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LANGUAGE AND MYTH: THE REPRESENTATION(S) OF SICILY IN

EARLY MODERN ENGLISH TRAVELOGUES

ABSTRACT. The aim of my paper is to analyse the language of sixteenth- and

seventeenth-century English travelogues which describe Sicily and, at the same time,

to highlight the "public" myth which characterised the Mediterranean island. The

sixteen travelogues used for the present study cover a time spam of almost two

hundred years, the first being Torkington (1518) and the last Veryard (1701), who

visited Sicily in 1682. The period under investigation has been defined as "an era

when the use of print as a medium for the dissemination of information was uncertain

and fluid, and certain generic distinctions which we take for granted today -

including that of 'travel writing' - were by no means clear or distinct" (Hadfield

1998: 1).

Keywords: sixteenth-century travelogues; seventeenth-century travelogues; English

travellers; Sicily; representation.

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to analyse the language of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English travelogues which describe Sicily and, at the same time, to highlight the "public" myth which characterised the Mediterranean island. Unlike other parts of Italy, which had become "the lodestone of scholars" (Howard 1914: 17), Sicily was not part of the Grand Tour during the 1600s and the 1700s a time when, in Stoye's words, "to go beyond, to Messina or Malta, would be stepping outside the giro d'Italia" (Stoye 1989: 129. See also Monga 1992, Sturiale 1999 and 2014). However, the first full descriptions of British travellers who visited Sicily date back to the first half of the sixteenth century.

What I will point out is that whereas the earliest accounts were particularly influenced by classical mythology and *topoi*, such as "Mons Ethneus whiche brennyth both Day and nyght" (Torkington 1517: 31) and very anecdotal in form, it is with Thomas Hoby (1550, 1902) in the 1550s and later on with Davies (1598, 1614) and Lithgow (1632), to name but a few, that the stylistic and linguistic features of a 'travel literature' can be pointed out. The presence of some stereotypical descriptions nonetheless – like that of Aetna which "burneth continually therein, yeelding a

terrible smoake, and fire" (Lithgow 1632: 51) – did still feature in these latter publications¹.

However, it is only in the eighteenth century, together with a growing interest for discovering the South, that Sicily becomes the final goal of the tour of many travellers especially after the editorial success of Patrick Brydon's account². So, the eighteenth century marks the birth of a travel literature with a special focus on Sicily (see Smecca 2005) and its 'public' representation.

As recently argued by Gerbing (2008), following Hall (1997):

Representation is a concept that helps us link people's experience and cognition to linguistic encoding. Representations construe versions of the world they construe views on how a culture [...] functions. [...] With respect to travelling, a rather abstract, though linguistically transmitted, 'way of life' or category of experience is visible. [...] Travellers semiotically not only create a system of rules and rituals that other travellers take as a starting point for their own behaviour, but they also create expectations about, and in a way even give rise to, those institutions which cater for travellers (Gerbing 2008: 158).

¹ Howard (1914: 20), commenting on the then flourishing travel literature, claims: "book-publishers thought it worth while to print books addressed to travellers. [...] there grew up a demand for advice to young men which became a feature of Elizabethan literature, printed and unprinted".

² Here I refer to Brydone's *Tour Through Sicily and Malta, in a Series of Letters to William Beckford, Esq. of Somerly Suffolk from P. Brydone*, FRD, 2 vols, Strahan & Cadell, London, 1773.

In my analysis, I will particularly concentrate on lexis, by investigating keywords in their context (cf. Scott 1997), in order to evaluate the travellers' perception of the reality which surrounded them and, consequently, the way they had their readers/interlocutors perceive 'that' reality.

2. Texts

The texts used for the present analysis cover a time spam of almost two hundred years, the first being Torkington (1518) and the last Veryard (1701), who visited Sicily in 1682. The period under investigation has been defined as "an era when the use of print as a medium for the dissemination of information was uncertain and fluid, and certain generic distinctions which we take for granted today – including that of 'travel writing' – were by no means clear or distinct' (Hadfield 1998: 1).

Most of these early modern travellers, with the exclusion of Hoby – defined by Howard (1914: 16) "a typical young gentleman of the period" – were not courtiers but mainly merchants or pilgrims. Hadfield, again, claims that:

Although many individual aristocrats did travel abroad during the [...] Tudor period, inaugurating what was to be called much later 'The Grand Tour', it is noticeable that there was little effort on the part of those closest to the monarch to repeat Henry's experiment of sending a number of young intellectuals to Italy. Travel abroad required a licence issued by the monarch. Large numbers of books were published which gave instructions for would-

be travellers, most of which emphasized the need for the traveller to serve his country through his actions (Hadfied 1998: 32).

The Tudors sponsored their courtiers and diplomats to spend some time on the Continent to get acquainted with culture, fashion and politics. As Howard (1914: 15) put it "there was another contributory element to the growth of travel, one which touched diplomats, scholars, and courtiers – the necessity of learning modern languages". Also in this respect Hoby, whose journey has been defined as "the first extensive tour of Southern Italy on record" (Chaney 1984: 139), stands very much alone. He is the only traveller to note in his diary that he went to Tuscany "to haue a better knowledge of ye tongue" (Hoby 1902 (1550): 18) and especially that he "went to Sicily both to have a sight of the country and also to absent [him]self for a while out of Englishmenne's companie for the tung's sake" (Hoby 1902, 1550: 37).

3. The sixteenth century

As for the sixteenth-century traveller and the literary outcome of his journey, the travelogue, was the first connection between England and modern Europe, in general, and Sicily in particular (cf. Mitsi 2004:19). The first travellers, who sailed through Sicily on their way to the Levant, mainly focused their attention and interest on

describing their own perilous itineraries³. Sicily, however, with the exception of Hoby, was not the final goal of their journey and those who spent some time on the island reported on the contrast between a glorious past and a degraded present, a dichotomy, which together with other issues, soon became a common theme in travel accounts of Sicily, as for example in Sandys's words:

We shall have occasion to treate of the more celebrated Cities in the processe of our Iournall: now a word or two of the changes it hath suffered in the diuers inhabitants and gouernours, and of their present condition (Sandys 1621: 236)

or, a few decades later, in Veryard's words about Catania: "tho' at present mean and beggarly is considerable for its Antiquity" or Siracusa "it's at present a small City, and neither splendid, rich, nor populous" (Veryard 1701: 227; 229). In 1646, describing Siracusa, Bargrave had noted "famous of old for many gallantrys, but now only for wine, and for some old ruins of antiquities, and remarkable caverns under ground" (Bargrave 1646, 1836: 606).

Despite obvious exaggerations, travelling to Sicily was arduous, as travellers encountered strong winds, storms, shipwrecks, pirates and bandits. Their narratives

³ As pointed out by Mitsi (2004: 21): "In Mediterranean travel, the notion of pilgrimage blends with the curiosity not only to witness the legendary Orient but also to rediscover the past".

show the desire to speak of their own adventures and misfortunes. In general, they show a clear interest in the description of people, habits, foods and in prices of things.

As rightly pointed out by Mitsi:

The travel account, letter, or journal, containing those exotic, incredible adventures, link past (traveller), present (writer) and future (the reader). Travel becomes discourse. [...] The book is not only an integral part of the voyage, guiding future travellers who might then write their own books, but also a means of imposing a structure on the fluid and alien matter of the foreign place (Mitsi 2004: 26).

As I have already said, the first accounts of British travellers to Sicily date back to the first half of the sixteenth century. Borde's anedoctal *Introduction of Knowkedge* (1542) - in the brief description of "The kyngdome of Sicell, and of Calabre" (chapter 21) - refers to many of the *topoi* used at the time to describe the Mediterranean island. Here is Borde's description:

Sycel is an Ilond for it is copased with water of the see ther be many flyes the which wil sting or bite lyke the flyes of Italy and loke wher that they do sting they wyl bring the bloud after and they be such flyes as do set on our tably & cup here in England. But they be so eger and so vegeable y a man can not kepe him selfe, from them specially if he slepe y dai tyme in Sicel is much thondoryng and lyghtnyng and great impietouse wyndes. The countrey is fartyl and ther, is much gold, The chefe towne is Ciracus. And ther is a goodly river called Artuse where is found whit corall (Borde 1542: 176).

Similar to Borde's account is Langton (1520) who dedicates a few lines to "Cicilia" which is described as follows:

In the yle of Cycyll beyonde Naples lyeth y^e body of saynt Agatha / at Catania besyde y^e mount Ethna. And therby is an yle called Vulcan y^t flames fire. There is also between Mecena and Calabre Sylla and Carydda two perylles of the see (Langton 1520: 37).

Quite similar in the content, but rather different in the form being a diary, is Torkington's description:

Also ovyr the watyr on the syd, which ys Distant a Calabria xxiij myle, ys the yle of Cecyll in the whyche yle by the see side ys Mons Ethneus whiche brennyth both Day and nyght, ye may se the smoke come owt of the Toppe of it. Ther cam owt of thys hyll fyer ronnyng Downe like as it had be a flode of watyr in to the Citye, which stondyth by the see syd, and brent many howses, And also Shippes that was in the the havyn, And put the City, whiche ys callyd Cathanea, in grett Juberte, wher the holy body of Seynt Agathe lyes, And by the miracle of the veyle of Seynt Agathe the Citee a for rehersyd was preservyd (Torkington [1518] 1884: 65).

Hoby, too, left a detailed, though short, account of his stay on the island.

Particularly interesting is his description of the volcano. He writes:

Mine intent was being here in Catania to have made a journey to the toppe of the hill, but th'inhabitants persuaded me to the contrarie, saing that the snowe was so thick, the way so troublesome, and the cold so extreme, that I shuld not be able bring my purpose to passe. (And again which was worst of all) there was no lodging to be had: and to goo and com back again but from the hither part of the snowe which liethe upon the hill, they said it was not

possible in a daye. Th'inhabitants of the towne saye that in times past the hill was accustomed everie three score or foure score yeres at the farthest, to cast owt great streames of fire like unto a river, which cam from the toppe of the hill unto the verie walles of the towne and manie times put the towne in great peril, burning all that part of it that was next unto yt. [...] But th'onlie occation whie it neyther ragethe, burnethe, flamethe nor smokethe at this present as it hathe done in thold time, that matter within wantethe, which in these manie hundrethe yeres hathe done nothing but consume: and thereof at this present it neyther flamethe nor yet castethe owt such quantitie of stones enie more. But smoke it dothe a little now and then, which a man shall see arise from the toppe like a little white cloude (Hoby [1550] 1902: 47).

These seem to be the themes dear to Elizabethan travellers. Even William Davies, who claims to know "this place well, being often there in the time of my slaverie", in his very brief description of the "famous iland [...] very fruitful, and plentiful of all things, as Silke, Flesh, and Fish, Corne, Wine, And Oyle, with great store of Fruit" (Davies 1614 sig. Cv) limits himself to mention "the high Mountayne [...] called Mungebella [...] the top of it burning continually both night and day" (Davies 1614 sig. C2r).

3. The seventeenth century

Also Sandys - who more than others continually quotes classical sources such as Ovid, Lucan, Lucretius, Cicero, Empedocles, Virgil, Strabo and so on - starts his account by writing:

Sicilia, the Queene of the *Mediterranean* Ilands, so said to be, not onely for her greatnesse [...] but for her other celebrated excellencies [...] the admirable fertility of the soyle: the mountines themselues (wehreof it hath many) euen to their tops extraordinarily fruitful. [...] Vines, sugar-canes, hony, saffron, and fruits of all kinds it produceth. [...] In this Iland is the farre seene mountaine of Aetna: [...] Hybla, clothed with thyme, and so praised for hony. In the sea that washeth the South-West angle there is corall found at this day (Sandys 1621: 234-235)⁴.

Lithgow (1614) echoes the typical seventeenth century exotic flavour:

That sulphurean mount *Gebello*, called of olde *Aetna* burneth continually therein, yeelding a terrible smoake, and fire: which by the nature of the thundering noyse, and heate congealed in that *Vulcans* fornace, it throweth foorth from the horrible vents, huge stones of naturall brimstone; insomuch that no people may resort neere thereby. I saw also here a fountaine, that a dogge being cast therein, will presently die, but beeing taken forth dead, and flung into another poole, shall forthwith reuiue (Lithgow 1614: sig T2r).

However, here he makes a substantial mistake referring to the "grotta del cane" which is found near Naples and also represented another 'must' for the Elizabethan traveller. According to Stoye: "Every traveller was accustomed to watch the experiment of stupefying a dog by the fumes and reviving it in the near-by waters of

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⁴ Also Warcupp (1660: 319) refers to the hyblean honey: "Their Bee hony is there so good that by the antients as a proverb twas used the *Hyblean* hony of *Sicily*, which affords great store of wax: the Bees using the very tronks of trees for their hives, there gathering excellent honey".

Lake Agnano, [it] provided a foretaste of the natural wonders which were to be viewed south of Naples" (Stoye 1989: 129).

Unlike his predecessors, Lithgow proved quite successful and his work met several new editions, i.e. 1616, 1623 and 1632 the latter with the new title of *The Totall Discourse*, of the Rare Adventures, and Painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Travayles, from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affrica. As he himself claimed, in the letter to the reader, his work was also the result of a "peregrination of minde, in reveiwng [sic] the same in the Map of my owne Memory (Lithgow 1614: sig. A2r)"⁵. Apparently sometimes in the peregrination he had bouts of memory loss.

Mistakes of this kind seem quite usual in early modern English travelogues, as in the following example taken from Courthorp's *Memoirs*:

The time of our setting sail from Messina being come we both went aboard and sailed through Scylla and Charybdis both being in the gulph of Venice and passed by Mount Aetna where in the night-time we could see huge flames of fire come out of the burning mountain, that were not to be perceived in the day (Courthorp 1907 [1636]: 115).

1623: sig. A2v).

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⁵ In the 1623 edition he slightly changed the letter as follows: "[...] This second peregrination of minde, in reducing all, from the Map of my Memory, to the laborious Pen, can but afford you the least content, what great beatitude shall I possesse in the benignity of your favours; and peradventure, the curious and sensible wit, may attract both delight, and understanding" (Lithgow

Bargrave's account presents a rather 'realistic' description of Mount Aetna, "ye famous hill [...] whose flame is not now so great as has been reported; only now visible by night, whiles by day it seems but a little cloud of smoak" (1646, 1836: 606). However, his description of the Eolian islands is full of infernal images of fire and destruction:

In open view of Sicilie, before we enter the vore of Messina, are the two smoaky islands of Vulcan, y^e Lipari and furious flaming Strumbolo, w^{ch} casts up fire with a strange violence and frightful noise. And it fortuned that after a great storm y^e heaving waves set o^r ship close by it, where for a whole night wee lay becalm'd, and were fain to tow out o^r ship with boats, lest wee should have driven too near it. But never did I hear a more horrid noise than of the roaring flame vomiting out huge stones, which rattled against each other, and beat on the cliffe as they fell, till the sea quenched their flame (Bargrave 1646 (1836): 605).

Meriton, on the other hand, still echoes the sixteenth century fashion of a rather clichéd description:

The Soyl is incredible fruitfull, excelling in all forts of Grain, as Corn, Wheat, Wine, Sugar, Rice, Oyl, Salt, Allum, all kinds of Fruit, and exceeding good Silk; exquisite Mines of Metal, and the best Coral in the World is found here. The most of the Towns and Villages within land, are built on the highest Hills, and greatest heights in the Countrey, by reason it is a great defence in the time of *Carsary* Invasion, and from the salubrity of the air.

There are divers Grounds (in this Island) and Valleys that abound so in Wheat, that the Inhabitants recoyle 100 measures for one. In this Countrey is the Hill *Hibla*, famous for Bees and Honey; and the Hill *Ætna*, which continually sendeth forth flames of fire.

The Inhabitants of this Island are very humane, ingenious, eloquent, and talkative; pleasant they are, and effeminate, but generally wondrous kind to Strangers (Meriton 1671: 289).

The fertility of the land – "the abundance of terrene sustenance and plenty of all things necessarie for mans use very excellent" – and "the salubrity of the ayre" are *topoi* which can also be found in Warcupp's (1660: 319) and also Veryard's accounts (1701: 231)⁶, together with the fishing of swordfish (Messina) and tuna fish (Siracusa), the dangerous straits of Messina and the port of Messina. Early seventeenth-century travellers did focus on 'religion' and 'the Spanish influence', but also on 'women', 'the peril of travelling in and out Sicilian town', 'the wealth of the inhabitants' and 'the language spoken', thus introducing topics which are familiar to most of the travelogues under investigation. The case of Messina, for example, well built on the one hand but dirty and dusty on the other hand, is a theme to be found in late seventeenth-century travelogues.

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⁶ Veryard wrote (1701: 232): "The Air is serene, and the Earth very sulphurious, bituminous, cavernous, and consequently liable to Earthquakes; but withal, it's so exceeding fertile, that the Antients stil'd the Island, The Magazine of Fruit, and Roman Granary [...]. It likewise abounds with Wine, Oyl, Honey, Sugar, Saffron, Mines of Gold, Silver, and Iron; as also with divers precious Stones [...], as I have been inform'd".

The volcano and the various accounts of its, present and past, eruptions are the recurrent themes of all the seventeenth-century travelogues and ascending to its top the main goal of most travellers. Veryard gives the following credible report:

We had from hence [Catania] a sight of *Mount Aetna*, now call'd *Mon Gibello*, but thought it not worth our while to ascend higher, since it burns not at present; and the middle Region is so environ'd with a Circle of Snow, that one cannot get to the top. This Mountain has been famous, in all Ages, for casting out Flames, Smoak, and Streams of Sulphur and melted Metals; and last great Eruption, which happen'd in the Year 1669, has left too fatal marks of its fury to be soon forgotten by the Inhabitants. The flaming Torrent has not only destroy'd divers Towns and Villages, but left divers Heaps of that heterogeneous Mixture, which are seen to this Day (Veryard 1701: 228).

4. Ocular experience

Even though many of the travel accounts under investigation were the clear results of the "peregrination of the minde" and, to use Mitsi's words (2004: 26), of "an erudite assembling at home" (see Sandys, for example), proving 'ocular experience', or first hand experience, was of a paramount importance to gain credibility and make the final outcome as reliable as possible. Here are a few examples:

- I demaunded the question (Hoby 1902 [1550]: 47)

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- As I have wondred myself lyoing upon the seea (Hoby 1902 [1550]: 47)
- I measured the third fifty miles (Lithgow 1632: 334)
- I must confesse (Lithgow 1632: 384)
- Wherein I compassed the whole Iland (Lithgow 1632: 387)
- I speake it credibly, I found (Lithgow 1632: 391)
- I have choosed the last time (double experience, deeper knowledge) for the discourse (Lithgow 1632: 396)
- But never did I hear a more horrid noise (Bargrave 1836 [1646]: 605)
- We saw an engine for silk (Skippon 1732 [1664]: 610)
- We visited (Skippon 1732 [1664]: 613)
- Corvinus shew'd us (Skippon 1732 [1664]: 614)
- In the senate house, we observ'd (Skippon 1732 [1664]: 614)
- And here I cannot forget what befell me (Veryard 1701: 229)

4.1. Second hand sources

On the other hand, the writers also pointed out when the source was not 'their own personal experience' or taken from classical literature. In this Sandys was quite an expert. Here are a few examples:

Th'inhabitants of the towne saye (Hoby 1902 [1550]: 471902 [1550])

It is said to have bene first inhabited by the Cyclopes (Sandys 1621: 236)

I haue read or heard (Sandys 1621: 238)

I have this onely by relation (Sandys 1621: 239)

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As they fable (Sandys 1621: 239)

They so coniecturing (Sandys 1621: 240)

(if Strabo may be beleeued) (Sandys 1621: 242)

(according to that author) [i.e. Strabo] (Sandys 1621: 242)

It is reported (Skippon 1732 [1664]: 615)

They told us (Skippon 1732 [1664]: 615)

From him we receiv'd many informations [sic] (Skippon 1732 [1664]: 617)

It seems formerly all the Silk was vended at Messina (Ray 1673: 279)

5. People and places

In order to evaluate how early modern travellers perceived and evaluated the place/s they visited, I have investigated the contexts in which the keywords "people (also "men/women")" occurred in the texts, grouped the collocates and collocating phrases into semantic sets and sorted them according to frequency. Once these sets of semantically related words were sorted, their particular evaluative directions became visible, as can be seen in the following examples.

Interestingly a few accounts offer examples of interaction with the local people (see Skippon and Varyard) and of local expressions as in Skippon's "we went *ribba ribba*, or *terra terra*, i.e. by the shore" (p. 615) or "they told us there are eight strong

currents they call Reme" (p. 615)⁷. Indeed, commenting on Joseph Addison's *Remarks on Several parts of Italy &c. in the years 1701, 1702, 1703*, published in London in 1767, Samuel Johnson complained about the fact that "It would seem [...] that Addison had not acquired much Italian learning for we do not find it introduced into his writings" (Boswell 1791 [1953]: 614).

5.1 Sicilians

The most frequent set of collocates expresses "attitudes to foreign people", "loquacity" and "bed temper/jealousy":

Semantic categorization of collocates	Examples
Attitudes to foreign people	"inhospitable to strangers", ill-
	conditioned towards strangers", "uncivil
	to strangers", "rustick and uncivil

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⁷ "Faro di Messina (by our seamen called the vale of Messina" (p. 610) or "Santa Lucia is *protettrice* of this city" (616) could be other examples. However, from a lexical point of view, Skippon's account is extremely interesting, since he introduces a lot of new words, by means of coupling, and phrases. Here are a few quotations: "the stroom or current" (p. 610); "the coaches of noble make the corso" (p. 611); "borgi or suburbs" (p. 611); "all the monies of *Sicily* are coin'd in the zecco or mint" (p. 611); "the gentry and ladies in coaches rode the Corso or tour in the chief street" (p. 613); "the bancho or exchange" (613); "the coaches take the evening fresco" (p. 615); "one of the crew stands observing the motion and cries of a guardiano or fellow's hand and voice" (615); "we embark'd in a felucca with six rowers, and a padrone, who steer'd" (p. 616); "entered the *catacumbe* or antient vaults, formed into several streets, having on each side long arched caves full of *loculi* or graves" (616).

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	demeanour towards strangers";
	"generally wonderful kind to strangers".
Loquacity	"talkative", "meddlesome", "eloquent
	and pleasant", "bred Orators", "quick-
	witted, pleasant", industrious, "curious",
	"great lovers of novelties", "full of
	quickness".
Bad temper/jealousy	"iealous", "revengefull", "private
	revenges", "jealousy and ill blood",
	"contrary temper", "envious", "full of
	enuy", "lightly given to anger and
	offences", "ready to take revenge of an
	iniury committed", "greedy of honour".

The selection shows how these and other collocates combine with the node in wider co-text to form an evaluative semantic mood expressing the travellers' experience of situations and/or perception.

6. Concluding remarks

⁸ The first quotation for *meddlesome* ("given to meddling on interfering; characterized by meddling") found in the OED (online edition – draft revision June 2001) is this passage taken from Sandys's first edition.

To sum up, in most cases readers were presented with annotated memories of the journeys undertook. William Lithgow in the letter to the reader writes:

Courteous reader, of these my double paines, of a twofold Pilgrimage; first, in my personall progresse, to these famous places, and next a second peregrination of minde, in reveiwng [sic] the same in the Map of my owne Memory (Lithgow 1614: sig. A2r).

This image of the "peregrination of minde", which was common to most early modern English travelogues, may justify Bate's comment which claimed that traveller's reminiscences of their journeys were "apparently thrown casually into a book, [suggest] the chaos of experience but tending towards the ordering of artistic narrative" (Bate 1996: 56) ⁹. Focusing on their personal adventures and their painful pilgrimages, as highlighted by Mitsi, travellers "did not actually 'see' the places and people they visited, or rather saw and recorded only what they already had in mind" (Mitsi 2004: 9). Plagiarized, misquoted, mistranslated, transformed and

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⁹ Commenting on Lithgow's account on his travel to Greece, Mitsi (2004: 25-26) writes: "Lithgow's description of the region is as legitimate as Sherley's and Biddulph's, accounts which he cannibalizes despite the avowal that his book is 'composed of mine own eyesight, and ocular experience ... excelling far all inventions whatsoever, poetic or theoric'. Since the Middle Ages, the travel writer was bound in a literary culture of set *topoi* and figures, adding a layer to what becomes a palimpsest of writing. Travel accounts on Greece not only cite ancient authors [...] but also rework or repeat earlier or contemporary travel writers".

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transformable, early travel literature suggests that most travellers chose to speak in other men's voices through translation and quotation.

In conclusion, judging from the popularity of travel literature throughout the centuries, travelling and its 'representation' has always been an interesting experience, for the travellers themselves as well as for the readers of their writings.

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