

RELIGIOUS CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND TURKISTAN (DURING THE XIXth AND EARLY XXth CENTURIES): ISTANBUL AS A PILGRIMAGE ROAD*

OSMANLI DEVLETİ İLE TÜRKİSTAN ARASINDAKİ DİNİ
BAĞLANTILAR (XIX.YÜZYILIN SONU VE XX.YÜZYILIN BAŞI):

HAC YOLU OLARAK İSTANBUL

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Abstract

The pilgrimage, holds significant religious importance in Islam and serves as a vital factor in the political, economic, and social development of states. It acts as an institutional structure that unites Muslims from diverse cultures and languages. In the 19th century, Hajj was a crucial link between the people of Turkestan, under Tsarist Russia, and the Ottoman Empire. Despite political separations, the pilgrimage maintained relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Turkestan region.

This study delves into the history of the Hajj pilgrimage by Kazakh Turks through Ottoman lands, highlighting the religious connections between the Ottoman Empire and Turkestan. The period from the late 19th century to the early 20th century is particularly significant for evaluating the political, diplomatic, and cultural ties between the Ottoman Empire and the Kazakh Turks. During this time, the number of Kazakh pilgrims increased, driven by various factors.

The pilgrimage of Kazakh Turks through Ottoman territories raised suspicions in Tsarist Russia, leading to persecution of Ottoman citizens who traded in Kazakh lands and encouraged pilgrimage. This historical analysis draws on data from the Kazakhstan Central Archive, providing insights into the pilgrimage routes and the support offered by the Ottoman Sultan to Turkestan pilgrims.

The article covers multiple aspects: the religious ties between the Ottoman Empire and Turkestan, Tsarist Russia's laws on pilgrimage, pilgrimage routes, Turkestan lodges in Istanbul, contributions to the Hejaz Railway's construction, and the Ottoman Sultan's aid to Turkestan pilgrims. Additionally, it explores Tsarist Russia's smear campaigns against Ottoman Turks in Kazakhstan, the impact of Russian expansion in the 19th century, and the political significance of the Hejaz Railway for ensuring pilgrimage safety.

The study relies on documents from the Kazakhstan Archive, systematically scanned and categorized by subject, to present a comprehensive view of these historical events and their implications.

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Öz

Hac, dini önemi yüksek İslami görevlerden biri olmasının yanı sıra devletin siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal gelişimine katkı sağlayan temel faktörlerden biri olup, farklı kültürlerle ve farklı dillere sahip Müslüman halkları birleştiren kurumsal bir yapı olarak tanımlanmaktadır. XIX. yüzyılda hac ziyareti Çarlık Rusya'ya tabi olan Türkistan halkını Osmanlı'ya bağlayan en önemli köprülerden biri olmuştur. Dolayısıyla, Osmanlı Devleti ile Türkistan bölgesi arasındaki ilişkiler siyasi alandaki kopukluklara rağmen, hac aracılığıyla devam etmiştir.

Bu çalışmada, Osmanlı topraklarından geçen Kazak Türklerinin hac tarihi ve Osmanlı Devleti ile Türkistan arasındaki dini bağlantılar anlatılmaktadır. Osmanlı Devleti ile Kazak Türkleri arasındaki tarihsel ilişkiyi değerlendirirken XIX. yüzyılın sonu ve XX. yüzyılın başı Türk tarihi açısından oldukça önemli bir zaman dilimini kapsamaktadır. Bu dönem Kazak toplumunda hacı sayısının artışı gözlemlenmiştir. Makalede bu süreci etkileyen faktörler ve Kazakların toplu hac ziyaretlerinin nedenleri ele alınmaktadır.

Kazak Türklerinin Osmanlı toprakları üzerinden Hac ziyaretine gitmesi Çarlık Rusya'da büyük şüphe uyandırmıştır. Dolayısıyla Kazak topraklarında ticaret yapan ve Kazakları hacca gitmeye teşvik eden Osmanlı vatandaşları Rusya tarafından zulme uğramışlardır. Bu tarihi olaylar Kazakistan Merkez Arşivi'nden elde edilen verilere dayanarak incelenmiştir. Kazak Türklerinin hac güzergahları ve Osmanlı sultanının Türkistan'dan gelen hacılara yaptığı yardımlar hakkında da bilgi verilmektedir.

Makalede Osmanlı Devleti ile Türkistan arasındaki dini bağlantılar, Çarlık Rusyası tarafından hac yolculuğuyla ilgili yapılmış olan kanunlar, Türkistanlı hacıların hac güzergahları, İstanbul'daki Türkistan tekkeleri, Hicaz Demiryolu inşasına Türkistanlıların yardımda bulunması ve Osmanlı Sultanının Türkistanlı hacılara yardımı hakkında bilgi verilmiştir. Bunların yanı sıra, XIX. yüzyılda Kazakistan topraklarında yaşayan, dinî eğitim veren ve ticaretle uğraşan Osmanlı Türklerine karşı Çarlık Rusya yetkilileri tarafından gerçekleştirilen karalama kampanyalarının sebeplerine ve sonuçlarına da değilinmiştir.

Ayrıca, iki ülke arasındaki münasebetlere değinilmiş ve özellikle XIX. yüzyıl boyunca Rus yayılmasının ne dereceye kadar tesir ettiği de ortaya koyulmuştur. O dönemde Hicaz'ın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu tarafından yönetildiği dikkate alınarak, hacıların ve önemli hac yollarının güvenliğinin sağlanmasına yönelik temel tedbirlerden biri olan Hicaz demiryolu ve onun siyasi önemi hakkında yeni veriler sunulmuştur. Makalede öncelikli olarak Kazakistan Arşiv Belgeleri taranarak konulara göre tasnif edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hac, İslam, Osmanlı, Kazak Türkleri, Çarlık Rusya.

Introduction

Since the earliest days of mankind, the concept of different religions and beliefs has emerged. The first Religious Tourism was based on visiting sacred places on the basis of religious principles. A general definition of Religious Tourism is that people leave their homes to perform religious duties, visit holy places, tombs of saints and famous people, participate in religious gatherings and rituals, perform religious duties such as pilgrimage. The main subject of religious tourism is the pilgrim, i.e. the person who makes a pilgrimage journey (Kaya 1999: 2).

Hajj is one of the most important trips in the field of religious tourism. Unlike representatives of other religious movements, the Islamic religion is distinguished by a long pilgrimage, a large number of people and the stability of this journey. The annual gathering of Muslims from different nationalities from every territory of the world in one center in the cities of Mecca and Madina led to the formation of a new term for tourism, which is called "Hajj tourism".

The Hajj is one of the main factors contributing to the political, economic and social development of states, and we can consider the various Muslim peoples as a unifying spiritual and ideological institutional structure in terms of territory, culture and language. In this sense, it is very important today to know the history of the pilgrimage and to carry out scientific research. On the basis of historical data, we can see that pilgrimage in Kazakh society only began at the end of the 19th century.

The formation of the Hajj in the Kazakh steppe is directly related to the spread of Islam and its full establishment. Kazakh historians conducting research in this area break down the process of formation and strengthening of the Hajj into three stages:

- The first stage is the consolidation of the concept of Hajj in the religious worldview of the Kazakhs along with the spread of Islam, i.e. includes the period when the khans of Central Asia and the descendants of Genghis Khan, who ruled in the Kazakh steppe, began to accept Islam (Middle Age);
- The second stage marks the time when the Islamic religion was supported in the Kazakh steppe under the Russian Empire (the second half of the 18th-the end of the 19th century);
- The third period coincided with Kazakhstan's independence. (Mukhtarova 2009: 8)

The first stage is characterized by the first diffusion of Islam in nomadic Kazakh society. The second stage saw the full establishment of Islam in the Kazakh steppe and the beginning of the fulfillment of Islamic requirements. The Hajj of Kazakh pilgrims also began during this period.

The basis for the actual study of the topic was the source documents obtained from the Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (CARK) and The Ottoman State Archives.

The information used comes from the Central Archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan F. 44 (Semirechensk regional administration), F. 73 (head of the research point in the town of Verny, Semirechye region), F. 154 (Turkestan police bailiff), F. 338. These fonds contain well-preserved data on Turkish citizens participating in the pilgrimage and on the organizers of pilgrimage trips, which has made it possible not only to broaden the field of study of the subject, but also to study it from a historiographical point of view. Published monographs and scientific articles have also been used in the context of the subject studied. In particular, in the scientific collection "Islam in Kazakhstan: pilgrimage (19th - early 20th century)", published under the direction of the historian and scientist G. R. Mukhtarova. The Central Archives of Kazakhstan contain data on the first visit of Kazakh pilgrims, the memories they left behind, and Russian laws and administrative acts relating to the hajj, all presented in chronological order. Articles by Kazakh historians S. Rustemov, S. Smagulova and G. Kurmanbaeva provided new information on Kazakh-Turkish relations and the direction in which the Kazakhs made the pilgrimage, based on data from the archives of the Russian cities of Kazan.

During the pilgrimage, Turkish historians who wrote an extensive work on how Istanbul became the main transit: M.Kütükçü, Z. Kurşun, U. Gülsoy, N. Okutuku, G. Sarıyıldız, A. Sibgatullina, H. Kamalova, S. Sırma, were guided by scientific works and articles. In addition, in the collection of data from the Ottoman archive "Belgelerle Osmanlı-Türkistan İlişkileri (XVI-XX Yüzyıllar), published in Ankara, you can find letters from Turkestan pilgrims to the Ottoman Sultan. The research work

was implemented on a methodological basis in accordance with the requirements of historical methods and techniques. Systematized and comparatively differentiated scientific reflections and conclusions of a new direction, work and research from a new historical point of view, formed recently.

In the work on historical method and the principles of historical knowledge, material is presented in chronological order. Many factual materials are systematized using the methods of sciences adjacent to history (statistics, sociology, etc.). The study employed methods of real historical analysis, comparative analysis, compilation and conclusion. During the theoretical disclosure of the work, the principles of objectivity, complexity and coherence of scientific expertise were guided by the principles of a fresh approach to the events under consideration.

When disclosing the methodological basis, the historical-comparative method was used. There was a methodological position, and the indicators of objectivity, integrity and conditional development were taken as a basis.

1. Hajj in the period of Tsarist Russia

Since the second half of the 19th century, the number of pilgrims among Kazakhs has increased dramatically. The main reason for this is that, following the establishment of tsarist power, Tatars engaged in trade and pilgrimage across the Kazakh steppes of Samarkand, Kokand, Bukhara; merchants brought about an increase in the number of Kazakh pilgrims (Mukhtarova 2009: 24). As well as trading on the Kazakh steppes, the Tatars who went to Mecca taught Kazakh children and actively promoted Islam. As for the Tatars who arrived with such a mission in Central Asia, the police secretly collected data and took steps to prohibit Tatar merchants from trading freely and creating mullahs.

Another circumstance that served as the basis for the increased interest in pilgrimage during this period, special articles began to be published, giving extensive information about pilgrimage in the cities of Verniy, Orenburg, Kazan. In particular, in Kazan were published: “Kissa-i Oserbay” (1895), “Haj-ul-haramaen Bekturgan bin Karajan Haji” (1898), “Kissa-i Ondirbay haj-ul-haramaen” (1900), “Badel haj” by Gumar Karashev (1913), The “Journey to the Hajj” Commandment for the people was published in the Verny by Duisebai Shumankulov Bi¹ of Almaty county (1911), In Orenburg “Kozybai-haji Isengul-Haji ulyn Marcia” (1913) (Eleukenov vd. 192),

The annual increase in the number of pilgrims did not leave the Tsarist government of the time indifferent. According to data kept in the Central Archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan, between 1862 and 1897, around 500 Muslims made a pilgrimage. Between 1901 and 1914, more than 2,000 people made a pilgrimage to the Zhetysu region. In the Akmola region, in 1902-1913, around 1,500 people made the pilgrimage. In 1905, only Kazakhs making a pilgrimage from Omsk received more than 500 special permits (Kazakhstan..., 2002). According to the newspaper “turkestanskiye Vedomosti”: “In 1913, the number of people making the pilgrimage to Mecca from Turkestan doubled compared with the previous ten years, and the number of Tatars, Kazakhs and Sarts making the pilgrimage reached 50,000 in one year” (Mukhtarova 2009: 353). These data show that the hajj journey has become a stable tradition in Kazakh society every year.

1 Bi are judicial and political figures of the Kazakh people. They were at the origins of the formation of the laws of society.

The Russian Empire did not prevent the Muslim population from freely visiting its regional “holy places” and performing the hajj - pilgrimage to Mecca because in the 19th century, the Russian Empire annexed Central Asia, which became the only region in the empire where the Muslim population was absolutely dominant, making up 95% of the inhabitants (Litvinov 2019:4).

Although Hajj at first glance seemed like a fulfillment of duty, this journey also directly concerned international relations of that period due to the crossing of several state borders. Diplomatic relations between Russia and Turkey could not but have their influence. This is due to the fact that it was advantageous for Kazakhs, Muslims of Russia as a whole, to make a pilgrimage through the capital of the Ottoman Empire Istanbul-along the route of the Red Sea. Due to the deterioration of the situation between the two States, pilgrimage trips were subject to great obstacles. An example of this is statements about pilgrimage in the period from 1876 to 1878 (Mukhtarova 2009:9).

1.1. The Procedure for Processing Documents During the Pilgrimage

After Tsarist Russia had completely taken over the territory of Central Asia, it approved the provisions of the law whereby citizens making a pilgrimage were officially issued with a permit and a special passport. On this basis, from March 23, 1803, lists of pilgrims began to be kept among Russia’s Muslims. After accepting the pilgrims’ application and issuing them with a special document, the latter indicated the physique, face, height and age of the sender of the pilgrimage and mentioned the route he was taking to Mecca. In addition, it was necessary to issue a receipt to comply fully with Russian legislation. For example, in the 20s and 30s of the 19th century, archival documents indicate that Muslim pilgrims from Kokand and Bukhara submitted a receipt to the Semey and Petropavlovsk security departments, in which they declared full compliance with Russian legislation (TsGARK. F.338 Inv.1. case. 651 . s.1). At the time, each person needed 100-300 rubles for the pilgrimage, and 12.6 rubles to obtain a pilgrimage passport with stamps, including a consular visa (Mukhtarova 2009:12).

On March 19, 1871, the District Governor of the Zhetysu region, Governor General of Turkestan, issued an order on the procedure for obtaining tickets and issuing receipts to Muslims traveling abroad for trade and pilgrimage to Mecca. The order was published in the Turkestan newspaper Ualayat under the title “Issuance of tickets to Mecca to Muslim converts to the Russian people”. The article presents the documents required for the pilgrimage in clear sections. The general content of the article is as follows:

1st: tickets for people visiting Mecca are issued only in Tashkent and Almaty. It doesn’t give up anywhere else. 2nd: Muslims who want to go to Mecca must bring a letter to the provincial governor, indicating that they do not have any taxes, that they did not come under investigation and did not interfere, and that they have no debts to other people. Must bring a guarantee paper from three good proxies. Candidates must provide a guarantee document from three reliable persons. You must provide a guarantee document from three trustworthy persons. The guarantee document stipulates that the three guarantors will have to be paid according to the monthly taxes of the person going to Mecca, secondly, the remaining children must be in good health and have a guarantee that the person traveling will be able to make the trip and return on the road debt-free. If a debt accumulates along the way, he must

guarantee that he will pay it himself. Third: the person responsible writes that he has no objection to going to Mecca as soon as he sees this paper accompanied by a guarantee paper. Then, the person who has received this letter goes to the governor and obtains a ticket. Every four months, the provincial governor records the names of Muslims who have received a ticket to Mecca and forwards the report to the Governor General. (Mukhtarova 2009: 225). On December 31, 1900, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia approved a new rule number 2414 related to pilgrimage. According to this provision, pilgrims will be issued a special “pilgrim passport” (Kazakhstan 2002). (Fig. 1.) These passports and permits were issued only in Orenburg, Omsk, St. Petersburg, Astrakhan.



Fig. 1. Pilgrimage passport.

Reference: Islam in Kazakhstan: pilgrimage (XIXth –early XXth century) // Collection of materials. Almaty: Publishing House, 2009, pp. 538,539,543,545.

The question of registering the documents required for a pilgrimage trip was often raised in the “Kazakh” newspaper (1913-1918). In articles such as “We remind pilgrims. “The Pilgrim’s Letter”, ‘The Pilgrim’s Way’, ‘Unjustified Expenses’, ‘This Year’s Pilgrims’, etc. stress the importance of pilgrims obtaining passports not for travel to Mecca, but for travel abroad. It says that the goal is that pilgrims do not fall into the deception and temptations of crooks on the road, in addition, if it is written

in the passport that they are only traveling, rather than going to Mecca, then you can mount the desired parahot and go freely to wherever they want (Smagulova 2015: 112).

2. Kazakh's pilgrimage direction

There were seven land and two sea routes that Muslims used to go to Hejaz. The land routes were Damascus, Egypt, Aden, Amman, Lahsa, Basra and Baghdad. The sea routes were divided into two, north and south of the Red Sea (Yaşayanlar 2015: 182). The pilgrimage routes of the Muslims of Russia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries can be divided into three large groups:

Route I: Caucasus and Iran Route: from Kirmanshah in northern Iran to Khanikin on the Iranian border - from Baghdad to Karbala and Najaf, then to Mecca and Medina; Route II: Route from Samarkand and Bukhara via the port of Yanbu: Bukhara or Samarkand via Mezar-i-Sharifge-Kabul-Peshawar-Bombay with a stop in Yanbu across the Indian Ocean, and then to Mecca and Medina (Litvinov 2024, 78). Although it was difficult to cross the 1,500-kilometer distance between Samarkand and Peshawar on horseback or camels, this route was in many cases closer in distance for Central Asians compared to other countries and more economical in terms of means (Kütükçü 2004: 186). At a time when it was difficult to get a passport for pilgrimage from the Russian government, and due to the fact that the passport problem on the border with Afghanistan did not cause any difficulties, Saryarkin Kazakhs often used this direction. This route is one of the most difficult, passing through Central Asia. This is due to the fact that a Kazakh going on pilgrimage, hiring a horse-drawn carriage, had to pass through the Uzbek cities of Tashkent-Samarkand - Bukhara-Charja, and then drive through the country of Kyzylbas (now Iran) and get to the port on the coast of Kyzylbas. This was obviously a problem that crossed the borders of every country. There is information that about 2-3 thousand people annually made a pilgrimage through this route in the nineteenth century (Mukhtarova 2009: 13).

Route III: Black Sea route: from the Black Sea port to Istanbul, then to the city of Suez, from Suez by ship to Yanbo or Jeddah, then to Mecca and Medina (Sibgatullina 2014: 26-31). Of these three directions, this was one of the safest and most widely used. This route was often used by pilgrims from Siberia, Turkestan and the European part of Russia (Kütükçü 2004: 186). Among Kazakh pilgrims, Kunanbai took this route. In Kunanbai's day, Kazakhs often took this route. When he reached Istanbul, he took a boat. There are many other destinations, one of which involves crossing the North Caucasus to reach the Black Sea coast (this is a short route, but only suitable for Kazakhs of the younger Zhuz generation). These are common destinations for Kazakh and Russian Muslims on their way to Mecca. Among these destinations, we'll take a closer look at the "Black Sea route". Pilgrims taking the Black Sea route would stay in Istanbul for several weeks and then continue their journey. However, even before reaching Istanbul, pilgrims took the following five types of route:

1. Arrival via Moscow: from Moscow by rail, via Warsaw and Vienna within 6 days to Istanbul. This route was chosen by people who were afraid to travel by sea. However, this trip was one of the most expensive and economically very inefficient destinations for pilgrims.

2. Arrival via Sevastopol: once a week a steamship plied from Sevastopol to Istanbul. The duration of this trip could be from thirty hours to two days, depending on weather conditions. Due to the small and incorrect equipment of the steamship, this

route became unreliable. However, due to too many pilgrims during the pilgrimage, it was difficult to get tickets for these steamships.

3. Arrival route via Batumi and Poti: this route was chosen by Muslims of the Caucasus. On this route, it was possible to get to Istanbul by steamer in 7-8 days if the weather was good, and in 10-12 days if the weather was bad. These trips were often made by pilgrims on large ferries.

4. Trip to Constanta: Istanbul could be reached by Romanian steamboats from the port of Constanta (Okutucu 2017: 65).

5. The route of travel through Odessa: pilgrims from Turkestan first arrived from Turkestan to Krasnovodsk by rail, then across the Caspian Sea by steamer to Baku, from Baku by rail to Rostov, from Rostov to Odessa. Also from Odessa he would have gone directly to Istanbul on a visa received from the Ottoman embassy with the inscription “via Istanbul to Mecca” (Kütükçü 2004: 186). Large and well-equipped ferries ran 5-6 times a week (Sibgatullina 2014: 34-35). It was about 23 hours between Odessa and Istanbul, as well as the opportunity to get to Istanbul from Odessa by rail connecting Vienna (Okutucu 2017: 65).

Pilgrims who arrived in Istanbul on these routes used the following routes to get to Hejaz²:

1. Get from Istanbul to Beirut³ by ferry, the route from Beirut via the Hejaz railway directly to Medina.

2. Get to Yanbu and Jeddah via Suez by steamship from Istanbul, hence the route to Mecca further down the road;

3. Get from Istanbul to Alexandria by ferry, arrive from Cairo to Suez by rail from here, get to Jeddah by ferry from Suez, and then go to Mecca (Sibgatullina 2014:36).

For a sea visit to the Hejaz from Istanbul, pilgrims also used the services of Idare-i Mahsusa and Austrian, French and British companies. However, in many cases this opportunity was used by Ottoman pilgrims because of the high cost of the company’s activities (Sarıyıldız 1996: 41). There is no data on the use of this service by Kazakh or Uzbek pilgrims.

Steamships transporting pilgrims from the Black Sea ports to Istanbul were forced to wait for sunrise when they arrived at the Bosphorus. Since the Russian ships did not enter the Bosphorus, they stopped a few meters from the bridge. The pilgrims used the services of a small boat at a low price to reach the shore, and were taken to the customs post to check their hand luggage (Smagulova 2015:116).

One of the main needs of pilgrims at customs inspection was to obtain a temporary internal passport from their travel documents. In addition to the presence of a seal in the passport, information was provided on the basis of the journey and the main reason for the trip. This internal passport was one of the temporarily valid documents issued to foreigners to enter Istanbul (Yılmaz 2014: 177). Obtaining this document was compulsory for all foreigners, put in place to regulate the city’s peaceful life and public order in order to prevent internal and external conflicts (Yılmaz 2014: 165).

According to the “Pasaport Nizamnamesi” rule for visitors from foreign countries

2 Hejaz (Arabic: الحجاز) is a territory in the west of the Arabian Peninsula, part of Saudi Arabia. The historical place of the origin of Islam — the holy Muslim cities of Mecca and Medina are located here. The administrative center is Jeddah

3 Beirut is one of the most cosmopolitan and religiously diverse cities in Lebanon and the entire Middle East

to Istanbul, a foreigner had to obtain a visa to enter the territory of the Ottoman Empire. The visa received is valid only for one trip and was obliged to get a six-month visa in case you have to cross the border twice a month. In accordance with another article of this provision of the law, a foreigner who does not have a passport and does not have any identity documents was not allowed to enter the territory of the Ottoman Empire, and citizens who did not receive a visa, if they had a passport, the visa was fined at twice the price (Yılmaz 2014: 207-208).

When the pilgrims arrived on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, the officer of the seaport was ordered to check his document and pass control. The arriving passenger was sent to the duty officer for a full examination within twenty-four hours (Yılmaz 2014: 237-238).

After passing the customs inspection, the pilgrims settled in *khanlars*⁴, hotels and caravanserais. This is stated in the memoirs of a pilgrim, written in 1904:

“289 Muslims who came from Batumi to Istanbul and intended to visit the Hejaz settled in hotels and caravanserais (Okutucu 2017: 69).

Long-distance passengers will arrive in Istanbul and again prepare for a long journey by sea, desert, gain physical and spiritual strength and settle in Istanbul for one or two weeks. At that time, they were preparing food and basic necessities to Mecca (Sibgatullina 2014:33), and, according to modern religious traditions, there was a tradition to obtain permission from the leader of the Muslim people, the Sultan of the Caliphate, without making a pilgrimage. The main way to observe this religious tradition is pilgrims who came from afar for pilgrimage, who greeted the Sultan and together performed Friday prayer with the padishah over the *jainamaz* spread around the mosque (Ayyıldız 2008: 42). The participation of pilgrims on Friday with the Ottoman Sultan was considered to be obtaining permission for pilgrimage. This tradition was called “*Juma Selamlığı*”. (Ulukan 2005: 139). After Friday prayers, the Ottoman Sultan communicated directly with the people, listened to the complaints and wishes of the people. From the point of view of that period, it was considered the dignity and respect of the sultan for his people. Muslims from Russia were at the forefront among the groups welcoming the Caliph. This tradition continued until the revolution of 1917. (Sibgatullina 2009: 933).

The most visited places of pilgrims when visiting Istanbul were mosques, *dergahly*, libraries. In particular, there were Eyup Sultan Mosque, Sultanahmet Mosque, Suleiman Mosque, Sunil Effendi Mosque, Fatih Mosque, Merkez Efendi Mosque, Yusha Ridge and Bayazit Mosque.. These historical sites were among those that made a special impression on them (Sibgatullina 2014: 86-87).

The places most visited by Kazakh pilgrims in Istanbul during the trip were hotels and Uzbek *takiyas*. There were too many hotels catering for pilgrims. In the Mahmutpasha district, Iarim Khan, Iyldyk Khan, Sherif Khan, Finjanji Khan, Tahtaly Khan, Shehh Davud Khan, Tahtaked Kundakshi Khan and Kebapshi Khan were just some of the hotels located in the city center. Irin Khan and Yulduz Khan stayed in these hotels, so they were clean and reliable. The article “*Hajji*” in the Kazakh newspaper reports as follows:

«...Many of the pilgrims stayed in Istanbul at the Izmir, Yarim Khan, Iyldiz Hotel, Osmanali Hotel, Anatolia Hotel or Hotel. Since the last two hotels are located near the markets, pilgrims have the opportunity to purchase everything they need. Only

4 Places of religious and official holidays in Ottoman times

Russian gold and silver money went abroad, which was replaced only in the “Ottoman Bank”. Nevertheless, the pilgrims were so often confronted with the facts of theft that some scammers stole the pilgrims’ money, promising an exchange for cheaper money (Kazakh newspaper 1913: 23, Smagulova 2015: 115).

If pilgrims couldn’t find room in these hotels, Sheriff Pasha and Kapalysharzhi stayed at Hotel Baltazhi, in areas close to the shopping center. Hotels such as Finjanji Khan, Takhtali Khan, Sheikh Dawud Khan, in many cases, cheated pilgrims and were very high-priced hotels (Sibgatullina 2014: 40). In addition to the hotels mentioned, pilgrims stayed in numerous hotels. Most of them are located in the Emin district. Due to the proximity of these hotels to the railroad, pier and shopping centers, pilgrims also stayed in this area. The following hotels can be found in this district: Hurriet, Izmir, Yildiz, Ottomans, Anatoly, Crimée and Meseret. In 1909, in Kazan, on the guide prepared by the Tatar Gali Reza for Mecca (guide book), pilgrims were advised to stay in Izmir, Uyldyz, Ottoman, Anatoly, Hurieta and in these hotels as well as in the Kyrim hotel opposite (Okutucu 2017: 76).

In addition to these hotels, the pilgrims made purchases in Istanbul and stayed at the house of relatives who settled in this city, had a house, created charity centers. However, Uzbek and Tatar Muslims had such a situation. Because in the writings of Kazakh pilgrims there are no data about guests in a Kazakh family in Istanbul (late 19th-early 20th centuries).

During these periods, there were also Uzbek takias in several districts of Istanbul. At that time, part of takia hosted pilgrims from Central Asia as hotels (Yılmaz 2014: 247-249). Uzbek (Bukhara) takia in Sultanahmet district, Sheikh Suleiman Efendi takia and Sultantepe and Eyup takia in Sinnar district became a hotel, a refuge for pilgrims from Turkestan territory and other merchants. Sultanahmet district, Sheikh Suleiman Efendi takia and Sultantepe and Eyup Takia in Sinnar district became a hotel, a refuge for pilgrims from Turkestan territory and other merchants. In addition, in Nakshiben, which was the second home for passengers throughout Turkestan and Yedil, passengers felt safe, and Turkestan scientists met with Ottoman sheikhs on pilgrimage trips, maintained spiritual relations with them and left their knowledge, impressions, Sufi teachings while back own country.

Uzbek takia Ayub was known by the names Ayub takia, Abdalbaki effendi takia, Uzbek takia and Akyl effendi, since it was built by Lalizade Abdalbaki initiative in the Ayub area in 1733. This hotel, the second of three hotels created in Istanbul, and those who came from Central Asia for pilgrimage, stayed at this hotel on the way back from the pilgrimage, and this hotel was a gathering center for scholars and communication (Kamalova 2012:178).

One of the most visited by Kazakh and Uzbek pilgrims, Sultanahmet Uzbekler takia, was known by the names takia Kadyrga Uzbekler Dergah, Uzbekler Hangakhy. The first of these, founded in Istanbul, was built in the XVII century (1692-93) by the financial head of Istanbul Ismail Efendi (Tanman 2007:121). XVIII ғ. Due to the good Ottoman-Turkestan relations, this takiya was considered one of the leading and advanced at that time.

Another of the most visited takia by pilgrims of Central Asia is takia Sultantepe Uzbekler. Hajji Khoja, known as Kalenderhane, is one of the takias built specifically for Muslims visiting Istanbul from Turkestan. The above-mentioned takia was built in 1752-1753 by the head of the city of Morgaus district in the Uskyudar province of Abdullah Pasha (Beyoglu 2004: 201). Pilgrims who arrived in Istanbul for pilgrimage

from remote cities and Turkestan came and settled in this one. In the article “Zukha Batyr” Madibayevich that the Kazakh Hajis stopped at the named takia:

Have information that “The teacher and uncle of Zuk batyr Mumin Ishan, who was the head of the national liberation uprising in China, until 1900, together with Uzbek relatives, visited the Uzbek takiya in Istanbul and went Hajj (Madibayuly 2016).

Considering that Kazakhs went on Hajj together with Uzbeks and Kyrgyz, this meant that Kazakh pilgrims stayed at takia in Istanbul and continued their trips to Mecca.

According to Turkish historians, most of the pilgrims passing through Istanbul at the same time were pilgrims from the Russian Empire (Turkestan). According to data from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, between eight and twelve thousand Muslims performed their pilgrimage duty each year on the passport of the Russian Empire. One of the main reasons why the number of pilgrims increased over the years was the good development of transport routes, directly linked to the very low prices of the railway (Sibgatullina 2014: 25). In the 1880s, Russia extended its rail network to the Caucasus and Central Asia. Pilgrims from Central Asia could travel from Tashkent to Odessa by train in 8.5 days.

Kazakh, Uzbek and Kyrgyz pilgrims who made the pilgrimage came by the same road through the Russian railway, and since the language and culture were close, they understood each other well and tried to go in groups.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Istanbul became the main gathering center for merchants, pilgrims and intellectuals from the Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Uzbek khanates (Bukhara, Khiva, Kokan). Speaking about his pilgrimage visit, Kazakh poet, philosopher Shakarim Kudaibergenuly noted thirteen days of his stay in Istanbul and talked with scientists from different countries (Turkish, Caucasian-Circassian, Indian, Arab, Bashkir, Iranian countries (Omarov 2015).

2.1. Main Measures to Ensure the Safety of Pilgrims

Istanbul has become a center that unites representatives of different states and different nationalities in one direction. Over the years, the increase in the number of pilgrims has not only strengthened the economy of the Ottoman Empire, but also opened the way to the growth of political influence and the formation of a common empire among Muslims (Kara 2001:163).

Considering that the Hejaz region⁵ was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire for three hundred years, Istanbul, which is the main center of the Caliphate, ensured the safety of pilgrims, realizing the responsibility of the caliphate mission as much as possible, the Ottomans sought to meet all the needs of pilgrims and help them financially if they have insufficient funds. (Çoban 2012: 27). According to Ottoman law, the Ottoman Sultan was directly responsible for all Muslims visiting Mecca without danger. Taking into account their physical condition during the pilgrim’s long journey, he systematized therapeutic measures (Eroğlu 2020).

The Hejaz Railway played an important role in the pilgrimage. On May 2, 1900, the Hejaz Railway was built by order of Abdul Hamid II. Initially, the plan was to extend the railroad from Damascus (Sham) to Mecca-Mecca-Judah, and then on to

5 Hejaz was part of the Ottoman Empire during the time of I Sultan Selim in 1517, Mecca in 1916 and Medina in 1919 withdrew from the Ottoman Empire.

Yemen (Gülsoy 2007: 441). The start of construction of the Eastern Railway was directly linked to the military, political and religious conditions of the time. The Hejaz Railway was conceived as one of the most important routes for ensuring Mecca's external and internal security, and the most effective for military operations. 1,300 kilometers of this road, with a total length of 1,464 km, linked Damascus to Medina (Özkan 2011). Thus, the Hejaz route, which linked Istanbul and Mecca, was put into service for pilgrimages and safe visits to other Islamic states, enabling thousands of Muslims to make the pilgrimage by rail in complete safety and convenience (Hülagü 2008: 26). Pilgrims' 35-day journey between Damascus and Mecca was reduced to 3-4 days, and the 13-day journey between Jeddah and Mecca to 1 day. (Koloğlu 1995: 295).

One of the security measures during the trip was the use of ship services by pilgrims. Ships were often subjected to inspection due to excessive passenger traffic, cleanliness from the point of view of hygiene, and technically completely safe long-distance transportation (Sarıyıldız 1996: 12). First aid measures on long-distance vessels were not ignored either. In order to ensure the safety of the pilgrimage and the preservation of general health, the basic rules that the Ottoman State observes in the pilgrimage in connection with the health sector were approved, which were heavily taxed for the heads of courts that were not serviced in accordance with the requirements of the law. (Sarıyıldız 1996: 46-51).

Jeddah based ferry agencies and some tourism organizations inflated the cost of the boat ticket, claiming that pilgrims who did not pay this fee stayed in Jeddah for a long time and complained to the Ottoman Sultan about a number of cases, such as excessive deterioration of cleanliness and excessive spread of infectious diseases harmful to health. To solve these problems, a special commission was set up and certain provisions were approved. 5% of places on the boats were reserved for low-income pilgrims and, during the same period, due to the spread of cholera among pilgrims and the increase in the price of boat tickets, many pilgrims stayed in Mecca for several days for lack of financial means. These pilgrims received financial assistance from the Sultan and were exempted from the quarantine tax (Sarıyıldız 1996: 51-52). Ottoman archival documents contain information on the use of this aid by Central Asian Muslim pilgrims (Uzbeks, Kyrgyz) and on the allocation of special funds by the state, through the Ottoman Padishah. Moreover, archival documents attest that disadvantaged pilgrims were paid not only to journey from the Hejaz, but also to travel to the Hejaz for certain pilgrims (Ottoman Archives, BOA, HAT, 1418/57993).

Shakir Bey, in his memoirs of his pilgrimage journey, tells that Far Eastern and Asian Muslims who went to the Hejaz together came to the Caliph at Friday prayer, expressed a desire and a request to help with road funds (Şakir Bey 2009: 32).

Another measure in ensuring security in Istanbul was Dellals. A dellal (intermediary) is a person who announces a message from the authorities to people and makes a deal with the goods they sell or buy. The Dellals were one of the most important figures not only in domestic trade, but also for foreign pilgrims. In accordance with the provisions laid down in Ottoman law, the intermediaries between the buyer and the seller, who knew the law well, were the dellals.

Another activity of the dellals was that they served for pilgrims, guides, Muslims on pilgrimage, and this activity was approved by the order of the head of Mecca. Their main goal was to gather pilgrims, find and place a special hotel in the city of Jeddah. one of the dellals who are on such service is reported in the message of the Turkestan

City Police Department dated November 18, 1897.:

According to the information received, a Turkish citizen, a native of Jeddah, named Makhmat Amin, through Samarkand to Kyzylkum, under the guise of collecting money for the establishment of dormitories in Jeddah and Mecca for Turkestan pilgrims a month ago. ... according to the circulating rumor, the dissemination of a proclamation calling on local Muslims to unite in order to maintain Islam and help the Turkish Sultan pursues a completely different goal (TsGARK . F.154. Inv.1. case. 20 A . s.7) .

It follows from these data that during the same period, the activities of a number of tourist companies and pilgrimage companies organizing a pilgrimage trip previously raised funds for the accommodation of Kazakh pilgrims in the city of Mecca. However, due to the political circumstances of that period, Russian leaders claimed that they were Turkish spies sent to create Islamic unity, and banned and deported entry into Russian territory.

Another responsibility of the Ottoman Empire towards pilgrims was to take measures against infectious diseases. The Ottoman Empire, which was spread over a vast geographical area, was exposed to cholera infestations, which rapidly spread intercontinental from India in the 19th century (Yaşayanlar 2023: 479). First appearing in Bengal in 1817, cholera spread around the world in a short space of time and led to the deaths of thousands of people (Sarıyıldız 1996:145). In connection with the spread of this dangerous epidemic on August 19, 1903, in accordance with Russian legislation, changes to foreign documents were considered. On the basis of this decree, Russian Muslims returning from pilgrimage were to be checked at the following points:

- a) users of the Black Sea route - from the Feodosiya and Batumi marine medical observation stations,
- b) users of the Caspian Sea Route -from the Baku Marine Medical Observation Station,
- c) users of the Persian-Transcaucasian route-Karaorgan, Julfakh and Khudofereniyedva medical control points,
- d) arrived from the Trans-Caspian border (from the Gadu medical observation point in the Persian (Iranian) region).

On the third sheet of the foreign passport, a certificate of passage of the above-mentioned medical control point and permission to return to the territory of Russia was required. In addition, if the pilgrims are recalled by a quarantine or medical control institution, pages 12 and 13 of the passport must be warned about the need for medical sanitary cleaning and the last sheet is removed from the passport and sent to the Governor (TsGARK F.64.Inv.14.2205. s.68)

We have already said that the city of Mecca was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, and during the pilgrimage for pilgrims from Central Asia were assisted by the Ottoman Sultan. The pilgrimage of Muslims through the Turkish land, and the assistance of the Ottoman Sultan to the pilgrims, strengthened the respect of a number of Kazakh pilgrims for the Ottoman Turks. Suspecting from such situations, the Russian government took under strict control the pilgrims who went on a pilgrimage trip. The Russian government has banned those who make a pilgrimage to Mecca from importing books with Arabic letters, including publications printed in Turkey. The books brought during the pilgrimage were seized and subjected to inspection

(censorship) (TsGARK. F.73. Inv. 1. case. 13 V. s.3) This is evidenced by the report of the head of the Department of the Vernensky district dated April 23, 1903:

«Shamsutdin Kazitdinov, a resident of Shymkent district, distributes books of political and religious orientation prohibited for sale among the Muslim population (TsGARK. F.44. Inv.1. case. 8452. s.5).

The first concern of the tsarist government was the suspicion that books of unknown content could negatively affect the local population, and secondly, distrust prevailed that the contradictions between the Russian-Turkish at that time led to the fact that the unification of the Muslim religion led to the support of the Turks.

The pilgrimage, which began to disturb the tsarist Russia, was seen as reinforcing Muslim fanaticism, as a political and religious unifying force for Muslims all over the world, and sought to limit and oppress. However, the tsarist Russia is well aware that this journey cannot be banned once and for all. The reason is that in the Russian Empire in 1897 there were 13.9 million, and unofficial data show 20-25 million muslim (Rustemov 2010: 63).

As the colonial policy of the tsarist Russia tightened, the requirements for pilgrimage became more and more difficult. The pilgrimage was considered politically harmful, subjected to as much restraint and strict supervision by the state as possible, and outlined the main conditions of the pilgrimage (Vasiliev 2023: 67)

It is known that the twentieth century is the beginning of difficult periods that brought some changes. The beginning of the First World War, the deterioration of political conditions in Kazakh society, the creation of the Soviet Union could not but affect the cessation of pilgrimage, so that in the 20s of the twentieth century the number of pilgrims decreased, and this tradition ceased.

Conclusion

In Kazakh society, the pilgrimage process began in the 19th century and was fully consolidated in the early 20th century. Pilgrimage is not only the fulfillment of a religious duty, it is also one of the most important factors, one of the main types of religious tourism, directly affecting the international economy and even political and diplomatical relations.

The difficulties and main directions of pilgrimage under tsarist Russia were identified, and a study based on actual data was conducted. It should be noted that the Kazakhs made a pilgrimage along three large routes, and among them we stopped separately on the way to the “Black Sea route to Istanbul”.

It was noted that Istanbul, the capital of the Caliphate, became the main transit center for pilgrimage trips and that this visit had a positive impact not only on strengthening the economy of the Ottoman Empire, but also on strengthening political influence.

Pilgrimage is a vast concept, and it's obvious that the term cannot be studied solely in the religious sphere. In this study, we have attempted to explore pilgrimage as a part of the tourism industry, using historiographical methods. We've tried to make it clear that pilgrimage is the main factor in religious tourism, and in what way this process developed in Kazakh society in the late 19th and 20th centuries, on the process of handling the documents required for a journey, on the pilgrimage to Istanbul and its challenges.

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