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PRINCIPLES AND COURSE OF THE ADOPTION OF THE RUSSIAN PROTECTORATE BY ABULMAMBET AND ABYLAI (1740) AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The relations between the Kazakh Khanate and the Russian Empire on the territory of Western Siberia in the XVII – XVIII centuries were not always peaceful: periods of good-neighborliness were often replaced by military clashes. It should be noted that Soviet historiography, for the sake of ideological conjuncture, tried to keep silent about this problem for a long time. *Goals and objectives.* To study the Kazakh-Russian military conflict at the turn of the XVII – XVIII centuries. *Results.* The author of the article, based on the analysis of the subjects, principles and course of the protectorate of Russia (1740) and the content of the texts of its consequences, determined the situation in the Kazakh steppe, directions, and consequences. *Conclusion.* The XVII–XVIII centuries were a time not only of peaceful coexistence of the Kazakhs of the Middle zhuz with the Cossack and peasant population of Siberia, but also a time of open military confrontation and mutual raids, especially from the Kazakh people. In the author's opinion, these circumstances were caused by the unwillingness of the Kazakh rulers to lose the traditional rich pasture lands in the northern and northeastern regions of the Middle zhuz, which were gradually retreating in favor of the tsarist government.


Keywords: Kazakh khanate, Abylai khan, Abilmambet khan, Russian Empire, Kazakh-Russian relations, protectorate, conflict, tsarism

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ӘБІЛМӘМБЕТ ПЕН АБЫЛАЙДЫҢ РЕСЕЙ ПРОТЕКТОРАТЫН ҚАБЫЛДАУ ПРИНЦИПТЕРІ МЕН БАРЫСЫ (1740 Ж.) ЖӘНЕ ОНЫҢ САЛДАРЫ

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Аңдатпа. *Kіріспе.* XVII – XVIII ғасырларда Батыс Сібір аумағындағы Қазақ хандығы мен Ресей империясының өзара қарым-қатынасы әрқашан бейбіт болған жоқ: тату көршілік кезеңдері көбінесе әскери қақтығыстармен ауыстырылды. Айта кету керек, кеңес тарихнамасы бұл мәселе туралы идеологиялық жағдайға байланысты ұзақ уақыт бойы үндемеуге тырысты. *Мақаланың мақсаты* XVII-XVIII ғасырлар тоғысындағы қазақ – ресей әскери қақтығысын зерттеу болып табылады. *Нәтижелер.* Мақаланың авторы Ресей протекторатының тақырыбын, принциптері мен барысын (1740 ж.) және оның салдары мәтіндерінің мазмұнын талдау негізінде қазақ даласындағы жағдайды, бағыттар мен салдарларды анықтады. *Қорытындылар.* XVII-XVIII ғасырлар Орта жүз қазақтарының Сібірдегі казактар мен шаруалар халқымен бейбіт қатар өмір сүріп қана қоймай, сонымен қатар ашық әскери қақтығыстар мен өзара рейдтер, әсіресе қазақ халқынан. Автордың пікірінше, бұл жағдайлар Қазақ иелерінің Орта жүздің Солтүстік және солтүстік-шығыс аймақтарындағы дәстүрлі құнарлы жайылымдық жерлерді жоғалтқысы келмеуінен туындады, олар біртіндеп патша үкіметінің пайдасына кетті. **Түйін сөздер:** Қазақ хандығы, Абылай хан, Әбілмәмбет хан, Ресей империясы, қазақ-ресей қатынастары, протекторат, дау-жанжал, патшалық

Алғыс. Осы мақала ИРН BR 21882223 «XV ғасырдың екінші жартысы – XVIII ғасырдың бірінші жартысындағы Қазақ хандығы: этносаяси тарихы және сыртқы саясаты» ғылыми жобасын орындау аясында дайындалған.

Дәйексөз үшін: Жұматай С. Әбілмәмбет пен Абылайдың Ресей протекторатын қабылдау принциптері мен барысы (1740 ж.) және оның салдары // «Edu.e-history.kz» электрондық ғылыми журналы. 2024. Т. 11. № 1. 83–93 бб. (Ағылш.). DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994_2024_11_1_83-93

ПРИНЦИПЫ И ХОД ПРИНЯТИЯ РОССИЙСКОГО ПРОТЕКТОРАТА АБУЛМАМБЕТОМ И АБЫЛАЕМ (1740 г.) И ЕГО ПОСЛЕДСТВИЯ

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Аннотация. *Введение.* Взаимоотношения Казахского ханства и Российской империи на территории Западной Сибири в XVII – XVIII веках не всегда были мирными: периоды добрососедства нередко сменялись военными столкновениями. Следует отметить то, что об этой проблеме советская историография в угоду идеологической конъюнктуре долгое время старалась умалчивать. *Целью исследования* является исследование казахско-российского военного конфликта на рубеже XVII – XVIII веков. *Результаты.* Автор статьи на основе анализа тематики, принципов и хода протектората России (1740 г.) и содержания текстов его последствий определил ситуацию в казахской степи, направления, и последствия. *Заключение.* XVII–XVIII века стали временем не только мирного сосуществования казахов Среднего жуза с казачьим и крестьянским населением Сибири, но и временем открытого военного противостояния и взаимных набегов, в особенности от казахского народа. На взгляд автора, эти обстоятельства были вызваны нежеланием казахских владетелей терять традиционные богатые пастбищные угодья в северных и северо-восточных регионах Среднего жуза, постепенно отходивших в пользу царского правительства.

Ключевые слова: Казахское ханство, Абылай хан, Абилямбет хан, Российская империя, казахско-российские отношения, протекторат, конфликт, царизм

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Introduction

In regard of the topic under study, it is necessary to pay attention to the works of the famous researcher of the XVIII century, G.F. Miller. During his long-term trips to Siberia, the Russian academician kept detailed travel notes, collecting unique material on various aspects of the life and activities of the population of the region. For example, he managed to compile inventories of a number of the largest Siberian archives in the cities of Verkhoturys, Pelym, Turinsk, Tyumen, Tobolsk, Tara, Berezhovoye, Naryn, Ketsk and others (Guryanova et al., 1993: 111). The case inventories collected by G. Miller, which, unfortunately, have now been irretrievably lost, allow us to reveal and reconstruct to some extent little-known pages from the history of the not always peaceful relations between the first Russian settlers of Siberia and one of the indigenous Turkic peoples of Western Siberia – the Kazakhs.

For example, in one of his notes, he mentions that on October 15, 1616, a strict warning was received from the Russian tsar Mikhail Fedorovich in the city of Tyumen to Prince Fyodor Korkodinov that "he should live with great caution because Ishim is the tsar (Kazakh Khan Yesim (1598–1628)) this summer I intend to go to war under the Siberian cities" (Guryanova et al., 1993: 139). At that time, the border between the two states – Moscow and Kazakh – passed in the area of the modern cities of Tyumen (founded in 1586) and Tobolsk (founded in 1587). In the face of the emergence of a new force in the face of nomadic Kalmyks, tsarism was afraid of their joint actions with the Kazakhs against the Siberian authorities. This is evidenced by the message of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich mentioned by Miller to Princes Mikhail Dolgoruky and Yuri Redrikov in Tyumen about the need to "inquire about Ishim Tsarevich (Yesim Khan), whether he has an agreement with Talai-tayshey and others" (Guryanova et al., 1993: 141).

In the 1690s, a serious threat loomed over Siberian cities and settlements not only from the Dzungars and separate disparate Kazakh detachments, but also from the most famous Kazakh Khan Tauke (1680–1715). This circumstance caused some confusion in the Russian government, as no one expected such a turn of events. On the part of the Kazakhs, the case began to take on a more organized and systematic

character and the eminent Kazakh khan himself led these actions. Therefore, tsarism was forced to take all possible measures to curb the wayward and unpredictable steppe ruler. Often, the Siberian authorities simply bought off the Kazakh ruler. For example, on January 10, 1694, from Ivan Alekseyevich, Peter Alekseyevich, a nearby steward (in this case, the governor, the representative of the tsar) Andrei Fedorovich Naryshkin was given an order "on murza's vacation to Tevki Khan, on sending to him a salary against his gifts of one and a half and on declaring that he was not responsible for the devastation" (Guryanova et al., 1993: 174). Apparently, tsarism, which had only recently begun to "develop" the Siberian lands, did not have enough military forces to defend itself against its recent owners and new Kazakh neighbors, and therefore was forced to simply buy them off. By the way, Russia used this technique in the form of paying off the steppe people in the case of Abylai and Sultanmamet in the next century. In response to Kazakh attacks, the Siberian administration sometimes resorted to such unpopular measures as the delay of ambassadors. This happened in 1690 with the influential ambassadors of Khan Tauke Sary and Kildey (Baishev, 1979: 297–298). As is known, attempts were made on both sides to resolve the strained relations: for example, for this purpose, in 1691, Khan Tauke sent two embassies to Tobolsk and Moscow. At the same time, the tsarist administration, represented by the Siberian governors, in July 1692, also equipped a reciprocal embassy to him, consisting of Andrei Nepripasov, Vasily Kobayakov and the translator Shamanaev (Baishev, 1979: 297–298).

Materials and methods

In the inventories of Siberian archival funds collected by the same Miller, data for 1693 are mentioned, when gunpowder and lead were sent to Yalutorovskaya Sloboda (a city in the territory of the modern Tyumen region) due to the fact that its inhabitants "in that settlement from the Cossack Horde are under siege." Then there were prisoners and killed, as well as the theft of philistine and Cossack cattle by numerous Kazakh detachments (Guryanova et al., 1993: 181). The Kazakhs demanded not to build fortifications and not to turn their pastures into peasants' arable land.

And in the spring of 1695, the Kazakhs and Bashkirs had the intention to go "sobcha under the Tobolsk settlements to war" (Guryanova et al., 1993: 182). As we can see, the position of the Russian government in Western Siberia at that time was not entirely safe: not only the Kazakhs threatened the Russian military fortified lines, but also the Bashkirs. There was also a real threat of their joint actions, which was not uncommon when two related peoples acted together against the military expansion of the tsarist government.

According to the Siberian researcher S. U. Remezov, in 1700, also "from the Cossack Horde, the Tyukalinsk volost came and fought (Tyukalinsk is a modern Russian city in the middle part of the Omsk region, 124 kilometers northwest of Omsk)" (Remezov, 1882: 5).

The situation did not change at all even in the "Years of the Great Calamity", when the Kazakhs themselves suffered heavy defeats from the then-pressing Dzungarian invaders (1723–1727). For example, in 1724, a message was received from Tobolsk to the city of Turinsk that "The Cossack Horde wanders to the border settlements in the vicinity and ravages and completely emulates" (Guryanova et al., 1993: 121). The military advance of the tsarist government did not suit the Kazakh rulers in any way, who did not want to put up with the change in the geopolitical situation in the region, even in conditions of a noticeable deterioration in relations with the Dzungars.

The years 1728 – 1741 were marked by a series of continuous Kazakh raids on the territory of Tarsky Uyezd (the northern part of the territory of the modern Omsk region-author) (Guryanova et al., 1993: 132). The Siberian authorities also took retaliatory measures in the form of organizing "military searches". So, on April 14, 1731, the real battle of the Kazakh detachment and the local military garrison took place near the Omsk fortress, where several people were captured by the former, as well as property and livestock of the fortress residents (Guryanova et al., 1993: 132).

On November 12, 16 and 19, 1734, Kazakh detachments made military campaigns in the Barabinsk steppe (the territory of the modern Novosibirsk region) with the capture of local Tatars, as well as their

property and livestock (Guryanova et al., 1993: 132). As you know, at that time the Barabinsk Tatars were already in the subjection of the tsarist government and regularly paid him yasak.

On November 27, 1740, the Tarsk voivodeship office received a report from the Cossack centurion Leonty Ponamarev from the Ust-Tarsky Pass about the battle "with the people of the Cossack Horde" (Guryanova et al., 1993: 132).

In 1741, from the Ishim administrative office, the Tarsk voivodeship office received a "memorial" (message, report) "about the battle of the former Cossack Horde with people, about the damage to people and about the fullness" (Guryanova et al., 1993: 132). The battle took place despite the fact that in 1740 the border part of the Middle zhuz was considered to have already been accepted into Russian citizenship. But tsarist Russia, having no real power and serious influence among the Kazakhs, in the conditions of their incessant raids, continued to perceive them more as "enemies" than subjects and continued to conduct real military operations with them, which once again confirms the formality and non-viability of the signed agreements on citizenship. In this regard, I would like to mention the words of researcher I. F. Babkov, Governor-General of Western Siberia, with whom it is difficult for us to disagree: "... the Kirghiz who accepted our citizenship (Kazakhs): they were not at all embarrassed by this obligation and not only continued to plunder the linear villages and outposts, but broke through the Irtysh and plundered mining villages" (Babkov, 1912: 308).

Sultanmamet Sultan, then young, took an active part in these raids, who did not agree with the appearance of a line of military fortifications on the Irtysh and the prohibition of Kazakhs to roam on the right bank of the Irtysh.

Discussion

In order to scout the moods of the steppe people during the period of the highest intensity of the movement of the Bashkir "troublemaker" Karasakal, on February 19, 1741, the Siberian provincial Chancellery sent scouts from among the serving Tatars and Bashkirs to the nomads of the Middle zhuz. They had to find out not only the location of Karasakal and his people among the Kazakhs, but also whether the Kazakhs were going to attack the Russian borders (RSAAA. F. 415. I. 2. C. 140. Pp. 10–12). This fact once again confirms that the citizenship of the border Kazakhs of the Middle zhuz was largely fictitious and formal. In the history of Kazakh-Russian relations, there have been many cases when Kazakh khans and sultans, pursuing momentary interests, formally accepted Russian citizenship, while neither side had any obligations. Therefore, on January 19, 1742, the Siberian Chancellery ordered the Siberian Order to have "a strong precaution against the thieves of Karasakal, his fans of the Kirghiz-Kaysaks, Bashkirs in the Siberian province" (RSAAA. F. 415. I. 2. C. 140. P. 21).

Due to the increasing incidence of Kazakh raids on the interior, in 1744 even a decree of the Senate was issued "On the exile of Kirghiz accused of criminal offenses", according to which the steppe dwellers who committed murders, thefts and raids on the homes of the Russian population referred to the Nerchinsk silver factories (Kraft, 1898: 13).

At the same time, it should be noted that the attacks of the subjects of the Kazakh Khanate on the inner districts of Siberia eventually weakened, especially since the second half of the XVIII century. This largely depended on strengthening the defense capability of Russian fortresses. For example, the Kansk outpost, located on the right bank of the Omi River (east of modern Omsk), had a moat and Cossacks served here until 1750, who were supposed to repel the raids of the Kazakhs and Dzungars. But after the completion of the construction of the Irtysh military line, the need for the maintenance of internal fortresses eventually completely disappeared (Falk, 1824: 430). In this regard, the academic expedition of Falk mentions that in 1740, on the right bank of the Omi River, the Kazakhs killed the Barabinsky prince Yaut, who was not saved even by the trenches they dug, which the Tatars, defending themselves from the raids of the Kazakhs, dug a lot (Falk, 1824: 433).

But still, one of the most "explosive" areas of Western Siberia, where the Kazakhs periodically

raided, especially from the second half of the XVIII century, were the Kurgan and Ishim districts, part of whose territories until the middle of the XVIII century were considered the traditional nomadic Kazakhs of the Middle zhuz: Kipchaks, Argyns and Kereys. As you know, in 1752–1755, Russia unilaterally, without coordination with Abylai and other sultans and khans, pushed the border lines deep into the nomads of the Middle zhuz up to 250 versts. The former autochthonous Kazakh population was forcibly evicted from there, followed by a series of new raids by steppe dwellers. At that time, Sultanmamet Sultan directed efforts to peacefully resolve issues of crossing to the right bank of the Irtysh River with the dacha of the amanats in winter.

Peter and Paul, Presnogorskovskaya and others fortresses were quickly built on the former Kazakh nomads. Raids on the Presnogorskovsky line were mainly carried out by the people of Abylai Sultan, who did not agree with the loss of a huge land mass in the Novoishimsky district. Behind these fortresses there were traditional nomads and graves of the ancestors of the Kazakhs of the Middle zhuz. Therefore, raids in this area were not uncommon. I. Andreev, who served on the Siberian line for a long time in the second half of the XVIII century, also wrote about the raids of the Kazakhs in 1771 in the Kurgan district. In particular, he noted the following: "... on the Tobolsk line, 22 peasant peasants and their wives were taken away from the Kabanya fortress in the residential direction, from Kurgan, the city of Batyrevsky Winter Quarters and the village of Krivoy, after the plundering of this winter quarters by the Kirghiz-Kaysaks in 1771..." (Andreev, 1998: 114). The same is reported by the compilers of the official publication "Tobolsk Province on the eve of the 300th anniversary of the conquest of Siberia": "... the inhabitants of the Kurgan district were most worried about the Kirghiz (Kazakhs) who roamed in their neighborhood. When they saw a Russian in the steppe, they ran at him on their fast steeds, threw a noose around his neck and set off with him on the way back to their villages" (Golodnikov, 1881: 176). Abylai Khan, well aware of the cases of mass theft of people and livestock, practically did not take any measures to return them, thereby complicating relations with the tsarist government.

But on the Irtysh line, Sultan Sultanmamet tried to resolve matters peacefully and mutually beneficial: otherwise, he was denied winter crossings to the right bank of the Irtysh.

We also learn about these raids from the messages of the acting Governor-General of Perm and Tobolsk Alexei Volkov addressed to Catherine II on June 1, 1789. "... a party of Kirghiz (Kazakhs), breaking into the Kurgan district adjacent to their land, from two villagers who left with young children 10 versts away from her village for processing arable land lying 70 versts from the line, she took away two boys from their children...". The sent chase did not give a positive result (RSAAA. F.24. I. 1. C. 66. Pp. 5, 5 rev.). The same Alexey Volkov, mentioned by us, in his message to Catherine II dated November 1, 1789 from Perm, also reported that "in the last days of last September, Kirghiz (kazakh) raids into the Kurgan district... it was 6 times" (RSAAA. F. 24. I. 1. C. 66. Pp. 8, 9).

Kazakh raids on the territory of the Kurgan district of Tobolsk province ended only by the early 80s of the XIX century (Babkov, 1912: 37). According to the famous researcher of the XIX century N. Petropavlovsk, "in the Kurgan, Ishim: and Tyukalinsky districts (currently these territories are part of the modern Omsk and Tyumen regions), the peasants were fighting with the Kirghiz (Kazakhs. – S. Zh.). Almost until recently, they defended their the rights of the owners..." (Petropavlovsky, 1886: 16). In order to stop the almost continuous raids of Kazakhs on the inner side of the Ishim and Irtysh lines, by royal Decree of April 24, 1798, it was ordered to block with Presnokamyshinsky and Krutoyarsky redoubts those places where cases of the greatest penetration of Kazakhs were observed: on the Ishim line – at the Presnogorskovskaya fortress (Kraft, 1898: 139).

Results

At the same time, on the rest of the Siberian line, especially on the Irtysh, there were fewer cases of theft of people and livestock. In our opinion, the main reason for the "improvement" of the

situation with the Kazakh raids was the presence of a convenient natural water barrier. This, by the way, was well written by one of the high-ranking Russian officers who served in the XVIII century in the specified territory: "According to its geographical location, the Irtysh River had all the properties of an excellent defensive line that could serve as protection of our South Siberian borders from the raids of the Kirghiz (Kazakh)" (Babkov, 1912: 143).

At the beginning of the XVIII century, the Russian Empire, during the reign of Peter I, embarked on the path of open military seizure of new territories, which were possible due to the intensification of foreign policy activities, as well as the reorganization and improvement of the armed forces. And according to modern Russian researchers, "the main tool for carrying out reforms was consciously used violence, and the state created in accordance with the latest special and philosophical theories of that time acquired militaristic features" (Babkov, 1912: 125).

As a result of the end of hostilities against Sweden and the signing of the Peace of Nishtad in 1721, Russia annexed the territories of Latvia and Estonia, and also gained access to the Baltic World (Derevyanko, 2009: 131). In 1722, Russian troops marched to the Caucasus and Iran, gaining a foothold in Baku, Rasht and Astrabad (Derevyanko, 2009: 132).

The activation of the military machine of the Russian Empire took place in the Upper and Middle Irtysh region, where two nomadic states – the Kazakh Khanate and Dzungaria in relation to each other were in a state of constant and almost continuous military conflicts, often fueled by tsarism.

Merchants, members of diplomatic missions, and travelers returning from the Kazakh Khanate and neighboring territories spread rumors about the wealth of these lands. In particular, the Russian tsar Peter I heard rumors that there are "gold placers" in Yerketi. And the Russian treasury, devastated by the protracted Russo-Swedish war, required huge additional financial resources. And this became a pretext for further military colonization activities of the tsarist government. Back in 1713, the first Siberian governor M. P. Gagarin proposed to Peter I a plan for the construction of a line of military fortifications from Tobolsk to Yerketi (Semenova, 1903: 151). Later, the prince's initiative was supported and a military expedition led by I. D. Buchholz was sent to implement this plan. Here is how the famous researcher of modern times A. K. Gaines writes about it. Gaines: "Having attached great importance, according to the economic concepts of the time, to the possession of gold placers...Peter ... decided to seize Yarkand, acting from two sides: from the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea (the Bekovich-Cherkassky expedition) and another from southern Siberia to Little Bukharia, under the command of Captain Buchholz's guard" (Gaines, 2007: 17–18).

The head of the expedition received assignments from Peter I in order to arrive in Tobolsk, assemble an army and sail with them up the Irtysh to Yamyshevsky Lake, where it was necessary to lay a new city. And starting next spring, he was supposed to go to Yarkand. On the way to the "golden city", the detachment had to build small redoubts to store supplies and ensure communication with Tobolsk. And directly in Tobolsk, Buchholz was already instructed by the Siberian governor Gagarin: "if the enemy does not allow fortresses to be built, then, asking God for help, resist as much as possible by all people" (Gaines, 2007: 18).

The detachment consisted of military personnel, residents of Tomsk, Tyumen and Tara, totaling up to 2,800 people. There were Swedish prisoners among them. In July 1715, the expeditionary force began its campaign on 59 ships. In October 1715, the Yamyshevskaya Fortress was founded near the mouth of the Presnukha River (Gaines, 2007: 18). The construction of the fortress was strongly opposed by the Dzungars. A long siege of the fortress by the 10,000-strong Dzungarian army led by Prince Cheren-Donduk began. At that time, the Dzungars occupied the traditional Kazakh nomads located on the right bank of the Irtysh. Soon, the Dzungars, having captured the enemy's horses, broke into the new fortress, but were driven out with rifle and cannon volleys. Cheren Donduk sent a letter demanding to leave the fortress and retire, which was categorically refused by Buchholz (Gaines, 2007: 22). Kazakh detachments observed this confrontation, wanting to get their benefits from this conflict.

A caravan of food and salaries to members of the expeditionary force, sent from Tobolsk, was intercepted by the Dzungars and this circumstance decided the outcome of the armed confrontation. Famine and related diseases began among the defenders of the fortress: anthrax, scurvy, from which 20–30 people died per day. I. Buchholz with the remaining detachment (up to 700 people) after a meeting of the military council, in the spring of 1716, he was forced to return by water on the surviving docks (large boats). The Dzungars did not attack the Russian detachment for the second time. On the way back, on May 20, 1716, in coordination with Gagarin's detachment of I. Buchholz, the Omsk fortress was laid. The Kazakh clans of the Kerey and Kipchak tribes, who have been nomadic in this place since ancient times, were somewhat pushed back beyond the Irtysh, beyond its outer side. Kazakhs of the Omsk region still call this city "Omby" ("a place with deep loose snow"), as well as the river of the same name, which flows into the Irtysh at the same place (Bardanes, 2007: 96).

The tsarist government, in the context of the Kazakh-Dzungarian confrontation in the Irtysh region, embarked on the path of open construction of lines of military fortifications. They were intended both for colonization of the right bank and the left bank of the river occupied by Dzungars and Kazakhs. Detachments of lieutenant colonels Myatigorov and Stupin were sent to Yamyshevsky Lake one after another, who were supposed to rebuild the Yamyshevsky fortress, and at the same time "not to start quarrels with the Kalmyks, even when attacked by them, only to defend themselves and try to convince that the Russians have no hostile intentions against the oiratstvo and that the fortresses under construction are intended to defend our the limits of the Kirghiz (Kazakh)" (Gaines, 2007: 23).

In 1717, on the right bank of the Irtysh Stupin rebuilt the Yamyshev fortress, which has now become more inaccessible to nomads. In the same year, on the instructions of the same Gagarin, a detachment of Tarsky boyar P. Sviyersky erected the Zhelezinskaya fortress, which was 200 versts from Omsk and 231 versts from Yamyshevsky. In 1718, a detachment led by nobleman V. Cheredov laid the Semipalatinsk Fortress, and Lieutenant Colonel Stupin was seconded to complete it. Neither the Kazakhs nor the Dzungars could offer any organized resistance to the invading Russian troops due to the existing military confrontation between the two nomadic powers. Moreover, at the same time, the Dzungars waged bloody and incessant military operations with the armies of the Qing Empire. On this occasion, Gaines A.K. wrote: "Gagarin supported the strife of the Central Asian nomads and was in frequent relations with the Kirghiz (Kazakhs)" (Gaines, 2007: 25). But soon Gagarin was summoned to St. Petersburg, sentenced to two years, and then executed in front of the Senate building for "his unheard-of theft" (Gaines, 2007: 26).

In the spring of 1720, by order of Peter I, a military expedition led by Likharev was equipped to lay the Ust-Kamenogorsk fortress. He had to carry out an investigation into the "thieves" case of Gagarin, go around the new fortresses and complete the case with the gold of Yarkand. Soon the fortress was founded, Likharev was forced to leave for St. Petersburg due to an aggravated illness, and Stupin was offered to complete its construction, which he subsequently successfully did. Later, small outposts and redoubts appeared.

The Siberian authorities continued to explain to the Dzungarian rulers the reason for the construction of fortresses by the need to protect against Kazakh raids, and to the Kazakhs by the need to defend against the militant Dzungars. But in fact, these fortifications served as a convenient springboard to strengthen the position of tsarism in the Irtysh River basin with the aim of subsequently annexing both the territory of the Kazakh Khanate and the areas temporarily controlled by the Dzungarian Khontaiji. This was also written by the famous Russian researcher and Sempalatinsk local historian N. Konshin: "This is how the Irtysh line of fortifications arose, whose task was to protect the right-bank lands from the Dzungars, and soon after from the Kirghiz (Kazakhs)" (Kabuldinov, 2006: 26). P.A. Slovtsov also writes about this: "During 1716, Prince Gagarin, in correcting his mistake, wrote with centurion Cheredov to kontaishi that the Yamyshevskoye fortification was undertaken to protect it from attacks by the Kirghiz (Kazakhs), whom he meanwhile encouraged to attack

(Dzhungar)" (Slovtsov, 1886: 225).

The same thoughts are confirmed by the official historian of the Siberian Cossack army, G.E. Katanaev: "On the mutual weakening and extermination of the warring peoples, Gagarin built the success of his planned movement to the upper reaches of the Irtysh" (Katanaev, 2007: 163). Moreover, he openly wrote about why the construction of fortresses was undertaken.: Russian Russians immediately blocked the nomads' access to the Barabino-Kulundin steppes, ensuring the free settlement of the latter by Russian people," it would seem that everything was going as well as possible, because having settled on the upper Irtysh under the noise of the Chinese-Dzungarian-Kaisak struggle (Katanaev, 2007: 169–170).

As for the attitude of the Kazakhs towards the construction of a line of Russian military fortifications along the right bank of the Irtysh, it was definitely negative. The military detachments of the Middle zhuz tried to stop the military-colonial advance of the tsarist government, despite the very difficult relations with the Dzungars. This was emphasized by one of the Russian officers who served on this line, I. Andreev: "with the establishment of the Irtysh line and the construction of fortresses along it, and especially Yamyshvskaya, which, in the reasoning of the nearby salt lake, was studied from the beginning in Siberia, the first one is known and built up, at the establishment of which they repaid (Kazakhs) repeated attacks on her" (Andreev, 1998: 113). The Kazakhs could not do otherwise: the tsarist government encroached on their ancestral lands, temporarily occupied by Dzungaria, and now by the Moscow state. The situation did not improve at all even in the early years of the "Years of the Great Disaster", when the Kazakhs suffered crushing defeats from the Dzungarian hordes. For example, in 1724, a report was received from Tobolsk to the city of Turinsk about an attack on border settlements (Guryanova, 1993: 171). It was not like an exhausted enemy: when the fate of the ancestral land was being decided, as a result of the military colonization acts of tsarism, who suddenly found themselves on the "inner side", the Kazakhs fought for every piece of their native land. This indicated that there were desperate attempts on the part of the Kazakhs to stop the military colonization expansion of the Russians. But the confrontation with the militant Dzungars prevented the Kazakhs from actively resisting the military advance of the Russian Empire.

And after the defeat of the Dzungars, Kazakh sultans and elders actively tried to move to the right bank of the Irtysh. But they faced open opposition from the regional authorities. In 1755, the tsarist government banned the Kazakhs of the Middle zhuz from crossing to the right bank of the Irtysh. In 1762, the Kazakhs were ordered not to approach the fortresses closer than 10 versts. And in 1765, Lieutenant General I. Springer, commander of the Siberian lines, ordered the separation of the ten-verst strip on the steppe Kazakh side (left bank). Kazakhs were strictly forbidden to appear within this zone. Now it was forbidden to approach Russian fortresses closer than 30 versts. Any unauthorized crossings of the Kazakhs to the right bank of the Irtysh ended in forced eviction with the involvement of military forces. Before the eyes of almost one generation, the Kazakhs began to lose not only the right-bank, but also the ancestral lands on the left bank of the Irtysh. This was the essence of the aggressive policy of tsarism, later openly declaring these lands "state-owned" or "native Russian".

The raids of Kazakh detachments did not stop practically until the end of the XVIII century, when, in order to stop such invasions of the steppe people, the royal decree of April 24, 1798 ordered those places where cases of the greatest penetration of Kazakhs were observed to be blocked with redoubts (Kraft, 1898: 139).

The reduction of pasture lands, the seizure of the Novoishimsky district, and the prohibition of nomadism in the Irtysh River basin led to a significant undermining of the foundations of the nomadic and semi-nomadic cattle breeding economy of the Kazakhs. During the jute years, in order to save livestock, the local population lost the opportunity to freely migrate to the border line, to the inner side, including on the right bank of the Irtysh. As a result of the military colonization of the right bank of the Irtysh, the Kazakhs lost not only free access there for a long time, but over time, a 10-mile strip of land

along the left bank of the Irtysh was also taken away from them.

Conclusion

The XVII–XVIII centuries were a time not only of peaceful coexistence of the Kazakhs of the Middle zhuz with the Cossack and peasant population of Siberia, but also a time of open military confrontation, mutual raids, especially from the Kazakhs. In my opinion, this circumstance was caused by the unwillingness of the Kazakh rulers to lose the traditional rich pasture lands in the northern and northeastern regions of the Middle zhuz, which were gradually retreating in favor of the tsarist government.

In the period from 1716 to 1720, a line of military fortifications was built on the right bank of the Irtysh, which later served as a springboard for military colonization actions of the Russian Empire on the territory of Kazakhstan. The new border line was apparently established without coordination and any prior consultations with the Kazakh rulers. Due to internecine wars within the Kazakh khanate, as well as the weakening of the Dzungars, the policy of tsarism gradually began to seize the lands of its neighbors. The Kazakh khans could no longer resist the tsarist policy of building military fortifications and go against the policy of tsarism.

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