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THE KAZAKH POPULATION AND THE MILITARY-ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE ON THE RIGHT BANK OF THE IRTYSH RIVER (SECOND HALF OF THE XVIII CENTURY TO THE EARLY XIX CENTURY)

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Abstract. Introduction. This article examines the military-administrative policy of the Russian Empire in the Irtysh region during the second half of the XVIII and the early XIX centuries. It analyzes the principal stages in the formation of the imperial frontier administration, the factors that shaped changes in government policy, and the interaction between the imperial authorities and the Kazakh political elite amid the changing military-political situation in Central Asia. The relevance of the study lies in the need for a comprehensive analysis of the mechanisms through which the Irtysh Region was incorporated into the administrative structure of the Russian empire, as well as the factors that influenced imperial policy toward traditional nomadic land use and frontier migrations. *Purpose and Objectives.* The purpose of the article is to examine the evolution of the Russian empire's military-administrative policy in the Irtysh region and to identify the factors that determined changes in the imperial authorities' approach to the use of this territory by the Kazakh population. To achieve this aim, the following objectives were established: to characterize the main stages in the formation of the military-administrative system in the Irtysh region; to trace the transition from the prohibition on Kazakh resettlement to the right bank of the Irtysh to their regulated admission and permanent settlement there; to identify the military-political, foreign-policy, and administrative factors that contributed to the transformation of imperial policy; and to determine the role of interaction between the Russian administration and the Kazakh political elite in regulating cross-border migration and land use. *Materials and Methods.* The study is based on documents from the Historical Archive of Omsk Oblast, the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, the Russian State Historical Archive, and the United State Archive of Orenburg Oblast, as well as published legislative sources and scholarly literature. The research applies the principles of historicism and objectivity together with the historical-genetic, historical-comparative, and problem-chronological methods. *Results.* The findings demonstrate that the initial policy of prohibiting Kazakh crossings to the right bank of the Irtysh gradually evolved into a system of regulated access and subsequently into a policy of permanent settlement for Kazakh communities loyal to the Russian empire. These changes resulted from a combination of military-political, geopolitical, and administrative factors, including the destruction of the Dzungar khanate, the transformation of Russia's strategic priorities, and the imperial government's efforts to secure the frontier through the integration of part of the Kazakh population into the

imperial administrative system. The study concludes that this policy became one of the principal instruments of the Empire's colonial expansion in the Irtysh region and laid the groundwork for the administrative reforms of the first quarter of the XIX century.

Keywords: Russian empire, Irtysh region, Kazakhs, Middle zhuz, military-administrative policy, Siberian military line, frontier policy, colonization, Ablai khan.

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ЕРТІСТІҢ ОҢ ЖАҒАЛАУЫНДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚ ХАЛҚЫ ЖӘНЕ РЕСЕЙ ИМПЕРИЯСЫНЫҢ ӘСКЕРИ-ӘКІМШІЛІК САЯСАТЫ (XVIII ҒАСЫРДЫҢ ЕКІНШІ ЖАРТЫСЫ – XIX ҒАСЫРДЫҢ БАСЫ)

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Аңдатпа. *Kіріспе.* Мақала XVIII ғасырдың екінші жартысы мен XIX ғасырдың басындағы Ертіс өңіріндегі Ресей империясының әскери-әкімшілік саясатын зерттеуге арналған. Онда шекаралық өңірді басқару жүйесінің қалыптасу кезеңдері, үкімет саясатының өзгеру себептері және Орталық Азиядағы әскери-саяси ахуалдың өзгеруі жағдайындағы империялық әкімшілік пен қазақ саяси элитасының өзара қарым-қатынасының ерекшеліктері қарастырылады. Зерттеудің өзектілігі Ертіс өңірінің Ресей империясының әкімшілік кеңістігіне енгізілу тетіктерін кешенді зерделеу, сондай-ақ дәстүрлі көшпелі жер пайдалану мен шекаралық көші-қонға қатысты мемлекеттік саясаттың өзгеруіне ықпал еткен факторларды анықтау қажеттілігімен айқындалады. *Мақсаты мен міндеттері.* Мақаланың мақсаты Ертіс өңіріндегі Ресей империясының әскери-әкімшілік саясатының эволюциясын талдау және қазақ халқының осы аумақты пайдалануына қатысты ресми ұстанымның өзгеруіне ықпал еткен факторларды анықтау болып табылады. Қойылған мақсатқа қол жеткізу үшін мынадай міндеттер айқындалды: Ертіс өңірінде әскери-әкімшілік жүйенің қалыптасуының негізгі кезеңдерін сипаттау; қазақтардың Ертістің оң жағалауына қоныс аударуына тыйым салудан оларды реттелген тәртіппен өткізуге және тұрақты қоныстандыруға көшу үдерісін зерделеу; империялық саясаттың өзгеруіне ықпал еткен әскери-саяси, сыртқы саяси және әкімшілік факторларды анықтау; шекаралық көші-қон мен жер пайдалануды реттеудегі Ресей әкімшілігі мен қазақ саяси элитасы арасындағы өзара іс-қимылдың рөлін айқындау. *Материалдар мен әдістер.* Зерттеу Омбы облысының тарихи архиві, Ресей мемлекеттік көне актілер архиві, Ресей мемлекеттік тарихи архиві және Орынбор облысының біріккен мемлекеттік архивінің құжаттарына, сондай-ақ жарияланған заңнамалық актілер мен ғылыми әдебиеттерге негізделген. Зерттеуде тарихилық және объективтілік қағидаттары, тарихи-генетикалық, тарихи-салыстырмалы және проблемалық-хронологиялық әдістер қолданылды. *Нәтижелері.* Зерттеу нәтижесінде қазақтардың Ертістің оң жағалауына өтуіне толық тыйым салу саясатының біртіндеп реттелетін көшу жүйесіне, кейін Ресей империясына адал қазақ қауымдарын тұрақты орналастыру саясатына ұласқаны анықталды. Бұл өзгерістер Жоңғар хандығының жойылуы, Ресей империясының стратегиялық мүдделерінің өзгеруі және шекаралық өңірдің тұрақтылығын қамтамасыз ету мақсатында қазақ қоғамының бір бөлігін империялық басқару жүйесіне енгізуге ұмтылыс сияқты әскери-саяси, сыртқы саяси және әкімшілік факторлардың ықпалымен жүзеге асқаны көрсетілді. Зерттеу нәтижелері аталған саясаттың Ертіс өңірін отарлық

тұрғыдан игерудің және XIX ғасырдың алғашқы ширегіндегі әкімшілік реформаларды жүзеге асырудың маңызды тетіктерінің бірі болғанын дәлелдейді.

Түйін сөздер: Ресей империясы, Ертіс өңірі, қазақтар, Орта жүз, әскери-әкімшілік саясат, Сібір шебі, шекаралық саясат, отарлау, Абылай хан.

Алғыс білдіру. Мақала ҚР Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігінің «Батыс Сібір қазақтарын басқару құрылымдары: XVIII ғ. соңы – XIX ғ.» (ЖТН АР23489137) гранттық қаржыландыру жобасын жүзеге асыру аясында дайындалды.

Дәйексөз үшін: Торайғыров Е.М. Ертістің оң жағалауындағы қазақ халқы және Ресей империясының әскери-әкімшілік саясаты (XVIII ғасырдың екінші жартысы – XIX ғасырдың басы) // *Отан тарихы*. 2026. Т. 29. № 3. 1117–1130-бб. [ағылшын тілінде]. DOI: 10.51943/2788-9718_2026_29_3_1117-1130

КАЗАХСКОЕ НАСЕЛЕНИЕ И ВОЕННО-АДМИНИСТРАТИВНАЯ ПОЛИТИКА РОССИЙСКОЙ ИМПЕРИИ НА ПРАВОБЕРЕЖЬЕ ИРТЫША (ВТОРАЯ ПОЛОВИНА XVIII – НАЧАЛО XIX В.)

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Аннотация. *Введение.* Статья посвящена исследованию военно-административной политики Российской империи в Прииртышье во второй половине XVIII - начале XIX в. Рассматриваются основные этапы формирования системы управления приграничным регионом, причины трансформации правительственной политики и особенности взаимодействия имперской администрации с казахской политической элитой в условиях изменения военно-политической ситуации в Центральной Азии. Актуальность исследования определяется необходимостью комплексного изучения механизмов включения Прииртышья в административное пространство Российской империи, а также выявления факторов, определивших изменение государственной политики в отношении традиционного кочевого землепользования и приграничных миграций. *Цель и задачи.* Целью статьи является анализ эволюции военно-административной политики Российской империи в Прииртышье и выявление факторов, обусловивших изменение подходов российских властей к использованию территории Прииртышья казахским населением. Для достижения поставленной цели определены следующие задачи: охарактеризовать основные этапы формирования военно-административной системы в Прииртышье; проследить переход от запрета казахам переселяться на правый берег Иртыша к их регулируемому допуску и постоянному расселению; выявить военно-политические, внешнеполитические и административные факторы трансформации имперской политики; определить роль взаимодействия российской администрации с казахской политической элитой в регулировании приграничных миграций и землепользования. *Материалы и методы.* Исследование основано на документах Исторического архива Омской области, Российского государственного архива древних актов, Российского государственного исторического архива и Объединенного государственного архива Оренбургской области, а также опубликованных законодательных актах и научной литературе. Используются принципы историзма и объективности, историко-генетический, историко-сравнительный и проблемно-хронологический методы. *Результаты.* В результате исследования установлено, что первоначальная политика полного запрета переходов казахов на правый берег Иртыша постепенно сменилась системой регулируемого допуска, а затем политикой постоянного расселения лояльных Российской империи казахских родов. Показано, что изменения были обусловлены совокупностью военно-политических, внешнеполитических и административных факторов, включая ликвидацию Джунгарского ханства, изменение стратегических интересов Российской империи и стремление обеспечить стабильность

приграничного региона посредством интеграции части казахского населения в имперскую систему управления. Сделан вывод, что данная политика стала одним из важнейших инструментов колониального освоения Прииртышья и подготовки последующих административных преобразований первой четверти XIX в.

Ключевые слова: Российская империя, Прииртышье, казахи, Средний жуз, военно-административная политика, Сибирская линия, приграничная политика, колонизация, Абылай хан.

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Introduction. The military-administrative policy of the Russian empire in the territory of the Middle zhuz during the second half of the XVIII and the early XIX centuries remains one of the principal areas of research into the history of Kazakh-Russian relations. The right bank of the Irtysh river constituted the most complex frontier zone, where the construction of the Siberian military line was accompanied by transformations in the traditional nomadic migration system, the redistribution of pasturelands, and the emergence of new forms of interaction between the imperial administration and the Kazakh population.

Both Kazakhstani and international scholarship have examined in considerable detail the construction of the Irtysh Line, the colonization of Northeastern Kazakhstan, the administrative reforms of the Russian empire, and its policy toward the Kazakh steppe. However, the practical implementation of military-administrative policy along specific sections of the frontier line has received substantially less attention, particularly its impact on traditional nomadic migration routes, the evolution of the Russian government's approach to the use of the right bank of the Irtysh, and the reasons for the transition from a policy of complete prohibition to one of regulated access for the Kazakh population to the inner side of the military line. Addressing these issues requires an examination of the records of the local military administration, which make it possible to reconstruct developments through the analysis of specific administrative decisions.

The purpose of this article is to examine the military-administrative policy of the Russian empire on the right bank of the Irtysh during the second half of the XVIII and the early XIX centuries and to identify the factors that shaped changes in the imperial authorities' approach to the use of this territory by the Kazakh population.

To achieve this objective, the study pursues several specific tasks. These include tracing the formation of the Russian empire's military-administrative system on the right bank of the Irtysh; analyzing the actions undertaken by the Kazakh population to preserve their traditional nomadic migration patterns and regain access to the pasturelands on the right bank of the Irtysh; identifying the factors behind the transformation of Russian government policy from restrictive measures to regulated access for Kazakhs to the inner side of the frontier line; and determining the relationship between the military-political situation in the region and the administrative decisions adopted by the Russian authorities.

The scholarly novelty of this study lies in its comprehensive analysis of archival materials documenting the implementation of the Russian empire's military-administrative policy on the right bank of the Irtysh. The archival documents introduced into scholarly circulation and systematically analyzed make it possible to trace changes in the policy of the frontier administration toward the Kazakh population, establish the sequence of administrative decisions concerning the use of the right bank of the Irtysh, and clarify the specific features of interaction between the imperial authorities and the Kazakh political elite amid the changing military-political situation in Central Asia.

Materials and methods. The source base of this study consists primarily of unpublished documents preserved in the Historical Archive of Omsk Oblast, the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, the Russian State Historical Archive, and the United State Archive of Orenburg Oblast. Of particular significance are the administrative records of the Siberian frontier administration, including reports submitted by commanders of fortresses and outposts, directives issued by the senior military command, correspondence between local and central administrative authorities, imperial decrees, and departmental regulations. These materials make it possible to trace the practical implementation of the Russian empire's military-administrative policy on the right bank of the Irtysh, reconstruct the circumstances surrounding the crossings of the frontier line by the Kazakh population,

and identify changes in the approaches adopted by the Russian authorities to the regulation of nomadic migrations.

The archival evidence has been examined in conjunction with published legislative acts of the Russian empire, documentary collections, and the works of pre-revolutionary, Soviet, and contemporary scholars. This comparative approach has made it possible to refine the chronology of events, verify information contained in archival documents, and examine the processes under study within their broader historical context.

The methodological framework of the study is based on the principles of historicism and scholarly objectivity. The analysis of the sources employs the historical-genetic, historical-comparative, and problem-chronological methods.

Discussion. In pre-revolutionary literature, the development of the Irtysh region was examined primarily in connection with the construction of the Irtysh fortified line, the activities of the frontier administration, and the history of the Siberian Cossack host. These issues were addressed in the works of I. F. Babkov and G. E. Katanaev [Babkov, 1912; Katanaev, 1908]. Information on the economy, land use, and settlement patterns of the Kazakhs in Semipalatinsk Oblast is presented in the works of N. Ya. Konshin [Konshin, 1901]. Pre-revolutionary authors accumulated a substantial body of factual material; however, many of them were associated with the military administration or the Cossack milieu. Consequently, land relations were often examined from the perspective of the interests of the Siberian Cossack host, while the position of the Kazakh population remained largely in the background.

In Soviet historiography, the subject was studied mainly in the context of Kazakhstan's incorporation into Russia, administrative reforms, and the economic development of the region. N. G. Apollova examined the settlement of the Irtysh region and the formation of its land-use system [Apollova, 1976]. The administrative, political, and demographic consequences of the incorporation of the Kazakh steppe into the Russian empire were considered in the works of E. B. Bekmakhanov and N. E. Bekmakhanova [Bekmakhanov, 1992; Bekmakhanova, 1980]. At the same time, the procedure governing Kazakh crossings to the right bank of the Irtysh and the involvement of the local military administration in regulating this process were not studied as separate issues.

Contemporary historiography focuses primarily on the military-cossack colonization of Kazakhstan, the history of the Siberian Cossack host, and the formation of the Irtysh ten-verst zone. The role of the Cossacks in the expansion of the Russian empire into the steppe regions is examined in the works of M. Zh. Abdirov [Abdirov, 1994; Abdirov, 1997]. S. M. Andreev studied the organization and principal stages in the development of the Siberian Cossack Host, while S. V. Shevchenko examined its relations with the Kazakhs of the Middle zhuz in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries [Andreev, 2007b; Shevchenko, 1997]. I. V. Anisimova investigated Russian policy towards the Kazakh population in the second half of the eighteenth century, as well as the formation of the Kazakh population of the Altai District [Anisimova, 2003; Anisimova, 2004]. The settlement of Kazakhs in Tobolsk and Tomsk governorates was studied by Z. E. Kabuldinov [Kabuldinov, 2001].

Thus, the historiography provides relatively detailed coverage of the construction of the Irtysh fortified line, military-cossack colonization, the administrative organization of the region, and land use in the Irtysh area. However, the shift from prohibiting Kazakhs from moving to the right bank of the Irtysh to their regulated admission and subsequent permanent settlement has been examined only in certain respects. The relationship between the decisions of the imperial authorities, the military and political situation in Central Asia, and the actions of the Kazakh political elite also remains insufficiently explored. This article therefore considers Kazakh resettlement not only as a consequence of government policy but also as a process in which Kazakh sultans and clan communities played a significant role.

Results. The construction in 1716-1720 and the subsequent strengthening of the Siberian military line in the 40s of the XVIII century meant the completion of the military-Cossack colonization of North-Eastern Kazakhstan and at the same time marked the beginning of the administrative registration of this territory [Toraigyrov et al., 2025: 560]. The right bank of the Irtysh was included in the Siberian province, created in 1710. In November 1724, the Siberian province was divided into three provinces – Tobolsk, Yenisei and Irkutsk. The Tobolsk province, in turn, was divided into districts. Thus, the Omsk and Zhelezinsk fortresses were part of the Tara district. In the 1730s-1740s, the Yamyshev, Semipalatinsk and Ust-Kamenogorsk fortresses were not initially subordinate to Tara, but already in the 1750s all five Upper Irtysh fortifications were included in the number of cities and fortresses assigned to the Tobolsk province. This was also pointed out by V. Tatishchev, noting their belonging to the Siberian province [Nurbaev, 2009: 89].

These processes unfolded against the background of the aggravation of Kazakh-Dzungarian and Kazakh-Chinese relations. As noted in one source, "the Kalmyks of the left bank of the Irtysh began to migrate to the south, forced to do so by the increasingly unfolding hostile clashes there with China on the one hand, and with the Cossack Horde on the other." [IAOO. F. 366. Op. 1. D. 331. L. 13].

The acuteness and urgency of resolving the land and pasture problem forced Sultan Abylai and his inner circle to deliberately aggravate relations with the Siberian administration. Under these conditions, a consistent attempt was made to return the Kazakh communities to the traditional nomadic territories of the right bank of the Irtysh, which had become inaccessible due to the formation of the Irtysh military line. It is important to emphasize that this confrontation was not a spontaneous phenomenon, but was part of a well-thought-out strategy aimed at preserving mobility as the main resource of nomadic society in the conditions of the shrinking buffer space between the Russian Empire and the Dzungarian Khanate. The information received from the Russian military officials makes it possible to reconstruct the dynamics of these processes in detail. For example, in the report of the commander in the Semiyarsk outpost S. Sobolev to the commander of the Lutsk regiment in the Yamyshev fortress, Colonel K.E. Debong dated November 24, 1754, it was reported that a large number of herds above and below the Semiyarsk outpost crossed to the right side of the Irtysh [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 35. L. 222]. This document is notable not only for the recording of the very fact of the transition, but also for its scale: it was not about individual herds, but about the movement of entire villages with yurts and household belongings. The report also shows that the herds were escorted by 100, about 200 armed people, and the repeated expulsions of Cossack detachments to suppress the crossings across the Irtysh were unsuccessful. At the same time, it turns out that the Kazakhs "were ordered to cross over to their local side by Ablai-Sultan" [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 35. L. 222]. This fact is fundamental: it removes the version of spontaneous actions of individual elders and points to the centralized leadership on the part of Abylai, who by the mid-1750s already had considerable authority among many families of the Middle Zhuz.

The Kazakhs were well aware of the lack of Russian military forces on the Irtysh line [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 35. L. 222-223 ob.]. Therefore, the cattle were driven unhindered in the area of the Semiyarsk outpost (below the Lebyazhensky outpost), including the territory from Grachevsk to the Podspuznnaya stanitsa (34 versts from the Lebyazhensky outpost). In this regard, S. Sobolev recognized the impossibility of driving the herds to the left bank due to the active resistance of the armed Kazakhs and a limited military contingent on the Irtysh line, and also asked Colonel K.E. Debong to send an additional 100 or 200 people [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 35. L. 222-223]. In turn, on November 27, 1754, Colonel K.E. Debong reported to the commander of the troops on the Siberian lines, Brigadier I.I. Kraft, about the dangerous approach of the Kazakhs to the Irtysh line and about the small number of teams in case of need for armed resistance [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 35. L. 221].

The Kazakh sultans not only allowed communities to cross the Irtysh, but also reacted very harshly to attempts to prevent the use of the rich Irtysh meadows. This is evidenced by the report of the commander in the Koryakov outpost, Captain von Traunberch, to Colonel K.E. Debong dated November 28, 1754, about the arrival of 60 armed Kazakhs of the Sultanmamet Sultan's department, the foreman of the Kipchak ulus, with a demand to immediately release Kulebak, the son of the Kazakh batyr Kuleke, captured near one of the outposts [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 35. L. 253-254]. The Russian side replied that the Kazakh was captured because there were Kazakh cattle on the right bank, accompanied by this herdsman. The circumstances of the capture of Kulebaki were well described by the well-known researcher A.I. Dobrosmyslov: "The commanders sent to remove them were again resisted by the Kyrgyz. Thus, the son of batyr Kulyak and his comrades entered into a fight with the Cossacks and dragoons, and the latter were beaten "with the breaking of many heads and mutilation." But when the command opened fire, the Kyrgyz withdrew beyond the Irtysh. In other places of the line, there were still several thousand Kyrgyz, and it was not easy to drive them away. Soon, however, it was possible to detain the son of batyr Kulyak on the line, who was punished by order of Neplyuev..." [Dobrosmyslov, 1900: 123-124].

The prisoner was kept in the Yamyshev fortress, but it was promised that this herdsman would soon be released. The authorities feared an aggravation of the situation, believing that Sultan Abylai was behind the actions of Sultanmamet's subjects. This episode is important for understanding that both sides sought to save face and avoid a major war, but at the same time acted from a position of strength. Sultanmamet's ultimatum demands, supported by a demonstration of an armed detachment, actually equalized his status with the commanders of Russian outposts in the negotiation process, which was atypical for the imperial hierarchy.

Officers of other fortresses also reported on the armed resistance and unauthorized nomadism of the Kazakhs on the right bank of the Irtysh [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 35. L. 259-260]. There were more cases of unauthorized passage of Kazakhs to the right bank of the Irtysh. This is clearly seen from the report of Captain A. Pantsyrev to Colonel K.E. Debong dated November 30, 1754 about the impossibility of driving away many

Kazakh herds that had crossed between the village of Chernoye and the Dolonsky outpost without an increase in troops [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 35. L. 287].

Soon the military reported that they were unable to evict the Kazakhs with herds from the right bank of the Irtysh, and that whole battles were taking place. For example, on November 29, 1754, Captain G. Kartashov reported to Colonel K.E. Dehong that up to 300 horses had been found between the Peshchanskaya stanitsa and the Chernoretsk outpost. In this regard, Cavalry Sergeant Posevyev was sent from the village of Peshchanaya with a detachment of 33 people to round up the Kazakh herds. Numerous herds with twenty or more accompanying Kazakhs were found about 25 versts from the Chernoretsk outpost. An attempt to oust the nomads met with serious resistance, since another 50 people arrived from the steppe side of the Irtysh, who surrounded and beat Posevyev's team [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 35. L. 278].

Such mass crossings of the Kazakhs across the Irtysh clearly exhausted the military on the line, as reported by Posevyev: "And even the sovereign's horses are all about such a clean ride and the herding of them, the Kirgis-Kaisak herds, are very exhausted" [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 35. L. 278-280].

In connection with the aggravation of the situation, the leadership of Western Siberia decided to take measures to reduce the conflict in the region. On December 18, 1754, Brigadiers I.I. Kraft and Y.S. Pavlutsky reported on the reports sent from Colonel K.E. Dehong on the migrations of Kazakhs with herds to the right bank of the Irtysh and on armed clashes between the military and them: "Ordered to drive herds to the left bank in every possible way, while treating the Kyrgyz-Kaisaks kindly, and not to be the first to start fights; peasants are temporarily forbidden to go to the fields on the Irtysh line" [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 35. L. 262].

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, signed by Empress Elizabeth Petrovna and addressed to the Orenburg governor I.I. Neplyuev, was issued on the prevention of the Kazakhs on the right bank of the Irtysh and on their expulsion from the right bank to the steppe side [IAOO. F. 3. Op. 1. D. 37. L. 24-25].

On March 6, 1755, a new imperial decree was issued by the Collegium of Foreign Affairs to the commander of the troops on the Siberian lines, Brigadier I.I. Kraft, to prevent the Kazakhs from migrating to the right side of the Irtysh, as well as to demand instructions on this matter from the Orenburg governor I.I. Neplyuev [IAOO. F. 3. Op. 1. D. 37. L. 29-30].

Despite the forcible ousting of the Kazakhs from the right bank of the Irtysh, the situation repeated itself in the summer of 1755, when Sultanmamet with the subordinate Kazakhs "from Yamyshev, up to the Semipalatinsk fortress, from across the Irtysh River, crossed over to the Russian side with wagons, and a considerable number of Kyrgyz with wagons and cattle and back did not leave, committed thefts and entered into battle with the troops when attempts were made to remove them" [Sbornik uzakoneniy..., 1898: 43].

In the meantime, new royal prohibitive decrees appeared one after another, and first of all they concerned Sultanmamet and his subjects, who roamed from the Omsk to the Semipalatinsk fortresses. Thus, by the decree of August 21, 1755, Brigadier I.I. Kraft was charged with preventing the Kazakhs from migrating to the right side of the Irtysh as much as possible, due to the fact that Abylai Sultan together with his army, having made a successful campaign against the Dzungars, according to rumors, was going to attack the border fortresses [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 35. L. 139-140].

In 1755, the final stage of the Sino-Dzungarian wars began, which ended with the defeat of the Dzungarian Khanate. Kazakh detachments under the leadership of Sultan Abylai also participated in the hostilities, which achieved a number of successes. Some of the campaigns were carried out under the command of his relatives, including Sultanmamet [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 41. L. 11].

The Collegium of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire in a statement of October 23, 1755 assumed that the Kazakhs could then threaten Russia as well [Sbornik uzakoneniy..., 1898: 48]. This is an important geopolitical shift: before the defeat of the Dzungars, Russia considered the Kazakhs as a buffer, after that as a potential enemy capable of challenging the imperial borders.

A well-known researcher of the history of Kazakhstan, a prominent figure in the Alash movement, Koshke Kemengerov, wrote about the events of that period, including military conflicts: "In 1755, Kuleke Batyr, having crossed to the right bank of the Irtysh, got into a fight with the Russian Cossacks. Among them were those whose heads were smashed and their eyes gouged out. The collegium instructed the Kazakh elders to sort out this conflict. This fact indicates that the government was afraid of the Kazakhs and could not curb them" [Kemengeruly, 2015: 27]. K. Kemengerov's interpretation is important because it proceeds from the Kazakh national historiography and directly links the military successes of the Kazakhs with the change in the policy of the empire – from pressure by force to attempts to shift responsibility to the local elites.

On November 11, 1755, the Military Collegium issued a decree to the 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 [IAOO. F. 1. Op. 1. D. 35. L. 387]. Judging by the sources, the Military Collegium was aware of the difficult situation on the border after the defeat of the Dzungars: "The Middle Horde repelled with victory the attack of the Mongol (Dzungar – Author) troops, and therefore there was a danger to the Russian fortresses and outposts from the attack of the Kyrgyz" [Sbornik zakoneny..., 1898: 52].

The destruction of Dzungaria served as a pretext for the mass return of the Kazakh population to the right bank of the Irtysh and at the same time created a probable threat to the Russian and Cossack population. By the 60s of the XVIII century, the influx of the Kazakh population to the regions of the Irtysh region increased significantly. Their efforts to regain the extensive pasturelands of the Upper Irtysh directly conflicted with the interests of the Russian military administration. Consequently, the frontier command and the Cossack population undertook considerable efforts to prevent the Kazakhs from establishing a permanent presence on the rich meadows of the Irtysh region [Katanaev, 1904: 4-5].

Russia again needed to strengthen its military presence in the Middle Zhuz. If in 1755 there were 5 fortresses, 9 outposts, 23 stanzas and 35 lighthouses on the Irtysh line, a total of 72 strongholds, then at the beginning of 1762 their number increased to 81 [Losunov, Levochkina, 2022: 16].

On September 22, 1761, the project of the commander of the Siberian lines, Major-General von Weimarn, appeared [Basin, 1971: 203]. At the same time, in accordance with the project, it was planned to build houses for the noble elders, in particular Sultan Ablai and batyr Kulsara, and covered sheds for small cattle and the best horses on this occasion. The author of the project hoped that in this case the Kazakhs would be so accustomed to "a better life" that in winter in severe frosts they would be forced to stay in their houses and "refrain from stealing". Consequently, the project, for all its "benevolence", was designed to use the Kazakhs' settlement in the interests of the empire, because in this case, being in a completely hopeless situation, they would be forced to carry out any orders of the Russian administration. Thus, Weimarn's project, although it provided for a "soft course" towards the Kazakhs, reflected the interests of the general line of the Russian government to strengthen its influence in Kazakhstan.

On March 21, 1762, the Collegium of Foreign Affairs recommended the Siberian Governor F. Soymonov to do everything necessary to avoid a "tough course" towards the Kazakhs of the Middle Zhuz and Sultan Ablai, in particular, and, if possible, "better caress" them. These recommendations were approved by the Governing Senate on May 14, 1762. [Basin, 1971: 203-204].

In 1763, Lieutenant-General I.I. Springer was appointed commander of all Siberian lines. With his appointment, the attitude towards the Kazakh population changed dramatically. I.I. Springer chose the Omsk fortress as his place of residence. In 1765, he increased the number of troops on the Irtysh line to 3000 people. In 1765-1777, the Ust-Kamenogorsk, Yamyshev, Omsk and Semipalatinsk fortresses were alternately moved to new places and rebuilt according to the latest fortification science. At the end of the 1760s, it became obvious that there would be no direct military conflict with China over the Dzungarian inheritance in the near future.

In order to prevent the Kazakhs from reaching the right bank of the Irtysh River, Lieutenant General I.I. Springer issued an instruction dated December 31, 1765 for the commandants of the fortresses, in which it was recommended not to allow the Kazakhs with their cattle "closer than 10, and at least 5 versts" to the Irtysh fortresses [IAOO. F. 67. Op. 1. D. 3. L. 533]. On the inner side of the Irtysh line, the same 40-verst strip was established, forbidden for Russian peasants [Abdirov, 2023: 76].

Further, as V.A. Ostafyev notes, "in 98 fortresses at that time the population was limited to only 7578 souls. Considering this number of troops insufficient, in 1770 General Springer enlisted in the Cossacks 2 thousand people of "unimportant" criminals, soldiers' children, 138 Cossacks from the party of Zheleznyak and Chewing Gum and Polish confederates..." [Ostaf'ev, 1897: 7].

By the decree of Empress Catherine II of September 2, 1770, the Orenburg governor and the command on the Siberian lines were ordered to discuss the possibility of admitting the Kazakhs to the inner side of the border line in winter "in order to avoid various difficulties" [Sbornik zakoneny..., 1898: 118].

In accordance with these measures, on June 16, 1771, the State Collegium of Foreign Affairs ordered the command of the Siberian lines "to allow the Kyrgyz to cross the Irtysh River with horse herds to the Russian side." But on the condition that they were not located near unfortified settlements and roads, especially the Kolyvano-Voskresensky factories. It was allowed to let the Kazakhs go to the "residential side" no further than 25 versts, under the supervision of Cossack teams and with a strict warning to the sultans and elders about ensuring order. For comparison, the Kazakhs of the Junior Zhuz were allowed to

temporarily migrate with cattle to the inner side for the winter only in 1783. [OGAOO. F. 6. Op. 10. D. 1769. L. 17 ob.].

It should be noted that such measures were applied only to that part of the Kazakhs who showed loyalty. Military engineer I. G. Andreev, who served on the Irtysh line, wrote about it as follows: "In this fortress (Zhelezinskaya - author) ... by order of the commander of the generals on the Siberian lines, as a sign of satisfaction to the Kyrgyz noble saltans and benevolent and sworn foremen wandering in the vicinity of the Irtysh River, it was allowed to be caressed on the Russian side..." [Andreev, 2007a: 138].

In subsequent years, attempts at unauthorized crossings became a little less and mostly without armed clashes. The Kazakhs tried to use other ways to penetrate the "residential side", for example, through the construction of their houses on the right bank of the Irtysh or on the left bank in the zone of the forbidden "ten-verst strip". At least in this way, they tried to find themselves on the land of their ancestors, which was gradually going to the Russian Empire.

After the resolution of 1771, the Kazakhs rushed en masse to the inner side of the border line, including the right bank of the Irtysh. Thus, according to statistical data, in the period from 1774 to 1785, only in the area between the Yamyshev and Zhelezinskaya fortresses, 1,030,600 horses with 5,279 herdsmen were allowed to wander for winter camps (on average, there were 85,364 heads of horses with 435 herdsmen per year) [Andreev, 2007a: 139]. Such a situation developed along the entire Siberian border line - Irtysh and Novoishim. For example, at the distance of the Semipalatinsk fortress to the inner side in 1783, 14000 horses were allowed to go to the inner side, in 1784. – 8000, respectively, with 54 and 40 herdsmen [Andreev, 2007a: 117]. The Kazakhs passed through the line represented such groups of clans and tribes of the Middle Zhuz as Atygai, Buranaiman, Uak, Karakesek, Kipchak, Kanzhigaly and Kerey, etc. [Andreev, 2007a: 138-139]. In particular, in winter, on the right bank of the Irtysh there were Basentiinovtsy, subordinate to the famous Sultan Urus Sultanmametov.

Often, the border administration, in order to actively invite the Kazakhs, allocated considerable sums of money "for the interpretation and treating" of the Kazakh sultans and elders. For example, in Omsk, about 1000 rubles were provided annually for this purpose, in the Peter and Paul Fortress – 200, in the Ustkamenogorsk – 100, in the Yamyshev – 75, in the Semipalatinsk – 75, in the Presnogorkovskaya – 50, in the Zhelezinsk – 50, Biysk – 50 [Andreev, 2007a: 150]. At the same time, it should be noted that there were much fewer such permits on the Novoishimskaya line than on the Irtysh line. At the distance from the Zhelezinskaya to the Omsk fortress, the passes began earlier in time, but the number of horses and herdsmen allowed to pass was much smaller, and in some years there were no passes at all [Andreev, 2007a: 148]. This circumstance can be explained, firstly, by the proximity of Omsk with the presence of a significant number of military contingents, and secondly, by the dissatisfaction of the border leadership with the incessant raids of the Kazakhs on the Novoishim line.

Numerous petitions of the Kazakhs, changes in the socio-political situation in the region forced the tsarist government to radically change its attitude to the desire of the Kazakhs to move to the "residential", previously forbidden land. Firstly, after the death of Abylai, the Kazakhs on the inner side no longer posed a serious threat to Russia. Secondly, the participation of the Kazakhs in the uprising of Yemelyan Pugachev and Syrym Datuly on the territory of the adjacent Junior Zhuz showed that it was impossible to ignore the interests of the nomads, especially those who had long lived near the border, and with whom the border authorities had developed quite tolerant relations [Valikhanov, 1961: 429]. Moreover, they really had a serious intention to roam on their ancestral ancestral lands. Thirdly, Russia could not but take into account the diplomatic efforts of Chinese emissaries to "lure" the Kazakhs to their side, who promised the khans and sultans titles, gifts and lands for nomadism.

At the same time, the Russian Empire continued to carry out administrative reforms in Western Siberia. According to the reform of 1775, three vicegerencies were formed in Siberia, divided into regions and districts. Territorially, they coincided with the former provinces created at the beginning of the century by the decree of Peter I, but the southern part of Western Siberia was separated into a separate Kolyvan region. In connection with the further colonization of the Kazakh lands in the south of Western Siberia, by the decree of the tsarist government of January 19, 1782, new districts were created as part of the Kolyvan region: Semipalatinsk, Barnaul and Biysk. They included part of the territory of North-Eastern Kazakhstan [Nurbaev, 2009: 89-90]. In the 80s of the XVIII century, there were 5 fortresses, 12 outposts, 20 stations and 1 village on the Irtysh line. With the increase in the number of troops on the Irtysh, the need for lighthouses disappeared. In total, there were 38 settlements on the line [Losunov, Levochkina, 2022: 16-17].

A kind of prologue to the mass transition to the inner side of the Siberian lines was the decree of Catherine II in 1782 on the abolition of the ban on the passage of Kazakh cattle for the winter to the inner borders of Russia.

That is, the long-term efforts of the Kazakh sultans and elders began to bring results. Further delay in this matter could play a negative role in Russian-Kazakh relations and, for example, reduce the flow of loyal subjects. Commander of the Separate Siberian Corps, Lieutenant General N. G. Ogarev "On the resettlement of the Kyrgyz-Kaisaks from the distant steppes to the interior of Russia" of July 15, 1788, the resettled Kazakhs had to be "not very close to each other". In addition, the Siberian governor was given the right to issue grain and money salaries to worthy elders at his discretion [Polnoe sobranie..., 1830a: 1086]. In this process, the leadership of the Siberian lines, "bearing in mind the surplus of land on the right bank of the Irtysh from the deserted Kalmyk generations, did not interfere with this and even invited the nomads through the Kyrgyz elders" [Rusanov, 1862: 1].

On July 25, 1798, the Imperial Decree "On Giving Asylum to Sultans and Elders with Their Wagons Coming from the Middle Kyrgyz-Kaisak Horde and Entering Russian Citizenship" was issued, which confirmed the intention to accept Kazakhs for "eternal nomadism" [Polnoe sobranie..., 1830b: 310-311]. The effectiveness of the decree is evidenced, for example, by the report of the commander of the troops on the Siberian lines, Major-General N.I. Lavrov addressed to Emperor Alexander I dated March 17, 1806, which spoke about the admission of Kazakhs into the Russian borders for eternal migration between the Ust-Kamenogorsk and Omsk fortresses consisting of 4 elders, 943 men, 836 women, a total of 1783 people, and of them adult males were sworn to the Russian oath [RGADA. F. 822. Op. 1. D. 16. L. 2.]. On October 7, 1799, a decree was issued "On the non-collection of duties on the property of Kyrgyz citizens wishing to become Russian subjects" and moving to live across the border line to the territory of the inner districts of Siberia [Polnoe sobranie..., 1830b: 806].

In the 80-90s of the XVIII century, the practice was preserved when the use of free lands for nomadic settlements was not allowed to everyone, but only to "those who were tested of them in loyalty" [Kasymbaev, 1986: 79]. From the end of the XVIII century to the end of the 20s of the XIX century, more than 12000 wagons migrated to the inner side [Levshin, 1996: 278]. In 1799 alone, about 15 thousand Kazakh families from the Middle Zhuz moved to the right bank of the Irtysh [Kasymbaev, 1986: 59-60].

By placing the Kazakhs between the line and the peasant settlements, the government and the Siberian administration tried to solve the political problem of creating a kind of cordon, staffed by loyal sultans, elders and batyrs who had switched to "eternal nomadism". The government hoped in this way to ensure the security of the border line, to stop raids on Cossack and peasant settlements by the nomads of the steppe. For the same purpose, Kazakh sultans and elders were appointed to the posts of remote chiefs, and baptized Kazakhs who signed up for the Cossacks, along with line Cossacks, were given shower land plots [Apollova, 1976: 152].

In the course of the new administrative division of Siberia in late 1796 – early 1797, the vicegerencies and regions were abolished. The territory of the abolished Kolyvan vicegerency became part of the Tobolsk province, while the Semipalatinsk and Biysk districts were preserved. In 1803, all Siberia was united within the framework of a single governor-general with a residence in Tobolsk. On August 6, 1804, the Tomsk province separated from the Tobolsk province; the territory of the abolished Biysk district included the territory of the abolished Semipalatinsk district with the Irtysh fortresses: Bukhtarma, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Semipalatinsk, Yamyshev and Zhelezinsk. The lands of Northern Kazakhstan along the Tobol and Ishim rivers were included in the Kurgan, Ishim and Omsk districts of the Tobolsk province [Nurbaev, 2009: 90].

For example, in 1808 all those who wished to switch to a settled way of life were allowed to settle in peasant villages, as a rule, consisting of Muslims. At the same time, they were exempt from all taxes and services for 10 years. In the same year, the question of attracting impoverished Kazakhs to agriculture on the inner side of the Siberian lines was raised. For these purposes, the government was asked to provide 146 thousand rubles in assignments [Pamyatnaya knizhka..., 1913: 234]. However, measures aimed at transferring the Kazakhs to a settled way of life did not lead to the expected results. In 1812, the Governor-General of Western Siberia I.B. Pestel discovered that the Kazakhs migrated to the Siberian borders mainly for winter cattle hunting, and in the summer they went to the steppes, while they were not engaged in agriculture [Pamyatnaya knizhka..., 1913: 235].

Thus, in the first period after the official admission of the Kazakhs to the right bank of the Irtysh a, there were also recorded reverse migrations that occurred for various reasons. Firstly, among those who moved to the inner side there were many tribal groups that were afraid of finally losing their independence; secondly, such movements in the eyes of the steppe dwellers were perceived as a kind of evidence of the restoration of the former cycles of nomadism. The number of Kyrgyz-Kaisaks of both sexes who settled within our borders in eternal Russian citizenship on the Siberian lines", compiled by the inspector of the Siberian Inspectorate, Lieutenant-General G. I. Glazenap on March 11, 1812, it is indicated that from 1788 to

1808, that is, for 20 years, 4012 people went beyond the line to stay on a permanent basis, and from 1808 to 1812, that is, for the next 4 years – already 5794 [RGIA. F. 1291. Op. 81. D. 29. L. 25].

In the 20s of the XIX century, only in four internal districts – Omsk, Petropavlovsk, Semipalatinsk and Ust-Kamenogorsk – 76802 Kazakhs lived [Bekmakhanova, 1980: 160].

From the end of the 18th century, it was planned to introduce a colonial system of government in the Kazakh steppe and finally turn the Kazakh lands into an integral part of the Russian Empire. All these projects were repeatedly discussed at the highest state level - in the Asian Department in St. Petersburg, where the task was to abolish the basis of the Kazakh statehood – the Khan's power.

Soon there was an opportunity for a new offensive on the steppe and the final liquidation of the Khan's power: in 1817, Khan Bokei died, and two years later - Khan Uali.

Relying on the loyal part of the sultans, the tsarist government decided to create a new system of administration in the Middle Zhuz, based on the "Charter of the Siberian Kyrgyz" and as close as possible to the all-Russian administrative standards [Nurbaev, 2009: 92].

By the very beginning of the introduction of the "Charter on the Siberian Kyrgyz", the restriction of the places of nomadism of the Kazakhs began. In 1821, it was prescribed to allocate strictly defined lands to loyal Kazakhs no further than 30 versts from the border line, at the same time, not "touching the lands belonging to the peasants, Cossacks and Kolyvano-Voskresensky factories" [Pamyatnaya knizhka..., 1913: 238]. At the same time, the distance between the nomadic camps of the Kazakhs and the "state villages" should not be less than 40 versts. Thus, two tasks were solved: to prevent the Kazakhs from escaping the control of the linear Cossacks and not to infringe on the land interests of the resettled peasantry, the Cossacks and the Cabinet (an institution that was in charge of the personal property of the imperial family. – Author). These circumstances testify to the colonial nature of land policy in the Siberian region.

Conclusion. The evidence examined in this study shows that Russian military-administrative policy on the right bank of the Irtysh changed considerably between the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The establishment of the Siberian military line and the extension of imperial administration into the region did not proceed without resistance. Kazakh communities continued to seek access to pastures on the right bank, and the available evidence indicates that these movements were often coordinated rather than spontaneous. Sultan Ablai and his associates, particularly Sultanmamet, played an important role in these efforts. Their actions were closely connected with the need to regain access to traditional grazing lands and to preserve established patterns of nomadic mobility.

During the 1750s, the Russian authorities relied mainly on prohibitions and military measures to prevent Kazakhs from crossing the Irtysh. In practice, however, these measures proved difficult to enforce. The scale of the crossings, the resistance encountered by frontier detachments, and the limited military forces available along the Irtysh Line gradually forced the authorities to reconsider their approach. Seasonal migration to the right bank, initially prohibited, was eventually permitted under regulated conditions.

The destruction of the Dzungar Khanate was an important turning point in this process. It altered the political balance in the region and changed the strategic significance of the Kazakh steppe for Russia. With Dzungaria no longer serving as a major regional power, Russian officials increasingly viewed the Kazakhs not simply as a population situated between two competing powers, but also as a factor that had to be taken into account in securing the imperial frontier. This helps explain why greater administrative control was combined with a more flexible approach to Kazakh migration.

The change in policy did not mean that the imperial authorities had abandoned their broader objectives in the region. Rather, regulation gradually replaced direct prohibition as the principal means of control. The government sought to use Kazakh sultans, clan leaders, and batyrs who were considered loyal to the empire as intermediaries in maintaining stability along the frontier. The decrees of Catherine II issued in 1770, 1782, and 1788, followed by the decree of Paul I in 1798, reflected successive stages in this process. Seasonal access to pasturelands was gradually supplemented by permission for permanent nomadic settlement within the imperial frontier and by the admission of Kazakh communities into Russian subjecthood.

These measures also had lasting consequences for the population of the right bank of the Irtysh. By the early nineteenth century, large numbers of Kazakh households had settled or resumed their migrations there. Yet the restoration of access to these lands took place within a new political and administrative framework. Kazakh communities regained the use of important pasturelands, but increasingly under regulations imposed by the imperial authorities.

The developments examined in this article therefore reveal two closely connected processes. Kazakh communities, their sultans, and clan leaders actively sought to preserve access to traditional lands and

patterns of mobility, while the Russian administration gradually incorporated these movements into its own system of frontier management. By the early nineteenth century, this system had become an important instrument of imperial control. The Charter on the Siberian Kirgiz of 1822 and the subsequent abolition of khan authority brought this process to a new stage, placing the Middle Zhuz more directly within the imperial administrative structure. Thus, the transformation of land use on the right bank of the Irtysh was not simply the result of unilateral imperial expansion. It developed through prolonged confrontation, negotiation, adaptation, and, ultimately, the growing subordination of Kazakh land use to the administrative and colonization policies of the Russian Empire.

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IAOO – Istoricheskiy Arkhiv Omskoy Oblasti [Historical Archive of Omsk Oblast]
OGAOO – Obyedinennyy Gosudarstvennyy Arkhiv Orenburgskoy Oblasti [United State Archive of Orenburg Oblast]
RGADA – Rossiyskiy Gosudarstvennyy Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov [Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts]
RGIA – Rossiyskiy Gosudarstvennyy Istoricheskiy Arkhiv [Russian State Historical Archive]

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