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## HAJJ: THE WAYS OF PILGRIMAGE OF MUSLIMS OF CENTRAL ASIA IN THE LATE XIX - EARLY XX CENTURIES

**Abstract:** The article outlined three routes of departure for the Hajj of Turkestan Muslims in the late 19th - early 20th centuries: the overland route through Iran, the southern route through Afghanistan, India and the Indian Ocean and the northern route through Istanbul, as well, especially the directions, as well as the policy of the Russian Empire associated with the Hajj pilgrimage of the population of Turkestan.

**Key words:** Hajj, Hijaz, Turkistan, Bukhara, Istanbul, Russian Empire, Odessa.

**Language:** English

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### Introduction

Hajj - pilgrimage to Mecca as one of the five pillars of the religion of Islam, is obligatory for a Muslim only if he has material and physical abilities and in the absence of any obstacles. Central Asian Muslims made pilgrimages for many centuries. At the turn of the twentieth century, the process of making pilgrimages by Central Asian Muslims to Mecca and Medina was very difficult and for the implementation of this rite they had to go a long, sometimes dangerous to life and very difficult path.

For the commission of the pilgrimage ceremony, the Muslims of Central Asia had their own routes to Mecca through Afghanistan and India. However, after the conquest of Turkestan by Russia, the tsarist government faced the task of controlling the movement of the Muslim population, since on the one hand it did not want political influence on the Muslims of Turkestan, and on the other hand did not want to lose revenues from Muslim travel on the Hajj. Indeed, it was only due to the non-collection of fees when issuing foreign passports that the state treasury of the Russian Empire suffered great damage. Solving this

problem, the tsarist government tried to streamline and take control of the process of making pilgrimages and stop the drain of money spent by Muslims on the Hajj.

### Materials and Methods

In addition, pilgrimages to Muslim holy places from the point of view of the tsarist government had other influences on the situation in Turkestan. Speaking about the political influence of the pilgrimage, I would like to say that there were different points of view on the pilgrimage and its influence on the Muslim population. We can cite as an example the statements of the Dutch Arabic scholar and traveler Snook Hurgronje, who lived in Mecca under the guise of a Muslim sheikh, who in his work on Mecca [11:89] noted that Hajj was a flammable element, for their part, they were contrary to the interests christian government. Developing his thought, the author of this work explained that the pilgrims received two strong impressions, namely, that Mecca was a religious, and Constantinople was the political centers of the world.

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In Tsarist Russia, there existed peculiar points of view on this score, among which two main ones prevailed then in the administration of Turkestan and in the military department. The first point of view on the hajj was based on a report made by Captain Davletshin. In 1898, on the instructions of the War Minister and Adjutant General Kuropatkin, captain Davletshin, a Muslim by religion, carried out a secret official trip to Mecca. In his report, written on his return, Davletshin noted that the hajj, from his point of view, had no political significance, the pilgrimage to Mecca did not lead to any rapprochement of Muslims of different countries, finally, that this idea itself - the unity of the Muslim world, did not exist. ... The atmosphere of the hajj itself, the same traveler reported, is a ritual of a purely religious nature, very short in time, very fussy and hurried, with the general consciousness of danger that an epidemic is about to break out, was not at all favorable to this idea and did not Disposed to political demonstrations [15:100].

The second and opposite point of view was based on the statements made on this occasion by Colonel Mustafin, set forth in a note about the Hajj attached to the letter of the Office Governor Governor-General dated March 30, 1909 to the director of the Department of Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Confessions A.N. Khoruzhnu. He wrote that the association of Muslim pilgrims was sufficiently strong, despite their differences in nationality. Prolonged time, full of hardships, difficulties and dangers of travel, as well as the sameness of impressions, connected travelers with each other by close ties not only for many years, but for a lifetime. ... Hajj, further reported by the same source, was one of the ways of bringing Muslims closer all over the world. The author of the note argued that such a value of hajj compels him to be very careful and, in any case, not to encourage him not to reduce the price of the fare, nor to create such amenities for travelers to Mecca that would put pilgrims in exceptional conditions with other travelers. In addition, the Colonel's note noted the need for organizing observation of pilgrims, both on the road and at home, at their place of permanent residence, upon their return to Russia [15:101]. Summarizing all the above, he noted that the maintenance of the Hajj, in any case, should not have been among the state objectives in relation to Muslims. According to Colonel Mustafin, the hajj, serving as one of the important stimuli for the manifestation of militant Islam, can be left to itself and, by no means, support it. The open goal of the country's internal policy should have been a gradual weakening of consciousness in the necessity of pilgrimage to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina [15:102] prescribed by the Quran.

On the other hand, as was said, if you look at the hajj as an economic factor and a factor controlling the movement of the Muslim population, the royal government was not only worried about the political

significance of the hajj, but also tried to stop the leakage of money spent by the Muslims on the hajj. For example, the tsarist administration after the uprising of 1898, in punishment banned the implementation of the pilgrimage to Mecca. In 1900, when this ban was lifted, 10,000 Muslims [17] made pilgrimages from the Fergana region alone in the same year. Over the decade, i.e. in the period up to 1913, when records were kept of pilgrims leaving, their number doubled. Annually, according to the figures presented, up to 50,000 Muslims of Turkestan made a hajj to Mecca and Medina. Each pilgrim spent an average of 600-700 rubles. The rich spent about 3,000 rubles [2:139], but there were also such Muslims who carried out a pilgrimage with insufficient means - they were mostly old people. As the newspaper "Turkestan Gazette" reported, many of these old men died from exhaustion on the way [4].

The wealthy people of Turkestan, acquiring real estate in Mecca and Medina, opened Hadzhihan to poor pilgrims at their own expense. According to the newspaper "Turkestan Gazette", out of a total of 50,000 people who made pilgrimages every year, one-tenth of them were rich people, in digital terms it was about 5,000 people, while they spent an average of 3,000 rubles each, which amounted to about 15.000.000 rubles. The rest of the pilgrims in the amount of 45,000 people, who spent an average of 600 rubles per person, spent 27,000,000 rubles. Thus, even taking into account the inaccuracy of the available digital data, one can still say that the total amount spent annually by the Turkestan pilgrims reached impressive sizes and amounted to 42,000,000 rubles [2:140]. To stop the outflow of funds and to assist in the collection of this money, they wanted not only representatives of the tsarist administration, but also representatives of the local population, who actively cooperated with the tsarist administration in Turkestan. So, one of the local entrepreneurs Saidgani Saidazimbayev, who worked as the main agent of the voluntary fleet in Turkestan, wrote to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers about the financial benefits of sending pilgrims by rail and steamboats, which is not indifferent for the state where millions of money will go - Persia and India or at the box office of state railways. "Each pilgrim reserves up for a hajj at least 1000 rubles, and a good half of this money can and should remain in Russia. When the number of pilgrims increases to tens, or maybe hundreds of thousands, the income of the Voluntary Fleet and state railways will be very large," stated Saidgani Saidazimbaev's [15:6] memo.

Proceeding from the interests of Russian transport companies and the Russian state treasury, one of the main tasks of the tsarist government was to redirect the flow of Muslims, going on a hajj, from the Afghan-Indian direction to Russia and streamlining pilgrimages in this direction. However, the main obstacle along this path was the absence of legal

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passports for most pilgrims. In the best way this business was in Bukhara. According to the data of the political agency in Bukhara, of all the Central Asian pilgrims, the lowest percentage of the passport-free ones were given by the Bukhara filed. This was explained by the fact that in obtaining foreign passports, the Bukhara applicants were in more favorable conditions than the Turkestan Muslims. Getting a passport for them was less difficult and costing much cheaper than in Russia. Those wishing to go to worship the holy places of Bukhara turned to Bukhara Kushbegi, in whose office without slowing down they made tickets for every 1 rub. 20 kopecks. Then these tickets were presented by the owners themselves or by the Kushbegi officials to a political agency that endorsed them the same day, charging 2 rubles for each visa. 50 kopecks (1 rub. 50 kopecks. Gold) [16:67]. In case those who wished to get passports did not live close to Bukhara, then pilgrims from the same locality sent ombudsmen to Kushbegi with the certificate of the corresponding Bek. The passports issued to Kushbegi were endorsed by a political agency and sent back to Bek for subsequent transfer. Thus, the registration of foreign passports for pilgrims in the Bukhara Khanate, cost only 3 rubles, 45 kopecks.

In his note addressed to the Minister of the Interior, the Turkestan Governor-General proposed to equate the Bukhara Muslims with regard to the costs of issuing passports to the expenses of their co-religionists in Turkestan. He considered it fair to increase the consular tariff for putting a visa in these passports to the extent that the total cost of each ticket was equal to the price of a foreign passport for Turkestans, which again led to the replenishment of the treasury.

In a note dated March 21, 1897, the Turkestan Governor-General also proposed that the Minister of the Interior of the Russian Empire also strengthen the cordons on the Russian-Persian border, and on the border with Afghanistan. According to the information available to him, part of the hajj was secretly performed from the Turkestan region and Bukhara through the Afghan borders to India [16:63]. This information is another indication that the Government of the Russian Empire was concerned about the secret departure of Muslims to Mecca and Medina. This, as mentioned earlier, on the one hand, prevented the exercise of control over the movement of the Muslim population, and on the other hand, caused damage to the state treasury at the expense of not collecting fees when issuing foreign passports. For this reason, the tsarist government obliged Central Asian Muslims to first obtain a foreign passport for the Hajj. To do this, they had to submit a document from the local police station that there were no barriers to this. The state treasury of the Russian Empire [5] had a good percentage of profits directly due to the collection of fees when issuing foreign passports. By

obliging Turkestans to obtain foreign passports, the tsarist government simultaneously solved two tasks - on the one hand it controlled the movements of the Muslim population of the conquered land, and on the other hand replenished its treasury at the expense of the Turkestans. The control began already at the stage of issuing passports to pilgrims on the basis of instructions from the Turkestan Governor-General to all district and police chiefs to supervise the pilgrims. At the end of the Hajj, the pilgrims were obliged to hand over the passport to representatives of the administration [1].

Other measures of the royal administration in Turkestan also helped to control. Thus, in accordance with the decree of the Turkestan Governor-General, dated January 23, 1901, at the time of receiving a passport, pilgrims had to provide written confirmation that they would go to Hejaz using Russian ports on the Black Sea, and come back from Hejaz to Theodosia or Batumi. Among other things, it was financially beneficial for the Russian railways and shipping companies. If Muslims could not get a passport on the spot, and they came to Sevastopol or Odessa without it, they should have received permission by telegram. It took a lot of time - they had to wait about two weeks, which was materially unprofitable, as it had to spend up to 40-50 rubles. Get the same passport in Turkestan came out much cheaper and could cost 17-18 rubles [13].

There were also problems redirecting the flow of pilgrims from Central Asia to Mecca, and back from Mecca to Central Asia. Often, pilgrims preferred to return to Central Asia through India and Afghanistan, as tickets for steamers following the Jeddah-Bombay route were much cheaper than tickets for steamships of Russian companies [7]. To reduce the flow of pilgrims from Hejaz to India, the manager of the consulate in Jeddah, Nikolsky, for example, even recommended that pilgrims should be left in the home country for a certain return security. At the expense of these funds, the consulate could send every poor pilgrim to Russia at his own expense. The amount of this security, as well as the issuance of loans, could be noted in the pilgrim's passport and subsequently returned to the persons and institutions to be returned from the security left in the pilgrim's home country [14:13]. For example, on December 18, 1895 a secret adviser from the Russian imperial embassy in Constantinople, a certain Nemidov, sent a letter to A. B. Vrevsky, the governor-general of Turkestan, in which he informed him that due to lack of funds for returning to their homeland, some pilgrims, among whom there were especially many Turkestans, were forced to remain in Hejaz [16:1].

Previously, the temporary non-return of the Turkestans did not raise questions. The poor or needy pilgrims, both in the Hejaz and other places to follow the hajj and from it, stayed for a part-time job and, having collected a sufficient amount of money, moved

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from city to city. The main thing was the implementation of the pilgrimage itself. However, employees of the Russian Imperial Consulate saw the reason for this in another. They believed that rural elders from the local population and the imams of the villages, without the knowledge of the district police officers and district heads, i.e. without control by the Russian authorities, they supplied the pilgrims leaving for worship, who often did not have sufficient funds, with certificates of their signatures or released them without any kind. To stop the secret departure of pilgrims, they offered in the form of experience, at least for two years, passport-free pilgrims who did not have sufficient funds to return to their homeland, send by boat through Constantinople to Batumi. And from Batumi, by staying order, send a residence to the place, and then collect all travel expenses from the relevant society, which gave them permission to leave.

The above-mentioned letter of Nemidov was sent to the military governors of the regions of the Turkestan general-governorship. Already on January 23, 1896, the military governor of the Fergana region expressed his negative opinion about the proposed measures to keep the Turkestan Muslims, who did not have sufficient funds, from pilgrimage to Mecca [16:9]. He believed that the proposed measures are not only inconvenient, but also inexpedient, especially since the implementation of the proposed measure will not be accompanied by a weakening of the pilgrimage of Muslims who are poor in material opportunity to perform the Hajj, but by strengthening it. According to him, a Muslim who did not have sufficient funds and driven by the desire to bow to the sacred places of Islam, will know that he is not threatened with the possibility of not returning to his homeland, for all the costs of his return journey will be paid for by the society to which he belonged.

On October 25, 1896, the Ministry of Internal Affairs sent a note to the Turkestan Governor-General on the streamlining of the Muslim pilgrimage movement [16:9]. From the office of the governor-general, this note, 32 pages long, was sent to the military governors of the regions of Turkestan. After the conclusion on this issue made by the military governors of the Syrdarya, Fergana and Samarkand regions, as well as a political agency in Bukhara, the Turkestan Governor-General, Lieutenant General A. B. Vrevsky, March 21, 1897, sent a reply to the Minister of Internal Affairs. It presented proposals for the settlement of the Hajj in the Turkestan, Bukhara and Khiva khanates [16:62]. The drafters of the note expected to increase the income of the treasury from issuing passports, but at the same time they considered it necessary to reduce the cost of passports, and for supervision and control they suggested strengthening border cordons, i.e. actually offered to increase costs. In conclusion, sent by the military governor of the Samarkand region to the Turkestan governor general on January 8, 1897, it was said that imposing a fee for

a passport is the simplest and practical way to collect the tax and, therefore, the center of gravity of all considerations of the note focused on the passport [16:48].

However, the note compiled by the Ministry of Internal Affairs did not offer anything concrete for streamlining and facilitating the Hajj for pilgrims, except for the fact that it offered to conclude agreements with shipping societies. In this note, among other things, it was proposed to limit the issuance of foreign passports to pilgrims only to the known part of the year, i.e. a few months before the holiday of Kurban-bairam, with the assumption of the absence of Muslims abroad for the rest of the time only with the special permission of the authorities. The Turkestan Governor-General, familiar with the situation on the ground, in turn, considered the proposed measure extremely useless, since they knew that Muslim pilgrimage usually took place all year round, increasing only in certain months. The pilgrims went on a pilgrimage when circumstances allowed them, while depending on the availability of material means, they went to sacred places without stopping, with more or less long stops, trying only to achieve the goal of their journey by a certain time.

In a note sent to the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Turkestan Governor-General reported on the situation in the Bukhara and Khiva khanates. He noted that the implementation of any reforms in the pilgrimage, in a country with a Muslim population, could cause strong and undesirable discontent and even unrest. In his opinion, it was also inconvenient to collect collateral in ensuring the return of pilgrims to their homeland. These were some measures taken by various departments of the tsarist government to ensure control over the movements of the Muslim population and methods of replenishing the state treasury. Significantly, a better understanding of the situation was shown on the ground by representatives of the Governor-General, although the measures they proposed were also quite superficial.

If we talk about the routes of Muslims to the places of pilgrimage, then in the late XIX - early XX centuries. Muslims of Central Asia made pilgrimages using water and rail transport. They first traveled by rail to Odessa, Sevastopol, Feodosia, Batumi, and then, to Hijaz, by water [12]. From Tashkent to Odessa, pilgrims traveled in cars of different classes. For example, from Tashkent 3 times a week, and from Samara daily, two 2nd-class carriages left, and, in addition, third-class carriages to a thousand Muslims traveled to Odessa [7]. Up to 60% of these cars were used when leaving Tashkent, and about 20% when leaving Samara. The rest of the wagons were used on departure from Kabuls, Turkestan, Orenburg and Penza. In wagons of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd classes of postal trains, pilgrims reached Odessa in 2.5 days, and in wagons of the 4th class of a freight train, they arrived in 12 days [8]. The fare in a third-class carriage

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from the cities and stations of Turkestan to Odessa, Feodosiya and Batumi ranged from 25-28 rubles [8:№41]. An important point in the organization of pilgrimage was the organization of the so-called. "Hadzhihan" - special hotels where pilgrims could stay. One of the first to do this was Saidgani Saidazimbayev at the beginning of 1908, who, being the main agent of the voluntary fleet in Turkestan, organized the Hadzhihan in Odessa, a place where Muslims stayed until leaving for Hejaz. In accordance with the decree of the governor-general of Odessa, Major-General Tolmachyov, the owners of hotels and private houses could provide places for Muslims who make pilgrimages only with the permission of the governor-general [13]. Pilgrims in Odessa could get off the train only at one station, where special agents took them to Hadzhihan. Muslim pilgrims could leave for other places only in exceptional cases and only after a medical examination, because one of the reasons that complicated the pilgrimage was the difficult health situation in Hejaz and other transit cities on the way to the place of the Hajj. Almost every year there have been observed outbreaks of diseases such as cholera, plague.

As a result of the spread of these diseases, 20 to 50% of pilgrims [16:15] perished. Considering this, medical observation posts were established in the cities of Batumi, Feodosiya, Baku, Krasnovodsk. Prior to boarding the ship, pilgrims were checked by the city doctor, the medical staff of the sea-going vessels and the Hajihan. Violators of this decree were sentenced to three months in prison or a fine of 3,000 rubles [3]. After returning, pilgrims mostly passed through quarantine points of Russian ports. Also for medical purposes, pilgrims bathed in the bath, while at the entrance to the bath they were given a towel to close the lonely places, and their clothes and other things were disinfected. The mark of disinfection was put in the passport, but if there was none, then by law the pilgrims themselves were responsible for this [9]. By 1902, this problem was also highlighted in the pages of the periodical press of Turkestan. They had different proposals for the implementation of the pilgrimage. In particular, it was proposed to go to make pilgrimage using the port of Sevastopol, since at that time in Odessa there was an epidemic of cholera and plague. Although, in spite of everything, representatives of the agency of the voluntary shipping company, in opposing the activities of their rivals, took various measures to ensure that the pilgrims did not travel through Sevastopol. In order of information, I would like to inform you that on the route Sevastopol - Hejaz and back to Russia there were three steamboats, and, for example, from Batumi - one steamboat. If pilgrims made pilgrimage through Istanbul, then, say, in the afternoon, they traveled around the city, and in the evening they returned to the ship. The price of a ticket from Sevastopol and Batumi to Hejaz and back to Feodosia in cabins of the 1st class

was 250 rubles, in cabins of the 2nd class - 200 rubles, and in cabins of the 3rd class - 100 rubles [10]. Passengers of all classes were provided with beds, free hot and cold water, as well as a separate place for ablution; also allowed to take menkal for cooking. Steamships from Hijaz to Feodosia went for 10-12 days.

The pages of the periodical press of Turkestan often proposed measures to streamline the pilgrimage. For example, in one of these articles it was said that pilgrims could take tickets directly to the shipping company, bypassing the intermediaries representing the voluntary shipping company, in which case agent services could be provided by railway employees who should have provided all the necessary data. They also said that the administration of the railways needed the services of a Muslim translator to accomplish this goal [6]. In addition to this path, about 4-7 thousand pilgrims annually went through Samarkand and Bukhara to Afghanistan and then on the way from Peshawar to Bombay by rail [16:19]. Following this route, pilgrims could easily bypass all passport requirements, especially since this route has been used by pilgrims for centuries to travel to Mecca.

The most wealthy people of the Samarkand region went to Mecca through Constantinople and at the same time spent on the road, not taking into account the cost of a passport and luggage: 10 rubles to Krasnovodsk. 50 cop., To Baku 4 rubles. 50 cop., To Batumi 9 rubles. 10 cop., To Constantinople 9 rubles., To Jeddah 40 rubles. The time spent on the road was about 25 days, while counting 50 kopecks each. a day on food took 12 rubles. 50 cop., And all at a minimum spent 85 rubles. 60 kopecks Using the route through Mazar-i-Sharif, Peshawar, Bombay, most of the pilgrims traveled on their horses or donkeys to Peshawar. In this case, the total costs were as follows: in Afghanistan, a fee was collected for a pass certificate in the amount of 40 kopecks per person, 2 rubles per horse and 1 ruble per donkey. There were no other fees. On the road to Peshawar spent about 20 rubles. Horses or donkeys in Peshawar were usually sold and further to Bombay they followed the railway, the fare for which was 12 rubles. The cost of a ticket for the steamer to Jeddah was 10-20 rubles, but sometimes the fare was free. In general, 49 rubles were spent. 40 kopecks, travel time was 40 days and, considering the cost of food at the rate of 50 kopecks. per day it was 20 rubles. The maximum was spent up to 70 rubles [16:49]. one way. Following through Constantinople to Jeddah, they spent, including the cost of a passport, consular fees and food on ships, not taking into account the cost of a passport and consular fees on the way back 55 rubles. 10 kopecks. Some pilgrims stocked up with goods and sold them along the way, and, for example, the artisans left without any money at all and earned themselves in cities along the way. Passports they never asked. All more or less wealthy pilgrims went

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to Hejaz from Bukhara by rail and by boat along the Caspian and Black Seas to Constantinople, from where they proceeded to Jeddah in the usual way on Russian and Turkish ships. This way allowed the pilgrims to determine with sufficient accuracy the duration and cost of the trip and, accordingly, leave Kurban Khayit about a month before the holiday, so that this day will certainly be spent in Mecca. The designated class of pilgrims ensured that the return journey from Hejaz was provided from the material side, they often left money deposited in the consulate of the Russian Empire in Jeddah for returning home. The pilgrims were financially secure, they returned to Bukhara the same way through Constantinople, because the roundabout route through India, of course, was associated with various accidents, especially when following through Afghanistan.

Under completely opposite conditions, there were poor pilgrims, or individuals who found themselves in Jeddah without the means to return to their homeland. Both the former and the latter did not have enough money to pay for a ticket for a steamer, mostly they preferred to go by steamer to Bombay for free or at a very cheap fare. From Bombay, pilgrims made their way with the material assistance of their co-religionists to Afghanistan or through Kashmir to Kashgar and further to the Fergana region. In Afghanistan, the pilgrims made their way with great hardship and stayed on the road for a long time, taking advantage of the charity of their fellow believers. In some cities of Afghanistan there were special caravanserais for returning pilgrims, who were provided with possible assistance from the authorities and local merchants.

### Conclusion

Making a conclusion, I would like to say that in the pre-revolutionary period, the tsarist government, acting by the method of carrots and sticks, achieved some success in this direction. Strengthening the

borders and obliging Muslims of Turkestan to obtain foreign passports, it unsuccessfully redirected the flow of Muslims from the Afghan-Indian direction to the Russian one. Thus, the government, on the one hand, was able to strengthen control over the movements of Muslims, and on the other hand replenished the Russian state treasury. On the other hand, by creating some amenities, for example, special Hadjihan hotels for pilgrims, opened by representatives of the local population who collaborated with the tsarist administration, opening new rail and shipping routes, it also solved problems of an economic nature. Other measures of the tsarist administration, such as sending special agents to pilgrims, reports from representatives of consulates and Russian embassies abroad, helped them to control the mentality of Muslims and take measures to protect Central Asian Muslims from outside political influence. All these measures, taken together, helped the tsarist government to implement measures to streamline and control the process of making pilgrimages and to stop the outflow of large sums of money that Muslims spent on Hajj.

Speaking about the routes of the movement of Muslims to places of pilgrimage, I would like to once again mention the diversity of ways to the place of pilgrimage and how necessary this process was for the Russian side to study both for studying these routes and their political and economic component. In the process of studying these very routes of movement, various departments were involved, including the foreign representative offices of the Russian Empire. The interest in the economic component is especially noticeable: detailed details of the expenses of pilgrims on their way to the hajj sites are presented. Other interesting data is also presented. All this speaks of the serious interest of the tsarist government in preventing the diversion of large amounts of money and their further attraction to the state budget.

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	<b>JIF = 1.500</b>	<b>SJIF (Morocco) = 5.667</b>	<b>OAJI (USA) = 0.350</b>

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