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

### ТОРГОВЫЕ СВЯЗИ КАЗАХСТАНА И РОССИИ В XVI-XVIII ВЕКАХ

### XVI-XVIII ҒАСЫРЛАРДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚСТАН МЕН РЕСЕЙДІҢ САУДА БАЙЛАНЫСТАРЫ

**Abstract.** This article presents a brief overview of some works on the topic of commercial relations between Russia and Kazakhstan during the VI-VIII centuries.

The urgency of the research on the problems of history of Kazakhstan was caused by the need to develop historiographical aspects of the country's relations with Russia. This topic was one of the main ideas in the study of history of Kazakhstan.

The historical experience of Russia and Kazakhstan has highlighted the need to define the prospects of their cooperation in the new political and social conditions.

**Keywords:** historiography, empire, colonization, commercial relations, diplomacy.

**Аннотация.** В данной статье представлен краткий обзор некоторых работ на тему торговых отношений между Россией и Казахстаном в VI-VIII веках.

Актуальность исследования проблем истории Казахстана была вызвана необходимостью разработки историографических аспектов отношений страны с Россией. Эта тема была одной из главных идей в изучении истории Казахстана.

Исторический опыт России и Казахстана высветил необходимость определения перспектив их сотрудничества в новых политических и социальных условиях.

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

**Аңдатпа.** Бұл мақалада VI-VIII ғасырлардағы Ресей мен Қазақстан арасындағы сауда қатынастары тақырыбындағы кейбір жұмыстарға қысқаша шолу берілген.

Қазақстан тарихы проблемаларын зерттеудің өзектілігі елдің Ресеймен қарым-қатынасының тарихнамалық аспектілерін әзірлеу қажеттілігінен туындады. Бұл тақырып Қазақстан тарихын зерттеудегі басты идеялардың бірі болды.

Ресей мен Қазақстанның тарихи тәжірибесі олардың жаңа саяси және әлеуметтік жағдайдағы ынтымақтастығының перспективаларын анықтау қажеттілігін атап өтті.

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

In the writings of Rubrikvis and Shegab-ed-Din from the fourteenth century, we may learn about Russian traders in Kazakhstan and Central Asia. Russian merchants back in the XIV-XV centuries, according to pre-revolutionary academic N.P. Zagoskin and well-known Soviet historian V. Mavrodin, followed the well-trodden road from time immemorial. "constantly went through the lower reaches of the Volga and the Caspian Sea, and from there found their way even to

Samarkand, where people saw Russian merchants alongside Tatar traders, Indians, and Chinese in 1404 year." [1].

Pre-revolutionary author A.J. Garkavi [2] reported that Russian merchants brought from Asia countries fur (sable, beaver, fox, marten, and others.), honey, wax, fish tooth (walrus tusks), skin, and linen cloths (primarily in Central Asia), which were famous even in northern India. In the same way, they imported salt from the Volga-Caspian Sea's lower reaches, steppe horses, silk textiles, rare metals, semi-precious stones, pearls, weaponry, and Damascus steel items to Russia. Spices were brought in large quantities from the Volga and Caspian Seas, while there was no maritime route to India at the time because no one had established it.

Let us recall that A.E. Snesarev and V.V. Bartold [3, 4] believe that "the initiative in organizing Russian-Central Asian relations" belongs to "an Englishman named Jenkinson," but that Soviet scientists B.D. Greekov, S.A. Pokrovsky, and Y. Falcons [5-7], who represent pre-revolutionary historiography V.G. Tizengauzen and Soviet scientists B.D. Greekov, S.A. Pokrov

According to E.V. Tarle, A. Jenkinson walked over the Kazakh steppes for the first time in 1557, almost a half-century later than Russians, and remained in Central Asia for the next several years. Of course, A. Jenkinson's work piques curiosity since he left a wealth of knowledge about Central Asia and Kazakhstan, including information about the "Kassaks of magomet religion (muslims)" who were a powerful and numerous country [8].

Ambassadors from Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarkand arrived with a "loving" appeal to Ivan IV in the years 1557-1558, according to N. Karamzin, to enable their merchants to sail freely down the Volga. [9]. A.H. Margulan also verifies the early time of the foundation of Kazakh-Russian economic links. He says, for example, that merchants from Shemakhi, Derbent, Shavkala, Tyumen, Khiva, Saraichik, and other places visited Astrakhan at the same time, and then trade agreements with Shamakhy and Bukhara were inked. [10]

The commercial routes of Russia in Central Asia and other eastern kingdoms were hampered in the setting of political fragmentation on the southeast of Europe following the demise of the Golden Horde in the early sixteenth century. As a result, even during the reign of Tugume Khan (1534-1538), when the Kazakhs regained some strength, the Moscow government did not re-establish direct ties with them.

Nomadic state organizations were always in need of sedentary culture labor items, such as "cereals, and notably textiles, clothes," which they got from Russia and Bukhara on a regular basis. V.V. Barthold, citing S.M. Solovyov, provides a significant confirmation of this. "Your people go trade in Bukhara, and my people go to Moscow, and I have to be captured by Moscow, even myself go nude, and the dead do not have anything to weave shrouds," Nogai Murza Ismail wrote to his brother Yusuf, who travelled below the Zhayik River in 1551.

The administration of Moscow wanted to boost commerce with all nations, including Central Asia and the Kazakh steppe. This has contributed to the normalization of economic life, reducing the likelihood of armed conflict. In other words, increased commerce served to neutralize the Central Asian governments' hostile intents and boost their economic might, resulting in the activation of diplomatic and political connections.

The promotion of Russian to the East has provided favorable conditions for the Russian commercial class's flourishing. However, the Siberian Khanate stood in his way. The Kazakh Khanate was often raided by neighboring countries, and they needed a powerful ally to aid them in their war against the invaders. At the period, Russian merchants, diplomats, and travelers were aware of the Kazakhs as a people fighting themselves valiantly against the rulers of Bukhara and the Siberian Khanate. At the same time, the Kazakh steppes became a staging area for products traveling from the East to Russia and Russia to the East.

Russia's links with Central Asia were carried out via oases through Astrakhan, Guryev, from the banks of the Tobol, Ural, Uya, and Tobolsk over the steppes to the north and deserts to the south in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bukhara Astrakhan and Tobolsk were the principal

locations for dispatching government and private caravans before Orenburg, Troitsk, and Omsk were established. Siberian Cossacks traded with Central Asian countries across the Kazakh steppe. "Through the steppes of Kirghiz kaysak's by long-laid road...", writes pre-revolutionary author I. Keppen, Bukhara caravans traveled to Ermak route past the Aral Sea.

H. Ziyaev, a Soviet historian, estimated that the journey from Tobolsk to Bukhara took 75 days. Since the middle of the sixteenth century, sailing boats carrying Khiva and Bukhara merchants have traveled twice a year between Astrakhan and Karagan marina on Mangyshlak, according to A.V. Pankov, one of the most notable specialists of Russia and Central Asia trade relations difficulties.

According to pre-revolutionary author V.A. Ulyanitsky's writings, and well-known Kazakh historian G.F. Dahshleyger's analysis of documents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' archives, the overland route from Russia to India passed through Astrakhan to the Mangyshlak peninsula (Tub-Karagan), Bukhara, Balkh, Kabul, and then to India.

Only 20 years after taking Kazan, the Russians were already commanding the upper parts of the Kama River and establishing themselves in Stroganovs' Kankor and Keregedan, many kilometers to the south-east of Soli Kama. The river roads to Siberia were consistently mastered. Stroganovs were ahead of the game, rushing to take Western Siberia in 1574 and settling in Tobol, Irtysh, Ob, and other rivers. All of these countries are fixed behind them, according to a letter from Ivan the Terrible. According to the "Siberian chronicle," the Stroganovs were granted the freedom to freely trade with merchants from Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and other eastern states in new locations. According to the aforementioned information from Stroganov's Chronicle, the Kazakh steppe began to develop and trade contacts during those years.

At the end of the sixteenth century, this was at the center of the Russian tsar's policies. (Ivan the Terrible, Fyodor Ivanovich) to the Kazakh Khanate, as well as Kazakh rulers of the time (especially Tevekkel), began as an endeavor "to create proper limits... (trade) people would travel without any hooks."

There was a trend at the time to deepen not only political but also economic ties between Russia and Kazakhstan. The strengthening of which contributed to the historically established conditions, which were associated with the departure of the Kazakhs from the area of Seven Rivers, under pressure from the military-feudal Jungar state, to 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 sixteenth century. It did not influence the mutual benefits of the ruling classes for a long time between the rulers of the two countries. The Russian merchant class, for example, was gradually lured into commerce with Central Asia and other eastern republics via the surrounding Nogai, Kazakh, and Kalmyk steppes, and the Kazakh nomadic aristocracy did not perceive all the enormous benefits of preserving lasting good neighborly ties with Moscow. They liked to assault them, take hostages, and rob Russian cattle, which became increasingly common from the middle of the seventeenth century. However, these attacks did not typically contravene the Kazakh khans' essential objectives, and in certain instances, the political and financial benefits of keeping close relations with the Russian state outweighed the risks. They are, however, adamantly opposed to becoming reliant on Russia.

According to pre-revolutionary academics, a major impediment to the growth of Kazakh-Russian economic contacts was the Siberian Khanate, with which Russia had particularly tense relations in the 17th century. Khan Kuchum was a staunch opponent of Russian incursions into Siberia. Earlier in pre-revolutionary and Soviet history, Khan Kuchum was depicted entirely in dark hues, and his actions toward them were seen as stealing by others. In his book "Known and Unknown Han Kuchum," published in 1996, Kazakh historian M. Abdirov sought to restore historical truth by writing the following. "The reason for such a strong interest in Kuchum's personality is not just due to his terrible destiny or the dramatic history of his ancestors. Above all, he, his children, and grandchildren were among the first to reject the Russian autocracy's aggressive

agenda in the east, and to stand in the way of Russian rule in Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan" [11]. When confronted with Kuchum, the tsarist administration sought an alliance to combat him. On the condition of becoming a vassal of Russia, that ally may become the Kazakh steppe. The Kazakh steppe becomes the next victim of Russian aggressive colonial ambitions, as events shall prove.

In addition, Kazakhstan was being threatened by the Emirate of Bukhara at the time. The Emirate of Bukhara enlarged its ownership by capturing the Khanate of Khiva, as we all know. As a result, the takeover of Bukhara Khan jeopardized Bukhara-Nogai Kazakh ownership arrangements. The ultimate intention of Khan of Bukhara, according to Tevekkelya ambassadors in Moscow, was the construction of a town fortification along the Jayik River in Sarayshih, and ultimately the turning of Astrakhan into a dependent city of Bukhara.

The Russian government considered using their rulers as mediators in discussions with the Central Asian khanates while considering efforts to form an alliance with the Kazakh Khanate to oppose Kuchum.

Following the Artysh slaughter, the Kazakh steppe was reinvigorated under Tevekkele Khan, and it has since grown into a strong political force. Under these new conditions, the Russian authorities acted quickly to seize the advantages against the Kuchum and the Khan of Bukhara. Simultaneously, they attempted to establish a deeper link with the Kazakh steppe.

Simultaneously, on the side of Siberia, the Russian government has taken attempts to improve links with the Kazakh steppe and Central Asia. Russian progress into the depths of Asia was far more successful from the side of Siberia than from the banks of the Ural, according to historical experience. The growth of Siberia was aided by the influx of manufacturers from the interior of the country who relocated in the new areas, as well as the increase of commerce with Central Asian and Kazakh businessmen who helped to establish the cities. Tyumen and Tobolsk were the first to be built over time (1587 year). In the year 1594, a city called Tara was created on the Tara River, with the purpose of preventing Kuchum incursions on the Tobolsk district. In reality, the Russians went beyond this point on the Irtysh a long time ago. It is evidenced, among other things, by a royal proclamation on the development of the town of Tara. *«Взять на расход разных людей 70 пудов соли и к тому прибавку послать из нового города на Таре на озеро Ямыш и велеть соли привезти на стругах»* - "Take on various people's consumption, and increase 70 pounds of salt, and send out a new town Tara on Lake Yamysh and tell them to bring back salt." The intention was to ship it all "for 700 kilometers from the newly planned development of a new metropolis," which is now the Pavlodar city region. Furthermore, the regulation indicated that it was a regular occurrence, which Russian service personnel did on several occasions. It was written about in detail by I.V. Sheglov, M.I. Sladkovsky, X. Ziyaev, and G.E. Katanayev.

According to A.V. Pankow, referring to the testimony of Siberian historians G.F. Miller (XVIII c.) and I. Slovtsov (XIX c.), 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 via Irtysh to Siberia, bringing cloth and dried fruits to trade for bread and furs.

The trade route from Tobolsk to Central Asia passed through the upper parts of the Irtysh to Ishim, then over the mountains of the Ulu-Tau to Sary-Su till Turkestan, and last through the Syr Darya to Bukhara. The Russian government, according to G.E. Katanayev, has obligated Tara inhabitants "Bukhara and Nogay merchants, if "merchants would arrive to the city with products, horses, and cattle," "bring them through themselves and allow them freely sell goods." Allow them to go with their products and animals to Tobolsk and Tyumen if one of them desires to do so". [12, C.26].

According to V.S. Batrakov, a Soviet researcher, the aim at the time was to strengthen ties with the Central Asian governments, to prepare a decent reception of the ambassadors in Tara, Tobolsk, and Tyumen, attentively listen to their proposals, and report them to Moscow.

There are evidence from a variety of sources in this regard. Thus, H. Ziyaev adduces document, which is a legal requirement of Tarski Russian authorities, which addressed the topic of "keeping secure merchants, people from Bukhara and Nogay" in 1595 year. In the year 1596, the following sentence was imposed on the governor of Tyumen: «...Буде бухарцы с товары или ногаи с лошадыми торговые люди учнут к вам на Тюмень приезжать, и вы б там бухарцам и ногайцам, торговым людям велели с нашими людьми и с юртовскими ясаинными татары на Тюмени торговать беспошлинно; а иных никаких таможенных пошлин с них имети не велели. И береженье к ним и ласку держати великую и обиды б им и насильства некоторого не было, чтоб им вперед повадно было со всякими товары приезжати. А торговати бы есте велели за городом в посаде или за посадом, где будет пригоже...». [13, С.22]. - "... To Bukhara with commodities or Nogay with horses that will be trading to Tyumen, tell Bukhara and Nogay merchants to trade duty free with Tatars and our people, allow them trade tax freely and do not take any sort of customs charges, and create circumstances for them to come and trade near or out of our city". [13, С.22].

By a diploma from Kazan's court, Tara governor I.V. Masalsky was ordered in March 1608 to enable Bukhara merchants to trade in Siberian towns. M.Yuldashev, an Uzbek historian, informs and affirms that Bukhara's merchants were generally able to protect their Moscow-granted rights.

However, caravans had no assurance against robbery, so they took precautions. Military authorities used them to guard and accompany salt caravans. A commerce trip, for example, was conducted up the Irtysh on 25 rafts, to it from Tara, and was joined by five more, who were guarded by archers, gunners, drummers, cavalry, and Cossacks on foot "with the workers with the centurion and atamans - around 840." They were armed with eleven copper muskets, 814 kernels, "manual and gun powder 79, 50 pounds of lead". Documents published in the 1903 publication "The Kyrgyz Land" attest to this.

During the so-called "time of difficulties," the Russian state's international standing deteriorated tremendously, and for a while, Kazakh-Russian commercial contacts were practically non-existent.

Two countries resumed trade relations at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Russian authorities let Central Asian merchants to openly trade in Russian cities. At the same time, they took steps to boost the number of Russian commercial and diplomatic missions to Central Asia, despite the fact that their primary traffic routes traveled through Kazakhstan's borders. Mikhail Tikhonov and Alexei Bukharov's mission to Persia was despatched in 1614 through the Jayik and then the Kazakh steppe (Emba - Khiva). Because of the "time of difficulties," they and their Russian merchants, as well as the Persian envoy Amir Shah Quli, were unable to return home for a long time.

Generally, by the end of the XVII century, contacts with the eastern nations had developed to the point that the flood of merchants from Central Asia and other eastern states had resulted in a dispute with their Russian merchants. As a result, local authorities were obliged to limit the marketing of Russian caravans of Oriental dealers, which sparked outrage among the latter. When it came to this subject, Soviet historian X. Ziyaev was inclined to assume that the limitation on eastern merchants' transit to Russian was due to a "lack of supply" for merchandise carriage. However, this is merely one side of the coin. We should also mention that the ever-increasing flow of merchants from Central Asia and other eastern nations transformed them into powerful competitors of Russian merchants, causing the latter to suffer enormous losses. Things deteriorated to the point that Russian merchants were obliged to turn to a specific petition to Tsar Mikhail Filaretovich in 1627 in order to protect themselves from competition from eastern merchants. It stressed the presence in Russia of a significant 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 numerous trades became a huge problem," according to P.P. Smirnov. [14]

M. Yu. Yuldashev reports on a petition of "Siberian Bukhars" Alim Suleymanova and "comrades" culled from the Siberian orders' records (column 134, p. 194), in which they "beat the brow" for the restoration of their rights. This and other petitions "show the interaction between Bukhara and the Siberian settlements, as well as local merchants, creating barriers for them through trade competition."

These instances demonstrate the very extensive commercial links that exist between Russia and Kazakhstan, as well as the Central Asian republics. To this, we must add that there were Russian merchants in Bukhara, for example, who had "permanent trade craft."

However, from the 1920s to the 1980s, there has been a decrease in trade and other links between Russia, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and other Eastern nations. This is because so-called "predatory gangs" have been activated, targeting caravans and diplomatic missions. In this sense, the most notable example is the Embassy of I.D. Khokhlov, whose ship washed ashore on the Mangyshlak peninsula after a storm in 1620. The Turkmen tribes had attacked and stolen the trade caravan he was leading.

During these times, nevertheless, trade missions continued to exchange. Yu. A. Sokolov leads on this problem information from customs documents that speak of the entrance to Tara and Tobolsk in 1637-1645 y. - 185 merchants to 1645-1655 y. - 165 merchants to 1655-1665 y.

As attested by the Russian ambassador Vasily Kobayakov, only those Central Asian trade caravans with special permission of the Kazakh khans went across Kazakhstani land (from Tobolsk to Turkestan). In her "questioning speeches" in the Siberian order, Kobayakov declared that under the control of Khan Tauke, "a possession Cossack... 25 cities in which Bukharian merchants live," according to N.G. Apollonova. (15, P).32] Furthermore, this is not an accident. Specifically, Kazakh khans, sultans, and their immediate surroundings received all money from trading operations, which they also utilized to organize Russian-Kazakh commerce on the Russian market in Siberia.

We would not merely focus on Russian-Central Asian commercial connections if, in some circumstances, merchants stood at the head of Central Asian trade caravans at the request of Kazakh lords, who had no clue when the last of the Russian government, execute diplomatic tasks alongside trading operations. This demonstrates that the expansion of commerce with Central Asian khanates led to the improvement of Russian-Kazakh ties. As a result, the greater the region of Kazakhstan Central caravan trade pass, the more favorable conditions for growing Russian-Kazakh trade connections were formed.

For example, the Tashima embassy was accompanied by Kazakh merchants whose mission was to pave the way for economic links with Russia. Tauke Khan's plea that merchants "come for a good messenger and trade folks let them depart" was not an accident.

Khan Tauke had high aspirations for this embassy; it needed to reestablish old political and commerce ties. As a result, he sent several presents for the royal court with the mission.

In the Kazakh steppe, for example, not all rulers were active in trading, but they were the most interested in it, as were other members of the largest and most powerful families from the Kazakh khan's milieu. The Kazakh nobility were interested in growth and the Kazakh-Central Asian commerce because they gained large cash from fees levied to merchants and caravans passing through the Kazakh desert. These earnings enabled them to join in commerce with Russian merchants.

In the perspective of economic and trade sustained positive appraisal of Russia's benefits in the works of A. Semenov, F. Lobysevicha, and N.N. Balkashin, core stances that include the following:

- An growth in the volume of Russian commerce;
- Utilization of captured region's natural resources;
- The utilization of territory as a means of transportation between Europe and Asia;

- The expansion of the Russian manufactured products sales market;
- The establishment of communication channels;
- Vacant property available for redevelopment.

Therefore, Russian tsars' aim to develop Kazakh steppe into a sales market, utilization of natural resources, and strategically beneficial position are represented in Russian pre-revolutionary historiography. There was essentially no analytical approach in the works of this time, and there were factual mistakes and inaccuracies. However, these works served as the foundation for future challenges in Kazakh-Russian commercial relations throughout the Soviet period.

We might mention the work "Russian-Kazakh ethno-cultural and ethno-political interaction" as an example of modern Russian work that differentiates through innovative methodological techniques. It demonstrates the tight association between the resumption of Kazakh-Russian economic relations and the start of aggressive Russian colonization of the region. At the end of the XX – and beginning of the XXI century, a number of studies were conducted in Kazakhstani historical research on the basis of new methodological methods, with varied degrees of depth, on the challenges of medieval towns as commercial hubs. M.H. Abuseitova, S.M. Syzdykova, R.U. Karimova, B.A. Baytanaeva.

S. Maduanova, M.U. Shalekenova, and A.B. Abdualy investigated Kazakhstan's trade and cultural links with Central Asian khanates.

As we can see, there was a considerable shift of historiographical notions during the study of Kazakh-Russian commerce in the XVI-VIII centuries, from the archaic legacy of pre-revolutionary Russian messianism to modern methods, articulated in a synergetic paradigm.

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