From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, the desire of western Europeans to visit and pay homage to the seven churches of the Apocalypse reflected, more or less, the broader European view of the Orient. In this essay, I will first briefly look at the evolution of travel to the lands of the Ottoman Empire during these four centuries and the parameters required for the study of writings derived from such journeys. I shall then focus on some of the more important texts for the history of the seven churches as seen through the eyes of travelers. We shall see, finally, that the travelers who inaugurated classical archaeology were also the precursors of Christian archaeologists. Although primarily interested in pilgrimage to the churches of the Apocalypse, these travelers bequeathed works full of information on the archaeological, social, and human landscape of their time.

The travel writings bequeathed by travelers and non-travelers alike, consist of personal eye-witness accounts, as well as scholarly learning, though they also conceal visions or ideologies. These all served to compose, throughout this long period, certain stereotypes, with substantial doses of plagiarizing and copying, which in turn provided matter and style for the travel literature that followed.
The Ottoman Empire described in the texts of travelers signifies, on the one hand, the real or actual empire: the space and the people and affairs, such as political events and war, that evolved within that space. On the other hand, travel writings also express the “unreal”: ideology and how it was expressed, individual or collective visions, personal myths, and existential inclinations. When all these topics are expressed in an accomplished literary style they may even manage to do away altogether with the “real” or the “actual.”

The traveler and the written account of (his or) her journey are thus communicative tools that mediate between the European West and the Ottoman Empire. The web woven by the traveler’s needle and the thread of the route taken links the various components of these two worlds, in both real and symbolic terms. The traveler (the subject) comes face-to-face with a reality (the object) different from that for which he or she is theoretically prepared. Receptivity to the new stimuli might initially seem to be taken for granted; however, the recording of the reality to which the traveler is exposed often belies this assumption. What, in fact, does the traveler choose to record or to ignore? What does the traveler choose to transmit to others? What does the traveler choose to embellish or to distort? The “Other” (if I may be allowed to use current jargon)—i.e., that which stands opposite us (and perhaps opposed to us)—may indeed be “real,” yet it is also potentially symbolic, like a mirror. The existence of an “Other” depends on what one believes to be positioned opposite one, what one believes to be standing in the mirror. In other words, the traveler’s faculty of sight is almost always identical to her faculty of culturally engendered vision and imagination.1

A journey requires theoretical knowledge of the place to be traveled through and the people to be encountered. Subsequently, the pre-acquired knowledge is juxtaposed with the actual experience of the journey. This in turn is followed by a synthesis of the two with the support of documentation. Accordingly, the first feature (theoretical knowledge) depends on the quality of the traveler concerned, while the learning of the writer helps us to judge the
events that she “sees” and perceives, or that she “does not see,” as well as the way in which she situates herself vis-à-vis these events and sights and comments on them. The second component, the eye-witness, in-situ account, reflects the reasons for the journey and the experiences through which each traveler lived, while the purpose of the journey determines, to a large extent, the kind of information that the traveler seeks and selects. The third component, synthesis, is marked again by the environment in which the traveler is writing, while the date and time of publication determine the way in which the knowledge and actual experience of the journey are delivered.2

Travelers’ intellectual reception of the space, people, and events of Ottoman lands went hand-in-hand with the ever-changing spiritual, political, and cultural currents to which the travelers from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries belonged.3 Gradually, with the passing from humanism to classicism and the Enlightenment, Western man encountered both the past and the “new” with greater sensitivity and knowledge than before. In the nineteenth century, however, travel-writing no longer necessarily implied a concern with the historical past of the place or its surviving monuments. By that time, the travel writer and the contemporary people of the lands visited came face-to-face with one another, while at the same time, the transformation of the journey into a text expressed, in a uniquely fascinating way, the age-old confrontation of the objective with the subjective.4

The dynamic flow of British travelers of the seventeenth century into the Eastern Mediterranean reflected, on the one hand, the somewhat late establishment—at least compared with other European countries—of an embassy in Constantinople at the end of the sixteenth century and, of course, the establishment of the Levant Company.5 Likewise, the formation of noteworthy collections of ancient works in the West, due in large part to the activities of

---
1 Vingopoulou 2003, XXXI.  
2 Ibid. XXXIII.  
4 Vingopoulou 2003a; Schiffer 1999.  
5 Nasioutzik 2002, 102-104.
travelers, was a phenomenon entirely in tune with the more general mood of rediscovery of the classical past that swept across Europe during the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, with the Grand Tour and greater ease of travel, there were no longer broad categories of travelers/humanists, like the Diletanti or Philhellenes, but instead a mass of diverse individuals, each with his or her own personal vision as a tourist.

“I John...was in the Isle that is called Patmos...I was in the Spirit of the Lord’s day and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet, saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and, What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven churches which are in Asia; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea...” (Rev. 1: 9-11)

The last book of the New Testament, Revelation, or—to use its Greek name—the Apocalypse, written by John around the year 96 of the Christian era, was read and interpreted throughout the subsequent centuries in numerous ways (eschatologically, symbolically, and so on). However, it proved to be both the inspiration and the desired end for pilgrimage travels, in-situ meditation, and it was also the occasion for archeological searching and for personal quests of the European travelers who poured into Ottoman lands.

For example, it is worth recalling that Smyrna, for centuries the gateway to the wealth of the East, was the focal point for a large number of visitors from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, with a very substantial increase in the nineteenth century (around eight hundred accounts). Until then, we have accounts from only a very small number of visitors to all seven cities of the itinerary. With the start of the nineteenth century, however, increasing numbers of travelers visited Ephesus, Pergamon, and Sardis after stopping in Smyrna. Altogether for this century, seven travelers leave us accounts of visits to all the seven churches of the Apocalypse.

---

6 Tolias 2003.
7 Vingopoulou 2003a.
8 Kyratas 1994.
9 Ramsay 1890; Wallace 1986.
10 Goffman 1999.
Given how Europe in each period “perceives” the Ottoman Empire, its subjects, and the themes to be encountered within its space, we can endeavor to understand the travelers, their movements, and their writings—or at least, those whom we have selected as most representative of this special pilgrimage destination.

An important figure of the British presence in the Eastern Mediterranean was Paul Rycaut, consul at Smyrna for no less than sixteen years. Rycaut wrote a celebrated history of the Ottoman state at the request of the King of England, as well as an essay on the Greek Church.\textsuperscript{12} The second chapter of this essay, written after 1675, describes his visit to the seven churches, also backed by quotations from the ancients.\textsuperscript{13} The text was published in 1679, just one year after the publication of Jacob Spon’s journey to Ottoman lands and a few years after the first edition of Thomas Smith’s description of the seven cities in Latin. The publication of these works came at a time when some quarters of the Protestant church projected a rapprochement with the Orthodox world; at the same time, European designs on the East were also a key factor of the game.

Rycaut begins his account with the city of Smyrna, which he knows well. Then comes his description of Ephesus, which is just as thorough: “but nothing appears more remarkable and stately to the stranger in his near approach to this place than the castle on the hill and the lofty fabrick of Saint John’s church.”\textsuperscript{14} Rycaut attempts to find Laodicea in the vicinity of Denizli. Then, following the writings of Pliny and Strabo, he tells us that he identified three amphitheatres, an elongated circus, and one inscription on the hill of Eskihissar. He then moves on to Philadelphia:

Philadelphia, having a pleasant prospect on the plains now inhabited by Turks, and by them called Allashissar or the fair City, is more happy than the other two Churches before mentioned vis Ephesus and Laodicea. For it still retains the Form of a City Though the Walls which encompass it are decayed in many places, and according to the

\textsuperscript{12} Anderson 1989, 216-29.
\textsuperscript{13} Rycaut 1679, 30-80.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid. 44.
Custom of the Turks are wholly neglected besides which there is little of Antiquity remaining [apart from] the ruins of a Church dedicated to S. John.\(^{15}\)

The city still had no less than twelve Christian churches at that time. In Rycaut’s account of Sardis he quotes Strabo: “But whatever was the city these former Days it is now a poor habitation of Shepherds.”\(^{16}\) He is impressed by the view from the castle, and records an inscription that he found there. (A century later, in 1765, De Peyssonnel sought to find the same inscription, and in fact, succeeded in doing so.) On Pergamon Rycaut also provides a quotation from Strabo and mentions the many visible remains of the ancient city: “There are also the ruins of several churches, one of which more spacious and magnificent than the rest, is by the Tradition of the Greeks of the country reported to have been dedicated to Saint John, but wanting Inscriptions and Tradition of the Inhabitans to direct us, we were wholly in dark.”\(^{17}\)

With an excellent knowledge of the ancient sources, a sharp intellect, an observant nature, and experience of the terrain, Rycaut identifies first the correct location of Thyatira, which he confirms with an inscription, and he copies, translates and comments on various other inscriptions that had survived in walls as reused masonry.\(^{18}\)

In this same period, Thomas Smith, chaplain to the British consul at Smyrna toured all seven cities in April 1671 (with three other compatriots, two janissaries, two Armenians, one cook and three servants). The work he wrote as a result of this journey was first published in Latin in 1672 and then in English in 1678, in small format. His account became the key manual for all subsequent travelers, as it comprised the first systematic record of inscriptions in the seven cities of the Apocalypse.\(^{19}\) Besides recording the inscriptions, the text is also representative of the Western Christian understanding of both the Greek Orthodox Church and the Muslim presence in the lands of Asia Minor:

\(^{15}\) Ibid. 73-75.

\(^{16}\) Ibid. 76-77.

\(^{17}\) Ibid. 66[sic].

\(^{18}\) Ibid. 73-78[sic].

\(^{19}\) Smith 1678.
By this short and imperfect survey the curious reader may be sadly convinced, in what a pitiful and deplorable condition these once famous and glorious Churches of Asia are at this day .... I shall not here lament the sad traverses and vicissitudes of things, and the usual changes of mortal life, or upbraid the Greeks of luxury and stupidity, which have brought these horrid desolations upon their Countrey.20

With his travels in Greece and Asia Minor, the French doctor Jacob Spon initiated the phenomenon of the scientific tour. From 1675 to 1676 he traveled with George Wheler, whom he had met in Rome, and each man separately published an account of their journey. At the time, Spon’s work was hailed as a major literary and scholarly event and a watershed in the development of travel literature.21 The main purpose of the trip was to visit Athens, but the overland journey from the capital of the Ottoman Empire to the southern Balkans posed too many difficulties. Accordingly, when the opportunity to travel with some British merchants to Smyrna arose in October of 1676, they headed instead towards that city, crossing Mysia and Lydia and making a detour for Thyatira (Ak-hissar), where Spon studied and copied inscriptions despite the superstitious objections of the local Muslim inhabitants.22 He made the connection between the absence of Christian Greek or Armenian populations and the curse that the prophetic text of Revelation directed at the Church of Thyatira (Revelation 2: 24-29). In Smyrna Spon was hosted by Paul Rycaut, about whom he speaks with the highest of praise. He also searched for coins and inscriptions and pointed out that ten thousand Greek Christians still inhabited the city, just as “the Lord promised them in Revelation.”23

Spon’s visit to Ephesus led him not only to identify the ruins of the ancient city, but also to describe the remains associated with the Christian martyrs, the baptistery and the church (a mosque by this time) of St. John (fig. 1). This encounter brought him to meditate again on the Lord’s plan for the city and its inhabitants.24 Spon’s descriptions of the remaining four churches of the Apocalypse are briefer because Spon obtained his information in Smyrna from

20 Ibid. 273-74.
21 Spon 1678.
22 Ibid. 1: 297-300.
Rycaut and Doctor Picrelin, who both lent him their notes and copies of inscriptions made on their own journeys about six years beforehand. In Pergamon Spon attributes the survival of the name of the city and the fifteen impoverished Christian families who lived there to divine grace, as prophesied in the text of Last Things. In the case of Laodicea, Spon seeks literary references in the works of Latin authors and does not omit to mention that the complete desertion of the city was again due to the prophetic text of the Apocalypse. The lost riches and glory of Sardis were also interpreted on the basis of the verses of the Apocalypse. And in Philadelphia, the roughly eight-thousand Christians with their five churches only served to confirm the verity of the sacred text. Spon concludes by wondering if the enemy of Christianity came as confirmation of the word of God as transmitted in the writings of St. John and, in particular, as a punishment for those who did not adhere to the true doctrine. Thus, this eminent pioneer of classical archeology became also the first real pilgrim of Revelation.

Before looking at the key texts of the late nineteenth century, a number of other works should also be mentioned. First, the curious account of Charles De Peyssonnel, who traveled in the footsteps of Thomas Smith in the fall of 1750 and systematically sought coins and inscriptions (he records around thirty); the same work contains the first original (and exceptionally fine) drawings of the ruins at Sardis (fig. 2). Then we have the work of Richard Chandler (1817), the most complete account of Sardis. His journey took place in 1764 and was true to the aims of his mission as a member of the Dilletanti.

In the nineteenth century, besides Colonel William Martin Leake’s (1817) general quests in search of archaeological information, we should also note two of the few journeys undertaken specifically in search of the churches of the Revelation, namely, those by the

---

23 Ibid. 1: 315-16.
24 Ibid. 1: 339.
25 Ibid. 1: 343.
26 Ibid. 1: 346-49.
27 Ibid. 1: 350-56.
28 Ibid. 1: 353-56.
29 Peyssonnel 1765, 248-349.
Anglican chaplain Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell (1828) and by Henry Christmas (1851). The tone of their accounts is marked by only a superficial interest in archaeology proper, a feature common to much travel writing of the nineteenth century (although, interestingly, it was in this period that the first systematic and scientifically structured archeological excavations were carried out in Asia Minor). Arundell’s account drew extensively on earlier English-language writings on the subject. In the spring of 1826 (fig. 3) he set off from Smyrna for Ephesus, about which his text reproduces the account of Richard Chandler (1764-66), although at various points he inserts comments on the accounts of Johannes Aegidius van Egmont (1759), Richard Pococke (1740) and Edmund Chishull (1699).30 When Arundell reaches Laodicea, he is content to draw from Thomas Smith’s work, while drawing also on Richard Chandler’s historical account and the prophecy in Revelation regarding the fate of the city.31 In Philadelphia, his personal experience serves to confirm the situation and appearance of the city described in Holy Scripture.32 He provides a similar account of Sardis, with its impressive past and wealth of remains, based on both the account of Richard Chandler and his own experience.33 Arundell’s modern-day description of Thyatira is supplemented by an extract from Thomas Smith.34 He later describes a second journey to Thyatira, which he undertook in the fall of the same year (1826),35 then moves on to Pergamon, for which he reproduces the account of James Dallaway (1797) as best describing the antiquities, while he records in a few words the impressive ruins of the grand basilica.36

In undertaking the same journey, Henry Christmas embarked on a quest to discover the deeper meaning of Revelation. And so, in 1851 he decided to visit the cities in the same order that, according to Revelation, the angel of the Lord delivered to them the prophetic letters.

30 Arundell 1828, 26-57.
31 Ibid. 84-90.
32 Ibid. 167-74.
33 Ibid. 176-85.
34 Ibid. 189-90.
35 Ibid. 270-73.
36 Ibid. 280-89.
Despite his somewhat naive approach to the land he visits, the interest of his text lies in the fact that on the occasion of his visit to each city he seeks to discover “three separate applications: one exoteric, and referring to the seven Churches of Asia exclusively and literally...one esoteric and prophetic, applying to the universal Church...and one esoteric and spiritual, relating to, and explaining the divine life in the soul.” His encounter with history and contemporary life leads him to “view both the past and the present with a mixture of awe and admiration, of devotion and faith.”

Next, we have the first systematic historical and archeological study of Asia Minor, by Charles Texier, who traveled from 1834 to 1836. Texier was impressed above all by the ruins of the evocative church of St. John at Pergamon, for which he provides drawings and ground plans (fig. 4). We also have the somewhat hastily compiled observations of Charles Fellows during his excursion to Asia Minor in 1838. Around the same time, a highly popular text by Thomas Allom (1838) appeared, which contained illustrations of Asia Minor (landscapes, people, monuments) and an anthology of descriptions by earlier travelers (fig. 5). Although the title of the volume stresses the specific nature of the illustrations to be included in its pages, the engravings of the seven cities of the Apocalypse do not comprise a single section of its material, and the texts are not particularly informative. Last, mention should also be made of the work of Avraam Sergeevich Norov (1860), which should be seen in the light of the biblical archeology of the day, and presents us with a complex combination of various styles and approaches, with its illustrative component following the spirit of the age and imitating the engravings of Thomas Allom.

The journey of the priest Émile Le Camus towards the end of the nineteenth century is especially noteworthy. After publishing (c. 1896) a richly illustrated volume on his pilgrimage

---

37 Christmas 1851, 151.
38 Texier 1839, pl. CXVI, CXVII, CXVIII, CXIX, CXX.
39 Fellows 1839.
40 Allom 1838, 31-37, 41-42, 63-68, 71-72, 79-80, 86.
to the biblical lands, Le Camus decided around April 1896 to travel to the seven churches of the Apocalypse with another member of the clergy and his nephew (fig. 6). His work enthusiastically and expansively sets out a wealth of information (both historical and ethnographic), drawings, and photographs, embracing a clearly romantic encounter with both the pagan and Christian past. As he notes in the introduction: “avec respect, disons mieux avec religion... on peut religieusement s’incliner et saluer les souvenirs du passe païens et chrétiens.”

After a “pilgrimage to the great ancient sanctuaries of Greece” they arrived in Smyrna. The landscape alone brought on a meditative mood. Le Camus sought out the churches where martyrs had died for the faith, the ancient stadium, and modern-day churches, but he also described the people, markets, and buildings. In Ephesus, the ruins of antiquity and the Early Christian period evinced in him a similar melancholy. Informed of the excavations by John Turtle Wood and familiar with the ecclesiastical sources, Le Camus drew plans, wandered everywhere, and devoted energy to identifying ancient remains. He traveled through the vast region of Laodicea; in describing the otherwise unidentified ruins there he cited passages from the Apocalypse and interpreted what he saw accordingly (fig.7). In Philadelphia he was impressed by the vibrant contemporary Christian community, and his references to the text of the Apocalypse are balanced with detailed descriptions of daily life throughout the region. Le Camus tirelessly visited all the antiquities at Sardis. In Thyatira the modern city had covered over all traces of the past. Lastly, Le Camus renders in lively style an exact picture of the ruins and the town of Bergama (ancient Pergamon). He was impressed by the Kizli Avlu, or Red Basilica, and comments on the altar of Zeus (some scholars identified the altar as Satan’s

41 Le Camus 1896.
42 Ibid. 101-108.
43 Ibid. 120-43.
44 Ibid. 196-99.
46 Le Camus 1896, 203-11.
throne mentioned in the Revelation). Le Camus, by the twin pilgrimage to classical antiquities and Christian ruins, supplies this wealth of information with an engaging style, together with drawings, photographs, and ground plans. Together, these components form a highly lively and informative text on the seven cities as they had survived through to the end of the nineteenth century and inscribed on the minds of pious Christians.

A few years later, in 1906-1907, Georgos Lambakis, a highly devout member of the Greek Orthodox faith and one of the pioneers of Christian archeology, toured the Holy Land, Mount Athos, Constantinople, the Cyclades, Macedonia and elsewhere and photographed in a remarkable way what he saw, both as a means of accurate documentation and artistic expression. Afterwards Lambakis, in the company of his wife Efthalia, visited the island of Patmos and the “Seven Stars of Revelation” in the order listed in the prophetic text (fig. 8). His account contains many historical details, as well as discussions of ruins, monuments, and the state of the churches at that time. All of this information is set forth in a work that combines serious-minded scholarship, references, annotations and extracts from Holy Scripture, ecclesiastical history, detailed descriptions of finds, topographical plans, and photographs of monuments and remains. Lambakis includes bibliographical references, provides commentary, and identifies the ruins while drawing on the works of the key European travelers as J.B. Tavernier (1676), J. Thevenot (1665), J. Spon (1678), C. Le Bruyn (1698), J. Pitton de Tournefort (1717), R. Pococke (1743), R. Chandler (1775), M.-G.-F.-A. Choiseul Gouffier (1782), J. Dallaway (1797), A.von Prokesh Osten (1824), Ch. Texier (1839-1849).

Lambakis focuses on Christian monuments and remains, while also taking note of ancient Greek and Roman antiquities. His careful recording of inscriptions and drawings of Christian reliefs and architectural decorative features scattered around the sites he visited form an extensive and valuable body of historical documentation, although due to the printing

47 Le Camus 1896, 242-58.
capabilities of his time, his photographs lack the definition we would wish for today. The account of churches, chapels, shrines, and Christian relics, as well as of the Greek schools and the demographic and economic state of the communities he visited still comprises an extremely valuable record of the Christian minorities in these cities at the beginning of the twentieth century. Lambakis’s description of the holy site of Cheileon at Ephesus and the rare landscapes and descriptions of the stadium and the church of St. Polykarpos at Smyrna are of particular interest (fig. 9). Also extremely valuable are his ground plans of the churches in the citadel of Pergamon, his record of churches and other sacred Christian sites in Thyatira, the numerous parish churches in Philadelphia, and the drawings of architectural decorative features that he found in the same city (fig. 10). At the beginning of each chapter devoted to the “stars” of Asia Minor, Lambakis quotes the related passage on the city from the Apocalypse and closes with various diary entries and letters of unique sensitivity and perceptiveness.

To sum up, the first works relevant to our theme, published at more or less the same time in the late seventeenth century, present various similarities in style and authorial views. Perhaps the meeting of Rycaut, Smith, and Spon in Smyrna and their discussions led them, despite all their differences, to a consensus of opinion regarding the fate of the cities of the seven churches. With his long sojourn in the region, Rycaut was the first to accurately identify some of the cities (Thyatira, Laodicea, Philadelphia), and his work supplies us with full quotations from the ancient sources. Smith presents a misleading picture, whose objective and results do not properly concur: he aims to present a Christian pilgrimage, but instead systematically copies and publishes classical inscriptions from the cities. Thereafter, the later chaplains of the British consulate followed this example of “pilgrimage” (though only a very few accounts were published), and Smith’s text became a guidebook for those interested in

---

49 Lambakis 1909.
50 Ibid. 99-107, 173-90.
51 Ibid. 266-75.
52 Ibid. 315-21, 325-329.
53 Ibid. 375-85, 392-414.
seeking out the remains of antiquity. On the other hand, Spon—who initiated the systematic search for and identification of the centers of ancient civilization guided by ancient writings—was, perhaps despite himself, an early pioneer of Christian archeology. Le Camus sought one end, unsurprising given his clerical status: the seven churches. Yet, he was lured by the wealth of the past (both pagan and Christian) and the vibrant present (dynamic cities and towns of the late nineteenth century), and delivers a highly detailed travel account that is of the greatest value for its description of the life and customs of the time in the region. As he notes in the preface: “pour jouir un voyage en Orient il faut rêver un peu et savoir beaucoup” (“To enjoy a journey in the Orient, you must dream a little and know much”). It is here that the French priest seems to approach the Greek archaeologist Lambakis. Lambakis investigates and records like an archaeologist; he refers to earlier travelers, and publishes using diverse illustrative material (drawings, engravings, photographs). Yet he writes and journeys as a traveler at the end of an age—an age that a few years later would definitively change for the Christian communities in the cities of Asia Minor, and of course, for the seven churches of the Apocalypse.
Bibliography


Newbold, Captain. n.d. *The seven churches of Asia in 1846.


Smith, Thomas. 1678. Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks.... London: M. Pitt.


Tavernier, Jean Baptiste. 1678. Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier: en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes, pendant l'espace de quarante ans ... accompagnez d'observations particulieres sur la qualité, la religion, le gouvernement, les coutumes & le commerce de chaque pais, avec les figures, le poids, & la valeur des monnoyes qui y ont cours: suivant la copie imprimée a Paris. Vol. I. Amsterdam: Chez Johannes van Someren.


———. 1953. Voyages and Travels in Greece, the Near East and Adjacent Regions Made Previous to the Year 1801. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.


Illustrations

figure 1: Ephesus: map with the ruins and the church of St. John. Engravings published in: George Wheler, A journey into Greece...In company of Dr. Spon of Lyons. London 1682.
figure 2: Sardis. The ruins at the castle. Engraving published in Claude Charles de Peyssonnel, Voyage à Magnésie, à Thyatire, à Sardes… in Observations historiques et géographiques... Paris 1765 [Gennadius Library : H 103 P 51]

figure 3: Map with Arundell’s itinerary, published in Francis V. J. Arundell, A visit to the seven churches of Asia ..., London 1828 [Gennadius Library : GT 1819]


figure 8: Map with the seven churches in Asia, published in Georgios Lambakis, *Οι επτά αστέρες της Αποκαλύψεως: ήτοι ιστορία, ερείπια, μνημεία και νυν κατάστασις των επτά Εκκλησιών της Ασίας*. Athens 1909
figure 9: Smyrna. The ruins at the ancient stadium. Photo published in Georgios Lambakis, Οι επτά αστέρες της Αποκαλύψεως: ήτοι ιστορία, ερείπια, μνημεία και νυν κατάστασις των επτά Εκκλησιών της Ασίας .... Athens 1909

figure 10: Philadelphia: The ruins of the church. Photo in 1907 published in Georgios Lambakis, Οι επτά αστέρες της Αποκαλύψεως: ήτοι ιστορία, ερείπια, μνημεία και νυν κατάστασις των επτά Εκκλησιών της Ασίας .... Athens 1909 and photo of the same place as it looks today.