

2025. 12 (5)

Asian Journal

"STEPPE PANORAMA"



ISSN 2710-3994

ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

Құрылтайшысы және баспагері: Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитеті Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

Ғылыми журнал Қазақстан Республикасы Инвестициялар және даму министрлігінің Байланыс, ақпараттандыру және ақпарат комитетінде 2025 ж. 5 сәуірде тіркелген. Тіркеу нөмірі № KZ91VPY00116246. Жылына 6 рет жарияланады (электронды нұсқада).

Журналда тарих ғылымының *келесі бағыттары* бойынша ғылыми жұмыстар жарияланады: тарих, этнология.

Жарияланым тілдері: қазақ, орыс, ағылшын.

Редакция мен баспаның мекен-жайы:

050010 Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28-үй

ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒК Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

Тел.: +7 (727) 261-67-19, +7 (727) 272-47-59

Журнал сайты: <https://ajspiie.com>

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Тарих және этнология институты 2025
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ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

Учредитель и издатель: РГП на ПХВ «Институт истории и этнологии им.Ч.Ч. Валиханова»
Комитета науки Министерства науки и высшего образования Республики Казахстан

Научный журнал зарегистрирован в Комитете связи, информатизации и информации
Министерства по инвестициям и развитию Республики Казахстан, свидетельство
о регистрации:

№ KZ91VPY00116246 от 03.04.2025 г. Публикуется 6 раз в год (в электронном формате).

В журнале публикуются научные работы *по следующим направлениям* исторической науки:
история, этнология.

Языки публикации: казахский, русский, английский.

Адрес редакции и издательства:

050010 Республика Казахстан, г. Алматы, ул. Шевченко, д. 28

РГП на ПХВ Институт истории и этнологии им. Ч.Ч. Валиханова КН МНВО РК

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ISSN 2710-3994 (online)

Founder and publisher: RSE on REM "Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology" of the Committee of Science of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan

The scientific journal is registered at the Committee for Communications, Informatization and Information of the Ministry for Investments and Development of the Republic of Kazakhstan, registration certificate: No. KZ91VPY00116246 dated 03.04.2025. The journal is published 6 times a year (in electronic format).

The journal publishes scientific works in the *following areas* of historical science: history, ethnology.

Publication languages: Kazakh, Russian, English.

Editorial and publisher address:

28 Shevchenko Str., 050010, Almaty, Republic of Kazakhstan

RSE on REM Ch.Ch. Valikhanov Institute of History and Ethnology CS MSHE of the Republic of Kazakhstan

Tel.: +7 (727) 261-67-19, +7 (727) 272-47-59

Journal website: <https://ajspiie.com>

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Published in the Republic of Kazakhstan
Asian Journal “Steppe Panorama”
Has been issued as a journal since 2014
ISSN 2710-3994.
Vol. 12. Is. 5, pp. 1310-1325, 2025
Journal homepage: <https://ajspiie.com>

FTAXP / MPHTI / IRSTI 03.20
https://doi.org/10.51943/2710-3994_2025_12_5_1310-1325

FROM THE HISTORY OF KAZAKHS DEFENDING TRADITIONAL NOMADIC SETTLEMENTS ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE IRTYSH RIVER IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE WEAKENING OF THE DZUNGARS (MID-1750S)

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Abstract. *Introduction.* The article examines the process of Kazakhs' struggle for traditional nomadic settlements on the right bank of the Irtysh River in the mid-1750s in the context of the weakening of the Dzungarian Khanate. Archival materials and narrative sources are analyzed to identify a complex of factors that influenced the situation, such as the lack of pastures in the steppe regions, the consequences of the long-lasting Kazakh-Dzungar war, the Bashkir uprising in neighboring territories, and the policies of the Russian Empire, which sought to limit the nomadic routes of the Middle Zhuz. The relevance of this study lies in the fact that the events of the mid-1750s, which coincided with the weakening of the Dzungar Khanate and the active strengthening of the Siberian Line, marked a turning point in the struggle for nomadic territories. *Goals and objectives.* Analysis of the political and socio-economic aspects of the Kazakhs' struggle for their nomadic lands on the right bank of the Irtysh River, in the context of the weakening of the Dzungar Khanate and the strengthening of the Russian military presence; analysis of archival documents related to the military and political situation in the Middle Zhuz in the mid-18th century; identification of the reasons for the mass migration of Kazakhs to the right bank of the Irtysh River; assessment of the consequences of these processes for the future relations between Kazakh sultans and the Russian authorities. The study is based on the analysis of archival documents from the State Archives of the Orenburg Region (SAOR), the Historical Archives of the Omsk Region (HAOR), and other sources. *Methods:* the study used historical analysis of primary sources, chronological analysis, and comparative analysis of various sources of information. *Results:* The weakening of the Dzungar Khanate after prolonged wars allowed the Kazakhs to actively fight for the return of their traditional nomadic lands on the right bank of the Irtysh River. Abylai's policy aimed at regaining lost pastures and ensuring the safety of the population clashed with the Russian Empire's colonization strategy. *Conclusion.* Despite attempts to resolve the conflict, military skirmishes and mass migrations continued, reflecting the depth of socio-economic and political tensions.

Keywords: Kazakh Khanate, Dzungar Khanate, Russian Empire, Abylai Khan, military forces, Irtysh Line, nomadic settlements, pastures

Acknowledgment. The article was prepared as part of the implementation of the grant research project AP23488522 “New pages from the history of Kazakh-Dzungarian relations: second half of

the XVII – 50s of the XVIII century” with financial support from the Science Committee of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

For citation: Abenova G.A. From the history of Kazakhs defending traditional nomadic settlements on the right bank of the Irtysh river in the conditions of the weakening of the Dzungars (mid-1750s) // Asian Journal “Steppe Panorama”. 2025. Vol. 12. No. 5. Pp. 1310–1325. (In Eng.). DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994_2025_12_5_1310-1325

ЖОҢҒАРЛАРДЫҢ ӘЛСІРЕУІ ЖАҒДАЙЫНДА ҚАЗАҚТАРДЫҢ ЕРТІСТІҢ ОҢ ЖАҒАЛАУЫНДАҒЫ ДӘСТҮРЛІ ҚОНЫСТАРЫН ҚОРҒАУ ТАРИХЫНАН (1750-ЖЫЛДАРДЫҢ ОРТАСЫ)

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Аңдатпа. Мақалада 1750-жылдардың ортасында Жоңғар хандығының әлсіреуі жағдайында қазақтардың Ертістің оң жағалауындағы дәстүрлі қоныстар үшін жүргізген күресі қарастырылады. Архивтік материалдар мен нарративтік деректерді талдау негізінде жайылым тапшылығы, ұзақ жылдарға созылған қазақ-жоңғар соғысының зардаптары, көршілес аймақтардағы башқұрт көтерілісі, сондай-ақ Орта жүздің көшу жолдарын шектеуге ұмтылған Ресей империясының саясаты сияқты факторлар кешені анықталады. *Kipicne.* Зерттеудің өзектілігі 1750-жылдардың ортасында орын алған оқиғалардың Жоңғар хандығының әлсіреуімен және Сібір шебі бекіністерінің күшеюімен тұспа-тұс келіп, көшпелі кеңістіктер үшін күрестегі бетбұрыс кезеңге айналғанымен түсіндіріледі. Зерттеудің мақсаты мен міндеттері. *Мақсаты мен міндеттері.* Жоңғар хандығы әлсіреп, Ресейдің әскери ықпалы күшейген кезеңде қазақтардың Ертістің оң жағалауындағы қоныстар үшін жүргізген күресінің саяси және әлеуметтік-экономикалық қырларын талдау. *Зерттеу міндеттері:* XVIII ғасырдың орта шеніндегі Орта жүздің әскери-саяси жағдайына қатысты архив құжаттарын талдау; қазақтардың Ертістің оң жағалауына жаппай көшу себептерін анықтау; бұл үдерістердің қазақ сұлтандары мен Ресей билігі арасындағы қарым-қатынастарға тигізген ықпалын бағалау. *Материалдар мен әдістер.* Зерттеу Орынбор облыстық мемлекеттік архивінің (ГАОО), Омбы облыстық тарихи архивінің (ИАОО) және басқа да дереккөздердің материалдарына негізделген. Әдістері: тарихи деректерді талдау, хронологиялық әдіс, түрлі деректерді салыстырмалы талдау. *Нәтижелер:* Жоңғар хандығының ұзаққа созылған соғыстардан кейінгі әлсіреуі қазақтарға Ертістің оң жағалауындағы дәстүрлі жайылымдарды қайтару жолында белсенді күрес жүргізуге мүмкіндік берді. Жайылымдарды қайтаруға және халықтың қауіпсіздігін қамтамасыз етуге бағытталған Абылайдың саясаты Ресей империясының отарлау стратегиясымен қайшылыққа түсті. Қақтығыстарды бейбіт жолмен реттеу әрекеттеріне қарамастан, әскери қақтығыстар мен жаппай көші-қон жалғаса берді. Бұл жағдай сол дәуірдегі әлеуметтік-экономикалық және саяси қайшылықтардың тереңдігін көрсетті.

Түйін сөздер: Қазақ хандығы, Жоңғар хандығы, Ресей империясы, Абылай хан, әскери күштер, Ертіс шебі, қоныс, жайылым

Алғыс. Мақала АР23488522 гранттық зерттеуін жүзеге асыру аясында дайындалған «Қазақ-жоңғар қатынастары тарихының жаңа беттері: XVII ғасырдың екінші жартысы – XVIII ғасырдың 50-жж.» атты жоба Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігінің Ғылым комитетінің қаржылай қолдауымен орындалды.

Дәйексөз үшін: Абенова Г.А. Жоңғарлардың әлсіреуі жағдайында қазақтардың Ертістің оң жағалауындағы дәстүрлі қоныстарын қорғау тарихынан (1750-жылдардың ортасы) // Asian Journal “Steppe Panorama”. 2025. Т. 12. № 5. 1310–1325 бб. (Ағылш.).
DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994_2025_12_5_1310-1325

ИЗ ИСТОРИИ ОТСТАИВАНИЯ КАЗАХАМИ ТРАДИЦИОННЫХ КОЧЕВИЙ НА ПРАВОБЕРЕЖЬЕ ИРТЫША В УСЛОВИЯХ ОСЛАБЛЕНИЯ ДЖУНГАР (СЕРЕДИНА 1750-Х ГОДОВ)

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Аннотация. *Введение.* В статье рассматривается процесс борьбы казахов за традиционные кочевья на правобережье Иртыша в середине 1750-х годов в условиях ослабления Джунгарского ханства. Анализируются архивные материалы и нарративные источники, позволяющие выявить комплекс факторов, повлиявших на ситуацию, таких как нехватка пастбищ в степных районах, последствия многолетней казахско-джунгарской войны, восстание башкир на сопредельных территориях, а также политика Российской империи, стремившейся ограничить кочевые маршруты Среднего жуза. Актуальность исследования заключается в том, что события середины 1750-х годов, совпавшие с ослаблением Джунгарского ханства и активным укреплением Сибирской линии, стали переломным моментом в борьбе за кочевые пространства. *Цель и задачи.* Анализ политических и социально-экономических аспектов борьбы казахов за кочевья на правобережье Иртыша в условиях ослабления Джунгарского ханства и усиления российского военного присутствия. *Задачи исследования:* анализ архивных документов, касающихся военно-политической ситуации в Среднем жузе середины XVIII века; выявление причин массовых перекочевок казахов на правобережье Иртыша; оценка последствий данных процессов для дальнейших взаимоотношений казахских султанов с российскими властями. Исследование основано на анализе архивных документов Государственного архива Оренбургской области (ГАОО), Исторического архива Омской области (ИАОО) и других источников. Методы: применялись методы исторического анализа первоисточников, хронологического анализа и сравнительный анализ различных источников информации. *Результаты.* Ослабление Джунгарского ханства после затяжных войн позволило казахам активнее бороться за возвращение традиционных кочевий на правобережье Иртыша. Политика Абылая, направленная на возвращение утраченных пастбищ и обеспечение безопасности населения, вступила в противоречие с колониальной стратегией Российской империи. *Заключение.* Несмотря на попытки урегулирования конфликта, военные стычки и массовые перекочевки продолжались, отражая глубину социально-экономических и политических противоречий.

Ключевые слова: Казахское ханство, Джунгарское ханство, Российская империя, Абылай хан, военные силы, Иртышская линия, кочевья, пастбища

Благодарность. Статья подготовлена в рамках реализации грантового исследования АР23488522 «Новые страницы из истории казахско-джунгарских отношений: во второй половине XVII – 50-х гг. XVIII вв.» при финансовой поддержке Комитета науки Министерства науки и высшего образования РК.

Для цитирования: Абенова Г.А. Из истории отстаивания казахами традиционных кочевий на правобережье Иртыша в условиях ослабления джунгар (середина 1750-х годов) // Asian Journal “Steppe Panorama”. 2025. Т. 12. № 5. С. 1310–1325. (На Англ.).
DOI: 10.51943/2710-3994_2025_12_5_1310-1325

Introduction

The mid-18th century marked a turning point in the history of the Kazakh lands. The weakening of the Dzungar Khanate's position shifted the balance of power in Central Asia, providing the Kazakhs with an opportunity to restore their traditional nomadic routes. The relevance of this research lies in the need to comprehensively examine the mechanisms of Kazakh society's adaptation to the changing geopolitical context of the 18th century. Research on this issue will allow us to gain a deeper understanding of the nature of Kazakh-Dzhungar relations during the final stage of Dzhungaria's existence, as well as identify the factors that influenced the transformation of the political situation in the region.

One of the key regions where the struggle unfolded was the right bank of the Irtysh River, which was also part of the Russian Empire's sphere of influence.

In this regard, Sultan Abylai's policies reflected a contradictory desire to regain historical lands on the one hand, while maintaining a balance in relations with the Russian Empire and Qing China on the other.

The issue of returning nomadic settlements to the right bank of the Irtysh River encompasses not only the socio-economic interests of the nomadic population but also a wide range of diplomatic, military, and strategic considerations related to the transformation of Kazakh-Russian relations.

Materials and methods

The study involved a variety of archival documents and historical materials that cover various aspects of the military-political and socio-economic history of Kazakh-Dzungar and Kazakh-Russian relations in the mid-18th century.

The article uses documents from the Historical Archive of the Omsk Region and the State Archive of the Orenburg Region.

Collections of legal acts and historical materials are of great value for studying this issue. Sources such as “Collection of Laws on the Kirghiz of the Steppe Regions” and “Altai: A Historical and Statistical Collection on the Economic and Civil Development of the Altai Mountain District”. These publications contain information about legislative acts and legal norms that regulate issues related to Kazakh nomads. They reflect measures for controlling and regulating migrations, the specifics of managing border territories, and the assessment of the effectiveness of administrative decisions. These sources allow us to trace the impact of government policies on the daily lives of the Kazakh population.

The study used various methods of analysis. The chronological approach contributed to identifying the dynamics and sequence of historical processes; the retrospective method allowed for assessing the consequences of events, and the source analysis ensured verification of the authenticity of archival materials and revealed their information potential.

Discussion

The problem of Kazakh-Dzhungar relations is reflected in the work of G.F. Miller (Miller, 1941), which included a description of the geopolitical situation in the region, including clashes between Kazakh and Dzhungar nomads. Valuable information about the relations between the Kazakhs and Kalmyks can be found in the work of I.E. Fischer (Fischer, 1774). Levshin also paid attention to the issue of Kazakh-Dzungar relations in his work (Levshin, 1996).

The well-known scholar V.V. Bartold also studied the relationship between the Kazakhs and the Dzungars (Bartold, 1963), particularly in the context of the Dzungar invasions, analyzing the historical, socio-economic, and political aspects of the conflict.

Among the significant works on the subject, it is necessary to mention the works of I.Ya. Zlatkin (Zlatkin, 1983), who studied the causes of the Kazakh-Dzhungar wars.

The works of V.A. Moiseev (Moiseev, 1991), who studied the relations between the Kazakh and Dzhungar khanates, as well as the results of the struggle between the Kazakhs and the Dzhungars and their impact on the political situation in Central Asia, were of great importance in developing new aspects of the Kazakh-Dzhungar relationship.

A significant contribution to the study of this problem was made by R.B. Suleimenov and V.A. Moiseev, whose research highlights one of the important and crucial periods in the history of the Kazakh people (Suleimenov, Moiseev, 1988).

The issue of the struggle for traditional nomadic lands is explored in the research by M.E. Issin and Z.E. Kabuldinov (Issin, Kabuldinov, 2000; Issin, Kabuldinov, 2001).

However, despite the existing research, this issue cannot be considered fully understood.

Further in-depth analysis of new archival sources is required, as well as a rethinking of existing interpretations in order to identify new aspects of the problem.

Results

In the mid-1750s, the military and political processes in the Middle Zhuz were influenced by several factors. Firstly, the lack of pastureland for the nomads in the steppe region and the disruption of their nomadic routes due to the prolonged Kazakh-Dzungar conflict created challenging conditions for the people's livelihood and mobility. Secondly, the successful conclusion of the anti-Dzungar war and the expulsion of the Dzungars from the Kazakh lands in the east led to a change in the balance of power in the region. Thirdly, the 1755–1756 Bashkir uprising on the border with Northern Kazakhstan and its subsequent suppression by the Tsar's forces resulted in the migration of some Kazakh clans to the Irtysh region.

The intensity and complexity of these processes in the Middle Zhuz placed the responsibility for their resolution on Sultan Abylai. His strategic decision was to resettle the Kazakhs on the right bank of the Irtysh River, which had two objectives. Firstly, regaining the previously lost territories would restore and decongest the pastoral routes in Central and Southern Kazakhstan, providing the livestock farms with the necessary feed. On the other hand, the population of the right bank of the Irtysh would have contributed to the concentration of sufficient forces for further pressure and the final displacement of the Dzungars.

The urgency of resolving these issues forced Abylai and his associates to aggravate relations with the tsarist authorities and attempt to return the Kazakhs to their lands on the right bank of the Irtysh.

In a report by S. Sobolev, the commander of the Semiyarsky outpost, to colonel K.E. Dehong, the commander of the Lutsk regiment in the Yamyshvskaya fortress, dated November 24, 1754, it was reported that a large number of herds had crossed to the right bank of the Irtysh River above and below the Semiyarsky outpost: "On November 24, for the third time, the Kirghiz, who had been sent to drive them away, engaged in a violent fight with the dragoons. And between Semiyarsky and Krivoy stants, a large number of people with yurts, livestock, and all their belongings crossed to this side. Many also went to Bor". From the report, it is clear that the herds were accompanied by 100 to 200 armed men, and repeated attempts by border guards to stop the crossings of the Irtysh River were unsuccessful. Moreover, the Kazakhs were very determined: "They were fighting with sticks and stakes, and they were very cruel... and they wanted to shoot from guns". At the same time, it turns out that the Kazakhs were "ordered to cross to the other side by their Ablay-Sultan" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 222–222 rev.).

The Kazakhs were well aware of the lack of Russian military forces on the Irtysh line: "And meanwhile, they declare (to the authorities – author), that there are few teams in your outposts and stations, and we will not look at you, and we will move to our side with our livestock and nomadic way of life". Therefore, they continued to drive their livestock unhindered in the area of the Semiyarsky outpost (below the Lebyazhensky outpost), including the territory from Grachevsk to the Podspusnaya stanitsa (34 versts from the Lebyazhensky outpost – author). In this regard,

S. Sobolev acknowledged the impossibility of herding the herds to the left bank due to the active resistance of the armed Kazakhs and the limited military contingent on the Irtysh line, and asked colonel K.E. Dehong to "increase the number of troops from Yamyshev and Lebyazhye, and send at least 100 or 200 men to drive the Kirghiz away" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 222 rev.–223).

In turn, colonel K.E. Dehong reported to the commander of the troops on the Siberian lines, brigadier I.I. Kraft, on November 27, 1754, about the dangerous approach of the Kazakhs to the Irtysh line and about the small number of commands in case of an armed rebuff: "According to the reports submitted to me by the outpost commanders, it means that the Kirghis-Kaysaks themselves are nomadic on this side to the borders. they have borders over to their own, and their herds have surpassed a considerable number, of which, according to the strength of my secrets, and to me, from your honor, orders from the outposts and stations of the command, depending on the number of people, they send... However, due to the lack of people, they cannot do this" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 221).

The Kazakh sultans not only allowed communities to cross the Irtysh River, but also reacted harshly to attempts to prevent the use of the rich Irtysh meadows. This is evidenced by the report of the commander in the Koryak outpost, captain von Traunberch, to colonel K.E. Dehong dated November 28, 1754, on the arrival of 60 armed Kazakhs from the Sultanmamet Sultan department, the foreman of the Kipchak ulus, demanding the immediate release of Kulebaku, the son of the Kazakh batyr Kulek, who was captured near one of the outposts: "This November 28th day at 4 p.m. Kirghis-Kaisakov arrived at the Koryakovsky outpost, for example, a man with an omnipresent mounted military arm with a gun, and others with spears and bows, and, having reached this outpost about a hundred yards away, they stopped. Of these, ten came to the knolls, and asked for a translator... Through whom I asked them: What kind of people are they, and why have they come? To which they told me with great severity that we were the Kirghis Kaisaks of the department of Ablai-Saltan, his elder brother Sultanmamet, and of them, the newcomer, the elder Babalen Izynalov, and they asked if you wanted to have war with us or peace, and why yesterday you took away one of the Kirghis from the herd, For whom the Sultan's foreman was announced, is very angry, and ordered you to declare: "Why did they take him without his knowledge?" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 253–254).

The Russian side replied that the Kazakh had been captured because there was Kazakh livestock on the right bank, accompanied by this herdsman. The circumstances of the capture of Kulebaka were described by the famous modern researcher A. I. Dobrosmyslov: "The commanders who were sent to remove them were again resisted by the Kirghiz. For example, the son of batyr Kulyak and his comrades engaged in a fight with the Cossacks and dragoons, causing the latter to be beaten "with many heads being broken and mutilated". However, when the commanders opened fire, the Kirghiz retreated across the Irtysh River. In other parts of the line, there were still several thousand Kirghiz, and it was not an easy task to gather them. Soon, however, batyr Kulyak's son was detained on the line, and he was punished by Neplyuev's order..." (Dobrosmyslov, 1900: 123–124).

The prisoner was held in the Yamyshevskaya fortress, but it was promised that the herdsman would be released soon. The authorities were afraid of escalating the situation, believing that Sultan Mamet's actions were being orchestrated by Sultan Abylai. At the same time, the Russians listed all the grievances inflicted by the Kazakhs on the right bank of the Irtysh, including attacks on the Barabins who had accepted Russian citizenship. The Kazakh side claimed that the thieves were not from their uluses and that they did not have any captive Barabins. Moreover, they pledged to return the prisoners if any of the Russian representatives went with them to look for them. They also asked to replace the Kazakh prisoner with a healthier one, as the prisoner was very ill. The Russian side warned the Kazakh representatives about the need to stop their unauthorized migrations and the consequences of disobedience: "I have also instructed them through this interpreter to refrain from herding their livestock in this area. If they continue to drive their cattle across the river, strong teams will be sent to catch them". The Kazakh side continued to argue that the horses were already grazing on the right bank, beyond Yamyshev and Zhelezinskaya Fortress (HOAR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 253–254).

However, the cases of Kazakhs being captured on the border line did not stop. On November 28, 1754, captain von Traunberch notified colonel K.E. Debong about the circumstances of the capture of 23 Kazakhs above and below the outpost (one of whom was from the Kypchak volost of Sultanmamat Sultan). On November 26, the dragoons who had been sent to patrol the area near Chernoyarskaya stanitsa reported that they had seen Kirgis-Kaisak herds being driven from the steppe into the line. Therefore, the next day, a detachment was sent "with thirty men of dragoons and a kaptenarmus soldier (rank above corporal – auth.) Kolokolnikov" for the of these horse herding back to the steppe. Upon his return, Kolokolnikov reported that his detachment, having walked five versts from the outpost, found ten Kazakh horses inside the line, which had been driven into the steppe beyond the Irtysh River. Going further, they found twenty horses inside the line, which were also driven towards the steppe. Then they encountered another herd of twenty horses, whose herder fled into the steppe when the detachment approached. Near the village of Chernoyarskaya, Kolokolnikov encountered a herd of five hundred horses. Of the six people accompanying the herds, one was captured. According to the captive, whose name was Tarbak Kurmanov, he was from the "Kopchak volost of Ablai's brother Sultanmamet, and they were stationed with their yurts near the Irtysh River".

After questioning, he reported that they had moved their herds to this side of the Irtysh River due to a lack of fodder on the other side. At the same time, the teams of ensign Lavrov and Pereleshin arrived at the Koryakovsky outpost. Lavrov reported that they had captured three herdsmen and driven the livestock back across the Irtysh River. Pereleshin reported the capture of 20 Kazakhs, along with 25 horses, 25 saddles, 8 guns, 2 axes, and 20 knives. And they, gentlemen officers, departed with their commands on the instructions given to them" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 251–252). The next clash took place near the Chernoretsky outpost and is associated with the famous Kipchak warrior Koshkarbay. On November 28, 1754, the commander of the Chernoretsky outpost, captain G. Kartashov, reported to colonel K.E. Debong about the Kazakh herds of the Kipchak foreman Koshkarbai batyr being driven above and below the outpost: "This November 26th, a report to me from lieutenant-major Litvinov... announced that on the same day it was sent from the Chernoretsky outpost to the Chernoyarsk station at the first hour of the day. the passage of dragoons is provided from Chernoretsky outpost for eight versts on the local side of the Irtysh River by Kirghis-Kaisatsky herds...on the 27th, they were sent to patrol from Chernoyarsk station in the morning at the very first hour of the day to Chernoretsky outpost, it was provided that these Kirghis-Kaisatsky herds were driven to the local side at night by a very large number. So I took two corporals, a drummer, twenty-five dragoons, and ten men who had come with me from the Peshchansky camp, for a total of thirty-eight men, and went to the herds, which I saw on the eighth verst from the Chernoretsky outpost, with five thousand horses". When they saw the herds returning to the Irtysh River, 15 armed Kazakhs approached the troops "with the intention of starting a fight or shooting", but 13 of them were surrounded by dragoons. The Kazakhs claimed that they were "herding their herds to this side for food, as there is no grass on their side, and their leader is Kachkarbai, who fought against the Kalmyks and recently returned". After a while, "about twenty men with guns and lit fuses and hooks" arrived to help the Kazakhs. Litvinov was forced to send an additional force of 20 dragoons, who managed to drive most of the herds back across the Irtysh (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 255–256 rev.).

Officers from other fortresses also reported on the armed resistance and unauthorized nomadism of the Kazakhs on the right bank of the Irtysh River. For example, on November 29, 1754, captain von Traunberch reported to colonel K. E. Debong about the herds that had crossed the Irtysh River between the Koryakovsky outpost and the Podstepnaya stanitsa, as well as the armed resistance of the Kazakhs when they attempted to drive these herds away. From the report, it is evident that the patrols sent by lieutenant Matyunin discovered three Kazakh herds. Sent to intercept 20 dragoons with one corporal, they returned with nothing, since "... they drove into the line in the steppe at a distance of fifteen miles from the station in fifteen horse herds, plural, and due to the sparseness of that team and a very large number with those herds of Kyrgyz herds from there to the steppe beyond the Irtysh River. they could not, because when that team began to drive those herds into the steppe, the Kirghis attacked their team with a considerable fight and burning wicks and beat them away from those herds" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 259–260).

In the Middle Irtysh region, the border authorities faced a difficult situation, as they needed additional military forces to counter the Kazakhs, and armed conflicts were on the rise. There were more cases of Kazakhs crossing the Irtysh River without permission. This is clearly seen from the report of captain A. Pantsyrev to colonel K.E. Debong dated November 30, 1754, about the impossibility of outrunning many Kazakh herds that crossed between the village of Chernoe and the Dolonsky outpost without adding troops.: "It is absolutely impossible to drive (the herds), because there are a very large number of them located along the entire Irtysh line, both along the steppe and to the forest. And it is from the half of the Chernavsky station to the half of the Dolonsky outpost. And I have seen that a great number of people are coming to the forest with their carts and livestock. And now, a great number of people from the Kirghiz army are coming to the Russian side from the Irtysh River, and others are coming from the Kalmyks and driving the Kalmyk captives. Therefore, I have found their elders, and I have told them that they are doing something against our decrees and are driving their livestock to our Russian side" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 287).

It should be noted that the process of providing pastures for Kazakh communities took place against the backdrop of the ongoing Kazakh-Dzungar confrontation, and the creation of a military line added additional difficulties for the militia, but did not pose a significant obstacle to military campaigns in Dzungaria.

At the same time, captain A. Pantsyrev reported on the impossibility of evicting unauthorized migrants with herds: "For the sake of your honor, I inform you in my submission that it is impossible to drive a small team away" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 287 rev.–288). At the same time, he presumably reasoned how many troops would be needed to round up cattle and Kazakhs in a thousand people: "At least a thousand more people are needed for this", emphasizing that the Kazakhs had bad intentions towards Russia: "And it seems that they have an evil intention towards our Russia. And she would not have come to gamble and caused any damage to Her imperial Majesty and complaints" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 288).

Obviously, the Russian authorities did not trust the statements of the Kazakh elders that "... if we keep herds beyond the Irtysh River, then our herds and we ourselves will all die...", considering the threats against Russia to be real: "... and if you drive the herds (back), then-you have to keep the war with us, and we will not yield to you" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 287–287 rev.).

Despite the forced eviction of Kazakhs with herds, they arrived again and again: And although and we drive the herds, then the next day and drive them again. And the state dragoon horses have already broken down along the current dilapidated path. I am still trying my best to drive them away. According to the Kalmyks, they are talking about how the Kalmyk leader Debacha (Davatsi) was killed, and the rest of the Kalmyk army went with Ablay-Sultan to finish the job (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 288).

Soon, the military reported that they were unable to evict the Kazakhs and their herds from the right bank of the Irtysh River, and that there were even battles taking place. For example, on November 29, 1754, captain G. Kartashov reported to colonel K. E. Debong that "up to three hundred Kirghiz-Kaisak horses had been driven across the Irtysh River to the local side". In this regard, sergeant-major Posevyev was sent from the village of Peshchana with a detachment of 33 men to drive the Kazakh herds away. Numerous herds, accompanied by twenty or more Kazakhs, were discovered approximately 25 versts from the Chernoretsky outpost. The attempt to drive the nomads out was met with serious resistance, as "fifty or more Kyrgyz men came running from across the Irtysh River, and they surrounded Posevyev and his men with their ukryuks (a pole with a lasso at the end for catching grazing animals) and drekoly (stakes) and began to beat the men and horses with them".

The situation was getting worse, and it was impossible for Posevyev's detachment to resist the large number of people. One of them, a Kirghiz-Kaisak, pulled out a knife and threw himself at the tsar's horse, on which a dragoon was riding, trying to stab it with the knife, but he was prevented from doing so. For this reason, he, sergeant-major Possev, was forced to retreat from them and retreat with his command to the lighthouse for protection near the hut in the prison. And these Kirghizmen chased him all the way to the lighthouse, beat him, and even fired their gun once, but they did not hit anyone.

And when they arrived at the lighthouse, they all went their separate ways, and when he, Posevyev, sent word from the Chernoretsky outpost, he was sent a team of fifteen men to help him. With this team, Posevyev returned to the same herds. The herds were driven across the Irtysh River, and the Kirghiz were no longer visible at that time (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 278–278 rev.). It was also reported that "... at every herd that is close to the road, there are Kirghiz-Kaisaks, up to thirty or forty of them, with guns and clubs. There are up to three hundred or more Kirghiz-Kaisaks in these herds" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 279–279 rev.).

Such mass crossings of the Irtysh by the Kazakhs clearly exhausted the military on the line, as Posseviev did not fail to mention: "And the tsar's horses are already exhausted from such clean riding and herding of the Kirghiz-Kaisak herds" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 278–280 rev.).

The increased resistance from the Siberian authorities, which prevented the Kazakhs from accessing the Irtysh meadows, forced the sultans to take extreme measures. colonel K.E. Dehong from the Yamyshevskaya fortress, in a report dated December 3, 1754, informed the commander of the troops on the Siberian lines, brigadier I.I. Kraft, that Sultanmamet Sultan had even threatened to declare war (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 285–286 rev.).

The seriousness of Sultanmamet's statements is evidenced by the fact that a few days later there was a major armed clash in the area of the Koryak outpost, which was reported to brigadier I. Kraft on December 7, 1754: "... upon arrival at the fourth outpost, called Chernoretskaya, according to captain von Tronberh to those who were there, in the outposts and stations, to the posters about the precautions of the attack on the Koryakovsky outpost by the enemy military hand of the Kirghiz thieves, one hundred and forty people, with whom gunfire took place, by whom the enemy, who sent the same report to the command of the Lutsk regiment, took one dragoon, who was released from them by their foreman. Yes, the same Kirghiz-Kaisaks, as he could hear, twenty-four people were captured by a party sent to the local line, and he did not know where they were located" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 225).

Due to the escalating situation, the leadership of Western Siberia decided to take measures to reduce conflict in the region. On December 18, 1754, brigadiers I.I. Kraft and Ya.S. Pavlutsky reported on reports sent from colonel K.E. Dehong about Kazakhs migrating to the right bank of the Irtysh with herds and about armed clashes between the military and them: "They ordered the herds to be driven to the left bank in every possible way, while treating the Kirghiz-Kaysaks kindly, and the first fights were not to begin; peasants are temporarily prohibited from going to the fields on the Irtysh line" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 262–262 rev.).

The authorities' decision to "treat the Kazakhs kindly" did not solve the main land issue, so the mass migration of armed Kazakhs with their herds to the right bank of the Irtysh River did not stop. This created a serious and explosive situation that could no longer be resolved with the available resources. This can be seen from the above-mentioned report of brigadiers I.I. Kraft and J.S. Pavlutsky dated December 18, 1754: "He sent twenty three men, who were captured by those sent from him, colonel Dehong, and from him, captain von Traunberch, to capture the Kirghis herds by teams of Kirghis-kaysaks... to the Koryak outpost with an armed hand with guns, with spears and Kirghiz men came with bows (and it means their number in the original report) and asked for their man, who had been captured by those teams and their villages...sent from Chernoyarsk to stanza with letters with one dragoon and a Cossack dragoon Mikhailov reported to , the – before reaching the Koryakovo outpost, about six versts they were met by a meeting sixty Kirghiz-Kaysak people" The Kazakhs did not calm down even after the words of persuasion, "You say you are my subjects, but you are threatening me. If you continue to play such pranks, you will be treated according to military regulations. In addition, if the herds are to be driven across the river in the future, they will be ordered to be driven away" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 262 rev.).

However, the border officials also identified another reason why the Kazakhs were trying to cross to the right bank of the Irtysh River: they were doing so to protect their livestock and families from the advancing Dzungars. By the way, at the Novoishimskaya line, at that time, Abylai also received a refusal to such a request: "They are making a mistake by closing themselves in our side from the Kalmyks, with whom they have disagreements" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 270).

And this refusal served as a reason for the cooling of relations between Sultan Abylai and the Russian authorities.

The main initiator of the migrations was Sultannamet, who represented the interests of his subjects, who were under the threat of a Dzungar attack and did not have enough pasture for their numerous livestock or the strength to defend themselves against the advancing enemy. Moreover, the documents show that Sultannamet coordinated his actions with Abylai: "And besides, the elder Saltamamet, who was Ablay-Saltan's brother, said that if their herds were to be driven away in the future, they would not let anyone out of the fortresses, and they would burn all the hay with fire, and they would not give them water from the Irtysh River" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 273).

Abylai's tactics, aimed at isolating fortresses in the event of captives or forcible cattle herding, were also used by Sultanmamet: "About forty people came from behind and from the sides of the Irtysh River, and there were about a hundred of them with guns, and they asked him, because he knew their language, why the Russians were taking the Kirghiz. And he declared that he did not know, for he was not of that fortress. Meanwhile, two men with sabers and several with spears and stabs were rushing at those Kirghisians, mending the example and saying, if you continue to catch and take them away, then they too will grab and take them away, and they will not let you get out of the fortress for water, and they will take you to themselves" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 273).

Another armed conflict, which ended in bloodshed, occurred in the area of the Chernoyarsk stanitsa: "And when following the Chernoyarsk stanitsa, ten versts away, they attacked him with a command of up to seventy Kirghis-Kaysaks or more with staves, under which there were guns, spears, and bows. And at the same time they struck the dragoon and the Cossack on the head, and bled them to death, and the Cossack corporal on the hand, and knocked the guns out of their hands. Why, seeing so many of them against his command, and the fight, so as not to excite his command, he ordered them to fire three guns, and they fired. They galloped away" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 273).

In order to somehow stop the mass migration and conflicts between the Kazakhs and the Barabins and local peasants, the Russian military was ordered to carry out the following: "... in the vicinity of the nomads, send messengers to their elders... with verbal and written announcements, so that they would move further into the steppe and drive away their herds, and would not come again... And during that dispatch of the command to them, no offense or bitterness should be inflicted on them in order to avoid further claims from their owner, but they should be treated with decent kindness, which the commanders should firmly confirm with a fine... If they do not listen to that and will not look at that, and they will provide their self-indulgence and repugnant actions in driving horses and cattle, or they will be found at fortresses and outposts with an armed hand, in this case, firstly, because they are verbally satisfied with the reasons on the basis of decrees with affection, so that they refrain from repairing, because they are from the local side according to their fates, what concerns, If they do not refrain from their evil intentions and persist in their aggression, they should be treated as enemies in accordance with the laws and regulations. But first of all, on our part, do not attack them with an armed hand and do not conceive, depending on their treatment" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 274 rev.).

For his part, in order to resolve conflicts, Sultanmammet Sultan decided to switch to peaceful methods and He began to convince the leadership of the Siberian lines and the heads of military fortresses of the need to allow Kazakhs to roam on the right bank of the Irtysh. In a letter dated December 31, 1754, to brigadier I.I. Kraft, the Sultan reported that his Kazakhs were not involved in the robbery of the Barabins, and asked for permission to move their herds to the right bank (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 373). In the future, in order to prevent the Kazakhs from crossing to the right bank of the Irtysh, the Russian side was ordered to strengthen its teams during the beginning of winter migrations and "force them to stay" (Collection, 1898: 45).

The fears of the Tsarist authorities had serious grounds. Therefore, in connection with the previous cases of armed clashes, on January 31, 1755, a decree of the Military Collegium was issued, signed by Empress Elizabeth Petrovna and addressed to Orenburg governor I.I. Neplyuev, on the exclusion of Kazakhs from the right bank of the Irtysh and on their expulsion from the right bank to the steppe side: "On the multiplication of the Irtysh line to suppress the above-mentioned

Kirghis-Kaysak an impudent act of the enemy, and the utmost caution of the commands, and about not allowing them, and other steppe people, as well as cattle and horses, to enter the local territory, and about their exile to the steppe side, and so on, to act now according to the above-announced definition made by brigadiers Croft and Pavlutsky. And at the same time, the commanders stationed at the outposts are to be strongly reminded, and they are to be ordered to prevent the Kirghiz-Kaisaks from reaching the outposts, and to take extreme care and strong and unwavering precautions, as military regulations and decrees command. And for that purpose, at the request of the said brigadier Croft, four hundred Cossacks, equipped with all necessary clothing and weapons, shall be prepared and kept in readiness and in all proper condition, and when the brigadier demands them, they shall be ordered to march at once. These decrees were sent to lieutenant general and Siberian governor Myatlev, brigadiers Kroft and Pavlutsky, and to the Siberian Provincial Office" (SAOR. F. 3. Inv. 1. C. 37. P. 24 rev.–25).

On March 6, 1755, a new imperial decree was issued by the Collegium of Foreign Affairs to brigadier I.I. Kraft, the commander of the troops on the Siberian lines, prohibiting the Kazakhs from migrating to the right side of the Irtysh River, and requiring further instructions from the Orenburg governor, I.I. Neplyuev. The presence of the Russian Empire in the Irtysh region was threatened by Sultanmamet Sultan, who fought the Dzungars with varying success: "But even after that, the herds were still being moved to the local side of the Irtysh River, and the Kirghiz-Kassak passes were not being reduced. It was impossible to drive them away, as there were a great number of them along the entire Irtysh line. And besides, many Kirgis-Kassaks with their cattle are coming from the other side of the Irtysh River. Among them are those who were at the battle with the Kalmyks, and they are bringing their captives with them. And although the officers sent with the teams to drive the said Kirgis-Kassak herds were forbidden by their Kirgis-Kassak elders not to drive their herds to this side, they imagine that their herds will die of starvation on the other side of the Irtysh River. And as colonel Debong knows, the Kirgis are driving their herds to protect them from the Zengirs, with whom they have a disagreement. And Ablay-Soltanov's brother, Soltan Mamet, threatened that if their herds were still being driven away, they would not let anyone out of the fortress, and they would burn all the hay and deny them water from the Irtysh. Therefore, colonel Debong requested instructions from you on how to deal with such nomadic Kirghis-Kasaks, as well as to add more troops, stating that there were few people at the stations and fortresses, which made it difficult to defend against the Kirghis in battle (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 29 rev.–30).

Due to the fact that the military fortresses of the Irtysh Line were threatened by attacks from both the Dzungars and the Kazakhs, new military forces were deployed there. Most of the teams were sent to strengthen the defense of the Yamyshevskaya fortress: "And place them (the teams) in the fortresses: two hundred in the Yamyshevskaya fortress, which is the main fortress in the middle of the line, and one hundred each in the Semipalatinsk, Ustkamenogorsk, Zhelezinsk, and Omsk fortresses. Which command, as soon as it is known or seen, will be used to stop the Kyrgyz and Zengor Kalmyks from crossing the border. Therefore, it is impossible and dangerous to increase the number of my command consisting of five dragoon regiments and command infantry and irregular Cossacks along all those lines, so that the fortresses and outposts would not remain deserted" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 254–255 rev.).

Despite the forceful displacement of the Kazakhs from the right bank of the Irtysh, the situation repeated itself in the summer of 1755, when Sultanmamet and his Kazakh subjects "crossed over to the Russian side with wagons from Yamyshev up to the Semipalatinsk fortress, and a considerable number of Kyrgyz with wagons and cattle did not leave, stealing and joining the Russian army. into battle with the troops when attempts are made to remove them" (Collection of Laws, 1898: 43).

Meanwhile, new royal prohibitive decrees appeared one after another, and first of all they concerned Sultanmammet and his subjects, who roamed from Omsk to Semipalatinsk fortresses. Thus, by decree of August 21, 1755, brigadier I.I. Kraft was instructed to prevent the Kazakhs from migrating to the right side of the Irtysh River, as Abylai Sultan and his army, having successfully attacked the Dzungars, were rumored to be planning an attack on the border fortresses: "About the Zengor subjects who escaped from the Kirghiz-Kassack captivity, one of them named Menlik

Polotov, and another woman named Bichigan, who testified about Ablay-Sultan's campaign against the Zengors with ten thousand Kirghiz soldiers, and about the rumors that many Kirghiz were planning to attack Russian settlements, fortresses, and outposts next year. And both of those Zengor captives wished to convert to the Orthodox faith of the Greek-Russian confession" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 139 rev.–140).

To this end, the Russian side took the necessary measures to ensure the security of its borders, including the preparation of additional forces from peasants and Cossacks from various Siberian cities for possible military clashes and their prevention: "In response to the rumor of a Kirghiz attack on local dwellings, the Siberian Provincial Office requested that the Cossacks, with their officers and equipment, as well as their horses, be in good condition. colonel Debong's request was to immediately send them to the Irtysh Line, especially from nearby locations such as Tara, Tomsk, Kuznetsk, Yeniseysk, and Tobolsk. That is why the Siberian Provincial Office has determined to keep them in good order and ready for the march, and not to take them away from their homes. In their spare time, the Cossacks living near the border lines are trained in military exercises, especially in quick loading and shooting with rifles" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 140 rev.–141). These concerns were apparently based on the fact that Abylai, representing the interests of the Irtysh-region Kazakhs, who were under the rule of his cousin, Sultan Sultanmamat, demanded the lifting of the established prohibitions: "Meanwhile, Abylai-Sultan sent a letter to the aforementioned colonel Debong in the Chagatai language, which was also sent with your report. And with that letter, he demanded... that they not be forbidden to roam along the Irtysh River" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 141 rev.).

In September 1755, tensions partially subsided, since the Kazakhs migrated from the Irtysh due to the natural disaster, and the need to send additional military forces in the area of the Yamyshevskaya fortress have disappeared (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 244 rev.).

A new stage of Kazakh military activity began with Sultan Abylai's success in battles against the Dzungars. The Russian Empire's College of Foreign Affairs, in a statement dated October 23, 1755, suggested that the Kazakhs might pose a threat to Russia: "The Middle Horde, having defeated the Zungars, committed acts of tyranny and captured many thousands of Zungars, becoming arrogant in its relations with the Russians" (Collection of Laws, 1898: 48).

Koshke Kemengerov, a well-known researcher of the history of Kazakhstan and a prominent figure in the Alash movement, wrote about the events of that period, including military conflicts (the book "Kazakh Tarikhynan" was published in Moscow in 1924): "In 1755, Kulek batyr, having crossed to the right bank of the Irtysh, got into a fight with Russian Cossacks. Among them were those who had their heads smashed in and their eyes gouged out. The College instructed the Kazakh elders to resolve this conflict. This fact indicates that the government was afraid of the Kazakhs and was unable to control them" (Kemengeruli, 2015: 27).

On November 11, 1755, a decree was issued from the Military College to Orenburg governor I.I. Neplyuev on the transfer of the Olonets Dragoon regiment from the Ishim line to the Irtysh Line, and from that to the Ishim Line of the Siberian garrison regiment: "On the transfer next spring from the new The Ishim line of the Olonetsky and Vologda army regiments: one to the Irtysh line, which is closer to that line, and in place of the other to a New Line, from those on the Irtysh line, the Siberian garrison regiment" (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 35. P. 387 rev.). According to a document dated December 17, 1756, the Military Collegium was aware of the difficult situation on the border after the defeat of the Dzungars: "The Middle Horde successfully repelled the Mongol (Dzungar) attack, and as a result, Russian fortresses and outposts were in danger from the Kirghiz attack" (Collection of Laws, 1898: 52).

It should be noted that Abylai did not remain "in debt" to the tsarist administration for a long time for refusing to let his subjects into the residential area: for example, in 1757, together with batyr Koshkarbai from the Kulan-Kipchak clan, he invaded the Altai and took away "many captured telenguts" (Altai: historico-statistical collection, 1890: 9).

Sometimes Sultans Abylai and Sultanmamet jointly appealed to the regional authorities with urgent requests to migrate to the right side of the Irtysh. This can be learned from their letter to major general I.I. von Weimarn, commander of the troops on the Siberian lines, dated June 6, 1760. As can

be seen from the date of the letter, the steppe nomads demanded a future crossing well in advance of the onset of winter: "And we humbly ask that when winter comes, you will allow us to cross the Irtysh River to the Russian side, and when spring comes, we will return to our own side. We will have a close and friendly relationship with each other. The commanders of the fortresses and outposts along the Irtysh line do not allow us to spend the winter on your side, and we are angry with them" (SAOR. F. 3. Inv. 1. C. 56. P. 135–136). This and other similar documents also indicate that the Russian authorities were opposed to the resettlement of Kazakhs on the right bank of the Irtysh, even temporarily, and that the previously imposed restrictions remained in place.

On June 6, 1760, a meeting and conversation took place in Omsk between major general I.I. von Weimarn and Zholbarys Sultan, Abylai's brother, who, among other things, requested permission for Sultanmamet and his subjects to cross to the right bank of the Irtysh River. However, the request was met with a traditional refusal, citing the dangers of steppe fires and the lack of fodder: "There is no fodder on the local side, but usually the grass in autumn falls out due to danger from steppe fires, so that sometimes fortresses could not burn from an accidental fire from the steppe, and besides, during their proximity to the sovereign's horses and hay in the meadows, it would not have burned, or their Kirghiz horses were not killed, and by virtue of the decree, it was forbidden to cross their herds to the local side of Kirghizia" (SAOR. F. 3. Inv. 1. C. 56. P. 143 rev.).

In subsequent years, attempts at unauthorized crossings became slightly fewer and mostly without armed collisions. The Kazakhs tried to use other methods of entering the "residential side", such as building their own houses on the right bank of the Irtysh River or on the left bank in the forbidden "ten-verst zone". At least in this way, they tried to return to the land of their ancestors, which was gradually being ceded to the Russian Empire. However, there were occasional conflicts between the Kazakhs and the Cossacks, resulting in the loss of lives. One such incident was reported by Abylai's nephew, Urus Sultan, in a letter to lieutenant general I.A. Dekolong dated July 7, 1773: "The Uvak volost's headman, Serkebay batyr, came to me..." He took a thousand Kirghiz with him to the fortress of Yamyshvskaya, and asked for 200 horses, two serfs, two camels, one armor, and one Turk for each of the five Kirghiz who had been killed. If they refused to give it, he said, they should give him ten Russian men alive" (Collection of Laws, 1898: 34). In general, the sultans, who were interested in maintaining peaceful relations with the linear administration, tried to take a balanced approach to resolving such conflicts (HAOR. F. 1. Inv. 1. C. 182. P. 123).

Thus, the events of the mid-1750s show the intensity of the relationship between the Kazakhs and the Russian authorities in the Irtysh border region. Russia's military presence was sometimes more pronounced than its civilizing influence. As more fortresses and cities were established, Kazakh pastures were reduced, and the Younger and Middle Zhuzes were now prohibited from crossing the Irtysh River. Abylai, while sending embassies to the Chinese emperor and the Turkish sultan, was even considering leaving the region (Khodarkovsky, 2019: 246).

The historical background of these events was influenced by a number of factors that affected the nature and dynamics of the relationship between the two parties. The construction of the Novoishimskaya (Gorky) line of military fortifications took place in 1752–1757, when the Kazakhs, led by Sultan Abylai, waged a stubborn and bloody war against the invading Dzungar and later Qing forces. During these years, the Tsarist government strengthened military defenses along the entire Kazakh-Russian border by relocating regular troops to these areas (Abuev, 2006: 167). At the same time, the fortification of the Irtysh Line, built in 1716–1720, continued. As a result, the tsarist regime was able to prevent the Kazakhs from returning to their traditional nomadic lands, and the vast territories of northern and northeastern Kazakhstan were now considered to be on the "inside". This led to a reduction in the Kazakh nomadic lands, which was not agreed upon with the Kazakh rulers, such as the sultans Abylai and Sultanmamat. In addition, the general situation was affected by another Bashkir uprising in 1754, which led to the migration of some Kazakhs to the east, and a hot, dry summer that threatened to cause widespread famine.

Russia's further advance into the territory of the Middle Zhuz, which had previously been partially controlled by the Dzungars, was accompanied by strict prohibitions on the Kazakhs' migration to the right bank. The new borderline, which effectively divided the Middle Zhuz into two

parts, prevented the Kazakhs from gathering military forces in strategic locations and effectively resisting the regular Dzungar invasions. But the tsarist regime, lacking sufficient forces to control the mobile and unpredictable nomads, chose this tactic, wary of having a military force in its rear, a well-armed army of thousands of horsemen, which could threaten the Russian presence. The Kazakh army indeed had extensive experience in military operations in wars with the Dzungars and Kyrgyz, and later with the Chinese (1756–1757) and the Volga Kalmyks (1771).

Nevertheless, the events discussed were among the last examples of a noticeable deterioration in relations in the Irtysh region. Later, both sides would choose a predominantly peaceful approach, leading the Kazakhs to accept partial access to winter pastures and, starting in 1771, regular access on a regular basis, subject to certain conditions and the transfer of amanats. The choice and implementation of such a policy of good-neighborliness with the fortress commanders and regional authorities by Abylai and his supporters was not accidental, but was determined by the urgent need to graze herds in the winter on the right bank of the Irtysh River. This was the only way to save the numerous livestock and try to return the Kazakhs to their lands.

Conclusion

The need to return the Kazakhs' traditional nomadic lands to the right bank of the Irtysh River in the mid-1750s was driven by the internal needs of the nomadic society. The weakening of the Dzungar Khanate following a series of military defeats and internal crises created favorable conditions for the Kazakh zhuzes to regain control over their ancestral lands, which had been lost in previous decades due to prolonged military conflicts. The right bank of the Irtysh River was of particular importance not only as a strategic territory, but also as a vital area for traditional nomadic farming.

However, the Dzungar threat was replaced by new challenges related to the growing influence of Russia and the Qing Empire, who sought to establish a foothold in the region. This required the Kazakh rulers to adopt a flexible policy that combined military action with diplomatic measures.

Sultans Abylai and Sultannamet were key figures who focused on returning to their traditional nomadic lands and protecting the interests of their subjects. Abylai's and his supporters' policies were characterized by pragmatism, combining military pressure with diplomatic negotiations. Numerous reports from military officials indicate that the Kazakhs actively resisted attempts to restrict their movements, and armed clashes were widespread.

Recognizing the military strength of the steppe nomads and the potential for escalating conflict, the Russian administration sought to balance a policy of strict control with temporary concessions. In an effort to strengthen its border lines, it prevented the resettlement of Kazakhs, which led to numerous armed conflicts. However, these events also demonstrated the resilience and adaptability of Kazakh society, as well as Abylai's strategic role in maintaining the unity and security of the Khanate.

Archival materials show that the migrations to the right bank of the Irtysh River were not only economic, but also strategic. They allowed the Kazakhs to restore their economic system, protect their livestock, and strengthen their position in the region. The construction of military lines and restrictions on migrations objectively contributed to the narrowing of the nomadic space and the escalation of relations.

These events demonstrate the high level of tension in border interactions, where economic interests were closely intertwined with military and political objectives. Ultimately, it was the need to preserve pastures and protect the population that determined the policies of the Kazakh sultans, and it also became the basis for building more sustainable, albeit challenging, forms of interaction with the Russian Empire.

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HAOR — The Historical Archive of the Omsk Region

SAOR — State Archives of the Orenburg Region. Orenburg, Russian Federation

Источники

ИА ОО — Исторический архив Омской области

ООМА — Орынбор облысының мемлекеттік архиві Орынбор қ., Ресей Федерациясы

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ASIAN JOURNAL “STEPPE PANORAMA”

2025. 12 (5)

Бас редактор:

Қабылдинов З.Е.

Компьютерде беттеген:

Копеева С.Ж.

Құрылтайшысы және баспагері:

Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігі Ғылым комитеті

Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

Редакция мен баспаның мекен-жайы:

050010, Қазақстан Республикасы, Алматы қ., Шевченко көш., 28-үй

ҚР ҒЖБМ ҒК Ш.Ш. Уәлиханов атындағы Тарих және этнология институты ШЖҚ РМК

Журнал сайты: <https://ajspiie.com>

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