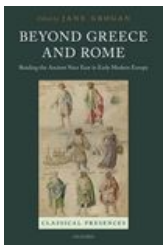

Beyond Greece and Rome: Reading the Ancient Near East in Early Modern Europe

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CHAPTER

6 Antiquarianism in the Near East: Thomas Smith (1638–1710) and his Journey to the Seven Churches of Asia

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Abstract

This chapter provides an account of Thomas Smith's pioneering account of the archaeology of the ancient Near Eastern church, his *Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia*, first published in Latin in 1672. The book remained a huge influence on travellers to Asia Minor well into the nineteenth century, as clergymen and amateur archaeologists retraced Smith's steps, with his book as guide. Drawing upon the vast archive of Smith's letters and manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, the chapter places the book firmly in its original context, unpicking the complex interweaving of patronage, religion, and international scholarship which shaped the work. In the end, Smith's book looks backwards and forwards: back to the traditions of seventeenth-century English confessionalized scholarship and orientalism, and forwards to later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century archaeological traditions. As such, this study sheds light on a pivotal moment in Western European approaches to the ancient Near East.

Keywords: scholarship, travel, orient, religion, letters, archaeology, Ottoman Empire, inscriptions, ecclesiastical history

Subject: Classical Literature, Regional and National History, Classical History

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Introduction: From Oxford to Asia Minor

In 1672, the high church cleric and Oxford scholar Thomas Smith (1638–1710) published what would become one of his most widely read and influential books.[1] He had just returned from spending two years in the Ottoman Empire, where he had acted as chaplain to the English ambassador in Constantinople, Sir Daniel Harvey (1631–72), a role which had also given him wider responsibility for the pastoral well-being of the Levant Company's 'factory' (one of its three trading centres in the Ottoman Empire) in that city.[2] It had also given him the opportunity to travel and to experience at first hand both the customs of modern Turkey and its people, including Eastern Christians, and to see the relics of Asia Minor's ancient past. The account of his findings which Smith published in 1672 took the form of two Latin epistles.[3] The first described the 'customs ↳ and institutions of the Turks'; the second provided 'notitia' about the Seven Churches of Asia, those churches in south-west Turkey which had been addressed by the Johannine prophet in the opening chapters of the book of Revelation. This second epistle constituted the first published account by a Western traveller of this group of ancient cities, which constituted some of the most important Roman and Byzantine archaeological sites in western Asia, including the remains at Ephesus, where St Paul once preached the gospel and which remains a popular tourist destination today. Although, as we shall see, Smith's book emerged at a time when many travellers were visiting these sites and indeed publishing their accounts, in both its augmented Latin forms and in English translation his *Septem Asiae Ecclesiarum Notitia* was of especially enduring value. It remained a source of inspiration (and the object of criticism) for travellers in the eighteenth century, such as Richard Chandler (1737–1810), and in the 1820s it was still an essential guide for an antiquarian clerical traveller like the Reverend Francis Arundell (1780–1846), whose own experiences of both the ancient sites he visited and the local people he met on his journey repeatedly called to mind those Smith had described 150 years before.[4]

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Smith's little book, therefore, is a vitally important event in the emergence of the archaeology of the first and second centuries CE, and of early Christianity more generally. It is a work that looks forward to responses to the ancient Near East which come after the end of the period covered by the present volume. However, rather than looking towards that later history, my chapter has the opposite aim: to situate Smith's book in the contemporary context of Levantine travel and early modern scholarship from which it emerged. Why does Smith write this book when he does, and in the way he does? How did his contemporaries read it, and what did they find themselves able to do with it? In the course of answering these specific questions about Smith and his own work I hope this chapter will shed light on several of the volume's larger themes. In particular, I will show that Smith is far from trapped within any straightforwardly 'classical' conception of the ancient Near East. Smith's work mingles many genres and traditions, but one of the most important is that of ecclesiastical history, the historical form in which, more than any other, the past dictates the future.[5] This chapter aims, therefore, to offer answers to some of the volume's central questions by shedding new light on the interactions, in early modern scholarship, between the 'ancient' Near East ↳ (itself already Roman, Greek, and Christian) and the modern world (Ottoman and European), and between ancient sources and eyewitness experiences. It is also worth pointing out that this chapter's purview is precisely that of seventeenth-century scholars and scholarship—a vast field in itself, but one with its own distinct sources, forms, preoccupations, and traditions, which are very different to those of, say, the early modern theatre. Once again, these scholars' particular interest in ecclesiastical history (especially the history of the early church) had encouraged a decisive move away from the study of well-known ancient literary and historical writings, which had been the focus of many earlier humanist scholars, had become the sources of much vernacular Renaissance literature, and which have remained the central interest of modern scholars of classical reception. But to scholars in the middle of the seventeenth century, it was broadly accepted that the study of early Christianity needed to take into account ancient Near Eastern sources: Jewish texts, like the Mishnah, and Arabic ones, like the world history of Eutychius of Alexandria (877–940). A passion for early Christianity was driving many scholars to the Near East. Attentiveness to

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these scholars and their priorities, therefore, necessarily demands that we think in new ways about which ancient texts—including inscriptions, which shall be this chapter's focus—played a part in shaping early modern understandings of the ancient Near East. Smith, although, as we shall see, a far from unproblematic representative of these traditions, does provide a valuable case study in which we can explore all of these questions and problems.

By the end of the seventeenth century, Smith was primarily known as one of the non-jurors, the clerics who refused to swear the Oath of Allegiance to William and Mary at the Glorious Revolution. But when he travelled to the Levant in 1668, all that lay far ahead in the future. In the early 1660s, Thomas Smith was well positioned to become one of Oxford's greatest oriental scholars. Graduating BA from Queen's College in 1661, Smith seems to have been part of a milieu of orientalists with a particular interest in Hebrew and Arabic, and the ancient Christian church. One particular mentor seems to have been Edmund Castell (bap. 1606, d.1686), who had worked with Brian Walton (1600–61) to produce the London Polyglot Bible, and who was an expert in many Middle Eastern languages, especially Persian.[6] In his early years at Oxford, Smith seems likely to have come into contact, at least peripherally, with Europe's greatest Arabist, Edward Pococke (1604–91), who had himself travelled to the Levant as a chaplain.[7] Smith's first book offered an account of the development of the Aramaic Targums, the vernacular translations of the Old Testament, and drew ↳ upon a wide range of Jewish literature in order to do so.[8] His second book offered a comparative cultural history of the druids which drew upon a wide range of sources in Eastern languages, especially Hebrew and Arabic.[9] The range of erudition demonstrated in these works as well as the topics they addressed were reminiscent of the writings of the lawyer, antiquary, and biblical scholar John Selden (1584–1654), who had also covered the history of the druids in an early work, his notes to *Poly-Olbion* (1612), and had traced the history of the practices of the Jews in a series of learned monographs in the 1640s and 50s.[10] Smith was sixteen when Selden died; in 1707, three years before his own death, he remembered 'very well the time of the death and buryal of that great man: of whose incomparable learning I had notions instilled in me'.[11] Smith's early works, therefore, seem to be setting him out as a kind of successor to John Selden, demonstrating myriad reading in Jewish sources and Arabic texts (especially Christian Arabic texts) and displaying that erudition proudly on the page. By the mid-1660s, therefore, Smith had established himself as one of the leading young orientalists in Oxford, firmly working in the mould of erudition established by scholars such as Selden and Pococke.

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In 1668 Smith became chaplain to the Levant Company at Constantinople, a role for which he was supported by his patron, the intelligencer and statesman Sir Joseph Williamson (1633–1701), whom he thanked in 1672 for the 'the opportunity I obtained through your recommendation of travelling into the East'.[12] The chaplaincy to the Levant Company ambassadors in Constantinople, Aleppo, and Izmir was by no means solely a pastoral role. The office had already established itself by Smith's time firmly as an opportunity to pursue scholarship, especially by collecting Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts and deepening one's knowledge of Eastern languages.[13] This is exactly how Pococke had used the post in the mid-seventeenth century. Smith's greatest friend, the astronomer, orientalist, and textual editor Edward Bernard (1638–97), gave voice to what must have been the feelings of many when he wrote to Smith that 'I think it much the advantage of our University, that a person soe much accomplished in the Easterne Learning Travels to the East.'[14] Smith's trip was expected, therefore, to be a ↳ scholarly one. He arrived in Constantinople around Christmas 1668, after a four-month voyage with stops in Cadiz, Tangiers, and Genoa.[15] He would stay in the Levant for just over two years. In the Levant, Smith had three main interests: the beliefs, customs, and institutions of the Turkish people; the devotional practices and habits of Greek Christians; and, finally, antiquities, ruins, and inscriptions. This trip would concentrate on first-hand observations of people, and on the study of physical artefacts and remains. Smith's priorities when in the Ottoman Empire were politically and religiously urgent ones: the question of how far the practices and beliefs of the Greek Orthodox church corresponded to those of the Protestant churches, for instance, was a live issue within the

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confessionalized early modern world.[16] As we will see, Smith's interest in the ancient Near East was by no means entirely or easily separable from these current religio-political issues.

By early 1671 Smith was already on his way home from Istanbul. Sailing down Turkey's western coast, he arrived in Izmir, known by the English members of the Levant Company by its Greek name, Smyrna, in the middle of February. From here he had planned to sail onwards back to England, but he was soon seized by the same 'pious zeal' that had been shown by members of the Smyrna factory in recent years in travelling to see the sites of the ancient Seven Churches of Asia.[17] Each of these Seven Churches is addressed in a letter in the first chapters of the book of Revelation, in which the Johannine prophet threatens that God will destroy the Seven Churches if they continue to fail to live properly as Christians. These letters are full of riddling imagery, especially of the seven candlesticks, which act as images for the churches themselves (Revelation 1:20). The letters of the book of Revelation were probably composed around 70 CE, and so the cities addressed are all prominent places in the Roman Empire, as well as important early Christian churches. Even before he arrived in Smyrna, Smith must have known that some of the factory there had been exploring these ancient sites. The English consul at Smyrna, Paul Rycaut (1629–1700), had written to Smith in December 1670 to tell him that he was eager to give him 'an account of my last iourney to Pergamus, & Thyateira', but that knowing Smith was soon to be expected in Smyrna he had 'resolved to reserve the relation of that Iournall, till you please to make my hous happy with your companie'.[18] Smith found three other Englishmen who were willing to accompany him on the trip, all of whom were probably merchants. As well as the four of them, they were accompanied by two ↳ janissaries—Turkish soldiers who presumably
p. 137 were there to protect the party, to act as intermediaries with Turkish officials—three groomsmen, who looked after the horses, a cook, and two Armenian Christians, whose exact role in the party is never made quite clear, but perhaps acted as guides as well as intermediaries on the journey. On 3 April 1671 the party set out.[19]

Smith began by visiting Pergamon, followed by Thyatira, the site of which had only recently been identified by Paul Rycaut and the chaplain to the Levant Company at Smyrna, and future Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, John Luke (1633/4–1702), who had noticed an inscription there bearing the city's name.[20] More ancient sites followed: all the Seven Churches themselves, with Sardis following Thyatira, and then Philadelphia, Laodicea, Ephesus, before finally returning to Smyrna itself (of which Smith gives an account); but also other ancient cities of the region, including Hierapolis, Colossae, and Tripolis. All the sites of the ancient cities that Smith visited were ruined: this part of Asia Minor had undergone dramatic economic decline in the sixteenth century, and at the time Smith visited was largely impoverished. '*Sardes* in *Sardibus* quaerebamus', Smith lamented, but the situation was the same everywhere he went. Smith encountered many ruins from the first and second centuries CE, as well as from the Byzantine period; some ruins were much older still, including the Hellenistic Temple of Cybele at Sardis, of which Smith saw some surviving columns.[21] Given the ruined state of the churches, it was inevitable that Smith and his contemporaries were not correct in all their identifications: they believed, for instance, that they had found the city of Tralles, which, as Smith notes, was 'a famous City in the first beginnings of *Christianity*', but it was actually located closer to Guzel-hisar, nearer where they believed Magnesia ad Meandrum to be located.[22] However, they were certainly making careful attempts to match the descriptions of the locations of ancient cities which they found in Pliny and Strabo with their own detailed observations of the landscape and its rivers in order to make those identifications accurate.[23] Inscriptions were helpful too, of which Smith encountered many and tried carefully to record the ones he could; he was also struck by bas reliefs and other ancient works of art. Carved stones had often been recycled as building materials or as other useful
p. 138 household ↳ objects: in Smyrna itself, Smith found one inscription 'now placed in a chimney'; in Thyatira a 'sepulchral stone' was 'now made use of by a Tanner, in his house'.[24] As well as ancient cities, Smith had plenty of opportunity to observe the details of life of contemporary Turks and of Greek Christians. Of the Turks, Smith was especially struck by the ancient cities' modern place names and their etymologies. But the Greeks, especially, Smith found to be in a sad condition: at Philadelphia, a '*Greek Pappas* told us, they had

scarce wine enough for the sacrament'; the Colossians were in an even worse state, having 'forgot their own language, and speak only *Turkish*'.[25] The journey itself was often dangerous, or at least seemed to be so: Smith records that they seemed often to fear being set upon by thieves and murderers, including the notorious Inge Morad, who led a band of twenty-two murderers and was believed to have passed near Smith and his party when they were at Hierapolis.[26] Lasting nearly three weeks (the party arrived back in Smyrna on 22 April 1671, 'the twentieth day from our departure'), the journey provided abundant materials, ancient and modern, for Smith to weave together into his pioneering study of the ancient Near East.[27]

Septem Asiae Ecclesiarum Notitia (1672–1716) in Context

After his return to England in 1671, Smith had spent most of his time in Oxford, 'there enjoying my selfe in my studyes', as he wrote to his friend, Smyrna's consul, Paul Rycaut, 'in a cloyster in the midst of these tumults and distractions'.[28] It was at this time that Smith wrote his first published account of his journey around the Seven Churches, which he would publish in 1672 as the second of his *Epistolae Duae*, which 'contains an account of the Seven Churches of Asia'.[29] However, this Latin version was not the first version of the account that Smith wrote. As he makes clear near the outset of the work, his account 'will be related from my Diary'.[30] Although parts of Smith's diary still survive, the passages covering the visit to the Seven Churches are missing, perhaps because Smith disposed of them when he had finished writing his book.[31] Nevertheless, Smith's description of the Seven Churches follows the structure of a diary, relating the events
p. 139 of his journey day by day, rather than adopting a more analytical method of ↳ organization according to particular ancient sites, for instance. The diary itself was followed by a second version of the journey which he wrote at Smyrna. 'The accompt of my voyage to the Churches of Asia', Smith explains, 'all but the beginning and end [i.e. the introductory passages and the account of Smyrna itself], I wrote in Smyrna out of my Diary, for the satisfaction of my fellow-travellers.'[32] This original version of the book was written in English.[33] As well as members of the Smyrna factory such as Rycaut and John Luke, one of those for whom Smith might have written was a member of the Levant Company in Constantinople, Bezaleel Sergeant, with whom Smith kept in correspondence after his return to England, and who had already written to Smith while he was travelling around the Seven Churches themselves (on 17 April, when Smith was near Guzel-hissar), to tell him that 'I shou'd be very happy in receiving a short account from you of your visit to the Churches, which I hope this faire season & opportunity hath or will invite you to'.[34] Between 1671 and 1672, therefore, the book had already undergone the transition from diary to English manuscript travel guide, and then to Latin epistle published by John Fell's invigorated Oxford University Press.[35]

In 1676 Smith published an expanded Latin edition of his book in London, in a single quarto volume, which included several new inscriptions and some slightly more detailed comments on some of the existing ones.[36] In 1678 Smith translated his work into English, along with his accounts of the 'Customs of the Turks' and his 'Brief Notes on Constantinople'. This version of his work is both expanded and abbreviated: Smith removed some of the commentary on the inscriptions he had collected, but included several new details of the sites they visited, including new inscriptions. For instance, Smith expands his account of Pergamon to include a brief description of the defensive 'mounts opposite one to the other' (219) outside the old city, and a Greek inscription carved high up in one of the walls (which they had to use a ladder to reach), alongside 'the figure of a dog'.[37] Each time, Smith seems to be going back to his diary to find new details of his travels to include. Although Smith's annotations to his own copy of his English translation suggest he may at some stage have planned a further new edition of this translation, none would materialize. Instead Smith set the book aside for almost fifteen years, but in early 1692 began to revise it again to produce a newly expanded Latin version. The publication of this new edition, however, ran into significant problems. In early 1692 Smith wrote to Edward Bernard that 'I had retouched the account of my travells, & had made out of my Diary
p. 140 severall considerable additions to the Survey as ↳ I published about 20 yeares since of the seaven Churches of Asia & of Constantinople'; he was, however, unable to publish the book because the booksellers were

'pretending a right to my copyes by a trick, which they call an establisht law'.[38] He decided to have the book printed in Holland, and in April 1694 he asked his correspondent, the Dutch scholar Theodorus Janssonius van Almeloveen (1657–1712), whom Smith had been helping with his planned edition of the correspondence of the great Huguenot scholar Isaac Casaubon, to arrange for the book's publication in Utrecht, where it was published by the university press along with Smith's account of Constantinople.[39] Smith grudgingly admitted to Bernard in October 1695 (soon after it had been printed) that the Utrecht press printed it 'neatly and fairly, I confesse, but very uncorrectly'.[40] Smith was still fiddling with his own copy of the Utrecht edition, making small additions and corrections, although he insisted to another Levantine traveller and inscription hunter, Edmund Chishull (1671–1733), in the 1700s that he had no plans to produce a further new edition.[41] In the end the book was reprinted after Smith's death in Rotterdam, along with several of his other works relating to the Levant.[42] Smith's book, therefore, although only a relatively brief work, preoccupied him throughout his life. Going through six versions—from diary to English Smyrnaean manuscript, to Latin and into English and back again—it always remained unfinished and ready to be 'retouched'.

What *kind* of book had Smith written about the Seven Churches of Asia? Unlike many of the earlier great scholar-chaplains, like Edward Pococke, most of whom did not publish first-hand travel accounts based on their experiences of the Levant, Smith chose to publish something that reads like a travelogue. His book places the emphasis on his own first-hand experience of his journey, and his account draws its authority from the long tradition of the classical and Renaissance veneration of the eyewitness.[43] This was by no means an obvious thing to do for a scholar who was setting out, as we saw at the outset of the chapter, to emulate some of the great scholar-chaplains of the Levant Company in the seventeenth century. At the outset of the Latin versions of his book, Smith gives the reader a sense of the traditions within which he is working. Smith styles himself as attempting to imitate, at least partially, the 'industry and learning and curiosity of devout Pilgrims [in Latin, "peregrinantes"], who from the first ages of *Christianity* to this present, not without the design of providence, as I verily believe, have visited mount *Calvary* and the *holy Sepulchre*'. These pious pilgrimages have led Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and Nazareth to be properly surveyed,
p. 141 so that 'every one, who has but the least gust for Antiquity, or History, or Travel, or insight into Books' can
↳ become acquainted with these places. In contrast, 'a sadder fate seemed to hang over the *Seven Churches* of *Asia*', for which no one has provided any kind of account, neither the Greek Christians themselves due to their 'unpardonable carelessness', nor the 'Western Christians', who are 'either not caring or not daring to visit them'.[44] Smith's book is, therefore, a kind of Protestant pilgrimage, the history of which has recently been brilliantly traced by Zur Shalev.[45] It fills a space next to the pious and learned accounts of Jerusalem that had been produced within the intellectual frameworks of *geographia sacra*.

But Smith is equally at pains (especially in the Latin version of his book) to stress the kind of book he is *not* trying to write. He notes that he has written a 'description, not accurate (I ought to confess as much), but brief, and as much as I was able to produce with little time, and with other difficulties with which I was afflicted on this journey'.[46] He reinforced his point that this book is not aspiring to technical exactness in a letter to the mathematician, cryptographer, and Fellow of the Royal Society John Wallis (1616–1703), in which Smith presented to him his 'survey of the VII Churches of Asia, as they do now lye in their ruines' which he had 'made, not with the niceness and exactness of a Mathematician, but with the hast of a careless Traveller for my own private use, when I lived in the Levant'.[47] Smith's disavowal of the work's detailed accuracy may of course partly be a modesty topos: there certainly is geographical detail and exact measurements to be found in Smith's book, although perhaps not ones that could compare to some of the more substantial achievements of the sacred geographers. Indeed, in 1686 Bernard Randolph (bap.1643, d. after 1689?), a member of the Levant Company, was putting together a new map of Greece and Asia Minor, for which he had used Smith's book. 'I haue had the sight of your Book', he wrote, 'and to my best haue laid down the places about Smirna, which I haue inclosed sent you humbly desireing you will be pleased to correct what you finde amiss, and that you will also sett downe in circa the places of note, Especially

Laodecca.'[48] In this, as in other respects, Smith's work is a hybrid one: the hasty work of a careless traveller, not accurate but brief; and also a work from which it is possible to extract a map of Asia Minor.

Similar hybridity can be found in Smith's decision to write the book in Latin. He loved the Latin language, and was a fervent defender of writing in Latin at the end of the era in which most learned works were written in that language. But those who wrote other such accounts of visits to Asia Minor generally wrote in
p. 142 their vernaculars, especially in French. Earlier visitors to Ephesus, in particular, such as Vincent Stochove
↳ (who went there in 1631), Nicolas Du Loir (visited in 1639), and Balthasar de Montconys (visited in 1648), all wrote in French, and some of them styled their travel narratives as epistles to patrons: these may well have been the kinds of works that Smith had in mind in creating his book, except that he took the decision to write in Latin.[49] Models for this kind of vernacular travel narrative would already have been available to him in Smyrna itself. Smith must surely have read the accounts of the travels of some of the members of the Levant Company, such as his fellow chaplain, John Luke, whose journals certainly circulated among members of the Levant Company.[50] Luke similarly presented his findings in the form of day-by-day travel journals, which mingled archaeology, discussion of inscriptions, and accounts of the practicalities of travel along the way. Latin travel narrative had for a long time been a form in which learned antiquarianism could be presented: Cyriac of Ancona is a suggestive point of comparison here, but his travel diaries do not seem to have been known to Smith.[51] A Latin book published by Oxford University Press might give the reader the impression that this would be a 'scholarly' book, and of course it is: it contains untranslated Greek inscriptions, learned citations, comments on ancient sites. But Smith is at pains to foreground the travel as much, if not more than, the learning in his book. He brings the dangers and adventures of his journey to the foreground. At least one of Smith's earliest readers, Edward Chamberlayne, found this combination of adventure and Latin style delightful: he wrote to Smith in August 1672 that he 'cannot but take notice both of your curiosity in your dangerous Travels & exquisite skill in the Latin Tongue'.[52] He seems to have been reading Smith's book as much for its literary qualities as for its learned content about the ancient Near East. And if in his own era Smith's Latin was the exception, he was not without followers: the medical doctor Antonio Picenini, who accompanied the great inscription-hunter William Sherard (1659–1728) in his search for inscriptions in Asia Minor in the early eighteenth century, also wrote his diary in Latin (a work which remains in manuscript), which includes passages which perhaps echo Smith's language. His *Diarium in itinere per Asiae minoris septem Ecclesias instituto, breviter conscriptum* was perhaps also intended for publication.[53] In its combination of genres, therefore—epistle to a patron, journal, travel narrative, inscription collection, pilgrimage, historico-geographical survey—Smith's little book was a hybrid one.

p. 143 In writing his book, what seem to have been Smith's intellectual priorities? On what does he choose to focus his attention? And what does he leave out? The easiest way to answer these questions is by comparing Smith's account of a particular archaeological site with that of his contemporaries, and the clearest case study here is Ephesus, because it was the site among the Seven Churches of Asia of which there are by far the largest number of eyewitness accounts in the seventeenth-century.[54] Sedentary mythographers since the sixteenth century had attempted to reconstruct everything that could be known about the Ephesian cult of Diana on the basis of ancient texts.[55] But the antiquities of Ephesus themselves had exerted a fascination on English scholars and collectors since at least the early seventeenth century. The ambassador Sir Thomas Roe (1581–1644) reported William Petty's visit to the site in 1625 to the Earl of Arundel, for whom Roe was orchestrating the collection of archaeological finds, including the great Arundel Marble on which John Selden worked in the 1620s.[56] And shortly before Smith visited the city, Robert Huntington, the Levant Company's chaplain in Aleppo, in a letter full of news of his experiences in the Middle East, was reporting to the philosopher John Locke that the 'Great Cities once famous through the world, are now fallen into small Townes or Villages, or else quite buryed in their Ruines; and by the crumbling and hollow soyle (as at Ephesus and Antioch) it appeareth that Earthquakes, the deadly Falling-sickness of These Places, might very well help on their Destruction'.[57] Restoration intellectuals of all kinds were clearly fascinated by the ruins at Ephesus.

When Smith arrived there on 20 April he was immediately impressed by the 'vast marble pillars' which he saw lying 'dispersed upon the ground in several places'. He first saw the ruins which 'tradition and fancy will have it' constituted the remains of the famous Temple of Diana.[58] Smith was far from alone in his suspicions that this may well not be the Temple of Diana at all (he believed it might be a Christian church built on the foundations of the old temple), and in fact, as John Turtle Wood showed in the 1870s, this was not the site of the Temple of Diana, which in its final and grandest form was built outside the city; instead, the seventeenth-century travellers were looking at the ruins of the Gymnasium.[59] Most travellers also struggled underneath this building to enter its foundations, which were, in the seventeenth century, known as 'the labyrinth': tradition had it that it was possible to crawl all the way to Smyrna in this network of ↳
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tunnels.[60] Near Diana's temple was another popular site for travellers: 'a very large Font of porphiry, the inmost circle being about six foot in diameter, which is called by the name of *St. John's Font*, there being four pillars not far from it, upon which they suppose it was raised'. This, however, as Smith (and many of the other travellers) noted, was 'a thing very unlikely, that in those sad times of persecution under *Domitian* and *Trajan*, when the poor *Christians* were forced to serve *God* in grottas, and Converts were baptized secretly'.[61] Most travellers, including Smith, also visited the Basilica of St John, which had now been turned into a mosque. Inside it were to be found four pillars, which Smith found to be 'about the bigness of those that are in *Sultan Suleiman's* Mosch in *Constantinople*', and Suleyman had indeed taken pillars from Ephesus for the Agia Sophia mosque in the city.[62] Another Christian site that most travellers saw was the supposed Cave of the Seven Sleepers, where there had been a Christian church to commemorate this mythic group of Christians who fell asleep during the Roman persecutions of the Christians and woke up two hundred years later after Christianity had become the state religion. Very worn mosaics were still visible in this chapel in 1639, but by Smith's day little of the church on this site seems to have survived.[63]

What is I think clear from this account is that Smith is not simply recording the ruins as he found them; in both the English and Latin versions of his book, Smith is recording the *interpretive traditions* that had grown up around these ruins. Every traveller went to see the 'Temple of Diana' or the 'Cave of the Seven Sleepers', and so did Smith. Although Smith attributes these identifications to 'tradition' in the abstract, it seems likely that he is effectively recording here the local Greek Christians' traditions about these ruins. This point is made clearer in the earlier French accounts of Ephesus. Nicolas Du Loir observes of the stone font attributed to St John that this was font '*in which the Christians of the country hold* that St John the Evanglist baptized five thousand people in a single day'.[64] A village near Ephesus, known in Smith's period as Kirkingécui, was made up entirely of Christians, and it is probable that they kept some of these Christian traditions about the Ephesus ruins alive. In his account of Ephesus, therefore, two aspects of Smith's interests—ancient ruins and the beliefs of Greek Christians—mingle together seamlessly. He is not so much recording, straightforwardly, where the Temple of Diana and so on were to be found, as he is recording what the Greek Christians *believed* about those places.

Smith's emphasis was very much placed upon Greek traditions, too, rather than on Turkish interpretations of the ruins. But such emphasis was not inevitable. Two English travellers of Smith's era did pay attention to those Turkish traditions: John Luke and Edmund Chishull. As we have already noted, both men were known
p. 145
to Smith, who almost certainly would have seen a version of Luke's travel account of the ↳ region. In his account of Ayasaluk, the Turkish town which had grown up next to Ephesus, but which was already dilapidated by the seventeenth century, Luke notes that '[t]he talke of the Turks' is that there were 'of old in this famous City' as many as 360 bath houses.[65] Chishull makes a very similar note, although he is explicitly far more sceptical of the Turkish claims. 'In several places there occur the walls of ruined bagnios', Chishull records, 'tho they are increased by the fabulous Turks, and reported to have been here to the number of three hundred and sixty six.'[66] The almost identical extravagant number of bath houses is striking: this must have been a local Turkish tradition which was passed on to travellers in the region. Indeed, the remarkable seventeenth-century Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi (1611–82) also recorded hyperbolically that the remains of the city witness to its former greatness, when there would have been '300 public baths'

to be found there.[67] This is a tantalizing glimpse of overlaps between English and Turkish accounts of the period, both of which may have recorded some of the same oral traditions. But Smith's focus is firmly upon the Christian traditions surrounding the ancient city's ruins.

There were also a group of ruins which travellers knew as the 'new' (Turkish) and 'old' (Byzantine) castles. On the way into the latter stood a Byzantine gate, which was known then (and now) as the Gate of the Persecutions. The builders of the gate had adorned it with older, classical bas reliefs, recovered from elsewhere in the Ephesus site. In Smith's day there were three bas reliefs visible on the gate: one, very faded, representing a bacchanal, with figures, grapes, and baskets; the third showed a dead man on a funeral bed with mourners. Smith described neither of these, but instead focussed on the middle bas relief, which showed 'figures engraven, representing several, who seem to be haled and dragged away'.[68] There were several different interpretations of what these engravings represented, but two of the most popular were that they showed Hector being dragged around the walls of Troy, or, for those who imagined that this might be a later, Christian engraving, that they represented the persecuted Christians (hence the name of the gate, the Gate of Persecutions). Smith offers interestingly different interpretations of this relief in his Latin and English treatments of this subject. In Latin, Smith only goes so far as to say that these figures 'were carved with a curious and artificial hand, as if showing to the eyes someone snatched by force; what these figures signify, to me clearly is uncertain, and it is irksome to proffer conjecture ineptly'.[69] In his Latin work, aimed at a wider audience of scholars, he had to be circumspect. In English, however, Smith gives a free reign to his speculations. There are to be found here 'very curious figures engraven, representing several, who seem to be haled ↳ and dragged away, as if perchance the design had been to shew how the poor Christians were
p. 146 formerly seized upon and treated by their heathen persecutors'.[70] Other interpreters of these reliefs in Smith's own time knew that they could not possibly represent persecuted Christians because the engravings were classical, even if the ruined gate they were part of was not. It is striking to see Smith being willing to lend credence to these beliefs about the engravings, and again, I think, it supports the idea that Smith is as much concerned to represent local traditions about the ruins as he is to represent the ruins themselves.[71]

How does Smith's account of Ephesus differ from those of his contemporaries? Perhaps the account which most strikingly contrasts with Smith's is that of his fellow Levant Company chaplain and the future Master of Christ's College, John Covel (1638–1722). Covel shared many of Smith's interests, including in antiquities and in the Greek church, of which he published a lengthy account in 1722, the year of his death. Despite the close relationship between their interests, however, no letters between Smith and Covel survive, and Smith never seems to have discussed Covel's work, perhaps indicating an antipathy between the two men. Covel perhaps embraced his experience in the Levant with greater enthusiasm than Smith did, travelling extensively in the region for lengthy periods. These journeys led Covel to produce a substantial book about the Levant, one that he surely intended to publish, but portions of which still remain in manuscript in the British Library, including an enormously long description (amounting to around 18,000 words) of the ruins of Ephesus, one of the first sites which Covel visited after he arrived in the Levant in 1670 (a little before Smith arrived at the site).[72] Covel was probably putting finishing touches to his account of Ephesus soon after he returned home around 1679.[73] His book also incorporates and makes use of the astounding drawings of the site produced both by Jerome Saltier, a Levant Company merchant and fellow enthusiast of Near Eastern antiquities, and Covel himself.[74] At its vastly greater length than Smith's, Covel's account is not only substantially more detailed, it is also considerably more critically penetrating. Whereas Smith simply comments of the supposed Temple of Diana that he finds it more likely to be 'a Christian Church built upon the ruines' of the original temple, without offering anything in the way of explanation of his belief, Covel presents a substantial (and, incidentally, accurate) argument to show that this cannot ever
p. 147 have been the site of Diana's ↳ temple. He not only draws on Strabo's account of the location of the temple to show, rightly, that in its final form it must have been built outside the city centre of Ephesus, but he also shows that the 'very large pillars' found in the supposed Temple of Diana, about which 'there can be no doubt that these belonged to this building', were both too small to match the height of the pillars of the

temple given by Pliny, and that they were not of the Ionic style described by Vitruvius. 'I cannot see so that if *Pliny* and *Vitruvius* mean both the same Temple, (or this last which was standing in their time)', Covel concludes, 'these pillars shew that this building was some other thing.'[75] As well as offering this kind of detailed argument about the antiquities he encountered, Covel also offers substantial philological commentaries on each of the inscriptions he records, which in themselves entail digressions on the subject of Roman surnames or on the word 'Plelela', which Covel takes to have originally been a name for Ephesus. He does not even entertain Smith's English interpretation of the bas reliefs in the Gate of the Persecution, stating simply that 'There are many conjectures about this piece of Antiquity, and I think none farther from the Truth, then that fancy which makes it some *Christian* persecution.'[76]

How can we account for the differences between Smith's and Covel's approaches? Most straightforwardly, we might conclude that Covel was simply the better scholar of antiquities than Smith. There is certainly some evidence for this. For one thing, Smith has a tendency to view the evidence that inscriptions offer as unassailably accurate. When noting how John Luke and Paul Rycaut correctly identified the site of Thyatira by locating a group of inscriptions which give the city's name, for instance, Smith concludes: 'behold what most firm authority the ancient marbles provide'.[77] Covel, on the other hand, repeatedly recognizes that inscriptions provide no such unambiguous authority. In his discussion of Ephesus, he notes at one point that the Latin of an inscription does not make proper sense. 'I am confident I haue copy'd this Inscription very exactly', he notes, and so offers his own explanation for the confusion. 'I take this to be a fault of the stone cutter, who perhaps was a Greek and understood not Latine (as in those early days might well be), and there follow many more such of his blunders in it.'[78] Covel sees here that the stones themselves have to be placed in historical context, and that the process of making them was fraught with potential error.

However, it would be too simplistic to conclude straightforwardly that Covel was somehow more 'learned' than Smith, or that he was necessarily the better 'Critick' (to use Covel's word).[79] Smith, too, could produce exactly the kind of detailed commentaries on inscriptions that Covel writes when he chooses to do so, as he
p. 148 would do in the ↳ 1690s and 1700s when he wrote on inscriptions found at Persepolis and Palmyra.[80] The thrust of his notes on the Persepolis inscriptions is precisely towards the kind of exact dating of inscriptions that is the main focus of Covel's work on Ephesus: Smith is keen to show that the Bodleian's librarian, Thomas Hyde (1636–1703), who was renowned for his work on Persia, but of whose scholarship Smith was often sceptical, was wrong to date the inscriptions to the time of Alexander the Great, 'which phansy the shape of some of the letters brought into use severall ages after his death, sufficiently overthrowes'.[81] When Smith wanted to produce this kind of erudition, he could. The differences between Smith's and Covel's works are better understood as differences of *genre* than they are straightforwardly of differences between the two writers' methods or approaches. Covel is writing something close to the kind of antiquarian treatise that might more usually be found in Latin in the period. On the other hand, there is clear evidence that Smith was deliberately eschewing the kind of erudition found in Covel's account. In the revised 1676 Latin edition of his book, he introduced a slightly longer note on an inscription he recorded at Pergamon, which was dedicated to Gaius Antius Aulus Julius Quadratus, proconsul of Asia. Smith breaks off this note (to which we will return), which is only a couple of short paragraphs in length, by saying that 'this is beside the point; for we do not now write annotations'.[82]

But Smith's deliberate suppression of erudition is most evident in his account of the Cave of the Seven Sleepers. For Covel, mention of the Seven Sleepers provides opportunity for an elaborate account of Greek Orthodox beliefs about the Seven Sleepers, and the sources of those beliefs in 'lives of their saints, written in Vulgar Greek'.[83] Smith's account is much briefer. He first added it in 1676, when he notes the existence of the cave and the 'several small arches' nearby, 'where through so many years they are fabled to have slept and to have been laid at last as in their own dormitory'. Revealingly, Smith also records a learned detail here: that 'Mohammed in the Koran also makes mention' of the Seven Sleepers.[84] But he could have gone
p. 149 further. Smith's brief notes on ↳ the Seven Sleepers are to be found in an important notebook, which is

likely to date from the early part of Smith's career and which he may even have taken with him to Constantinople; it contains sermons preached by Smith at Constantinople, along with considerable notes on Arabic and Hebrew sources.[85] Here Smith mentions the Koran's reference to the sleepers, but he also gathers Arabic references to Egyptian Christian beliefs about the Seven Sleepers, citing for instance a calendar of Egyptian Christian festivals from the third volume of John Selden's account of the Jewish Sanhedrin.[86] This is exactly the kind of material that interested Covel, albeit Smith has gone to Arabic Christian traditions rather than vernacular Greek ones to learn more about Eastern Christians' beliefs about the Seven Sleepers. But none of this material makes it into Smith's book, even in the final 1694 Utrecht edition. The sparse erudition of Smith's book, therefore, emerges as a deliberate choice. In its comparative eschewal of the polymathic, polyglot erudition of his earliest works, Smith chooses to foreground his account's kinship with travelogues and diaries, rather than with the traditions of English early modern oriental learning.

The Uses of the Ancient Near East: Smith's Motivations and His Readership

Smith's decision to foreground travelogue over erudition may seem surprising. For a writer who, in his early works, seemed to have been deliberately setting out to imitate and even rival John Selden, it would have seemed natural to produce a major work of epigraphic scholarship, in imitation of Selden's own *Marmora Arundelliana* (1629). Smith did not do this. But what was Smith's book designed to achieve? What could he *do* with his account of the ancient Near East? To whom was it designed to appeal, and how? One answer to this question we might offer is to suggest that this work makes an appeal to noble patronage. As we have seen, Smith's early works of oriental scholarship were aimed specifically at oriental scholars in Oxford who had themselves perfected this kind of erudition. But his account of the Seven Churches was styled as a letter addressed to his patron, Sir Joseph Williamson. 'I send to you', Smith wrote at the start of the epistle, as though it were a formal Latin letter, 'most famous man, whom I always reverence, a description of the seven Churches of Asia, which once the most Holy Spirit thought it fit to address in Letters at the beginning of Christianity.'[87] A work which balanced erudition with grand Latin prose was calculatedly appropriate in its
p. 150 appeal to a leading man of affairs who himself took an enthusiastic amateur interest in ↳ matters of literature and scholarship. At the time of the first publication of his book on the Seven Churches, it seems to have been unclear to Smith what direction his career might take after his return from the Levant. He thought of leaving Oxford, and may have planned to take roles which might lead him towards public affairs. The controversial head of Magdalen College, Thomas Pierce (1622–91), upon receipt of a gift copy of the *Epistolae Duae* in 1672, praised the book, and added that he hoped 'Sir Joseph [may] have the Grace by real services for the future to thank you for the honour you have done to his name and memorie'.[88] Soon afterwards Smith did indeed enter Williamson's service as his chaplain. Fashioning his work in a way that was firmly rooted in the university (printed by the Sheldonian press in Latin), but that also looked towards the wider world of affairs in its emphasis on Smith's own active role as a traveller and recorder of the world, seems likely to have been a calculated career move.

Styling his work as an epistle, a genre which is self-consciously imperfect and provisional, emphasized that the work of studying the Seven Churches was far from complete. Smith frequently emphasized that his descriptions and transcriptions were produced hastily, under pressure of time, thieves, and other harassment. This helped support patronage of Levantine travel from another direction, by strengthening the case for future trips to the Levant in order to survey the churches again and more thoroughly. It seems that Smith may have been angling to make such a journey himself in the 1670s. In November 1676 Smith noted in a letter to Bernard that 'I could wish the seaven Churches of Asia were again surveyed', and goes on to note that this is a task 'I had done my selfe, if I had thought fit to accept of an overture of returning in to the Levant'. But the offer had, ultimately, not been tempting enough: 'I have no assurance of Preferment

before I went, and I did not think it so well to depend upon promises. A Prebend & a living with it would have made mee venture once more into Turkey.'[89] Even if such patronage opportunities were not to fall to him personally, Smith clearly saw one of the aims of his work to be to encourage the nobility to sponsor further efforts at collecting antiquities in the Levant. In doing so he was self-consciously reviving the patterns of patronage of the great noblemen of the earlier seventeenth century, an era which Smith revered: Thomas Howard (1586–1646), the Earl of Arundel, had supported the Near Eastern explorations of the ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, whose letters Smith studied, who had been responsible for acquiring the famous Arundel Marble, which was interpreted by John Selden.[90] This is a point he emphasizes in the preface to his 1678 English translation. 'An incredible number of marbles still remain behind in those parts', Smith writes, which 'might be purchased upon no very hard terms, if some excellent persons would be at the expence of enriching their Countrey with the spoils of the East'. He picks out the example of Thomas Howard, whose
p. 151 'marbles' 'now serve to adorn the area about the Theater at Oxon' (A6r), as a ↳ particular model for noble patronage of this kind of collecting. And even long after Smith had no prospect of returning to the Levant, when he published his revised version of his book in Utrecht in 1694, his preface concluded by noting that '[f]rom the monuments recently in Greece and Anatolia that have been put forth, no-one is of so dull an intellect but that he may agree easily that a great light could be amply shed upon matters that are still shrouded in thick darkness, if these things were the cares and delights of Princes and Noblemen, if some little portion of assistance, which magnificence pours forth, were expended on the promoting of this elegant and useful literature'.[91] As late as 1704 Smith was hoping that a letter might be sent from the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University to the consul at Smyrna, William Sherard, encouraging him 'to search after, and possess himself of such kind of old stones', which would 'bee a great service done to learning'.[92] The search for patronage for the study of the Near East was by no means only a matter of personal self-interest to Smith; his work sought to shape the future direction of Near Eastern studies by directly reviving the precedents set by the earlier seventeenth-century English nobility.

If Smith's account of his journey to the Seven Churches appealed to learned patrons outside the university, it certainly appealed to scholars, too. It circulated among many of the leading Oxford scholars, including those who would have enjoyed Smith's earliest works, such as the orientalist Thomas Marshall (1621–85), who thanked Smith for a copy of the 1676 edition of his book.[93] It was the inscriptions Smith had copied which made the work of particular interest to learned readers. Epigraphy was his particular focus: although he did collect details of engravings from coins and medals in Constantinople, he never published them.[94] The study of inscriptions was a vibrant field of late seventeenth-century English scholarship.[95] In the preface to his edition of Greek inscriptions, Humphrey Prideaux summed up inscriptions' value to historians in a grand style: 'How often is History, previously not able to be understood, brought to light from marbles? And so does not history often seem to be preserved in vain in books, unless it is also explained in Marbles? Leagues, laws, decrees, about which we have only read in writers, in these marbles are often exhibited entire. Through this also we have acquired new knowledge today of victories, of great deeds, rites, and other things, which pertain to the better understanding of matters of antiquity; through this same marble the Emperors, Leaders, Consuls, and other officials, the memory of which through many centuries
p. 152 had passed into oblivion, is brought up from the bowels of ↳ the earth, from where these things are dug up, as if they are brought back to new life again among their posterity to flourish in glory.'[96] Inscriptions could fill in the gaps in narrative history. The possibilities for historical discovery that inscriptions present made Asia Minor's 'marbles' tantalizing, and Smith's own discoveries were a source of excitement to his contemporaries. Robert Huntington, writing to Bernard from Aleppo in May 1672, apologized for his own poor efforts of recording merely a few inscriptions at Smyrna and Ephesus, 'possibly not with the accuracy as Mr Smith hath done a great many more'.[97] The inscriptions that Smith did record largely dated from the Roman Empire of the first and second century CE, and they did indeed have multiple roles to play in illuminating the history and culture of that period.

Inscriptions' ability to recover the names of 'emperors, leaders, consuls, and other officials' meant that they were of particular value to scholars of chronology. It was those pursuing the labyrinths of chronology in England that seem to have taken particular interest in Smith's inscriptions. William Lloyd, then Dean of Bangor (1627–1717), was struck by one of the inscriptions which Smith had sent to Prideaux to appear in his *Marmora Oxoniensia*, and asked Smith (via their mutual friend Henry Dodwell (1641–1711)) to check whether his transcription had been correctly published. The problem seemed to have been that Lloyd was suspicious that Brutus Praesens was made to govern as consul in two successive years, although as Smith explains 'it is not unlikely, but that the first time Hee was onely substituted, suffectus, as the word is'. Smith did indeed confirm that the transcription was correct: 'I have all the assurance, that both my eyes can give mee, that I found it so upon the stone, as I transcribed it, having examined it twice upon the place, when I was in Smyrna.'[98] Although such details may seem small, in Lloyd's elaborate chronological system, where exact numbers of years held prophetic, millenarian significance, no detail could be considered small.[99] In the preface to the English edition of his book in 1678, Smith notes that inscriptions from the Levant could help in 'settling the accompts of time, and rectifying the Fasti Consulares', something of which the world will become better aware 'when the Reverend and most judiciously learned Doctor William Lloyd Dean of Bangor shall think fit to publish those things of this kind, which he has been pleased to shew me in his Collections' (A6v). Inscriptions from the ancient Near East, including Smith's own, were playing their part in helping to correct our understanding of the chronology of ↳ the ancient world.[100] Only occasionally did Smith draw
p. 153
out the significance of his inscriptions himself for the understanding of the sequence of governorship of the Roman Empire. In the case of the inscription from Pergamon we have already mentioned, the one which gave details of the proconsulship of Asia of Gaius Antius Aulus Julius Quadratus (first/second century CE), in the 1676 edition of his work Smith shows that Quadratus was one person who held the proconsulship twice, rather than two separate people. '[I]n vain are those', Smith concludes, '(among whom Thomas Lydiat) who from one and the same Consul make two.'[101] Although Lydiat had died in 1646, his chronological account of Roman history had recently been published in Oxford in 1675, and so clearly held enough currency to be worth correcting.[102] However, such explanatory notes are rare digressions in Smith's book. That annotations on Smith's inscriptions are largely absent meant that he hands over the responsibility for interpreting what the inscriptions can tell us about Roman history to the wider scholarly community.

Because Smith's book was written in Latin, it had the chance to reach scholars, antiquaries, and travellers on the continent. It soon did so. In the summer of 1676 Smith travelled to Paris. This was potentially an important moment in his career, and could have allowed his work to become better known in the wider scholarly circles known as the Republic of Letters. A letter from Smith of June 1676 reveals that he seems to have been quite swept off his feet by Parisian intellectual culture. 'I am so charmed', he enthused, 'with the civility of the French both Gentlemen & Scholars of our owne & the Roman Communion too, that I could willingly spend all the summer here in Paris.'[103] He made a number of important acquaintances, including Henri Justel (1620–93), the Huguenot scholar who would leave France to become Royal Librarian in London, and Antoine Galland (1646–1715), the Levantine traveller and royal antiquary of Louis XIV, who would go on, in the early eighteenth century, to be celebrated in French salons as the first European translator of the Arabian Nights.[104] Smith maintained correspondence with both men upon his return to England. Galland was a scholar with whom Smith shared many interests—antiquarianism, the Greek church, Levantine scholarship—although confessional differences were clearly far from irrelevant for both men. It seems
p. 154
likely that Smith felt his book on the Seven ↳ Churches would be of particular interest to French antiquarian circles, and the decision to reprint the book as a standalone volume in the autumn of 1676 may have partly been inspired by his visit to Paris. Smith sent the book to Galland in late 1676.[105]

However, Smith's account of his visit to Asia Minor seems not quite to have met with the reception in Paris that he could have wished. This was down, at least partly, to Smith's acrimonious relationship with another French antiquary, the Calvinist Lyonnais doctor Jacob Spon (1647–85). In November 1676 Edward Bernard wrote to Smith to introduce him to one George Wheler, who 'hath traveld Greece' and 'taken a folio volume

of Inscriptions thence'.[106] George Wheler (1650–1723) is an important figure in the history of botany, who travelled to the Levant with Spon. In his relatively short life Spon established himself as a leading figure in the international world of antiquarianism, and he has remained a definitive representative of that field for many modern scholars.[107] Wheler and Spon visited Ephesus and Thyatira, relying on the accounts of the rest of the Seven Churches offered to them by Sir Paul Rycaut when they returned to Smyrna. Wheler's account was largely a translation of Spon's, which was published first in 1678, and Wheler concentrated on expanding the material on plants and animals, which was his particular interest. But it was the antiquarian erudition on display in Spon's work that would worry Smith. Spon's account was published first in Lyon, in 1678, and then in Amsterdam the year afterwards. It offers both a travel narrative of the kind Smith presents, interspersed with inscriptions, and a much fuller commentary on those inscriptions than Smith offered. This allows Spon to preserve the narrative account of his journey while explicating problems presented by the inscriptions: identifying consuls or other figures referred to in them, commenting on what they can teach us about pagan religion, all in much greater depth than Smith had done.[108] Spon could also place those inscriptions in a much broader comparative context. A traveller across the confessional borders of the Republic of Letters, he was able to contextualize the inscriptions of Asia Minor by referring to those he had seen at Rome, in such major sites of antiquarian research as the Barberini Palace.[109] Spon also produced spin-off volumes which used the inscriptions at the Seven Churches to treat dedicated antiquarian
p. 155 topics. His account *Of the Altars of the Unknown Gods* drew ↳ upon an inscription from Thyatira, which refers to the God Tyrimnos as the 'Patron Deity of Thyatira'.[110] He corrected some of Smith's transcriptions of inscriptions and collected new ones from the sites he visited: although just as the visitors to each of the Seven Churches seem to have been conducted to the same sites (the Temple of Diana, the Gate of Persecution, etc.), they also seem to have been conducted around the same inscriptions; Spon had the time at each site to record further discoveries. Taken together, Spon's work of 1678 threatened to render Smith's book obsolete.

In the end, rather than acting as a calling card in the international Republic of Letters, Smith's book led to into a somewhat acrimonious exchange with Spon, and Galland acted as their intermediary. In June 1677 Galland sent Smith the comments he had received from Spon on the 1676 edition of Smith's Seven Churches of Asia book. In particular, Spon had noted a 'double error' in one of the inscriptions which Smith had gathered at Pergamon: the important inscription from the people of Pergamon to Gaius Antius Aulus Julius Quadratus, commending him and thanking him for being their city's benefactor. The exact detail of the words Spon corrected will be discussed below. For now it is worth noting the impact of this exchange on the book's reception. Smith replied swiftly to Galland 'lest the errors of this inscription are harmful to me'. He explained that he already knew there were errors in this inscription, which had pained him, and he was planning to forestall Spon's criticisms by publishing 'a little paper, which fortuitously came to me recently'. For this had been an inscription 'which uniquely I had neither transcribed nor seen', and which Smith had only included in his book on the basis of a sketch he had been given at Smyrna. Smith regretted that he had been unable to transcribe every inscription himself, and was forced 'to rely too much on the eyes of others (*alieni oculi*)' because, while he was at Pergamon, 'the intolerable heat of the day distracted me' from the task of transcription.[111] Teasing away at the small details of Smith's work risked opening the whole thing to charges that he was not, in actuality, quite the authentic eyewitness that he claimed to be. Over the years, however, Smith's attitude towards Spon changed from one of defensive deference to outright hostility. After he saw Spon's book, he realized that Spon and Wheler had never actually visited many of the sites of the Seven Churches of Asia. Smith came to believe that Spon had seen many of the inscriptions—including probably this Pergamon one—in Smith's own transcription of inscriptions and handwritten account of his journey, which he left with the Levant Company at Smyrna. After Spon's death, in the preface to the 1694 Utrecht edition of the Seven Churches book, Smith launched a full-scale attack on Spon: out of a copy of the
p. 156 earliest manuscript version of his account ↳ of the Seven Churches which Smith had left at Smyrna, 'it seems clear to me that Spon gathered all the many Inscriptions found at Pergamon, Sardis, Philadelphia, Hierapolis, and Laodicea into his Itinerary; hence it is absolutely clear to me, that in these places, which he

did not never happen to see, I was the first to copy these inscriptions, when they were plainly unknown to everyone before this'. Yet Spon 'scarcely endured to name me, except most grudgingly, or to cite my little book, which he saw both in print and in manuscript, stirred up by what gad-fly of envy I do not know'. 'About this matter', Smith concluded, 'in his lifetime, I often lamented publicly to his friends.'[112] Smith turned the questioning of the validity of his own eyewitness testimony back on to Spon himself.

This kind of squabble did not seem to have been especially endearing to the international world of the Republic of Letters. Rather than being an opportunity for his work to become better known internationally, it is striking that this moment of Smith's engagement with French scholarship in the late 1670s seems to have petered out quickly. This was due to his argument not only with Spon, but also over religion: later in the same letter in which Smith admitted errors in his *Seven Churches* book, he began to engage in detailed discussions with Galland about Catholic interactions with the Greek church. Their letters had descended into the trading of argumentative minutiae, and the correspondence was abandoned.[113] While Near Eastern archaeological studies held out the prospect of a space of engagement with French scholarship (across confessional divisions, in the case of Galland), such international interactions were jeopardized both by Smith's own volatile and argumentative personality and by his commitment to confessional argument.

However, Smith certainly continued to keep his book up to date with developments in the international field of epigraphic scholarship over the twenty years after he published the 1676 edition of his work. In the handwritten revisions to his own copy, Smith was explicit in his condemnations of the French scholar, but he removed such moments from the body of the version printed at Utrecht, preferring simply not to name Spon.[114] From the 1678 English edition onwards, too, he silently absorbed Spon's emendations to the
p. 157 Pergamon inscription.[115] He also continued to add new inscriptions ↳ from each of the Seven Churches that other scholars had brought to light, drawing on Spon but also other travellers in the region.[116] In the 1694 edition of his book the first-person observations and travel accounts become braided with the wider developments of the epigraphic study of the Near East in the Republic of Letters over the twenty years since Smith's journey there. Rather than purely a witness to a particular journey in April 1671, the book began to embody both Smith's own journey and the subsequent reception of that journey in Europe.[117]

We have seen that Smith's work on the ancient Near East appealed to several audiences at once in different ways: patrons, chronologists, antiquaries, scholars at home and abroad. But, perhaps most importantly, this is a work produced by a clerical scholar, and its ecclesiastical implications were apparent to its first audiences. Smith was a deeply principled high churchman, who was eager to defend the emergent branch of the Restoration English church which might be called 'Anglican', with its emphasis on episcopacy, ecclesiastical hierarchy, and an appeal to the 'primitive purity' of the pre-Nicene church Fathers.[118] He was an equally vigorous opponent of Presbyterianism and Catholicism. After the Glorious Revolution, these principles would lead Smith to become a non-juror. Many of the visitors to the Seven Churches broadly shared Smith's clerical positions: John Covel shared Smith's ecumenical vision of a deep connection between the primitive purity of the English church and the Greek Orthodox church, with its roots in a liturgy and set of patristic writings that predated the excesses of popery; George Wheler was a high churchman, having been tutored at Oxford by George Hickes (1642–1715), one of the future bishops of the non-juring church.[119] Clearly, then, the Seven Churches held potential significance for high churchmen. But the Seven Churches were necessarily complex sites within the history of Christianity, and were capable of being interpreted in multiple ways. On the one hand they were places worthy of being visited by the Apostles and by St Paul, and therefore Christian sites worthy of a special reverence; on the other, their destruction was forewarned in Revelation, and their wretched state today seemed to have spectacularly confirmed those warnings. How did Smith draw out the ecclesiastical significance of these ruins? How did they serve his particular vision of the church and its organization?

In its English translation, in particular, Smith is at pains to point out that the ecclesiastical devastation he has witnessed in the Near East could by no means be comfortably delimited as a problem faced only by the

Eastern Christians. It could easily have happened in England too. He explains at the conclusion of the English translation that he was gazing on the present state of Constantinople and the 'brutish and
p. 158 barbarousness' ↳ of those who pulled down its ancient buildings. 'But I soon laid my hand upon my mouth', Smith says, 'when I further considered, that sacriledge had done the like to several goodly houses of Religion and Learning in Christendom, and that it was wholly owing to the miraculous providence of God, who laid a restraint upon the mad and impious zeal of some of the prevailing faction in the late times of usurpation (when the revenue of the Church became a prey of their covetousness) that the Cathedrals, which are the wonder of all ingenious forrainers, and one of the standing glorys of England, had not been laid wast and levelled with the ground, and turned into confused heaps of stone and rubbish, like Ephesus or Laodecea.' Presbyterianism, iconoclasm, attacks on the ecclesiastical hierarchy: all these might 'bring as great desolations along with them as any that are now in Turkey'.[120] Smith, then, reads the ruins of the Seven Churches as a warning of what might happen in Western Europe, or even in England, if certain factions were to win control of the church, as they had already done during the civil war and interregnum (what Smith calls 'the late times of usurpation').

By contrast, what Smith gleaned from his archaeological investigation of the manner of decorating churches during the first centuries of the church's existence was a quite different attitude to that of the Presbyterians, and one much closer to his own and that of other high churchmen: a desire to let the physical buildings stand as beautiful and monumental witnesses to God's glory. It is here that the Latin versions of Smith's book are more explicit than the English. In his account of Laodicea, Smith only notes in the English that the 'walls of a very large Church still remain' at the site. In Latin, however, he expands on the implications: 'the walls of the large church demonstrate to us that the ancient Christians spared no expense in making buildings dedicated to religious worship'.[121] Ancient Near Eastern archaeology, viewed in these terms, did not only look back to the past; it had a prophetic quality, which pointed towards the future. This kind of prophetic archaeology, by looking backwards to the practice of the early church, showed that no expense *should* be spared on the church's visible infrastructure and buildings. It is, I think, striking that Smith only puts this comment into the Latin version of his book, and takes it out of the English. Smith is trying to tread a careful balance between drawing out what he sees to be the ecclesiastical implications of his archaeological studies, while at the same time maintaining a sense that his book rises above the contemporary pamphlet arguments provoked by religion. The scholarly high church readers of Fell's Latin press and the international world of the Republic of Letters are both likely to have found greater consensus with Smith in the attitudes displayed here towards the beautification of churches. It is local British audiences who might find such a comment on religio-political issues to be *more* controversial, and so Smith
p. 159 removed it in English. Religious and political commitments were central ↳ driving forces behind all Smith's scholarship, but, in this book in particular, by and large he chose to leave the uncovering of its implications to his first readers.

They were not slow to uncover these implications. Smith's friends and early readers viewed his own work as itself a kind of ecclesiastical restoration and rebuilding. The patristic scholar William Cave (1637–1713), who shared Smith's fascination with the Greek church, wrote in grand terms—in Latin, when most of Smith's correspondence with English scholars is in English—to celebrate Smith's achievement in publishing his account of the Seven Churches in 1676: 'But those who are studious of sacred Antiquities owe to you the most solemn thanks for rescuing those seven Churches from rubble, and they have been saved if not quite from the sway of the enemy tyrant, at least from the power of oblivion; you have returned them to the European world in their own appearance, even if that is miserably deformed and repulsive.'[122] This is far more subtle than conventional praise. As ever when it comes to the Seven Churches, there is ambivalence here. On the one hand, Smith has restored the churches; on the other, he has honestly allowed them to appear in their 'miserably deformed' state. On the one hand, Smith's work is one of ecclesiastical rebuilding; on the other, it is a warning that there is indeed much real rebuilding still to be done. Bernard would write to Smith in remarkably similar (albeit, somewhat less ambivalent) terms in 1694, to celebrate

the publication of the Utrecht edition of his book. 'For thus the Seven Stars of the Asian Churches have been summoned from the shadows: thus the seats of the most ancient Bishops are restored, so that I seem to see before me the seven-headed candlestick burning and shining once again.'[123] Drawing on the language of Revelation itself, Bernard imagines Smith's book itself to be capable of restoring, vividly, the ancient church, with its bishoprics intact, and bringing those before our very eyes. Archaeological and antiquarian research into ecclesiastical history become a means of re-instantiating the past in the present. This builds on an earlier letter of Bernard's, in which he sent a copy of Smith's 1672 book to Robert Huntington in Aleppo, announcing that 'Mr Smith hath published here his travailes, like St John, through the Heptarchie Ecclesiastique of Asia Minor'.[124] Again he presents Smith's journey, and the subsequent book he published from it—styled, of course, like the 'letters' to the Seven Churches in Revelation, as a letter—as itself a figurative revival of primitive Christianity, and of the church government that went with it.

But did it matter that Smith was reviving *these* churches in particular? Or would any archaeological history
p. 160 of the sites of the ancient churches of the first centuries of ↳ Christianity have been just as significant? In answering these questions, we start to see the interconnections between Smith's various areas of interests in this work: between the hunting of (largely pagan) inscriptions and the recovery of ancient church architecture. In the 1640s, the 'late times of usurpation', in Smith's terms, one of the principal combatants on the side of episcopacy had been another of Smith's heroes, the Irish Archbishop of Armagh, James Ussher (1581–1656). In 1643 Ussher had published a book at Oxford which made striking historical arguments about the Asian churches: *A Geographicall and Historicall Disquisition, Touching The Asia properly so called, The Lydian Asia (which is the Asia so often mentioned in the New Testament) the Proconsular Asia and the Asian Diocese.* This is a little book—only about thirty pages in length—but it is not an insignificant one to Smith. In the 1680s, when Richard Parr published his edition of the letters of James Ussher, Smith contributed a summary of Ussher's book to Parr's biography of the archbishop.[125] Smith would later acknowledge his authorship of this little summary, and translate it into Latin, in his own life of James Ussher, which he published at the head of his *Lives of Illustrious and Erudite Men* in 1707.[126] To give only a very brief summary of a summary, Smith explains Ussher's argument in something like the following terms. The ancient administrative structure of the church was mapped closely onto the administrative structure of the Roman Empire. Originally, each of the seven cities that make up the Seven Churches of Asia constituted a 'metropolis', but by Constantine's time Ephesus had been made the 'sole Metropolis'; accordingly, the Bishop of Ephesus became superior to all the other sees of the Seven Churches of Asia, and governed over them. Smith concludes in the final point of his summary of Ussher's book that 'there was a great harmony between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Government' in Asia Minor, 'and consequently, that the Bishops of every Province were subject, subordinate to the *Metropolitan* Bishop, (the same then with our Arch-Bishop) as the Magistrates, that Ruled in the other subordinate Cities, were to the President, or chief Governor of that Province'. In other words, Ephesus's superiority over the other Seven Churches became an early model for the structure of bishoprics and arch-bishoprics which Ussher (and Smith) were defending in the modern church. Demonstrating Ephesus's own superiority over the other cities of Asia Minor therefore becomes a crucial means of justifying, historically, the arch-episcopal structure of the church. Viewed in this context—in which the harmony between 'Civill and Ecclesiasticall Government' was vitally important—the inscriptions Smith was collecting, which dealt with the 'Civill' structures of government in the region, were far from irrelevant to the book's intervention in ecclesiastical history and politics.

In this context, too, it becomes clear why the points of criticism that Spon raised of Smith's Pergamon
p. 161 inscription were so important, and why Smith feared that he might ↳ be accused of deception. Spon pointed out that, in this inscription, the city of Pergamon referred to itself as *protos neokoros*, 'the first custodian of the temple'. 'Neokoros' was the distinctive term adopted by Ephesus to demonstrate its unique prosperity and superiority in the region. Pergamon had started to use this term—and indeed had gone one further, by describing itself as 'protos neokoros', the *first* neokoros—to show that its status might rival that of Ephesus in the region.[127] This inscription, therefore, when read correctly by Spon, reveals a problem with Smith's

(and Ussher's) account of the harmonious relationships between civil governments leading seamlessly to the harmonious structure of arch-episcopal government. In this argument it was vitally important that Ephesus was indeed superior to the other cities of Asia, and that those other cities accepted that superiority. The hints of rivalry implied by Pergamon's attempt to adopt a superior status to that of Ephesus implied a much less clearly hierarchical relationship between the Asian cities (and, thus, between bishoprics and Arch-bishoprics).

Perhaps Smith might even have felt he was being accused of having deliberately distorted the inscription by supressing the term *neokoros*. More importantly for our purposes, this example demonstrates that each of the elements of Smith's book—its pagan inscriptions, its treatment of Greek Christian traditions about the Seven Churches ruins, and its attempt to trace the sites of the Seven Churches themselves—are all inseparably woven together. When encountering the ancient Near East, Smith is encountering a multi-layered history: from ancient Greece, to Rome, to the origins of the church, to Byzantium, and to the modern Greek Orthodox church. Ancient monuments are described in the terms that they were interpreted by modern Greek Christians, which allowed Ephesian ruins to become the Font of St John, the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, and so on. Ancient and modern history merge. For Smith, the ancient and modern Near East must be viewed as a whole, in which each layer of the ancient past acts as a justifying precedent for the next one. It does not seem quite true to Smith to argue that he is investigating the history of a 'pagan' Rome and a 'Christian' church, as these entities have been messily superimposed on one another from the start. The ancient Near East, for Smith, is a place which defies easy categories such as 'pagan' or 'Christian', or even 'ancient' and 'modern'. Instead, Smith perceives a continuously evolving series of institutions, peoples, and faith, each of which transforms into the next one, eventually leading downwards to the wretched state of the Greek church (as he perceived it) which he encountered in his own day.

That Smith was writing at the start of a crucial period in the history of Near Eastern antiquarianism and archaeology is not in doubt: Michael Crawford has traced the ↳ emergence of the 'epigraphic habit' of searching the Near East for the monumental inscriptions of the ancient world to this vital period in Smyrna at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.[128] Although Smith may not have been the first English person to travel around the Seven Churches, he was the first person to publish a book about it, and his work remained a touchstone of Near Eastern Christian archaeology for centuries. For that reason alone, it has deserved our close attention. The survival of Smith's thousands of letters and many notebooks in the Bodleian Library has given us unprecedented access to the book's motivations, development, and reception. As we have seen, the book was forged out of a cocktail of competing pressures: Smith's need to present himself as a scholar-chaplain of the Levant Company in the traditions of seventeenth-century orientalism, but also to forge patronage links with the world of public affairs; Smith's desire to engage with the cross-confessional audiences of the Republic of Letters, but also to produce a work that bolstered the cause of arch-episcopacy in England. The result was a hybrid work, one that embraced the Latinate, high church patristic culture of John Fell's Oxford University Press, but that also, in its focus on first-hand narrative, adventure, and melancholy ruins as much as on learned transcription, signalled a break with the traditions of polymathic English orientalism with which Smith began his career in Oxford. In doing so, the book was still able to appeal to later eighteenth-century traditions of antiquarianism sponsored by the Society of Dilettanti, which prized accuracy and evocative melancholia far above confessional disputes.[129] In its aftermath, then, the book can be seen to anticipate distinctively eighteenth-century developments in the history of antiquarianism. In its own era, however, born as it is out of a tension between the claims of a more confessionally neutral classical antiquarianism and of a confessionally committed ecclesiastical history, the work helps us to map the unresolved (for Smith, ultimately perhaps unresolvable) tensions within the late seventeenth-century study of the Near East.

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Notes

1 I am grateful to Zur Shalev for helpful conversations about the study of the Seven Churches in the seventeenth century, especially on the significance of that study for ecclesiastical government. Dr Shalev's own study of travellers to the Seven Churches of Asia (to which my chapter is complementary) is 'Apocalyptic Travelers: The Seventeenth-Century Search for the Seven Churches of Asia', in *Scriptures, Sacred Traditions, and Strategies of Religious Subversion: Studies in Discourse with the Work of Guy G. Stroumsa*, edited by Moshe Blidstein, Serge Ruzer, and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), pp. 251–63. All references to unpublished manuscripts are to those in the Bodleian Library unless otherwise stated. Contractions have been silently expanded. I am grateful to the Mellon Foundation for a postdoctoral research fellowship, which gave me time to study Thomas Smith's manuscripts and letters. I am also grateful to Jane Grogan, Mordechai Feingold, John-Mark Philo, Jean-Louis Quantin and two anonymous peer reviewers for their comments on this chapter.

2 The best account of Smith's journey to the Levant is Andrei Pippidi, 'Knowledge of the Ottoman Empire in Late Seventeenth-Century England: Thomas Smith and Some of his Friends' (PhD dissertation, University of Oxford, 1983 [i.e. 1985]). Also on Smith and the Seven Churches see Hélène Pignot, 'A Trip to the Origins of Christianity: Sir Paul Rycaut's and Rev. Thomas Smith's Accounts of the Greek Church in the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Travel Writing* 13 (2009): 193–205.

3 Thomas Smith, *Epistolae Duae, Quarum altera De Moribus ac Institutis Turcarum agit: Altera Septem Asiae Ecclesiarum notitiam continet* (Oxford, 1672). As explained in the chapter itself, Smith published four distinct editions of this work, each with its own revisions. When citing the book, I prefer to cite Smith's own English translation of 1678 (*Remarks Upon the Manners, Religion, and Government Of the Turks. Together with A Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia*), but where there are details only to be found in the Latin editions, I cite the first, 1672 (if that detail is present in all editions), or the 1676 (if it was added in that edition), or the 1694 Utrecht edition (if it was added only in that final edition). Unless specified, general comments on the book can be presumed to be true of both the English and Latin versions.

4 Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor* (Oxford, 1775), p. 305; Rev. Fr. V. J. Arundell, *A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia* (London, 1828), pp. 9–10, 90–1, 94, 96, 175, 179–80, 187, 188, 226–7, 288–9.

5 See Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D.', in his *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963), pp. 79–99.

6 See the thanks for Castell in the preface to Smith's first book: Thomas Smith, *Diatriba de Chaldaicis Paraphrastis, eorumque Versionibus, ex utroque Talmude, ac Scriptis Rabbinorum Concinnata* (Oxford, 1662), p. A7v.

7 On Pococke see G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

8 On the sources Smith used for this book, see Mordechai Feingold, 'Oriental Studies', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. 4: *Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, edited by Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 449–503, 470–4.

9 Thomas Smith, *Syntagma de Druidum Moribus ac Institutis in Quo Miscellanea quaedam Sacro-profana inseruntur* (London, 1664). For Selden on the druids, see Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, in *The Works of Michael Drayton*, edited by J. William Hebel, 5 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1931–41), Vol. 4, pp. 83–4.

10 On Selden see G. J. Toomer, *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

11 MS Smith 127, p. 183, letter of Smith to Thomas Hearne, 3 May 1707.

12 TNA SP 29/313, fol. 124, letter of Thomas Smith to Joseph Williamson, 29 July 1672.

13 See the invaluable recent account in Simon Mills, 'The Chaplains to the English Levant Company: Exploration and Biblical Scholarship in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century England', in *Die Begegnung mit Fremden und das Geschichtsbewusstsein*, edited by J. Becker and B. Braun (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), pp. 243–66. I am grateful to Dr Mills for advice on Smith's Levant chaplaincy.

14 MS Smith 47, p. 33, Edward Bernard to Thomas Smith, n.d.

15 For Smith's account of his arrival see his letter to Thomas Pierce, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, which he sent from the Levant: MS Smith 65, p. 95, 26 January 1668/9.

16 For the background to this issue, the classic essay remains Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Church of England and the Greek Church in the Time of Charles I', in his *From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1992), pp. 88–99.

17 Smith, *Remarks*, p. 206.

18 MS Smith 51, p. 155, letter of Paul Rycaut to Smith, 10 December 1670. Rycaut is a very important figure in the history of the study of the Seven Churches of Asia. On his career in the Levant see Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667–1678* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

19 Smith, *Remarks*, p. 209.

20 For the archaeological history of Thyatira see Peter Hermann (ed.), *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, Vol. 5: *Tituli Lydiae*, fasc. 2: *Regio*

Septentrionalis ad Occidentem Vergens (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), pp. 307–9.

21 Thomas Smith, *Epistolae Duae*, 133. Charles Texier, *Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1862), p. 263, cited in Pippidi, 'Thomas Smith', pp. 253–4.

22 William Martin Leake would explain, in 1824, that 'Smith, as well as Pococke and Chandler, who too blindly followed the opinion of Smith, were wrong in supposing that town [Guzel-hisar] to stand on the site of Magnesia' (*Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* (London, 1824), p. 241), and provides a substantial discussion of the topic.

23 A point made with reference to several early modern travellers to the Levant, especially John Covel, in Lucy Pollard, *The Quest for Classical Greece: Early Modern Travel to the Greek World* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), pp. 67–86. Compare Niayesh's discussion in the present volume of the way in which, for European travellers, classical accounts of ancient Near Eastern sites become a part of the 'collective memory' of those places.

24 Smith, *Remarks*, pp. 268, 225.

25 Smith, *Remarks*, pp. 242, 249.

26 Smith, *Epistolae Duae*, p. 147.

27 Smith, *Remarks*, p. 264.

28 MS Smith 65, p. 197, letter of Thomas Smith to Paul Rycaut, 1672.

29 *Epistolae Duae* (Oxford, 1672).

30 'ex Diario relaturus: Mihi enim solenne erat, nec unquam intermissum, diurno itinere peracto quicquid occurreret, annotare, & dum harum Urbium ruinas lustrarem, ea statim in Tabulas referre' (*Epistolae* 1672, p. 105): 'I will relate from my Diary: for it was my custom, almost without exception, when the day's journey was done to note whatever occurred, and as I illustrate the ruins of these Cities, to record these things immediately in my tables.'

31 The surviving sections of his diary which deal with the visit to the Levant can be found at MS Smith 141, pp. 37–53 (according to Smith's numbering of the pages).

32 See Smith's preface to his *Remarks*, pp. A5v–A6r.

33 'While I was staying at Smyrna, I compiled an account in English for the use of my fellow travellers, who had earnestly requested this of me' ('Dum Smyrnae manerem, illius itineris in usum comitum meorum, qui istud pensum a me exegerant, historiam Anglicè confeci'), in Smith, *Septem Asiae Ecclesiarum et Constantinopoleos Notitia. Authore Thoma Smitho, Ecclesiae Anglicanae Presbytero* (Utrecht, 1694), p. A3r.

34 MS Smith 53, p. 167, letter of Bezaleel Sergeant to Smith, 17 April 1671.

35 For the history of Oxford University Press in this period, see Ian Gadd (ed.), *The History of Oxford University Press*, Vol. 1: *Beginnings to 1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

36 Thomas Smith, *Septem Asiae Ecclesiarum Notitia* (London, 1676).

37 Smith, *Remarks*, pp. 219, 221.

38 MS Smith 57, p. 252, letter of Smith to Edward Bernard, 27 February 1691/2.

39 For the unfolding story of the book's publication in Utrecht, see MS Smith 55, pp. 27–33; MS Smith 46, pp. 39–43.

40 MS Smith 57, p. 507, letter of Smith to Edward Bernard, 10 October 1695.

41 MS Smith 59, p.123, letter of Smith to Edmund Chishull, 14 April 1705.

42 Thomas Smith, *Opuscula ex itinere ipsius turcico* (Rotterdam, 1716).

43 On Renaissance eyewitness testimony and its problematics, see in general Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travellers and Cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

44 Smith, *Remarks*, pp. 205–6; *Epistolae Duae*, pp. 101–2.

45 Zur Shalev, *Sacred Words and Worlds: Geography, Religion, and Scholarship, 1550–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), ch. 3. See also the extension of Shalev's arguments in Armstrong's chapter in the present volume.

46 'descriptionem, non accuratam quidem, (id enim fateri mihi fas est) sed brevem, & qualem potui prae angustiis temporis, aliisque incommodis, quibuscum in hoc itinere perficiendo conflictatus sum' (*Epistolae Duae*, p. 101).

47 MS Smith 66, p. 15, letter of Smith to John Wallis, 27 April 1695.

48 MS Smith 53, p. 121, letter of Bernard Randolph to Smith, 21 December 1686. The map was published in Randolph, *The Present State of the Morea, called Anciently Peloponnessus* (London, 1689).

49 Vincent Stochove (1610–79), *Voyage du Sieur de Stochove faict des années 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633* (Brussels, 1643), pp. 230–3; Nicolas Du Loir, *Voyage du Sieur du Loir* (Paris, 1654), pp. 24–32; Balthasar de Montconys (1611–65), *Journal des Voyages du Monsieur du Monconys*, 3 vols. (Lyon, 1665-6), vol. 1, pp. 427–30.

50 Some of those in BL Harley MS 7021 are copied in Jerome Saltier's hand.

51 On Cyriac of Ancona's place in the history of antiquarianism, especially on the distinctive *form* of his writings and their survival, see Peter N. Miller, 'Major Trends in European Antiquarianism, Petrarch to Peiresc', in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, edited by Daniel Woolf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), Vol. 3, pp. 244–60. Letters are woven into

the history of antiquarianism from its Renaissance beginnings, especially in the celebrated letter of Petrarch to Francesco Colonna on the ruins of Rome.

52 MS Smith 48, p. 89, letter of Chamberlayne to Smith, 12 August 1672.

53 BL Add. MS 6269, fols. 38r–49v.

54 This account of seventeenth-century travellers' responses to Ephesus is greatly indebted to Clive Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), esp. pp. 168–80. David Constantine offers an invaluable comparative account of Ephesus in his *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), ch. 1.

55 See for instance the work of Pierre Du Faur de Saint-Jory, *Liber Semestrium Tertius* (Lyon, 1595), pp. 51ff.

56 Sir Thomas Roe, *The Negotiations … in his embassy to the ottoman Porte from the year. 1621* (London, 1740), p. 445.

57 John Locke, *The Correspondence of John Locke*, ed. E. S. de Beer, 8 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976–89), Vol. 1, pp. 352–3.

58 Smith, *Remarks*, pp. 257, 258.

59 J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus, Including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Diana* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1877), pp. 122–3.

60 Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, pp. 28–9.

61 Smith, *Remarks*, p. 260.

62 Smith, *Remarks*, p. 261.

63 'Au dedans elle est toute réuestuë de Marbre, & sa voute estit ornée de peinture à la Mosaïque, que l'humidité & la fraischeur des arbres, qui sont dessus, ont effacée', in Du Loir, *Voyage*, pp. 28–9.

64 Du Loir, *Voyage*, p. 28 (emphasis added).

65 BL Harley 7021, fol. 359v.

66 Edmund Chishull, *Travels in Turkey and Back to England*, edited by Richard Mead (London, 1747), p. 23. Chishull visited Ayasaluk on 1 May 1699.

67 Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Evliya Çelebi*, edited and translated by Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim (London: Eland Publishing, 2010), p. 310.

68 Smith, *Remarks*, p. 261.

69 'quid innuant hae figurae, mihi saltem, incertum est, & piget in proferendâ conjecturâ ineptire' (*Epistolae Duae*, p. 161).

70 Smith, *Remarks*, p. 261.

71 Compare Thomas Herbert's speculative attempts to decode the carvings at Persepolis's Gate of Nations, discussed in Ladan Niayesh's chapter in the present volume. Whereas Herbert (and his illustrator), as Niayesh shows, ultimately translate Persepolis into 'Western formats and categories', for Smith, the distinction between Eastern and Western interpretive traditions cannot be so firmly fixed.

72 BL Add. MS 22912, fols.46r–72r. For a wide-ranging account of Covel's interest in the ancient Near East, see Pollard, *The Quest for Classical Greece*.

73 The reference to Humphrey Prideaux's *Marmora Oxoniensia* (1676) having been 'lately' published in Oxford makes a date of composition in the late 1670s highly probable.

74 Saltier's hand is the one that gives titles and a key to the map of Ephesus in Covel's manuscript. Of the drawing of the aqueduct at Ephesus, Covel comments, 'Mr Saltier gaue me this designe of it drawne with his own hand' (BL Add. MS 22912, fol. 60v; the drawing is at fol. 61r).

75 BL Add. MS 22912, fol. 58r.

76 BL Add. MS 22912, fol. 47r.

77 'sed ecce quam firmissimam fidem faciunt antiquissima marmora' (*Epistolae Duae*, p. 124).

78 BL Add. MS 22912, fol. 47v.

79 BL Add. MS 22912, fol.49r: 'and therefore untill more learned Criticks shall better satisfye me in that point … '.

80 Smith's 'Conjecturae et Observationes in duas Graecas Inscriptiones in marmoribus prope Persepolim hodie exstantibus incisas' survive in MS Smith 88, p. 3; for his work on Palmyra, see *Inscriptiones Graecae Palmyrenorum* (Utrecht, 1698), pp. 33–82. An overview of scholars' interests in Palmyra in this period is provided by Gregorio Astengo, 'The Rediscovery of Palmyra and its Dissemination in *Philosophical Transactions*', *Notes and Records* 70:3 (2016): 1–22. A full account of English scholars' work on Palmyra is to be desired.

81 MS Smith 64, p. 194, letter of Thomas Smith to Narcissus Marsh, 23 January 1700/1. The inscriptions had originally been published as 'A Letter from Mr. F.A. Esq; R.S.S. to the Publisher, with a Paper of Mr. S. Flowers Containing the Exact Draughts of Several Unknown Characters, Taken from the Ruines at Persepolis', *Philosophical Transactions* 17 (1693): 775–7. On Hyde and his work on Persia, see Dmitri Levitin, *Ancient Wisdom in the Age of the New Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 95–109.

82 'Sed haec obiter, neque enim jam scribimus annotationes' (Smith, *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia* (1676), p. 7).

83 BL Add. MS 22912, fol. 54r.

84 'Ostenditur spelunca *Septem Dormientium*; (quorum etiam meminit *Mohammedes* in *Alcorano*) prope sunt parvi fornices, quos ingens fornix continet & circumambit, ubi ipsos per tot annos dormiisse, & tandem uti in proprio dormitorio repositos fuisse fabulantur' (Smith, *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia* (1676), p. 31).

85 MS Smith 131, p. 124: 'De 7 dormientibus'.

86 A version of the Seven Sleepers story can be found in the 18th Surah of the Koran. Smith is citing Selden's edition of the calendar of Egyptian festivals of Calcasend: see *De Synedriis Veterum Ebraeorum: Liber Tertius* (London, 1655), p. 369.

87 'Mitto jam ad Te, Vir Clarissime mihíque semper Colende, Septem Asiae Ecclesiarum, quas olim *Sanctissimus Spiritus* nascente Christianismo literis salutare dignatus, descriptionem …' (*Epistolae Duae*, p. 101).

88 MS Smith 53, p. 95, letter of Thomas Pierce to Smith, 2 July 1672.

89 MS Smith 57, p. 3, letter of Smith to Bernard, 18 November 1676.

90 For Smith's notes on Roe's letters, see MS Smith 88, pp. 65–75.

91 Smith, *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia* (1694), pp. A4r–v: 'Ex monumentis nuper in Graeciâ & Anatoliâ erutis, nemo tam hebetis ingenii est, quin facilè concedat, magnam quoque lucem rebus spissâ caligine adhuc sepultis affatim affundi posse, si haec Principum & Magnatum cura & deliciae essent, si exigua opum, quas luxus profundit, in hac eleganti utilique literaturâ promovendâ pars impenderetur.'

92 MS Smith 127, p. 54, letter of Smith to Thomas Hearne, 12 August 1704.

93 MS Smith 52, p.159, letter of Thomas Marshall to Smith, 29 November 1676: 'This is chiefly to acknowledge my obligation for a Copie of your *Notitia 7. Ecclesiarum Asiae*, now received.'

94 For Smith's collections of medals he made at Constantinople see MS Smith 29, pp. 94–6.

95 The fundamental study of Renaissance epigraphic scholarship, which focusses on the sixteenth century, is William Stenhouse, *Reading Inscriptions and Writing Ancient History: Historical Scholarship in the Late Renaissance* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2005).

96 'Quoties ex his Historia non intellecta prius, lucem mutuatur; ita ut ea frustra saepe in libris praeservari videretur, nisi etiam explicaretur in Marmoribus? Foedera, leges, & decreta, de quibus in scriptoribus tantum legimus, in his saepe exhibentur integra. Per haec etiam victoriarum, rerum gestarum, rituum, aliorumque, quae ad intelligendas res antiquas maxime conducunt, novam quotidie acquirimus notitiam; per eademque Imperatores, Duces, Consules, aliique viri insigniores, quorum memoria per multa secula oblivione penitus fuerat deleta, è terrae visceribus, unde haec effodiuntur, quasi ad novam vitam resuscitati incipiunt iterum apud posteros suos gloriâ florere' (Humphrey Prideaux, *Marmora Oxoniensia* (Oxford, 1676), p. A3r).

97 Royal Library of Copenhagen, NKS 1675, no. 37, letter of Huntington to Bernard, 15 May 1672.

98 MS Smith 60, p. 43, letter of Smith to Henry Dodwell, 15 July 1676.

99 For an account of Lloyd's life and thought (which deserves to be updated in many respects) see A. Tindal Hart, *William Lloyd, 1627–1717: Bishop, Politician, Author and Prophet* (London: SPCK, 1952).

100 The fundamental work on Renaissance chronology is Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983–93), Vol. 2. More recently, and in a specifically English context, see Scott Mandelbrote, '"The Doors shall fly open": Chronology and Biblical Interpretation in England c.1630–c.1730', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c.1530–1700*, edited by Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 176–95.

101 'Frustra enim sunt, (inter quos *Lydiatus*) qui ex uno eodemque Consule binos faciunt' (Smith, *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia* (1676), p. 7).

102 Thomas Lydiat, *Canones Chronologici, Nec non Series Summorum Magistratum et Triumphorum Romanorum. Opus posthumum. Ex Autoris Autographo fideliter editum* (Oxford, 1675).

103 MS Smith 59, p. 331, letter of Smith to T. Craddock, 20 June 1676.

104 The standard biography of Galland remains Mohamed Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland: sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris: A. G. Nizet, 1964).

105 MS Smith 55, p. 140, letter of Smith to Antoine Galland, 1676: 'Nuper è Typographo Prodiit *Septem Asiae Ecclesiarum notitia* mea longè emendatior, novisque inscriptionibus auctior. Exemplaria Parisios transmittam' ('My book on *The Seven Churches of Asia* has recently been printed, greatly emended, and supplemented with new inscriptions. I will send copies to Paris').

106 MS Smith 47, p. 36, letter of Bernard to Smith, 22 November 1676.

107 On Spon see Roland Étienne and Jean-Claude Mossière (eds.), *Jacob Spon: un humaniste Lyonnais du XVIIème siècle* (Paris: diff. de Bocard, 1993). On Spon's journey to the Levant with Wheler see Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers*, ch. 1. On Spon's place in the history of antiquarianism, see the use made of him by Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13:3/4 (1950): 285–315.

108 Jacob Spon, *Voyage D'Italie, de Dalmatie, De Grece, et du Levant, Fait aux années 1675. & 1676*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1679).

See especially e.g. Vol. 1, p. 391 on the worship of Artemis in Asia Minor; Vol. 1, pp. 398–400 on the rare word τυμβωρυχίας; Vol. 1, pp. 408–9 on the emendation of ACCENSORENSI.

109 Spon, *Voyage*, Vol. 1, pp. 416–17.

110 Jacob Spon, *Ignotorum atque Obscurorum Quorundam Deorum Arae, Nunc primum in lucem datae, notisque illustratae* (Lyon, 1676), pp. 71–2.

111 MS Smith 55, pp. 145–6, letter of Smith to Galland, 26 June 1677: 'De duplici sphalmate, quod ille annotavit in Epigraphe Pergamenâ, haec paucula habe e chartulâ, quae mihi jam auspicatò quidem occurrit, quam prelo destinaveram ne inscriptionis istius errores, quos ipse compertissimos habui, mihi fraudi fuerint. In hanc inscriptionem quam unicam a me nec descriptam nec visam … edidi … Eam tamen juxta ἔκτυπον mihi Smyrnam reduci … Serò paenituit me alienis oculis nimium quantum confisum, id laboris cùm Pergami adessem, id me non suscepisse, licet aestus diei ferè intolerabilis deterreret.'

112 'Ex exemplari illic relicto D. Sponium, sedulum harum rerum investigatorem, Inscriptiones plerasque omnes Pergami, Sardibus, Philadelphiae, Hierapoli, & Laodiceae repertas in Itinerarium suum congessisse, hinc mihi maximè constat, quod iis in locis, quae vidisse illi nunquam contigerit, eas, cum omnibus antea planè incognitae essent, primus exscripserim … licet me nominare, saltem frigidissimè, aut libellum meum, quem etiam typis expressum paritèr ac chartas manu exaratas coram oculis habuit, citare, nescio quo invidiae aestro percitus, vix sustinuerit. De quâ re, ipso vivente, coram amicis ipsius saepè questus sum' (Smith, *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia* (1694), pp. A3r–v). I am grateful to John-Mark Philo for his help with the translation of this and the previous passage.

113 See MS Smith 55, p. 147. I will be able to treat Smith's correspondence with Galland more fully in my monograph on Smith.

114 e.g. Smith's own annotated copy of *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia* (1676), Bodl. 4^{O}. Rawl. 145, p. 10: 'Hic graviter errat D. Sponius, qui facit S. Theodorum Episcopum Smyrnae'. This edition is marked up with the emendations and additions for the 1694 Utrecht edition; the passage just quoted is crossed out, and does not appear in 1694.

115 Smith, *Remarks*, p. 214.

116 In particular, Smith makes use of Thomas Reinesius's *Syntagma Inscriptionum Antiquarum* (Leipzig, 1682), to which Smith refers the reader, for instance, for more detail on an altar dedicated to Hadrian at Sardis (Smith, *Septem Ecclesiarum Notitia* (1694), p. 30).

117 Compare Niayesh's account in this volume of travel writers' habits of 'recycling material from other ancient and contemporary writers' (see p. 128).

118 See Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

119 For Wheler's early life and education, see his autobiography, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 3286.

120 Smith, *Remarks*, pp. A7v–A8r.

121 'Amplissimae Ecclesiae muri nobis demonstrarunt, veteres *Christianos* nullis sumptibus in fabricandis aedibus religioso cultui dicatis pepercisse' (*Epistolae Duae*, p. 152).

122 'Sed maxime solennes gratias tibi debent sacrarum Antiquitatum studiosi ob septem illas Ecclesias e ruderibus erutas, et si non ab hostis tyrannide, saltem ab oblivionis potestate vindicatas, quas facie sua, turpi licet & misererè deformata orbi Europaeo reddidisti' (MS Smith 46, p. 189, letter of William Cave to Smith, June 1676).

123 'Sic enim Asianarum Ecclesiarum Pleiadas e tenebris denuo excitas: sic antiquissimorum Episcoporum sedes instauras, ut candelabrum ἑπτάλοφον cum magno Theologo & Apocalypta iterum ardens ac fulgens videre mihi videor' (MS Smith 47, p. 178, letter of Bernard to Smith, October 1695).

124 MS Smith 104, p. 239, letter of Bernard to Huntington, 19 August 1672. This letter survives only as part of a series of 'testimonia' that Smith collected about himself.

125 Richard Parr, *The Life of the Most Reverend Father in God, James Ussher, Late Lord Arch-Bishop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of All Ireland* (London, 1686), pp. 50–1.

126 Thomas Smith, *Vitae Quorundam Eruditissimorum et Illustrium Virorum* (London, 1707), p. 82.

127 Bruce W. Longenecker, 'Rome, Provincial Cities and the Seven Churches of Revelation 2–3', in P. Williams et al. (eds.), *The New Testament in its First Century Setting: Essays on Context and Background* (Grand Rapids, WI: Eerdmans, 2004), pp. 281–91, 285–7.

128 Michael Crawford, 'William Sherard and the Prices Edict', *Revue Numismatique*, 6th series, 159 (2003): 83–107. See also his 'Discovery, Autopsy and Progress: Diocletian's Jigsaw Puzzles', in *Classics in Progress: Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome*, edited by T. P. Wiseman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 145–63.

129 On the Dilettanti, see Jason M. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

Thomas Roebuck, *Antiquarianism in the Near East: Thomas Smith (1638–1710) and his Journey to the Seven Churches of Asia* In: *Beyond Greece and Rome: Reading the Ancient Near East in Early Modern Europe*. Edited by: Jane Grogan, Oxford University Press (2020). © Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780198767114.003.0007