

Zhappasov Zh.E., Botash S.

**Commercial relations of
Kazakhstan and Russia in the
XVI-XVIII centuries**

This article gives a brief overview of some works, based on the axiology analysis of historical researches process of accumulation of empirical knowledge and becoming of the theoretic-conceptual bases in studying a problem of Kazakh-Russian commercial relations in XVI-XVIII centuries. The urgency of a theme of research caused by necessity of development of historiographical aspects of actual problems of history of Kazakhstan, and for objective reconsideration of many pages of Kazakh-Russian relations in XVI-XVIII centuries from positions of new methodological approaches in a domestic historical science. As one of modern conceptual installations in studying history of Kazakhstan the withdrawal from consideration of historical processes in a vein of exclusively «Russian» and «Soviet» history and the set ideological imperatives that was characteristic for the Soviet historiography of problems of Kazakh-Russian relations. In conditions of independence of Republic of Kazakhstan on the foreground, only left insufficiently known and not studied aspects of this difficult and inconsistent problem.

Key words: historiography, empire, colonization, commercial relations, diplomacy.

Жаппасов Ж.Е., Боташ С.

**XVI-XVIII ғасырлардағы
Қазақстан мен Ресейдің сауда
байланыстары**

Бұл мақалада тарихи зерттеулерді аксиологиялық тұрғыда талдау негізінде XVI-XVIII ғғ. қазақ-орыс экономикалық қарым-қатынастары мәселесінің теориялық-концептуалдық негізінің қалыптасуы мен зерттеудегі эмпирикалық білімнің қордалану үдерісі анықталды. Зерттеу тақырыбының өзектілігі Қазақстан тарихындағы маңызды мәселелердің тарихнамалық аспектілерін зерттеудің қажеттілігімен, XVI-XVIII ғғ. қазақ-орыс қарым-қатынастары мәселесін отандық тарих ғылымына тән жаңаша методологиялық тұрғыда қарастырылуымен анықталады. Соңғы он жылда XVI-XVIII ғғ. қазақ-орыс қарым-қатынастары мәселесіне қатысты көптеген еңбектер жарық көрді, олардың біразында Ресейдің рөлін жоғарылатып, Қазақстанды төмендету тұрғысында жазылғандықтан, оларды қайта қарап, жаңаша методологиялық тұрғыда талдау қажет. Бүгінде отарланушы ел ретіндегі идеологиядан арылған кезінде Қазақстан ғалымдары арасында осы мәселеге қатысты әртүрлі көзқарастар мен пікірлер туындады, олардың кейбіреулері тіпті бір-біріне қарама-қайшы. Бірақта бүгінде қазақ және орыс халықтары арасында ғасырлар бойы жалғасқан байланыстардың нәтижелері Қазақстанның ұлттық тарихнамасы негізінде қайта ой елегінен өткізу жұмыстары жүргізілуде.

Түйін сөздер: тарихнама, империя, отарлау, экономикалық қатынастар, дипломатия.

Жаппасов Ж.Е., Боташ С.

**Торговые связи Казахстана и
России в XVI-XVIII веках**

В настоящей статье на основе аксиологического анализа исторических исследований раскрыт процесс накопления эмпирических знаний и становления теоретико-концептуальных основ в изучении проблемы казахско-русских экономических отношений в XVI-XVIII вв. Актуальность темы исследования обусловлена как необходимостью разработки историографических аспектов актуальных проблем истории Казахстана, так и для объективного переосмысления многих страниц казахско-русских торговых отношений XVI-XVIII вв. с позиций новых методологических подходов в отечественной исторической науке. Одной из современных концептуальных установок в изучении истории Казахстана является отход от рассмотрения исторических процессов в русле исключительно «российской» и «советской» истории и заданных идеологических императивов, что было характерно для советской историографии проблем казахско-русских отношений. В условиях независимости Республики Казахстан на первый план выходят малоисследованные и неизученные аспекты этой сложной и противоречивой проблемы.

Ключевые слова: историография, империя, колонизация, экономические отношения, дипломатия.

**COMMERCIAL
RELATIONS OF
KAZAKHSTAN AND
RUSSIA IN THE XVI-XVIII
CENTURIES**

We can find information about the Russian merchants in Kazakhstan and Central Asia, in the works of Rubrikvis and Shegabed-Din in the XIV century. Prerevolutionary scholar N.P. Zagoskin and well-known Soviet historian V. Mavrodin reported that, following the well-trodden path from time immemorial, Russian merchants back in XIV-XV centuries. «constantly traveled in the lower reaches of the Volga and the Caspian Sea, and from there made their way even to Samarkand, in 1404 year here in the last city people saw Russian merchants along with Tatar traders, Indian and Chinese.» [1].

Interesting information informs the pre-revolutionary author A.J. Garkavi [2], whom wrote that along the Volga and the Caspian Sea, Russian merchants exported from Asia countries fur of (sable, beaver, fox, marten and others.), honey, wax, fish tooth (walrus tusks), skin and linen fabrics (mainly in Central Asia), which were famous even in northern India. By the same way, they imported to Russia from the lower reaches of the Volga-Caspian Sea, salt from east, steppe horses, silk fabrics, products made of precious metals, semi-precious stones, pearls, weapons and Damascus steel products. Especially imported a lot from along the Volga and the Caspian Sea spices, by that time there was not sea route to India because no one opened it yet.

Let's note that A.E. Snesev and V.V. Bartold [3, 4], they believe, that «the initiative in organizing the Russian-Central Asian relations,» belongs to «the Englishman named Jenkinson», representative of the pre-revolutionary historiography V.G. Tizengauzen and Soviet scientists B.D. Greekov, S.A. Pokrovsky, Y. Falcons [5-7], resists and provides evidence of fallibility of this statement.

E.V. Tarle informs that in fact for the first time A. Jenkinson traveled across the Kazakh steppes and appeared in Central Asia almost a half century later than Russian, in 1557 year, he has been there and for subsequent years. Of course, the work of A. Jenkinson adduces great interest, as he left a very valuable information about Central Asia and Kazakhstan, informing about the inhabitants of the steppes «Kassaks with magomet faith (muslims)», that were strong and numerous nation [8].

N. Karamzin informs the fact that already in 1557-1558 years to Ivan IV with a «love» petition arrived ambassadors from Khiva,

Bukhara and Samarkand to allow their merchants to pass free along the Volga. [9]. A.H. Margulan also confirms the earlier period of the Kazakh-Russian trade relations establishment. For example, he writes that at the same time merchants from Shemakhi, Derbent, Shavkala, Tyumen, Khiva, Saraichik and other cities visited Astrakhan, and then the trade agreements were signed with Shamakhy and Bukhara [10].

In the context of political disintegration on the southeast of Europe after the destruction of the Golden Horde in the early XVI, century was frustrated as trade routes of Russia in Central Asia and other eastern states. Therefore, even during Tugume Khan (1534-1538), when Kazakhs' somehow strengthened again, the Moscow government did not renew the former direct connections with them.

Nomadic state associations were constantly in need of sedentary culture work products, «cereals, and especially fabrics, garments,» all of these they constantly received from Russia and Bukhara. V.V. Barthold, referring to S.M. Solovyov leads to an important confirmation of this. Nogai Murza Ismail in 1551 year wrote to his brother Yusuf, whom trekked behind Zhayik River: «Your people go trading in Bukhara, and my people go to Moscow, and I have to be conquered by Moscow, even myself go naked, and the dead do not have anything to sew shrouds».

The Moscow government aimed to increase trade with all countries, including Central Asia and the Kazakh steppe. This has contributed to the normalization of economic life, which in turn reduces the possibility of military clashes. In other words, increase of trade helped to neutralize the aggressive intentions of the Central Asian states and strengthen the economic power of the sides, which lead to activation of their diplomatic and political contacts.

Promotion of Russian to the East has created comfort conditions for prosperity of the Russian merchant class. However, on his way stood the Siberian Khanate. Kazakh Khanate was subject of continuously raids of neighboring countries and they were looking for a strong ally, able to help them in the fight against the invaders. At this time, Russian merchants, diplomats, travelers knew about the Kazakhs, as a nation, heroically defending themselves from constant pressure of Bukhara and the Siberian Khanate rulers. At the same time, the Kazakh steppes turned into a staging base for the goods, on their way from the East to Russia and from Russia to the East.

In the XVI century and up to 40-ies of XVIII century, communications of Russia with the Cen-

tral Asian by oases implemented through Astrakhan, Guryev, from the banks of the Tobol, Ural, Uya, from Tobolsk across the steppes to the north and deserts in the south. Before the foundation of Orenburg, Troitsk and Omsk as the main bases for sending government and private caravans, Bukhara Astrakhan and Tobolsk were main bases before. Through Kazakh steppe, Siberian Cossacks traded with the Central Asian countries. Bukhara caravans went to Ermak rate past the Aral Sea, «through the steppes of Kirghiz kaysak's by long-laid road ...» informs the pre-revolutionary author I. Keppen.

Soviet historian H. Ziyaev wrote that road from Tobolsk to Bukhara took 75 days. One of, the most famous researchers of Russia and Central Asia trade relation problems A.V. Pankow provides information that since the middle of the XVI century, twice in a year between Astrakhan and Karagan marina on Mangyshlak went sailing boats on which the Khiva and Bukhara merchants sailed to Astrakhan.

Prerevolutionary author V.A. Ulyanitsky wrote, and well-known Kazakh historian G.F. Dahshleyger by analyzing documents from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, came to the conclusion that the overland route from Russia to India as early as the time, passed through Astrakhan to the Mangyshlak peninsula (Tub-Karagan), Bukhara, Balkh, Kabul, and from there to India.

It took only 20 years after the conquering the Kazan and the Russian were already mastering the upper reaches of the Kama River and established themselves in several kilometers to south-east of Soli Kama built in Stroganovs' Kankor and Keregedan. Consistently mastered the river roads to Siberia. Ahead of all were Stroganovs' that even in 1574 year were in hurry to capture Western Siberia to settle in Tobol, Irtysh, Ob and other rivers. In accordance with a letter of Ivan, the Terrible all these lands fixed behind them. As evidenced «Siberian chronicle», Stroganovs' got the right of free trading in new places with merchants from Central Asia, Kazakhstan and other eastern states. As indicated by the above information, located in Stroganov's Chronicle, during those years started establishing and trade relations with the Kazakh steppe.

So, at the heart of the Russian tsar's policy at end of the XVI century. (Ivan the Terrible, Fyodor Ivanovich) to the eastern neighbors, particularly the Kazakh Khanate, as well as Kazakh rulers of that period (particularly Tevekkel), began as an effort «to have good boundaries ... (trade) people would go without any hooks».

At that time, there was a tendency to consolidate not only the political but also Russian-Kazakh trade

relations. Strengthening of which contributed to the historically established conditions, associated with the departure of the Kazakhs under pressure from military-feudal Jungar state from the area of Seven Rivers towards the upper reaches of the Ishim river basins of the Tobol, Irgiz and other rivers that lie within West Siberia the relations established since the end of the XVI century. For a long time between the rulers of the two countries, it did not affect their mutual benefits of the ruling classes. For example, the Russian merchant class slowly drawn into, the trade with Central Asian and other eastern states through the adjacent Nogai, Kazakh and Kalmyk steppe and Kazakh nomadic nobility could not see all the great advantages of maintaining permanent good neighborly relations with Moscow. They often preferred to attack them, capture captives and cattle rustling Russian population, especially frequent from the middle of the XVII century. However, these attacks generally did not violate the basic policies of the Kazakh khans, in some moments of political and commercial benefits of maintaining friendly relations with the Russian state. However, they strongly oppose to be depended of Russia.

Obstacle on the way of development of the Kazakh-Russian trade relations, as did pre-revolutionary researchers stood Siberian Khanate, relations with which Russia became particularly acute in the 70s of the XVI century. Khan Kuchum actively opposed to the Russian penetration into Siberia. Earlier in the pre-revolutionary and Soviet historiography, they draw image of Khan Kuchum only in black colors, and his activities towards them represented for others as a robbery. Only in 1996 year, the Kazakh historian M. Abdirov attempted to restore the historical truth in the book «Known and unknown Han Kuchum,» he wrote the following. «The reason for such special interest on personality of Kuchum lies not only in his own tragic fate or dramatic history of his descendants. Above all it is in the fact that he, his children and grandchildren were the first who opposed the aggressive policy of the Russian autocracy, in the east and stood on the way of Russian government in Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan» [11]. Confronted with Kuchum, the tsarist government began to look for an ally to fight him. That ally could become the Kazakh steppe on the condition to be vassal of Russia. As later events will show, the Kazakh steppe becomes the next victim of Russian aggressive colonial ambitions.

In addition, by that time Emirate of Bukhara threatened Kazakhstan. We know well that the Emirate of Bukhara increased its ownership by the seizure of the Khanate of Khiva. As a result, Bukha-

ra-Nogai Kazakh ownership agreements were also threaten by seizure of Bukhara Khan. As Tevekke-lya ambassadors pointed in Moscow, the ultimate goal of Khan of Bukhara was the construction of town fortress among Jayik River in Sarayshih and then transformation of Astrakhan into dependent to the city of Bukhara.

Considering steps to establish an alliance with the Kazakh Khanate to combat Kuchum, the Russian government counted to use their rulers as intermediaries in negotiations with the Central Asian khanates.

After recovering from Artysh massacre, kazakh steppe revitalized again during Tevekkele Khan, and has turned into a major political force. Under these changed circumstances, Russian government was quick to take advantage of the benefits against the Kuchum and against the Khan of Bukhara. At the same time, they made attempt to arrange a closer relationship with the Kazakh steppe.

At the same time, the Russian government has taken steps to strengthen ties with the Kazakh steppe and Central Asia on the part of Siberia. Historical experience showed that progression into the depths of Asia, Russia was much more successful from side of Siberia, rather than from the banks of the Ural. The development of Siberia facilitated by the fact that there rushed from the interior of the country's industrialists and settled in the new lands and the expansion of trade with Central Asian and Kazakh traders contributed to the cities founding. The first of which were built in time was city Tyumen and Tobolsk (1587 year). In 1594 year, at the Tara River, city called Tara was built the role of city was to be prevent raids of Kuchum on the neighborhood of Tobolsk. In fact, long time ago the Russians' penetrated beyond this point up on the Irtysh. Evidenced by a royal decree on the construction of the town of Tara, in it, among other things, it says. «Take on the consumption various people, and 70 pounds of salt to increase, to send out a new town Tara on the lake Yamysh and tell them to bring back salt». The idea was to send it all these «for 700 miles from the newly planned construction of a new city», that is in this area of now days Pavlodar city. Moreover, the decree stated it as an everyday deal, which Russian service people repeatedly did. I.V. Sheglov, M.I. Sladkovsky, X. Ziyaev and G.E. Katanayev wrote about it in details.

A.V. Pankow, referring to the testimony of Siberian historian G.F. Miller (XVIII c.) and I. Slotvsov (XIX c.) informs that in the same XVI century, Russian Caravan's «doschanikov» (boats) «went up the Irtysh and «Bukhara», camel caravans were sent

through the Kyrgyz steppes to European Russia and went through to Astrakhan, Samara and other cities of the Volga».

Bukhara caravans descended down through Irtysh to Siberia, brought the fabric and dried fruits, which they exchanged for bread and furs.

Trade route from Tobolsk to Central Asia went through the upper reaches of the Irtysh to Ishim, and from there past the mountains of the Ulu-Tau to Sary-Su until Turkestan, then through the Syr Darya to Bukhara. According to G.E. Katanayev, the Russian government has obliged the residents of Tara «to treat them friendly» Bukhara and Nogay merchants, if the «merchants will come to the city with goods, horses and cattle,» «bring them through themselves and let them freely sell goods. If, one of them wishes to travel with their goods and cattle to Tobolsk and Tyumen then allow them to do so». [12, c. 26].

V.S. Batrakov, Soviet scholar, pointed out that at the same time, the task was to expand relations with the Central Asian states, to organize a proper reception of the ambassadors at Tara, Tobolsk and Tyumen, carefully listen their suggestions and report them to Moscow.

In this relation, there are indications of numerous sources. Thus, H. Ziyaev adduces document, which is a government mandate of Tarski Russian authorities, which in 1595 year raised the question of «keep safe merchants, people from Bukhara and Nogay». In the punishment for Tyumen governor in 1596 year noted: «... To Bukhara with goods or Nogay with horses that will come trading to Tyumen, tell Bukhara and Nogay merchants to trade with Tatar's and our people duty free, let them trade free of duty and do not take any kind of customs duties, create conditions for them to come and trade near or out of our city». [13, c. 22].

In March of 1608 year by the diploma from the palace of Kazan, order to Tara governor I.V. Masalsky allow Bukhara merchants to trade in Siberian cities. The Uzbek historian M.Yu.Yuldashev informs and confirms that Bukhara's merchants usually were able to defend their privileges, given by Moscow.

However, let us note that the caravans had no guarantee against robberies, so they took measures to protect themselves. Particularly, they protected and accompanied caravans of salt by military commands. For example, a trading expedition, directed along the Irtysh on 25 rafts, to it from city of Tara were joined five more, were guarded by archers, gunners, drummers, cavalry and Cossacks on foot «with the workers with the centurion and atamans

– about 840». They armed them with eleven copper musket, 814 kernels, «manual and gun powder 79, 50 pounds of lead.» Evidenced by the documents published in the publication «The Kyrgyz Land» in 1903.

During so-called «time of troubles», the international position of the Russian state has greatly suffered and for a certain period, Kazakh-Russian trade relations was almost not carried out.

At the beginning of the XVII century, two countries resumed trade relations between each other. The Russian government allowed the Central Asian merchants to trade freely in the Russian cities. At the same time, they took measures to increase the number of Russian trade and diplomatic missions to Central Asia, their main traffic routes passed through the territory of Kazakhstan. Already in 1614 through the Jayik and then on the Kazakh steppe (Emba – Khiva) embassy of Mikhail Tikhonov and Alexei Bukharov were sent to Persia. Together with them Russian merchants and Persian messenger Amir Shah Quli, for a long time they had no opportunity to go back home because of the «time of troubles.»

Characteristically, by the end of 20-ies of XVII century, due to connections with the eastern states strengthened so that the influx of merchants from Central Asia and other eastern states, has led to a conflict with their Russian merchants. As a result, forced local authorities to certainly extent, limit the promotion of the Russian caravans of the Oriental traders, which caused sharp protests from the latter ones. Examining this question, the Soviet historian X. Ziyaev was inclined to believe that the restriction of eastern merchants' movement to Russian was due to the «lack of supply» for the carriage of goods. Nevertheless, this is only one side. We should add the fact that the ever-increasing flow of merchants from Central Asia and other eastern countries turned them into strong competitors of Russian merchants because of them the latter ones endured a significant loss. Things went so far that the Russian merchants to shield themselves from competition with eastern merchants, in 1627 forced and had to turn to a special petition to the Tsar Mikhail Filaretovich. P.P. Smirnov pointed out that it emphasized the presence in Russia of a large number of «Teziks» (i.e., Central Asian merchants) who «go by themselves and let their clerks go, and we have sovereigns took away all trades, and your sovereign product of their various trades became a great problem» [14]

M. Yu. Yuldashev reports petition of «Siberian Bukhars'» Alim Suleymanova with «comrades», extracted from the books of the Siberian orders (column 134, p. 194), in which they «beat the brow» for

the restoration of their rights. In this and other petitions «reflects the relationship between the Bukhara with the settles in Siberian», and local merchants, creating obstacles for them by their competition in trade.»

These examples, well shows rather wide trade relations between Russia and Kazakhstan and the Central Asian states. To this, we must add that in Bukhara, for example, also were Russian merchants, which had «permanent trade craft».

However, let us note that since the 20s to 80s in XVII century there has been some decline in trade and other relations between Russia, Kazakhstan, Central Asian and other Eastern countries. This is due to the activation of the so-called «predatory gangs», attacking caravans and diplomatic missions. In this regard, the most characteristic of the Embassy of I.D. Khokhlov whose ship in 1620 year, during a storm had washed ashore of Mangyshlak peninsula. The trade caravan, which was with him, had been attacked and robbed by the Turkmen tribes.

However, the exchange of trade missions continued during these periods. Yu. A. Sokolov leads on this issue information of the customs books that speak of the arrival to Tara and Tobolsk in 1637-1645 y. – 185 merchants to 1645-1655 y. – 165 merchants in 1655-1665 y. – 227 merchants.

In the territory of Kazakhstan (from Tobolsk to Turkestan) passed primarily only those Central Asian trade caravans, which had special permission of the Kazakh khans, as evidenced by the Russian ambassador Vasily Kobayakov. Referring to him, N.G. Apollova leads some interesting information about trade in Kazakhstan during those times, that's what she wrote, in her «questioning speeches» in the Siberian order, Kobayakov said that under influence of Khan Tauke «a possession Cossack ... 25 cities in which Bukharians merchants live». [15, P.32] Moreover, this is not an accident. Namely, Kazakh khans, sultans and their immediate environment got all the revenues from trading operations, which they also partly used for organization of Russian-Kazakh trade on the Russian market in Siberia.

We would not just dwell on the Russian-Central Asian trade relations, if only in some cases, merchants, stood at the head of the Central Asian trade caravans, at the request of the Kazakh lords had no idea when the last of the Russian administration, perform diplomatic assignments along with trading operations. This evidences that the development of trade with the Central Asian khanates, to some extent contributed to the strengthening of Russian-Kazakh relations. Therefore, the more the territory of Kazakhstan Central caravan trade pass, they cre-

ated more favorable conditions for strengthening Russian-Kazakh trade relations.

For example, the embassy of Tashima accompanied by Kazakh merchants, whose task was to clear the ground for trade relations with Russia. It was not accident that Tauke Khan requested that merchants' «to come for a good messenger and trade people let them go».

Khan Tauke had great hopes for this embassy; it had to restore the old political and trade relations. So he sent together with the embassy of many gifts for the royal court.

For example, in the Kazakh steppe, not all rulers were involved in trade but they were the most interested part in it, also and other members of the largest and most influential families from the Kazakh khan's environment. Kazakh elite had interest in the development and the Kazakh-Central Asian trade since they received significant revenues from fees charged to merchants, caravans that passed through the Kazakh steppe. These revenues gave them opportunity to participate in trade with the Russian merchants.

In the context of economic and trade sustained positive assessment of the benefits for Russia in the works of A. Semenov, F. Lobysevicha, N.N. Balkashin, basic positions that include the following:

- An increase in Russian trade turnover;
- Use of natural resources of the conquered region;
- The use of territories as transit between Europe and Asia;
- The development of Russian manufactured goods sales market;
- The development of communication links;
- Vacant land for resettlement.

Thus, the desire of Russian tsars' to turn Kazakh steppe, in to sales market, the use of its natural resources and strategically advantageous position reflected in the Russian pre-revolutionary historiography. In the works of this period there almost was not analytical approach, there were factual errors, inaccuracies. However, these works were the basis for future issues development of the Kazakh-Russian trade relations during the Soviet period.

Among contemporary Russian works that differs by new methodological approaches, we can highlight the work «Russian-Kazakh ethno-cultural and ethno-political interaction.» It shows the close relationship between the revival of the Kazakh-Russian trade relations and the beginning of the active Russian colonization of the region. At the end of XX – and beginning of XXI century in the historical sci-

ence of Kazakhstan, a number of studies in which on the basis of new methodological approaches, with varying degrees of details considered the problems of medieval cities as centers of commerce. M.H. Abuseitova, S.M. Syzdykova, R.U. Karimova, B.A. Baytanaeva.

Trade and cultural relations of Kazakhstan and the Central Asian khanates were the subject of the

research of S. Maduanova, M.U. Shalekenova and A.B. Abdualy.

As we can see, during the study of the Kazakh-Russian trade in the XVI-XVIII centuries, there was a significant transformation of historiographical concepts – from the archaic tradition of pre-revolutionary Russian messianism to modern approaches, expressed in a synergetic paradigm.

References

- 1 Zagoskin N.P. Russian waterways and marine business in pre-Petrine Russia. – Kazan', 1909. – p. 17 – 18.
- 2 Garkavi A.Ja. Tales of Muslim writers about the Slavs and Russian. – SPb., 1870. – p. 48-49.
- 3 Snesarev A.E. India as a major factor in the Central Asian issue. – SPb., 1906. – p. 9.
- 4 Bartol'd V.V. The history of research in Eastern Europe and Russia. – Izd. 2, Leningrad., 1925. – p. 176.
- 5 Grekov B. D. Kievan Rus. – M. – L., 1944. – p. 314.
- 6 Pokrovskij C.A. Foreign trade and foreign policy of Russia. – M., 1947. – S. 38.
- 7 Sokolov Ju.A. To a question about the historical background of joining Central Asia to Russia. // Proceedings of the Central Asian State University. Lenin. New series. – Vol. 142. – Historical sciences. – Vol. 30. – Tashkent, 1958. – P. 22-23.
- 8 English travelers in the Moscow State in the XVI century. – L., 1937. – p. 185.
- 9 Karamzin N.M. History of Russian Government. – T. IX. – SPb., 1892. – p. 236.
- 10 Margulan A.X. From the history of cities and the construction of the ancient art of Kazakhstan. – Alma-Ata, 1950. – p. 86.
- 11 Abdirov M. Khan Kuchum known and unknown. – Almaty: Zhalyln, 1996. – p.4.
- 12 Katanaev G.E. Consolidation of Russian power in Siberia and the first steps into the interior of the Kulunda-Ishim and Tobolsk steppes. // Notes of the Western Siberian Department IRGO. – KH. XIV. – Vol. I. The. – Omsk, 1893. – pp. 25.
- 13 Zijjaev H. Central Asia and Siberia (the second half of the XVIII – XIX centuries.). – Doctoral Dissertation. – Tashkent, 1964. – S. 83.
- 14 The new petition. From «Pleas 1627» («On the expulsion of foreigners»). // «Reading Society of Nestor the Chronicler.» – Kn.23. – Kiev, 1912.
- 15 Apollova N.G. Economic and political relations between Kazakhstan and Russia in XVIII – the beginning of XIX century. – M. : Publishing House of the USSR Academy of Sciences, 1960.