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Hajj above all: Ḥakīm-khān between Mecca and St. Petersburg¹

At the beginning of the 19th century, each of the three Central Asian khanates, guided by their geopolitical interests, sought to expand relations with world powers. In particular, the Kokand Khanate (1709–1876) during the reign of ‘Umar-khān (1810–1822) tried to establish relations with the Ottoman Empire (1299–1923, since 1517 – the Caliphate).² At the same time, the Russian Empire (1721–1917) began to look with even greater interest at the politics along its southern borders, as a result of which, by the second half of the nineteenth century, Central Asia became the object of its expansion.

The interest of the Russian Empire in Central Asian lands is evidenced by a few historical sources authored by representatives of the local population. One of such sources, supplying us with very valuable information on the history of the Kokand Khanate, is the work of Ḥakīm-khān (1217/1802–1803–?)³ from the Ming dynasty (1709–1876) *Muntakhab al-tavārikh* (‘Extract from history’), written in Persian (completed in Rabbi al-awwal 1259 / April–May 1843).⁴ Along with the narration about the events that took place in the Kokand Khanate, Ḥakīm-khān described his chance meeting with the Russian Emperor Alexander I (1801–1825), which took place in 1240 / 1824–25,⁵ when Ḥakīm-khān was on his way to Mecca for the sacred pilgrimage (*hajj*) through the territory of Russia. It is on this meeting and some of the details accompanying it that we will focus our attention further.

It should be noted that in comparison with the historiography of the Hajj from the Caucasus and the Volga-Ural region in the 19th – early 20th centuries⁶

¹ I thank Prof. Shadmon Vahidov and Filipp Khusnutdinov for his help in developing the text of the translation.

² Hisao KOMATSU, ‘Khoqand and Istanbul: an Ottoman document relating to the earliest contacts between the khan and sultan’, *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques*, Vol. LX, No. 4 (2006), 963–986.

³ Ḥakīm-khān – Hāji Muḥammad Ḥakīm-khān, son of Sayyid Ma’sūm-khān. He was born around 1217 / 1802–1803 (Nikolay MIKLUKHO-MAKLAY, *Opisanie tadjikskikh i persidskikh rukopisej Instituta vostokovedenija. Vyp. 3. Istoricheskie sochinenija*, otv. red. O.F. Akimushkin, Moskva: Nauka, GRVL, 1975, No. 457 (in Russian) or in 1221 / 1806–1807 (Dilorom YUSUPOVA – Rano DJALILOVA (sostaviteli), *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisej Akademii nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan. Istorija*, Tashkent: Fan, 1998, 195 (in Russian).

⁴ YUSUPOVA – DJALILOVA, 196.

⁵ B. Babadjanov claims that it was in the fall of 1824 (Bakhtiyar BABADJANOV, *Kokandskoe khanstvo: vlast, politika, religija*, Tokio–Tashkent, 2010, 617 (in Russian).

⁶ Elena CAMPBELL, ‘The “Pilgrim Question”: Regulating the Hajj in Late Imperial Russia’, *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Vol. LVI, Nos. 56, 3–4 (2014), 239–268; Eileen KANE, *Russian Hajj. Empire and the Pilgrimage to Mecca*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015; Alfina SIBGATULLINA, *Kontakty tju-*

historiography of the Hajj from Central Asia of the period under review looks somewhat less developed. Thus, on the Central Asian Hajj, we can mention several studies written on the basis of archival material which, however, consider the issue mainly from the standpoint of the perception of 'external' actors who created these archival documents (for example, officials of the Russian Empire).⁷ Such studies, in our opinion, lack the perspective of local, Central Asian, sources, the authors of which were the pilgrims themselves.⁸ Taking into account this circumstance, we considered it important to pay attention to the work *Muntakhab al-tavārikh*, in particular to those passages where Ḥakīm-khān tells about the importance of his expressed intention to make the pilgrimage.

As for the degree of study of *Muntakhab al-tavārikh*, then by to date, this work is well known in the scientific community. Its facsimile edition and partial translation have been carried out.⁹ The Russian part of the pilgrimage route of Ḥakīm-khān was briefly outlined by Shadmon Vakhidov,¹⁰ and Bakhtiyar Babadjanov focused his research on the perception of a Muslim (i.e., Ḥakīm-khān) in a different

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rok-musulman Rosijskoj i Osmanskoj imperii na rubuzhe XIX-XX vv., Moskva: Institut vostokovedenija RAN, 2010 (in Russian); Julia GUSEVA, 'Hadj musulman Volgo-Uralskogo regiona v pervoj treti XX veka: k postanovke problemy', *Izvestija Ufimskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN*, No. 2 (2013), 123–129 (in Russian).

⁷ For example: Vladimir LITVINOV, *Religioznoe palomничество: regionalnyj aspekt (na primere Turkestana epokhi srednevekovja i novogo vremeni)*, Yelets: Izdatelstvo YGU im. I.A.Bunina, 2006 (in Russian); Vladimir Litvinov, *Musulmanskoje palomничество v tsarskoj Rossii: istoriko-antropologičeskij aspekt (na primere Turkestana 1865-1917 gg.)*. Avtoreferat na soiskanie uchenoj stepeni kandidata istoričeskikh nauk. Yelets, 2007 (in Russian); Gulzona Tanieva, 'Buxoro amirligining Usmoniylar imperiyasi bilan elchilik munosabatlarida haj ziyorati', *O'zbekistonda elchilik xizmati tarixidan: talqin va tahlil. Respublika ilmiy-amaliy konferentsiya materiallari to'plami*. Toshkent: Adabiyot uchqunlari, 2016, 155–162 (in Uzbek).

⁸ Alexandre PAPAS, Thomas WELSFORD, Thierry ZARCONI (eds.), *Central Asian Pilgrims. Hajj Routes and Pious Visits between Central Asia and the Hijaz*, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2012. See articles by Shavasil ZIYADOV and Sharifa TOSHEVA: 223–233, 234–249. These works are based on manuscripts of Hajj works from Central Asia, stored at the al-Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences.

⁹ Muḥammad ḤAKĪM-KHĀN, *Muntakhab al-tavārikh. Selected history*, edited by Kawahara Yayoyi & Haneda Koichi, Vol. II, Tokyo, 2005; 'Muntakhab al-tavarikh: On the Relations between Qoqand and Kashgar', *Islamic Central Asia. An Anthology of Historical Sources*, edited by Levi Scott & Sela Ron, Bloomington: Indiana University Press (2009), 274–280; See extracts from *Muntakhab al-tavārikh* in: *Materialy po istorii Srednej i Tsentralnoj Azii X-XIX vv.*, Tashkent: Fan, 1988, 276–310 (in Russian); Muhammad HAKIMKHON, *Muntakhab ut-tavorikh*, nashr. A.Mukhtorov. Jildhoi 1 va 2. Dushanbe, 1983–1985 (in Tajik); Muhammadhakimxon, *Muntakhab ut-tavorikh*, Shodmon Vohidov tarjimasi, Toshkent: Yangi asr avlodi, 2010 (in Uzbek); Hakimkhon. Khotiralar. Nashrga tayyorlovchi Kholid Rasul, Mahbuba Qodirova, Toshkent: Fan, 1966 (in Uzbek); *Khotirahoi Muhammad Hakimkhon dar borai safari Rusiya*, bargardonanda az hurufi arabiasosi tojiki ba kirilli, ba chop hozirkunandai matn, muallifi muqaddima, tavzehot, lughatnoma, fehris va zamima Jamoliddin Abdukarimov, Khujand, 2013 (in Tajik).

¹⁰ Shodmon VOHIDOV, *Quqon khonligida tarikhnavislik (Genezisi, funktsiyalari, namoyandalari, asarlari)*, Toshkent: Akademnashr, 2010, 170–190 (in Uzbek).

(Christian) environment and culture.¹¹ In addition, the history of Ḥakīm-khān's stay in Russia has been the subject of partial consideration by other historians as well.¹²

In 1822, after the death of the ruler of the Kokand Khanate, 'Umar-khān (1810–1822), his 16-year-old son Muhammad 'Ali-khān inherited the throne (1822–1842). Due to the young age of the new khan, a large role in making certain political decisions and governing the state belonged to a group of his relatives and associates.

After coming to power, Muhammad 'Ali-khān and his associates apparently tried to neutralize the importance of other pretenders to the khan's throne and their allies, trying to remove their opponents from the political horizon. Ḥakīm-khān, whose mother was Umar Khan's sister, grew up with Muhammad 'Ali-khān from childhood. However, since about 1823, the attitude towards Ḥakīm-khān and his family began to change dramatically – first, Ḥakīm-khān's father was exiled, and then Ḥakīm-khān himself left the khanate under the pretext of making a sacred pilgrimage to Mecca.

It is known that performing the Hajj is one of the main prescriptions for every Muslim. The political circles of the past instrumentalized this 'pillar of Islam' and from time to time deliberately sent on pilgrimage both 8 possible pretenders to the throne and their influential supporters. They did the same with Ḥakīm-khān.¹³ Physical remoteness and long travel made it impossible for such 'political pilgrims' to strengthen their positions at home. In addition, none of them were insured against attacks or murders. In this respect, Ḥakīm-khān was lucky – Muhammad 'Ali-khān did not control him on the way and therefore had no idea about the state of his affairs and meetings with various people.

Ḥakīm-khān's pilgrimage route ran through the Russian Empire. A visit to Russia by a representative of the court of the Kokand khans could not be overlooked by the Russian authorities – even Emperor Alexander I showed his interest

¹¹ BABADJANOV, 22, 617–624.

¹² TIMUR BEJSEMBIEV, *Kokandskaja istoriografija: issledovanije po istochnikovedeniju XVIII-XIX vv.*, Almaty, 2009, 507–509 (in Russian); Jamoliddin Abdukarimov, 'Khotirahoi muallifi «Muntakhab ut-tav-ori kh» Muhammad Hakimkhon doir ba kishvari Rusiya', *Dar payrohoi ilmi muosir*, Khujand (2012), 10–12 (in Tajik); Djamoliddin Abdukarimov, *Politicheskoe položenie Ura-Tjubinskogo vladenija i Khudjanda v nachale XVIII - do 40- kh g. XIX vv. (Po materialam «Muntakhab at-tavarikh» Muhammada Hakimkhana)*. Dissertatsija na soiskanie uchenoj stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk, Khujand, 2020, 31–34 (in Russian); Tanieva G.M. Journey From Central Asia to Mecca in the 19th Century: Roads and Conditions (Based on Muntahab ut Tawarikh). *The American Journal Social Science and Education Innovations*. November 30. 2020. Voll. 02. Issue 11–59. PP. 350–355; Tanieva G. XVI-XIX asr birinchi yarmida O'rta Osiyo xalqlari haj ziyorati tarixi. Toshkent, 2021 (in Uzbek).

¹³ Later, Muhammad 'Ali-khān did the same with his father-in-law, the ruler of Marghilan, Yusūf Mingbāshi (Buston TURSUNOV, 'Kokandskoe khanstvo v gody pravlenija Muhammada Ali-khana (1822–1842 gg.)', *Vestnik Tadjikskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta prava, biznesa i politiki. Serija Gumanitarnykh nauk*, No. 4 (2018), 22–30, 26 (in Russian). It happened that the 'pilgrims' sent by Muhammad 'Ali-khān, who were in disgrace with him, died on the way (Babadjanov, 163–164, 174).

in this 'event'. The governor of Western Siberia informed Alexander I of the arrival of Ḥakīm-khān on the territory of the Russian Empire. In response to this message, the Emperor decided to invite Ḥakīm-khān to St. Petersburg. The content of the letter with a proposal to visit the capital of the empire for the distinguished Eastern guest was announced by the governor himself. Here is how Ḥakīm-khān describes it:

اگر حکیم خان آرزوی دیدن ما را و این ولایت هارا کنند، در کمال عزت و حرمت به این جانب فرستان. اگر شما قبول فرمایید، پادشاه در بارهء شما بسیار مهربانیا دارد... دیگر جواب گوبرناتور گفتم، من از ملک و از خیش و تبار آورده شده، به چندین محنت و مشقت به ان دیار رسیده ام. نیت دارم که تا زیارت بیت الله نکنم، آرزوی هیچ کار ندارم.

'If Ḥakīm-khān wishes to contemplate Us and visit Our possessions, convey him to Us with due deference and respect. If you accept Our invitation, the Emperor is ready to extend His generous hospitality to you! ...' In response to the governor, I said that I had left my property and family, and had reached this region with many difficulties and hardships. My intention is, first of all, to visit the House of the Allah (*Bayt Allah*),¹⁴ and I do not want anything else.¹⁵

In accordance with the Decree of Alexander I of March 23, 1803, Muslim pilgrims from other countries were allowed to travel through the territory of the Russian Empire and were required to issue an appropriate passport. Ḥakīm-khān was no exception in this regard, and the issue of obtaining a passport remained relevant for him. It should be noted that the governor did not issue him a passport (possibly because of a rejected invitation) and sent him to Omsk, where the local bureaucratic maelstrom awaited him. Finally, assistance to Ḥakīm-khān in resolving the passport issue was provided by the governor's wife.

Then Ḥakīm-khān went to Irbit for commercial purposes, because by that time he was experiencing financial difficulties. There, a merchant he knew expressed his willingness to lend him five hundred gold coins (*tilla*). After Irbit, the next stop for a few days was Orenburg. Ḥakīm-khān was invited by the local governor.¹⁶ The pilgrim responded to this invitation as follows:

¹⁴ Ka'aba in Mecca.

¹⁵ Muḥammad ḤAKĪM-KHĀN, 343. This and the following fragments have a semantic, not literal translation. This is due to the fact that *Muntakhab al-tavārikh* is written in the traditional style of Muslim historiography, using florid phrases.

¹⁶ Ḥakīm-khān in his work calls him simply 'governor' (*gubernatur*). The identity of the governor was identified by the author of a number of articles about *Muntakhab al-tavārikh* Enver Khurshut (Enver KHURSHUT, "Muntakhab at-tavorikh" kak istochnik po istorii Srednej Azii i sopredelnykh stran XVIII–XIX vekov', *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, No. 7 (1984), 41–45 (in Russian); Enver KHURSHUT, "Muntakhab at-tavorikh" i jego istochniki', *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, No. 11–12 (1987), 39–44 (in Russian), in his opinion, this governor was General P. M. Kapitsevich (1772–1840) (BABADJANOV, 618).

من مردم هستم، از وطن آواره و سیلی ایام خورده و زخم چوگان فلک بارها دیده و از ستارهء منحوس و طالع واژگون، به عقوبت ها مکرر مبتلا شده، از بخت نا مساعد مذلت ها کشیده و از چندین مرگ نقد خلاص شده، اختیار سیاحت کرده، به این دیار رسیده ام. مرا حکام چه دخل.

'I am just a person who is deprived of his homeland, has gone through many hardships and trials, my star is ominous, and fate is hard, I have looked death in the eyes so many times. I took a journey and reached this edge. What are the mighty of this world doing to me?'¹⁷

As it turned out, the governor had insisted on meeting earlier. However, when two previous invitations went unanswered, Essen ordered to deprive Ḥakīm-khān of his passport when going through passport control. Naturally, this order was carried out and the passport was handed over to the governor. The next day, exhausted by all these vicissitudes of fate, Ḥakīm-khān went to Essen, who greeted him with respect and reverence and again raised the issue of the imperial invitation in the conversation:

روزی که خدمت شما از ولایت خود بر آمدید. ما از احوال شما واقف هستیم و مدعی ما این که خدمت شما در پترزبور رفتی، پادشاه ما را ببینید و آرزوی پادشاه ما همین است. از بس که رسم و قوایدهء ما این که کسی را به زور به پیش پادشاه فرستانیم، این نیست. هر آینهء دأب و قانون ما مثل شما مردوم باشد، ما تا بالوقت خدمت شما را به پیش پادشاه هزار بار میفرستادیم.

We are aware of the events that happened to you that you have experienced since the day you left your homeland. Our claim is that you go to St. Petersburg and meet with our Emperor, because this is the wish of our Emperor. However, our rules do not allow us to send anyone to our Sovereign by force. Our laws, ethics, and traditions are similar to yours. Otherwise, to this day we could send you to our Emperor a thousand times.¹⁸

¹⁷ Muḥammad ḤAKĪM-KHĀN, 354-355.

¹⁸ Muḥammad ḤAKĪM-KHĀN, 357.

To this Ḥakīm-khān replied:

از جهت خوبی ولایت است، چند وقت میشود که در این جا سکونت اختیار کردیم.
هر آینه ولایت شما مثل ماوراء النهر میشد. یک روز استادان با محال بود گفتیم. این
بیت را خواندم و به زبان اورووسی ترجمه کردم:

بایست آن جا که آزاری نباشد

کسی را با کسی کاری نباشد

از این بیت بسیار خرسند شد. بعد از ساعتی خط خود را طلب نموده، گرفتم و باز از
برای پیش پادشاه رفتن تکلیف کرد و بسیار التجا نمود. فقیر باز جواب گوبرناتور اول
را گفتم. دید که به اختیار نمیشود. لاعلاج فرو گذاشت. اما گفت، اگر دلگیر شوند،
گاه گاه به چارباغ ما تشریف فرمایند.

Due to the acceptability of the laws of your province (*wilāyat*), I have been in these places in peace for a long time. If your land was like Maverannahr,¹⁹ then it would be difficult to live here even one day. Then I recited the following couplet (*bayt*) and translated it into Russian:

Stay where there is no suffering

So that no one feels sadness there before you.

This couplet made the Governor extremely happy. After a while, I asked him for my passport. He again invited me to visit the Emperor, he begged me a lot. I, despicable, repeated my answer, which I had once voiced to the first governor.²⁰ He saw that I was adamant and left me alone. However, he added: 'If you get bored, come to our garden from time to time.'²¹

It can be assumed that before Ḥakīm-khān avoided meeting with the governor precisely for the very reason that he did not touch upon the issue of a trip to St. Petersburg. By coincidence, the time of Ḥakīm-khān's stay in Orenburg coincided with the visit of Alexander I to this city. According to Ḥakīm-khān, in Orenburg on the occasion of the arrival of the sovereign, large preparatory measures were carried out, for which twelve thousand gold coins were spent.

At midnight, Ḥakīm-khān was awakened and, by order of the Emperor, was brought directly to him. The Russian autocrat made a very favorable impression on Ḥakīm-khān:

¹⁹ Maverannahr – *Mā warā' an-Nahr* ('beyond the river') is the Arabic name for Transoxiana.

²⁰ This refers to the refusal of Hakim Khan to the governor of Western Siberia. See above.

²¹ Muḥammad ḤAKĪM-KHĀN, 357–358.

چون از در خانه در آمدیم، نظر پادشاه به فقیر افتاد. بلا توقف از جای بر خواست. چند قدم پیش آمده، از دست فقیر گرفت و در پیش خود جای داد. رسم و قاعدهء آنها است که به هر کس میخیزند، خصوص بزرگ زاده باشد، به زبانی اوروسی بسیار شفقت نموده، سخن گفت. فقیر نیز به زبان اوروسی جواب های شافی دادم. از بس که در آن وقت به زبان اوروسی وقوف پیدا کرده بودم، پادشاه از زبان دانی فقیر بسیار خرسندیها نمود.

As soon as I entered, the Emperor's gaze rested on me, despicable; he got up from his seat and took a few steps towards me. He came up, took my hand, and invited me to take a seat in front of him. According to their rules, if anyone pays a visit, they are greeted in a standing position, especially those of high birth. He began to speak Russian, showing his good disposition. I also answered in Russian. By this time, I had mastered Russian well. Seeing this, the Emperor greatly admired my linguistic knowledge.²²

According to Ḥakīm-khān, four ministers sat near Alexander I. The other subjects (their robes were decorated with precious stones), nine in number, stood with their backs straight. Ḥakīm-khān, in accordance with the eastern etiquette of conducting a conversation, when talking with the Emperor, quoted verses, and translated them into Russian:

به فقیر چنان صحبتش گرم شده بود که در آن شب به کس دیگر قطعا تکلم نکرده است و از هر جانب سخن در میان افتاد. بسیار از احوالات ماوراء النهر می پورسید. قریب به سحر شده بود که فقیر را رحمت اجازات داد.

'The conversation between us was so interesting that he didn't receive anyone else that night. He talked to me about everything. He asked a lot about the situation in Maverannahr (Mā warā' al-Nahr). And at dawn, I was allowed to leave.'²³

²² Muḥammad ḤAKĪM-KHĀN, 370–371.

²³ Muḥammad ḤAKĪM-KHĀN, 372.

The next day, a splendid ceremony took place – an imperial procession through the city, where Ḥakīm-khān was among the confidants of Alexander. In the evening they followed together to the festivities, after which they had a conversation:

محمد حکیم خان می باید که همراه ما به پای تخت پتر بور روید. فقیر در جواب گفتم، صاحب اختیارید. گفت، چرا پیش نرفتید. فقیر گفتم، وقتی در قید محمد علی خان ماده بودم، عهد کرده بودم که اگر از این حبس سلامت برآیم تا به بیت الله شریف بروم، آرزوی هیچ جای را اختیار نکنم. بنابراین جای را اختیار نمیکنم. او گفت، راه قبله شما مردم دور و پر آفت است.

‘Muhammad Ḥakīm-khān, you must go with Us to St. Petersburg’. ‘I am at your service,’ I, despicable said. He (the Emperor) said: ‘Why didn’t you agree earlier?’ I replied that being in the custody of Muhammad ‘Ali-khān, I promised myself not to visit any other places except the sacred House of the Most High (*Bayt Allah*), and I have nothing more to dream about. Therefore, I must keep my promise. Then he remarked that ‘the path to your qibla is far and full of dangers.’²⁴

To this Ḥakīm-khān selflessly replied:

در این نیت به مثابه صادق که اگر هر موئی بر سر تیغی گردد، از این راه روی نتابم و اگر هر مجه در دیده من سنانی شود، نظر به مهمی دیگر نه افکنم چنانچه

مصراع
هر که میل گنج دارد رنج می باید کشید

چون این سخن از فقیر شنید، گفت، اختیار شما است. اما باز گشت به پیش ما بیایید. بسیار شفقت و مرحمت میکنم. فقیر بسیار خوب بالای چشم گفتم.

I am true to my oath, even if every hair on my head is cut off, I will not refuse this path, even if every eyelash pierces my eyes like a sword, I will not put a single thing above that.

Line (*miṣra*):

After all, the one who lusts for treasures must experience suffering!

Hearing these words from me, the despicable one, he said: ‘As you wish.’

²⁴ Muḥammad ḤAKĪM-KHĀN, 375.

However, be sure to visit us on your way back, we will meet you with honor and make sure that you have a good time.²⁵

Ḥakīm-khān accepted this proposal of the Emperor with satisfaction. Alexander presented him with a snuff-box, a diamond ring, and three hundred gold coins. In addition, Ḥakīm-khān received an imperial letter with the following content:

در تمام ممالک اوروسیه در هر جا محمد حکیم خان رود، محترم دارند.

'In all Russian possessions, where Muhammad Ḥakīm-khān will find himself, show him due respect.'²⁶

The Emperor departed the next day. Ḥakīm-khān continued his path, which stretched out for many years. During this time, the pilgrim passed such cities and territories as Kokand, Tashkent, Turkestan, Shamay (formerly Semipalatinsk), Omsk, Irbit, Tsaritsyn, Orenburg, Astrakhan, Mazandaran, Transcaucasia, Sinop, Kaysaria (now Kaysar in Turkey), Latakia, Damascus, Gaza, Cairo, Suway (Suez), Yanbu, Jeddah, Mecca and Medina, Qusair, Arabian Desert, Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus, Baghdad, Hamadan, Rasht, Nishapur, Mashhad, Meimene, Andhoy, Bukhara, Samarkand, Ura-Tepa, Shakhrisabz and Kitab, which became his final destination.

It should be noted that, despite the favor shown by the Russian military-political elite, including Alexander I himself, Ḥakīm-khān decided to make his return journey along an alternative route – through the territory of Persia and Afghanistan.

As for such a clear interest of the Russian authorities in the person of Ḥakīm-khān, it can be assumed that through him they intended to gain 'access' to the Kokand Khanate. Some experts adhere to a similar interpretation, who believe that Alexander's interest in Ḥakīm-khān is explained by completely pragmatic goals, in particular, the special value of such an emigrant as an informant, close to past to the court of the Kokand khans.²⁷

The explicit refusal to visit St. Petersburg is hardly possible to regard as a patriotically motivated step. Probably, Ḥakīm-khān really strove to fulfill his Muslim duty. Since he had already expressed his intention (*niyya(t)*) to make the pilgrimage, he could not deviate from this vow. Therefore, he promised to visit St. Petersburg at the end of the pilgrimage. Alexander did not object, but on the contrary, generously gifted the guest and supplied him with a special letter with the imperial mandate to show Ḥakīm-khān due respect throughout Russia. The question of why Ḥakīm-khān on the way back gave preference to the Persian route over the Russian one remains open.

²⁵ Muḥammad ḤAKĪM-KHĀN, 375–376.

²⁶ Muḥammad ḤAKĪM-KHĀN, 376.

²⁷ BABADJANOV, 617–618; VOHIDOV, 173–180.

Abstract

In 1823, one of the pretenders to the throne of the Kokand Khanate, Ḥakīm-khān, went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He reflected the events of this five years' journey in his memoirs Muntakhab al-tavārīkh ('Extracts from History'). The Hajj was carried out on the orders of Muhammad 'Ali-khān, who had recently taken the throne and sought to neutralize other pretenders to the Kokand throne. Having received a letter from Alexander I with an invitation to visit the Imperial Palace in St. Petersburg, Ḥakīm-khān rejected this offer. When he met the Tsar by chance, Alexander I reminded him of the invitation and the refusal received. The representative of the ruling Kokand dynasty justified his actions by his own promise to, first of all, make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and only then to visit other places. The Emperor generously endowed the pilgrim and supplied him with a special letter allowing him to freely move around the territory of the Russian Empire. However, Ḥakīm-khān decided not to make the return journey through Russia, but Persia.

Keywords

Kokand Khanate, Ḥakīm-khān, pilgrimage, Hajj, Alexander I, Tsar, Russia

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1823-ban a kokandi kánság trónjának egyik jelöltje, Ḥakīm-khān zarándoklatot tett Mekkába. Ennek az öt éves útnak az eseményeit írta meg Muntakhab al-tavārīkh („Kivonatok a történelemből”) című emlékiratában. A haddzsot Muhammad 'Ali-khān kokandi kán parancsára hajtotta végre, aki nem sokkal korábban foglalta el a trónt, és megpróbálta a kokandi trónra pályázó riválisait semlegesíteni. Eközben Ḥakīm-khān levelet kapott I. Sándortól a szentpétervári császári palota meglátogatására, ám Ḥakīm-khān elutasította a szentpétervári meghívást. Mikor később véletlenül találkozott a cárral, I. Sándor emlékeztette Ḥakīm-khānt az elutasított meghívásra. A cár nagylelkűen megajándékozta a zarándoklot, és lehetővé téve számára, hogy szabadon mozogjon az Orosz Birodalom területén. Ḥakīm khān azonban úgy döntött, hogy mégsem Oroszországon, hanem Perzsián utazik vissza.

Kulcsszavak:

Kokandi kánság, Ḥakīm-khān, zarándoklat, haddzs, I. Sándor cár, Oroszország