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Seventeenth Century European Travel Accounts of İzmir: Narrating Orient Before Orientalism

On Yedinci Yüzyıl Avrupa Seyahatnamelerinde İzmir: Oryantalizmden Önce Doğu'yu Anlatmak

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ABSTRACT

From the 17th century onward, Europe's curiosity about and developing relations with its nearest "other," the Ottoman Empire, prompted European envoys, delegates, merchants, and other travelers to visit these lands. The journeys to the Orient, and the subsequent publication of accounts of these journeys, laid the foundations for the accumulation of a body of knowledge and representations of the Orient. İzmir, as a flourishing commercial center on the Mediterranean, became a place included in the itinerary of European travelers during their journey to the Orient. The travelogues provided descriptions of İzmir's urban life, daily routine, demography, and social structure as well as its physical environment, geographical features, and architectural scenery. This article aims to reveal these 17th century narratives, particularly those of British and French travelers, in terms of their individual, unique perspectives as well as their common aspects. In addition, this article asks whether the 17th century view of the Orient-as evidenced by the textual and visual representations of İzmir in these travel accounts-can be seen as a prelude to the Orientalism of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Keywords: 17th century, İzmir, orientalism, spatial narratives, travel accounts.

ÖZ

On yedinci yüzyıldan itibaren Avrupa'nın en yakınındaki "öteki" olan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na duyduğu merak ve bu ülkeyle gelişen ilişkileri, Avrupalı elçileri, temsilcileri, tüccarları ve gezginleri bu toprakları ziyaret etmeye teşvik etti. Doğu'ya yapılan yolculuklar ve bu yolculuklara dair anlatıların yayınlanması, Doğu'ya dair bir bilgi birikimi ve temsillerin temellerini attı. Akdeniz'de gelişen bir ticaret merkezi olarak İzmir, Avrupalı seyyahların Doğu'ya yaptıkları yolculuklarda güzergahlarına dahil ettikleri bir yer haline geldi. Seyahatnamelerde İzmir'in kentsel yaşamı, günlük rutini, demografisi ve sosyal yapısının yanı sıra fiziksel çevresi, coğrafi özellikleri ve mimari manzarası da betimlenmiştir. Bu çalışma, on yedinci yüzyıla ait bu anlatıları, özellikle de İngiliz ve Fransız seyyahların anlatılarını, ortak yönlerinin yanı sıra bireysel ve özgün bakış açıları açısından ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Buna ek olarak, çalışmada, on yedinci yüzyıldaki Doğu'ya bakışın - İzmir'in bu seyahatnamelerdeki metinsel ve görsel temsillerinin kanıtladığı üzere - on sekizinci ve on dokuzuncu yüzyıl Oryantalizminin bir başlangıcı olarak görülüp görülemeyeceği sorgulanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: On yedinci yüzyıl, İzmir, oryantalizm, mekânsal anlatılar, seyahatnameler.

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Introduction

Travel writing on the Orient has been a popular topic in various fields such as history, architectural history, cultural studies, and literary studies. Throughout history, travel accounts have served as a means to gain knowledge about the unfamiliar and the "other" in relation to oneself. European travelogues, in particular, played a significant role in the development of Orientalism as both a discourse and a cultural mindset that shaped perceptions, conceptualizations, and representations of the East.

From the 17th century onward, the exploration of the Orient led to the collection of various depictions of the region. This process resulted in the objectification of the Orient through the development of Orientalist discourse, as famously discussed by Edward Said in his influential work *Orientalism*. Said's ideas have largely shaped our understanding of the emergence and growth of Orientalism over time. Seventeenth century is regarded as the continuation of the period, in which entanglements between late Renaissance Europe and the Orient were considered as struggles of opponents.

The subsequent 18th century witnessed a European curiosity, while relationships with and representations of the Orient drew from flexibility, mobility, and an array of possibilities (Avcıoğlu & Flood, 2010). It was in the 19th century that full-blown Orientalism was seen in the sense that Europe conceived the Orient from a dominant position and brought about rigid academic taxonomies, the imagination of the Orient based on binary oppositions with regard to itself.

Methods

In this framework, this article delves into an analysis of 17th century European travel accounts on İzmir. These narratives developed from short descriptions into extensive writings and depictions of the city and city life from the beginning to the end of the century. The focus is solely on the accounts of travelers who personally visited İzmir that provided extensive written detail and on occasion drew rendering of the city's architecture, layout, and surroundings.[1] The travelogues of British travelers William Lithgow (c. 1582–c. 1645), George Wheler (1651–1724), Edmund Chishull (1671–1733) and French travelers Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689), Jean de Thévenot (1633–c. 1667), and Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708) are analyzed and presented in chronological order. This way, the rise of İzmir based on how these travelers perceived İzmir and its inhabitants is shown. In addition, the authors' backgrounds in relation to their travels are examined. This allows for a clearer understanding of the similarities and differences in the authors' views and recordings of İzmir and its surroundings. In the end, this study attempts to reveal whether and how 17th century European travel literature on the Orient paved the way for the rise of Orientalism as a cultural attitude if not a discourse in the subsequent centuries.

Orientalism and Travel Writing

Beginning from the 1960s, initially by Abdel-Malek (1963) and Tibawi (1965), European colonialism and asymmetrical relations of the West and East had been brought into discussion. Yet it was due to Edward Said's "Orientalism" published in 1978 that the concept embodied a comprehensive meaning, developing into a discourse or cultural attitude of the Western world to see and represent the Orient. Said (1978/2003) criticized the ideological framework for how Europe conceived and constructed the Orient as the "other" and its inferior. According to Said (1978/2003), Western creation of the Orient for hegemonic purposes to a considerable extent based on Western travelers' accounts, which depicted these lands. Said's arguments were afterward criticized: for his historiographical standpoint, theoretical inconsistencies and failing to notice complex historical processes (Ahmad, 1991; Irwin, 2006; Lewis, 1982, 1993; Macfie, 2002; MacKenzie, 1995; Richardson, 1990; Sadik Jalal al-Azm, 1981; Varisco, 2007; Yıldız, 2007).

As such, Said's postulation has been a reference point to bring about alternative perspectives and insights, which discuss the making of the idea and image of the "East" particularly in the fields of literary, cultural, and visual studies. Many scholars, keeping in mind the power inequality, pointed to the reciprocal and multilayered nature of the relationship between the West and East. Postcolonial critics pointed at the diverse and heterogeneous nature of the Orientalist discourse. In literary and cultural studies, Lowe (1991) criticized the totalizing view of Orientalism as a uniform construct, Pratt (1992) introduced the concept of "contact zone" in revealing the entanglements between the West and the world beyond. Ersoy (2013), in the introduction of the 1001 Faces of Orientalism exhibition book, pointed at the plural, separate, and unique histories of "Orientalisms" and how they became the new foci of research. Such tendency particularly concretized in Beaulieu & Roberts (2002) and Behdad & Gartlan (2013) in visual studies.

Historical research on travel writing and Orientalism followed a similar path. As explicitly put forward in the collective work by Hulme & Youngs (2002) and Kuehn & Smethurst (2008), the academic studies on travel writing shifted to more pluralistic social and cultural environments and associated with diverse histories of Orientalisms. In this context, travel writing in history is revisited—in other words, the relations of the West and East; hence, European travel accounts on the Orient during the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries were reevaluated. For instance, Behdad (2008) highlighted the Orient as a site of exotic difference in the 17th century and emphasized its scientific and educational usage in the 18th, and its representation as a commercially centered adventure ground in the 19th century. Gharipour & Özlü (2015, p. 13) in their edited book, brought together of essays on Western travel accounts from different periods to question the idea of the "Islamic city," while presenting how Orientalism as a discourse contributes to construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction in Western travel accounts.

In the light of literature review on Orientalism and travel writing, it can be suggested that research on 19th century Western travel accounts depicting the Orient displayed the century's entanglement with full-blown Orientalism. It is particularly in the 19th century that Europe conceived the Orient from a dominant position and brought about rigid academic taxonomies, the imagination of the Orient based on binary oppositions regarding itself yet still maintaining the pluralities, heterogeneity, and complexity of the Orientalist attitudes. As Avcıoğlu & Flood (2010) meticulously argued in their edited volume, the 18th century appeared as a time of flexibility, mobility, and an array of possibilities considering European relationships with and representations of the Orient, that was well revealed based on travel accounts. What is preceding the 18th century, in this respect, witnessed a motivation to travel to the world beyond, which was triggered by the Renaissance age of colonial exploration and expansion. In the 17th century, travel owing to curiosity led to the systematic discovery of the lands on the east of Europe, which resulted in the rise of the Orient as a subject matter to be depicted, contemplated, and reviewed by the West. Behdad (2008) claimed that 17th century travelers were adventurers chasing after exoticism, curious for unknown and marvelous places, hence were "observer and narrator of Orient's exoticism." It was again in the 17th century when interest in the Mediterranean trade was renewed due to French and then British

[1] Some of the well-known travelers who visited İzmir during their journeys in the 17th century, yet not selected within the limits of this study, can be listed as follows: French traveler and diplomat Laurent d'Arvieux (1635–1702), Flemish engraver and book seller Jacob Peeters (1637–1695), German engraver and publisher Jacob Enderlin, English scholar Thomas Smith (1638–1710) and English clergyman and scientist John Covel (1638–1722), Dutch artist and traveler Cornelis de Bruyn (1652–1727), French archaeologist Antoine Galland (1646–1715), and British poet and politician George Sandys (1578–1644). Armenian priest Pole Simeon (c. 1584–?) visited İzmir during his journey into the East between 1608 and 1619. His observations on the city are quite limited and he mostly mentioned about the Armenian population and churches in here. Dutch traveler Olfert Dapper (1636–1689) both wrote about İzmir and depicted İzmir visually, even though he did not visit the city himself.

trade with the Ottoman Empire, as their nearest "other," these lands welcomed the increasing number of travelers and representatives. Based on the accounts of these people, the 17th century witnessed exploration of the Orient as its subject matter. For instance, 17th century French Orientalist d'Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale was completed and published by Antoine Galland, who was also the first European translator of *One Thousand and One Nights*. D'Herbelot's work owed to former travel accounts and he was also known to meet and suggest French traveler Thévenot to extend his journey to the Ottoman lands. Considering research on 17th century European accounts narrating the Orient, Watenpaugh (2003) located d'Arvieux's accounts pointing to "proto-Orientalism" prior to 18th and 19th centuries. Duffy (2021), however, claimed 17th century French travel accounts to be "perceptive, complementary and highly individualized" as opposed to condescending Orientalism of the later centuries. Within this framework, this study concentrates on 17th century narratives of French and British travelers on İzmir and questions whether and how these accounts can be considered as a prelude to the rising full-blown Orientalism in the later centuries.

Ottoman-European Relations During the 17th Century and the Rise of İzmir

During the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire saw itself as a world power (despite the decrease in military might) and early modern Europe was laying the ground for its 18th century developments by strengthening its trade and in turn political power. The Ottomans gradually retreated from European territories due to a decline in military prowess, combined with European commercial ascendancy in the East, particularly within the Ottoman lands, led trade companies' delegates to acquire considerable influence and soon become the official representatives of their respective countries. Ottoman–European relations of the 17th century developed with bilateral agreements against Habsburg monarchies. The mercantilist policies of this anti-Habsburg league gave rise to Ottoman trading hubs in the Levant, especially İzmir.

İzmir was a significant, rapidly developing, and preferred port during the 17th century (Frangakis-Syrett, 1985, 1992; Goffman, 1990, 1999; Mansel, 2011; Ülker, 1974). International trade was the driving force not only for the rapid economic and urban development, but it was behind the production of urban life and space, both socially and physically. İzmir overtook Chios, a nearby major trading post in the Aegean. European consuls and incoming European traders moved to and settled in İzmir. From 17th century onward, the number of travelers visiting and spending a considerable amount of time in İzmir mushroomed. These Europeans were usually merchants, envoys, delegates, scientists, clerics, or pilgrims passing through Anatolia. They came from several European countries but predominantly from France, Britain, and the Netherlands. These travelers' accounts consisted of an assortment of narratives, which became richer and more wide-ranging toward the end of the 17th century. They not only recorded the activities of various communities, the people, and their daily city routines, as well as depicted the social structure of the cosmopolitan Ottoman port, but also detailed the physical surroundings of İzmir, including its urban layout and architecture for both contemporary for that period and ruined remains.

Spatial Narratives of İzmir Based on the British and French Travelers' Accounts

The selected 17th century British and French travel accounts focused on various aspects of İzmir (Smyrna) and Ephesus. First, they emphasized the historical Christian roots and ancient architectural heritage of these cities, often accompanied by detailed drawings of classical and Byzantine monuments, including inscriptions and coins. Second, the accounts provided insights into the town's layout, topography, flora, fauna, and climate as a bustling port city. Third, they documented the daily lives of the inhabitants and the architectural settings of the 17th century city. The cosmopolitan nature of İzmir was highlighted, with its diverse population of Ottoman subjects, Europeans, and various ethnic and religious groups. These travel accounts explored the differences between Ottoman and European lifestyles, as well as the daily habits of both Muslim and non-Muslim residents.

William Lithgow (c. 1585 – c. 1645)

William Lithgow, a Scottish merchant's eldest son, visited the Aegean coasts during his journey to Asia and Africa. His experiences and observations during his visits were compiled in a 3-volume, 10-chapter book.[2] In Chapters 4 and 5, he described İstanbul, Galata, the Aegean islands, Rhodes, and İzmir, which he explored between 1610 and 1611. İzmir held great significance according to Lithgow's chronicles (1640, 173–175). First, it was one of the Seven Churches mentioned in the Book of Revelation, representing a major Christian site. Second, it could accommodate heavy commerce "with great traffic with all nations." Third, its favorable geographic conditions, including a harbor and fertile land, supported agriculture and farming. However, Lithgow's observations of the city's inhabitants were mostly negative, as he regarded them as "wondrous insolent" (173–174). While he did not explicitly mention İzmir's ancient heritage, his interest in antiquity is evident in his passages about Ephesus, an adjacent once-magnificent settlement. He emphasized Ephesus's status as one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, its Christian significance as one of the Seven Churches, and its association with the burial site of St. John the Evangelist (174–175).

Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689)

Jean Baptiste Tavernier, born in Paris with French and Flemish ancestry, embarked on extensive travels throughout Europe before venturing to the East, including Isfahan and India's diamond mines. As a prominent gem merchant, he made four notable journeys to the East. Tavernier visited İzmir on four occasions between 1632 and 1654, documenting his experiences in accounts published in 1677 under the patronage of the French king. His travelogues gained significant popularity, with 21 French editions and translations into various languages.[3] According to his

[2] Lithgow's accounts were first published in 1614 as "A most delectable, and true discourse, of an admired and painefull peregrination from Scotland, to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affricke". Later the book was renamed as "*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*". In 1616, 1623, 1632, and 1640, the book was published with expanded and revised versions (Nelson & Alker, 2009/2010, 176). For this study, the 1640 London edition (Lithgow, 1640) is used. For further information on Lithgow and an interpretation on Lithgow's accounts, see McJannet (2011, 226–227, 236, 239–241) and Üçel-Aybet (2003/2010, 67-68).

[3] Tavernier initially published his accounts in Paris under the title *"Les Six Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier"* in 1677. For this study, the English

chronicles (1678, Book 1, Chapter 7, 32–36), İzmir's strategic location made it ideal for trade networking. As a merchant, Tavernier described İzmir "one of the most celebrated cities of the Levant, and the greatest market for all forts of commodities" between Europe and Asia. He also mentioned İzmir's connection to Christianity, as one of the Seven Churches of Revelation. He emphasized the richness of city's ancient heritage. He noted the English merchants' interference in the "ruins of Smyrna." He mentioned that he bought ancient remains. He remarked on the Turks' negligence and disregard for the city's antiquities and evaluated that the current Turkish city lacked the ancient glory of the former Roman city (32). He noted the number Turks, and then Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Franks (European people living in İzmir not just the French) all living together, where everyone was free to practice their own religion (33). On Ephesus, he described it as "not like a city, being so absolutely ruined." Tavernier referred to the antiquities of Ephesus, its Christian heritage, and the Turkish conversion of the great church into a mosque as well as the earlier building of mosques rather than the present settlement (34–35).

Jean de Thévenot (1633 – c. 1667)

Jean de Thévenot, who was a French merchant, began his travels in 1651. He visited European lands such as England, Netherlands, Germany, and then Italy, namely, Venice and Rome. Then, suggestions by Orientalist M. Herbelot led him to Ottoman lands in 1656. He traveled to İstanbul, the Ottoman capital, and other provinces. He studied the traditions, religious observances, languages, etc. of the people and described all that he observed in the Aegean, İstanbul, Jerusalem, Egypt, Arabia, and Baghdad. His accounts were published posthumously in 1689 in Paris and in 1727 in Amsterdam, and the original work was translated into English in 1687.[4] Thévenot's writings (1687, Chapter LX, 91–92) provided a brief history of the city, highlighted its ancient significance, and described its physical structures, including castles, churches, the ancient amphitheater, ruins of religious buildings, and the Frank quarters, where the customs house, consulates, merchants' houses, and magazines were located. He did make a record on the Turkish quarters, houses, and mosques.

As a Christian himself, he listed all the Christians of various nationalities—Greeks, Armenians, and Latins—living in the city and their houses of worship. He also described İzmir's countryside, such as the forests, trees, gardens, and climate. He mentioned that this port city accommodated "great trade of Commodities from all parts of *Asia* and *Christendom*" but did not portray the urban life and the Frank quarters in as vividly captivating detail as Tournefort and Tavernier (92). Even though he had a great desire to visit Ephesus, the road travel safety warnings and illness prevented him from doing so.

George Wheler (1651–1724)

George Wheler, an English clergyman, and scholar, traveled to France, Switzerland, and Italy before meeting French doctor Jacop Spon in Venice in 1675. Together, they toured the Levant, visiting İzmir and nearby ancient towns. Spon published their travel accounts (Spon, 1679), and when the English translation was planned, Wheler wrote his own, acknowledging Spon as his coauthor. Wheler's preface outlined how he compiled and edited his notes alongside Spon's account in his six-book publication.[5]

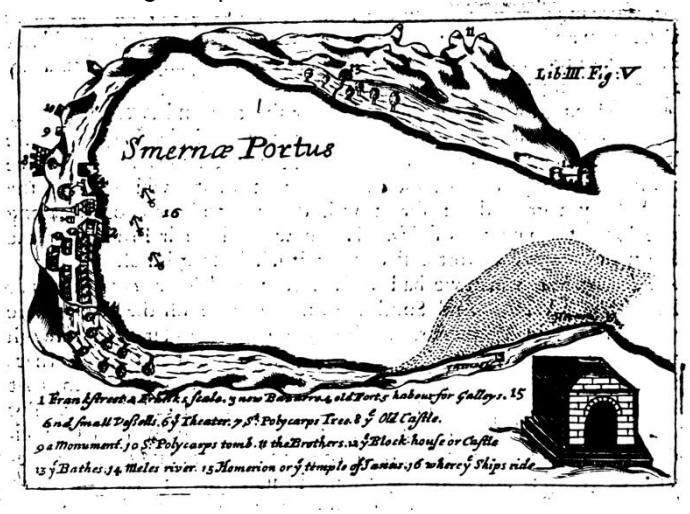

Figure 1. Plan of İzmir (Smyrna) Port, in Wheler (1682, Book III, p. 240).

Wheler (1682, Book III, 239–256) provided his observations on İzmir and nearby towns, including Ephesus. Upon arrival, he described being greeted by the English consul Paul Rycaut[6] and his entourage, who blended in with the locals except for their hats (239). Wheler detailed the physical geography of İzmir (Figure 1), emphasizing its protected harbor, surrounded by mountains, and its fertile lands with olive orchards, vineyards, and cornfields (240–241). He claimed İzmir to be "a place of Great antiquity," referring to its ancient history and remains, mentioning how he collected ancient artifacts and coins to bring back to England. Wheler also noted a wall near Frank Street that appeared to be a fragment of an ancient theater, lamenting its ruined state and the reuse of its marbles in the commercial structures by the Turks (241–242). Identifying himself a "Christian traveler and philosopher," he indicated to the "far better condition of the city in comparison to the other Seven Churches." Wheler described the city as having "a number of Christians of all nations, sects and languages." He considered that the English people having only a chapel in the Consul's House "as a shame" considering the great wealth they had compared to the other Christian denominations (Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Dutch) religious structures in the city. In terms of trade, he deemed İzmir and Aleppo as "the chief places in the Levant" and provided detailed information on the commodities traded between Europe and Asia. He observed that the English community lived in "great unity, peace and freedom" and stated the superiority of English merchants compared to the French and Venetians (241–242).

1678 London edition (Tavernier, 1678) is used. For more information on life of Tavernier and critiques on his accounts, see also Longino (2015), Pınar (2001, 5–10), Üçel-Aybet (2003/2010, 76–77), and York (2003).

[4] The first publication was entitled "*Relation d'un Voyage fait au Levant*" in 1665 in Paris and the English translation was printed in 1687 in London. For this study, this edition Thévenot (1687) is used. For further information on Thévenot and interpretations on his accounts see also Longino (2015), for she wrote a chapter on Thévenot addressing him the "tourist/etnographer", Sundeen (2003), Üçel-Aybet (2003/2010, 79-81), and the preface by Yerasimos of the Turkish translation Thévenot (2009).

[5] For this study, the first edition of the book in 1682, London (Wheler, 1682) is used. For further information on Wheler and interpretation on his accounts Üçel-Aybet (2003/2010, 90–91) and to compare with English travel writing in the late 16th and 17th centuries, see McJannet (2011) and MacLean (2007).

[6] Paul Rycaut (1629–1700), the English consul in Smyrna, wrote a book entitled "*The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire*", which was published in 1686 in London. At that time, he was accepted as an authority on the Ottoman Empire. For further information on Rycaut, see Anderson, (1989/2001).

Wheler noted that Turks, who had 13 mosques and Jews, who had several synagogues, made the town "populous," but their places of worship were "ill built and without either strength or beauty." He also observed the *bedestan* (covered bazaar) and described it in detail. Only commercial structures were evaluated as "fine and qualified" by the author in comparison to other Turkish edifices. Nearby, the Franks' customs house and the waterfront of Frank Street with its warehouses suitable for storage stood. He stated this area as the "most pleasant, and best built of any part of this present *Smyrna*" as opposed to the Turkish quarters and other buildings (246–247).

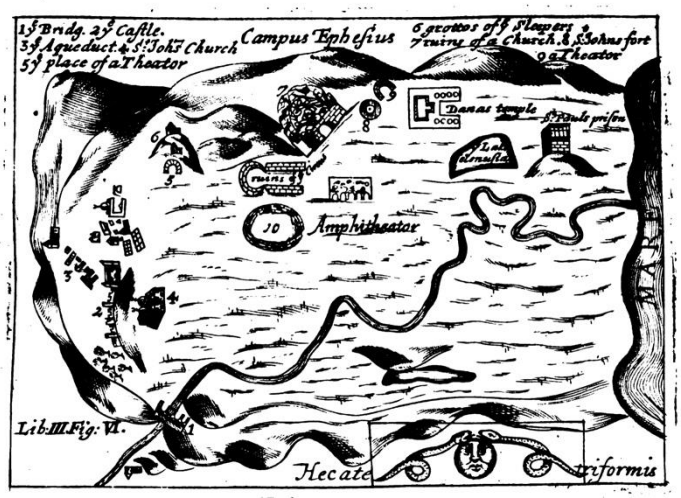

Figure 2. Plan of Ephesus, in Wheler (1682, Book III, p. 253).

He also visited Ephesus. He wrote that the present state of the town, now called Ayasuluk, was far from the glory days of the ancient celebrated Ephesus. He noted that "forty or fifty Families of *Turks*, living in poor thatched Cottages, without one Christian among them." He heavily focused on the fact that the current inhabitants had no regard for the ancient ruins (Figure 2). The Church of St. John particularly aroused Wheler and his companions' curiosity. However, the structure Wheler described as the Church of St. John as being converted into a mosque was actually a mosque built by the Turks in the 14th century (Figure 3). This was a common error among 17th century European travelers that visited Ephesus, including Lithgow, Tournefort, and Chishull.

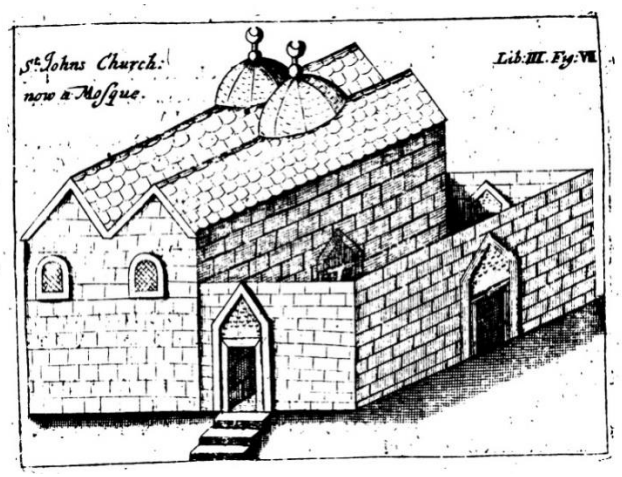

Figure 3. Drawing of misidentified İsa Bey Mosque in Wheler (1682, Book III, p. 256).

Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708)

Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, a French botanist, traveled extensively between 1700 and 1702, exploring the Aegean Sea, the Black Sea borders, İstanbul, Armenia, and Georgia. While his primary focus was on collecting and documenting plant specimens, he also observed and recorded the geography, people, and customs of the regions he visited.

His travel account, published after his death, provides detailed descriptions of İzmir, including its inhabitants, urban life, physical environment, and ancient and Christian heritage.

His travel account was first published posthumously in Paris (Tournefort, 1717).[7] Similar to Wheler, Tournefort also created sketches of the city (Figure 4). In his chronicles (1741, 332–333), he praised İzmir as "the finest port" and one of the "largest and wealthiest cities in the Levant."

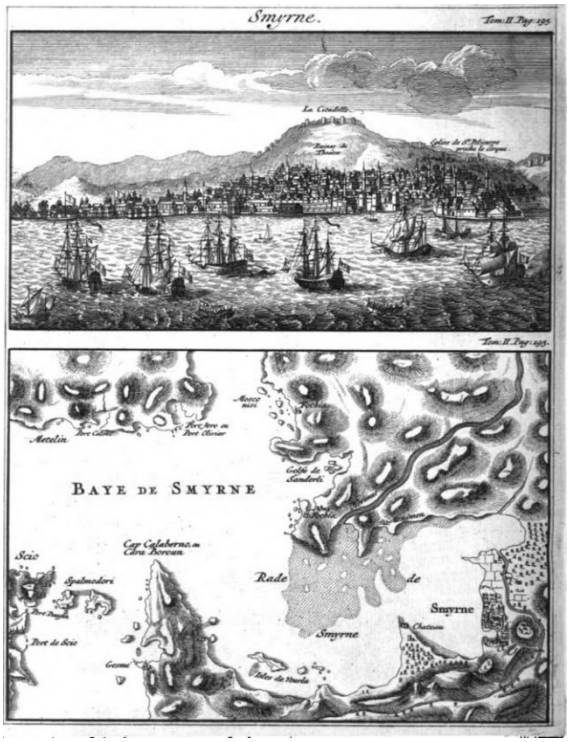

Figure 4. Plan and view of İzmir (Smyrna) Port, in Tournefort (1717, p. 195).

He considered the physical attributes of İzmir to be superior compared to continental cities in terms of lighting, pavement, and housing. For him, Frank Street is one of the finest in the world and observed that Turks were rarely seen in that part of town. He said, "we seem to be in *Christendom*; they speak nothing but *Italian, French, English* or *Dutch* there. Everybody takes off his Hat, when he pays his Respects to another" (336). That was probably one of the reasons why he so emphatically praised the city. Tournefort provided in detail the number of inhabitants and their places of worship, stating that the non-Muslims did not have any trouble in publicly practicing their rituals yet criticizing, "they have not sufficient regard to the *Mahometans*, for the Taverns are open all Hours, Day and Night" (336). He also recorded the nationalities and number of European merchants residing in İzmir. Interestingly, he compares the Frenchmen "who drove a less considerable trade" to the English who "were numerous and their trade flourishing" (334).

[7] For this study, the 1741 London English edition (Tournefort, 1741) is used.

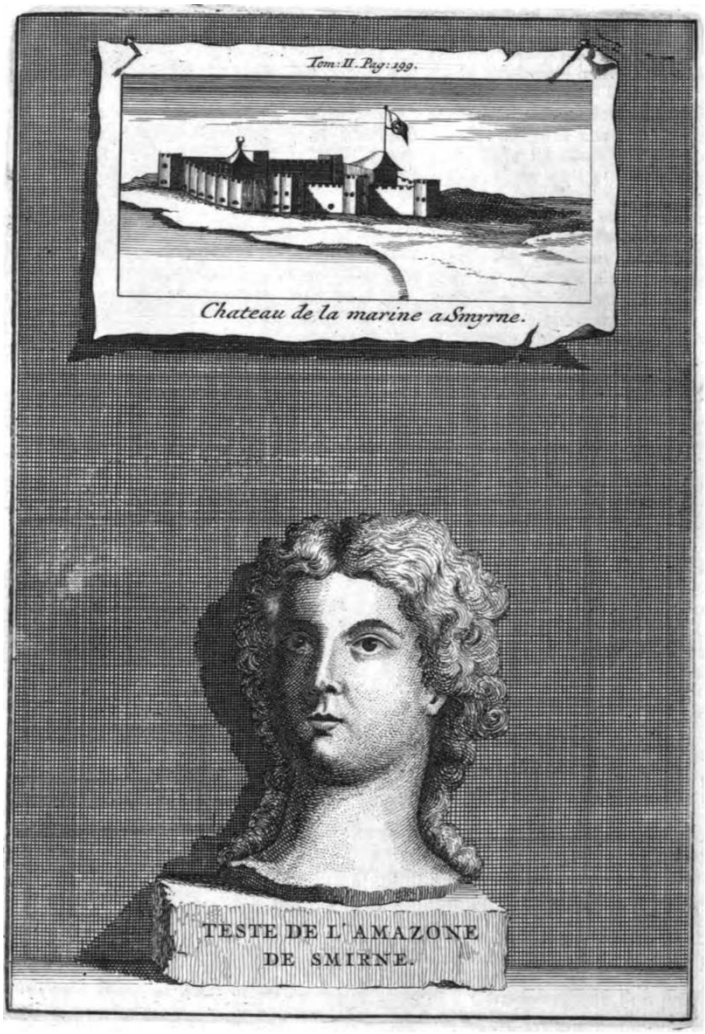

Figure 5. Drawings from Castle, in Tournefort (1717, p. 199).

Tournefort detailed the commodities traded, just like Tavernier and Wheler. As he had a great admiration for the ancient heritage of İzmir, he chronicled the history from antiquity to the Ottoman era. He described and drew the castles in detail (Figure 5). He noted that Turks had little respect for the ancient remains, having used them as *spolia* in the building of the *bedestan* (covered bazaar) and the *caravanserais* (inn). Tournefort fondly described the ancient remains, the Frank quarters and Christian heritage of the city, and largely ignored the Turkish architecture as he deemed it to be "ordinary" and "not worth seeing" (341–343).

Edmund Chishull (1671–1733)

Edmund Chishull, born in Eyworth, Bedfordshire, was a scholar from Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He was appointed chaplain to the factory of the Turkey Company at Smyrna. He arrived at Smyrna in 1698. While living there, he toured Ephesus from April to May 1699. After visiting Constantinople in 1701, he resumed his chaplain duties and then left İzmir. On his journey home, Chishull kept a journal, which was published posthumously by his son Edmund Chishull with the help of Dr. Richard Mead.[8]

As stated in the preface by Dr. Mead, even though Chishull resided in İzmir between 1698 and 1702, he did not write about İzmir in depth, most likely because he "treated upon İzmir in a more distinct and particular manner." Mead pieced together from Chishull's notes on the history and present state of İzmir. He listed the ancient architectural heritage of İzmir, including a castle, theater, gymnasium, some pagan temples, and sculptural remains and inscriptions. On the theater, he wrote about the use of these ancient pieces as *spolia* in the construction of the *han* (inn) and *bedestan* (covered bazaar), similar to Wheler's and Tournefort's accounts. As to the present state of the city, he documented the physical geography of İzmir and its immediate surroundings (1747, v–vii).

As for Ephesus, Chishull methodically described the town as Turkish, Christian, and pagan city. In his words, the Turkish town "had considerable repute even under its last barbarous conqueror [namely, the Turkish emir], who also changed the name Ephesus into that of Ayasuluk." The architectural heritage of Ayasuluk chiefly comprised six mosques, many bath-houses, and mausoleums, upon which there were Turkish inscriptions. Small cottages were the only available housing. Regarding Christian Ephesus, he described extensively the Church of St. John, which was believed to have been converted into a great mosque. As Wheler, Chishull mistakenly believed the structure to originally have been a church but was in fact always a mosque. He stated that "Christianity began to flourish here" and mentioned the cave of Seven Sleepers, Basilica of St. John, and St. Paul's prison as the other Christian monuments (23–26).

Conclusion

In terms of individual perspectives and common aspects in travelers' accounts and how these spatial narratives related to the full-blown "Orientalism" that arose later, the following concluding remarks can be stated. Religion played a great role in the travelers' outlook of the city. All of the authors cited İzmir as one of the Seven Churches and its immediate surroundings. Most of their travelogues provided some form of statistics on the national/religious identities, the number of inhabitants as well as enumerated and described their various places of worship. As for the Islamic mosques, they either only referenced their numbers and if they included any descriptions, they used the term "ordinary." As for the Great Mosque in Ephesus, most of them mistook this structure as the former Church of St. John, mostly because of the spolia used in its construction and the edifice was larger in comparison to most other Turkish edifices.

All the travelers to İzmir were equally awestruck by the ancient structures, ruins, and artifacts. Whether they were a trader or scholar, they all made a point of adding Ephesus to their itinerary, as it is one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World as well as being one of the Seven Churches. Based on their description, the road from İzmir to Ephesus was at times deemed unsafe, nevertheless, the trip was worth the risk. The interest in antiquities also led to the collection of ancient pieces and artifacts as early as the 17th century. Taking them as souvenirs was common among Western travelers. Therefore, it may be suggested that this interest in antiquity paved the way for the increase in inquisitiveness in ancient heritage sites just before the 18th century. The travelers similarly described the state of the ancient ruins of Ephesus and İzmir, mostly focusing on the neglected conditions of the edifices. They stated that the Turks

[8] His travel accounts included a preface by Dr. Mead and concluded with a letter from Chishull to Dr. Thomas Turner. For this study, the 1747 publication (Chishull, 1747) is used.

"almost quite destroyed" the edifices of antiquity by "disfiguring them when they find any," and use them as spolia while building their own commercial structures.

All the selected European travelers' accounts used the term "Turk" in reference to all of the Muslim inhabitants without regard for their local distinctiveness. In contrast, they were very meticulous in describing the ethnic and religious identities of the non-Muslim residents of the city, such as Greeks, Armenians, Latin, Jews, Dutch, and English. In this respect, the tendency toward generalization in the Europeans travelers' descriptions corresponded to Said's (1978/2003) postulation of "Orientalism."

In addition to comparing Christian Europeans and Muslim Turks, travelers compared the standings of European nationalities in Ottoman lands. While British travelers, such as Wheler, stressed the superiority of British merchants to other European trading groups, the French, like Tournefort, complained about the lack of trade in comparison to English, who were flourishing.

It should be also noted that the Christian name of the city, Smyrna, was used in all travelogues despite knowing the current name, İzmir. They also used the ancient name Ephesus rather than Ayasuluk. Both French and English travelers intentionally used ancient names as an acknowledgment to their Christian past.

Taking into consideration the multiplicity, diversity, and heterogeneity of Orientalisms that was acknowledged in the academic literature, whether and how 17th century travel literature on İzmir can be situated regarding Orientalism in the later periods can be probed. Even though an idea of superiority or cultural dominance over the "Orient" is not yet traceable within 17th century European travelers' accounts, it is possible to state that these accounts pave the way to historicize the following Orientalist discourse and attitude.[9] European gaze of İzmir in the travel narratives showed their curiosity wavering between the unknown, exotic, and the "other," at times with condescendence, on the one hand, and interest and appreciation of antiquity, Christian heritage, wealth, and contemporary European norms observed in the city's Frank quarters on the other. Hence, these travel accounts exemplified how Europe conceived, narrated, and related to the Orient as its other. They were pre-Orientalist texts situating the Orient as their subject matter and hinting at the upcoming rise of the Orientalist attitude of the 18th and later 19th centuries.

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[9] For a critical review on the use of 17th century French travel narratives as misinterpreted Orientalist representations in the 19th and 20th century literature considering European as well as Ottoman historiography see Duffy (2021).

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