Tropiques* (McSweeney, 2015). A few millennia before him, Hesiod, the first Greek to tell us about myths, gods and mortals in his *Theogony* and *Works and days,* admits that he also hated travelling adding that sometimes it is a necessary evil but he avoids it if he can. Homer does not self-disclose; instead, he creates the archetypal human traveler Odysseus, and while the *Iliad* is not about Odysseus' Travels, it is the first extant work to provide the seeds of cultural topography in its catalogue of the Greek fleet at the port of Aulis that kept Troy under siege for 10 years.

Travel narratives and organized travel are by no means novel. Authors like Thucydides and Herodotus wrote their works of history but their texts are enriched with their own observations, including supplementary information and sources on geographical sites, people, their religions, customs and traditions. It is the same with Xenophon's military autobiography *Anabasis* (circa 370 BCE), by many considered to be the oldest periegetic text (Hutton, 2005), though Maria Pretzler claims that the first extant traveler's report is the fictional *Arimaspeia* of Aristeas of Prokonnesos, an epic poem probably written in the early 6th century BCE (2011). Frequently, these authors cannot restrain themselves from providing unhistorical details. Consider for instance Herodotus, in whose *Historiae* (440 BCE), he informs us that the women of Adurmachidae, a tribe living at the borders between Libya and Egypt:

wear a bangle on each chin made of bronze. They let the hair on their head grow long, and when a woman catches lice she bites them in retaliation and then throws them away. These are the only Libyans who do this (Redfield, 1985, pp. 97–98).

Herodotus writes like a tourist, thinking out loud, in shock and, most likely, slightly disgusted or amused at the sight of open warfare against insects. His remarks accentuate the notion of 'heterotopicality', a term Lisa Lowe uses in her study *Critical terrains: French and British orientalisms* (1991) to describe the innate heterogeneities and non-correspondence between cultures. And yet Herodotus' excerpt contains the generic seeds of modern-day tourist-writing: anecdotal narration, description, acerbic humor, first person-testimonial, sensationalism and concealed authorial commentary on the 'otherness' of a tribe. The term 'periegesis' (gr. *periegesis*) and periegetic writing or, in other words, a compilation of writings the result of travel observations '*around*' a geographical region as '*peri*', the prefix of the Greek term suggests, must wait for nearly seven centuries until it acquires its current meaning.

With Pausanias, a Greek born in Lydia approximately in 140 CE, and his voluminous *Periegesis* or *Description of Greece,* travel writing, now an independent genre, seeks to engage its readership in the recounting of travel experience. As a multifarious, multi-generic narrative, it offers careful observation of physical surroundings, research, secondary source consultation, and record-keeping of archeological, historical, political, cultural and religious information. Stressing the importance of Pausanias' text and its multiple perspectives, William Hutton, (2005, p. 3) writes that in this travelogue, we may also encounter "explanations of the myths he relates, verifications or debunkings of his historical accounts, and detailed correlations of his descriptions with the latest archaeological finds".

The aim of this collaborative article is not to tackle nor delineate the controversies surrounding the generic identity of Pausanias' *Description of Greece*. Instead, it will attempt to generate and encourage the debate centering around the interdisciplinary links between travel literature and the epistemology of contemporary tourism. We will illustrate how a clear-cut textual lineage connects what we have come to understand as travel authorship, travel writing, tourist and tourism. Additionally, we would like to introduce the term *'proto-tourism'* with Pausanias as its key founder and proponent. In his proto-tourist text *Description of Greece*, Pausanias paves the way for the industry of tourism, first by spelling out the need to organize a common, practical code for travelers and then forecasting the notion of tourism as much more than an educated periegete's artistic and cultural experience.

2. THEORETICAL PREMISES

Ancient civilizations such as the Greek had deeply rooted convictions with regards to social tourism, entertainment and recreation. Quoting El-Harami (2015, p. 168):

> The Greek belief system in that setting aside time to enjoy music, art and other activities performed during leisure time is a critical aspect of living *a good life* and is physically and spiritually thought to be a key to happiness has a major influence on today's concepts.

Travel writing engages an author in making sense of experience and negotiating 'new identities' (Roberson, 2007) while she/he simultaneously strives to understand the self as much as the foreign (Schulz-Forberg, 2005). Bruner (2002, p. 64) writes that "talking about oneself is like making up a story about who we are and what we are, what has happened, and why we are doing it".

Story telling is principally a 'post-consumption' activity: people create stories to organize their experiences (Bosangit, McCabe, Hibbert, 2009; Escalas, 2004), communicate with others (McCabe, Foster, 2006), relay memories of events and activities as well as their significance in terms of identity (Moscardo, 2010), and shape memories and impressions of events over time (McGregor, Holmes, 1999). Consequently, storytelling helps in understanding tourism experiences and as Woodside, Cruickshank & Dehuang, (2007, p. 172) argue, "stories can be considered an emic, that is, from a native's point of view, interpretation of how, why, when and where events unfold, with what immediate and long term-consequences". Stories also contain relational structures and temporal dimensions, which enable the creation of factors of meaning (Escalas, 2004).

If travel narratives are fundamental in the construction of tourism experiences (McCabe, Foster, 2006), and vice versa, then tourist experiences are also narrative resources used to perform and (re)establish identity and a natural mode through which human beings make sense of their lives (McAdams, 1996). Talking about experiences can include talk about social worlds, sometimes achieving iconic status in everyday life; communicated through stories into lived identities (McCabe, Foster, 2006).

Travel narratives are not only reflect on travel experiences but also on the self. Kozinets, de Valck, Wojnicki & Wilner (2010) argue that although touristic autobiographical narratives are constrained by the spatial and temporal limitations of tourism experience, they incorporate selective memories and experiences from our everyday lives. Thus, a narrative is crucial for exploration and understanding of how meanings have been constructed and used across the totality of human experience, including tourism experience.

Travel writing and fictional narratives often display a figural common ground defined by the unexplored physical plane and the uncharted spaces of language (Kelley, 2015). Both are boundary crossers and that is why, generically, they are often conflated. A travelogue may be sold under fiction, non-fiction, history, archaeology, travel, autobiography or glossary. For example, the Greek version of J. Lacarrière's classic personal memoir *Promenades dans la Grèce antique* (the Greek title reads "In the Footsteps of Pausanias"!) is sold under the History/ Historiography section of a central Athenian bookstore. Lacarrière consciously records his own emotional and spiritual experiences by retracing Pausanias' routes and destinations, but the publisher decided his text would sell more as historiography instead of tourism and travel.

3. Travel narratives before e-tourism

Travel writing as a systematic continuous narrative has often been attributed to Herodotus whose *Historiae* (5th century BCE) exploit military expeditions to create a mixture of fact and fiction, truth and speculation, interspersed with anthropological observations. Most importantly, his *Histories* are frequently viewed as an ethnographic account of 'otherness', drawing from comparisons between cultures and the peoples of the lands visited. Like Pausanias, Herodotus insists on 'autopsy', the act of seeing for oneself (Youngs, 2013), and like Xenophon his method initiates the traveler into a reconstruction of preconceived ideas which would ultimately facilitate or induce a redefinition of personal identity. The case of Pausanias and his travelogues, however, steps beyond the historical method of these eminent Greeks and requires further investigation for his contribution to tourism as we perceive it in our time.

Pausanias' much overlooked *Description of Greece* evidently 'defies simple definitions' as it bears links to the fields of "classical archaeology, ancient history and classics …[and] has the potential to become a crucial source for studies of the reception of art, history, comparative literature (particularly travel literature)" (Pretzler, 2011, p. IX). It is not coincidental that during the first half of the 20th century Pausanias and travel writing were no longer seen as ancillary forms of writing among modernist literary authors such as V. Woolf, E.M. Forster, T.S. Eliot and H.D. (pen name for the American high modernist author and poet H.Doolittle). The latter travelled to Greece twice during the early 1920's and in her *Notes on Euripides, Pausanias and Greek Lyric Poets* (1919), devoted five essays to an appreciation of Pausanias, his *Description of Greece,* and the literary merits of his writing for the poet and author. For

H.D., Pausanias, "a country surveyor of travelers", is admirable for his "colossal impersonality", most evident in his reserved stance when talking about some ancient mystery or half-obsolete deity (H.D., 1919, pp. 2–3). Scottish anthropologist J.G. Frazer's *The golden bough: A study in comparative religion* (1890), with its claims that savagery underlies the texture of British society on a par with pagan or primitive myths, informs the travel-related writings of these modernist authors as well as their own travel narratives. Erudition displays, multiple perspectives, varied sources and impersonal authoritativeness seem to lie at the heart of travel writing and at the heart of modernism with its experiments and explorations into formal instability and generic renewal. Pausanias seems to possess these very traits in his modern travelogues and these lend their method to modern travel texts.

Three terms or key features bequeathed to us from Pausanias and his predecessors seem to occupy the epicenter of travel discourse in his proto-tourism narratives: writing what is 'travel-worthy' necessarily entails the notion of selectivity and a dialogical process in which the author-reader pair shares what Pretzler identifies as *autopsia*, *logoi* and *theoremata*. Pausanias adopts all three methodological tools in the first book of his travelogue, outlining the grounds for travel writing and forecasting the needs of the future tourist. The style is "simple and unpretentious" (Pausanias, 1992, 3.16.10) the translator writes characteristically in his preface to the Loeb Edition. Pausanias himself explicitly declares the aim of his travelogue and paves the way for what has now been termed as 'travel noteworthy':

> Such in my opinion are the most famous legends (*logoi*) and sights (*theoremata*) among the Athenians, and from the beginning my narrative have selected from much materials that deserve to be recorded (*autopsia*) (Pausanias, 1992, 1.39.3).

If the author attempts to make sense of his travel experience then, necessarily, the inside and the outside formulate inseparable parts of the travel discourse. The *logoi*, according to Pretzler, involve the process of documentation. Accounts of myth, history, and narratives or comparisons of the history of archaeological and other sites are part of the interpretation or what Pausanias defines as "all things Greek" (Pausanias, 1992, 3.16.10). The *theoremata* however, from the Greek verb *theoro*, on the one hand suggest the physical act of seeing, then identifying the physical sites and providing visual details for various purposes; on the other, *theoro* in Greek also involves the conversion of the visual aspect of the travel experience into a written 'theory'. In other words, travel documentation entails the concretization of a real, or imaginary, experience into text.

In the 19th century, K. Baedeker, the German travel writer and philhellene, becomes one of the first contemporary travel authors after Pausanias who painstakingly records his own travel experiences in *The Traveler's Handbook to Greece* about the Greece of his own time responding to the increased demand for travel and information in the gradually emerging tourism there. In this volume, Baedeker embarks on a dialogue with his eminent Greek predecessor. Baedeker's guides include his travels to other countries while presaging the *Blue Guides* published in 1918 by the Scottish Muirhead brothers. Not coincidentally, the two brothers for more than two decades had acted as the English-language editors of the German *Baedeker* series.

Pausanias' exegetic combination of *logoi* and *theoremata* dictates to Baedeker the notion of selectivity, the end goal of the periegetic traveler. In the preface to the second edition of the *Handbook for Greece* dated 1894 he writes:

> [My aim – author's note] is to supply the traveler with the most necessary information regarding the history and culture of the people he is about to visit, to render him as independent as possible of the services of couriers, guides and commissionaires, to protect him against extortion, and in every way to aid him in deriving enjoyment and instruction from his tour in one of the most profoundly interesting countries in the world (Baedeker, 1894, p. V).

Baedeker has interpreted Pausanias quite accurately; first he encapsulates his notion of selectivity within three words, 'most necessary information'; then the use of the adjective 'independent' empowers the prospective visitor traveling in an unknown, potentially hostile environment. The triangulation between writer-authority, text-information and reader/seeker becomes both an intellectual and visceral bond promising an ostensible, if not paradoxical sense of freedom within several prescribed choices. Of course, Baedeker and Pausanias have in mind an audience of mostly antiquarian travelers in pursuit of spiritual enjoyment through cultural 'instruction' but is not instruction also a warrant for the success of a travel destination?

For Baedeker, whose travel guide refers to Pausanias 102 times, the Pausanian *logoi*, the accompanying, descriptive and informative segments of the guide follow almost faithfully the pattern of the *Periegesis*, offering lengthy accounts of the history of the Greek Art while providing pertinent textual allusions to the German art historian J. Winckelmann's seminal *History of Ancient Art*. Baedeker reviews it in brief stating that it is 'no longer a final authority' (Baedeker, 1894, p. LXIV); he then includes comments on H. Lodge's translation of Winckelmann. In the manner of the eminent aesthete W. Pater, he offers reflections on the essence of Greek art such as "Truth and beauty of form were attained by practice in masculine, although somewhat hard and sharply marked outlines" (Baedeker, 1894, p. LXV), and makes fleeting references to Plato and his theory of forms: "there is no form capable of expressing the highest" (Baedeker, 1894, p. LXVI). Baedeker's most innovative contribution to the dialectic of the Pausanian *logoi* is perhaps his commentary on the fictionalization of travel textuality. Pausanias and Homer must explain themselves about Aulis and the gathering of the Greek fleet:

> The thousand vessels mentioned in the catalogue of the ships in the *Iliad* could not, of course, have been all afloat at one time in the bay; we must, therefore think of them as drawn up on the shore according to the ancient custom, at the same time allowing something for the exaggeration of later time, when the desire arose to have any town of any importance whatever mentioned in the Homeric poems (Baedeker, 1894, p. 184).

Baedeker's inclusion of Pausanian *theoremata* in his own *Handbook* display both his erudition as well as a constructive appropriation of Pausanias' travel tropologies. Baedeker's travelogues/ guides introduce for the first-time key concepts which Cohen's comprehensive list defines as the five modes of tourism: recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental and existential (Cohen, 1979). The final three modes more specifically reflect modern travel quests and they predate modern day alternative forms of tourism involving the concept of authenticity via the sampling of others' authentic lives as is the case of a traveler's undertaking of a life-changing pilgrimage.

In like manner, Baedeker provides a detailed tour of important sites including, possibly for the first time, fold-out maps. As well, the guide offers information on museum exhibits, introduces visual topography, lists of names in English, and, on occasion, employs relevant German and Greek terms. The itineraries in the *Handbook* are marked by miles and the time needed to move from place to place: "A visit to the ruins [of Delphi – author's note] requires five hours [from Itea – author's note]. Following the description of Pausanias, we begin our pilgrimage" (Baedeker, 1894, p. 154). Pausanias performs the role of shadow tour guide offering recommendations and an old narrative subject to revision and reinterpretation. Site or area visits are accompanied by brief yet blunt language regarding issues of a more practical nature such as food and hotels. In Thebes for instance, "the accommodation is very indifferent, the least objectionable quarters being at the *Xenodocheion Boiotia* kept by Drakos. The only tolerable eating house is the *Dimitra* kept by Belos" (Baedeker, 1894, p. 176). The guide introduces a basic dictionary/ glossary of words and expressions in Greek to help the traveler get by in everyday interactions. Baedeker's sociocultural commentary with qualifying adjectives such as 'tolerable' and 'objectionable' intended to rate the travel experience, including some

details of financial transactions, pre-dates the series of printed guides that heralded the 20th century and the induction of the consumer/traveler into the concept of mass tourism.

The end of the 19th century witnesses the birth of a lucrative market stemming from the emerging tourist industry. This market needs to enrich the prospective traveler's experience with testimonials, often written by eminent authors who 'authenticate' travel as a form of both shared and individual discovery. For instance, H.M. Stanley's *In darkest Africa* (1890) sold 150,000 copies within the first two weeks of its publication and was translated into five languages. Stanley's historiographical travel narrative records the expedition of King Leopold II of Belgium who had hoped to acquire the Sudan. Tourists can now become storytellers, writers of introspective accounts of their own experiences and feelings (Pace, 2008) and as McCabe & Foster (2006) argue, tourists can acquire a *narrativistic* attitude. They communicate their travel memories, their visits to different places and meetings with different peoples through stories and representations of their lived experiences in a thematically and temporally-related sequence. Pausanias and Baedeker have offered their shared experience to the modern-day tourist. The foundations of the tourist industry have been placed.

4. Travel writing and fictional narratives in the e-tourism era

Tourist information and distribution may be implemented through many different channels, that is, paths by which tourism stakeholders carry out the communication, information and sales of their products and services. To varying degrees, all tourism product suppliers depend on these channels for the distribution of their products. Before the 1970's, under traditional distribution, tourist stakeholders relied heavily on intermediaries such as travel agencies, guidebooks, magazines and pamphlets, word of mouth etc.

Nevertheless, in our time, a plethora of studies confirms that the internet is the most important distribution channel in tourism, initiating an electronic era (e-tourism) where it is "constantly redefining itself and requires continual reorientation in marketing and management along the way" (Katsoni, 2016, p. 21). The internet, together with the new interactive means of communication provided by online booking tools, such as online travel agents, last-minute inventory distribution and flash-sale websites, virtual tourist communities, social media and mobile devices, has fundamentally changed travel and marketing, since all tourism stakeholders are now enabled to enhance their experiences together (Gretzel, Fesenmaier, Formica, O'Leary, 2006; Neuhofer, Buhalis, Ladkin, 2014).

The application of information and communication technologies in tourism, can support consumer involvement and experience co-creation in several different ways. For instance, by giving and sharing information regarding points of interest to be visited, accommodation, sales, details about a specific location, etc (Gretzel, Jamal, 2009; Neuhofer, Buhalis, Ladkin, 2014; Sabou, Nistoreanu, Vlad, 2014; Tussyadiah, Fesenmaier, 2016).

After Pausanias and Baedeker, the use of storytelling still offers the 'thick' experiential aspects of a trip (Gretzel, Fesenmaier, Formica, O'Leary, 2006; Mattila, Enz, 2002). Digital storytelling combines the art of telling stories with a variety of digital multimedia such as digital graphics, text, recorded audio narration, music and video (Robin, 2008). Digital storytelling as a narratological strategy involves "telling personal stories through digital forms, storing and exchanging those stories in sites and networks that would not exist without the world wide web and which, because of the remediation capacity of digital media, have multiple possibilities for transmission" (Couldry, 2008). Storytelling, one of the most powerful ways to breathe life into tourism business, is often called one of the main components of a content marketing approach. By giving the products and services an identity and by capturing and sharing the stories, tourism destinations can take their target audience on a journey they yearn to encounter and enhance the reputation of the attractions (Bassano et al., 2019; Wu, 2006).

It has been found that when tourists are highly influenced by digital storytelling, they become engaged in this digital process and are also encouraged to share their travel experiences through digital media (Bassano et al., 2019; Hassan, 2016; Klimmt, Roth, Vermeulen, Vorderer, Roth, 2012; Wu, 2006). To form a personal connection with each tourism destination or tourism business, the consumer needs to register these digital stories as authentic, creative and inspirational and, as a result, be open to create strong emotional bonds with the given destination. In the era of e-tourism, online travel agencies such as booking.com, online reviews published on specialized websites such as TripAdvisor.com, destination marketing organizations and various social media, incorporate the narrative and interactive nature of first-person stories as a feature of their websites.

Travel blogs, a popular hybrid form of online writing constitute one of the best examples of a modern narrative form of travel writing and are a digital version of word-of-mouth communication and storytelling (Jeuring, Peters, 2013; Pudliner, 2007). According to Carù & Cova (2008, p. 168), bloggers are "self-reflexive individuals who tell their stories and explain their actions using

their own words, which are useful in understanding the hedonic and subjective dimensions of experience"; a blog is not just a reportage about places, people and culture, it is also about the self and the author's world, a means of expressing oneself and sharing positive and negative travel experiences (Schmallegger, Carson, 2008) or how they see others (Bohls, Duncan, 2005). Travel blogs can be considered as expressions of travel consumption (Bosangit, Hibbert, McCabe, 2015) where tourists share experiences, moods and feelings (Volo, 2010). Blogs rely to a great extent on the orality of the narrative, that is the eye-witness perspective of the blogger and the half-journalistic aspiration of the author as an objective voice of professional expertise suffused with a more intimate, confessional tone. Tussyadiah & Fesenmaier (2016) inform us of the emergence of the digital writer as a personal character, either in blogs or social media, in online reviews etc.

The blogger redefines the notion of tourist identity and allows blog readers to access a picture of lived identities, created through actions, attitudes and values, forming a key marketing element called characterization. Space categorization is another key element presenting the evaluation and result of the narrative sequences, allowing blog readers to have a cognitive construction of hypothetical travel scenarios, including rehearsals of likely future travels. Their analysis concludes with two additional key marketing elements, that is the overall product and experience evaluation.

Research on digital storytelling tends to focus on key concepts such as aesthetic attractiveness, consumer-oriented content, narration, configuration and self-reference (Bonacini, Tanasi, Trapani, 2018; Robin, 2008). According to Lavie & Tractinsky (2004, p. 272): "Perceived aesthetics is the perception of people, nature, or artefacts with an artistically beautiful or pleasing appearance". Narrative structure has elements of temporality and chronology (beginning, middle and end) and causality in relationships (Delgadillo, Escalas, 2004), the latter influencing the reader's emotional reaction as a result of the order in which the reader encounters them (Escalas, Stern, 2003). Self-reference refers to "audiences' past experiences or memories that can strike an emotional chord" (Hsiao, Lu, Lan, 2013, p. 174).

Thus, the tourist experience is (re)presented, (re)produced, and (re)created through narrative in all traditional and digital distribution channels (Woodside, 2010) while tourists use them to interpret the world around them not only to create meaning and encourage their imagination (Escalas, 2004), but also for judgments of other people, objects or events (Schank, Abelson, 1995) and for an understanding of the self (Noy, 2004), the experience of self in a place (Cutler, 2010) and even for playing a role in shaping memories of experience over time (McGregor, Holmes, 1999).

5. Bridging past and present: Travel, tourism and new textualities

If Pausanias or Baedeker were writing in our time, they would be successful bloggers or leading administrators on Trip Advisor. New texts are like old texts in their compulsion to incorporate *autopsies*, *theoremata* and *logoi* to acquire credibility and authority. E-tourism increasingly exercises control over its consumers with its narrative power. Stories about broken faucets or dirty sheets in a 5-star hotel, read on Trip Advisor or Booking.com, impact on a reader's emotions and imagination in similar ways as to when Baedeker, following a brief visit to 19th century Thebes in Greece, brutally excoriates Drakos's inn for its intolerably dirty premises. Pausanias' account of the "blood-stained altar of the goddess Artemis" and the "scourging of young boys" to keep the altar stained with human blood (Pausanias, 1992, 3.16.10) must, in his time, have equally impacted with his use of sensationalist descriptions on the emotions, and imagination, of his educated readership.

Travelers' need to communicate their experiences (Mattila, Enz, 2002) and use stories that persuade via *narrative transportation* which involves immersion into the text (Green, Brock, Kaufman, 2004). Furthermore, experience is conveyed and represented through narratives which consist of facts, or a sequence of events interconnected into a pattern or structure representing this experience (Mattila, Enz, 2002). Self-referential elements in the narrative evoke memories of past personal experiences; in this way, travelers can project themselves into the narrative as if they are the actual protagonists (Escalas, Stern, 2003; Freedberg, Gallese, 2007). Pausanias' proto-tourism periegetic narratives adopt a structure whose basic principles comprise the contemporary key marketing elements presented above (Tussyadiah, Fesenmaier, 2016). Additionally, Pausanias accesses a picture of lived identities created through actions, attitudes and values; he presents a critical assessment and results of the narrative sequences and then evaluates his experience.

The process of "talking about tourism experiences that provide a means of constructing and representing identity" (Desforges, 2000, p. 928), or "recount transformations in the self and express a rite of passage" (White, White, 2004, p. 211), seems to have remained unchanged from the past until now. Pausanias' tourism still lies in the subtext of contemporary travel guides such as *Fodor's* and *Lonely planet.* Pausanias drew on his personal experience of a place to describe it in as accurate a manner as possible (Harloe, 2010; MacCormack, 2010). The current travel and tourism distribution of information on vastly popular textual platforms such as the editions and media network of *Lonely Planet* or *Trip Advisor*, combine the underlying

message and persuasiveness of the story and reflect positively on a tourism destination, if we consider a tourism destination as a brand on its own.

6. Conclusions

Pausanias's use of an interwoven tripartite structure in his topographical descriptions (his *autopsia, theoremata* and *logoi* discussed earlier) provides in many respects a proto-tourism model for modern approaches to storytelling. Far from being an empiricist, however, Pausanias creates in his text representations or reflections of destinations through culturally determined grammars as he creates *a sense of place* rather than a definition of place. The authors have illustrated how Pausanias' writing was preserved, 'translated', and furthered not only by Baedeker and his contemporaries, but also in current travel and digital tourism distributions of information.

Based on the underlying textual principles guiding the travel information provided, the authors then filter them through various tourism distribution channels. In the realm of digital tourism, popular sites, blogs and e-social media have in turn, attempted to reinvent the tourism bequeathed to them by the printed guides. The keen competition in the tourism market drives tourist stakeholders and online information providers such as tourist boards, hotel and resort websites, travel agents, bloggers and magazines to find new ways, concepts and strategies to promote their tourism destinations and actively compete for attention to attract searchers and, ultimately, those who book (Govers, Go, Kumar, 2007). But the current emphasis on storytelling in almost all tourism distribution channels is really a reinvention of Pausanias' practice.

In addressing the selectiveness of memory, Michel Foucault has written that the choice of memory is an essential element in any group's perception of itself, making it a point of contestation. Control of social memory, according to Foucault, bears directly on issues of hierarchy and authority (Faustino, Ferraro, 2020). The modern-day travel industry seems to possess this knowledge as evidenced in its obsession with ranking, ratings and reviews of 'Best or Worst Restaurants on the Globe'. Nevertheless, Pausanias' multivocal writing, his holistic approach towards the formation of context as well as his construction of time and memory within his text and his selectivity, argue against this assumption. He successfully creates a memorialized narrative (Stewart, 2013) in whose complex, and on occasion difficult to wade through, descriptions of the landscape, mythic heroes and political or artistic personages, successfully rebuilds, and at the same time preserves, an archival embodiment of mytho-historic traditions.

Interestingly, in the course of time the interaction between travel texts along with travel information and distribution channels produces generic hybrids, that is, travel texts providing information based on a combination of travel narratives and arrangement services. These texts are unique in their inspiration and construction, yet they are still guided by the same principles aimed at involving and engaging the tourist into the journey. They provide information for prospective tourists by bundling tourism products together and by establishing mechanisms that enable consumers to make, confirm and pay for reservations. Should the new e-tourist media consider a return to Pausanias' practices?

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