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A RUSSIAN PILGRIM IN OTTOMAN JERUSALEM

by

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Introduction

The prospects of travel, trade, and religious pilgrimage in the Levant fascinated generations of Russia's men and women from the twelfth to the early twentieth centuries. In particular, the storied sacred sites of Jerusalem attracted the curiosity of myriad Russian travelers: monks and priests, merchants and diplomats, writers and artists, scholars and tourists.¹ Dmitrii V. Dashkov (1784-1839) etched his name in the annals of these visitors with a brief sojourn in Ottoman Palestine in 1820, and his travelogue, rendered here in English, merits attention as a document that offers eyewitness testimony, firsthand observation, and telling detail. These qualities make the narrative a likely choice to be included in a projected collection of resources on tsarist Russia's relations with the Ottoman Near East, a compendium that assembles select archival, manuscript, and published sources and presents them in an accessible format for students and scholars alike.²

An enlightened state official with a literary flair, Dashkov served a six-year term as diplomatic adviser and secretary at the Russian Embassy in Istanbul from 1817 to 1822. Envoy Grigorii A. Stroganov (1770-1857) assigned Dashkov to inspect consulates in the Levant as part of the embassy's effort to upgrade the conduct and competence of Russian consular staff.³ The expedition entailed a stop in Palestine, where, as part of his itinerary, the inspector had to gather concrete information on the seemingly endless "monks' quarrel," the dispute between Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and other Christian sects over the right to control various holy places in Jerusalem, most notably the legendary tomb of Christ in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Dashkov's unpublished correspondence with Stroganov and the consuls deals with the investigation of consular offices; but his published descriptions of the excursion, appearing in the almanac *Northern Flowers* edited by poet and critic Anton A. Del'vig (1798-1831),

relate impressions and observations of Mount Athos, the Topkapi Library, and Jerusalem.⁴

For three weeks, in August and September 1820, Dashkov toured fabled sites in and around the Holy City: Mount Zion, Bethlehem, Gethsemane, Mount of Olives, the Jordan River, and the Dead Sea. With keen perception, lyricism, and erudition, his chronicle evokes some of the sights, sounds, and struggles of arguably the world's most contested "battlegrounds of memory."⁵ Dashkov combines vignettes of the natural landscape with geographic, topographical, and historical particulars on the prominent landmarks. Citing Old and New Testaments, Virgil and Petrarch, Tasso and Milton, Gibbon and Chateaubriand, as well as previous Russian pilgrims, the work displays a sharp eye for detail, an aesthetic sensibility, and vivid descriptive power. His passages resonate with some of the defining qualities of Romanticism, such as fascination with the "exotic" and the "picturesque" and reverence for the power, mystery, and primitive beauty of nature. The account echoes conventional images and prevalent biases in European travel writing on the Ottoman Empire, as Dashkov paints an overly negative picture of the "oriental other." He accents episodes of oppression, extortion, and related abuses of power by regional administrative officials, in this case Palestine's chief authority, the pasha of Damascus and Acre.⁶ In sections on the holy places, the author voices harsh criticism of the internecine squabble between Christian communities over worship and custodial rights. Deep-seated resentment, malice, and bitterness, shared by all sides in this rivalry, offer little hope of forbearance or reconciliation between Latins, Greeks, and other feuding sects. Lastly, the inspector provides specific data on Russia's pilgrims—their itinerary, expenses, accommodation, and worship at different sites.

Excerpts from Dashkov's report have been published in an anthology of Russian travel literature on the holy lands in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁷ I have worked from the Dashkov passages in this edition, endeavoring to render the narrative into clear idiomatic English without altering its meaning or essence. Though I have changed Dashkov's sentence structure and syntax in some spots to make the composition more readable, I have generally remained faithful to the author's writing style, including such particulars as his use of capital letters, colons, semi-colons, and exclamation marks. Any material in parenthesis is part of Dashkov's original text; I have added brackets for my own emendations, translations of foreign terms, and brief explications. The occasional ellipsis denotes a word or phrase I considered extraneous, Dashkov's scholarly references which I have inserted in the notes, or an ellipsis in the excerpts published in the anthology. I have retained Dashkov's notes, either summarizing or translating his comments, and have added some notes of my own for supplemental information or relevant sources on a particular topic.

All dates are in the Old Style Julian calendar, which in the nineteenth century lagged twelve days behind the New Style Julian calendar. I have translated geographic place names in the form employed by Dashkov, for instance Smyrna instead of modern-day Izmir, and Constantinople instead of Istanbul. Clarification is needed on Dashkov's usage of the term "Turks." Frequently, he is referring to Ottoman Muslims, both Turks and Arabs; yet in some cases he differentiates between the two groups, as when he mentions Arab Muslims of

Jerusalem or Bedouin Arab tribes of Palestine. More confusion reigns when he cites “Greeks,” “Greek religion,” or “Greek church.” The official Ottoman designation for Orthodox Christian subjects, *Millet-i Rum*, or Greek *millet*, encompassed all Orthodox believers in the sultan’s domain, including Serbs, Romanians, Bulgars, Vlachs, Albanians, Arabs, as well as Greeks.⁸ Since Greeks or Hellenized Orthodox often controlled the patriarchates, coffers, and administrative offices of the church’s ecclesiastical hierarchy until the latter part of the nineteenth century, it was quite common for travelers and scholars to use “Greek faith” or “Greek church” to signify the Eastern Orthodox church in Ottoman-ruled lands. Thus, for Dashkov, “Greek religion” and “Greek church” are usually synonymous with the Eastern Orthodox faith and church in the Ottoman Empire, while “Greeks” often refers to Ottoman Orthodox Christians. To complicate matters, in addition to “Greeks,” Dashkov identifies various other Eastern Orthodox sects or churches—Syrians, Georgians, Abyssinians, Maronites, Armenians—with competing claims to the holy places.

Dmitrii V. Dashkov: “Russkie poklonniki v Ierusalem. Otryvok iz puteshestviia po Gretsii i Palestine v 1820 godu” (“Russian Pilgrims in Jerusalem. An Excerpt from a Journey to Greece and Palestine in 1820”)

Anyone who has never been at sea cannot readily fathom that a beautiful summer day can sometimes seem more unbearable than bad weather in winter. Yet we discovered this firsthand during the tedious crossing from Rhodes to Jaffa. A calm sea caught us unawares in view of the fortress of Castel Rosso, on the coast of Karamania, and for five whole days we could not move from this spot.⁹ Our eyes wearied from the monotony in every aspect of nature: from morning till evening the sea gleamed like a looking-glass, while the sky was cloudless. The intolerable heat and stuffiness in the cabin, the sweltering intense heat on the deck (where melting tar bubbled on the ropes and planks), [and] the mournful tap of sails on the masts aroused despondency in us and made us regret the storms we had contended with in these very same places en route from Egypt to the Morea. . . . Like those times when, after a storm of passions, in moral slumber and with disgust for whatever had previously captivated us, we regret the profound misfortunes that have shaken our existence but elevated the soul! . . . Eventually, a slight breeze helped us enter the pier at Castel-Rosso, where with difficulty we stocked up with fetid water. The fortress is built on a small precipitous island, looking as if it has been torn from the mainland, and the inhabitants must procure requisite foodstuffs from afar.

We continued to idle for more than a day opposite the southern promontory of Cyprus (Cao Gatte), waiting for a fair wind.¹⁰ A powerful sea current pulled the ship westward and carried us away from [our] desired destination. The Syrian coast did not come into view until 20 August [1820]: first, the summit of Mount Carmel appeared to the left; then, directly in front of us, the whitish seacoast of Caesarea; and to the right the range of lofty mountains near Jerusalem. With intensity and avid curiosity we gazed upon this land, so consequential in the history of mankind, rich in wonders and in monumental events, cradle of the Christian faith; the land where the legends of the Old and

New Testaments live, where every hill, every thicket, every ruin resonate with deeds of the Prophets and of celebrated heroes.

The entire area, from Sur (ancient Tyre) to Gaza, is extremely dangerous for vessels during the stormy season; and Greek sailors, excluding daring islanders from Hydra, Psara, and Spetsae, were on the whole inexperienced seafarers outside the Archipelago at that time. Fortunately, our *karavokyris* (captain of the ship), a native of Skiathos, had already brought worshipers to Jaffa on several occasions and, with firm knowledge of these parts, pledged to steer the ship to the roadstead even at night. He kept his word and at daybreak dropped anchor one or two *versts* from town.¹¹ We made it to shore with him in a small boat, maneuvering carefully between huge boulders against which the waves crashed with a roar, and went to rest at the Greek *metochion* [monastic living quarters or cloister], where the abbot received us with hospitality. With his help, we dispatched to the episcopal deputies in Jerusalem the certificate, from Most Blessed Patriarch Polykarp,¹² informing them of our visit.

Jaffa (ancient Joppa) was once a focal point of trade between Palestine, Egypt, and adjacent islands. Today, under the negligent and rapacious rule of the Turks, the wharf is covered with sand and comes to life only during the passage of pilgrims. The town is built with terraces, almost all hewn from stone, with a deep moat and a wall that abuts the sea on both sides; the streets are narrow, while the houses are unsightly and look as if they have been crushed by the flat roofs. Yet the outskirts, on the road to Jerusalem, are attractive: from the very [town] gates extend the large gardens and vineyards praised by all travelers.

We found the inhabitants [of Jaffa] in a state of confusion and fear. Abdullah, the new pasha of Damascus and Acre (Jaffa is under his jurisdiction), having disregarded the important services rendered to him by a Jew named Chaim, ordered this unfortunate soul killed and his corpse thrown into the sea: all religious believers, Greeks as well as Muslims, regretted the undeserved execution of a person who had been a benefactor to them.¹³ At the same time, a detachment of troops suddenly encircled the town of Safed, populated by Jews, and forcibly collected from them a tribute payment equivalent to a ten-year tax levy. Turks and foreign merchants did not escape abuse; European consuls, persons of little significance and timid, did not dare resist, and all authorities trembled before the new ruler, whose unlawful absolute power and rage threatened Palestine with a second Ahmet Cezzar Pasha.¹⁴ But for us these circumstances were propitious. The *mütesellim* (deputy governor) of Jaffa, afraid to cause complaints, swiftly took measures to protect us from any sort of disturbance all the way to Jerusalem and sternly prohibited Arab sheiks from demanding the customary *kafaro*, or road dues, which Russian subjects have been released [from paying] by Article Eight of the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji.¹⁵

Having procured, for a moderate price, the necessary horses and camels, we left Jaffa before evening on 22 August, accompanied by an official from the *mütesellim* and by monastic *dragomans* [interpreters], and rode past the lovely Sharon Valley to Ramleh (ancient Arimathea): we spent several hours there, waiting for the moon to appear above the horizon.¹⁶ From [Ramleh] the plain rises imperceptibly to the base of the Judean mountains, barren and inhabited by sparsely populated tribes of rapacious Arabs. Entering a gorge, we saw another aspect of nature: wild places, with almost no signs of human activity, where ruins

traced with shrubbery appear here and there on the hills, like graves from ancient times. The road, rocky and difficult, now winds along steep grades, now descends to deep hollows on the bottom of parched streams. This look of a wilderness, quite vividly and accurately portrayed by Chateaubriand . . . , imbues the soul with melancholy: there, the whistling wind and the piercing bark of jackals muffle the clamor of escorts and the clatter of horses' hoofs.¹⁷

Upon arrival in a poor Arab village, about fifteen *versts* from Jerusalem, we were stopped by order of Sheik Abu Ghush, the terror of pilgrims, with an urgent request to call on him for a rest.¹⁸ We found him in a small courtyard, sitting in the shade on bast mats and surrounded by elders of his tribe. They all received us very warmly. Abu Ghush boasted of his acquaintance with the English queen, the spouse of George IV, and with the eminent Sidney Smith, displayed the gifts he had received from them with the obvious intention of arousing our own generosity and, treating us amicably, set out to accompany the caravan beyond the village.¹⁹ He sat on a splendid horse and rode it with remarkable agility; while descending the Terebinth Valley, he rushed at full tilt down the precipitous slope, not reeling in the saddle and ceaselessly urging on the horse with wide and sharp spurs.²⁰ Bidding farewell, he promised to visit us in al-Quds, vowed never to harass Russian travelers, and asked us to put in a kind word for him with the dreaded pasha of Damascus and Acre.²¹

It is impossible to imagine anything more desolate than the environs of Jerusalem: mountains, precipices, ravines without greenery, nearly treeless, everywhere blanketed with round stones; it appeared as if a shower of stones had fallen from the sky upon this ungodly land. Around midday, exhausted by the intense heat, we ascended a height and saw before us a line of crenellated walls and towers, surrounded by neither settlements nor scattered huts and looking as if they were stirring slightly in the middle of the desert. Upon first glance at these ancient ramparts—the city of David, Herod, and Godfrey of Bouillon—thousands of recollections, one more vivid than another, one more holy than another, press against the heart.²² Let cold-hearted minds deride the raptures of worshipers! Here, at the foot of Zion, everyone is a Christian, everyone a believer, who has but retained an ardent heart and a love for the majestic!

Notified in advance from Jaffa, Greek monks met us at the western gate (Bab al-Khalil), welcoming us on behalf of the second episcopal deputy, Procopius (the chief deputy, the archbishop of Arabian Petra, was visiting his diocese at that time), and took us to the monastic house set aside for us near the patriarchate and the Church of the Resurrection [Church of the Holy Sepulcher].²³ They provided us with the greatest possible aid and comfort in this hospitable refuge, and in absolute freedom we devoted ourselves to worshiping sacred places and to seeing every noteworthy site in and around the city.

I will not begin to relate what has already been described countless times by erudite and perceptive travelers, about which so many have argued and continue to argue, expounding differently the tales of the ancients. Every pace in the new [city of] Jerusalem is measured; but the extent of the old city is still subject to question, and the whereabouts of some spots, mentioned in the Old Testament and the Gospels, have not been satisfactorily determined. We know that the new city encompasses only a portion of the former [city], destroyed by Titus in 71 A.D. [the destruction actually occurred in 70 A.D.]. Flavius Josephus . .

. asserts that the circumference of the walls comprised thirty-three stadia [somewhat more than 6.5 miles]; today it contains, according to the testimony of Maundrell, only 4,630 standard paces, or around three *versts*.²⁴ Some critics, trying to reconcile on-site observations with the text of the Jewish historian, reduce the dimensions of his stadia; others simply accuse him of inaccuracy and exaggeration—though experience has proven that one should never be so quick to criticize ancient writers and that the most recent exact surveys have often corroborated their information, which had seemed like fables to us. The inquisitive can get an idea of the debates, upon which are based the various opinions of scholars on the location of Mount Zion, Golgotha, and related sites, having read the essay by d’Anville . . . and the article by Ritter.²⁵ . . . Chateaubriand accepts the authority of the former in everything.²⁶ Eschewing pointless repetitions, I shall offer Russian readers some personal observations on the current state of the major places of worship and on the life of our compatriots [Russian pilgrims] in Jerusalem.

The foremost sacred place for Christians, the Lord’s Tomb, is located within the walls of the vast Church of the Resurrection, founded by St. Helen around 326. In vain were doubts raised about the authenticity of this monument: a great many compelling proofs attest that Christians, in the course of the first three centuries [of the faith], preserved accurate knowledge about the site of the Savior’s suffering and burial. [The early Christians], in the words of Gibbon, “marked the scene of every memorable event, in accordance with indisputable legend.”²⁷ A fire in October 1807 [the fire actually occurred in September 1808] destroyed nearly half the church. The Tomb remained unharmed; but the cedar dome of the church, engulfed in flame, fell on the stone cast aside [by an angel] at the resurrection and smashed it to bits; the Greek *Katholikon* (chapel) and the adjoining side-altars burned down. Western Europe, which once shed rivers of blood for the possession of this sanctuary, indifferently looked upon its ruins. Some of the Greeks, in servitude and oppression, collected nearly seven million *lev*²⁸ (more than 4.5 million rubles), purchased the Porte’s permission for the price of gold, and restored the entire edifice on its former foundations, under the supervision of a mere *kalfa*, or apprentice. Old men, children, and women toiled with zeal, and many to this day take comfort in the memory that they hauled earth during the construction of the church. These offerings, along with other favorable circumstances, gained for our coreligionists the right to celebrate the divine liturgy at the Holy Sepulcher: a right confirmed by the *hatti-shefir* [edict] of Sultan Mahmud II [r. 1808-39], but still disputed by the Catholics.

Upon entering the church, a worshiper with indignation sees a Turkish guard greedily sizing up the arrivals for collecting the fixed tax. His superior, as a sign of respect, often walks in front of them even to the altar, points out the holy sites with a *chibouk* [tobacco pipe with long stem], or disperses the throngs of people with a lash! . . . About forty steps from the doors, in the middle of the majestic rotunda, an edicule (*kouvouklion*) [baldachin or canopied altar] of yellowish marble is raised over the Tomb of Christ and faces eastward: inside [the edicule] one at first comes across the chapel of the Angel and then the narrow grotto where, according to ancient custom, the body [of Christ] was placed on a large stone, in the very mound that is illuminated and covered today by a marble slab. Thirty-six icon-lamps, from the cupola opening above, burn over it day and

night. The offertory is performed on this imperishable sacrificial altar; and at the start of the liturgy, the vessels are brought to the chapel, where part of the stone cast aside by the Angel serves as a communion table. The walls of the edicule, outside and inside, are adorned with fabrics: the occasion for many quarrels between the various denominations!

At every step in this church, a believer finds traces of the magnificent act of redemption. Here, Christ was shackled and bound to the pillar;²⁹ here, he appeared after the resurrection to Mary Magdalene and (if one is to believe legend) to the grieving Holy Mother; here, his cross was discovered. There, the stone of unction, on which his body was anointed with fragrances and wrapped in a shroud; the chapels of the mocking (*impropere*), of the division of the raiment, of the good thief, of Centurion Longinus;³⁰ [and] the tombs of Joseph [of Arimathea] and Nicodemus. Overhead, at Golgotha, two small communion tables signify where they nailed Christ to the tree [cross] and where it was raised. Below, the descent to the cave, in which Empress Helen found the cross, excavating the blocked up foot of the hill. . . . In vain did Emperor Hadrian [r. 117-38 A.D.], during the time of persecution, try to appropriate these sites for idolatry, erecting a statue of Venus at Golgotha and [a statue] of Jupiter over the Lord's Tomb. These idols did not consign the sacred objects of worship to oblivion, but all the more preserved their remembrance until the arrival in Jerusalem of the pious empress, who secured the mark of the Christian faith on the ruins of paganism.

Compact houses and an edifice that belongs to the Greek monastery press upon the outer walls of the church. The church previously had two entrances; one, however, on the northern side, has been walled up: only the southern gates, known as the holy doors, remain. [Designated] Turks keep the keys and unlock the doors only in the presence of the *mütevelli* (overseer), appointed by the pasha of Damascus and Acre, and of the *dragomans* for the Greek, Catholic, and Armenian religious communities. Inhabitants of the city and worshipers of all denominations then proceed to make the rounds of the various chapels without any restriction, but they are not allowed to conduct services in portions that belong to other faiths. Several [pilgrims], obtaining permission from the religious authorities, spend some time inside the church with monks and priests who take turns, and together with them receive victuals through small openings in the doors and in the vault over the main Greek altar.

And we, too, spent several days, for me unforgettable, in this holy solitude. All of the surroundings awakened ineffable feelings in my soul. Often, in the dead of night, when monks accustomed to this spectacle slept peacefully in cells, I stood, leaning on a pillar, in the middle of the spacious church. Cupolas, galleries, and the entire Greek *Katholikon*, all the way to the altar, were shrouded in darkness; but the sacred monuments appeared as if enveloped by rows of inextinguishable icon-lamps and resembled shining oases in a dark thicket. The ancient past was resurrected in my imagination: the sufferings of the Righteous One; the source of life, emanating from here, when the inscribed tablets of Moses [Mosaic law] gave way to the New Testament; the triumph of the Crusaders, genuflecting before the magnificent tomb delivered by their swords; and the crowning of the hero-leader with a diadem of thorn. I looked at the grave of Godfrey, and Tasso's inspired canto rang in my ear.³¹ Toward morning these reveries were cut short by the ringing of a church bell in the wooden belfry; priests

and deacons flickered by like phantoms, with burning censers in their hands; chants from the gathered worshipers blended with the sound of organs; and praise to God rose up in different languages, with different rites, but in a single church. . . .

All the places of worship are divided among the Greeks, the Catholics, and the [Monophysite] Armenians. The Copts have only one altar, affixed to the edicule over the Tomb; and the Syrians (Nestorians), the Georgians, the Abyssinians, and the Maronites . . . have been removed by force from the church, or have voluntarily conceded their rights to other [religious] communities.³² Each [denomination] adorns its property as it desires; but in those areas jointly controlled by two sects, the number of icons and icon-lamps has been set once and for all with the consent of the Turks. The sequence of services and rites has likewise been determined at great length by special regulations—and ever since then an immediate cause for discord among Jerusalem’s Christians has ceased. Mutual vexations still linger in hearts, and gold brought for the decoration of the church is still squandered in Acre, Damascus, and Tsargrad [Constantinople] in order to harm rivals. At least the heads of the clergy, not passing up a chance to accuse each other of daily insults, try not to let monks take part in public and sordid quarrels, which formerly happened at the Holy Sepulcher, to the sorrow of coreligionists.

The malice originates in the deep-rooted resentment of each denomination toward another and in the desire to exert exclusive control over the places where the blood of the Savior was shed for everyone. Ever since the division of the Roman church from the church in Constantinople, a spirit of meekness and love has rarely governed their relations. In the eyes of the Crusaders, the Greeks were almost worse than the worshipers of Mohammad; in the eyes of the Greeks, the Catholics did not have the right to be called Christian.³³ The spite inherited by [Catholics and Greeks] has not subsided even today, particularly in numerous seaside towns and on islands, subject to the Porte, where some of the inhabitants have embraced Roman [Catholic] doctrines. A Catholic who converts to Orthodoxy is subjected to a second baptism by the Greeks. On the other hand, a Catholic who has married an Orthodox woman must be divorced from her: this is what European clergy, born in the land of enlightenment and tolerance, preached in Smyrna in 1817! “Of such wrath are the gods?”³⁴

As for the Holy Sepulcher, both sides base their claims on official documents of various caliphs and sultans, from Umar [caliph, 634-44] to Mahmud II. The Greeks want equality, but the Catholics—dominance, contending that this sacred spot is their property and that its custody belongs solely to them. Until the renovation of the “great church” (*i megali ekklesia*, as the Greeks call the Church of the Resurrection), the Catholics did not permit the Orthodox to conduct services at the edicule and, even after the *hatti-sherif* issued in 1815, attempted to retrieve their lost advantages by utilizing the influence of their envoys at the Porte. A shortage of money and a dispute that broke out with the Armenians over the Church of the Nativity [in Bethlehem] compelled them to leave the Greeks in peace and to comply with the given situation. By virtue of this [arrangement], the Greeks and the Catholics take turns washing and sweeping the edicule and the stone of unction; they have an equal number of icons, icon-lamps, and candlesticks and an equal right to decorate the walls with coverings. The

Armenians are deprived of most of these privileges: they have only an icon above the doors and several icon-lamps. In all religious rites, they occupy third place.

The four-cornered stone columns, encircling the edicule, and the upper and lower galleries are also apportioned among the denominations. The southern part of Golgotha belongs to the Catholics, while the Greeks have obtained from the Georgians the northern portion, where the cross was raised. As for the site of its discovery, the grotto itself, narrow and permeated with dampness, it is still in dispute among [the sects]. The former [the Catholics] do not allow other denominations to arrange icon-lamps here, while the latter [the Greeks] complain about the deliberate damage to marble slabs placed there by the Orthodox.³⁵

But, censuring justifiably these feuds, we maintain that the mode of eastern [Ottoman] judicial proceedings contributes a great deal to their continuation. The verdicts of *kadis* [Muslim judges] are based almost always on the testimonies of witnesses, especially of Muslims: and that is why each litigant tries to win over to his side the church guards and Jerusalem's notables.³⁶ To convince them that a law is beyond question, custom and long standing are essential; in the eyes of the Turks, both are more important than lifeless official documents. For example (according to their notions), the edicule is controlled by whichever [denomination] sweeps and decorates it: knowing this, each [sect] is afraid to yield to a rival and resists adamantly the smallest change. Moreover, the pashas, *mütesellims* [deputy governors], and *kadis* constantly nourish hostility among the Christians for their own interests. Today protecting certain [groups], tomorrow they promise others staunch intercession and rejoice in the rise of complaints and denunciations. In 1819, the pasha of Damascus, the chief authority over Jerusalem, allowed the Armenians, for sixty thousand *lev*, to cut a doorway near their altar in the Bethlehem church, to the great annoyance of the Catholics: and the latter were offered a chance, for a lower price, to rescind the granted permission. They did not pay [the pasha] the requested fee—and so the door remained open. During the next year, setting up camp outside the walls of the city with a caravan headed for Mecca, he exacted from the Armenians another thirty thousand *lev* and for a second time proposed to the Catholics the very same conditions. . . . If it is true that laws and governments shape the morality of people everywhere, then an impartial observer must look to the spirit of Turkish rule to find fault for the vices he condemns.

It is hard to calculate the cost to Jerusalem's Christians for the sham tolerance of the Porte and for the indulgence of local authorities. Based on information we gathered, the Greeks spent around fifty thousand *lev* on presents in the course of only a single month, August 1820. We should add to this [sum] basic expenses for church building, for the [Jerusalem] patriarchate, and for similar purposes—and we affirm that rumors of secret monastic riches, supposedly increasing every year through lavish offerings, are just as mythical as the tale of Abulkazem's inexhaustible treasury in Arabian stories.³⁷ On the contrary, at the time of our visit, monks of all denominations were reduced to extremity. The Catholics, seldom encountering Latin pilgrims and receiving very meager assistance from Rome, unexpectedly lost [income from] the large estates in Spain seized by the *cortes* [representative assemblies]. The Greeks were barely able to pay their debts and to support themselves with the revenues from lands and monasteries, outside Palestine, that belong to the Holy Sepulcher and with

the offerings from Orthodox worshipers. Even the Armenians, the wealthiest of all Eastern Christians, were nearly ruined after the misfortune which befell their coreligionist *sarafs* (bankers) in Constantinople in 1819, some of whom were executed while others were sentenced to captivity by edict of the sultan.

We shall return to our report. Several ruins to the southeast of the great church denote the road of suffering (*via dolorosa*)³⁸ along which the Savior trod from the Pretorium to Golgotha: citing testimony of the holy fathers and other writers, one finds there the houses of Pilate and of the pious woman Veronica, the dwelling of the evil rich man, the place where the Holy Mother met her Son carrying the cross, [and] the gate of judgment which sentenced criminals to death outside the city walls. But ancient legends are incomplete regarding [the Way of the Cross]: they need to be augmented by tales from *mirhadjis* (guides) and by the imagination of worshipers. We thus mention the houses of high priests Annas and Caiaphas, of SS. Joachim and Anne, the prison of Apostle Peter, and so on. Time, the myriad captivities of Jerusalem, and the oppressive Muslim yoke have erased nearly all traces of these secondary monuments of Christianity.

On the site where, according to general opinion, Apostle James was sentenced to death, there stands a magnificent cloister, owned in turn by the Georgians, the Greeks, and the Armenians. The last [of these sects] (so they say) seized it by force during the patriarchate of Paisios. Today [this monastery] is under the authority of a separate Armenian patriarch, who is subject neither to the [catholicus-patriarch] of Echmiadzin nor to the [patriarch] of Constantinople.³⁹ Only through offerings have the Greeks been able to retain possession of their major monastery, for them all the more important because of its proximity to the Church of the Resurrection. The episcopal deputies reside here, and pilgrims are welcomed during the initial days of [their] arrival: small churches and cells are scattered about, in no particular order, amid open vestibules and passageways; and nearby are granaries for feeding the many monks and Orthodox Arabs.⁴⁰

The Catholic convent of the Franks is controlled by the Franciscan Order. Its abbot is officially recognized as the guardian of the Holy Sepulcher [on behalf of the Catholics] and usually replaced every three years.⁴¹

Of the ancient edifices within the walls [of Jerusalem], the curiosity of travelers is especially drawn to the fortified bastion, supposedly the home of David, and to the renowned mosque of Umar. The former, according to the opinion of d'Anville, is situated on the same spot where the Citadel of the king-psalmist [David], and subsequently the Psephinus Tower, once stood and where, at sunrise, one could see all the way to the borders of Arabia, to the sea, and to the furthest edge of the land of Judea.⁴² . . . The view from the present-day stronghold encompasses all of the environs: in between and beyond the tops of the nearby stony hills another mountain range rises up, just as barren, on which the remains of old towers and fallen minarets are visible.

The mosque [Dome of the Rock] was built on Mount Moriah, separated from Zion by a deep hollow—on the very foundations of the Temple of Solomon, restored by Zerubbabel [in 520 B.C.] and ultimately destroyed by Titus. Ruins enveloped this site during the persecution of the Apostolic church, and also during its triumph. When [Caliph] Umar captured Jerusalem and sought a place to begin construction of his mosque, Greek patriarch Sophronios [634-38], fearing the loss of the Lord's Tomb, pointed the conqueror to Moriah. Caliph al-Walid ibn Abd al-

Malik [r. 705-15] completed the structure, a masterpiece of art, resembling (says Chateaubriand) a tent pitched in the middle of the desert. Christians are strictly forbidden to enter: any attempt would expose a European to great danger, and a Turkish subject—to certain execution, unless he converts. In the year before our arrival [1819], an unfortunate Greek [went] there, disguised as a prominent official of the pasha of Damascus; but later he paid for this with his life, since he did not want to save himself by apostatizing.⁴³

The southern part of Mount Zion, formerly within the walls, today lies outside the city. The Last Supper took place there; the tombs of David and Solomon are also there, in a mosque, where the Turks do not allow believers of different faiths. On the same hill lies the cemetery for Jerusalem's Christians of all denominations (pilgrims are buried in Potter's Field), while at the foot of the slope, spouting from stone, is the pool of Siloam, evoked by the poet of *Paradise Lost* when summoning the celestial Muse:

... if Sion hill
Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flow'd
Fast by the oracle of God.⁴⁴

The Valley of Jehoshaphat, covered in ruins, separates the Mount of Olives, shaded in places with olive trees, from Zion and Moriah. A turbid stream, supposedly the brook of Kedron, flows in the middle of the valley during rainy season; but it dries up altogether in summer and fall. The masterly pen of Chateaubriand vividly depicted this thicket where, according to the prophet Joel, at some point the entire human race will be assembled for judgment:

The stones in the cemetery of the Jews are piled up, like a heap of fragments, at the base of the settlement of Siloam; it is difficult to distinguish the huts themselves from the graves that surround them. Three ancient monuments tower above this field of destruction, the tombs of Zechariah, Jehoshaphat, and Absalom. Before one's eyes lies sad Jerusalem, over which the slightest smoke is not visible [and] from which not a sound is heard; gazing at the desolation of the mountains, where there is no living creature, and at all those graves in disorder, broken, smashed to bits, ajar, one might think that the sound of a trumpet has already resounded, calling to judgment, and that the dead are ready to rise from the valley.⁴⁵

The site of the Lord's ascension is thought to be on the middle summit of the Mount of Olives. The remains of a splendid church, erected in the time of Constantine [d. 337], have been turned into a mosque. [This prompts] an observation that from time immemorial Muslims have appropriated for themselves all the heights around the city. They believe that during the final days of the world, the wild [warrior tribes] Gog and Magog will besiege the prophet Jesus Christ in Jerusalem and occupy the adjacent mountains: from [the summits] they will fling shafts that strike the heads of the impudent, staining them with blood.

Returning from [the Mount of Olives] to the gates of Gethsemane and descending the valley all the way to the brook of Kedron, worshipers with zeal visit the Tomb of the Holy Mother, located in a grotto. The Orthodox and the

Armenians celebrate the liturgy at this shrine; the Catholics do not have this right. When the enmity among Christians of the East ceases, the first pledge of mutual tolerance and peace will be their equal participation in a service at this sacred place, revered by all the sects. . . .

A detailed account of Jerusalem's famous sites can be found in every travelogue, from the fourth century . . . to the present.⁴⁶ All the information is similar, and recent travelers repeat what was said before, most likely unintentionally. Relying on them, I shall add a few words about the location of the Savior's birth, respected even by Muslims.

The road to Bethlehem lies due south past Mount Zion and the Greek Monastery of Elijah the Prophet. In the valleys one comes across sown fields and vineyards; traces of age-old industriousness are visible on the stony hills, notched with terraces for the planting of vines and fig trees.

The large [Church of the Nativity] in Bethlehem, built in a cruciform shape, was once quite splendid; four rows of marble pillars of rare beauty are still intact at the altar. [The church] belongs to the Greeks and the Armenians. Latin monks in vain request a portion of it for themselves, since it is impossible to consider an ordinary shrine as a common place of worship, such as the Lord's Tomb or Golgotha. Along the sides of the main altar, two staircases lead to the Holy Nativity; there, on the eastern wall, marked by a silver star, where the Christ Child was born, a communion table is set up for the Orthodox and the Armenians to celebrate the mass. The manger stood nearby, in a spacious hollow, where today there is a Catholic altar. The entire grotto is lined with precious marble and illuminated by icon-lamps, with each denomination having its own fixed number.

Bethlehem's Arabs have partially converted to the Christian faith; but this has not mollified their harsh customs. They make a good bit of money, fashioning from bone and mother-of-pearl the rosaries and crosses that are bought up by devout visitors.

In general, the arrival of worshipers in Jerusalem coincides with the harvest season for local inhabitants. Only this animates a land, for a long time now not flowing with milk and honey, where agriculture is in decline and there is no industry, where the population has fallen victim to robbery and to all sorts of violence, where, eventually, according to the words of Chateaubriand, "each village dies off annually hut by hut and family by family, and soon only a cemetery marks the site of a previous settlement."

The Greeks and the Armenians visit the holy places more than [other denominations]. The zeal of the former is worthy of special amazement; the faith, having preserved their existence as a nation, has been a major consolation for them in servitude. They gathered from everywhere, without distinction of gender and age; fathers of families brought to Palestine the fruit of many years' hard work, leaving children in need; old men, fortified by desire (like the aged worshiper in the beautiful sonnet by Petrarch: "An old man white as snow set out on the road"),⁴⁷ dragged themselves along on crutches to the tomb of the being, whose presence they hoped to receive in heaven. Many, having kept their vow, devoted the remainder of life to religious worship in church. The number of Orthodox pilgrims, before 1821, sometimes reached about three thousand—among them were around two hundred Russians.

Our embassy [in Istanbul] did its utmost to afford the greatest possible assistance and protection to our compatriots in Ottoman domains. [Russian pilgrims] usually embarked from Odessa in late August and upon arrival in Constantinople stayed [in a specially designated spot] out of doors, where they were not subjected to the plague or to insults from the Turkish mob; the poor received monetary help. The envoy notified the patriarch of the Holy City about [the pilgrims'] accommodation, free of charge, on a ship that departed every year in early September with worshipers; in addition to passports, [the envoy] issued to them *firmans* (edicts of the sultan) that exempted Russian subjects from any tax during the journey and at the Church [of the Resurrection], where other Christians are required to pay around twenty-four *lev* [apiece] for entry. In Jaffa, received as guests in the Greek *metochion* [monastic residence or cloister], they were pleased with everything, provided customarily at the monastery's expense: for this [hospitality] they left the abbot a small donation.

Many trekked on foot from [Jaffa], while the wealthy and the infirm were able to rent saddle-horses for a low price.⁴⁸ On reaching Jerusalem, they spent the first few days at the patriarchate and gave contributions to the church treasury, however much they wanted; but those who desired to enter the names of their relatives in a remembrance book for eternal prayer for the dead paid fifty *lev* or more for each [name], depending on their means. They then selected for themselves cells in various cloisters for the entire winter. Rent and food, the most moderate, cost from one hundred fifty to two hundred *lev*.

In anticipation of Lent, pilgrims visited the closest places of worship, in Bethlehem, Bethany, Nazareth, and other towns. Some even traveled to Mount Sinai, via Gaza and Suez.

The throng of people in Jerusalem grows with the approach of Easter. Armenians and Asiatic Greeks gather in droves from Karamania, Syria, and Egypt; Georgians are also with them. The entire city comes to life, especially on Holy Saturday, when the holy fire makes its appearance.⁴⁹ After the holy days, the *mütesellim* and a detachment of troops accompany the worshipers to Jericho and the Jordan River; and shortly afterwards they return to their native land via the route they came. Passage from Jaffa to Constantinople, on a good ship and with necessary provisions, costs around a hundred *lev*.

Adding to this estimate another one hundred eighty or two hundred *lev* for offerings to various monasteries and churches during the entire stay in Palestine, for the rental of horses, and for other small items, we deduce that the essential expenses for our pilgrims did not exceed five hundred rubles. But many of them arrived without any money whatsoever and had to attend to monks or seek alms near the gates of the patriarchate, where they are never denied food. For donations to these needy pilgrims, and also for their supervision, a special official with the rank of vice-consul has been dispatched to Jaffa. . . . The events of 1821 have impeded the success of this endeavor [pilgrimage to Jerusalem] and made the voyage to the Holy Sepulcher difficult for Russians.⁵⁰

Jews, no less than Christians, are eager to visit the land of their ancestors, though they know in advance what oppression awaits them there. They pay dearly for permission to enter Jerusalem and still more dearly for a plot of land in the Valley of Jehoshaphat for a future grave. Their sufferings and poverty do not arouse pity in anyone; they are held in equal disdain by Greeks, Arabs, and Turks.

Among the ruins of their capital, amid recollections of ancient independence and glory, this unfortunate people with amazing submissiveness bears unending insults even from children. Our acquaintance, Sheik Abu Ghush, not understanding how Jews could be subjects of the Muscovite *padishah* [sultan], said, "I am glad to welcome in my land thousands of Russian worshipers, but my heart bursts with exasperation when a single *chifut* (*zhid*) [Jew] arrives duty-free. . . ." Held in such disparagement, [Jewish visitors] console themselves with the view of Zion and with the steadfast hope for a King-Savior!

The permanent residents of Jerusalem are thought to be around thirteen thousand, of whom the large part are Arabs who believe in the Muslim faith;⁵¹ among them, however, are some Christians. These persons, on the whole, are quite poor and live on alms from Greek and Catholic monasteries.

All of the town administration is in the hands of the Turks. We noted above that Jerusalem is under the jurisdiction of the pasha of Damascus [and Acre]; the duty from pilgrims for access to the Holy Sepulcher belongs to the pasha . . . [but] is collected by his *mütevelli*.⁵² This odd arrangement is highly detrimental to European monks, since it exposes them to a double oppression and undermines the entreaty of consuls who reside in Acre and Jaffa. The *mütesellim* is appointed from Damascus, and the *mullah* (supreme judge) directly from Constantinople: the latter enjoys great respect.

Before leaving this memorable land, we wanted to see the Jordan River and the Dead Sea. We knew that in summer predatory Arabs migrate with their flocks from the river to the mountaintops and that the road is less dangerous than in spring. We were also assured of this by the esteemed archbishop of Petra, who had recently returned from his diocese, but he advised that we request escorts from the Turkish authorities. Everything was arranged as we wished.

On 7 September, we were met by several persons from the *mütesellim's* guard, including his chief of police, all on magnificent horses. [Also accompanying us] were a monastic *dragoman* and two sheiks from the Arab tribes that had migrated beyond the Jordan River. Waiting until the intense midday heat had passed, we set out on the road near Gethsemane, on the right-hand side of the Mount of Olives; in the evening we stopped to rest at a well outside an abandoned caravanseraï. Here, three or four months before our arrival, a young Englishman, who had no one with him except a manservant and a janissary, had been robbed. Defending himself stubbornly, he wounded one of the brigands with a saber and as punishment received the exact same wound from them: an example of justice, worthy of these primitive sons of nature [*dikikh synov prirody*]! From there we traveled across slopes and ravines to a large plain surrounding Jericho, and by midnight we reached the pitiful remains of this once renowned town.

The local *aga* [title for a minor military or administrative official] amicably ordered us to his residence—a tower, where peasants with their herds seek shelter from rapacious forays. [Our] supper and lodging were on the overhead landing under the open sky. At dawn everything around us came to life: the escorts hastened to saddle the horses, while we marveled at the lovely views from our lofty bedroom. Trees and shrubs turned green in the valley, [and] wild boars roamed cultivated fields all the way to huts. On the other side of the Jordan River,

a large forest cast dark shadows; and directly in front of us, between two rows of mountains, the Dead Sea brilliantly reflected the rays of the rising sun. Legends of sacred antiquity framed a picture of rural life. A majestic Arab, a descendant of Ishmael, half-naked, with a long gun across the shoulders, drove goats and sheep to pasture near the stream made famous by the miracle of the prophet Elijah; others dug garden beds, perhaps at the spot where Rahab's house stood and where the Levites carried the Ark of the Covenant during the destruction of Jericho. . . . While leaving the town, we came across women walking with earthenware pitchers on their heads to fetch water, [wearing] dark blue, loose-fitting garments, and with veils folded back; our approach did not alarm them. One word, *hadji* (pilgrim), satisfied the curiosity of everyone and put an end to any questions.

The broad plain separating the Jericho oasis from the Jordan River resembles the bottom of a sea forsaken by the waves; tamarinds, which ordinarily grow along brooks, and prickly blackthorn can be seen here and there near sandy knolls. A great many monasteries and *skity* (*eremitoria graciosa*) [pious hermitages] were located in this wilderness during the days of Christian rule; traces of them are barely visible today. The site of the Savior's baptism, according to the Greeks, is five or six *verst*s from the ruins of the cloister of St. Gerasimos:⁵³ upon reaching it, we descended a precipitous bank, with reeds and small shrubs scattered below, and waded to the opposite, more sloped shore.

The upper reaches of the Jordan lie at the foot of the wooded Hermon and Anti-Lebanon mountains: from there the river courses southward in a straight line, passes through Lake Tiberias (Gennesaret), and, like a chain, connects it to the Dead Sea. In summer this celebrated river is no wider than ten *sazhens* [around 21 meters]⁵⁴ and of medium depth, but it flows with remarkable swiftness along the stony bottom; when the snows of Lebanon begin to melt, it runs twice as fast. We bathed in [the river] and then, following custom, filled our *chotry* (flat traveling utensils) with some of its turbid but pleasant water.⁵⁵ Worshipers who are not satisfied with this [ritual] also soak sheets here and are then supposed to use them as a burial shroud.

The brooks flowing into the Jordan for the most part dry up in the hot weather; the surrounding sands are completely parched. [The river's] estuary is marked on the surface of the Dead Sea by a long streak—as if the waters, sacred from earliest times, petrify when they join the accursed waves of the lake that inundated Sodom and Gomorrah. In the past people thought that [the river] continued its course underground and merged with the Nile in Egypt or the Pharro [Euphrates] in Syria.⁵⁶ . . . But along with other proof refuting this opinion, we know from the evidence of eyewitnesses that the Dead Sea rises and falls depending on the rise and fall of the Jordan.

The river bends to the left not far from the estuary, and only the tops of shrubs reveal its direction; we set out straight ahead, without any road, along shifting sand snow-white from its coat of salt. The heat was unbearable. The sun glowed in the impenetrable scorching sky as at sunset. On one side, the range of Arabian mountains—a steep wall without distinct peaks, without teeth and ridges—extends along the lake like an immeasurable border. On the other, by the magical play of nature, the chalky hills display pitched tents, small fortresses, and towers adorned with cornices. Everything here is unlike any other place on earth.

Even in the plains of the Sahara, the proximity of water changes the aspect of nature: moisture penetrates the desiccated gravel and blankets it with green grass; the putrid air becomes pure; living creatures find refuge in palm groves; and the barren desert is transformed into a flowering oasis—the image of paradise. On the contrary, the environs of the Dead Sea are desolate and deprived of any vestiges of life: no coolness or freshness; no wild animals, birds, or plants; shriveled trees, uprooted along the bank, washed ashore by a wave from the eastern edge or perhaps by the Jordan during a flood. The water is clear, but saturated with bitter salts. It is difficult to believe what Pococke⁵⁷ and Chateaubriand heard from a monk and from some Bethlehem Arabs, that fish abound in [the sea]: the guides told us that even those approaching by chance from the river die immediately.

The Dead Sea (in Arabic Bahr al-Lut, or the Sea of Lot) extends nearly seventy-five *versts* in length and about twenty *versts* in width; Seetzen surmises that its circumference can be traversed in a five-day journey.⁵⁸ This most recent traveler, and as far back as Abbot Daniil who visited the Monastery of St. Sabas,⁵⁹ collected fairly elaborate information on [the sea's] southern tip, partly confirmed for us by inhabitants of Jerusalem who had traveled to Petra. It indeed terminates in a narrow bay, which in summer can be crossed by wading up to the knee. The strange sight of salt clumps, discarded by the lake, of course gave cause for the oft-repeated story of worshipers having seen the pillar [that had once been] Lot's wife. As for the famous fruit of Sodom, no one agrees with the opinion of Chateaubriand. The blackened, bitter seeds from the small lemons he found do not resemble ashes, and on the whole his account does not correspond with our notion of the deceptive apple, ripe on the outside, rotten inside—like the joys of the world, remarks one traveler.

We spent the night again in Jericho and on the next day returned to Jerusalem along a new route, by way of the Monastery of St. Sabas. A deep ravine known as the Valley of Sorrow extends all the way from the stream of Kedron to the Dead Sea: along [the ravine's] parched bottom we approached the cloister, built with terraces on a terrifying steep slope, and climbed upward, quaking involuntarily at each turn. The entire structure is enveloped by high walls and looks more like a fortified castle than a sanctuary for peaceful monks. Following the abbot along steps carved into the stone, we venerated the relics of the holy fathers, persecuted by infidels, and the tomb of St. Sabas; we saw the cave of this devout toiler and the date palm tree he himself had planted. At the highest point stand two four-cornered turrets used by the monks as watchtowers. The neighboring hills are hollowed out with a great many caves where nearly ten thousand anchorites once lived.

[The monks] also showed us the opening, from which they distribute bread daily to Arabs who have migrated not far from here. A long time ago (so they maintain), Greek emperors assigned this tribe to the monastery for service, which explains why they received food from it: nowadays, however, they demand it with threats, as though it were tribute that belongs to them; mothers bring newborn infants to the opening and take leftovers for them. In the event of a quarrel with the monks, these half-primitive Muslims [*poludikie musul'mane*] lay siege to [the monastery] and cut off communication with Jerusalem.

While visiting the monasteries of Palestine, we did not forget to examine their libraries—although the lack of success of our investigations on Mount Athos gave us little hope for here. The patriarchate has some manuscripts: but all are prayer-books, Lives of the Fathers, and works of the church fathers. Official documents, relating to the customs of the Greeks, were sent to Constantinople a long time ago; other records we saw are interesting only because they supplement the sad picture of abuses endured by the Christians of Jerusalem.

On 14 September, the day of the Exaltation of the Cross, we venerated for the last time the Lord's Tomb and all the sacred objects in the great church. The archbishop of Gethsemane celebrated the liturgy at Golgotha; later a ceremonial procession began from the Greek *Katholikon* to the grotto of St. Helen. The hierarch held upright the silver Crucifix that contained part of the Life-giving tree [cross]; behind him the procession carried banners, crosses, icons; people covered the steps of the staircases with green branches and flowers. During the service the symbol of salvation was thrice raised at the very place of its discovery.

On the same day, we bid farewell to the gracious episcopal deputies and, hiring escorts from the *mütesellim* for the journey to Acre, left the Holy City. . . .

NOTES

1. For the extensive travel literature on Palestine, see Theofanis G. Stavrou and Peter R. Weisensel, *Russian Travelers to the Christian East from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries* (Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1986). For the larger story of Imperial Russia's activities in Palestine, see Theofanis G. Stavrou, *Russian Interests in Palestine: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1963); Derek Hopwood, *The Russian Presence in Syria and Palestine, 1843-1914: Church and Politics in the Near East* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); and Stephen K. Batalden and Michael D. Palma, "Orthodox Pilgrimage and Russian Landholding in Jerusalem: The British Colonial Record," in *Seeking God: The Recovery of Religious Identity in Orthodox Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia*, ed. Stephen K. Batalden (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1993), 251-63. See also the publication by Nikolai N. Lisovoi, *Russkoe dukhovnoe i politichskoe prisutsvie v Sviatoi Zemle i na Blizhnem Vostoke v XIX-nachale XX v.* (Moscow: Indrik, 2006).
2. A resource aide, drawing upon Russian records and reports, would sharpen our view of various aspects of Imperial Russia's involvement in the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions and in the wider Eastern Question. Worthy models to emulate are the useful compendia of sources on Ottoman Greece by neohellenist Richard Clogg, ed., *The Movement for Greek Independence, 1770-1821: A Collection of Documents* (London: Macmillan, 1976), and on Ottoman Turkey by Middle East scholar Charles Issawi, ed., *The Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). See also the two-volume collection of resources edited by Nikolai N. Lisovoi, *Rossiiia v Sviatoi Zemle: Dokumenty i materialy* (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 2000).
3. On Dashkov's inspection of consulates, as well as his sundry writings and memoranda on Near Eastern affairs, see my book, *Russian-Ottoman Relations in the Levant: The Dashkov Archive*, Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs, no. 10 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2002), largely based on Dashkov's personal *fond* in the Russian State Historical Archive, St. Petersburg. This publication includes my translations of selected passages from Dashkov's

- Palestine report (106-12). Excerpts can also be found in my, "The Holy Places: A Russian Travel Perspective," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 49, 3 (2005): 271-96; "Landscape of the Levant: A Russian View," *Chronos* 10 (2004): 49-67; and "Romanticism and Russian Travel Literature: Dashkov's Tour of Ottoman Palestine," *Canadian American Slavic Studies* 38, 4 (2004): 431-42.
4. Dashkov published the following pieces in *Severnye tsvety* (Northern Flowers): "Afonkaia gora. Otryvok iz puteshestviia po Gretsii v 1820 godu" (1825): 119-61, with descriptions of the monasteries on Mount Athos, the fount of Orthodox spirituality; "Izvestiia o grecheskikh i latinskikh rukopisiakh v seral'skoi biblioteke" (1825): 162-65, and "Eshche neskol'ko slov o seral'skoi biblioteke" (1826): 283-96, on Latin and Greek manuscripts in the Topkapi Library, Istanbul; and "Russkie poklonniki v Ierusalime. Otryvok iz puteshestviia po Gretsii i Palestine v 1820 godu" (1826): 214-83, reprinted as a supplement to *Russkii arkhiv* (1881): 203-69. On Del'vig's literary journal, see John Mersereau, Jr., *Baron Delvig's "Northern Flowers," 1825-1832: Literary Almanac of the Pushkin Pleiad* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1967).
 5. Amos Elon, *Jerusalem: Battlegrounds of Memory* (New York: Kodansha America, Inc., 1995); and Thomas A. Idinopulos, *Jerusalem: A History of the Holiest City as Seen Through the Struggles of Jews, Christians, and Muslims* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Inc., 1994). Also useful is the collection of travel excerpts in Francis E. Peters, *Jerusalem: The Holy City in the Eyes of Chroniclers, Visitors, Pilgrims, and Prophets from the Days of Abraham to the Beginnings of Modern Times* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).
 6. For a good introduction to the perceptions of European travelers on the Ottoman Empire in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Allan Cunningham, "The Sick Man and the British Physician," in *Eastern Questions in the Nineteenth Century: Collected Essays* (London: Frank Cass, 1993), 72-107. Also useful on traditional European attitudes towards Muslims in general and Ottoman Turks in particular are Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); and Norman Daniel, *Islam, Europe and Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966). Dashkov's account of Palestine belongs to the larger story of Europe's renewed fascination for Jerusalem and the holy places in the nineteenth century. See Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1979); and Naomi Shepherd, *The Zealous Intruders: The Western Rediscovery of Palestine* (London: William Collins Sons and Co., 1987).
 7. K. Urguzova et al., *Sviatye mesta v blizi i izdali: Putevye zametki russkikh pisatelei i poloviny XIX veka* (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, RAN and Shkola-Press, 1995), 17-36, 289-300. This noteworthy anthology, with explanatory notes and a helpful introduction, contains passages from the Near Eastern travels of Osip I. Senkovskii, Andrei N. Murav'ev, Avraam S. Norov, and Petr A. Viazemskii.
 8. Richard Clogg, "The Greek Millet in the Ottoman Empire," in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society*, 2 vols. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982), 1:185-202.
 9. Castel-Rosso, or Kastelorizon, is the Italian name for a small Greek island off the coast of Turkey. Karamania, the coastal area of south central Turkey, is named after the town of Karaman.
 10. Cao Gatte, or Cape of Cats, lies near the Monastery of St. Nicholas. According to medieval legend, monks relied on cats to attack the many snakes of the region.
 11. One *verst* is the equivalent of around 3,500 feet.
 12. This explanatory note by Dashkov gives the full title of the patriarch of Jerusalem: "Most Blessed and Most Holy Father and Patriarch of the Holy City of Jerusalem

and of all Palestine, Syria, Arabia beyond the Jordan River, Galilean Canaan, and Holy Zion." When the patriarch of Jerusalem transferred his residence to Istanbul, church affairs in Jerusalem were handled by two episcopal deputies.

13. Dashkov elaborates this incident in his footnote: "Chaim enjoyed the trust of the previous pashas, Cezzar and Suleiman; but having angered the former on one occasion, he lost his ears and nose. One of the European consuls advised [Chaim], in a friendly conversation, to leave for any Christian state, where his acquired wealth (the spoils of his murder!) would have provided him with the means to end his days in plenty and in peace. . . . Stinginess did not keep [Chaim] in a land where the property and life of each person are in constant danger, but force of habit, blind faith in destiny, and a certain innate indifference, [all of which] comprise a distinctive feature in the character of eastern [Near Eastern] peoples." Shepherd (*The Zealous Intruders*, 20) mentions that Cezzar (Djezzar) Pasha disfigured and mutilated the face of the Jewish banker Chaim (Haim) Farhi.
14. The arbitrariness and cruelty of Abdullah (Abdallah), pasha of Damascus and Acre from 1819 to 1831, reminded Dashkov of the former governor of Ottoman Syria, Ahmet Cezzar Pasha (d. 1804), who brutally suppressed local risings, extended his personal rule over much of Palestine, and defended Acre against Napoleonic forces in 1799. On Ahmet Cezzar (Djezzar) Pasha, the "butcher of Acre," see Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 1, *Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 253, 268-70; and Ben-Arieh, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land*, 26-31. On the extensive powers of local warlords in Ottoman Syria, such as Abdullah Pasha, see Thomas Philipp, *Acre: The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian City, 1730-1831* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).
15. This landmark treaty (1774), following the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-74, granted Russia wide-ranging commercial, diplomatic, and religious rights in the Ottoman Empire, including freedom of passage for Russian pilgrims to Jerusalem. Article Eight stipulated that "no . . . contribution, duty, or other tax shall be exacted from those pilgrims and travelers by any one whomsoever, either at Jerusalem or elsewhere, or on the road. . . . During their sojourn in the Ottoman Empire, they shall not suffer the least wrong or injury; but, on the contrary, shall be under the strictest protection of the laws." Quoted in Jacob C. Hurewitz, ed., *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record*, vol. 1, *European Expansion, 1535-1914*, 2d ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 95.
16. The Sharon or Saron Valley, a plain along the coast of Palestine from Mount Carmel to Jaffa, is known for the "Rose of Sharon" and for its fertility in biblical times. Ramleh (Ramla today), supposedly the birthplace of Joseph of Arimathea, the disciple who provided the tomb for Christ's body after the crucifixion, became a prominent Islamic center after the Muslim conquest and served as the Arab capital of Palestine before the First Crusade.
17. On numerous occasions in his narrative, Dashkov acknowledges the influence of the romanticized *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (1811) by François René Chateaubriand (1768-1848), citing passages from this hugely successful and widely read work, which appeared in twelve editions from 1811 to 1814. Ironically, Chateaubriand visited Jerusalem for only four days during his two-week tour of Palestine in 1806; yet his vivid but disparaging remarks on the region's barren landscape, poverty, misery, and lawlessness, as well as his bias against Muslims, echoed in the travel writings of myriad European tourists and pilgrims, including Dashkov. For more on Chateaubriand's highly subjective account of the Holy City, see Said, *Orientalism*, 169-79; Peters, *Jerusalem*, 545-46, 560-64, 578-83; and Elon, *Jerusalem*, 131-34.
18. With the breakdown of Ottoman ruling institutions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, administrative control over Palestine and Syria was

endangered by unruly Bedouin tribes who disrupted trade and pilgrimage caravans in the region. To thwart these disorders, the Ottoman government selected various families and tribes to safeguard these routes. The tribe headed by Abu Ghush was assigned to police the pilgrimage road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, an appointment abused by the sheik to squeeze excessive tolls and dues from Christian worshipers. See Kamil J. Asali, "Jerusalem under the Ottomans, 1516-1831 AD," in *Jerusalem in History: 3000 BC to the Present Day*, ed. Kamil J. Asali, rev. ed. (London: Kegan Paul International, 1997), 200-27, especially 208-09; and Peters, *Jerusalem*, 543-45.

19. Sir Sidney Smith (1764-1840) was the English admiral who successfully defended the fortress of Acre from Napoleon's army in 1799. Dashkov's footnote mentions that Smith gave Sheik Abu Ghush an offprint inscribed with Arabic quotations from the Koran in praise of Christians and their zeal for prayer.
20. The Terebinth is the valley where David gathered stones for his sling before the battle with Goliath.
21. Dashkov's explanatory note correctly states that Muslims considered Jerusalem a holy city, ranked with Mecca and Medina as the most important sacred centers of the Islamic faith. Muslims call Jerusalem al-Quds (The Holy One), Bait al-Maqdis (City of the Sanctuary), or Haram al-Sharif (Noble Sanctuary).
22. David, the second king of Israel and Judah after Saul, captured the fortress of Zion and supposedly wrote the Psalms. Herod the Great was king of Judea (37-4 B.C.) during the time of Christ, while his son Herod Antipas ruled Galilee from 4 B.C. to 39 A.D. Godfrey of Bouillon, leader of the First Crusade, conquered Jerusalem in 1099 and became the first Latin ruler of the Holy City and defender of the Lord's Tomb.
23. Petra, an early center of Christianity today located in Jordan, is renowned for its picturesque ancient tombs carved in the pink rock. Known to Roman Catholics as the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and to Eastern Orthodox as the Church of the Resurrection, this central shrine of Christianity comprises a cavernous complex of chapels, altars, and passageways commemorating the places of Christ's crucifixion, burial, and resurrection. See Charles Coüason, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974); and Peters, *Jerusalem*, 133-37, 203-06, 311-14, 437-42, 566-67, 572-79. Recent descriptions of this foremost Christian shrine include Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Gloucestershire, England: Sutton, 1999); and Martin Biddle et al., *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000).
24. Dashkov refers to two of the most reliable sources on the topography and circumference of Jerusalem: *The Jewish War*, by Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (37-100 A.D.), and *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, at Easter, A.D. 1697* (1703), by Henry Maundrell (1665-1701), chaplain of the Aleppo factory of the English Levant Company. For more on these works, see Peters, *Jerusalem*, 42-43, 67-72, 77-89, 516-24. A standard pace, covered by a step or a stride, is generally estimated at around three feet, in contrast to the Roman or geometric pace, which measures about five feet.
25. Dashkov cites the scholarly writings of French geographer and cartographer Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville (1697-1782) (*Dissertation sur l'étendue de l'ancienne Jérusalem et de son temple*, 1747) and of German geographer Karl Ritter (1779-1859) (*Einleitung zur allgemeinen vergleichenden Geographie*, 1817-18).
26. Though he praises Chateaubriand's depiction of Palestine, he rebukes the French writer's highly personalized and melancholic portrait of Greece: "In general, the information of Chateaubriand on present-day Jerusalem is as exact and accurate as his notes on Greece are incorrect and superficial." Said and Peters (see above, n. 17) have argued that the same criticism applies to Chateaubriand's work on Jerusalem.

27. Instead of identifying the source of this statement by acclaimed English historian Edward Gibbon (1737-94), Dashkov directs his readers to the writings of d'Anville and Chateaubriand for particulars on the holy places.
28. Dashkov's use of *lev* (lion) refers to an Ottoman coin in Palestine called *esedi* (with the lion) or *esedi gurush*. The Levant did not have a common or standardized currency for business transactions in the early nineteenth century; Ottoman gold and silver coins circulated along with money from Austria, Spain, Venice, France, Holland, and Britain. On the confusing array of Levantine currencies, see Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey*, 326-29; and Şevket Pamuk, "Evolution of the Ottoman Monetary System, 1326–1914," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 947-80. After much diplomatic and financial negotiation, the Sublime Porte authorized Greek Christians to restore the church, supposedly after payment of a bribe of nearly 2.5 million rubles, almost twice the cost of the rebuilding itself. On the fire and the reconstruction of the church, see Elon, *Jerusalem*, 69-70; and Idinopulos, *Jerusalem*, 190.
29. Dashkov offers this information in his footnote: "A fragment of the pillar is kept in the Franciscan monks' chapel, behind an iron grille, in such a way so that worshipers are not able to kiss it but can only touch it with the tip of a walking-stick. The Catholics, in explaining this much resented precaution, claim that the Greeks have repeatedly tried to steal this sacred object. The Greek clergy, for their part, accuse [the Catholics] of similar attempts, and even they shelter, behind a grille under an altar, part of the pillar which soldiers [used] to bind and to scourge the Savior."
30. These side-chapels commemorate subjects and events associated with the crucifixion.
31. Dashkov alludes to Tasso's sixteenth-century epic *Jerusalem Delivered*, which exalted the heroic feats of Godfrey of Bouillon, leader of the First Crusade. As for the controversy regarding the Greeks' alleged destruction of Crusader crypts in the Church of the Resurrection during its reconstruction after the 1808 fire, Dashkov weighs in: "The Greeks are mistakenly accused of damaging the tombs over the graves of Godfrey and his brother [and heir] Baldwin, erected in the period of Latin rule. Fire destroyed these monuments; but their sites are marked by brick mounds, and the Catholics themselves have always had the authority to restore the old tombs and inscriptions."
32. For more on the varied Christian sects of Ottoman Jerusalem, as well as Ottoman rule in Palestine, see the essays in Braude and Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 2.
33. Dashkov remarks in his note: "When present-day Greeks speak about Christians, they always mean themselves or Russians; Catholics are called Latins, Franks, or simply Westerners (oi Dytikoi)." Dashkov gleaned additional material on sectarian disputes over the holy places from the travelogue by English chaplain Maundrell (see above, n. 24), who voiced amazement at the intensity of these squabbles. Peters, *Jerusalem*, 516-24, with excerpts from Maundrell, one of Dashkov's sources on Jerusalem. For more information on this sectarian strife, see also Victoria Clark, *Holy Fire: The Battle for Christ's Tomb* (London: Macmillan, 2005).
34. Dashkov's text cites the original Latin from Virgil's *Aeneid* (1.11): "Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?" ("Is there so much anger in the minds of the gods?"). The line refers to battles among the gods and to the gods' treatment of Aeneas during and after the Trojan War. Two recent studies of the Crimean War cover the sectarian quarrels over the holy sites: Trevor Royle, *Crimea: The Great Crimean War, 1854–1856* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); and Orlando Figes, *The Crimean War: A History* (New York: Henry Holt, 2010).

35. Dashkov chose to omit many details about the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, asserting that these facts, while indispensable for anyone who wanted an exact picture of the shrine, “would be tedious and obscure” in his narrative. But he anticipated that readers’ curiosity “will soon be satisfied with the publication of the exquisite and complete plan of the great church, made on site by academician Vorob’ev.” The painter Maksim N. Vorob’ev (1787-1855), appointed professor at Russia’s Academy of Fine Arts in 1823, accompanied Dashkov on his trip to Jerusalem. Dashkov extolled the artistic talents of his travel companion, reporting that Vorob’ev’s drawings would include particulars on the main religious denominations in the church, their icons and icon-lamps, and related matters.
36. “Notables” refers to the leading and most influential families in Jerusalem. On local elites, not just in Jerusalem but in other parts of the Ottoman Levant, see Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 46-50, 62-64, 101-07.
37. According to Dashkov, at least one recent travelogue on Greece repeated the unfounded and unconfirmed story that the Greek monastery near the Church of the Holy Sepulcher contained an undisclosed amount of wealth in a secret treasury, coveted by sultans, who had yet to discover its exact whereabouts. Based on his own investigations, Dashkov adamantly refutes these rumors, declaring that the monastery’s treasury consisted only of pilgrims’ offerings and other church revenues: “In the monastery’s sacristy, we saw silver chandeliers, crucifixes, Gospels, and gold-embroidered vestments, for the most part of Russian craftsmanship; but it is surpassed in wealth by many of the sacristies on Mount Athos.”
38. The Way of the Cross traced the path or last steps of Christ across Jerusalem, from his trial by Pontius Pilate to his execution, burial, and resurrection. See Peters, *Jerusalem*, 155-56, 501-03.
39. When Paisios, patriarch of Jerusalem from 1646 to 1660, visited Moscow in 1649, the Armenian clergy succeeded in obtaining the sultan’s permission to acquire the cloister. The “separate Armenian patriarch” refers to the bishop of the Armenian community in Jerusalem, whose title was raised to patriarch by the middle of the eighteenth century. The town of Echmiadzin, capital of the ancient Christian kingdom of Armenia, continued to serve as the center of the Armenian church and the place of residence of the catholicus-patriarch.
40. Dashkov writes that in addition to the monastic house attached to the Orthodox patriarchate of Jerusalem, the Greeks owned several other monasteries and nunneries in the Holy City. The most noteworthy, he recounts, were “John the Baptist, for the beauty of its church and entire structure; St. Nicholas, where there is a school for Arabs; [and] St. George, with a hospital and an alms-house for elderly men.”
41. In 1342, Pope Clement VI named the Franciscan Order the official caretaker of the holy places for Roman Catholics. On the Franciscans in the Holy City, see Peters, *Jerusalem*, 369-70, 498-501, 506-09, 556-61, 580-84; and Idinopulos, *Jerusalem*, 186-89.
42. In addition to d’Anville, Dashkov cites *The Jewish War* by Flavius Josephus.
43. One of the most sacred shrines in Islam, the Dome of the Rock or Qubbal al-Sakh, commemorating the prophet Muhammad’s ascent to heaven, was built during the caliphate of Abd al-Malik (685-704), the father and predecessor of al-Walid. Dashkov remarks that Catholic pilgrims, such as Archbishop William of Tyre (1099-1187), historian and chronicler of the Crusades, recorded their observations of this famed mosque. These impressions “have been corroborated for us by information provided by our janissary, purposely sent [to the mosque] at prayer time. He saw the stone (sacred for Muslims), from which Muhammad mounted [the winged steed] al-Buraq in preparation for his flight to heaven, and the two small pillars

which allegedly crush sinners who walk through them.” See Elon, *Jerusalem*, 213-24; and Idinopulos, *Jerusalem*, 224-35, for a brief discussion of al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock.

44. Dashkov’s text includes these English lines from John Milton.
45. This is my translation of Dashkov’s Russian rendition of Chateaubriand’s evocative vignette.
46. Dashkov’s narrative cites the earliest extant travelogue on the holy places, the account by the Pilgrim from Bordeaux who visited Palestine in the year 333, *Itinerarium a Burdigala Hierusalem*. Dashkov’s footnote makes reference to the Greek-language *Proskynitarion*, published in Vienna in 1787, on prayer rituals and places of worship in Jerusalem, and to several Russian accounts. “Of the works by Russian pilgrims, worthy of attention are the descriptions by Vasilii Barskii, who worshiped at the Holy Sepulcher in 1726 and 1729; by *ieromonakh* [monk] Meletii, 1793-94; and by the serf of Count Sheremetev, Kir Bronnikov, 1820-21, noteworthy because of his [social] rank and because of the dangers he was exposed to on the return voyage to the fatherland at the start of the Greek war.” For bibliographical material on the travelogues of Barskii, Meletii, and Bronnikov, see Stavrou and Weisensel, *Russian Travelers to the Christian East*, 70-73, 129-30, 171.
47. In his text, Dashkov quotes the Italian line from the Petrarch sonnet: “Movesi il vecchierel canuto e bianco.”
48. In his footnote, Dashkov specifies distances between key points along the pilgrimage trail: “From Jaffa to Jerusalem it is thought to be around sixty *versts* (twelve hours [by horse]). From Jerusalem to Jericho not more than twenty *versts*; and from [Jericho] to the Jordan River about fifteen *versts*.”
49. In a lengthy footnote on the miraculous appearance of the holy fire over the Tomb of Christ, Dashkov refers readers to the works of Russian pilgrims and travelers who had witnessed this sacred event. Drawing on their experiences and observations, he then offers his own summary: “With the *mütesellim* [deputy governor] and the Armenian clergy in attendance, all the candles and icon-lamps in the church are extinguished—except for those in the Catholic section. The Greek hierarch enters the *kouvouklion* [edicule] alone and with a cotton wick gathers the light that, resembling beads of sweat, arises on the marble slab of the Holy Sepulcher. Others relate that it appears in the form of a bright nonflammable flame and that one can place it by hand in a vessel without getting burned. *ieromonakh* Meletii writes that the light shines on the lid of the tomb like small scattered beads of color that turn red when they run together. The Catholics are not at all willing to believe this phenomenon. Be that as it may, the hierarch carries the burning tapers from the grotto to the chapel of the Angel and places them in two small openings: on one side for the Armenians, on the other for the Orthodox, from whom the fire overflows the church like a river (according to Meletii), to the accompaniment of loud exclamations: ‘There is no faith, but the Christian faith!’ ” For more on the holy fire, see Elon, *Jerusalem*, 70-71, 209-13; and Peters, *Jerusalem*, 261-67, 523-24, 571-78.
50. The outbreak of the Greek War of Independence against the sultan strained Russo-Ottoman diplomatic relations, disrupted Russia’s trade in the Black Sea and Levant, and greatly reduced the numbers of Russian pilgrims making the journey to Palestine during the ensuing conflict in the 1820s. On the larger issue of Russia and the Greek rebellion, including the friction in Russo-Ottoman relations, see my *Russian Society and the Greek Revolution* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994).
51. Dashkov claims in his note that it was impossible to verify the accuracy of this estimate, because “in all of Turkey there are neither birth records nor a poll-tax census.” Asali (“Jerusalem under the Ottomans,” 220) and Peters (*Jerusalem*, 564-

- 65) cite a population figure of twelve thousand for Jerusalem in 1806; thus, Dashkov's approximation of thirteen thousand in 1820 may very well be correct.
52. Dashkov clarifies this statement in his footnote: "We were told that the pasha [of Damascus] and Acre receives these revenues in his capacity as guardian of the central mosque in the town of Ramleh, which is under his direct authority, and that the land near the Church of the Resurrection belongs to [the mosque]."
 53. St. Gerasimos, a fifth-century hermit, founded a monastery near the Jordan River; attacked on many occasions by Bedouin tribes, the cloister was finally abandoned in the sixteenth century.
 54. A *sazhen* is the equivalent of around 2.133 meters.
 55. According to Dashkov, "this water did not taste salty, as Chateaubriand reports, though we were at the Jordan River at roughly the same time of the year. Lying nearly still, the water becomes completely limpid and a darkish silt covers the bottom of [our] utensils."
 56. Pharro is most likely a corruption of al-Furat, Arabic for Euphrates. Dashkov draws his information from the research of German geographer Ritter (see above, n. 25).
 57. English orientalist and traveler Richard Pococke (1704-65) visited the Near East in 1734-40 and published *Description of the East* (1743-45).
 58. German traveler Ulrich Seetzen (1767-1811) toured Palestine in 1806, the same year as Chateaubriand. Excerpts from Seetzen are in Peters, *Jerusalem*, 544-45, 550-56, 564-72, 581-82.
 59. Abbot Daniil visited many of the holy sites in Palestine in the early twelfth century and authored the earliest extant Russian pilgrimage account of Jerusalem. Daniil spent over a year at the monastery founded by St. Sabas (439-532), a charismatic hermit and one of the most influential figures in the development of monasticism in Palestine. On Daniil and St. Sabas, see Stavrou and Weisensel, *Russian Travelers to the Christian East*, 1-5; Peters, *Jerusalem*, 162-63, 263-67, 313-14; and Joseph Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism: A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995).

