INTRODUCTION

Curious and tolerant cultural encounters between Europe and the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century resulted in many artistic and cultural works such as travelogues which were met with interest (Avcıoğlu and Finbarr, 2010, 8, 9, 11). *Relation d’un Voyage du Levant* is one of these. It was written by the French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort and illustrated by Claude Aubriet. Aubriet was a French artist who worked in the Royal Gardens of the French Court. Its elaborate inventory of botany alone makes the travelogue significant. The document is empirical; it was written and illustrated on site and it includes rich information on the people and cities along the expedition route. It is also a very important document of 18th century Istanbul and Anatolia.

*Relation d’un Voyage du Levant* was written as the outcome of an expedition that took place between the spring of 1700 and June 1702. During this period Tournefort and Aubriet visited the Greek archipelago, Istanbul, the southern Black Sea coast, north-eastern Anatolia, Georgia, central Anatolia and Smyrna (Figure 1). The travelogue consists of 22 letters, and was first published in Paris, in 1717. During the expedition approximately 546 drawings of plants, cities, animals, and costumes were sent to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris (Carteret and Hamonou-Mahieu, 2010). This article concentrates on the landscapes of 14 cities in Anatolia which were produced between 26th April 1701 and 13th April 1702.

Aubriet drew landscapes of 14 cities in Anatolia during the mentioned period: Elegri Ereğli, Sinope Sinop, Cerasonte Giresun, Tripoli Tirebolu, Trebisonte Trabzon, Erzeron Erzurum, Cars Kars, Cöllhisar Köyulhisar, Tocat Tokat, Angora Ankara, Prusa Bursa, Magneise Manisa, Smyrna İzmir, and Scalanova Kuşadası. He draw also plants, animals, and costumes. In this paper, I will discuss whether Aubriet’s city compositions exemplify a transcultural model of landscape depiction. Aubriet’s depictions exhibit a similar cartographic method to European city depictions especially
those found in 16th century city atlases. Aubriet’s style will be discussed as description. On the other hand, Tournefort’s text about these cities, which puts emphasis on ancient sources, is a composition of many styles. This characteristic brings Tournefort’s style closer to narration. The relationship between the text and the images is not an example of *ekphrasis*. Finding 18th century Anatolian cities as the subjects of both narration and depiction makes this a compelling subject for all branches of the humanities not only as well as art history. (Madran, 1989, 1310).

**STYLES OF CONSTRUCTING REALITY IN THE TRAVELOGUE**

Hungarian Marxist literary historian György Lukács (1885-1971) discussed the difference between narration and description in his famous essay *Narrate or Describe?* According to Lukács, description is a means to contemporize things, it is about the present time, and it is static. On the other hand, narration recounts the past, it infuses the dramatic element, and it creates proportions (Lukács, 1970, 127, 130). American art historian Svetlana Alpers (1936) also uses these concepts in her essay, *Describe or Narrate? A Problem in Realistic Representation*. This essay shows that both 17th century and 19th century artists emphasized or suspended narrative action in their works (Alpers, 1976, 16). Recounting the history of the cities according the ancient sources is apparent in Tournefort’s text, while suspended action is a feature of Aubreit’s landscapes. Although both of them demonstrate other characteristics in their representation of the cities, these two aspects form their styles and the diversity in the travelogue.

“The opposition between narration (experiencing) and observing (description) is not accidental. It arises out of divergent basic positions about life and about the major problems of society and not just out of divergent artistic methods of handling content or one specific aspect of the content” (Lukács, 1970, 116). What were the basic positions about life of Tournefort and Aubriet? What were the major problems of the society?
The two societies that met in the travelogue were learning about the other through cultural encounters of the 18th century. It was specifically written in Tournefort’s assignment how this encounter should take place. His assignment was arranged by both the French Foreign Ministry and the Royal Academy of Sciences. Tournefort’s assignment required several tasks. He was asked to deliver information about history, administration, geography from ancient and contemporary sources, religion, and agriculture of the places he visited as well as botany (Tournefort, 1741a, 1,3). Tournefort used different styles as he was writing about his observations of these tasks. Using ancient sources about history and geography exposed a sense of time to his text. He wrote about the city histories as if he was building up a character.

Aubriet’s obligations to the Jardin du Roi, where he worked prior to the expedition, were to describe plants with precision. Aubriet mastered techniques used for more precise details such as black chalk, pen and ink, color wash, and red chalk while he was working on the previous books he illustrated. Aubriet was a perfectionist and an expert in execution of drawings based on nature all through his career (Carteret and Hamonou-Mahieu, 2010). He was also a miniature artist and the city views he drew during the Levant expedition are exceptions in his career (Hamonou-Mahieu, 2010, 19). Even though the cityscape is an exceptional genre in his career, he applied similar methods to his drawings of plants. He drew the cities in a way that enables the viewer to perceive every aspect at once. He used a descriptive template from the European cityscape depiction which was used in the 16th century city atlases. It is evident that Aubriet mastered the techniques that were available prior to the expedition.

Claude Aubriet and Description

Aubriet remains a little-known figure (Hamonou-Mahieu, 2010, 10). He was born around 1665 in France. We do not know how his childhood was or who his first master was. Tournefort suggested that Aubriet was trained to excel at drawing (Hamonou-Mahieu, 2010, 17-8). In December 1692, although Aubriet was 27 years old and experienced, he still agreed to become the student of Jean Jourbet, painter to Louis XIV. His motive must have been mastering the art of the miniature (Hamonou-Mahieu, 2010, 19). Jourbet was Aubriet’s connection to the Jardin du Roi. In time Aubriet became Jourbet’s second and after his demise, Aubriet was appointed to Jourbet’s position. Aubriet illustrated the works of Tournefort as well as the Botanicon Parisiense (1727) of Sebastian Vaillant whose doctoral advisor was Tournefort (Hamou-Mahieu, 2010, 10, 26). The 14 cityscapes he drew during the Anatolian part of the expedition show strong similarities with the compositions in the 16th century city atlases.

The idea of gathering town views of Europe dates back to 1472, and to the Greco-Roman geographer Ptolemy’s Cosmographia edition in Florence (Nuti, 1994, 105). Although the Cosmographia was written in the 2nd century AD, it was influential on geographical knowledge and cartographic tradition in Renaissance Europe. Ptolemy separated the terms geography, chorography, and topography in his work. Chorography is the art or practice of describing on a map, particular regions. Geography is, on the other hand, the view of the whole known world (Moffit, 1993, 60).

In 1570 the first atlas, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum of Abraham Ortelius, the Flemish cartographer, was printed. Maps were engraved by Frans Hogenberg. Hogenberg went on to meet Georg Braun in Cologne and
they worked on the city-atlas. The *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* was a success and was printed in several European languages in 1583 and in 1618 in French (Keuning, 1963, 43). Both the text and the views of the *Civitates* were based on first-hand information. Texts were written in order to present a deep knowledge of each town’s geographical, historical and academic information. Images of towns were given a sharp sense of sight, and therefore visual information. These were supposed to provide the total knowledge of the town, allowing the viewer to see every part of the whole. In the *Civitates*, measurement and visual images, the distinctive languages of chorography and geography co-exist. In the *Civitates* also local customs and dresses were depicted. In the 18th century, exactitude replaced the Ptolemaic distinction and pictures were removed from the maps (Nuti, 1994, 106, 109, 117, 120).

However, in the first two years of the 18th century, Aubriet’s city drawings presented the whole of the town within the main topographical elements surrounding it. Similar to the images in the *Civitates*, in Aubriet’s views, the roads leading to the city, city gates, main buildings of trade, religion and community as well as agricultural areas, and dwellings are to be seen together from an elevated and distant point of view. Like many Flemish landscapes, the seaport towns of the Black Sea and Smyrna are drawn as profile views. This is significant because between the 15th and 16th centuries the profile view was common in Northern Europe (Nuti, 1994, 110). The elevated view marked progress in depicting landscapes as it geometrically controlled organization of the visual space. These views need a more elevated and distant viewpoint which allows a wide visual with a high horizon and provides complete command of the town and a broad view of the surrounding landscape (Nuti, 1994, 113). Both profile views and geometrically controlled spaces were present in the *Civitates* (Nuti, 1994, 117).

Aubriet also applied the same figures for similar functions like a legend. For example, agricultural sites are highlighted by short, parallel lines; mosques and minarets are the same unless they are a very important iconographic figure for the city; dwellings are drawn alike. What is more, in five of the city views (*Prusa-Veiue du Chemin d’Angora; Tripoli; Prusa-du Mont Olympe; Scalanon; Assamcalé veui du coté d’Erzeron*) there are figures in the foreground pointing out the observation point and direction. In Tripoli, these figures are the draftsmen. The presence of the draftsman in the picture was a widespread convention in Flemish art. In this way, Flemish artists marked the main observation point in the picture and advertised the act of direct observation at the same time (Nuti, 1994, 114). These features and their historical connections place Aubriet’s views in the line of the *Civitates*, by extension they present a method rooted in depiction of the European city views.

We do not know the decision which inclined Aubriet to draw such views. But, two other painters influenced Aubriet’s career: Flemish painter Pieter Boel and a Strasbourg painter Johann Walter (Hamonou-Mahieu, 2010, 46-7). Aubriet copied their work. The most striking information about Walter is perhaps the most important detail for the present author that for a very long time Walter’s work had been mistaken for that of the Flemish painter Georges (Georg/Joris) Hoefnagel (Hamonou-Mahieu, 2010, 48).

Most of Hoefnagel’s drawings were engraved by Hogenberg who worked with both Ortelius and Braun (Keuning, 1963, 41-3). If Walter could be mistaken for Hoefnagel, then their styles were close. And this biographical
interpretation is the closest Aubriet gets to the Civitates. It is debatable to utilize a mistake for a proof. However, even without this information, rationales of Aubriet’s city view compositions have common features with the Civitates.

Joseph Pitton de Tournefort and Narration

Tournefort, a pioneer in systematic botany, was born in 1656 in France. He studied medicine at Montpellier University and was appointed as a professor of botany in 1683 at the Jardin du Roi in Paris. In 1694 his principle work, Elémens de Botanique, ou Méthode pour reconnaître Les Plantes was printed as a product of an elaborate in situ fieldwork. It offered one of the first classification systems in botany (Tournefort, 1741a, vi, viii, xiv). Tournefort and Aubriet had been cooperating since 1690 and Aubriet illustrated Elémens de Botanique (Hamonou-Mahieu, 2010, 10).

According to Tournefort’s narration, the expedition to the Levant was organized by the King of France, Louis XIV, Secretary of State the Count de Pontchartrain (1643-1727), and President of the Royal Academy of Sciences M. L’Abbe (Jean-Paul) Bignon (1662-1743). It was not an amateur plant hunting adventure but an official assignment. Tournefort summarized the aims contents of the expedition as making pertinent observations on natural history, old and new geography, inhabitants’ commercial activities, religion, manners and diverse population (Tournefort, 1741a, 1, 3). Tournefort was given permission to choose two companions for the expedition: a physician and an artist. Tournefort wrote that he wanted a couple of men whom he could depend on during such a journey and suggested Claude Aubriet as the artist and Andreas Gundelsheimer (1668-1715) as the physician. Tournefort had worked with both of them before. On the 9th of March 1700 Tournefort, Aubriet and Gundelsheimer began their expedition (Tournefort, 1741a, 2, 3).

Tournefort’s methodology regarding botany is very significant. The Elémens de Botanique, which was printed prior to this expedition, introduced a categorization of plants according to leaf shapes. However, Tournefort did not have any scientific methodology for the other tasks that were asked of him. He wrote regularly about old and new geography, inhabitants’ commercial activities, religion, manners and diverse population as well as the events which came to pass during the expedition. Tournefort had navigation maps with him of the Black Sea coastline which were drawn by French geographers (Tournefort, 1741b, 40, 72). During the Black Sea journey he compared the maps and the writing of the ancient geographers such as Strabo, Dionysius Periegetes, and Ptolemy, to his observations (Tournefort, 1741b, 23, 40, 49). But he relied on the certainty of the historical accounts of the ancients without hesitation. Some of these sources were works of Greek historian Zozimus and Roman poet Ovid Naso’s Metamorphoses, (Tournefort, 1741b, 1, 2, 70). And he wrote references to epic characters such as Hercules and Theseus (Tournefort, 1741b, 3). Another historical source he used were the medals from the King’s Cabinet. The symbols on the medals gave Tournefort a chance to write about the ancient history of the towns. Each town on the Black Sea is introduced as a city state with defeats and victories that put an emphasis on epic taste and narrative style.

Tournefort’s style starts to change as the expedition team joins a caravan in Trebizond that set off for Erzeron. First of all, Tournefort was now no longer able to give definite geographic coordination. The reason for
this must be the absence of maps regarding the roads they traveled. For example, on the 5th June 1701 the caravan “traveled across great mountains, encamp in a plain covered with snow” and on the 7th June 1701 they “continue the journey on across very bald mountains covered with snow and camped in a valley” (Tournefort, 1741b, 81-3). Geographical information consists of how many days a caravan or a horseman travels to another city or a port. He started to write about anxieties related to robbers as they reached Cars and went on to Georgia, and on the way back from Erivan to Erzeron. Both in Erzeron and Cars the great generals of the past revive in the text however as soon as they start to travel in the country the narrative takes a turn to the adventures of the expedition team. Central Anatolian towns are the first places where he mentions both Ottoman and ancient history. He mentions the impact of the Battle of Ankara (1402) that took place between the forces of Bajazet and Tamerlane. However, Prusa is the city where he writes solely on the Ottoman history and describes the Ottoman architecture thoroughly. Smyrna is for him the most pleasant city.

The style and mood of Tournefort changed according to the travel conditions and direction. The Black Sea is a mixture of admiring ideals and feeling frustrated, going to Georgia from Erzeron and coming back is anxiety and traveling in the direction of Symrna is reflected as relief and joy. His city portrayals also reflect these emotions. But Aubriet’s drawing style never changes. He followed a precise method and style. Every detail of the cityscapes he depicted is accounted for. There is no feeling towards the subject. Aubriet used fine lines and contours lines. The change between the light and dark areas are functional. Therefore we may say that the action is suspended. These features are features of descriptive realism according to Alpers (1976, 15, 19, 20).

THE EXPEDITION

The Relation d’un voyage du Levant is comprised of letters that were written during the expedition and addressed to Count de Pontchartrain. It is stated in the Catalogue Général des Manuscrits Des Bibliothèques Publiques de France printed in 1914 that Tournefort’s letters were sent to form the travelogue, and although they are not identical to the printed version, they are very much alike (Anonymous, 1914, 28, 161). The team also sent the drawings of the plants, animals and the towns as well as dried plants. Although the letters were addressed to the Count, it was imperative they got the approval of Jean-Paul (L’Abbe) Bignon, who was the member of the Académie Royal des Sciences (Sauvageau, 1890, 146; Anonymous, 1914, 161). Bignon and Pontchartrain wrote to the team with criticism and instructions for some new tasks (Tournefort, 1741b, 258). The correspondence was sometimes delayed. Before the team reached Istanbul, in Candia they received two letters sent on 20th August 1700 and 20th December 1700. Tournefort’s letter reveals the hard work of the team:

“It is not possible, to send descriptions of plants with their portraits, because we can’t finish them off that opportunities arise. We are sometimes forced to name the plants in a Catalog and to postpone to another time the description, according to the state where the plant is found. Besides, I am suffocated with materials… You would never believe how much time we waste in spite of ourselves… However, I have so far allowed no undescribed plants to pass through without drawing and without describing it… For Mr. Aubriet, I assure you that he could not do better; I am very happy to be in his company and that of Mr. Gonder. Mr. Aubriet will benefit from all his drawings when he is in Paris. It is not hardly possible to work in the
countryside and to be able to manage everything, but I am very convinced that, with dry plants, everything will end perfectly well. Finally, sir, we will try to do better, although it seems to me that we do not couldn’t use our time better. Imagine, what sorrows we will have when we have to describe and draw next to a caravan” (Sauvageau, 1890, 146-7).

The team chose to travel with company all through the Anatolian part of the expedition. The course of the expedition was mostly determined by the composition of the group they traveled with. They started their journey from Istanbul with eight caiques or small vessels as part of Köprülüzade Numan Pasha’s (1610-1719) flotilla heading to Trebizond (Tournefort, 1741b, 12). The team then joined various caravans during the rest of the journey. Tournefort called this choice the safest way to travel as robbers were active in the countryside (Tournefort, 1741b, 76-7). The choice of the caravan also determined how the team worked, the places they visited and the cities that were depicted by Aubriet.

During the voyage along the Black Sea, the team sampled rare plants during the periods when the flotilla anchored for the night (Tournefort, 1741b, 4). Although the Turkish crew ignored the team, Numan Pasha was interested in the expedition. He sent his servants to help them sample plants (Tournefort, 1741b, 16).

After they reached Trebizond the team joined five different caravans throughout the Anatolian journey. These were caravans of camels, mules and horses. The team preferred to travel with horses throughout the journey. They sampled plants during the journeys and worked on their findings during the breaks. The caravans stayed in caravansaries. If there were no caravansaries, the caravans lodged near a village in tents. Each caravan had different routes and preferences.

The first caravan was of at least 600 people travelling from Trebizond to Erzeron. This caravan was administered by the son of Köprülüzade Numan Pasha. At least 300 of the travellers were the entourage of the Pasha and rest of them were merchants. This caravan had officers responsible for the marching and camping, guards, physicians, and musicians (Tournefort, 1741c, 78). The caravan marched in a hierarchy. The Pasha marched 500 paces ahead of everyone and no one was allowed to come near him or his family (Tournefort, 1741b, 79). Tournefort remarked that since this caravan was gathered by Numan Pasha no robber would dare to attack it. Numan Pasha decided which route the caravan should take and how fast it should move and where to camp. The Pasha chose a long but safe journey route. Merchants in the caravan were not happy about these choices however the expedition team was extremely glad as they could see more things in the countryside (Tournefort, 1741b, 79-80).

The other caravans were accompanied only by merchants. (Tournefort, 1741b, 218, 223, 258). These caravans took the team from Erzeron to Cars, from Cars to Teflis, and then back to Cars and Erzeron. In Erzeron they joined another caravan intending to go to Tocat. These caravans were anxious to arrive their destination quickly as well as safely, avoiding bandits. Their pace and route changed according to the news reaching to them during the journey (Tournefort, 1741b, 258-60, 275). Unlike Numan Pasha, the merchants were not interested in plants. The team had to adjust to the route and the pace of the caravans.
Travelling from Istanbul to Sinope

Between 13th April 1701 and 9th May 1701 the flotilla arrived from Istanbul to Sinope (Tournefort, 1741b, 10, 38). The route on the Black Sea coastline took the team away from the favored subjects of 18th-century Western artists such as the Aegean Islands and Istanbul. Anatolia was perceived as Eastern Turkish rather than Arabic, and was rarely taken up by Western artists (Germaner and Inankur, 2008, 22, 36, 202).

Tournefort introduced Elegri where they arrived on 1st May, as “a little town built on the ruins of the ancient Heraclea” (Figure 2). The narration is a comparison between historical sources and observation of evidence such as huge stones, inscriptions, marbles, gates, and ruins. Tournefort is often distracted by thoughts of antiquity. For example, after writing about a plant, he continues “This Plant grows in the Ruins of Those fine Walls that are upon the Port, and that to us seem’d to be of the most remotest Antiquity” (Tournefort, 1741b, 22-3). But, the present is frustrating for Tournefort (1741c, 32) “At present they know nothing in the world of Tyrants, Romans or of Geneose. … The Turks pay only the Prince’s Dues; happy that they can smoke at their café among those fine Ruins, without knowing or caring what pass there heretofore”.

Elegri is a historical landscape for Tournefort. He narrates two different towns: one in antiquity, the other contemporary. However, the contemporary is the shadow of the ideal Elegri. Of all the warrior kings who remain are festive Greeks and smoking Turks who do not care for history.

Accusations of ignorance of history and neglect of antiquity will present themselves as a political and cultural discourses, especially in debates advanced around the ownership of the antiquity and excavations in Anatolia and the Middle East. Therefore, Tournefort’s narration of this kind will become part of Orientalist discourse.

On the other hand, Aubreit’s representation sticks to May 1st and 2nd. Although details are the same in the text and illustration their emphasis is different. Tournefort wrote about the port which was completely ruined back then as a reference to history. Aubriet did draw the moles, on the

Figure 2. Claude Aubriet, Elegri, 20.5x12 cm, engraving. (Tournefort, 1741: III, 20-21). VEKAM Library and Archive.
bottom left corner of the engraving, as perpendicular forms. However, they are not significant. Aubriet, if we may say so, “quoted” trivial details of the text. He drew the fleet of eight caiques on which they had been traveling and the tents that were described by Tournefort a few weeks earlier (Tournefort, 1741b, 6, 21).

The team arrived at Sinope on 9th-10th May (Figure 3) (Tournefort, 1741b, 38). In the early modern era, Anatolian cities with seaports were significantly rare. Of these only Trebizond and Sinope are defined as medium-sized cities (Faroqhi, 2000, 16). Unfortunately for the expedition team, the 17th and 18th centuries were not a prosperous era for maritime trade on the Black Sea (Faroqhi, 2000, 149).

The Sinope view is, on the other hand, is a very good example of Braun’s ideal city depiction. As the livelihood of the city, the maritime trade is seen in the foreground, and the whole Sinope, and the peninsula is observed from an elevated point of view. The main iconographic architecture of the town, according to Aubriet’s depiction is the fortress. There is no movement or expression in nature or on the sea. Twelve sailing boats are arranged in a curve indicating the navigation route. This is a clear choice of descriptive style as in the 19th century in travelogue engravings waves of the sea will grow strong, and cities of Anatolia will be depicted as if they stem out of nature.

**Sinope to Trebizond**

Between 10th May and 26th May 1701 the team traveled from Sinope to Trabzon (Tournefort, 1741c, 49, 72). As the expedition was sailing towards Cerasonte (Figure 4), Tournefort was criticizing the lifestyle on the caiques (Tournefort, 1741c, 56). Cerasonte is narrated in the text very briefly as a large town, between very steep rocks with a ruined castle built by the emperors of Trebizond. Tournefort (1741b, 59) comments on Cerasonte via the engraving on a medal. He claims that this image is also the proof of the insignificance of the town:

“Though Cerasonte was never a very considerable place, we nevertheless have medals left for it. There are some with the head of Marcus Aurelius, on
the reverse whereof is a satyr standing upright, in his right hand holding a flambeau, and a crook in his left. By this it appears that it was not a town of naval commerce, it rather valued itself upon its woods and flocks”.

Aubriet once more concentrated on the drawings. According to notes from Tournefort, Aubriet made his drawing while the caique was sailing. This must have been a challenge as we have no information that Aubriet had ever sailed in his life prior to this expedition. This manner of drawing is also accepted as a practice of northern European sailors (Nuti, 1994, 109). Although there is a hierarchy of importance for the cities according to Tournefort, Aubriet drew them as they appeared in 1701.

On 21st May the crew stopped by Tripoli in order to get some supplies (Figure 5). The engraving presents Cerasonte from a distance, Tripoli is not visible. Tournefort mentions that this town is mentioned by Arrian and Pliny and therefore Aubriet draws the view (Tournefort, 1741b, 58-9). This is one of the very rare moments when Tournefort explicitly
writes about why the view was depicted. Aubriet used to draw under the scientific supervision of the scholars while he was working on plants, mushrooms, butterflies and other animals (Carteret and Hamonou-Mahieu, 2010). Tournefort’s note implies that he also chose which view(s) to draw. However this did not affect Aubriet’s drawing style.

In the composition, on the left, two men are sitting and drawing in front of steep cliffs. This is a very fine example of the widespread convention of Flemish artists marking the main observation point in the picture (Nuti, 1994, 114). The figures watching the view puts an emphasis on observing, a concept Lukács relates with describing. In the case of the Tripoli view, Tournefort’s motive is to put an emphasis on history while Aubriet puts an emphasis on observation:

“The epic poet who narrates a single life or an assemblage of lives retrospectively gives the essential aspects of the selected life clearly and understandably. But the observer, necessarily a contemporary to what he observes, loses himself in the whirlwind of details apparently of equal significance, for life has not done its selection through the test of practice” (Lukács, 1970, 128).

The team stayed in Trebizond on 22nd May-3rd June (Figure 6) (Tournefort, 1741b, 61, 77). According to Tournefort’s reports, they went to see the castle, port, Santa Sophia, and St. John’s Convent (Tournefort, 1741b, 72-5). Aubriet’s drawing gives detailed information about the city. This image, like Sinope, presents the whole of the town but the iconographic architecture of the town is much clearer than Sinope. The engraving presents Trebizond and the coastline from the East looking West. On the right bottom corner, the contemporary port is distinguished. The Santa Sophia Convent can be identified by its bell tower. And the Roman port is easy to detect by the moles that form a rectangular shape in the sea. The upper part of the castle, which lies towards the south, ends with the Tower of John IV. The outer walls and moats surrounding the castle are marked. Tournefort is rather moved by St. John’s Convent and clearly placed importance on the city’s Christian heritage. Aubriet for his part drew both Christian and Islamic religious architectural structures of the city.

Figure 6. Claude Aubriet, Trebisonde, 20.5x12 cm, engraving. (Tournefort, 1741: III, 70-71). VEKAM Library and Archive.
However, Aubriet only placed crescents on top of the minarets and he did not place crosses on churches or convents.

A minaret was a form of the identity of Islam and a religious distinction. In the 18th century, the population of western Europe was not multi-religious or cultural as the Levant. The mosque and the minaret became a leitmotif in the 18th century in “exoticism” or turquerie in architecture. In Kew Gardens, the Turkish Mosque was built as a model in 1762 but the first mosque dedicated to Muslim worship in Europe was built in Woking outside London in 1889. Therefore Aubriet’s views marked out the other.

Icons of distinction had been influencing cartography too and the Civitates was no exception. Braun said that the native customs and dresses were important cultural illustrations but they were also used in order to prevent the Turks from being able to use atlases had they obtained because Islam prohibited the portrayal of human beings (Keuning, 1963, 42).

Aubriet’s attitude towards crosses and crescents is symmetric of Braun’s frustration of a potential Ottoman occupation. Aubriet drew all the religious architecture in the IIIrd Volume of Relation d’un Voyage du Levant with crescents and no crosses, except for the engravings of Teflis of Georgia and Mont Ararat of the Revan Kingdom. Therefore, Aubriet used crosses and crescents as a distinctive marker of the land’s dominant religion or, debatably, its culture. He did not draw a co-existence. Aubriet marked the land as Islamic or Christian between 1st May 1701 and 13th April 1702. Tournefort will be reporting on Jewish population and synagogues of cities in the coming months as well but they will not appear in the engravings. Even if the minaret and the crescent were/are indicators of Islam and the exotic, depicting these cities in a homogeneous manner recalls western European landscape’s homogeneous existence of monotheistic religions. As much as it marks the other, it is a substitution, therefore, a reflection of the self.

From Erzeron to Teflis, and Back

From Erzeron the team went to Teflis and came back to Erzeron. We are going to concentrate now on the parts of the journey that took place in Anatolia. These events are narrated between 3rd June-15th July 1701 and 14th-29th August 1701 (Tournefort, 1741c, 77, 135, 208, 222). Tournefort’s narration takes a slight turn: he had moments of fascination as well as epiphanies of antiquity. However the text also starts to reflect his anxieties about the safety of the team.

Trebizond was the last port on the Black Sea for the team. Henceforward the team joined the caravan of the Pasha of Erzeron (Figure 7) (Tournefort, 1741b, 77). On the 4th of June, Aubriet was able to draw a lot and on the 8th of June the scenery changed dramatically: “… by Break of day we began to perceive that we were really in Levant. From Trebisond hither the Country look’d like the Alpes and Pyrenees; but now the Face of the Earth seem’d of a sudden alter’d, as if a Curtain had been drawn, and a new Prospect open’d to our view” (Tournefort, 1741b, 80, 83).

The team arrived in Erzeron on 15th June, and they stayed there until 6th July (Tournefort, 1741b, 93). Erzeron is built 1950 meter above sea level and the mountains surrounding the city are above 3000 m. These heights are reflected in the travelogue as the “cold”. The dwellings of Erzeron were typical for eastern Anatolia with courtyards and ovens consisting of a clay-lined pit or a large, earthen jar buried in the ground (Karpuz, 1989, 1,
Neither Aubriet’s illustrations nor Tournefort’s narration carry this information. However, Erzeron’s architectural heritage consisted of more diverse cultures including Byzantines, Selçuks, Ilkhanates, Armenians, and Ottomans. Tournefort wrote: “How many great Armies must have pass’d this way? Perhaps Lucullus, Pompey, and Mithridates would still know the Remains of their Camps. In short, we are in the Great Armenia or Turcomania” (Tournefort, 1741b, 92-3).

The ghosts of the great generals did not speak to Aubriet. Instead, in his calm manner, Aubriet drew the city. On the left side of the engraving just outside of the city walls, in front of the first wooded area, there are three tombs with a domed roof. They are the Üç Kümbetler. The larger one of the three is an octagonal, 14th century building. The smaller two are also dated to the 14th century and are 12-sided tombs. Approximately 100 meter south of these buildings, the Çifte Minareli Medrese, a theological school resides. This 13th century complex consists of three different structures: twin minaret, main portal and a 12-sided tomb in the far end of the courtyard (Ünal, 1989, 32).

Between the Çifte Minareli Medrese and Erzeron Castle which has walls forming a perpendicular shape with a tower on each corner, the Yakutîye Medresesi stands with one minaret and a dome. This is also a 14th century theological school building, dating to the Ilkhanate (Ünal, 1993, 1, 54, 55). Erzeron Castle is the center of the city and was built by the Byzantine Emperor Theodosius in AD 451.

Right behind the castle, the first minaret building must be the Lala Paşa Mosque, a 16th century Ottoman building, and, actually the first Ottoman structure to be built in Erzeron. The building is an example of classical Ottoman mosques. It was built as a part of Lala Paşa Külliyesi, which is a large complex built in order to provide public services. A Külliye also provided space for the palaces of the governor’s officers that Tournefort mentions. Although these places are not depicted distinctively they were within 100 m. of the perimeter of the mosque (Gündoğdu, 1992, 21, 44, 51, 56, 63, 84).
The team stayed in Cars on 12th-14th July (Figure 8) (Tournefort, 1741b, 127, 133) which were two of the most challenging days of the entire expedition. They were not able to win a permission for passage and were accused of being spies until they met the Aga of Erzeron by coincidence and he dismissed the evidence against them. This incident lasted at least a day which indicates they had very limited time left to survey the area (Tournefort, 1741b, 133).

Nevertheless, Aubriet drew a very elaborate view of Cars. Neither anxiety nor accusations are present in his drawing. Cars neighborhoods are drawn as quadrilateral, less populated, and more regular forms. The fortress is seen on the left upper corner of the city. The fortress and the external walls surrounding the city were built in the 12th century. The palace of the Beylerbeyi of Cars to whom Tournefort refers as “Paşa of Cars” is situated also in the fortress. Following the left city wall downwards the 16th-century Stone Bridge (Taş Köprü) is seen as a white lane. The only building close to the bridge with four apses radiates from a central square bay, over which rises a circular dome, is the Cathedral of Cars (Havariler Kilisesi). It was built in the 10th-century by the Armenian Bagratid King Abas I. The Cathedral of Cars shares the same complex with the Evliya Mosque which is a 16th-century building. One of the most characteristic buildings in the engraving is near the right upper corner of the city walls. Tournefort (1741b, 127) described the landscape as:

“… the Town is built upon a Bank, expos’d to the South-South-East. The Compass is almost Square, and somewhat bigger than half of Erzeron. The Castle of Cars is very steep upon a Rock at the top of the Town. It seems pretty well kept up, but ’tis defended only by old Towers. The rest of the Place is like a kind of Theatre, behind which is a deep Valley, steep on every side, and thro the middle of that runs the River. This river does not go to Erzeron, as Sanson believ’d; on the contrary, it comes from that great Plain, which is the way from Erzeron to Cars, and falls from those Mountains where we first saw Thieves”.

Tournefort’s description of Cars summarizes its position. This description might be interpreted as a geographic description in a Ptolemaic sense because the presented information regards Cars’ position within the world. Tournefort wrote this kind of information for almost every city.
His manner of description is both different than and complementary to Aubriet’s chorographic illustrations. Tournefort was expected to give such information. He was supposed to study the old and modern geography in situ, meaning he compared, to the best of his ability, every important geographical aspects and position that was written about in ancient or modern sources.

Thieves and strict border officers appear in the travelogue from this point on, until their return. “Cars is not only a dangerous town upon account of thieves, but the Turkish officers also generally make great exactions from strangers” (Tournefort, 1741b, 128). They receive reports of thieves on their way, sparking some alarm (Tournefort, 1741b, 130, 210, 212, 213, 218, 219, 220).

On their way back to the Ottoman Empire from Georgia, on 28th of August the team arrived at the Baths of Assamcalé (Figure 9) (Tournefort, 1741b, 220). Aubriet drew two views of the Castle. It is a 14th-century structure. This engraving has agricultural sites and Tournefort commented that its wheat production was better than Erzeron (Tournefort, 1741b, 221). Assamcalé vei coté d’Erzeron has two figures resting on a tree trunk near the left corner of the engraving. These people are showing us the observation point. The presence of observers indicating direction is a significant element of the style of description of Georg Braun’s cities as well. Across and to the left of these two there is a structure with a dome, near a bridge. This structure is the Bains Eau de Chaute and appears in both of the engravings. By the help of this structure, we are both able to observe the circumstance of Assamcalé and Aubriet’s talent for organizing space.

Although Couleisar was a small town it was one of the places that surprised Tournefort with a sudden change of scenery (Figure 10). On 24th of September, the team passed through a plain, over a mountain and then into a rugged area with a red river running along the road. They navigated onto a very dangerous passage and they reached the town at the highest point. In the engraving, the flat, perpendicular structure near the right bottom corner is the caravansary in which they rested on the 23rd of September, after eight hours of journey. They continued walking on the 24th

Figure 9. Claude Aubriet, Assancala, 20,5x12 cm, engraving. (Tournefort, 1741: III, 220-221). VEKAM Library and Archive.
according to Tournefort. Two figures are walking on a hill in the engraving marking the road the team walked. And the surprise Tournefort describes is depicted on the left upper corner of the engraving (Tournefort, 1741b, 264).

**Tocat, Angora, and Prusa**

Between the 12th September and 23rd November 1701 the team reached Tocat, Angora and Prusa. (Tournefort, 1741b, 258, 310). Tocat appeared on 28th September 1701 (Figure 11). After passing through a beautiful valley, they saw the city on a promontory, from the marble mountains where the city gates reside. The area was covered with vineyards. Tournefort described Tocat as a city with a singular situation, in a form of an amphitheater, pleasant and expansive, with handsomely built houses (Tournefort, 1741b, 279).
The 18th century was prosperous for Tocat. The city was situated on the Erzeron-Smyrna road as a travel-safe area, therefore it had been favored by the caravans since the 17th century. It was also on the intersection point with the routes from the main seaports of the Black Sea. Tocat had an increasing population in this era with diverse occupations. These were raw silk manufacturing, leather goods manufacturing, dyeing textiles, cotton textiles, and copper utensil manufacturing (Genç, 1987, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 163).

Tournefort covered these trades in detail too in a pleasant manner. He even wrote about a fire which had destroyed the finest part of the city and suburbs just before they reached the city. Warehouses were burnt and several merchants of the town were ruined by the damage. Be that as it may, the inhabitants of Tocat had been repairing the damage from the blaze. Tournefort’s remark on repair and care is rare (Tournefort, 1741b, 270-1). In Tocat, Tournefort focused on trade and the city’s public works such as pavements and distribution of water. He did not mention any historical notes about the city center. He compared Tocat to Erzeron in favor of Tocat. There was nothing exotic about Tocat, and Tournefort reflected the contemporary reality. Tocat was organized, functional, and rational. The team left Tocat on 10th October (Tournefort, 1741b, 276) after a stay of 13 days. Aubriet’s observations of Tocat’s plan, situation, and architecture are once again more elaborate than Tournefort’s.

On 22nd October, the team arrived in Angora (Ankara) city center (Figure 12) (Tournefort, 1741b, 281). Tocat and Angora could be regarded as similar in a broad sense, as cities with approximately the same population, diverse occupations and religious groups, whose livelihoods mainly depended on trade. However, Tournefort focused more on Angora’s ancient heritage than its other characteristics. Tournefort started his section on Angora, as the city delighted the expedition team more than any other city in the Levant (Tournefort, 1741b, 281). The motivation of this delight is narrated as “the blood of those brave Gauls... who formerly possessed the country... still ran in the inhabitants of this place.” (Tournefort, 1741b, 281). However at one point Tournefort makes it clear that Count de Pontchartrain...
specifically asked Tournefort to get the images of the Temple of Augustus (Tournefort, 1741b, 258).

Aubriet must have drawn the preliminary sketch of the Angora View between the 20th October and 3rd November 1701. The engraving neither includes the Temple of Augustus nor the Julian Column. The reason for this could be that they were not visible from the point of observation. Instead of placing them in the city-scape, Aubriet drew separate images of them, as ordered from Paris. The Angora View points at Mahmut Paşa Bedesteni with its poly domes as the iconographic architectural feature. The Bedesten had been a very important trade center. And this is what Tournefort did not write about.

On 12th November the team “arrived a village 5 five hours from Prusa … We had all this day Mount Olympus on the Left: It is a vast Range of Mountains, on the top of which is nothing to be seen but old Snow, in a very great quantity” (Tournefort, 1741b, 304). Aubriet must have made a drawing of Prusa from this point either on 12th or on 23rd November when the team paid another visit to the “caplizas” (Figure 13) (Tournefort, 1741b, 310). Tournefort’s description of the caplizas is the most elaborate description of Islamic architecture he wrote since the team’s departure from Istanbul, which is a period of seven months.

Yeni Kaplıca was built in 1520-1566 by the son-in-law of Süleyman the Magnificent, Rüstem Pasha (Anonymous, 1977, 383-4). And the Eski Kaplıca was built in 1394, during the reign of Murat I (Anonymous, 1977, 348-9). Aubriet positioned these buildings very successfully according to each other, on the bottom left corner of the engraving. In the second Prusa view (Figure 14) that Aubriet drew, three couples are walking in the illustration, and two smaller couples are walking in the direction of the caplizas and the city. Prusa is seen as a whole, as a distant view below the mighty Mount Olympus. Although Aubriet drew the minarets, it is not possible to clarify which mosques they belong to.

Prusa is the third city in a row that Tournefort praised as the “most magnificent city in Asia/Anatolia/Levant” (Tournefort, 1741b, 305). As Tournefort approached Smyrna, travelling west, he became more satisfied

Figure 13. Claude Aubriet, A view of Prusa from Mount Olympus, 20.5x12 cm, engraving. (Tournefort, 1741: III, 308-309). VEKAM Library and Archive.
with the cities he visited. According to Tournefort, Prusa stands on the edge of a large plain full of mulberry and fruit trees. And the city was built for Turks. There are a Royal mosque and tombs of Sultans. Every house had its own fountain and there are over 300 minarets in the city and the mosques are very fine, covered with lead, the city is well paved, bread and salt are very cheap and butcher’s meat is good. He even finds similarities with the Palais in Paris (Tournefort, 1741b, 305-8).

Even if Tournefort’s first remark was that Prusa was made for Turks, the city reminded him of Paris and Granada on different occasions. Fountains and trade goods in the Bedesten seem to excite him. On the other hand, Aubriet, who spent 27 days with the expedition team in Prusa, significantly did not draw any fountains or the Bedesten’s architectural qualities. The team left Prusa on 8th November (Tournefort, 1741b, 318). We can only guess which building is the Bedesten by its location. Tournefort’s style on Prusa is mixed with both descriptive paragraphs and with passages comparing the Ottomans to “the greatest heroes of antiquity”, Pliny, the Gauls, Lucullus, Mithridates and images of medals (Tournefort, 1741b, 315). The most significant aspect of the sections regarding Prusa is that Tournefort mentioned the Ottoman heroes in epic action as well (Tournefort, 1741b, 316-7). However, this is not a change in his style, it is merely a substation in the narration.

Magnesia, where the expedition team arrived on 16th of December, seemed trivial to Tournefort, after Prusa. The text relating the interspace between Prusa and Magnesia is one of the longest parts about antiquity in the text. Tournefort found Mount Sipylus smaller than Mount Olympus, Magnesia smaller than Prusa, churches, caravansarays, and mosques not so well built as they were in Prusa, and above all the citadel of Magnesia had been neglected enormously (Figure 15) (Tournefort, 1741b, 328).

**To Smyrna and Ephesus**

The events that took place between 8th December 1701 and 13th April 1702 cover the journey to Smyrna and its surroundings. Smyrna was an important decision point for the team. In 1700 Tournefort had been very passionate about going to Aleppo, however, news of an outbreak of a
plague gave him pause and eventually the team decided to end the journey and set sail for France (Tournefort, 1741a, xxii).

Tournefort evaluates Smyrna as international (Figure 16). The team arrived there on the 19th December (Tournefort, 1741b, 332). Smyrna port was the finest in the Levant, big enough for the largest navy in the world, one of the largest and richest cities of the Levant, where merchants from “four parts of the world” come to sell their merchandise (Tournefort, 1741b, 332-3). According to Tournefort, the richest shops are found on Frank Street, which ran alongside the port. Tournefort was pretty sure this was the center of trade in the Levant. This is the only place where Tournefort (1741b, 334, 336) mentions of a kind of entertainment other than discovering a rare plant,

“When we are in this Street, we seem to be in Christendom; they speak nothing but Italian, French, English or Dutch there. Everybody takes off his Hat, when he pays his Respects to another. There one sees Capuchins,
Jesuuits, Recolets. The Speech of Provence shines there above all others, because there are more from Provence than any other Parts. They sing publicly in the Churches; they sing Psalms, preach, and perform Divine Service there without any trouble; but then they have not sufficient regard to the Mahometans for the Taverns are open all Hours, Day and Night. There they play, make Good Cheer, dance after the French, the Greek and the Turkish Manner”.

On the engraving, after the mosque and domes, the most interesting site is the four huge flagpoles on the shore. Flags make Smyrna View significantly different from the other seaport town illustrations. They signify the international character of the port very clearly since they are the official symbols of the countries. The four ships starting from the left bottom of the engraving also have big flags on their sterns, indicating they are foreign. None of the Black Sea illustrations have such a detail. The team also paid a visit to the second castle only to be disappointed by it. (Tournefort, 1741b, 338-48).

CONCLUSION

As a patient and keen observer, Aubriet’s style of constructing reality through the depictions of cities in the travelogue stands out as description. On the other hand, Tournefort’s text about these cities is written in a narrative style which puts emphasis on historical accounts of Anatolian cities in the 18th century, reflections of feelings, and comparisons. As a result, Relation d’un Voyage du Levant becomes an encounter of both the self and the other. The travelogue consists of various data on botany, culture, people, cities and travel in the 18th century. It also is an intriguing example of how reality can be constructed diversely and simultaneously. This diversity was only possible because the author and the artist were on site together. This feature of the expedition and the travelogue is unique as it was rare to include the artist on the expedition until the 18th century. This inclusion of the observer creates a figure who stands as both a critic and supporter of the travelogue. Although the text was dependent on the images, the nature of the text is not ekphrasis, regarding the city depictions, as it was with the botanical drawings. Aubriet’s method of depicting the cities and the plants have a common goal of showing the details of the whole at the same time. However Tournefort’s change of styles regarding different subjects made it possible to discuss the narrations and descriptions of the cities.

Aubriet’s chosen method of city compositions exemplifies a transcultural model of landscape depiction which stemmed from 16th-century European city atlases. Tournefort’s narrations, and his views of science, connect the travelogue to European heritage. But, Aubriet’s and Tournefort’s connections often point in different directions. Therefore, the travelogue embodies diversity as a means of production. There is a dual way of describing the land seen in the whole of the book. Aubriet sticks to a single method even if he was on a boat, climbing a mountain or sitting in a Levantine tent in the rain. We may venture to say that, Aubriet’s voice is deep, constructive, and positive. He illustrated his observations truthfully. He did not allow his emotions to interfere in what he illustrated. As for Tournefort, the land was not only the sight. It was meaningful in terms of the people and society on it. Although some of the text arguably became a direct part of the Orientalist discourse, he also wrote a rare documentation of Anatolian cities of the 18th century.
The backgrounds of the author and the artist, their previous work, as well as Ottoman and French officials such as Count de Pontchartrain and Numan Köprülü Paşa all affected the course of the expedition. First and foremost it was Count de Pontchartrain who required an artist to be a part of the expedition team. Secondly, the official permissions given both in France and the Ottoman Empire made it possible for the expedition team to travel. The comments of the author, permissions, the bounds of the assignment, and the depictions of the artist could be regarded as both the limits and extent of the tolerance and curiosity defining this early 18th century French publication.

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18. YÜZYILDA 14 ANADOLU KENTİNİN BETİMLEMESİ VE ÖYKÜLEMESİ


*Relation d’un Voyage du Levant’ın metni ve görselleri sahada (in-situ) yapılan gözlem in sonucudur. Görseller sahada çıkarılan envanterin önemli bir parçasıdır; ancak henüz detaylı bir şekilde incelenip anlamlandırılmamışlardır. Kent manzaralarının biçimlendirilmesinin
DESCRIPTION AND NARRATION OF 14 ANATOLIAN CITIES IN THE 18TH CENTURY (1)

Claude Aubriet was a French artist who worked in the Jardin du Roi. In 1699 French botanist Joseph Pitton de Tournefort made Aubriet an offer of an expedition to the Levant. They were off to develop Tournefort’s classification via discoveries of plants, and add new species to Jarden du Roi. Eventually, text and illustrations formed the travelogue Relation d’un Voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du Roy in 1717. Aubriet drew landscapes of 14 cities in Anatolia: Elegri, Ereğli, Sinope, Giresun, Tripoli, Tirebolu, Trabzon, Erzeron, Cars, Kars, Koyulhisar, Tocat, Tokat, Ankara, Bursa, Manisa, İzmir, and İzmir. While Tournefort highlighted in his text what is exotic to his taste, Aubriet drew scientifically coherent landscapes. That is as if he followed a code where a typical city’s main elements were listed. In this paper, I will discuss if Aubriet’s compositions exemplify the utility of the transcultural model as landscape depiction? Aubriet’s depiction reminds of 16th-century city-atlases of Georg Braun the cartographer (Civitates Orbis Terrarum). Aubriet, highlights the architecture and topographical elements. Thus, they exhibit a similar cartographic method with some European city depictions. Also, they are general views, portraying the city as a whole, as if it were one of the local people Tournefort narrated about. Aubriet’s cities are supposed to illustrate the text however the compositions of the landscapes are different than the text. Are they a dual representation of the same land in the same book, by European scientist/artist/traveler? Did Tournefort represented early modern Anatolian cities by putting them in Oriental outlooks as such did Aubriet put them in European outlooks? So, do they point out a cultural encounter both with self and the other?
Both Relation d’un Voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du Roy’s text and illustrations were outcomes of an in-situ observation. The illustrations are a key element to the survey but they aren’t examined, interpreted thoroughly until now. There is no satisfactory explanation of why the depiction is done in this specific manner; how this perception reflected the cities and why the depiction should be called European at all, except for the nationality of the artist. Yet, these rare depictions are very interesting and valuable both for the Turkish and European history of art.

The first part of the paper points to the European features of the city views even though these are lands in the Levant. This paper compares the illustrations in Voyage du Levant to the Civitates Orbis Terrarium. This comparison leads to the literature covering 16th-century city depictions and Ptolemy’s geography. The author of this paper has looked for an answer within these sources why Aubriet’s method of depicting cities is “European”. Tournefort was on the other hand, after the “other”, “strange” and “novel” at the same time. Some parts of Tournefort’s descriptions have the same features as the 19th century Orientalist discourse, but Tournefort’s observations, the exotic features are not reflected in the illustrations. The second part of the paper is a brief catalog of the city views. The main idea is the comparison of the description styles of Tournefort and Aubriet. This diversity is intriguing because Aubriet and Tournefort were working together with each other and for the same establishment Jarden du Roi since 1690. The catalog helps to answer some of the questions asked in the beginning.

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